RECIFE

THE RISE OF A 17TH-CENTURY TRADE CITY FROM A CULTURAL-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

HANNEDEA VAN NEDERVEEN MEERKERK
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Frans Post. A rustic chapel. Panel, 31 × 41,2 cm. The gabled proch used as a bell-cage, dominates the façade of the chapel. The picture shows the lovely landscape of North-East Brazil, with farmhouses and various specimens of tropical vegetation. Small Negro figures indicate the cares of daily life in providing food (vegetables, fruits, etc.) and in washing, a characteristic in the oeuvre of the artist.
En comemoração da visita do Excelentíssimo Senhor Dr. Rudolf W. de Korte 
Vice Ministro-Presidente e 
Ministro de Assuntos Econômicos 
do Reino dos Países Baixos 
à República Federal do Brasil 
de 22 a 29 Janeiro de 1989.
HANNEDJA VAN NEDERVEEN MEERKERK

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1989
Van Gorcum, Assen/Maastricht
The Netherlands
Und jedem Anfang ist ein Zauber inne
der uns beschützt und der uns hilft zu leben.
Hermann Hesse, *Das Glasperlenspiel*

To my children:
Claudius, Jorike, Jan-Maurits, Wendeline, Una.
Contents

CASA GRANDE

1  Contract
   Justification
   Notes

2  Builder's specifications
   Introduction to the treated material
   Notes

3  Groundwork
   Four pickets
3.1  Picket 1: A short prior history of Recife and Olinda
    Notes
3.2  Picket 2: The formation and organization of the West India
    Company
    Notes
3.3  Picket 3: Fortifications
    Notes
3.4  Picket 4: Stylistic considerations of ecclesiastical
    architecture in Northeast Brazil, 1535 – 1750
    Notes

4  Foundation
   Chapter I, The urbanization of Recife and Mauritsstad
   4.1  Urbanization of Recife de Pernambuco
   4.1.1  Recife 1637 – 1649
   4.2  Urbanization of Mauritsstad
   4.3  The bridges of Mauritsstad/Recife
   4.4  Plan of Mauritsstad
   4.4.1  Batavia
   4.4.2  Bastides and the Ordenanzas
   4.4.3  Pieter Post
   4.4.4  Conclusion of Mauritsstad's urbanization
    Notes

5  Framework
   Chapter II, Civil architecture in Recife and Mauritsstad
   5.1  Civil architecture in Recife, 1630–1644
   5.2  Civil architecture in Mauritsstad, 1637–1644
   5.2.1  Huis Vrijburgh
   5.2.2  Boa Vista
   5.2.3  Palladio and other sources of inspiration
   5.3  Recife and Mauritsstad 1644–1654
   5.3.1  The Inventário
   5.4  The importance of the sobrado for the development of Recife
    Notes

VII
Walls
Chapter III. The sugar culture as the primary source of income
6.1 *Histoire économique* or *Histoire de mentalité?*
6.2 Register of sugarmills (*engenhos*)
6.3 Immigration policy
6.3.1 Jews, New Christians, and Marranos
6.4 The WIC, free trade and the sugar industry
6.4.1 Taxes
6.4.2 Export tables
6.5 Transition, crisis and decline
6.5.1 Graphs
6.5.2 J-curve
6.6 The WIC and ‘The idea of a town’
Notes

Roofing
Chapter IV. Ecclesiastical architecture connected to the Dutch Period
7.1 The Roman Catholic Church
7.2 Jesuits
7.2.1 Jesuit architecture in Brazil, general
7.2.2 Jesuit architecture in Olinda, Recife, and environs to 1654
7.3 Franciscans
7.3.1 Franciscan architecture in Brazil, general
7.3.2 Franciscan architecture in Recife circa 1654
7.4 Carmelites
7.4.1 Carmelite architecture in Recife and environs to 1654
7.5 Benedictines
7.5.1 Benedictine architecture in Recife and environs to 1654
Notes

Ridgegirder
Conclusion

SENZALAS

1 Appendix I: Religious architecture after 1654
2 Appendix II: Xangô
3 Appendix III: *Alpendres*: Canopies and awnings
4 Appendix IV: Coinage in Dutch Brazil
5 Appendix V: Nomenclature of sugar plantations
6 Appendix VI: Archeology
7 Appendix VII: Maps and drawings
8 Appendix VIII: Urban monuments in Recife and environs
9 Appendix IX: Vegetation transplanted by the Portuguese
Glossary
Main Sources
Bibliography
Register of individuais
Abbreviations
Samenvatting
Sumário
Curriculum vitae
Colofon
CASA GRANDE
Contract

Justification

*Le Boeuf sur le Toit* is one of the first polytonal works of Darius Milhaud. While secretary during the first World War under Paul Claudel, the French poet serving at the time as the ambassador to Brazil, Milhaud made notes of a Pernambucan carnival song during a visit to Recife. It was called *O Boi no Telhado* (the cow on the roof). Back in Rio de Janeiro, he worked out the notations of this *frevo*, the extraordinary Recife area carnival dance, in which both melody and rhythm determine the work's theme. In 1919, Claudel took Milhaud's result to Paris and gave it to Jean Cocteau. Cocteau and Milhaud intended to use the composition for a Charlie Chaplin film (thus setting the length of the piece at 25 minutes). This plan fell through, so instead Cocteau and Milhaud created a ballet for the Fratellini clown company. The performance, or more appropriately, production, took place on 21 February 1920 in the Comédie des Champs-Élysées. In addition to the Fratellini company, the Médrano clown troupe also participated. Vladimir Golschmann led the orchestra. The sculptor Fauconnet designed masks for the actors, and Raoul Dufy created and painted the set.

This era saw the flowering of avant-garde polytonal music both in France and the rest of Europe, led by the group *Les Six* (1). *O Boi no Telhado*: no doubt not one of the sweating, dancing Brazilian celebrators at the beginning of this century could have guessed that this popular folksong would contribute to the *éclatante* cooperation of so many avant-garde artists in what was then still the cultural heart of Europe and the Western world. And certainly, such was far from the thoughts of Governor Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen when, in 1644, to stimulate toll payments for the just-completed bridge crossing the Capibaribe/Beberibe rivers between Mauritsstad and Recife, he hit upon the idea of hoisting a cow onto a roof, so that in the evening, if the toll amount was great enough, it could be slaughtered for a community feast (2).

The bridge's construction was a masterpiece of hydrodynamic ingenuity. Although the project was beset by all sorts of problems, Johan Maurits, largely unappreciated and misunderstood by the West India Company, persevered. That he did so illustrates his strong vision to turn Recife into a real city, with all the measurable and immeasurable urban consequences and conditions: defences, traffic, welfare facilities, civic administration, and the mutual communication and cultural activity required by a society (3). The improbable story of the hoisted cow tells us not only the scene of the action--out back in the garden of Huis Vrijburgh 'on top of a pavilion especially built for this purpose'. It also tells us that the hide of another cow, stuffed with dry grass, swung from a crane in the breeze. 'The simple people gaped in admiration -- and the lettered were even more surprised', according to the eyewitness report of Father Manoel Calado (4).

The story introduces the unity of time and place of this book's subject: 'Recife: The rise of a 17th-century trade city from a cultural-historical perspective'.

2
No more than Darius Milhaud's composition, did this investigation into the history of Recife's origins begin as a *creatio ex nihilo*. In the 1960's I walked unsuspectingly through the streets of Recife. The name today applies not only to the district on the coastal headland, south of the proud, older Olinda, but also to a city of millions. There was much to see. Splendid wide boulevards with palms and shady trees; then sudden, much smaller, curious, straight streets and lanes. Grand, solemn buildings and houses in a stylistic mélange of Neo-Classical and 19th-century solutions were bordered by strikingly narrow, tall, or sometimes low houses and warehouses that departed completely from the façade parcelling of the adjacent lots. Wide, pleasant premises sat next to a sudden assortment of crisp, sharp saddleroofs. Brick in diverse sizes and types peeked out where plaster had come loose.

These colourful beads were strung together by a rope that ran through the entire city: the decorative, white--sometimes yellow or pink--façade tops of the churches and church buildings, sometimes more than one in a single street. They represented the constancy and continuity of Ecclesiastical Power in various manifestations.

Through contact with the historian José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, professor at the Federal University of Pernambuco, and with the late romanist Henri Dupuis, then in the service of the Netherlands Ministry for Development Assistance, I learned that there was much more to the history of Recife than the unprepared visitor might initially surmise. At the same time, it became evident that Recife's Historical Institute (Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano, IAHGP) as well as the city and university archives held a treasure of literature concerning *'O Período Holandês'* (the Dutch Period). Here were thorough studies and detailed observations, sometimes dating from the 17th century itself, but especially from the 19th century on.

Gonsalves de Mello himself wrote an elaborate handbook on the subject in 1944, entitled *Tempo dos Flamengos (Time of the Netherlands)* (5). Joaquim de Sousa-Leão, the former ambassador to the Netherlands, breathed new life into the subject of the Dutch Period in the 1920's by calling attention to the paintings and drawings of the painter Frans Post (6). In the retinue and pay of the Dutch governor Count Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, who was appointed by the West India Company (WIC) from 1636-1644, Frans Post faithfully set down on paper his noteworthy encounters: landscapes, trees, fruits, animals and birds, churches, cloisters and chapels, sugar mills, plantations, slave quarters, and also sea battles and ships. From his hand, we receive the first and best images of old Recife, devastated Olinda, and the new city opposite it: Mauritssstad (Maurits City).

My first task was to study Portuguese, so that I could access the original literature. Back in the Netherlands in 1969, I took lessons from H. Houwens Post, Professor of Portuguese and Brazilian Language and Literatures at Utrecht. In 1970, he recommended me for a stipend to study in Coimbra. In 1974, I chose Portuguese as a special language study for the candidacy in Art History.
Earlier in Brazil, from 1964 on, I made notes, took surveys and measurements, and assembled illustrations and photographs of notable architectural specimens. My travels in the Nordeste brought me, among other places, to Pernambuco, Alagoas (earlier a part of Pernambuco), Itamaracá, Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte, and Ceará, all former capitâncias (Portuguese territories) that in the time of Johan Maurits fell under Dutch rule. Maranhão and São Luís, its capital, were not in Dutch hands long enough to have felt a Dutch influence (7). Later, perhaps, such influence did arise, when Recife, again under Portuguese authority, served as an example for the rest of the Nordeste above the Rio São Francisco.

The relevance of factors concerning the rise of a city in general and of this one in particular involves a broad variety of information. Alas, the first constraint, the necessity of profiling the main subject as sharply as possible, and the second, restrictions on practical grounds, lead to the treatment of some themes and subjects on a merely superficial basis, or even to complete exclusion. To the first belong the slave trade and the organisation of the Roman Catholic Orders in Brazil; to the latter, for example, belong the position of women, ship constructions, ecclesiastical interiors, and anthropological investigation of Indian tribes. Besides, comparisons among several Dutch colonial urban foundations seem to go without saying, as do those between Dutch and Portuguese origin. Two reasons restrained me from an elaboration of these theoretical themes. The first one is based on the synonymous practical reasons I mentioned before. The cultural-historical backgrounds of Recife itself demanded too much attention. But in addition to this I want to stipulate the important difference between the Dutch and the Portuguese colonization principles, which resulted in different administrative systems, social relations, and urban policy. This subject is part of the discussion in Chapter III. Finally, the investigation into the cultural-anthropological roots of the colonial city in general seduces me, a fascinating theme that certainly will be part of my future research programme.

In a perhaps somewhat mannered desire to unite form and content, I have set up this book in two sections: the main body of work, and some appendices that nevertheless are required for a good understanding of the material in the first section. Just as the traditional colonial society of Portuguese Brazil (for which the Dutch Period, though important for Recife, was only an intermezzo), organized along feudal lines, took its shape from 'The Great Manorhouse and Annexes', I have built this book along the analogy of the innovative social-anthropological study, Casa Grande e Senzala, by the doyen of Brazilian cultural history, Gilberto Freyre (8). The first notes were lost in a fire in 1979. Through the concern of Prof. Temminck Groll, I was able to reassemble the lost material in 1982. During a visit to Recife in 1982, I discovered to my dismay that a great deal of the old 'Holland' district, São José, where the expansion of Mauritsstad/New Mauritssstad once projected, had not survived the leveling of bulldozers and American-style projects. So had perished as well the row of warehouses on the wharf of the Capibaribe, whose 19th-century structures were based upon old, earlier, narrow foundations.
Renewed contact with Professor Dr. Gonsalves de Mello and with Dr. José Luiz da Mota Menezes, director of the Pernambucan Monument Preservation Society (Serviço Artístico e Patrimônio Federal) filled many gaps, for which I wish to express my thanks. But above all, this study benefitted from the invaluable contributions and support in word and deed of Professor Dr. Ruy dos Santos Pereira, professor of Medical History in Recife (9). His dedication in searching for literature, in finding ways of opening doors during the short time of my visit, and in sending books, articles, and his own findings was invaluable. Without this help I would have made no headway against the difficulties of studying, from the other side of the ocean, what happened in Recife so long ago, and my knowledge would not have been importantly broadened.

Regarding the controversial adjective 'cultural–historical', I have focused upon the idea that cultural history is the investigation of the causes and consequences of the way humanity attempts to maintain itself through thought and action. A number of disciplines, including politics, economics, and sociology, gain some emphasis within urban–planning and architectural/historical interpretations. My own opinion is that this cannot be otherwise, given that, of all the subjects in Art History, 'town–planning', *sui generis*, has the strongest ties to society. I wanted to gain insight into the nature of the society that possessed the will, in the 17th century and in that part of the world, to set up a grand urban–planning project. I wanted to test the external product against the society that created it. From the plan and the architecture of the city, I tried, untutored, to glean demographic and sociological data. One must try to imagine these people, far from home, possessing poor lines of communication, surrounded by mosquitoes and other enemies, in the miasm of a swampy delta with few and often inadequate provisions, in the middle of a cacophony of languages, a melting pot of incompatible and sometimes antagonistic morals and customs, often burdened with great financial investments whose outcomes were uncertain. The resulting structure that they created was solidly urban: a city, already at that time known as a 'metropolis’ (10), complete with beautiful palaces and lovely public buildings, sophisticated hydro–technical facilities and a completely encircling group of forts, redoubts, and bulwarks.

The Table of Contents serves to indicate what subjects will be introduced. To a great extent it is clearly a colourful collection of subjects; nevertheless I have tried to maintain the connection between background factors and what relates directly to the city's founding. But perhaps I should have studied psychology in order to discover how all that thought and action is psycho–genetically grounded, although I am excused so long as some question remains over to what degree 'Psychology' is falsifiable. Excused, at any rate, until the same criteria can be applied in 'mental science' as in '...physical science and in ordinary life, [where] we employ the various criteria of truth–consistency with our own and other's knowledge, correspondence with supposed objective standards, and the pragmatic test of 'does it work? ...' (11).

On the other hand, all thinking is a process of the spirit, so that the spirit should lie at the foundation of every study.
In another way this opinion provides a foundation for dynamic investigation. Readiness to take risks in scientific research, the launching of new theories, and the undertaking of unpredictable verification (or at least falsification) is only viable when the investigator has the psychic freedom to associate with current norms in an original way. A non-conformist attitude can be successful when the investigator is able to continue a deep feeling of engagement with his object. I found my own thoughts about this question affirmed in the words of the American sociologist, Robert Merton: 'From the standpoint of psychology, great emotional investment in an objective may be expected to produce a readiness to take risks (−)').

Merton mentions also that because behaviour is typically orientated towards the basic values of the society, we may speak of a 'human aggregate as comprising a society' (14). Merton's main interest, however, is moreover to explore conditions for deviant behaviour resulting in crime; at this moment I prefer to cast a glance at the pages where he points out the problems of manifest and latent functions. 'Like all interpretative schemes, functional analysis depends upon a triple alliance between theory, method and data. Of the three allies, method is the weakest' (15).

The author is speaking of the theories clearing up concepts of function. Codification of the concepts and their problems leads to paradigms of the term. Distinguishing manifest functions and latent functions, he is fascinated by the question of what the effects are of the transformation or a previously latent function into a manifest function. The relations between unanticipated consequences of 'action' and 'latent functions', since they are implicit in the paradigm, can be defined (16).

In my opinion human knowledge embodies the tension of latent functions. Therefore scientific investigation has a dynamic structure sui generis and is not to be bound to the statics of social structure. The investigator is only able to bear this tension, if he does not feel himself an object of preconceived opinions and methodical rules. His personal engagement with his work will psychologically support him in maintaining the justification of the taken course.

NOTES


2 Manoel Calado, O Valeroso Lucideno (1648) 1942, 2 vol., I, pp. 277, 278.

3 The bridge between Mauritsstad and Recife is treated in section 4.3., 'The bridges of Mauritsstad/Recife'.

4 Calado, op.cit., I, p. 278.
5 In the 1940’s, Gonsalves de Mello discovered a bundle of papers in the Recife city archives that, after assessment, appeared to contain the Dagelijkse Notulen (Daily Minutes) of the Hoge Raad (High Council) of Dutch Brazil. He began to study Dutch from the 1584 book Tweespraak van de Nederlandsche Letterkunst by Van Coornhert. In this way, he succeeded in translating the records. In the 1950’s, he was released from his teaching position at the University of Recife in order to do further archival research in the Netherlands, where he was granted an extraordinary professorship in Brazilian History at the University of Utrecht, for the Spanish–Portuguese Institute. In 1962, he was knighted by Queen Juliana for his achievements in the study of the common history of the Netherlands, Portugal, and Brazil. Gonsalves de Mello has published a number of books and publications on the Dutch Period in Brazil. He comes from an old family that can be traced back to the 16th century, when Brazil was populated by sugar planters. His son, Ulysses Pernambucano (named after his grandfather, who donated a hospital to the city bearing his name), performs archeological research in Pernambuco. See Appendix VI.

6 The most important biographer of Frans Post is Joaquim de Sousa–Leão. His family also dates from the first days of the ‘populating’ of Pernambuco. His grandfather and the grandfather of Gilberto Freyre are depicted in a late 18th-century drawing by the Swiss artist Luis Schlappritz. Their attire attests to their aristocratic origins. Sousa–Leão called the world’s attention to the importance of Post’s work in 1935. He rightly linked Post’s importance to the governorship of Johan Maurits, Count of Nassau–Siegen (1636–1644). Sousa–Leão was a collector of Post’s work. He also performed archival research in the Netherlands, where he twice served as the Brazilian ambassador.

7 Maranhão was conquered in 1642 and abandoned again in 1644.


9 Ruy dos Santos Pereira professor of Medical History and Theoretical Biology at the Federal University of Pernambuco published, in 1980, a study of Willem Piso, the personal physician to Johan Maurits van Nassau from 1638–1644, entitled Piso e a Medicina Indígena. Vida e medicina no Brasil Holandês (see ‘Builder’s Specifications’, note 14). A second printing is being prepared. In 1985 Santos Pereira published a book of three essays, treating: a) the oeuvre of the Brazilian poet Carlos Drummond de Andrade (died 1987); b) the life and work of the Portuguese author and adventurer Fernão Mendes Pinto, whose book Peregrinação criticized the cruel manner in which the Portuguese treated the slaves and natives of newly discovered regions (1614); and c) the candid and, qua content, controversial book by the Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de Buen Amor (14th century), which discusses in detail the erotic and sexual attitudes of women.
Santos Pereira places his subjects against the religious and cultural background of their origins and discusses the commentary of and influences upon later writers. He dedicated this book, Três Ensaios, to me as 'amiga da terra e do povo pernambucano'. This is so true that I regret that, by completing the last line of this dissertation, I bring to an end my years of identification with and proportionate absorption of this material.

10 Fernando d’Azevedo, Cultura Brasileira II. 1958, p. 45.


14 Ibid, p. 73.

15 There are three types of unintended consequences of action:
   1 those which are functional for a designated system, and these comprise the latent functions
   2 those which are dysfunctional for a designated system, and these comprise the latent dysfunctions; and
   3 those which are irrelevant to the system, which they affect neither functionally nor dysfunctionally, i.e. the pragmatically unimportant class of non-functional consequences. Merton, op.cit., p. 105.
2 Builder's specifications

Introduction to the treated material

In spite of my disappointment in 1982 at discovering that an important old section of Recife had been demolished, I attempted to investigate the history of the city's development based upon its colonial city-planning and architecture. Of course, this would have been nicer had an abundance of visual evidence been preserved. But it was fascinating to wrestle through seemingly irrelevant material, with an empathy born of necessity, in order to lift a corner of the veil draped over the subject. Fortunately, in earlier times painting and drawing did not always serve primarily to record internal emotions, but rather to depict perceived reality. Subjective emotional involvement was much more implicit than it later became. This can be seen in the painstaking way that animals, plants, and other works of nature are depicted: the more precise, the more glory to God in gratitude for the splendor of his creation. I believe that this sentiment was an important inspiration in the 17th century for all those patient artists with their precise brushes, and for the scientists in their investigations, inquiries, and intuitions (1). Brazilian history owes a great deal to one such documenter, Frans Post (2). His depictions of landscapes, plants, animals, rivers, places, ships, and maps give us a concrete hold on the written descriptions handed down to us. His work is not only interesting but lovely: balanced in composition, harmonious, with peaceful colours (3). In the autumn of 1636, Post, then about 25 years old, left with the governor for Brazil to serve as the 'court photographer'. During his eight-year tropical tenure, he worked on drawings and paintings of the important events of the journey, such as military operations, the landscape, geographical peculiarities, and ethnological and biological curiosities. Besides Post, the governor, with his own cultural fancies, contracted a number of other artists and scholars. He surrounded himself with a court consisting not only of administrators, admirals, and commandants, but also artists and scientists (4). Their names are not all known to us. Among the six to eight painter/drawer/cartographers was certainly the artist Albert Eeckhout (5). His manner of painting was diametrically opposed to Frans Post's. Instead of landscapes in which figures, buildings, animals, and plants served as staffage, Eeckhout's work emphasized the products of nature and the striking people of the land, which he enframed, if room remained, in a bit of distant landscape or countryside (6).

According to the 1651 Gulden Cabinet by Cornelis de Bie, the artist Abraham Willarts, 'Painter of Utrecht', was also part of the company:
...ende wederom naar huys gekeert zijnde is van zijn Excelentie Graeff Mauris in Bresel ontboden om aldaer all vreemdheden te teeken en ende te schilderen: den Graeff sonant hem met de vloot naar Africa ende marcheerde benefens de Soldaten naer de Stadt S.Paule in Angoola, Darr hy eenigentijt de vreemde manieren van het Landt ende conditie der wytlandse menschen gesien en leeren kennen heeft. Van daer wederom comende quam inden dienst vanden vorzyden Graeff ende wert veel aenghenamer ende willemcomer by hem onthaelt als te vore: uyt reden dat zijn verstant door ighesicht der vreemde plaetse: al vry wat scherpe ende cloeker ghewoord was....

(...and once more returning home, he was summoned by his Excellency Count Maurits in Brazil to draw and to paint all the peculiarities there/ the count sent him to Africa with the fleet and he' marched along with the Soldiers to the city of S. Paulo—de Loanda (Angola), where he spent some time seeing and acquainting himself with the strange manners of the land and the condition of the outlandish people. From there he once again came into the service of the above—mentioned count/ and was more pleasantly treated and welcomed by him than before/ the reason being that his understanding of strange places/ had become considerably sharper and more substantial...) (7).

Among others, the excellent cartographer Cornelis Goliath was also important. He spied upon Portuguese forts in Bahia in 1638, worked in El Mina (Ghana), and in 1648, drew a large map of Recife/Mauritsstad and environs, upon which he carefully noted the strategic and city—planning information (8).

The governor paid the artists out of his own pocket. Whether this was the case with his personal physician and secretary, Wilhemus Piso, and his geographer—astronomer, Georg Marcgraf (Marcgrave), is uncertain (9, 10). Both were eminently learned men whose observations, findings, and conclusions in medicine, geography, physics, ethnology, and biology were embodied in the 1648 work Historia Naturalis Brasiliae. A second printing also included Marcgraf's astronomical calculations, Progymnastica mathematica Americana (11).

Marcgraf's life story is not certain. We know only that he belonged to the circle surrounding the governor. Later in Holland, Piso, himself always an honourable man, reported on Marcgraf's lust for drink, which may have contributed to his death in Sao Paulo—de Loanda in 1644, during his return voyage to Holland with Frans Post (12). We do know that Marcgraf manned the first astronomical observatory in Latin America. This project was supported by Johan Maurits van Nassau, who ordered skippers to report all heavenly phenomena. Marcgraf also studied more than 700 plant and animal species, collected a herbarium, and illustrated his own comments so beautifully and exactly that they can still be used today as reference. He began his career as a medical student and made discoveries concerning venereal disease and diseases of the eye (13).

Like Piso, he studied native medicines and cures. An unusually informative book has recently appeared in Brazil on this topic, entitled Piso e a Medicina Indigena, Vida e Medicina no Brasil Holandês, by Ruy dos Santos Pereira. The author includes a list of remedies that the Dutch West Indies Company sent to Brazil at Piso's cost (14).
Marcgraf also had a younger brother, Christian Marcgraf, who saw to the posthumous publication of his work. On 25 November 1638, the Baptismal Register of Recife records one ‘Christoffel Marckgraf’ as a witness at the baptism of Agneta, the daughter of Pieter Seulijn (and his wife Agneta, who is not mentioned). Whether this is Georg Markgraf’s brother or Georg himself under a second name is not known (15). Brazilian history makes no mention of a Marcgraf other than Georg.

From this Baptismal Register, one could draw further conclusions about the governor’s circle. Genealogical research would be necessary. For example, were Rebecca and Mattheus Post (a soldier), mentioned several times in the register during the years 1637–47, connected to the group? Or Susanne Eecholts? A later secretary, Pierre Bonjour, also appears, as well as Charles de Tourlon, a military man who married Ana Pais, the daughter of a Brazilian engenheiro (sugar planter). It was public knowledge that the count maintained an intimate relationship with this woman for some time (16). Ana Pais is mentioned in the Baptismal Register several times: as the mother of her children Ysabella, by Charles de Tourlon, and Cornelius (1647) and Elisabeth (1650), by her third husband (1647), Gijsbert de With (17); and in March of 1639 with Johan Maurits as a witness at the baptism of the son of Willem Corneliss and Janneke van Dalen. The count himself served as witness many times; the most cryptic notation is from August 14, 1639: ‘Jan Mauritz. Parents: (no name); Witness: His Excl. Count Mauritz’ (18). Certainly a great number of interesting people, ‘oiseaux de divers plumage’, surrounded the governor in his palaces. In any case, the count’s desire to build Recife into a city with a systematic design and a structured social life is universally apparent. He fought corruption with harsh punishments (19). He parried the geographical and natural handicaps by deploying a great number of urban-planners and hydro-technicians. In Frans Post’s work one can see images of the count’s efforts: forts and fortifications, houses, views of the town, churches and chapels, plantation residences and sugar factories (20). One thing is striking in Post’s paintings: he treats the architectural elements as his ‘main character’. People are always subordinate and serve as enlivements—anecdotal or narrative additions. The animals, trees, and plants also serve specifically to frame the rest of the painting, in the capacity of repoussoir.

Frans Post painted the breadth of the hilly country bordered by powerful, autonomous rivers. His chosen horizon is often low, so that relatively little space remains for the scenes themselves (21). In this land, he placed his ‘figures’: houses, cloisters, sugarmills, Negro huts. Here and there, to lead the eye, people, usually groups of Negroes, sometimes a few Indians or Europeans, move through the picture. The buildings symbolize human encroachment on the overwhelming expanse of nature, which is itself considered in the details of the repoussoir-frame. Post’s paintings mirror Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen’s device: ‘Qua patet orbis’: As far as the world extends.
Much of Post's work has not survived. An important collection of his drawings illustrates the great book by Caspar van Baerle (22). Johan Maurits ordered the creation of this book to justify his policy in Brazil, which the WIC had disavowed. It contains much information about land, flora, and fauna, but its principal content is the strategic events on land and sea. The decision to reinforce and expand is richly manifested in 'Barlaeus'. According to the governor, the power of the Dutch, far from home and dominated by hostile surroundings, could be consolidated only through forming a true Dutch community manifested by social administration. The book did not convince the WIC's Heren XIX of the need to improve the disjointed colonial administration, but posterity gained a fascinating historical source combining written and visual descriptions of the period.

Like Darius Milhau and me, the Dutch in Brazil did not begin with nothing. The Portuguese did the preliminary work; in 1500, they accidentally landed on the coast at the head of what they named Bahia de Todos os Santos: Bay of All Saints. As it was almost Easter, the fleet, which had been blown off course, exuded a pious mood. The Spanish were less than pleased with the Portuguese claim upon the new territory, but they were forced to conform to the demarcation line set by the Treaty of Tordesillas (23). As some confusion still remains concerning the background and consequences of this Meridiano or Linha de Tordesillas, it is relevant briefly to explain this determination. After the discovery of North America by Columbus in 1492, Spain and Portugal fell to bickering about the rights each claimed over the newly discovered regions (24). Pope Alexander VI tried to solve the question by drawing a dividing line from pole to pole at 100 nautical miles from the then valid zero–meridian at Tenerife, Columbus’s departure point. Spain was allowed all territory to the west and Portugal all that to the east of this line. Dom João II of Portugal felt greatly injured by his neighbors Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Portugal had navigated the globe much longer and much farther than Spain and now barely had room to reach its ‘own’ territories on the west coast of Africa. In 1494, during a conference in Tordesillas in the North of Spain, the emissaries of both countries secured a similar principle of demarcation, but its location was set at 370 nautical miles west of the Cape Verde Islands, between 48° and 49° west of Greenwich. Pope Julius II’s eventual ratification of this agreement took place in 1506; Brazil was then already six years old and under the protection of Portugal. Because maps were lacking and exploration still limited, more than a century would pass before either of the parties clearly knew the size of Brazil and the consequences for the world authority of Portugal. Earlier maps display amusing distortions of the ‘virgin’ area, with variations favoring either Spain or Portugal, depending on the nationality of the cartographer’s employer (25).
Fig. 1
The Demarcation of Tordesillas (Linha de Tordesilhas), projected by three different cartographers and illustrating their conception of Brazil contrasted with the present situation. After Manoel Rodrigues Pereira, by Martin Frissen.

The discovery and first findings in 1500 were beautifully reported to the Portuguese king, El Rei Dom Manuel I, by Pero Vaz de Caminha, geographer and log keeper for Admiral Pedro Alvares Cabral. This elementary communication is called the 'Birth Certificate of Brazil', and it caused great joy in Portugal. Upon return, both Cabral and his writer were loaded with honours (26).
Nevertheless, for 30 years, the much-trumpeted newborn was left in peace. The Portuguese colonizing style differed from the Spanish. The latter occupied the land, subdued the native population, and converted it if possible, founded cities and plantations, and exploited the mineral resources. The Portuguese did indeed master their territories and expand places and cities with reinforcements. They, too, founded new forts and fortifications. But their principle of colonization was much more commercial. In other words: immediate trade and immediate profits. In this sense, they did not initially differ greatly from the later Dutch merchants. The period from 1580–1640, when Brazil fell under the rule of the Spanish Crown, may have changed the profile of Portuguese colonization. But even before, Brazil’s course was noticeably changing. Until 1530, many a fortune hunter had invaded the new territory in vain attempts to find rich mines.

Dom João III decided to confer a more useful destiny upon the territory. As is well known, the Inquisition, embraced by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain as a religious, social and fiscal regulatory institution, became, in Portugal ‘more Catholic than the Pope’. So much so that the Pope several times urged the fanatical Dom João III to restrain his actions against heretics and Jews (27). The king now offered the already financially penalized Jewish population ownership of parcels of Brazilian land and a free and safe crossing, thus ridding himself of an internal social problem, while populating the fertile albeit unendowed Brazil at the same time. Because privateers from foreign houses threatened the all but endless coastline, Portugal strategically could not afford to leave the huge area completely ungoverned (28). Thus the sugar industry and Christianity were introduced. The Jesuits, above all, left us a great body of early commentary about the population, geography, flora, and fauna. Thanks to this knowledge, the work force, and the negotiated talents of the colonists, Brazil grew from stepchild among Portugal’s colonies into its sugar daddy. These tidings also made an impression in the Netherlands.

Bahia and Olinda

In 1623, two years after the forming of the West India Company, 26 ships ventured the crossing to the Brazilian capital São Salvador, on the Bay of All Saints. The commander was Admiral (‘general’ in the WIC) Jacob Willekens, assisted by Vice-Admiral Piet Heyn. The commander—in-chief of the twelve companies was Johan van Dordt, Lord of Horst and Pesch (29). The fleet set out between 21 and 26 December from Texel, the Eems, the Maas, the Goereeze Gat and Zeeland, and on 8 May 1624 arrived at the roadstead of Bahia, as San Salvador succinctly and commonly is called. After two days of resistance, the Portuguese citizens, soldiers, and sailors fled the city (30). Bahia thus fell into Dutch hands on 10 May. The conquerors greedily grabbed for the spoils left behind, but the admiral quickly halted this piracy, recording what was left of the vats of sugar, tobacco, oil, and wine and sending it to the Netherlands.
Joy there was short-lived. After one year, the Dutch were forced to return Bahia. The morale of the regiment left behind grew undisciplined after Lieutenant Colonel Van Dorth was ambushed and killed (31). Immediately after the news of Bahia’s fall in 1624 reached Europe, the Spanish–Portuguese government ordered ‘een seer machtighe Vloote uyt te rusten ende op ‘t spoedighe uyt te seynden’ (the fitting-out of a very powerful Fleet and speedily dispatched it) under the command of Don Federico de Toledo (32).

He succeeded in retrieving the city, meeting little resistance, and on 1 May 1625, the approximately 2000 men there were forced to ‘uyttrechen met haar kleederen die sy aen hebben ende daerse op slapen...ende Soldaten in haar Knapsachen op den rugge’ (leave with only the clothing that they had on to sleep in...and the Soldiers with their knapsacks on their backs) (33).

The second fleet sent from Holland arrived three weeks too late (34). In 1629, the Heren XIX decided to make a second attempt to gain a foothold on Brazilian soil. Their eye fell this time upon the prosperous sugar and brazilwood region of Pernambuco, whose only important places were Olinda and a few widely scattered forts, a situation similar to that in Bahia in 1624.

Under the command of ‘Opper-Zeevooght’ (Chief Sea Commander) Hendrick Lonck and ‘Zee-Vooght’ (Sea Commander) Pieter Willemz Ita, about 60 ships and yachts set sail at the end of 1629, reaching the coast of Brazil in February (35). The conquest of Olinda also required little effort. The population, once the tidings of the Dutch Armada’s approach had reached them, evacuated to Garassu, a small place ten kilometers north of Olinda, and to the nearby plantations (36).

![Map showing the situation of Pernambuco](Fig. 2)

Map showing the situation of Pernambuco.

Just as in 1624, the Dutch easily accomplished their goal – to reach and occupy the capital of the territory. One can read details in De Laet, Richshoffer, and Mollema, the latter a compiler of historical and contemporary literature.

The ensuing struggle to consolidate the occupation flagrantly contrasted with the relative ease of the initial fight. The scene of the battle was by turns the interior, with its sinister forests, lagoons,
and aborigines, and the sea, with its equally unpredictable threats of weather and wind. However, the aim of the operations in all these changing backgrounds was the hegemony of Bahia and Recife. Whoever occupied these places occupied Brazil: both parties saw this as both means and end in the tactics of their 'game'. When it became evident that Bahia was unconquerable, Johan Maurits van Nassau tried to parry by creating a counter-culture. Recife became a great city, and Pernambuco a true state (37).

Why Brazil? Wealth, spices, wood varieties, and colonial fruits were, after all, elsewhere to be found. The coasts of Africa, not yet exhaustively explored, still held promise. Asia, gradually becoming known, was a source of material and cultural novelties. And Brazil had in fact been under Spanish control since 1580, the year Portugal was brought within the authority of the Spanish Hapsburgs through royal union. Netscher writes in his notable 1830 book, *Les Hollandais au Brésil: On choisit surtout le Brésil, parce qu’on pensa, comme en effet ce fut véritablement le cas, que ce pays, ayant été originairement une possession des Portugais, ne serait pas aussi bien gardé par les Espagnols que leurs propres colonies* (38).

Netscher reasons here that, in contrast to the Spanish colonies, Brazil possessed no rich mines of gold, silver, and (semi-)precious stones. The disappointment over this would be mitigated by the exploration of Minas Gerais in 1699. But for the time being, no one expected a Brazilian treasure fleet. Sugar was indeed important but was also cultivated in São Tomé and on the Cape Verde Islands, in other Spanish colonies of Latin America, and in the Caribbean. Moreover, since almost all of the property and trade from Brazil belonged to the converted (but still Jewish) population, Brazil was not a priority in Madrid. Netscher is correct: what he doesn’t mention are the reasons for Spain’s attitude. Only after the conquest of Bahia, when Brazil’s internationally prestigious, strategic importance became evident, did the Spanish hasten to attack their own European enemy. And thanks to Dutch tardiness, they were successful.

Dutch negligence in solidifying control over Bahia, consolidating authority, and quickly installing a regular naval service between the conquered territory and the mother country led to sweeping consequences for the entire history of Brazil and the Netherlands. The loss of manpower, ships, boots, and the city itself caused the West India Company enormous damage. The trauma was so great that in 1639, the Directors vainly urged Count Maurits to risk yet another attempt at conquering this center of Portuguese South America, just one year after a similar attempt had failed (39). The advice of Johannes De Laet in 1625 could have been loudly repeated: ‘...ende een goede waarschouwinghe voor de Bewinthebbers van de Compagnie in toekomende beter toe te zien’ (and this was a good warning for the Directors of the Company to take better care in the future) (40). With too few men, they finally achieved nothing. Bahia is only occasionally relevant to the subject of this investigation. The city and the area from the South up to the river São Francisco fell under Portuguese authority or influence. Sergipe del Rey officially belonged to the Dutch, but it lay on the other side of the broad Rio São Francisco, which served as the natural border both for spheres of influence and military range. The Dutch rarely
entered Sergipe except to levy fees on the Portuguese-run sugar plantations, and its colonization by settlers from Holland remained one of the often-expressed but quietly stifled wishes of Johan Maurits van Nassau. Neither are the other states of the ‘Nordeste’, extensively treated here unless specifically relevant to the history of Recife’s development. An occasional exception is Paraíba, but despite the detailed reportage (1639) of Elias Herckmans, the director-general around 1637 (41), too many gaps in the economic and plantation information still exist for it to be useful in clarifying the state of affairs in Recife-Mauritsstad by relating it to known material.

Further elaboration of records about Paraíba would in every way be worth the effort, however. After Pernambuco, Paraíba was the largest supplier of sugar and brazilwood. The settlement maintained good relations with the various Indian tribes from the outset (in this instance since 1623!). It also at least attempted rapprochement with ‘de onze’ (ours, i.e., the Dutch), an attitude that was a constant irritation to the Portuguese, who had managed to pry this capitania loose from French merchants only as late as 1585. Frans Post’s own notes and the reliable reports of others (the governor himself, for example) (42), make evident the locations of scenes represented in various paintings. In general, this location is assumed to be Pernambuco, unless otherwise explicitly stated. I am confident, as more than one painting demonstrates, that we are concerned rather with a Paraíba landscape (43).

NOTES

1 The urge both to know and to reproduce perceived reality are neither rationally nor emotionally founded, yet find their origins in a mystical experience of ‘creation’. The Renaissance developed an intellectual explanation for the investigation and reproduction of observations. The connection between these two activities is the urge to discover. The wonder of discovery precedes the desire to penetrate. The scientist or artist next commits himself to revealing the discovery. The voyages of exploration over the globe must also be viewed in this light. Discoverers can be considered practitioners of the Artes Liberales.

The copper engravings by Maria Sybylla Merian (1621–1717) nicely illustrate the relation between art and science. For the first time, insects are shown on their ‘food’, the plants and flowers they live on, and this is done in both an exact scientific and a beautifully artistic manner. Christoph Arnold, a Nuremberg professor of Literature (‘Rhetoric and Poetry’) composed, with reference to Maria Sybylla’s plates, the Raupenlied, beginning:

‘Herr! du Schöpfer aller Dinge
Deine grosse Weisheit macht,
Dass ich von den Wundern singe,
Dass du so wohl hast bedacht...’

This poem of seven couplets was included in the first volume of the quarto Der Raupen wunderbare Verwandlung und sonderbare Blumennahrung (Nuremberg, 1680). See J. Stuhldreher-Nienhuis, Verborgen Paradijzen, Arnhem 1945, pp. 46/46.
2 Frans Post, son of Jan Janszoon Post and Francynie Pieters, born in Haarlem between 1609 and 1614, died there in 1680. Married (1650) to Jannette Bogaert, daughter of Salomon Bogaert, teacher at the Latin School in Haarlem. Post survived his two sons, and his daughter died shortly after him. In the service of Johan Maurits, Count van Nassau-Siegen in Brazil; subsequently also worked for him. They maintained contact until the count's death in 1679. In 1646 was made a member of the Lucas Guild in Haarlem. Frans was the younger brother of Pieter Post, architect, 1608–1669.

3 According to the eminent biographer Joaquim de Sousa-Leão, Frans Post painted many more than the 139 surviving works. Many of his paintings fell prey to the so-called 'blue-disease'. A high humidity may cause the blueness. In the Pernambuco region of Brazil, the humidity is around 85–90% in the dry season. Only six of the authentic Brazilian paintings have survived:
1 1637 'View of Itamaracá' (Prop. of Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, purchased in Paris in 1879, on permanent loan to the Mauritshuis in Den Haag);
2 1638 'São Francisco River' (Louvre);
3 1638 'The Oxwagon' (Louvre);
4 1638 'Fort Ceulen on the Rio Grande' (Louvre);
5 1639 'Porto Calvo' (Louvre);
6 1640 'Fort Frederik Hendrik', private collection of the heirs of Sousa-Leão, Rio de Janeiro.
Post painted 133 paintings in his Holland years, from 1644 until approximately 1670. After this, the health of the painter seemingly failed and he 'soo ongesien vervallen tot den dronk en beevende' (deteriorated into unesteemed drunkenness and doddering).

4 Niccolò Machiavelli, Il Principe, London, 1963, translator George Bull, p. 123: 'A prince should also show his esteem for talent, actively encouraging able men, and paying honour to eminent craftsmen'.

5 Albert Eckhout, Eckhout or Van Eechhout, dates unknown. Probably born in Amersfoort or environs. Brother of the artist Gerhard van den Eechhou(d)t, 1621–1674, a student of Rembrandt who lived and worked in Amsterdam. Illustrated parts of the biological writings of Marcgraf, Historiae naturalis Brasiliae, published posthumously by Piso and De Laet in 1648. Collaborated on the lost natural history work, Theatrum Rerum Naturalis Brasiliae; copies of this were discovered in 1964 in the Academy of Science in Leningrad by Dom Clemente da Silva Nigra, former director of the Museu de Arte Sacra do Salvador, Bahia. These copies are assumed to have been taken by Peter the Great, who sojourned in the Netherlands in 1697–1698.
Eckhout painted at least 20 great works in Brazil, including nature studies and portraits of Tapuya Indians and Negros. In 1654, Johan Maurits presented the 20 known works to the king of Denmark, Frederik III (1609–1670), a cousin of his mother, Princes Margaretha von Holstein-Sonderburg.
Images or elements from Eeckhout's work were used more than once as the subject for wall tapestries. Before the 1704 fire in the Mauritshuis, there hung '4 Stück Tapezereyen in welchen Grosse Wilde Thiere in lebens größe seind...und drei grosse und vier Kleine Stück von selbigen Tapeten'. See: Gerard Th. M. Lemmens, 'Die Schenkung an Ludwig XIV und die Auflösung der brasilianischen Sammlung des Johann Moritz 1652–1679', in: Sowjet der Erdkreis reicht, Kleve 1979, p. 287.

In 1679 Johan Maurits, deathly ill and in financial trouble, gave 42 paintings with Brazilian images to his cousin, Louis XIV of France. 13 of these were Eeckhout's; the rest were Frans Post's. The plasticity of Eeckhout's figurations, in contrast to Post's, filtered into the works of the Gobelin tapestry-makers of Le Brun and elsewhere.

6 Thomas Thomesen, Albert Eeckhout, Copenhagen 1938, is a very informative biography. An informativ publication with beautiful illustrations from the artist's work appeared in 1981 by the hand of Claudio do Prado Valladers.

7 Cornelis de Bie, Het Gulden Cabinet, Van de Edel Vry Schilder Const. Inhoudende den Lof van de Vermarste Schilders, Architecten, Beldthousers, ende Plaetsnyderus van dese Eeuw, Antwerpen 1661, p. 247. De Bie, notary of Lier, chose as the device for his work: 'Waerhijdt baert Nijdt' (Truth bears anger), but his book's tone is mild, 'decorated with many easy Rhymes and Sayings'. Eeckhout is recorded as a witness in the baptismal records of Recife on 8 September 1641, together with one Rebecca Post (see note 15).

8 Cornelis (Se)Bastiaanzoon Goliath, born 1610/20 in Schiedam, died 1662 in Guyana. After 1635 in Brazil. Carried the title: 'Caertmaeker van Sijn Excilie Groeff J. Maurits van Nassau' (Mapmaker to His Excl. Count J. Maurits van Nassau). He made the 1648 map at the order of the WIC. He is also reported as 'engineer' and 'builder'. In 1641, Goliath was part of the delegation Johan Maurits van Nassau sent to Lisbon to pay respects to the new king of Portugal, Dom João IV (House of Braganza). In 1647, Goliath found himself at Walcheren; by 1648, perhaps Brazil. In 1655, he served as surveyor in Walcheren. One year later he was banned for homicide after a fight in a tavern. In 1658, the Chamber of Zeeland appointed him WIC commissioner to Essequibo (nowadays British Guyana). See also Chapter I, note 52.

9 Willem Pies, Wilhelmus Piso (born 1611, Leiden; died 1678, Amsterdam). Studied in Leiden and Caen, had a practice in Amsterdam. On the instigation of Johannes De Laet, was sent to Brazil with Marcgraf in 1638. Before the debacle of Bahia, Johan Maurits suffered seriously from the 'roode loope' ('red runs'), called 'the disease of the country.' Piso's predecessor, the surgeon Willem van Milaen, had died in 1637. With De Laet, Piso attended to the publication of his and Marcgraf's commentaries (1648), and to a second publication in cooperation with Johannes Bontius (Boutius) concerning the diseases of the East Indies, De Indiae utriusque Re Naturalis et Medica Libri quattodecim.
In Brazil, Piso performed dissections on the bodies of dead slaves. Vondel dedicated a poem to Piso in honour of his departure for Brazil: 'Behoud de Reis en Willem Piso, Graaf Maurits van Nassau Doktor. Staende op zijn vertrek naar Brezijl'. Joost van den Vondel, Poesy of Verscheide Gedichten, Leeuwarden 1658, pp. 231, 232.


11 See note 9. Piso recognized the great importance of Marcgraf's posthumous scientific works and attended to their publication, despite his difficulty in deciphering Marcgraf's handwriting. Johan De Laet sponsored the publication.

12 Whitehead, see note 10, p. 425.

13 It is uncertain whether a relationship exists between syphilis and trachoma. In Brazil, however, children of syphilitic parents can be born blind or half blind, or, even if free from the disease themselves, can go blind later on. Whether Marcgraf had guessed at a relationship is unknown. In the 1960's, the Brazilian government announced measures for better sexual hygiene and disease prevention, specifically to fight trachoma. According to Gilberto Freyre's pronouncement: 'Antes de ser civilizado o Brasil foi syphilizado'. However, a recent field study by F. Hendrikske, Optic Atrophy in Suriname (Nijmegen, 1980: dissertation), concludes that there is no relationship between 'infectuous causes' (specifically, syphilis) and optic atrophy (p. 162).

It is nowhere authenticated that Marcgraf suffered from a venereal disease, a supposition arising from the promising young scholar's rapid pauperization and early death.

14 Ruy dos Santos Pereira. See 'Justification', note 12. Among other things, Piso specialized in curing ulcers, abscesses, and tumors, for which he prescribed Indian vegetable medicines. Ibid, p. 59, e.a. He distinguished among the various forms of stomach illnesses: 'Et tunc quidem fluctus variis pro diversitate partis affectae & naturae humoris vel bene vel male morati, sequuntur' (Now follow a few good or harmful types of diarrhoea, which develop in different ways). He proceeds to describe the symptoms of cholera, 'Diarrhoea simplex', and a form of chronic but not immediately fatal dysentery (Belgis Druplopo Lusitanis Pucho di tum). For all maladies, he highly recommends a remedy he discovered among the Indians, an extract of the plant and root ippecacuanna. Piso, op.cit., Lib. II, Cap. XI, 'De Ventris Fluxibus' and Cap. XII 'De Tenesmo'.
15 C.J. Wash, ‘Een Doopregister van Hollanders in Brazilië’, Het Nederlandsch Familieblad 1888, vol. 6, p. 169. Wash discovered the Baptismal Records in the Instituto Arqueológico etc. in Recife in 1886 or 1887. They were published in Het Nederlandsch Familieblad of 1888 and 1889.

Wash worked with the Brazilian historian and specialist in the Brazilian-Dutch period, Professor Dom José Hygino Duarte Pereira, who spent some time in the Netherlands and returned to his own country bearing a wealth of information Wash, Ned. Familieblad 1888, vol. 5, p. 141.


In his article in the Siegen catalogue of 1979, Lück gives the incorrect impression that Ysabella was born in Holland (op. cit. p. 71).


18 Wash, Fam. blad 1888, vol. 6, p. 170. The supposition is that Maurits himself was the father of the child. Whether the mother was Ana Pais or the daughter of the French minister Vincent Soler, also a favourite with the count in this period, is as uncertain as the supposition of Maurits’s own fatherhood.


20 Frans Post painted Olinda 18 times. See Picket I, note 30.

21 Eric Larsen attributes the composition’s elevated point of view to the influence of Descartes, who, as a friend of Constantijn Huygens, held a teaching position at the University of Harderwijk. He supposedly introduced the geometry of perspective to Holland. This would influence panorama painting, with 3-plane arrangement, clear figuration, and even the use of elevated perspective. As far as Post is concerned, such was possible, as Descartes stayed in Holland from 1628 until 1649, although his Discours de la méthode appeared in 1637. However, panorama painting stems from an older tradition and has more to do with the Italianized style. Men such as Hercules Seegaers, Jan van Goyen, etc., frequently visited the Veluwezoom, where the natural gradients of places like Doorwerth, Wageningse Berg, and the Grebbeberg made this study possible. Larsen, Catalogue raisonné, Paris, 1962, pp. 137/138.
22 Caspar van Baerle, (Barlaeus), Rerum per octennium in Brasilia, etc., Amsterdam 1647. Johan Maurits wished that the publication had been less expensive and not in Latin, so that the material would reach a wider public. Less expensive Latin (1659) and German (1680) editions appeared during his lifetime from Tobias Silberling in Kleeve, and a second German version appeared in 1684, also from Silberling. In 1923 a Dutch version by S.P. L'Honoré Naber appeared from Nijhoff, and in 1940 and 1980 two Portuguese versions followed, the latter translated by Claudio de Brandão and supplied with a forward by José António Gonsalves de Mello, published by o Prefeitura da Cidade do Recife, Secretaria de Educação e Cultura, Recife, 1980.

23 Brasil Bandecchi, Anti-Tordesilhas, São Paulo 1965; Manoel Rodrigues Ferreira, Cidade de Goiás, onde fundou a Grande Era dos Bandeirantes, São Paulo 1978, p. 20. The four figures of the Linha de Tordesilhas give a somewhat distorted image: three of them represent all of South America, while the fourth only shows present-day Brazil.

24 Matrimonial ties between the monarchies of Portugal and Spain did little to pacify the rivalry between the two nations. Claims were repeatedly made on either the Castillian throne or the trading rights on the coast of West Africa. The Treaty of Alcáçovas (1479–1480) extended the rights of Portugal, which in the strictest interpretation of the Treaty of Medina del Campo (1490–1491) had only included the Madeira, Azores, and Cape Verde Islands. Diffie and Winius, Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, p. 152.


See also Hannedea van Nederveen, 'Soldaten Brazilië vrijgesteld van dienst op Sjabbat', in: Nieuw Israelitisch Weekblad (NIW), Nov. 1985, pp. 131–140.


30 One can say that the Dutch fleet sneaked up quietly on Bahia, although the place was well defended along the sea by three forts: 'En de hier niet ontijseld om de Custe ghesien te werden soo hielent noch meer om de Zuyd ende waren den 26sten ontrent den hoec de Lagoe, welck is eenen hooghgen Bergh die over een legh landt in Zee steecth en sich van verre vertoont...' (And in order not to be untimely seen upon the Coast, they held more to the South and on the the 26th day were in the area of the Hook of Lagoe, which is a high hill that rises over a low land in the Sea and shows itself from afar ...). De Laet, I, p. 27.

31 'To beschrijven wat vorder in de Bahia sich heeft toeghedragen is meer onlustich ende verwierret, soo dat alleen kortelick sai segghen, dat naer de doodt van de Gouerneur de Heere van Dordth het daer meer onachtzaemlich ende godlooslichen heeft toeghegen' (To describe what further came about in Bahia is very disturbing and confusing, so that briefly only will it be said, that after the death of the Governor the Lord van Dordth, careless and godless things happened there), ibid., p. 31.

32 Ibid, p. 32.

33 Ibid, p. 84.

34 Ibid, p. 68 ff. A nice account that does not introduce any new material is the travel report by Johan Gregor Aldenburgk, a soldier on the journey: Reise nach Braslien (1623–1626), printed and published in Koburg, 1627; under the care of l'Honoré Naber, republished, bundled with two other travel pieces (Richshoffer and Hemmersam) by The Hague, 1930.

35 Hermann Wätjen, Das Holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien, Gotha 1931, p. 46.

36 'Den 5. kamen wir so nahe vater das land, dassz wir nicht allein die Stadt Olinda de Pharmambuco, sondern auch die zwey Castell bey dem Dorff Povo...gar eigentlich erkennen konten...'; Ambrosius Richshoffer, Reise nach Brasilien (1629–1632), Josias Städel, Straszburg 1667; (1931), p. 41. See note 34.

37 Recife and Bahia share the ostensibly playful but, at a deeper level, antagonistic relationship that often arises between two approximately equal places. The people of Recife express this with 'Bahia jokes', in which the Bahian is portrayed as simple and credulous, while in Bahia people identify the uncouth caboclo (farmer from the Nordeste) with Recife natives, whom they consider less clever, but smugly materialistic.

39 Letter from Johan Maurits to the States General, dated 29 June 1639: ‘De Wille is groot, maar de macht te kleyn’ (The Will is great, but the strength too small). ARA, Lias 5755. During this attack upon Bahia, the 19-year old brother of the count, Johann Ernest, was killed. Mollema’s comment that Johan Maurits ‘had een broertje dood’ (literally ‘had a brother dead’, an expression meaning he was very much against) on the attack on Bahia is somewhat indecent. J.C. Mollema, Geschiedenis van Nederland ter Zee, vol. 4. Amsterdam. 1942. For the rest, Mollema’s book about Portugal is well-documented, if noticeably patriotic and antagonistic towards the enemy. Apparently Dutch pride manifested itself clandestinely in this way during wartime, although the author fails to remark that in Brazil it was the Dutch who invaded and occupied the land.

40 De Laet, Iselyck Verhael, I, 85.

41 Elias Herckmans, Algemene Beschrijvinghe van de Capitania Paraíba, Recife 1639. Portuguese translation by Wellington Aguilar, annotated by Marcus Odilon Ribeiro Coutinho, João Pessoa, 1982. In Barlaeus, Johan Maurits highly values Herckmans for his general knowledge, his technical and poetic talent, his energy, and his unquestioning faith in his superiors. In 1641, Herckmans explored the interior of Brazil and in 1642 accompanied Brouwer on his expedition to Chile; when the latter died, he was able to appease the native population, which had become hostile. Through his efforts, a great number of Chillean (i.e. Indian) expressions were noted on the journey, which later became an integral inclusion in Barlaeus (see note 22). Aside from the discovery of a shorter sea route around Tierra del Fuego (Brouwers Straits), this knowledge was the only profit from the Chillean expedition. In Paraíba he served as ‘director’ of the capitanía from 1634 on. His report is extraordinary for its varied information. In the Baptismal Register, he is mentioned several times as a witness. See among others, Barlaeus, Portuguese translation, p. 77. Herckmans is also known for his 1634 publication Der zeevaert lof, handelende vande gedenckwaerdigheste zeevaerden met de daeraen klevende op- en onderganghen der voornaemste heerschappijen der gantscher wereld (In praise of navigation, dealings of the most memorable navigators with the adherent rise and fall of the most prominent sovereignties of the entire world). He had high-level contacts, including men like Caspar van Baerle and Constantijn Huygens. Some of the sugar plantations described in the Paraíban account are still in use today. ARA, OWIC box 46.

42 The ‘Liste du Mobilier de la Couronne’ of the French monarch, drawn in 1688, includes the gift of 42 paintings from Johan Maurits to Louis XIV. This list identifies the locations for a few of the Frans Post scenes, among others Tamaricá (Itamaracá), Porto Calvo, and Serinhaém.
Groundwork

Four pickets

3.1 PICKET 1

A SHORT PRIOR HISTORY OF RECIFE AND OLINDA

Recife first acquired municipal rights in 1709, assuming the official status of *vila*. It had already been planned as a city in the 17th century, from 1631 to 1644 (1). From a small village of only 200 residences and warehouses, literally and figuratively in the shadow of Olinda, it became a notable place commanding the entire delta formed by the Capibaribe, Beberibe and Afogados rivers. In pre-Dutch times it had had the status of a *freguesia* (2), but at the time the Dutch appeared on the horizon, this was of little importance. The autochthonous population lived by fishing, venturing miles out to sea on their light rafts, *jangadas*. Besides the buildings noted above, Recife had a meeting hall for soldiers and sailors, a customs quarter, and a Jesuit church and school by 1630. The Portuguese, who owned the warehouses, preferred to live elegantly in Olinda. The very same year of the Dutch occupation, ‘Povo do Recife’ (3), or as it was often called in old writings, ‘het Reciff’, became the seat of the Brazilian government, the ‘Politieke Raad’ (Political Council). Further information about the Politieke Raad will appear in the section concerning the formation of the WIC (4). Recife lay on the end of a spit of land that ran parallel to the coast south from Olinda. The sea undulated to the left, and to the right streamed the Beberibe, a broad river whose source lay on the border between the states of Pernambuco, Piauí, and Paraíba. According to a 17th-century interpretation the name Recife supposedly came from the Latin root *recipere* (to receive) meaning ‘a safe bay’. However, this idea seems a little far-fetched following the mode for latinisation of that time. The more plausible explanation is that, as the term ‘*recife*’ was commonly used for ‘coral reef’, the name refers to the small, immovable strip of reef that partially separated Recife from the open sea (5).

Recife provided ships with a good harbour, if they weren’t too heavily loaded and the skipper knew how to steer a middle course between the sandbanks and avoid the crags hidden beneath the water. Larger ships, however, were forced to remain beyond the banks in the so-called ‘*Poco*’ (deep pool).

The isthmus, which accommodated the harbour quarter, markets, a church, public buildings, residences, stores, walls, and a few other defence works, did not have much room remaining for houses. In 1637, a housing shortage developed. A great island lay on the other side of the Beberibe river, near the mouth of the Capibaribe. The island’s shape changed with the floods. The Dutch built their forts on the highest-lying parts, and also took over the few remaining Portuguese colonial residences, a cloister, and even a fisherman’s hut. Whatever lay high up was at least safe from the water (6).

In the period of Johan Maurits van Nassau’s rule (de facto 1637–1644; the months left in 1638, the year of his appointment, were taken up with preparations and the voyage), Mauritssstad and its expansion, Nieuw–Mauritsstad were built here.
Seven years after the conquest, the West India Company consolidated its plans to solidify the military occupation administratively by establishing a governorship over the area. The main purpose was not primarily missionary, although this may have played a role, and some historians have emphasized this angle (7). The true motive of the WIC was to remove, as quickly as possible, sugar, hard wood, dye-wood, and other lucrative wares from the area and trade these for as much profit as possible.

At the lowest possible costs.

Recife served as a buffer in this scheme. But as far as seriously organized immigration and long-term investments such as urban planning, welfare, or even cultural facilities: no one allowed for these things. It was bad enough that such intensive military provisions were necessary to win and defend the area, even with contractual help from the State (8).

In 1644, Johan De Laet, in his annual review covering the WIC's 14-year-old active policy, summarized up the events damaging to the Spanish king and advantageous to the Dutch Republic and the WIC, figuring the expenses and profits from 1622 to 1636 according to the following categories (9):

1. Ships and yachts (both constructed and purchased) recruited in the Netherlands, crew, ship's company, military equipment for the crew, food and water, and wages;
2. List of ships, barks, and caravels captured from the enemy and put out of action;
3. List of the same, sold for profit;
4. Estimate of the damage done to the enemy not directly profitable to the Company;
5. Damage suffered by the king of Spain through the necessary strengthening of fortifications and quartering of the fleets during the winter, a reaction to the WIC threat on the high seas.

De Laet arrives at a total of 118,283,166 guilders damage suffered by the 'machtigen ende onversoeneijken Vyandt' (the mighty and irreconciliable Enemy), which no doubt gave the State a feeling of 'nooddaechelijk en groote overlichtinghe' (necessary and great relief), 'waart hadde de Koningh van Spagnien dese Sijne Schatten onverhindert t'huys ghekreghen, het soude beter met sijne finantien hebben ghestaen' (because if the king of Spain had gotten these His Treasures unhindered, his finances would have been in a better state), and, as De Laet adds with malicious glee, 'sijne Onderdanen daer door bequamer geworden om de ordinarie en extraordinarie lasten te draghen' (his Subjects would have been better able to manage ordinary and extraordinary problems) (10).

At the end of this Kort Verhael (Short Account), De Laet draws attention specifically to Brazil:

'Ende op dat 't selve hier sommertijd aen-roeren, soo bevinde, dat sints Jaere 1637 tot het begin van dit lopende Jaer 1644 uyt Brasil hier te Lande zijn aen-ghebracht suycchern voor de Compagnie'
(And to touch briefly upon this, it is found that since the Year 1637 to the beginning of this current Year 1644, the Company has brought sugars from Brazil to our country). He then lists sugars of different sorts and weights, and continues: 'beloopen ende somme 20.303.478 gulden, daer de Compagnie haar recognitien ende averijen heeft van ghenoooten' (amounting to a sum of 20,303,478 guilders, from which the Company enjoyed her recognition and claims (11).

27
'Om dese gheconquesteerde Landen van Brasil tot voorder nut van dese Landen ende in een florissanten Staet te brengen, is insonderheyt noodich dat de selve Landen wel worden bevloekert met Lieden die haren arbeyt ende industrie willen aan-wenden om dese Landen te cultiveren' (In order to make further use of these conquered Lands of Brazil and bring them into a flourishing State, it is especially necessary that these same Lands are populated with Men who wish to lend their labour and industry to the cultivation of these Lands) (12).

This was a powerful plea on the part of the WIC itself, but made in the same year that the company dismissed Johan Maurits van Nassau, upon his own request. He had experienced an increasingly serious difference of opinion with the Heren XIX concerning insufficient military occupation and soldiery, lack of visionary planning, and haggling over the expenditures of the new city. Recife was an important strategic and social counter-weight to Portuguese Bahia in 1644. The small fishing village had become a city of trade. Olinda had been pushed into the background, where it would remain until today.

'Olinda de Pernambuco' was the first capital of Pernambuco. A lovely place, it was built upon a number of hills rising up from the coast. The origin of the name is attributed to Duarte Coelho, the first governor of the capitania Pernambuco. From his base of operations in Garassú, a settlement he founded upon his arrival in Pernambuco (1534), he reconnoitered an appropriate place to build a city, and landing upon the hills along the coast, he is said to have cried out 'O...linda'!!! (How beautiful!). In 1580, the same year that the Portuguese monarchy of the House of Aviz expired and Portugal and all her colonies fell under Spanish authority, Olinda de Pernambuco had 700 houses and many public and ecclesiastical buildings. Twenty sugar plantations also lay in the area. Almost a century after its founding in 1538, Olinda had seven churches, five cloisters, many grand residences and public buildings, and a population of 3000 people.

2000 of these were Portuguese; the rest consisted of Negro slaves and European and native soldiers.

The Dutch would find no rich booty in the city this time. Previously, in Bahia, the governor had attempted to prevent an eventual flight by forbidding the inhabitants to remove their possessions from the city. His orders came to nothing, and now, six years later, the citizens took everything transportable 'back to Garassú' (13). Still, the capture was good news; in 1652, two years before the ultimate surrender of Dutch Brazil to Portugal, Commelin still considered it a key event in his biography about Stadtholder Frederik Hendrik (14).

The German soldier in the service of the WIC, Ambrosius Richshoffen, experienced the conquest from beginning to end and recorded the episode in his journal. His eyewitness report is lively and well-informed about the war manoeuvres of both sides (15).
Although well treated, the Portuguese priest Father Manoel Calado do Salvador was understandably less pleased about the Dutch invasion. He was a scholarly man with an amiable disposition, sometimes dubbed 'Manoel (or Padre) dos Oculos' (16) because of his glasses, perhaps the only ones in Brazil at the time. The Dutch allowed him great freedom of movement during their government. Johan Maurits van Nassau received him personally and requested him to perform Mass for Portuguese friends in Maurits's palace (Huis Vrijburgh), albeit behind locked doors (17). Calado's findings, which he wrote during the Dutch rule, were published in Lisbon in 1648 under the title O Valeroso Lucideno e Triunfo da Liberdade (18). In his account, he moralizes about the situation in Olinda, anno 1630:

'In the *vi[a de Olinda, Cabeç[a da grande capitania Pernambuco* and in the greatest section of the North before the Dutch took possession, the Justice of the Almighty came down as it always does upon such places.... This place was: *a mais delicioso, próspera, abundante*, and I am not mistaken in saying *a mais rica* of all the overseas territories of the Throne.... It possessed gold and silver in unknown quantity; so much sugar that there weren’t enough ships to transport it, while each day whole fleets of ships, barks, and caravels entered the harbour.... The refined provisions, the liqueurs, everything was just like in the fatherland.... The exteriors and furnishings of the homes were luxurious: he who did not eat off silver was considered one of the poor.... The ladies showed themselves in costly garments and adornments. They were scarcely satisfied with the finest material such as velours, silk and velvet, brocade and lace. They were draped in jewels to such a degree that pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds seemed to rain from their heads, necks, and arms.... The men walked about in the latest fashionable armor with swords and cutlasses. Every banquet, a daily event, was enlivened by skirmishes (*escaramuças*), and considering all that took place in this land, it seemed to be a spot of earthly paradise...' (19).

Sin is destined to invade in such an atmosphere, and yes, the Cristãos-Novos, the converted Jews that made up the greatest portion of the population, fell back into the Old Rites.

*Peccavit Isreal.* The Inquisition made an occasional appearance, but without great effect. Sodom and Gomorrah continued in unhindered wantonness and opulence, prompting the Dominican Padre Antônio Rosa to visit Pernambuco in the name of the Holy See. He preached from the pulpit:

'There is only a one-letter difference between Olinda and [H]Olanda. If the city of Olinda should fall into Dutch hands, the Hollanders would burn it to the ground in very few days; for where earthly justice fails, heaven must intervene' (20).

'And as this priest threatened, so it shortly thereafter occurred', added Calado resignedly (21).
In contrast to the easy capture of Olinda, the commander of the Dutch troops, Diederich van Waerdenburgh, needed two weeks to occupy Recife. Before he accomplished this, the Portuguese commander, Matias d’Alburquerque, set fire to the warehouses of sugar, brazilwood, tobacco, furs, and conserved fruits, as well as all ships in the harbour, so that no valuable booty would fall to the Dutch. Then he retreated to an encampment, ‘Arraial do Bom Jesus’, not five miles from Recife. From here, he harassed the invasores with nightly saillies, while the Dutch soldiers found it almost impossible to seek food and firewood during the day without casualties. The Portuguese were aided by Indian troops armed with bows and arrows, who inflicted a great deal of damage on the wood-chopping, hunting soldiers of the WIC.

Van Waerdenburgh decided to give the enemy some of their own medicine. He outfitted a few hundred Negro slaves left behind in Olinda with bows and arrows, shovels, axes, clubs and ‘other weapons of this sort’. In the rainy season, wet gunpowder made firearms more of a handicap than an advantage in the morass of the delta. Primitive weapons were more successful in fighting back (22). The guerilla-war did not let up, however. The Portuguese advanced at times to within Olinda and Recife, causing much carnage. The attackers usually escaped undetected into the hilly landscape with its confusing network of roads.

Van Waerdenburgh requested Holland to send, as quickly as possible, reinforcements and material to build defences. The most important defence works were: Fort Trotsch den duivel (Despite the devil) or Vijfhoek (Pentagon), later named Fort Frederik Hendrik; redoubt Ernestus; Fort De Bruin; Fort Kijk in de pot (Look in the pot, i.e., harbour), later called Fort Waerdenburgh or Driehoek (Triangle); the second Fort Kijk in de pot; and Fort Prins Willem. A Portuguese fort lay upon the reef (‘the Sea–Castle’, Forte do Picaô), and between Recife and Olinda lay Forte São Jorge. Fort Oranje rose upon the island Itamaracá, two miles off the coast north of Olinda (23).

Still, these standard, strategic interventions could not break the strength of the guerillas, and this ultimately lead to the destruction of Olinda.

The Directors and representatives of the WIC intended to maintain Olinda as their center of strategic and economic policy. However, by 1630, Van Waerdenburgh had already written to the Heren XIX that Recife could easily be strengthened for defence. At the same time, Lieutenant-Colonel Adolf van der Els sent a letter, saying that Recife and Antônio Vaz, an island lying between Recife and the mainland, were both good places to live, and that he thought everyone who arrived in Brazil from Holland would prefer these to Olinda (24).

These suggestions fell on deaf ears in Holland. Even Stadtholder Frederik Hendrik, when consulted, was of the opinion that Olinda should be adequately reinforced and, coûte que coûte, remain occupied. Engineers in Pernambuco were of a different opinion; they felt that strengthening Olinda would only be effective if defences could be built from stone. This sort of project would cost a great deal: all material would have to be imported, since neither stone nor caïk occurred in the muddy, clay-lined delta. The policy-makers present
in Pernambuco abandoned the project. 'The decision not to reinforce Olinda gave them a motive to leave the city', Gonsalves de Mello says (25).

The decision to settle accounts with Olinda for good resulted, however, in day and night, continuous guerilla war. The Portuguese commander, Matias d'Albuquerque, was known to be far more skilled in guerilla warfare than in leading troops on an open battle field. He commanded the Portuguese troops from 1630 to 1635; his brother, Jorge Duarte d'Albuquerque, was, as a direct descendent of Duarte Coelho, the real governor of Pernambuco, but he married a Spanish aristocratic lady and chose to remain at the Madrid Court. 'Matias, who always had clean hands [incorruptible], did not lie in hammocks [was not lazy], knew how to keep the peace among the heterogeneous army troops, which were made up of characters as naturally explosive as exist: Castillians, Portuguese, Italians, Mammelukes, Indians, and Negroes' (26). His guerilla war threatened the city, hindered work on the plantations, and interrupted the transport of sugar and other goods to the coast. The Dutch did not have a suitable answer: the Arraial was unconquerable (27).

Fig. 3
Panorama of the ruins of Olinda. Frans Post, canvas 80 x 110 cms. Thyssen-Bornemisza, nr. 253A.
On 17 November 1631, the dismantling of Olinda began. The government had retreated to Recife two months before. The hard stone of the larger buildings, imported from Portugal and India and other materials, were brought to Recife and stored there. After one week, all the remaining inhabitants were ordered to leave the city, and the surviving churches, cloisters, and buildings, as well as all simpler residences of local clay and wood, were set on fire. The decision to carry out this desperate act took place against the express wishes and advice of Stadtholder Frederik Hendrik (28). Mollema argues, incorrectly, that the measure was hasty or compelled by the heavy sea battle near Bahia between Don Antonio d'Oquendo and Admiral—General Adriaen Pater. The latter went down with his ship, the Prins Willem (29). After this drawn battle, the Portuguese did have an opportunity to land troops in Porto Calvo, to the south of Recife. But d'Oquendo set sail for the West Indies to protect a treasure fleet, and, in any case, the Spanish fleet suffered greater damage than the Dutch.

The Portuguese realized they could not drive the Dutch from Recife and Olinda by attacking from the sea. So they changed their tack and reinforced the Arraial, attempting to ensure their water and food supply along roads to Itamaracá island and the south. This treacherous and unassailable position, now occupied by a wiser and well-equipped enemy, afforded the Dutch no opportunity to improve the safety of their situation; consequently, six years later, Frans Post was able to begin his cycle of 18 paintings of the ruins of Olinda (30).

The razing of the prominent place was generally considered a barbarous act. It is called the 'Tempo dos Framengos' (Time of the Breakers); the Portuguese penchant for interchanging 'r' and 'l' provides a welcome wordplay here (31). Olinda, because of the beauty and size of its churches, was effectively if not officially considered the clerical seat of Brazil. 'O Incêndio de Olinda', intended as a cold-blooded answer to the guerillas, also inflamed feelings and fanned the antagonism between the Roman Catholics and the 'Heretics'. The guerillas were henceforth spiritually supported by Bahia and in due time inspired by the thundering of no less than the Bishop himself, Padre Antônio Vieira S.J. The fire of heaven against the fire of earth: that is an eternal task.

NOTES

1 Although included in the glossary, the residential categories treated in this book are more broadly defined below:

1 *povo, povoação* = literally: a people; hamlet or borough
2 *aldeia* = village, small village, often refers to native settlements
3 *vila, villa* = city or town with a rural character, also used for larger places
4 *cidade* = city, fortified city with a well-knit community based on trade and industry
5 *freguesia* = old name for districts. In colonial times, the center might be a *povo* or an *aldeia*, when only a single central building served for administration and periodic jurisdiction.
In earlier times, the status of vila(l)a was accorded to settlements that did not develop from fortifications. Although the source is somewhat unclear, both Bahia and Olinda were categorized as vilas. The title was honorary; the more appropriate word for both was still cidade.

2 See note 1.

3 Ibid; Richshoffer, Reise nach Brasilien 1629–1630, p. 41. Richshoffer dates according to the Julian calendar, which runs approximately 10 days behind the Gregorian calendar. After 1582, the Gregorian calendar was used in Holland, Zeeland, and, consequently, Brazil. Strasbourg, Richshoffer’s birthplace, first used it in 1672. Information from L’Honoré Naber, the editor of the 1930 publication of Richshoffer’s journal, ibid.

4 Picket 3.3, note 20. f.f.

5 recife or arrecife = coral reef. The theory concerning recipere is reported by Johan Nieuhoff: ‘Eenigen houden het woort Reciffo voor een gebroken Latijnsch woort, en leggen het Ontfangen uit: want recipere, van waar receptus en het gebroken woort Reciffo zou komen, bediet ontfangen. Te weten, het zou hierom Reciffo genoemt zijn, dewijl de schepen tusschen het steenigh en zandigh Reciff ontfangen worden om de lasten en koopmansschappen t’ontfangen en laden’.

(Some take the word Reciffo for a broken Latin word, and explain it as 'Receive'; for recipere, from which receptus and the broken word Reciffo is thought to come, means received. Namely, it is thought to be named Reciffo, because the ships are received between the stoney and sandy Reef in order to load and unload their cargo and trade) Nieuhoff, Gedenkwaerdige Zee- en Lantreize 1682, p. 15. Dr. B.N. Teensma kindly informed me about the ethymological origin of the arabic word ar-raçif or rasif, dike/paved road.

6 The small fort in the fisherman’s house was known to both Dutch and Portuguese as the ‘Casa’ or ‘Forte Taborda’, named for its previous owner, Manoel Taborda.

7 Kunst, Recht, Commercie en Koloniaalisme in West-Indië, De Walburg Pers, Zutphen, p. 81.

8 See 3.3, Picket III, note 2.


10 Ibid, p. 293

11 Ibid, p. 298

12 Ibid, p. 297
13 Nieuhof: ‘Het vliek Garassu is veel meer een dorp dan een
stedek en leidt verder van ‘t strant tegenover het eilant Itamarika,
yvf mylen van Olinda, en een ene kleine riviere, Garassu. Het wiert
by ouds door Portugesen van weinigh middelen bewoont, die sich
met handwerken erneuerden. Maar na de’ozen Olinda verover-
hadden, trokken ook rijke luiden naar Garassu. D’ozen veroverden
dese plaetse des jaers zestienhondert dri en dertig in Bloeimaent’.
(The borough Garassú is much more a village than a town and
lies farther from the beach across from the island Itamarika, five
miles from Olinda, on a small river, Garassú. Previously it was the abode
of Portuguese of little means, who supported themselves with
handwork. But after we captured Olinda, the rich also went to
Garassu. We conquered this place in the year sixteen-hundred and
thirty-three in the Blossoming-month [May].) Ibid., 13.
Nowadays the place is called Igaraçu. ‘T is Tupi for ‘water’. All such
names (for example, I-tamaracá) concern places lying close to
water. Tupi is spoken by the Tapuya Indians and their many related
sub-tribes.

14 Isaac Commelin, Fredrick Hendrick van Nassau Prince van
Oragnien Zyn leven en Bedryf, 1652, p. 90. f.f.
N.B. The maps concerning Brazilian areas in this book are printed
in mirror-image. The map showing the capture of Olinda and Recife
in 1630 is a mirror-image of Claes Jansz. Visser’s map, found in the
Atlas van Stolk collection.

15 Richshoffer, Reise nach Brasilien 1629–1632, see note 3.

The Portuguese publication of this journal (Recife 1972) includes a
translation of another contemporary report by minister Johannes
Baers, ‘Olinda Conquistada’ (Olinda Conquered), which was printed
and published in Amsterdam the same year by Hendrick
Laurenszoon, Boekhandelaar (Bookmerchant) Op ‘t Water. Ds.
Baers laces his experiences with pathetic references to classical
writers and generals, as was customary at the time.

16 Padre Manuel Calado, also called ‘Pe. Manuel do Salvador’, came
from Bahia. According to his somewhat chauvinistic vision, the
‘Triunfo’ of Portugal began immediately after the fall of Olinda; the
Portuguese continued to fight the Dutch and ultimately, 24 years
later, their resistance led to the surrender of Recife. Despite this
attitude, Calado pays continuous tribute to ‘O Conde de Nassau
João Mauricio’ for his policies and performance. I have used the
1942 Recife publication of O Valeroso Lucideno.


18 See note 16. ‘O assunto é de Olinda libertada
Do tirano juror dos Holandeses’
(‘The subject is... quite clear, I would think).

19 Ibid, pp. 18–19.

20 Ibid, pp. 20–21.
21 Ibid, p. 21.

22 Richshoffer, pp. 78, 79.

23 See Picket II, Fortifications, note 25 f.f.

24 Adolf van der Els, letter to the Chamber of Zeeland, 3 April 1630, Mello Flamengos, 49. In the ARA, I found in the OWIC Map 49 two letters from Van der Els. One, dated 3 April 1630 did not contain the information as Mello mentions. The other one was not complete and the famous passage is missing here too.

25 Mello, Flamengos, p. 47.


27 This cost the Hollanders dearly, both militarily and economically. A comparison of the arobas sugar in 1631 and in 1635, one year after Arraial de Bom Jesus finally fell, speaks volumes: 16,775 against 73,373 arobas (1 aroba = approx. 15 kilo). Borrowed from Hermann Wätjen, Das Holländische Kolonial Reich, Gotha 1921, p. 46.

28 Mello, Flamengos, p. 45. Mello quotes two letters from the Heren XIX, one to the Politieke Raad (Political Council) and one to Commander Van Waerdenburgh, dated 17 June 1630. I was not able to trace these letters in the ARA.

29 Mollema, Geschiedenis, p. 270. Mollema also mentions here the death of Admiral Pater, ‘who held himself above water for some time by hanging on to a rope before the bow, but finally and regretfully drowned’. Calado’s version runs eloquently about ‘o General um valeroso e bravo Holandes’, who, seeing his ship set in flames, wrapped himself in the ‘estandarte da Holanda, dizendo: Muy gran soldado es Don Antonio de Oquendo’! Having given this cry, he plunged himself into the sea to avoid being taken prisoner. Calado, I, pp. 30–31.

30 Joaquim de Sousa–Leão, Frans Post, 1973, cat. nrs.: 36, 37, 41, 43, 46, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 86, 133, 135, 140.

3.2 PICKET 2

FORMATION AND ORGANIZATION OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY

Fig. 4
Emblem of the Chartered West India Company: GWC (Geostroyeerde West Indische Compagnie). ARA.

The formation of the Geostroyeerde West Indische Compagnie (Chartered West India Company, WIC, 1621) is logically always connected and compared to that of the Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (United East India Company, VOC, 1602). Almost a generation of trade separates the founding dates, but the two companies were established with the same principle: the gathering of similar interests into one chartered organization. Their difference lies in that the WIC was tied more closely to the political aspirations of the States General than the VOC ever was.

The States General first considered forming the WIC in 1606. Men like Usselinx (1), De Laet (2), Jan Huysgen van Linschoten (3), and many other travelers, merchants, directors, geographers, and chroniclers---sometimes a single person fulfilled all these functions; refer to Zo wijd de Wereld strekt, cat., 1979 Mauritshuis, for the expression 'mercator sapientes' (4)---were interested in coordinating trade and exploring Asia, Africa, and America. The war with Spain, however, meant that international trade was inseparably bound to political and strategic consequences. In fact, politics and strategy formed the conditions underlying trade; piracy and privateering
against enemy ships could be an important source of income and a means of invading enemy territories.

The 12-Years Truce (1609–1621) delayed the establishment of the projected company. That its formation (3 June 1621) took place just a few months (9 April 1621) after the Truce ended, under the auspices of the Republic of the United Seven Provinces, a union recognized by other nations, indicates that the formation resulted directly from the truce’s termination (read: Johan van Oldebarneveldt) (5).

The new status of the Republic may have played a role in the relationship between the States General and the WIC. The government envisaged the new company as leverage in establishing overseas territories, a colonial empire across the Atlantic Ocean, ‘Nieuw–Nederland’. On its program were the coast of North America between Hudson Bay and the Delaware (37 1/2° – 41 1/2°N), the islands and coastal areas of the Caribbean (the Kraal, Curaçao, and the Wild Coast), and Brazil.

Article Five of the Charter (6) grants the Company: ‘Ende also totte plantinge, versteeringinge ende defensie van desen handel oock noodich sal syn eenich Crychvolck mede te nemen, Sullen wy naer de constitutie vant Landt, ende gelegentheyt van saecken de voorszegde Compagnie voorsien met soodanich volck van oorloge, van Commandement, ende van fortificatien, als noodich sal wesen, mits dat die by de Compagnie sullen werden betaelt ende onderhouden’.

(And if it is found necessary to take along Soldiery to defend plantations, investments, and trade, we Shall, according to the constitution of the Land and as the opportunity arises, supply the above-named Company with such soldiers, Commanders, and fortifications as are necessary, provided that they shall be maintained and paid by the Company) (7).

Articles six, seven, and eight relate to the ‘saecken van oorlog’ (affairs of war), stating that government crews entering the service of the Company were expected to recognize the authority of the Company, while the States General promised not to use any of the WIC ships, artillery, or ammunition without the Company’s permission (8).

Although the WIC was responsible for soldiery and further maintenance, in case of need the States General guaranteed good progress in the national interest. Note Article XLII: ‘Ende ingevalle soude mogen gebeuren, dat de landen in hare lasten merckelyck souden mogen worden verlicht, ende dat dese Compagnie in swaere lasten van de Oorloge soude commen te vervallen, Soo hebben wy beloof ende beloven mits desen, de voorszegde subsidie sulxte te vermeerderen, als den Staet vanden Lande sal mogen byden, ende die saecken van de Compagnie sullen commen te vereysschen.’

(And if it should happen, that the Nation is considerably eased in her debts, and the Company falls into heavy debt due to War, we have So promised and do promise to increase the above-named subsidy as the Government shall be able to profit from the Land and as the situation of the Company arises) (9).

Article XXXIX gives the ‘above-named subsidy’ as one million guilders:
'Hebben voorts belooft, ende beloven mits desen, dat wy dese Compagnie tegens eenen vergelijkjck sullen maintener ende defenderen in de uyte Zeevaert ende Traffique, Ende ten dien [fine] deselve te hulpe commen met een somme van thien honderd duysent guldens, te betalen in vyff Jaeren, daervan de eerste twee honderd duysent guldens sullen werden gefurneert, soo haest den eersten termyn byde Participanten sal wesen opgebracht....'

(Having promised, and with this promising, to maintain and defend this Company to an equal degree in open Sea passage and Traffic, and to aid the same with a sum of one million guilders, to be paid over five Years, the first two hundred thousand guilders to be funded as soon as the first installment is realized by the Participants...) (10).

In the remainder of this Article, the States General declares itself an interested party by reason of this contribution:

'Weloverstaende, dat wy mette helft vande voorszede thien honderd duysent guldens sullen genieten ende dragen Winst ende Risico, Gelyck alle andere Participanten in dese Compagnie genieten ende draegen sullen'.

(It is so, that with the half of the above-named one million guilders, we will enjoy and bear all Profits and Risks Equally with all other Participants in this Company) (11).

The money for this subsidy was appropriated from the Provincial Exchequer: in essence all citizens of the Netherlands were participants in the company!

Article XL touches upon the States' contribution of warships, artillery, munitions, and rigging: sixteen warships of at least 150 tons and 'welbeseylde' (fitted with good sails) yachts. The company was responsible for the maintenance and pay of the admiral, who was appointed by the States (12).

Beyond the subsidy and the promise in Article XLI, the company was thus completely thrown back upon its own resources. The relevant Articles clearly refer to a situation of war, if one can so define the defence of sea passage and the possession or conquest of new trade possibilities.

The WIC was also responsible for the construction of fortifications (Art. II and III) (13). Concerning the creation of other trade conditions, the Charter does nothing more than grant the Company permission to do so:

'...Voorts populatie van vruchtbaere ende onbewoonde quarteren mogen bevorderen, ende alles doen dat den dienst der Landen, praft, ende vermeerderinge van den handel sal vereysschen, ende sullen die vande Compagnie ons successevelyck communiceren, ende overleveren soodanighe Contracten, ende Alliantien, als gy met de voorszede Prinzen ende Natien sullen hebben gemaect, mitsgaders de gelegenheyt van de Forteressen, verseeckertheden, ende populatien by henlyyen ter handen genomen.'

(...To promote further population of fertile and unsettled quarters, and do all that arises in the service of Country, profit and the increase of trade, the Company will communicate successively to us, and deliver to us such Contracts, and Alliances, as they have made with the above-mentioned Princes and Nations, together with the situation of the Fortresses, the assurances, and the population taken in hand by its people) (Art. III) (14).
Should the Company elect a 'Gouverneur Generael' to manage its territory, the States would have to approve the appointment and the position would fall under the authority of both the States and the Company (Art. III) (15).

The state found itself directly interfering in all the details of a concern primarily organized to promote the financial interests of private business. It justifiably suspected that the enterprise would end up at war with Spain, with the Spanish territories at stake. No doubt trade interests were served by the government's military and financial support. Yet this support was clearly too one-sided and therefore much too limited, causing the Company fatal damage in its venture. The history of the Netherlands, Brazil, and New Netherlands would have been quite different if the state had granted the Company more military assistance and controlled the participants' visible profits, thereby balancing the ambiguous situation between private and state interests.

The WIC in the Netherlands was organized as follows:
There were 74 Directors. 19 of these were the general members—the Heren XIX. Seven main regions participated in principle: Amsterdam, Zeeland, the Maas quarter (made up of Rotterdam/Dordrecht/Delft), the Northern quarter (made up of North Holland/West Friesland), Utrecht, Gelderland, and the Friesland/Groningen region. These main regions formed five Chambers with the following number of members:

- Chamber of Amsterdam: 8 members
- Chamber of Zeeland (Middelburg/Vlissingen/Veere): 4 members
- Chamber of the Maze: 2 members
- Chamber of the Northern quarter: 2 members
- Chamber of Friesland including 'Stad en Ommeland' (City and Environ, i.e. Groningen): 2 members.

The representatives from Utrecht and Gelderland participated in the Chamber of Amsterdam; representatives from Leiden also sat in this Chamber (16).

The 19th member was chosen from the States General: 'Welverstaende dat den negenthiende persoon, ofte soo veel meer als wy teckers sullen goet vinden, by ons sal werden gedeputeert, omme inde voorszegde vergaderinge de saecken van de Compaignie ten besten helpen dirigeren'.

(It is so that the nineteenth person, or as many more as we in each case approve, will be deputized by us and help direct the affairs of the Company in the above-mentioned meetings) (17).

The failure of the WIC to consolidate its domain lay not only in the limited exertions of government on behalf of the organization, which was in essence required to act in affairs of state beyond its capacities and interests, but also in the jealousy existing between the Chambers. The initial problem was Amsterdam’s dominance, which caused frequent dissension with the other Chambers. Zeeland showed the greatest antagonism. A new situation arose six years before the Peace of Munster, when trade with Portugal, independent again after 60 years, blossomed, to the advantage of the free trade, especially the free merchant community in Amsterdam. Thanks in part to the chauvinistic mayors of Amsterdam, the brothers Andries and Cornelis Bicker, the fleet out-fitted in 1647 to combat the increasingly rebellious Portuguese was much too weak (18).
In 1647, twenty-five years after its effective beginning, the WIC's licence was renewed. The surrender of Brazil in 1654, however, changed the Company's position completely. The renewal expired in 1672, and two years later, a new charter was published. Although a number of Articles were maintained, the new charter definitely finished the WIC in its old form. It atavistically preserved the stipulations on 'the possibilities to close treaties with foreign nobles, concerning soldiery, which the States General will cover' (19). But the new WIC was unfit to attend to matters of war and thenceforth dragged itself along administratively and commercially. In 1674 (the Second Peace of Westminster), it lost New Netherlands, with New Amsterdam; in 1678 in the Peace of Nijmegen, it lost a great section of Suriname to the French, and French Guyana was born. Parts of the West African coast and Tobago also went to France. The New WIC, with the leftovers of what could have been -- and for 24 years disputedly was -- a world empire, survived the renewals of 1700, 1730, and even 1762. A second attempt in 1714 to join forces with the VOC (the first in 1647) failed through the latter's incomprehensible reservations. The French Revolution must have been the coup de grâce of the organization.

The organization of the WIC in Brazil.

After the capture of Brazil in 1630, the so-called 'Politieke Raad' (Political Council) was appointed as the local authority. It consisted of representatives from the military command and the Heren XIX in the Netherlands.

Admiral Servatius Carpentier, Mr. Jehan de Bruyne, Philips Serooskerken (Chamber of Zeeland), and Horatio Calandrin made up the first Politieke Raad. The council was inducted on 14 March 1630 and chose Olinda for its seat. It moved to Recife on 12 September, approximately 2 1/2 months before the decision to destroy Olinda (20).

'Om aidaer het opperste ghebiet te aenweerden' (In order to take supreme command of the territory), Matthijs van Ceulen (Chamber of Amsterdam), and Johan (Jehan) Gijsselingh (Chamber of Zeeland) were sent to Recife in 1632 (21). Van Ceulen and Gijsselingh remained for two years, but in 1636 they returned with Johan Maurits van Nassau, this time as members of the 'Hoge Raad' (High Council). They served in this office, together with Hendrik Hamel and Dirck Codde van den Burgh, until 1644 (22).

One of the first Politieke Raden was Ippo Eyssens, who was killed in 1636 in a raid upon a fazenda (23). His replacement was the famous Elias Herckmans, called a 'poeta avontureiro' by the Brazilian historian Wellington Aguiar (24). Herckmans soon entered the circle of friends surrounding Johan Maurits van Nassau. After Johan Maurits left in 1644, authority fell into the hands of the three Hoge Raden, Hendrick Hamel, Dirck Codde van den Burg, and Adriaen van Bullestraten, or, as Mollema declares them, 'a merchant, a goldsmith and a carpenter' (25).

Later Hoge, even 'Supreme' Raden included: Pieter Bas (26), Maarten Trouw (who died in 1645 just one week after his arrival), Hendrick Haecks (27), Gijsbert de With, Michiel van Goch, and Wouter van Schoonburgh (Schonenborch) (28). The names, like divergent faits et gestes, of Politieke Raden before the establishment
of the government include Cornelis Adriaensz, Jongknecht, Jacob Stachouwer, Willem Schott, Hendrik Schilt and Balthazar Wijntgens (29). The 1654 surrender was arranged by Van Schoonenburgh, Haecx, and De With, and the military men Von Schkoppe and Willem van de Wal.

Besides the *Politieke*, later *Hoge Raad*, whose number changed from five to three, Dutch Brazil also recognized a two-man ‘*Justitieële Raad*’ (Judicial Council). Its members were usually chosen from among the members of the *Politieke Raad* or *Hoge Raad.* Admiral Johannes van Walbeeck for many years held the office of assessor, which also included the function of secretary. He also served in the *Politieke Raad* from 1630–1634. Together with Lieutenant-Colonel Pierre le Grand, he was ordered to capture the West Indies islands, including Curaçao, in 1634 (30).

The Director’s position was bound by a great number of unmistakeable rules concerning his obligations towards capital investment and his accountability for policy, participation, responsibilities, accounts, and meetings. These were ‘*solemnelyck (te) belooven ende sweeren*’ (to be solemnly promised and sworn) (31). For his efforts, he enjoyed a 1% provision from the ‘*uytreyse, ende van de retouren*’ (departures and from the returns), and 1/3% of the (African) gold and silver (32). The Director paid the salaries of the accountants and bankers from his own provision.

A condition of sanction was attached to these regulations in 1674: by dereliction of duty, the director forfeited his provision (which would then be donated to charity) (33).
NOTES

1 Willem Usselincx, merchant of Antwerp, lived and worked in Middelburg after 1579. He was the champion for the establishment of the West India Company, provided such coincided with a Dutch-Spanish peace treaty or truce. This placed him between Van Oldebarnevelt and Prince Maurits. In 1608, he wrote one of his many pamphlets, "Vertoogh, hoe noodwendigh, nut ende profijtelick het siij voor de Vereenighe Nederlanden te behouden de Vryheijt van te handelen op West Indien, indien vrede meten Coninck van Spaignen" (Account of the necessity, usefulness and profitability for the United Netherlands to maintain Freedom of trade in the West Indies, if in peace with the King of Spain). Once the WIC had been established after the Truce and the death of Van Oldebarnevelt, Usselincx developed reservations about its aggressive implications, although he participated in them. His ideals were of a religious/commercial nature: he wanted to set up colonies and convert the natives to the true. Reformed belief, and he expressed anti-slavery sentiments, not because of moral reservations, but because 'bad dogs catch bad hares... It remains to be seen if Spaniards are so well off with their slaves... One man from this land [Holland] works harder than three Negroes, who also cost a lot of money'.

Around 1635, he set up the Swiss-African Company with Samuel Blommaert, among others. Usselincx's writings and deeds show him to be a mercenary man, but one not yet devoid of vision. He prized the desire for enterprise above the appetite for quick profits. This set him apart from most of the 74 Directors, and especially from the XIX. He died in 1647.

2 Johannes De Laet described the performance of the WIC from 1624 to 1636. Bonaventura and Abraham Elsevier of Leiden published the work in 13 parts in 1644. De Laet was a member of the Chamber of Amsterdam, serving as a representative for Leiden from the formation in 1621 until his death. He exerted himself not only on behalf of the WIC, but also the VOC. We must thank De Laet for the 'birth certificate of the WIC', the best printed version of the Charter granted by the States General. Ibid, I, pp. (6)-(31); Kunst, p. 47, pp. 323-336.

The Iaerlijck Verhael was published by Martinus Nijhoff Publ. Comp. (The Hague) in 1931 through the Linschoten-Vereeniging; the editor was the historian Samuel Pierre l'Honoré Naber (nr. XXXIV, in four parts).

3 Jan Huygen van Linschoten, for whom the above-mentioned organization is named, wrote the Iterinario, or Reysbeschrijvinghe (Travel Account) in 1595. After several years' service as administrator for the Archbishop of Goa, he returned to Enkhuizen, his birthplace.

4 Hoetink, etc., Zo wijd de wereld strekt, catalogus t.g.v. herdenkingsstentoonstelling 300e sterfdag Johan Maurits van Nassau, Den Haag, 1979.

5 The 12-Years Truce was recognized by the following nations in this order: Spain, Portugal, England, France. Kunst, op.cit., p. 45.
The Charter, copied from De Laet, is printed in Kunst, op. cit., p. 323 f.f. See also note 2.

Ibid, p. 325

Ibid, p. 326, Art. VIII.

Ibid, p. 334

Ibid, p. 333

Ibid, p. 333

Ibid, pp. 333, 334

Ibid, pp. 324, 325

Ibid, p. 325

Ibid, p. 325

De Laet, Iaerlyck Verhael, vol. I, pp. (34)–(37). These pages contain a complete list of the names, cities of origin, and positions in the Chambers of the ‘Heeren Bewint-Hebberen die de Compagnie van den begin tot op het eynde van den Jaere 1636 hebben ghedient’ (Lord Directors who have served the Company from the beginning to the end of the Year 1636). De Laet’s own name is naturally included, ‘Weghen Leyden’. Of note is the representative of Deventer, which lies in Overijssel and is not named as a separate ‘gewest’ (region). Deventer’s importance as a cultural and trade center in the 17th century required its participation with three representatives: Jhr. Johan van Hemart (Hemert), Jhr. Gijsbert van Hemart, and Pieter Jansz. Blauwenhaen. The Heren XIX were chosen from among the chief participants. The regular participants were restricted from taking part in the organization and had absolutely no discretionary powers.

Kunst, op. cit., p. 327


Kunst, op. cit., p. 84

De Laet, Iaerlyck Verhael, vol. II, p. 152. Servaes Carpentier was also a doctor. He died in Recife (1645) and was buried in the Corpo Santo. Mello, Flamengos, p. 114. Carpentier had various family members in Recife. He served at one time as clerk of the Hoge Raad.

Ceulen and GijsSELINGH (or GhijsSELIN) founded forts in Rio Grande do Norte and at Cape Augustine (Cabo Agostinho), south of Recife. Much of GijsSELINGH’s correspondence to the Chamber of Zeeland has been preserved in the ARA.
22 Dirck Codde van den Burgh was a merchant and master carpenter. His brother Jan Codde van den Burgh was a surgeon and lived in Recife until 1654. Dirck died in 1644, a short while after Johan Maurits left him the usufruct and supervision of his gardens. He was buried in the Corpo Santo. Mello, Flamengos, p. 114.

23 In 1636, Eyssens carried out the Heren XIX’s decree of 1 August 1635, to ship all Jesuits to Holland because of their subversive activities (contact with the Portuguese in Bahia). He was killed in a farinha (manioc) mill near an engenho in the Várzea by a Portuguese guerilla troop under the leadership of ‘o famoso capitão Francisco Rabelo’. Mello, Flamengos, p. 244. Wellington Aguilars, Descrição da Capitania Paraíba, 1982, p. 6.


25 Mollema Geschiedenis, p. 325. The merchant was Hendrick Hamel, a member of the Chamber of Amsterdam since 1621. Pieter Bas, who replaced Dirck Codde, was the goldsmith. As is often the case, Mollema does not give precise information.

26 Pieter Bas of Haarlem was appointed mint–master by the Hoge Raad after the 1645 decision to mint their own coinage (see Appendix VI). He replaced Dirck Codde van den Burgh, who died in 1644 (see previous note).

27 Hendrick Haex’s Dagboek (the Journael) has survived. Its discovery prompted Charles Boxer to follow up, in periodicals, Wätjen’s published investigations of Dutch Brazil (1921). Boxer, The Dutch in Brazil, 1957, Foreword, p. 1. We used the edition by S.P. l’Honoré Naber, 1925.

28 All of these figures and their families appear more than once in the Baptismal Register of latter–day Dutch Brazil. Gijsbert de With went to Recife in 1638, having just completed his law studies. He became a member of the Justitiële Raad and belonged to the clique around Johan Maurits van Nassau. Dona Ana Pais d’Altoro, who marry de With in 1647. See Builders Specification, note 17. The sugar mill of Ana Pais’s family is treated in Appendix V, ‘Nomenclature’ (see also Builder’s Specifications, note 17. Michiel van Goch functioned for some years as assessor.

29 It is important to note that many of the former Hoge Raden from the 1630’s apparently believed in the future of the land and established plantations and sugar factories. The possessions of the last four Raden are specifically known. Schott produced an inventory of the locations and conditions of sugar mills in the area around Recife in 1636. He represented the Chamber of Zeeland and lived in Brazil from 1636 on. He also managed the area ‘between the Rio das Jangadas and Serinhaém.’ See Mello, Açúcar, p. 47 f.f. In 1638 he returned to Zeeland, and in 1639 wrote a report for the Directors of Zeeland about the land, cities, and fortifications in Brazil, ‘met Godes hulp veroverde’ (conquered with the help of God). ARA, OWIC, folder 46.
30 Johan De Laet extols Van Walbeeck more than once. He makes special note with the letter K upon a map of old Recife of the 'Huys van de Am. Walbeeck' (De Laet, *Jaerlyck Verhael*, vol. II, p. 158). Van Walbeeck noted his findings during the 1634 journey of conquest through the West Indies. These are integrally included in the last section of the Linschoten–Vereniging publication (edited by Warnsinck after the death of L'Honoré Naber). De Laet, *Jaerlyck Verhael*, vol. IV, pp. 301–311.

31 Ibid, I, p. 17.

32 Ibid, I, p. 17.

33 Kunst, op.cit., p. 84.
<table>
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<th>SNAPE/MATERIAL</th>
<th>PORTUGUESE ORIGIN BY DUTCH</th>
<th>DUTCH ORIGIN BY DUTCH</th>
<th>CAPTURED REINFORCE BY DUTCH</th>
<th>CAPTURED BY PORTUG. BY DUTCH</th>
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<td>Schans Drieboek/ruin, visible</td>
<td>triangle/wood/stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Kijkindepot/by low water</td>
<td>bulwark of redoubt</td>
<td>1630</td>
<td>1631</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
<td>1631 Van Waerdenburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. So Antônia do Buraco</td>
<td>round/stone</td>
<td>1630</td>
<td>1637</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
<td>1637 Nicolaes v. Berchem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Bastion next to Frederik Hendrik</td>
<td>swallowtail/most/stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1631 Andreas Drewisch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Bastion next to Frederik Hendrik</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>1630/31</td>
<td>1645</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
<td>1631 same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduit De Kat &amp; four unnamed redoubts</td>
<td>bulwark F. Manoel Taborda?</td>
<td>1630</td>
<td>1631/37</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
<td>1631 same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Pas van Amalia/Emilia</td>
<td>square/stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1631 Drewisch?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paso da Amalia</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1630</td>
<td>1631/54</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulwark next to Schans Ernst</td>
<td>square/earth/wood/stone</td>
<td></td>
<td>1630/47</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
<td>1638 Renê de Monchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumvallation Recife &amp; 2 bulwarks</td>
<td>earth/wood/stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affogados</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Prins Willem</td>
<td>square/wood/stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1631 etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Barretta/Tamandaré</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1630</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
<td>1634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Kijkindepot</td>
<td>square/wood/stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabo Augostino</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forte N.S. de Nazareth</td>
<td>rectangle/stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forte Domburg/F. Ghijseling</td>
<td>rectangle/stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort de São Francisco Xavier</td>
<td>pentagon/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaibu/ruin</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fort Van der Dussen/Puntal</td>
<td>square/stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORTIFICATION</td>
<td>SNAPE/MATERIAL</td>
<td>PORTUGUESE ORIGIN BY DUTCH</td>
<td>DUTCH ORIGIN BY DUTCH</td>
<td>CAPTURED REINFORCE BY DUTCH</td>
<td>CAPTURED BY PORTUG. BY DUTCH</td>
<td>SURRENDERED DESIGNER/ENGINEER</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.S. da Conceição/Schopstad</td>
<td>square/walled to castle</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1633</td>
<td>1633</td>
<td>1645</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraíba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabedelo</td>
<td>pentagon/stone</td>
<td></td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>1637</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipeua/Frederikstad</td>
<td>walled cloister and fort stone</td>
<td>1585</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island near C.; Restingues</td>
<td>earth/wood/stone</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>1637</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island near C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fernando de Noronha, island</td>
<td>square/stone/palisades</td>
<td>1585</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E dos Três Reis Mago/</td>
<td>square/stone</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceará (Siara)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sergipe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maranhão</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>São Luís</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
One welcome side-effect of the destruction of Olinda (1631) and the reinforcement of Recife was the reduction of soldiers guarding the area. The commanders employed the extra men by sending them out to explore the coast, and, if possible, drive the Portuguese from their fortifications.

Fig. 5

Letter from Pieter van Bueren and Andreas Drewisch describing the situation in Pernambuco and Paraíba, 31 January 1631. ARA, OWIC 49.
In his description of these missions, De Laet mentions the name ‘Ingenieur Pieter van Bueren’, who joined the expedition to Rio Grande do Norte in order to identify possible fort locations for the Dutch and assess the Portuguese reinforcements (1). Van Bueren was first noted by Lieutenant Colonel Van Waerdenburg in 1630 (2). ‘Onverhoop in Pernambuco aangetroffen’ (Happened upon unexpectedly in Pernambuco), he was suggested as the replacement for the ailing, repatriated engineer Tobias Commersteyn, who in 1630 was forced to return to the Netherlands after only a few months in Brazil. Commersteyn had already completed designs for two great forts, Trotsh den Duivel (Despite the devil) and Fort De Bruyn. Fortunately, Commersteyn recuperated; in 1637 he returned to Brazil and repaired forts and bulwarks, whose number had by then increased significantly (3).

Van Bueren was assisted by a certain Sems and the engineer Andreas Drewisch. The latter drew the first reliable map of the occupied area around Recife in 1631 (4). The Piscator map (coll. Atlas van Stolk) shows the situation of a year earlier.

Fig. 6
Map of Pernambuco showing the situation in February 1630; Admiral Lonck in the roadsteads on the Pernambucan coast, while Van Waardenburg marches against Olinda. Coloured etching by Nicolaus Joannis Piscator. Coll. Atlas van Stolk nr. 1711.
The emptiness of the mainland forms an impressing decor against the busy foreground, with cultural traces like the town (Olinda), the hamlet (Recife), and nearly seventy ships (the armada under admiral Lonck). On the island of António Vaz, however, neither dwellings nor fortifications are seen. The Dutch made the right decision in fortifying this place, undaunted by hydraulic difficulties. The only problem involved providing enough manpower and material as rapidly.

Repeated requests to the Heren XIX to send over technicians and artisans yielded results. One letter sent from Recife to Holland on 7 September 1630 advises the WIC of the arrival of:

‘een meester-steenhouwer met 12 helpers;
en meester-timmerman met zes knechten;
en slotenmaker, tevens keurmeester van sloten;
twee goede bouwmeesters;
en meester-bolwerker;
en ingenieur, deze beide laatsten tevens bouwmeesters.’

(a master stonemason with 12 assistants;
a master carpenter with six servants;
a locksmith, also inspector of locks;
two good master builders;
a master bulwark-builder;
an engineer, the last two both master builders as well) (5).

The master bulwark-builder was named Sicke de Groot. One year later, a salary increase was requested for him, as he was to be further employed as a ‘fabriekmeester’ (designer of civil buildings; architect). This request was denied (6). The two ‘good master builders’ mentioned in the 1630 letter were probably Drewisch and Sems (7).

One name continually recurring in this trade is René de Monchy (8). He was a lieutenant, perhaps a member of the French regiment, and, like Tobias Commersteyn, is mentioned for the last time in 1652. De Monchy was commissioned by Johan Maurits in 1638 to work on the circumvallation of Recife.

Egbert Vaer, fabriekmeester and surveyor, was also active during this same period of government. In 1641 he was replaced by Michiel Pietersz. Schilder, a fabriekmeester, and Haye Direckszoon, a surveyor (9).

Many of the engineers held military rank because they served the state as fortress engineers. They frequently extended their skills to domestic building and, quite often, to geography and topography. Because so many maps from the period of Dutch Brazil have survived, one can form an excellent picture of the development of this area no periodo holandesês. The first map has already been mentioned: ‘het Eylandt Antoni Vaaez, het Recif ende vastelandt aende haven Pernambuco in Brasil’ (the Island António Vaz, Recife, and the mainland on the harbour Pernambuco in Brazil), as Drewisch precisely notes (10). The newly-completed Dutch forts, all started, and for the most part finished, in 1630, are clearly marked; only two were repaired Portuguese forts:
1 São Jorge or George, the 'Landkasteel' (Land Castle);
2 Forte do Mar, the 'Zee-' or 'Waterkasteel' (Sea or Water Castle);
3 Fort De Bruyn (or: De Bruin), 1630;
4 Juffrouw De Bruyn, 1630;
5 Fort Trotsch den Duivel, 1630;
6 Entrenchment Ernestus, 1630;
7 Fort Driehoek (Triangle), 1630;
8 Redoubt Manoel Taborda – Bulwark, 1631;
9 Redoubt De Kat, 1630;
10–12 Unnamed redoubts, 1630.

In the beginning, military attention was fixed exclusively on Olinda, Recife, and Antônio Vaz island. Once Olinda had been destroyed, the activities displaced themselves to the bordering capitâncias to the south and north of Recife/Pernambuco. Itamaracá came into the picture; Van Bueren sailed along and reconnoitered Paraíba and Rio Grande; from a safe distance, the Dutch tried to ascertain the situation in Porto Calvo and Cabo Agostinho in the south. Clearly the Heren XIX in Holland seriously wished to subdue the area, and they tackled the matter on a greater scale than in 1624.

Resting upon the shoulders of Richshoffer, De Laet, Nieuhof, Baerlaeus and Mota Menezes, I have constructed an outline organizing the forts and bulwarks before 1654 by their origin and dates, including the intervening vicissitudes that befell them. I had the good fortune in 1982 to come across the ground plans of three important forts in the archive of the Faculty for Historical Research of the Federal University of Recife. All three forts were built during the first two years of Dutch rule, and were recharted by the Portuguese in 1763:
1 Fort 'Cinco Pontas', or 'Vijfhoek'; also called 'Frederik Hendrik', alias 'Trotsch den Duivel' (11);
2 Fort De Bruyn (12);
3 Fort Oranje (13).
These three will be discussed first.
1 Planta do Forte chamado da Cinco Pontas
(Ground plan of the fort named ‘Vijfhoek’).

Fig. 7
Floorplan of ‘Forte Cinco Pontas’. Copy of an original in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon), w.h. approximately 1763;
Department of History, Federal University of Pernambuco (Recife).

Constructed by the Dutch in 1630, the fort was originally called ‘Trotsch den Duivel’, and its original shape was, like the name but not the 18th-century ground plan, indeed pentagonal, tvijfhoekig. The name ‘Vijfhoek’ was already used at the time of the fort’s (or rather, entrenchment’s) construction. With the addition of first two, then later three hornworks just outside the moat, and the enlargement of the walls, the entrenchment quickly became a true fort. It lay on the southwest point of Antônio Vaz island. On the northeast point rose Entrenchment Ernst, or Fort Ernestus, incorporating part of an existing Franciscan monastery. Together with the four redoubts on the river side, these fortifications not only formed a chain of defence for the marshy, still sparsely-populated island, but also protected Recife on the land side and at the river’s mouth. After the addition of Fort de Bruyn (see following section), begun at the same time, and Fort Driehoek, which lay in the river on a mostly dry sandbank, the Portuguese enemy could accomplish very little against Recife from the Arraial Bom Jesus.
Fort Vijfhoek was quickly baptised 'Frederik Hendrik'. At the end of the 17th-century, the fort was completely rebuilt with four instead of five bastions; still, in popular Portuguese-Brazilian speech, it remained 'Cinco Pontas'. Why is anyone's guess; the name makes sense historically, and perhaps we should leave it at that. In the 1970's the fort underwent a complete restoration. Today, still quadrangular, still called 'Cinco Pontas', it houses the Museu da Cidade. The collection primarily contains historical documents and maps or their facsimiles.

Ambrosius Richshoffer is the first to mention 'Schans Trotsch den Duivel':


He mentions 'Schantz Trotz dem Teuffel oder Fünfhück genandt' on 12 March 1631 again, and on 6 April it is, in short, '"...hat sich der Hr. General [Pater] hierauf auff die Insul Antoni Vaz begeben, daselbst mit dem hrn. Gouverneur Mitags Mahlzeit gehalten, hernach in de Fünfhück spaziert...' (17).

Drewisch's excellent map shows the lovely pentagonal shape, as does Cornelis Goliath's map from 1648. Richshoffer's contemporary account, in which he sums up the shipments of provisions, soldiers, and carpentry material ('Schübkärcher, Palisaden, diehlen und sonst allerhand materialia zu dem schantzen und bauen dienlichen'), is also relevant (18).

Unfortunately, the pentagonal form has not been preserved. The pentagon, like other geometric forms, was much favoured in 17th-century fortifications, as (colonial) forts in (former) Dutch dominions attest. Colombo, Paramaribo, Willemstad, Cape Town, and New Amsterdam serve as examples. The instruction book De Arbeid van Mars by Allein Manesson (1672) begins its section on polygonal constructions with the pentagon. Mathematics overturned the old principles, when symbolism and cabalistic magic dominated the construction of fortifications. Thenceforth, polygons were built along strategic or military/technical grounds, rather than along principles of numeric wholeness or harmonious proportions.
The Chair for *Fortificatiën en dependerende Scieniën* at the University of Leiden, occupied since the 17th century and leading to the title of *ingenieur*, did the necessary rationalization for defence construction both in the Netherlands and elsewhere (19).

2 *Planta do Forte do Brum*

![Diagram of Forte do Brum](image)

*Fig. 8*

Floorplan of 'Forte Do Brum'. Copy of an original in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon), folder xx nr. 290, approximately 1763; Department of History, Federal University of Pernambuco (Recife).

Forte do Brum prevented entrance from Olinda to the tip of the spit of land where old Recife lay. With its two protruding bulwarks, it was prepared for attack from the mainland, where the Portuguese 'Arraial Bom Jesus' lay, about 5 kilometers away. Along with the Waterkasteel, Forte do Brum also provided defences along the sea side. Drewisch's map shows that the sea side did not have forward-projecting bastions; this structure was the same in 1763. The translation of the legend is interesting:

'What is given in india ink ('*tinta da China*'), already stands; the red shows which works are yet to be made.'

In contrast to the other ground plans, the map gives no indication of entrances or soldiers' quarters in the fort's interior. Apparently Forte do Brum was not in the best condition. The Dutch rudiments were, however, completely retained. Richshoffen has no information concerning the construction of this fort. His account of the sentence pronounced on a Flemish planter, who had tried to pass information from the Dutch to the Portuguese, shows that the execution field was near Fort de Bruyn (20).
3 Planta do Forte que existe na Ilha de Itamaracá
(Ground plan of the fort on Itamaracá island).

![Floorplan of 'Forte Oranje' on Itamaracá Island. Copy of an original in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon), w.h. approximately 1763; Department of History, Federal University of Pernambuco (Recife). This fort and its many originally Dutch vestiges were nicely restored in the 1970's.]

The capitania Itamaracá, including the island of the same name, lay between the capitaniās Pernambuco and Paraíba, to the north. At present the greater part of the area has devolved upon Pernambuco. The island lies approximately 15 nautical miles north of Olinda and Pau Amarelo, where the Dutch went ashore in 1630. The first expedition to the island took place in 1631.

Twelve companies under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Steyn Callenfells embarked for Itamaracá on 12 April 1631; 'dez Havens und Castells zu Tamarica sich zu impatronieren, damit die Spanischen Schiff nicht mehr daselbst einfahren und dem feind etwas zuführen könten, dann solches gar ein bequemer ort war, nicht sonderlich weit unter der Stadt Olinda auff der Norder seiten gelegen', according to Richshoffer (21). Eight days later 'Herr Capitaine Schopps' came 'mit einer Schalupp zu ruck' and reported that they 'unter dem castell vergraben (hat)', after which he returned to Itamaracá in the evening (22).
Fig. 10
Map of Itamaracá Island. Coloured pen drawing, w.h., approximately 1645.
Department of History of the Federal University of Pernambuco (Recife).

The optimistic first attempts withered, for two days later 'Herr Obrist Lieutt. Steinkallenfells selbsten' came to report that the 'Castell' (Nossa Senhora da Conceição, at the top of the island) could not be 'bevrijd' (liberated), whereupon it became necessary to throw up an entrenchment and hornwork (23).
Itamaracá, fertile and known for its many good freshwater sources, remained unconquered until 1633. In 1632, Steyn Callenfells repatriated and was replaced by Colonel Laurens von Reinbach (Rembach), who was slain in 1633 (24). A renewed attempt to capture the island was not undertaken until the appointment of his replacement, the 'Herr Capitaine Schopps' mentioned above, who had been promoted to lieutenant colonel in the meantime and would remain one until the surrender in 1654. Sigismundus von Schoppe was a notable figure in colonial society. He was one of Johan Maurits van Nassau's mainstays; the count attached great worth to his judgements (25).
The strategic worth of the island had induced Matías d’Albuquerque to strengthen his fortifications there. The Arraial and Itamaracá had a militarily symbiotic relationship. Von Schoppe surveyed the situation thoroughly and began the assault by placing boats and small craft in the innumerable creeks and channels to cut off all contact between the mainland and the island. The Portuguese, although well-versed in guerilla-warfare and generally familiar with the terrain, could do nothing against this strategy. After a short time the little place, just like the fort of the same name, fell into Dutch hands: ‘Although the Portuguese castle commanders answered the summons to surrender by saying that they could live on ox-skins for the sake of the king, this diet bored them after four hours and they decided to surrender’ (26).

Von Schoppe found the island much to his liking. He established himself there with his wife, Margaretha van Calchum, named Loohuyzen. The spot was named ‘Schopstad’, and in addition to his lively soldier’s existence, Von Schoppe traded in wood and sugar. According to the family register, he had four children there, and he or his wife are frequently named as baptismal witnesses (27).

Serious construction now began on Fort Oranje; the designer was probably Pieter van Buren.

Itamaracá, aside from serving as an army encampment and source of water and food for Recife, also provided refuge in critical times for ‘Brasiliainschen’, Indian tribes from the mainland. In this respect, the Dutch deserve some credit; their attitude towards the aborigines was never cruel, and they always tried to support the native population, even in their own danger and need (28).

Itamaracá’s fall in 1633 signalled the beginning of the end for the Arraial Bom Jesus. It was captured in 1634. Only thereafter did the Dutch, both the military and the merchants, enjoy more peaceful times. They slowly began to realize that they could not expect to run a lucrative organization on plundered sugar. The colonists had to repair the damage caused by army manoeuvres and attempt to pacify the interior. Itamaracá fulfilled a preventative and defensive function in this pacification phase.

In the 1970’s, the department of monument preservation in Recife excavated what remained of the fort (29): enormous stone walls filled to the top with hard beach sand; half-buried pieces of bronze WIC-artillery that had defied the centuries and the sea-wind. In the following years, the remains, fairly well-preserved for reconstruction, were discovered and unearthed: the soldiers’ quarters, the chapel, the heavily arched space beneath the powder-house, and the water well, made of small yellow IJssel bricks, appeared (30). These discoveries correspond to the 1763 ground plan notations ‘F’, ‘G’, and ‘J’; the water well was not reported then. Currently the fort has an extension on the left bastion named ‘o donjon’ by the Brazilians, and a classical archfield above the main entrance, both 18th-century Portuguese additions. The fort’s restoration prompted the restoration of the soldier’s quarters and the chapel; the latter now serves secularly as a small museum and souvenir shop. The curved, sluice-like entrance of the fort, built up from enormous fragments of grey, basalt-like stone, is quite lovely. This ‘gemetselde Sortye’ (stone Exit) dates from the Dutch Period, but the remaining walls were placed by the Portuguese (31).
So much for these three floor plans. Not surprisingly, they were
drawn in 1763. Vijfhoek, De Bruyn, and Fort Oranje form a triad of
defence works that, even after the Dutch Period, indicated the might
of the nation possessing them. Brazil experienced turbulent times
around 1763. The enlightened ideas circulating in Europe, which
reverberated in the North American colonists' notions of liberty,
were also echoed in the various revolts among workers of the
wealthy Minas Gerais mining district. The workers were supported
by the Free Masons and the Jesuits; the latter were banished for
their actions (32). Recife initially backed the revolutionaries, but
through Pombal's powerful intervention, Brazil and Portugal
avoided a separation. Bahia, as punishment for its revolutionary
support, was replaced as the capital by Rio de Janeiro. The Ancien
Régime maintained itself in the colony until 1822, the year of
Brazil's independence. De facto, not much changed until 1820, when
slavery was abolished. The monarchy preserved itself until 1889
(33).

In the following outline, 35 forts, fortifications and defence works
are arranged by location and construction date; where possible, the
name of the designer/architect is included. Appendix X,
'Monuments', treats restored vestiges and those awaiting
restoration (34). The Dutch presumably commanded 40 to 50 such
military support points in total; of these, the smaller ones were soon
destroyed or overgrown. For the most part, the data concerning the
forts on this list comes from Francisco de Mesquita's inventory of
January 1654 (35). Gonsalves de Mello's 1979 publication of the
drafts and final forms of treaties during the surrender in 1654 also
contains useful and welcome information about the forts, especially
his chapter on military conditions, 'Condições sobre a militia' (36).
He reports all artillery pieces per fort, dividing them into 'metal' or
'iron'. For 'metal' we naturally understand 'bronze'.
Nieuhof's similar summary dates from 1647, 2 years before Recife
entered a critical period prior to the fatal battle on 16 April 1649,
'dat de Portugesen zoo nau te lande bezet hielden, dat men niet
buiten de poorten kon komen...om verversching en leeftoght' (when
the Portuguese held the land so closely that no one could get outside
the gates... to secure refreshments and provisions). Because
Gonsalves de Mello's publication is recent, whereas Nieuhof's
summary is an original 17th-century edition, I shall cite from
Nieuhof's list (37).

1 Het fort Keulen, in het inkomen van Rio Grande.
2 De reduit St. Antonio, gelegen aan de noordzyde van de riviere
Parayba.
3 Het fort Resstingues, gelegen in de riviere van Parayba, aan het
eiland Restingues.
4 Het fort Margareta, aan de zuidzyde van de riviere Parayba.
5 Het Fort Oranje, op het eiland Itamarika.
6 Nossa Senhora de Concepciano, een oude baterie op den bergh
Itamarika.
7 De reduit Juffrouw de Bruyn.
8 't Fort de Bruyn.
9 't Fort Waardenburgh, anders de Driehoek, op den weg of dijk
tusschen het fort de Bruin en 't Reçiff gelegen.
Lant-kasteel, anders St. Joris.
Water-kasteel, op het Recif, by de mont van de haven.
Het Recif.
Maurits-stad, op het eilant Antony Vaez.
Fort Fredrik Hendrik, anders de Vijfhoek.
De Steene Reduit, buiten Fredrik Hendrik.
De Reduit Kijk in de pot, tusschen het fort Fredrik Hendrik en Prins Willem.
' t Fort Prins Willem, een de riviere Afogados.

1 Fort Keulen, in the Rio Grande estuary.
2 The redoubt Santo António, on the north side of the Paraíba river.
3 Fort Restingues, in the Paraíba river, on Restingues island.
4 Fort Margareta, on the south side of the Paraíba river.
5 Fort Oranje, on Itamaracá island.
6 Nossa Senhora de Concepción, an old battery on Itamaracá hill.
7 The redoubt Juffrouw de Bruyn.
8 Fort de Bruyn.
9 Fort Waardenburgh, otherwise known as Drieneuk (triangle), on the road or dike between Fort de Bruyn and Recife.
10 Land-castle, otherwise known as Sint Joris or São George.
11 Water-castle, in Recife, by the mouth of the harbour.
12 Recife.
13 Mauritssstad, on António Vaz island.
14 Fort Frederik Hendrik, otherwise known as Vijfhoek (pentagon).
15 The Stone Redoubt, outside of Frederik Hendrik.
16 The Redoubt Kijk in the pot, between Forts Frederik Hendrik and Prins Willem.
17 Fort Prins Willem, on the Afogados river.

Next Nieuhof names the 'metalen en yzeren stukken' (metal and iron pieces) of these forts. The forts in Sergipe del Rey, Rio São Francisco (Penedo), and Porto Calvo, along with Tamandaré, were recaptured by the Portuguese.

Nieuhof follows his summary with a salient passage describing commander Beaumont's entreaties to the Hoge Raad for permission to erect a redoubt between Frederik Hendrik and the Barreta against 'het kanon' of the enemy on the mainland. They responded by questioning whether he realized 'wat dat werk wel zou komen te kosten, en hoe weinigh dienst daer van konde werden getrokken: alzoo men op andere plaatsen beter gelegenheid had, om in het landt te komen' (how much such a work would cost, and how little it would serve: since other places gave better opportunities to reach the land). Beaumont argued that the Portuguese now had any easy path to Frederik Hendrik, but his words fell on deaf ears. He was simply to cut off the Rio São Francisco and direct all attention towards the defence of Recife (38).

The 'Barreta' was originally a Portuguese fort. Long out of use, only later was it partially repaired, with the emphasis on 'partially', as we can conclude from the above.
It is worth mentioning that the Jodenwacht, a small, originally Portuguese fort at the southern gate of Olinda, was manned by Jewish soldiers in the 1630’s. These had been excused from military service on the Sabbath since 1634. In 1640, the Spanish Armada, made up of 30 galleons and 30 transport vessels under Admiral d’Oquendo, provoked a heavy, four-day sea battle. Although the Jodenwacht was strategically vital, the Jewish soldiers still refused to serve on the Sabbath. The elders of the Recife synagogue were called before the Hoge Raad, where they emphasized the importance of the Sabbath rest. The Hoge Raad accepted their explanation, but with a condition: the privilege of this day of rest had to be purchased by each soldier who wanted to exercise it.

The Jodenwacht’s exploits are often mentioned. During the Portuguese siege on Recife in 1645, the cannons of the Jodenwacht sounded so loudly that the roar was frightening. That same year, approximately 80 soldiers sailed from the fort to force an engagement with the enemy. With the wind against them, they came no farther than Itamaracá, where a few Indian troops joined them. There they reinforced Fort Oranje. Some months later, in 1646, the Portuguese set fire to Dutch ships along the coast, and the Jewish contingent was recalled immediately to Olinda. Only some ever arrived. Fifty soldiers fell into the hands of the Portuguese rebels and were strung up. The Parnassim of Amsterdam reported this to the Dutch authorities, remarking that the Jewish population in Brazil had herewith sufficiently proven its loyalty to the Dutch government. As a consequence, the States General wrote to the Hoge Raad in Recife, directing them to regard the Jews as Dutch nationals in all future treaties with the Portuguese enemy (39).

Fort Van der Dussen was the scene of just the opposite sort of deed. The head of the troops was Sargeant Major Diederik van Hoogstraten, assisted by Captains Caspar van der Ley, Albert Gerritsz Wedda, and Jacques Hik. According to correspondence between Portuguese Colonels Martin Soares and André Vidal de Negreiros, the preparations for what followed apparently took place earlier in Bahia (40).

In October of 1645, the Hoge Raad Adriaen van Bullestraten and Commander Jan Cornelis Ligthart undertook a journey to inspect Cabo Agostinho. Three forts lay upon a high hill called ‘Nazareth’, on an advantageous coastal bay. Fort Nazareth originally belonged to the Portuguese. In 1645 it was poorly equipped. Fort Van der Dussen and Fort Domburg were erected in 1633 by the Politieke Raden Adriaen van der Dussen and Johan Gijsselingh (both Zeelanders), as a consolation for their unsuccessful trip to Parayba that year. The government in Recife received word that various army units would be gathering from three sides in the south, under the leadership of Henrique Dias, Felipe Camarão, and João Fernandes Vieira. The troops were to head for Ipojuca from Serinhãem through the rich sugar area, and from there to Cabo Agostinho. Whoever occupied the harbours was ensured of supplies for his troops. Bullestraten and Ligthart wanted to assess whether the forts needed reinforcement and whether ‘het dienstigh zou zijn de reduit op den bergh Nazareth, desgelijks de batterye aen den zeehant in de mont van het zeegat wederom op te maken’ (it would serve to once more fix up the redoubt on Nazareth hill as well
as the battery on the sea side of the mouth of the estuary). They decided 'dat hy de majoor Hoogstraten gelast had, dat 't selve dateilijk met palissaden, volgens het bestek, mochten worden opgemaect' (to order Major Hoogstraten to fix up the same with stockades, according to the specifications) (41). A week later, Van Hoogstraten sent word that he feared the Portuguese would lay siege to him, whereupon the Hoge Raad sent him '30 verken waters' (30 pork bladders of water [about 60 liters]). According to Nieuhof's estimates, 280 heads defended the fort; 217 of these were soldiers and 'treyn-perzoonen' (transport personnel) and 63 were civilians (mathematics is not the merchant Nieuhof's strongest point) (42). The enemy did not deem it advisable to attack this strong occupying force, and instead sought contact with the army leaders. Colonel André Vidal de Negreiros sent letters, delivered by one Juan Gomes de Mello, to Hoogstraten, Ley and Hik. These referred to an agreement apparently made during earlier contact. However it was arranged, 'Commandant Hoogstraten, met toestemming, raet, en aanraeding van den Ritmeesters Kaspar van der Ley en Albert Gerrits Wedda' sold 'het fort vooroemd den dertienden van Ooghte maent voor de som van zes duizent kruidados, of achten duizent gulden.' (Commander Hoogstraten, with the approval, advice, and recommendation of the Captains Kaspar van der Ley and Albert Gerritsz. Wedda [sold] the aforementioned fort on the thirteenth of Harvestmonth [August] for the sum of six thousand cruzados, or 18 thousand guilders). Captain Hik later escaped. 'Schelmachtigh' (knaveish), adds Nieuhof (43).

A sordid affair for the Dutch. The preceding 15 years had seen treason on all sides, but never by commanders with a triple-fortification at stake. Such was the case of Cabo Agostinho, 'Kaap Augustijn'.

Interestingly, Nieuhof published the enemy's correspondence in his book. Colonel Martim Soares, in informing Antonio Telles da Silva, the governor in Bahia, sheds light upon the affair: 'Uw Senhoria is grotelix aen den Serjant major Diederik van Hoogstraten en aen d'andere hoofden gehouden.... Hy zegt, dat hy hiermede niet ophouden sal en ons volgen wil, en vele diensten aen Sjine Majestiteit (die God beware) doen wil.... De Ritmeester Kaspar van der Ley heeft ook veel te wege gebracht: gelijk ook alle d'andere, getrouwt met Portugese vrouwen: gelijk wij Uwe Senhoria sullen verwittigen.... Het sijn alle perzoonen van groot belang, en getrouwt met Portugese vrouwen: het welk ons in dezen wel te passe gekomen is'

(Your Senhoria is greatly beholden to the Sargeant Major Diederik van Hoogstraten and the other chiefs. He says, that he will not stop at this and wishes to follow us, and render many services to His Majesty (God preserve him).... The Captain Kaspar van der Ley has also been of great service: like the others, he is married to a Portuguese woman: as we shall advise your Senhoria.... They are all persons of great importance, and married to Portuguese women: this has been of use to us in this affair) (44).

Between 1634 and 1638, Diederik van Hoogstraten stands as a witness several times in the Baptismal Register, once in 1634 with 'syn huisrouw' (his wife). He had a son, François, on 29 April 1637: his wife was Susanna van Hoogstraten. She herself appears several times as a witness, but without her maiden name given (45).
NOTES

1 De Laet, Iaerlyck Verhael, vol. I, pp. 42, 44. Van Bueren, along with his colleague Andreas Drewisch, wrote a letter to the XIX with a proposal to circumvallate Recife (372,000 Rhineland roods). He finishes: 'De Stadt Olinda, als wij met Godts hulp ook moeilijk begonnen, sal ons niet ontnooppen.' (The city of Olinda, although we started with difficulties, will with the help of the Lord, not escape us.) See fig. 5, and Chapter I, note 9.

2 Letter from Waerdenburgh to the Chamber of Zeeland, 3-4-1630, ARA, OWIC, box 49.

3 Tobias Commersteyn was married to one Barbara. They had 2 children in Recife: Geertruyt, 29/4/1648 and Tobias, 27/11/1650. Willem Lobbrecht, head of defence works, served as witness at Geertruyt’s baptism; for Tobias Jr., witnesses included ‘lfr. Ursula Barbara, huysvrouw van majoer ten Berge’, whose maiden name was Schoonenburgh. See Chapter I, note 106, Fam. blad 1889, pp. 3, 51. The count commissioned Commersteyn to make a topographical drawing of Fort São Jorge del Mina in Africa (1637).

4 Drewisch’s map is preserved in the Cartography section of the ARA, inventory P.A. Leupe nr. 712. This map measures 91 x 114 cm.

Inscription: Grondt teyckeningh van het Eylandt Antoni Vaa, het Recife ende Vastelandt ende haven van Pernambuco in Brasil, Soodanigh als die tegenoordigh voor de West Indische Comp. met de Schansen, Redouten ende andre wercken zijn voorsien; in Caert gebracht door den Ingenieur Andreas Drewisch Bongesaltensis in Julii Anno 1631. (Plan of the Island Antônio Vaz, Recife and the continent near the harbour of Pernambuco in Brazil, as these places nowadays are supplied with entrenchments, redoubts and other fortifications; mapped out by the engineer Andreas Drewisch etc.) For Ñems: see Chapter I, note 55.

5 Letter, 7/9/1630, ARA, OWIC box 49.

6 Mello, Cartografia, p. 11.


8 René de Mouchy (de Monchy) stands a few times as witness; also appears on 3/7 (married to Clara de Mouchy) as father of Elisabeth. Fam. Blad, 1888, vol. 7, p. 197. On 8/7 1648 he had a son, Wilhelm, but by then is married to Margriet Frans. Ibid, 1889, vol. 1, p. 3. His name varies from René, to René, Reinier, and Reynier 'Mouchy', without the 'de', appearing on 10/10 1652. René de Monchy could choose his witnesses from among the cream of Recife society—high military commanders and officials. Notice the names we encounter: Charles Tolner (one of Johan Maurits van Nassau's secretaries), Elisabeth van Walbeeck (wife of the Hoge Raad's assessor), Cornelis Bayer (a highly-placed military man), Colonel Guillaume Hauthain, and others.
Elsewhere on the baptismal certificate we find the names of the ladies Regina and Maria de Monchy. It is possible that we are dealing with a Huguenot family.

9 Mello, *Flamengos*, p. 81. Michiel Pietersz. was a nephew of the later Hoge Raad Adriaen Bullestraten.


11 These ground plans are copies of originals that ought to be on file in the Archives of Overseas History in Lisbon. During my research in Lisbon in 1983, I was not able to trace them. The code for Cinco Fontas is:

A.H.U. Cód. Pe
não cat. (1763)

and is provided with a stamp: *Divisão de Pesquisa Histórica, Departamento de História, C.F.C.H., UFPE*. This stamp refers to the map’s Brazilian archive location.

12 Forte de Brum: *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa, Planta catalogada nr. 290, encadernação XX.*

13 Itamaracá: *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino Lisboa, código do Pe. nao catalogada* (1763).

14 Richshoffer, op.cit., p. 64. Transl.: The 27th we projected an entrenchment on the island Antônio Vaz that received the name ‘Despite of the Devil’.

15 Ibid, p. 65. Transl.: On the 15th one started to erect the entrenchment Despite the Devil, and therein a wooden redoubt with two batteries, and four fieldpieces. The sentry-box got a crosswise, fitted palissade around it with a mounting of iron nails, and behind it a covering of wainscots in double height. Every night the two companies were on guard in turn, but in the day 20 persons of each (company) worked on it.

16 Ibid, p. 65. Transl.: In the night of the 29th the enemy intended to attack the mentioned entrenchment, but our gunner, noticing him in time, had a violent brush, shooting fest, blowing the trumpets vividly, whilst we on the batteries beat the drums. The enemy, although of a considerable number, was so frightened by it that leaving behind several victims 65 muskets, bandoleers and fuses, found by us the next morning, retired to the woods as quickly as possible.

17 Ibid, pp. 73, 78. Transl.: ‘... General Pater went from the other side to Antônio Vaz Island, having lunch with the Governor, after which he walked to the Pentagon.’

19 J. La Fontaine, *Zeelandia, de geschiedenis van een fort*, pp. 9–15. New Amsterdam was also designed as a pentagon. Extensive information about this can be found in F. C. Wieder, *De Stichting van New York in juli 1625. Reconstructies en Nieuwe Gegevens ontleend van de Van Rappard Documenten*, Den Haag 1925 (published by the Linschoten Vereeniging), pp. 37–74.

20 Richshoffer refers at various points (70, 75, 76, 77, 86) to the dealings of 'Verdunc, de Brabander'. This sugar planter, Adriaen Verdonck, had already been in Pernambuco for years, along with some other 'Vlamingen' (Flemings) or 'Brabanders' such as Gaspar de Mere and Pedro Lahoest—like Verdonck both influential sugar planters and merchants. In 1630, Verdonck assembled a list of locations and yields of Portuguese sugar plantations for the Dutch, including a description of several settlements and fortifications. On the other hand, it seems that he did the same for the Portuguese, and conveyed the position and the strength of the Dutch troops to Matias d’Albuquerque. Moreover, it appears from an intercepted letter that he was involved in a plot to poison members of the *Politieke Raad*.

Whatever the circumstances, Verdonck, a large, fat man of 41 years, was put in jail at Fort De Bruyn. He attempted to escape from here ('through an amazingly small hole for such girth'), and succeeded, but was again captured, with a head wound caused by a steep fall. One day later he died in his cell; fortunately enough, for he was doomed to be executed that same day on the occasion of General Pater’s visit. The authorities still demanded satisfaction and made an example of Verdonck by chopping off first two fingers, then his head, then quartering him, after which the head was stuck upon a tall 'Pfähle bey des Hornwerck an der Schantz de Brun, am Strand' and the four body sections were hung up on the gallows at Vijfhoek, at entrenchment Kijkindepot (Fort Driehoek), and upon the high hill near Olinda. No half measures.

21 Ibid, p. 78.

22 Ibid, p. 78.

23 Ibid, p. 79. Richshoffer himself was sent upon a reportage trip in October 1631 and describes the stronghold:

‘...darin lagen drey Compagnien, hat vier Bollwerck darauf 11 Stück stunden, war rings umo mit Pallisaden wohl versehen, auch ein Hornwerck davor gelegt’, p. 89.


25 ‘Sigismundus van Schkoppe, conspicuo per suos multos et brilhantes façanhas, comandava as forças de terra’ (Sigismundus van Schkoppe, a man remarkable for his many brilliant deeds, commanded the land forces here). Barlaeus, Portuguese ed. p. 28. The Latin text sounds: ‘Militae cura penes Sigismundum Schuppimum erat, multis et egregiis facinoribus conspicuum’. Barlaeus 1647, p. 27.


28 To this end, several expeditions to the interior were undertaken under the leadership of important army commanders, in order to reach the manioc-root, which, rubbed into farinha (flour), was the main ingredient of the Indians’ food. Nieuhof, pp. 163, 164.

29 Mota Menezes and Rosa Rodrigues, Fortificações, pp. 110–112. The Brazilian department for monument preservation is called: Departamento do Patrimônio Histórico e Arqueológico (DPHAN).

30 Dr. Johanna Hollestelle brought my attention to the fact that the yellow bricks were composed of South–Holland IJssel clay. The often-heard name, ‘Gelderse steentjes’, is thus incorrect.

31 Nieuhof gives the fullest description of the exterior of Fort Oranje from the years around 1649:
‘Aen d’oever der riviere, in het inkomne, of een den Zuidermont van de haven, stont een reguïer vierkant fort, eertijds by d’onzen na het veroveren dier zes eilants, door den vestingbouwer van Buuren, gesticht, en Oranje genoemt. Het had een zwaren wal, en een borstweringh, romant van stormpals geinheit. De gracht was niet veel byzonders, ondiep en meest waterloos: uit oorzaake het op een welgront lagh: waerom het, tot meerder verzekeringh, met een ry van palissaden omringt was. Binnen, aen de Noortzyde, lagh een hoornwerk, maer was al ten dele gesleght.
Het was van binnen met een kruihuis, en redelijker wijze met quartieren voorzien, en had een gemetselde Sortye’.
(On the bank of the river, in the estuary, or on the southern mouth of the harbour, stood a regular square fort, formerly ours, after the conquest of the six islands, founded by the fortifications—builder Van Buuren and named Oranje. It had heavy walls, a breastwork, surrounded by driven in palisades. The moat was nothing unusual, shallow and usually dry: because it lay upon well ground: for more security it was thus surrounded by a row of palisades. Inside, on the north side, lay a hornwork, but this was already partly razed. The fort also contained a powder house and tolerable quarters, and had a stone entrance.) Nieuhof, p. 36.

32 Fernando de Azevedo, pp. 538–540. The Marquis de Pombal, Prime Minister under Dom José II, was able to avoid separation from Portugal. He already promulgated the banishment of the Society of Jesus in 1759 in Portugal; this banishment went into effect in Brazil in 1763 as a consequence of the situation there. France (1763), Naples, and Sicily (1767) as well as other nations, took similar measures, until the dissension with this order culminated in its dissolution by Pope Clement XIV. To justify 1759, the Jesuits were blamed for an attack upon the king.
33 Emperor Pedro II abdicated in 1850. The abolition of slavery meant that the old slaves remained in service, but that new personnel could only be taken on under a work contract. De facto, very little changed for the better. Quite the contrary: the lord was no longer obligated to take care of his personnel. This brought about the rise of an agrarian-proletariat.

34 Appendix VIII, 'Monuments in Recife and environs'.

35 Francisco de Mesquita, O Inventário das Armas e dos Petrechos Bélicos que os Holandeses deixaram em Pernambuco e dos Predios edificados e reparados até 1654 dos Prédios edificados ou reparados (Lisboa, 1654). (Recife, 1839), 1940.

36 Mello, Rendição (1654), 1979, pp. 71-79.


38 Ibid, pp. 191, 192.


40 Nieuhof, op.cit., pp. 129, 130.

41 Ibid, p. 125

42 Ibid, p. 126

43 Ibid, p. 126.

44 Ibid, p. 127. The Wanderley family still resides in Brazil; the first name of 'Caspar' is also still used. The Wanderleys belong to the foremost families in government. Martin Soares wrote to Bahia concerning Van der Ley: 'Deze, zeggen sy, dat in zijn lant een persoon van staat is. Wy hebben hem een Commanda de Cristo belooft met eenige vereering van hondert milleys jaerliz, die hy begeerde voor eenen van sijne zoonen.... D'oudste zoon heet Jan van der Ley, en de jongste Gaspar van der Ley: voor eenen van beide begeert hy deze vereering....' (This one, they say, is a person of note in his country. We have promised him a Comenda de Cristo [order of knighthood] with the grant of a hundred milleys [17th-century currency] yearly, which he desired for one of his sons.... The eldest son is named Jan van der Ley, and the youngest Gaspar van der Ley: for one of these did he desire the bestowal....).

The signature reads: 'Van den bergh van Nazareth den zesten van Herfsstaen [sixth of September], 1645. Martijn Soares Moreno'. The Van der Leys ('Wanderley'), have sustained their position, aided by the colonial-feudal structure.

Caspar van der Ley is named as witness in the baptismal register of Recife only once: for Caspar, son of one Hans Knock and Joel Meyna, on 1 June 1639. Fam. blad 1888, vol. 6, 169.
45 'Dirck van Hoogstraten en zijn huysvrouw' moved in the circle of Jacob Stachouwer, Hoge Raad and sugarmill proprietor, Nicolaes de Ridder, judge-advocate and engenheiro, and Cornelis Bayer, captain, who also appears in the register several times. Stachouwer and De Ridder resigned as members of the Provincial Council (Gemeenteraad) of Olinda/Recife in 1637, when a few Jews were chosen as council members and, despite objections, kept on. Fam. Blad 1888, vol. 5, pp. 141, 142, 144. After 1638 the family is not mentioned again. For the Gemeenteraad: Mello, Flamengos, p. 257; Dag. Not. 21/9/1637, ARA, OWIC, box 68.
The ecclesiastical architecture of Brazil is generally described as 'Baroque'. The classification is used not only for the 18th-century structures in Minas Gerais, but also for those in the Nordeste. Germain Bazin wrote the standard work on this topic, 'L'Architecture Religieuse Baroque au Brésil' (1958). At the time he was connected to the Museu de Belas Artes in São Paulo. Without much variation, he characterizes the buildings as 'Baroque' or, if built later in the 18th century, as 'Rococo' (1). The Hungarian Paul Kélemen takes a somewhat more nuanced approach. He alone in the literature conveys something of Nordestino architecture's own character. He bases his theory upon visual characteristics of style: 'Ornamentation', 'Decoration', 'Simple Ground plan', etc. (2). However, not even he escapes categorizing works of art based on the stylistic features of their century of origin. It appears that stylistics are sealed off into almost hermetic chronological time periods.

In the following pages, I would like to compare my own opinion of stylistic accomplishment in 17th-century northeast Brazil to previous stylistic distinctions.

The timespan of the 15th to the 18th century is the subject of more theories in Art History than any other epoch. The political and cultural lines characterizing present-day Europe became increasingly sharp during these centuries. The middle class gained never-to-be-relinquished ground against feudal society. As insights into natural law and philosophy changed, so too changed man's imaginative power. To bring ostensible reality ever closer, the gifted were commissioned with the task of depicting it, putting it into words, or setting it to music. In short, representational power was developed on all the creative fronts that the human spirit can possess. The arts, however, did not serve as a system of documentation, but rather as a medium to visualize the symbols mankind chose to represent its values. Societies of all epochs have placed varying emphasis on economics and politics. Nevertheless, once chosen, symbols function as a 'reminder', and in this way, art can guide mankind's thoughts and behaviour through the strength of its affirmative power. The chosen methods by which the arts represent the symbols, however, can differ.

This cluster of three or four centuries is stylistically noteworthy. The Middle Ages lasted approximately 1000 years. The connoisseur naturally sees finer gradations in the era than 'Early Romanesque', 'High Romanesque', 'Late Romanesque', 'Early Gothic', 'High Gothic', and 'Late Gothic'. One merely has to think of Merovingian, Carolingian Renaissance, Ottonian, Anglo-Saxon, etc.
However, in the 350 to 400 years between the mid-14th century and the end of the 18th, only the stylistic developments in Italy and its sphere of influence can be differentiated with any degree of precision: 'Proto-Renaissance', 'Early, High, and Late Renaissance', 'Mannerism', 'Baroque', 'Rococo', and 'Neo-Classic'. These categories do not consider the state of affairs in Northern Europe. By 1480, Italy boasted the Santo Spirito of Brunelleschi and the Santo Andrea of Alberti. In Northern Europe the appellation 'Hanseatic Gothic', and other regional variations still sufficed. By 1650, Italy plunged into the plasticity of 17th-century Italian artists. In the Netherlands, the taut planes of post-Palladians such as Van Campen and Pieter Post were still le dernier cri. Overlaps on all sides and frequent eclecticism fill the art-history metier with legions of arguments over the cause of this phenomenon.

Historian call this period the 'Nieuwe Tijd' (New Time), 'New' thanks to the tremendous sociological, mental, philosophical, and scientific changes. Although the 'mechanizing of the world–image' began earlier, it developed so greatly during this period that we can safely argue that the world of today still stands in this image's shadow. The New Time also divides into other categories than those of art–historical style. Periods of rule, momentous events, the periods preceding or following revolution or war: all of these are focal points upon which we judge the merit of occurrences. The traditional yet still popular art–historical stylistic divisions of 'Renaissance' and 'Baroque', with 'Mannerism' inserted as a trait–d'union, isolates artistic expression from the events that surrounded it locally.

One of the first to make an entire epoch the subject of art–sociological research was the Dutchman Leo Balet. He begins his Die Verbourgerlichung der Deutschen Kunst, Literatur und Musik im 19. Jahrhundert (1936) with a quick sketch of the socio–economic conditions of Germany in the 18th century (3). He starts in the Middle Ages with the trade initiated by the middle class, and follows the connected processes through to the mercantile system around the middle of the 17th century. Mercantilism in fact developed in opposition to the interests of the free merchants, those privileged by charter. The distinctions between the middle class and the bourgeoisie grew sharper, and this carried consequences for religious and artistic commissions. Naturally, this tendency showed itself not only in Germany, but also in 17th-century France, England, and the Netherlands. Balet proceeds through history until he reaches the problem he wants to treat; we are here most specifically interested in his interpretation of the 17th-century Baroque. Balet requires the 17th century and the Baroque only to investigate the roots of Neo–Classicism. Mercantilism was a measure taken by absolute rulers. The Baroque was an artistic style perfectly complementing their absolutist mentality. Absolutism, as the name itself implies, dominates and controls the private conditions of life. The Baroque did not permit a dominant form of expression. Instead, through an integration of all art forms, it expressed an urge for unity. This desire for unity itself disallowed one art form to dominate another. This view is merely an interpretation of Baroque Art as a specimen of a specific mentality. Stylistics are more than the collection of characteristics inherent to
an artwork that distinguishes it from another. Stylistics can be used to determine the social developments of a certain time. The history of art is not merely an isolated domain where aesthetics and ethics remain imponderable abstractions of the mind. It must be considered a valid sparring-partner in researching the human mentality of the past. The term 'Baroque' as used by Balet, and as it is useful here, describes a collection of values arising from a certain 'periode-code', a code which, inherent to a certain period, influences people's expressions. Meanwhile, the expressions in turn influence people as well. To describe these expressions as they are visualized in art, we will use the term 'Baroque Art' (5).

The policy in the arts in the 17th century reflected the autonomous power of the nobility and the Church. At least that was the design: the Baroque as the exhibitionism of commanding omnipotence. The artist himself had to struggle for recognition both on the encompassing scale of the state and prelates, as well as on a human, ordinary scale. The Baroque artist demonstrated his command over all territories: architecture, sculpture, and painting, as well as the extra-visual arts, including music and literature although we shall restrict ourselves to the visual arts. This artist had power over his discipline; he was absolute ruler. He expressed this power in all the available, multiple forms.

Balet analyses the relationship between the prominent qualities of art during the absolutist timeperiod in the following manner:

Absolutismus bedeutet

unendliche

Unendlichkeit der Macht nur vorstellbar als Erweiterung ins Undendliche

Macht

manifestiert sich als

Seiendes

Wirkendes

Objekt-Bewältigung

Objekt-Vergewaltigung

Endlose Bewegung 'Splendour' Virtuosität Unnatur

We can not assume an underlying mentality of absolutism in periods when many ecclesiastical and secular edifices clearly developed out of a high integration of art and construction. The evidence would only be indirect; moreover, mutatis mutandis, it is relevant as a model for other epochs, for example the Gothic.

The key to explaining what lies at the base of the Baroque rests in analysing the aspirations towards unlimited power, which itself aspires to show its own omnipotence. Virtually every power, including the unlimited, knows its boundaries, in the sense that power can only express itself as such when it manifests itself over something or someone. In this manifestation, the unlimited is confronted with its limits. Nevertheless, the ambition to be unbounded remains. One might raise the question whether 'absolute power' is a contradiction in terms.
However, absolute power is not and does not evolve from a static policy. It is a dynamic concept, and this erases the contradiction. Absolutism is a bounded proposition that grows unchecked in the direction of the infinite. Absolutism, therefore, is the turbulent passion for everything.

In Germany, contemporaneous spiritual and worldly architectural structures have been preserved. In both instances, floor plans bear witness to a 'feel for' or 'desire for' plastic expanse. They break with the rigidity of their classical origins. They preserve the classical preference for five bays, but the façade walls curve the space, the spires vault, and the towers themselves exceed or fall short of Renaissance proportions. The interiors of both ecclesiastical and civil buildings contain exuberant decorations, as do the entrance and window sections. Churches, palaces, and other structures do not stop short at the boundaries of their floor plans, but by means of extended flights and stairs, they seek their way farther afield.

Analogous to the developments in architecture are those in sculpture and painting. One finds here, just as in architecture, a violation of borders: the paradox inherent in the desire for unlimited power.

Inarguably, the artists’ enormous technical abilities allowed them to manifest suggestions of the unbounded. They could do all; their command over material was limitless. Besides the aforementioned aspiration towards infinity, the other ‘leg’ in the scheme of Absolutism is virtuosity. Virtuosity enables the artist to depart from natural forms and compositions and replace them with greater, more twisted figures, resulting in a third aspect, the unnatural. Here we must remark that the artist did not intend the unnatural as an end in itself, but only to show the brilliance of his work, the greatness of his talent, and the unlimited possibilities of his ingenuity. Here too we find a direct connection with the turbulence and passion of Absolutism. In France, the absolutist mood found full flower in Louis XIV’s droit divin declaration and its wide influence on cultural (and thus artistic) values and opinions throughout Europe.

To return to Brazil: is all this typical for the ecclesiastical architecture of the coastal stretch of the Northeast, the ‘litoral do Nordeste’? The apparatus of the governmental system may have intrinsically transplanted the conditions. After the surrender of the Northeast to the Portuguese in 1654, governor Francisco Barreto, situated in Bahia, automatically regained control of his former capitâncias. But the highest authority was still the monarch in Lisbon, and, as before, a capitão was appointed for each capitania. So the 16th-century governmental structure remained in effect. Due to the expanse of the territory, the dangers of climate and native population, and the lack of good communication, the authorities could not develop an administrative infrastructure. Neither could they pursue a stringent decision-making policy. The population, including the religious orders, enjoyed great freedom of movement, facilitated by the protracted lines of communication between the Lusitanian colony and both its mother country and the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome.

'Absolutism' in the sense of a central governmental power did not exist.
The Inquisition, that suppressor of the freedom of religion, was in evidence. When it operated, it was harsh, but not to the extent and frequency witnessed in Europe.

The situation was not much different in art and architecture. In clear-cut tasks such as the construction of a church or the execution of a reliable, one-time instructions from Rome and Lisbon were unequivocal. The absolutist organs of power strove to transpose their own desired objectives and artistic taste to the overseas territories.

Yet in all of the Nordeste, I have been unable to find any example of a church that is Baroque as we defined it at the beginning of this argument: a spatial concept that breaks with rectangular limitations and applies geometry in a rounded, circular, and, in short, infinite form. A few quasi-Baroque small churches in the interior, including Marechal Deodoro and Goiana (early XVIII century) and the São Pedro dos Clérigos in Recife, are the few possible exceptions. The latter is the only church—in Recife that can lay claim to a Baroque concept, although fairly late in European terms.

**Fig. 11a**

a  Floorplan São Pedro dos Clérigos, Oporto. Nicoló Nasoni, early 18th century.
It was conceived in 1719 and constructed between 1759 and 1780. The São Pedro dos Clérigos of Oporto (conceived 1719, begun in 1720) served as the example. The architect in Oporto was Nicolò Nasoni, an Italian in the service of the ostentatious monarch João V, who was fortunate enough to enjoy the exploitation of the Minas Gerais mines. One of Nasoni’s students, Manuel Ferreira Jacomé (his title became 'Master Stonemason'), designed the São Pedro in Recife.

By 'Recife' we mean here the combined areas of the _povo_, original Recife, the Mauritsstad section, and 'Nieuw Mauritsstad', the expansion constructed from 1638 on, during Johan Maurits van Nassau’s rule. The original 'Mauritsstad' was that section containing the 'Groot Kwartier' and Huis Vrijburg. In the Portuguese era this part of the city was called 'Santo Antônio do Recife', but after 1715, the two quarters separated into 'Santo Antônio' and 'São José'. In the 1970’s, after the construction of a highway through this district, many of the original, close ties to Recife’s authentic 17th- and 18th-century urban sections disappeared.

Fig. 11b


For a long while, the São Pedro was the foremost church of the district. The interior gives evidence of this by the tribune gallery on opposite sides of the nave. From here the superiors of the city had a grand view of both the priest’s performance at the altar and the community’s performance in the nave. The floor plan clearly resembles Oporto’s, taking the octagonal figure as its starting point. Still, the church’s exterior does not hint at the plasticity of the interior.
One could speak of a 'Brazilian Baroque' in Minas Gerais, but even aside from the fact that the small churches there were all constructed in the 18th century, when the Baroque fire had already been doused in Europe, the mining province lies too far from the Nordeste and per definition has a different history.

Still, if one considers the altarpieces and the chapel-retablos, the Nordeste also has something of a Baroque style. The resulting curls and flourishes and the amount of gold used depended in part upon the ostentation of the commissioning priest, the criteria set by the concerned order, and the enthusiasm of the craftsman himself. Artistic expression barely or only indirectly honored the absolutist aspirations sent from Rome or Portugal, and it revealed more personal virtuosity in its interpretation of the forms.

The most famous church interior in Recife and environs is that of the São Francisco, the so-called 'Capela Dourada' (Appendix I). Local materials such as jacarandá wood and gilding from Minas Gerais were in sufficient supply. The talents and capacities of the designer/artist and the artisans caused the greatest difficulties. Brazil, as was frequently the case with colonies, had no standing tradition of studios and professional art-training, so that contractors had to manage with local talent. These in turn, no matter how creative and ingenious their designs, had to be content with mostly 'unschooled labourers' and slaves, who were burdened with executing the plans after showing sufficient skill. Aside from Portuguese and European immigrants, Brazil, certainly in the initial period of the 'restoration', did not have a force of skilled and trained 'artisans'. The immigrant-artisan was often immediately put to work upon the design of a building or a retablo. Francisco Soares, who carved the wooden interior of the São José, decorated the monastery and church of São Bento in Olinda and built the Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres in Guararapes, is one example.

In this context, our analysis of the term Baroque as an artistic style that exemplifies an absolutist mentality is sufficient. It does not apply to the 17th-century structures of the Nordeste, and only to a portion of those from the 18th century. In order to reach a stylistic determination, we must ultimately resort to the term 'Mannerism'. Not completely Renaissance, not yet Baroque: perhaps something somewhere in-between? One can answer this question in three ways:

1. Mannerism, like many established, respected categories, underwent a definitive emancipation in the 1960's. Rather than a transition period, Mannerism came to be seen as an expression unifying form and content through literature, the visual arts, and music. Characteristic of the possible artistic results is a sense of forward motion or procession. Geometry, least of all symmetry, does not dominate Mannerism. Movement, transformation, appearance, and disappearance were the methods behind this form of expression. Sometimes the relationship between the diverse art forms, for example literature and painting, is clear. Sometimes the connection is less obvious or not present at all. Mannerist artwork achieved independence partly through means of unrestrained intercourse with elements plucked from diverse
styles, such as Renaissance, exotic, or even Gothic. Ornamentation became an end in itself; the constructive elements of architecture became subordinate to the façade decoration. In poetry, swings of sound, rhythm, and visual imagery became just as important as content, or more precisely, content was determined by image. So much for the form.

2. Concerning the content of Mannerism, I would like to mention the following:
The Renaissance reversed the Horatian doctrine *Ut pictura poësis*: painting should be as narrative, as detailed, and as instructive as poetry. Mannerism longed to liberate itself from this precept. Mannerist composition typically demonstrates greater individuality and greater possibilities of expression; witness the exaggerated qualities, the deviation from the rules. Shearman makes clear the quite complex and interwoven relationship between literature and the visual arts (6). Unlike their Renaissance predecessors, Mannerist artists were not concerned with resolving the dichotomy between the two sister arts, either in a narrative or a visual manner. Neither did they wish to intensify the contrast; on the contrary, the form of a poem, the sentence—structure, the sound, and the decorative interrelationship of the words were precisely what concerned them.

3. The twists, the uncoiling of words and sentences, and the painterly or plastic ornamentation enclosed the infinite but not in a linear way: its continuous movement, its path recaptured by the voice and eye, the imaginative duration of the perpetually mobile. One lovely example of this is Pontormo's *Descent from the Cross* (Santa Felicità, Florence). The figures are rendered so transparently that they seem to lower the Body effortlessly, yet just as easily seem to float to heaven. One finds the same features in the poetry of the time (see the example in note 10).

In this way the Mannerist artist achieved unity of form and content, sounding a different idiom than the Renaissance and Baroque artist.

A short excursion into 17th-century Portuguese and Spanish literature is in place: Portuguese literature took a different path than Italian literature in the 17th century. Spain served as Portugal's example and inspiration. What Spain brought forth manifested itself some time later in the little neighbour, either through the Spanish instigators themselves, or through their 'schools'. In Spain, the most important work of the 17th century is by Lope de Vega (1562–1632). Lope wrote more than 2000 plays; he developed and influenced not only religious pieces, but above all the chivalric comedias de capa y espada (helmet and shield) of Spanish origin, in which 'honour' stood as the central concern. His pieces contained insinuating references to archaic political relations and he speared the dragon of feudalism. I believe that the figure of Don Quixote belongs to this tradition, the more so as Part 1 of the book did not appear until 1605 (Cervantes: 1547–1616). Lope also exerted great influence upon Dutch stage literature; witness the many 'Spanish dramas' in the 17th-century Holland.
Lope's work is very important in the study of Spanish and Portuguese literature. Lope had an enormous influence on the theory and practice of dramatic literature, not only in his own time, but especially in the literature after him. Worp calls him 'the genius, second only to Shakespeare in the New Time' (7). Saraiva and Lopes refer to the title, already, in the 17th century, for Lope: esse monstro da natureza, this monster of artlessness. In his short work, Arte nuovo de hacer comedias (1609), Lope justifies his abandonment of Aristotelian principles and his conspicuous profiling of his characters, in which the lower classes complement and are therefore as important as the elite (8). He did not oppose the Inquisition, but in the words of one of his characters, the Cristão-Novo Bernardo, who justifies the supposed Jewish betrayal leading to the fall of Bahia in 1624, his attitude seems dualistic. In the first act of his play El Brasil Restituido, Lope, honouring the reconquest of the city by Don Fadrique one year later, has Bernardo say:

'Teniendo que el Santo Oficio
enlua un visitador,
de cuyo graue rigor
tenemos bastante indício.

hauemos escrito a Olanda,
que con armada se apresta,
de quien tenemos respuesta,
que sobre sus águas anda,
juzgado será mexor
entregarnos a Olandeses,
que sufrir que portugueses
nos traten con tal rigor.'

(When we became aware that the Inquisition was going to send an official inspector, whose cruelty was fully known to us, we wrote to the Netherlands to quickly send a fleet, from where we received the answer that it [already] ploughs the waters. We found it less terrible to surrender ourselves to the Dutch than to suffer further under the Portuguese, who treated us so rigorously) (9).
'Treason was bad and the Jews were bad', but the reasons forcing bad men to commit bad deeds were even worse; at least that was the argument, and Lope seems to make this clear.

Lope's dramas are by their very nature intended as podium pieces, but, thanks to the poetry of their language and their complex plots and intrigues, they can also be enjoyed as independent pieces of literature. Besides the toned-down aristocratic ethic and the profiling of characters, this literary quality also inspired Lope's followers (10). The Neo-Classical, anti-Aristotelian attitudes of Racine and Corneille, for example, followed the antipathetic tendencies defended by Boileau. In this respect, Lope de Vega can be called an Enlightened writer—avant-la-lettre. Further research might investigate the connection between Mannerism and the Enlightenment, or more precisely, the Enlightenment's interest in Manneristic expressions and opinions. Current emphasis comes down too heavily upon the relationship with the Renaissance.
Where originality is lacking, attention turns towards refinement. Whenever this occurs in such a way that the result evokes its own, new experience, the aptly named ‘manner of doing’ then harmonizes with the rendered content.

Once again the question arises: does this also apply to the Nordeste architecture in the 17th and 18th century? To answer this question, we must touch upon Brazil’s relation to Portugal. Not until the Napoleonic Era, when the Lisbon Court took refuge in Rio de Janeiro, did Brazil’s subordinate position of colony change. Before then the dominant residents of the land, the great landowners of the sugar regions, managed to develop a unique culture. On the other hand, the merchant class stayed only temporarily. After concluding business profitably, most retired in comfortable circumstances to ‘Oporto, com o papagaio e concubina preta, edificando casas grandes, cobertas de azulejos’, according to Dr. Aníbal Pinto de Castro, Professor of Literature at the University of Coimbra (1970). His description sufficiently illustrates the limited cultural interests of the nouveaux riches (11).

In other words, Portugal did not exert a cultural influence upon Brazil except through the religious establishment. The Brazilian landed nobility imitated in detail the fashion of the Court. Yet it also developed its own lifestyle. The crockery and furniture from the period warrants the first supposition; the customs, resulting from the hot, humid climate, warrant the second. The merchant class acted sui generis as trait-d’union between the different classes of the hierarchic society, but wasn’t in the colony long enough to make any social or cultural contributions.

This changed in the second half of the 18th century, when the discoveries of gold and precious stones of Minas Gerais made life in Brazil much more agreeable in many respects. The mobility of the urban population changed. Greater prosperity meant, among other things, better building materials. In the beginning of the 18th century, the ditches and canals of Santo Antônio do Recife, formerly Mauritsstad, fallen into disrepair, were filled. There was enough money for an expansion upon the mainland opposite the island, named ‘Boa Vista’ after Johan Maurits van Nassau’s still—present, if decaying manor house, Slot (Castle) Boa Vista (12). Recife maintained its status as a fast—growing, busy trade city, where conditions steadily improved. The cultural life, however, did not have its roots in very fertile soil. The historical background was too materialistic, and frequent war and militarization harmed the few cultural specimens introduced by Johan Maurits van Nassau. Recife lived by the grace of trade, just as Bahia’s mainstay was its central religious and official position.

Recife had strong connections to northern Portugal. The merchant class in Recife might have played the role of cultural postilion. It would be worthwhile to do comparative research on 17th— and 18th—century architecture of northern Portugal and the Nordeste. Perhaps not only northern Portugal but Northern Europe can be shown as an influence; the conjecture exists, but has not yet been proven by scholarship.
What is certain, however, is that northern Portuguese architecture is distinct from the architecture of Lisbon and the rest of the country. The rest of the country does not necessarily resemble Lisbon more closely. Major cities in every country distinguish themselves by many representative buildings that are stylistically more international in character than those found in the less cosmopolitan periphery, where less information, less money, and local traditions strongly determine the architecture's character. The result is that, 'absents vom Guten und Bösen', a style can develop undisturbed and lend its own accent to a region. The stylistic lines of influence were complexly interwoven through the long sea voyages of merchants, soldiers, and clergy. In this way the dates of artworks, especially those of overseas territories, glide over the fault planes of the ages, the boundaries of those stylistic eras currently defined by art-historians.

This may have been the case with the Manuelistic tendencies in northern Portugal. The Estilo Manuelino was Gothic in origin, unlike the Renaissance Terzian and other styles propogated by the Madrid Court. During their first voyages of discovery in the reign of Dom Manuel in the first half of the 16th century, the Portuguese blended Gothic with exotic motifs, spicing the mixture with the cultural inheritance of Mozarabic origins (13). The octagon of Batalha, the Christ-convent (Convento de Cristo) at Tomar, and the cloister church 'Os Jerónimos' in Belém near Lisbon are examples. Diogo Boytac and João Castilho were the architects of the 'Os Jerónimos' (1502–1519). Diogo Arruda, the brother of Francisco Arruda and, like him, a military engineer, constructed the nave and the vestry of the convent at Tomar (1510–1514). Küber proposes that the ornamentation's Islamic motifs can be traced to Arruda's service in North Africa, but, although Portugal tended to ignore its own Mozarabic influences, they were naturally also strong (14). A typical Manuelistic building, one which long survived the monarch himself (1521), is the church Os Grilos in Oporto (1614–1622), constructed by the Jesuits and the principal work of the architect Balthasar Álvares (a nephew of Afonso Álvares, the famous 'Mestre de Confiança' of Dom Sebastião and the architect of the Santo Espírito in Évora) (15).

Küber refers to the example books of Wendel Dietterlin for the origins of 16th-century Portuguese ornamentation. No doubt the travelling members of religious orders and anyone concerned with architecture brought these books to Portugal. Undoubtedly this was also the case with the books of Hans Vredeman de Vries, who worked for a long time in Germany and wrote his work, Variæ Architecturae Formæ, in Latin (16). The difference between Wendel Dietterlin and Vredeman de Vries is primarily that the former holds to the pronouncements of the Italian Mannerists rather than to his own opinions, whereas the latter is much freer with the material. Vredeman de Vries was a student of Cornelis Floris of Vriendt Jr. (Antwerpen 1514–1575). Together with de Vriendt and Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–1550), he designed the 'grotesque', a decoration that attempts to synthesize Gothic verticality and the horizontal planes of the Renaissance. It would be worthwhile to look for the eventual presence of such material in the archives of Recife (17).

We now turn our attention from Portugal to Brazil, which had to wrestle with the following problems.
The building materials found along the coast of Northeast Brazil, *the litoral do Nordeste*, were relatively simple in nature. There was very little useable stone: *arenita*, a soft sandstone, was common. Jacarandá wood was sumptuous in contrast. This abundant hardwood, similar to rosewood but more brittle and difficult to work because of its muddy grain, was used for interiors and altarpieces. Engineers often provided the architectural design of the city itself; they also functioned primarily as fortress engineers. But talented wood carvers might also be commissioned to design a church building and supervise its construction.

The architectural structures of colonial Spanish America are much more exuberant and dominating. This is not because the architects possessed greater expertise, but because from the beginning, the Spanish colonies could build regardless of expense. The rich yield of their mines made them continuously more lucrative than the Portuguese territories. Moreover, Spain was Portugal’s overbearing ‘Big Brother’ for 60 years, from 1580–1640. The colonial architecture reflects the imbalance of power between the two nations (18).

Brazil would not see signs of architectural aplomb until 1699, the year gold, silver, and (semi-)precious stones were found in Minas Gerais (General Mines). In earlier times, rumours about mineral and precious metal treasures were regularly coughed up and, after investigation, choked down again in disappointment. Even Johan Mauritius van Nassau sent word to Holland of speculative indications and discoveries, but analysis there overturned the hills of gold (19). It seems there was no extravagant wealth or importance in the period directly following the 'Dutch Invasion' and during 'The Restoration'. Although the victors rejoiced, the economic situation did not flourish as in the 1630’s, when sugar carried more weight on the world market than it did near the end of the century. The landed nobility ruled over the plantations. These noblemen had developed their own lifestyle over time, beginning with the first of the Cristão–Novo (New Christian) colonists, who took possession of the new land in relative prosperity. Silk sheets, lace garments, and silver tableware were their lot, and 'colonial furniture' of jacarandá wood graced their residences. The colonial class did not exert direct influence upon the architecture of the churches, monasteries, and chapels; at best they influenced indirectly through bequests for the construction or establishment of an extra chapel or altarpiece. Primary responsibility rested with the priests themselves. The municipality waited until the 18th century to take on the task of town development and the associated design and construction of public buildings.

Still, the town architect made his entry in the society’s construction projects near the end of the 17th century; witness the appointment and the projects of military engineer Antônio Fernandes de Matos (20). Unfortunately nothing remains of the public buildings of that time; gone too are Matos’s contribution to the enlargement and maintenance of the old Dutch defence works and the church structures he designed conforming to the rules of the immediate principals, the Orders.
Brazilian mentality in the 17th and early 18th century was chiefly Portuguese, at least in the coastal areas. This was also true on the fazendas; despite their unique culture, the property owners felt the need to imitate the prosperity and an esthetic norms that they remembered or re-experienced during trips to the homeland. A general search for a 'Brazilian' identity did not take place until the first decade of the 19th century, after the Declaration of Independence and the 1820–22 Constitution. This period also saw a revival of interest in colonial Brazil's first few centuries, including the Dutch Period (21).

In architecture, consequently, Portugal fulfilled an exemplary function for Brazil. The colony had not yet developed scholarship on an advanced, let alone university, level. Neither would the Fine Arts have an academic grounding until the 19th century in Rio de Janeiro. In the Mediterranean world, architectural design had analogies to literary and pictorial composition. This was not true for Brazil. Here, architectural design was derived from decorative expression and was not supported by a background in or 'feed back' from the sister arts (22).

Brazil also differed from Portugal in climate and available materials, in the ad hoc skills of the local work force, and last but not least in the often whimsical requests of the principals/priests. The latter left their mark in sometimes literally top-heavy frontons and window sections, added later to otherwise well-proportioned façades, in an attempt to accommodate the (supposed) trend of the time. This also explains the extra dose of ornamentation administered to the 'bare' classical bases of authentic 18th-century structures such as the small churches in Goiana and Marechal Deodoro. The decoration gave the parish style and prestige. We will discuss the ecclesiastical structures of Recife and environs connected to the Dutch Period in Chapter IV. Appendix I will treat other structures which, by their presence, give the Recife of today a striking profile, despite the advance of overshadowing cement and steel Mochos. These church buildings, postdating the Dutch Period, sometimes influenced the restoration of older churches because of their up-to-date look. The Santo Antonio Matriz in Recife is one example. As a large, episcopal church, it naturally served as model. The influence of the Matriz is clearly visible in the restoration (i.e. alteration) of the façade of the old monastery Santo Antonio and other church façades in the region, for example the Nossa Senhora (Our Lady) do Rosário. One can see the influence in the arched cornix and the small, round windows above the façade.
The church of Santo Antônio, Igarassú, circa 1980. After a plan in the Arquivo do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional, nr. 239a. The heavy 18th-century ornamentation contradicts the severe proportions of the original church and convent.

Summo totalis: the northeastern churches of Brazil have a hybrid appearance: strict base forms with ornamentation either too heavy or too light, but nonetheless always devoutly applied. No unambiguous name suffices for this hybrid style. It is not Baroque; it is barely Mannerism, and in no sense is it Rococo. The Hungarian art-historian Paul Kélemen came to the designation 'Estilo litoral', something like 'Coastal Style', on the basis of appearance; this seems both descriptively and geographically too vague. Neither would I want to champion, à la Pevsner, 'Manierismo Nordestino', 'Northeast Mannerism', or a similar designation, even though the local problem resembles that of European architectural history. Pevsner places 'true' Italian Mannerism, following Shearman's analysis, into one category, and in another category, 'Northern European Mannerism', he places everything 'similar, but not exactly the same' that originated in the rest of Europe, specifically Northern Europe (23). But the influences upon the Nordeste, both the Portuguese priests and men of Latin countries, are much too post-Manneristic for that. In principle these influences are actually Baroque or even Rococo; only the absorption of the material could be called Mannerist and not Baroque.

On that account, after acquainting myself with hundreds of the thousands of church edifices and buildings in the Nordeste, I believe that their unique air can best be characterised by the simple and unpretentious title 'Estilo Colonial Nordestino', Colonial Style of Northeast Brazil. Instead of searching for a closer association to the overseas style, this term leaves more room for appropriate specifications as needed. The term Estilo Colonial Nordestino is relevant up to and including the 19th century, even after the date of
Brazilian independence. Stylistic dates never coincide entirely with historic turning-points or turns of centuries. Style is the concrete shape of a need, a mental necessity. The expression of this need cannot be entirely explained by local, external factors such as history, society, economics, and politics, although this dissertation may sometimes seem to make that attempt. The statement and the attempt are both correct. It is only possible to define art after tracing and connecting as many factors as possible. Yet one important aspect of art is its disregard for those factors (24). The Nordeste architecture of the colonial period and for some time thereafter is characterized by an individuality that grew out of the light-hearted piety of the population (25).

This last quality distinguishes it from Spanish colonial architecture, in which a great deal of black, serious fanaticism seems to prevail, expressing itself in an overwhelming number of shapes and motifs, apparently to impress the pious and the novice. This is not the case in Brazil. Despite their struggle to survive the pressures of a feudal society and hierarchical church structure, the Brazilian people have maintained a certain mentality of optimism, of joy in life and illusion. This is true of all levels of society. However, after generations of malnutrition, disease, and the vicissitudes of climate, fatalism seems to have triumphed in our own time. Portugal sometimes follows the Spanish tradition more closely, but we have already discussed the necessary factors concerning this above. Brazilian colonial architecture, as a mental document, deserves to be scrupulously preserved. The old buildings of this formerly feudal, still largely hierarchical system, whose capitalistic forces overrule historical, artistic, and scientific values, are an easy prey to neglect, corrosion, destruction, and all the threats of our time.


8. A.J. Saraiva and O. Lopes, *História da Literatura Portuguesa*, Lisboa/Porto 1985, p. 225. Lope and Shakespeare are compared not on the nature of their work, but rather on their productivity. Shakespeare's main roles are characteristically ambiguous concerning strength and weakness, good and evil, certainty and uncertainty. He parallels Aristotle, who took Sophocles' *Oedipus* as his orientation.


10. Among the imitators of the Spanish author were: Guillén de Castro (1589–1631), Luis Vélez de Guevara (1579–1644), Ruiz de Alarcón (1581–1639), Tirso de Molina (1571–1648), and Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681). The greatly refined dialogue and convoluted intrigues are typically Mannerist. Master and student differed over Spain's greatness. Lope argued that this greatness rose out of wars which plunged the land itself into poverty:

'Bellas cosas tiene España:
Es rica, aunque por las guerras
No están fértiles las tierras
Que el mar en su margen baña.'


Tirso de Molina dedicated patriotic lines to Spain's international fame:
'Patria con est presente:
veréis la mejor provincia
de Europa, donde la Iglesia
da a la fe segura silla;
donde las ciencias florecen,
donde la nobleza habita,
donde el valor tiene escuela
y donde el mundo se cifra.'

Tirso de Molina, Caballero de Gracia, II Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles IX, 102.

Note the repetition of the word (and the sound) 'donde', a device that sanctions the content and gives the verse form an urgent character. In this way it leans more towards Mannerist than Baroque principles. The contrasting image called up by Lope de Vega has all the action and corresponding tension of Mannerism's own dynamic: "...las tierras que el mar en su margen ba a' (...the land, that bathes the sea within its margins). This inverted imagery is comparable to the poetry of the 20th-century Dutch poet and visual artist Chris van Geel, showing that the mentality of Mannerism is not bound by time:

'om de dorre bladeren te ontopen
'greep de wind zijn vingers moe'.
(to evade the withered leaves
the wind clasped his fingers in exhaustion)

(Spigroc en andere verzen, van Oorschot, 1958).

Chris van Geel married Thérèse Cornips, to whom he dedicated this publication. The title and name both demonstrate the same contrasting and rather coquettish movement.

Translation: 'Oporto, with a parrot and a black concubine, building great houses covered with tiles'.

12 The governor built Boa Vista between 1641 and 1643 on the former António Vaz island. See Picket III, Chapter I, and Chapter II.

13 As opposed to Spanish Plateresca, Manuelino ornamentation uses the entire surface. It is more naturalistic and often more exotic in nature.

14 Batalha, beginning 16th century. Incomplete octagonal baptisterium. Tomar, Convento de Cristo; Diogo and Francisco Arraia, respectively 1508-1531 and 1510-1549.
Belém, São Jerónimo; Diogo Boytac, active 1495-1517 and João de Castilho, active 1515-1552.
15 Balet, op.cit., p. 79. The façade of Os Grilos is made up of five parts. Balet attributes this partitioning to a Baroque characteristic. 'Five is an uneven number', he argues, and continues with a theory concerning indivisibility and infinity as symbols of change and growth, qualities that in part define the Baroque. But the sections already existed much earlier, not as five but as three; the same theory applies for this number.


18 In her dissertation about 17th-century Mexican churches, Fabienne Hellendoorn claims that Vredeman de Vries's example books were already in the possession of the Jesuit congregation there. Although I presently lack the time, I should like to investigate this for Brazil as well. Fabienne Hellendoorn, *Influencia del Manierismo-Nordico en la Arquitectura Virreinal Religiosa de México*, Delft, 1980.

19 Nieuhof, *Grote Zee- en Land Reize*, 1682, p. 13. 'In het gebiet van deze Kapitania [ Sergipe] leidt het gebergte van Tahayna: daer men voor dezen vertrouwde eenigh mineral van waerdye te zijn: het welch aan de Vergadering der XIX toegezonden wierdt. Maer alzo men, na genomen provee, ondervond, dat het niets van belang konde geven, zoo wiert het daer by gelegen'. (In the area of this *Capitania* lay the hills of Tahayan: there, it was thought, minerals of value could be found: these were sent to the Meeting of the XIX. But after tests it was discovered that nothing of interest could be found, and the matter was dropped.) It is most likely that 'Tahayna' has to be 'Paraíba'. Nieuhof's text contains more errors. The posthumous publication was edited by someone unacquainted with the original circumstances.

20 Mello, *Antônio Fernandes de Matos, architeceto do Recife*. Recife, 1957. Apparently Matos was allowed to use the title 'town architect'.

21 This clarifies why Johan Maurits van Nassau is depicted in an enormous leaded glass window in the hall of the Palácio do Governo, built in 1890. The window shows the governor reading out the establishment of the Town Council (1637). Brazil considers this the beginning of democracy, upon which it claims to have grafted its governmental system.

22 See notes 8, 9, and 10.


Despite architects' readiness to adopt the new Italian architectural principles, they had a strongly traditional, medieval style. Moreover, their design execution depended upon local stonemasons and other craftsmen, as yet unschooled in the new composition.
24 Benedetto Croce, *Philosophy, Poetry, History, an anthology of essays edited and introduced by Cecil Sprigge*, London/New York/Toronto, 1966. '... the work of art which is a creation, not a reflection, and a monument, not a document'. p. 239.

25 A typical Brazilian expression is: 'Com jeito', which roughly means 'With a trick'. The backs and palms of the hands are rubbed together two to four times. 'Com jeito' everything works. This ingrained expression illustrates the improvisational talent without which nothing much could be accomplished, especially not in colonial architecture.
Foundation

Chapter I: The urbanization of Recife and Mauritsstad

4.1 URBANIZATION OF RECIFE

Olinnda's carefully dismantled building material was used to expand and strengthen Recife. Natural stone was particularly in demand. It had once served to ballast empty ships sailing from Portugal to the colony; sometimes it arrived numbered according to an accompanying blueprint for a church 'ordered' in the mother country. But often even the residences had 'stone steps, because the rich all lived on the first floor', according to the report of Johannes Baers (1). Baers added that all thresholds and window frames in Olinda were made of heavy hard stone. For the constructions, the Dutch found lime on Itamaracá to use for mortar. Later, once the colonists controlled the interior, they quarried a relatively soft, easily workable stone called arenita from out of the hills of Pernambuco, Paraiba, and Rio Grande (2). Like the Portuguese with their flagstones, tiles, hard stone, and lioz (a sort of limestone from the Lisbon area), the Dutch used bricks as made-to-order ballast on ships sailing to the colony.

Johannes De Laet gives us a contemporary description of Recife's fortification:

'Het Dorp op 't Reciff hadde tot noch toe teghen de Rievier open gheleghen, nietteghenstaende de selue met leegh water, tot aan de knien toe ghepasseert kan worden. Om dan dese plaetse mede beter te versekeren, en met minder volck te bewaren, soo hebben goedt ghevonden 't gheedelte daer de verbrande Packhuysen stonden of te snijden, ende de reste van 't Kruidthuys of te besluyten, ende te decken met een goede Borstweere met twee bancketten, ende al Avenuen tusschen de Huysen tegen de Rievieere te stoppen met gelijcke Borstweere.'

(The village Recife up until then had lain open to the River, even though at low tide, the water only came up to the knees and was easy to cross. To better secure this place and hold it with less people, permission was granted to cut off the section where the burnt Warehouses once stood, close off the rest from the Powderhouse on, and cover everything with a good Breastwork with two banquets, and to close off all Avenues between the houses against the River with a similar Breastwork.)

A port, some bulwarks, a harbour pier, and hundreds of residences and stores—'...just as nice as in the fatherland', according to a letter from Johan Ghijseling to the WIC-Directors—served between 1631 and 1637 to turn this little 'spot' into a town. Ghijseling wrote upon his arrival in Recife at the end of March 1637. He had been sent to Pernambuco for the second time to serve as a Hoge Raad. His first appointment was between 1633 and 1634, so he had some basis for comparison. The town was now so heavily populated that he could scarcely find suitable accommodations, he commented further (3).
Count Maurits set foot on Brazilian soil on 23 January 1637, 'unter dem Donner des Geschützes und dem Jubel der Bevölkerung in dem Recif von Pernambuco' (with the thunder of the guns and the shouts of joy of the people etc.) (4). The governor found himself immediately occupied by field campaigns and battles, including the important battle near Porto Calvo. Nonetheless, from the very beginning he tackled the problem of the small stretch of mainland bursting at the seams with people.
The entire land area was encircled by a wide wall along with bulwarks and palisades. All useable land within was systematically built up. On maps of the period, Recife, clamped within its walls, resembles a medieval town. De Laet includes an anonymous illustration that serves as a good example (5). The conditions of the environment and ground determined Recife’s form and size, and its builders efficiently shaped the internal structure of streets and building sites.

**Figure 14**

Legend, figure 13:

1. The inlet of Recife through which ships enter the harbour, called the ‘Poço’, leading to the city.
2. The Poço, where ships lie and where many ships can lie.
3. Here a sandbank, four feet deep by low tide and twelve feet by spring-flow. Ships must sail on the side where the depth is greatest.
4. The top of the sandbank, which ships must avoid.
5. The river of the city, which has various dry spots in many places.
6. This place is named ‘Varrador’, where barks unload their merchandise.
7. The city of Pernambuco.
8. The castle in front of the place where ships enter, surrounded by water at high tide.
9. The river to the Várzea streaming upwards about two miles to the North, with many bars; boats and ships can sail here.
10. Here ships can lie at anchor, as in a tide-harbour, but there must be a long distance from ebb and flow; simple ropes then being sufficient.
11. This place is called ‘Houses of Recife’.
13. The cloister of São Bento belonging to the Benedictine Order.
15. The main church called the Sé.
16. The church of the Misericórdia.
17. Nossa Senhora da Conceição, a little church with several houses where young daughters live.
18. The convent of the nunnery of Santo Antonio where the nuns wear white clothes.
19. The convent of São Francisco, where the ‘cordeliers’ or Franciscan brothers live; here is a place to get fresh water.
20. The monastery of the Jesuits, a beautiful building with a very nice garden and fresh water; nearby are rocks where stone and lime-stone are extracted.
21. Nossa Senhora do Monte and the little church of the same name.
22. The Inlet of the Baretta in front of the river of the Várzea, often called ‘Capibaribe’.
23. The house with a little chapel of the Baretta.
24. On the roadsteads before the land; one can anchor at ten and twelve fathoms, being about half a mile or nearly a mile out from the mainland.
25. Itamaracá Island, which one can reach sailing from the roadsteads between the cliffs and hence from the island to the mainland.
26. A bridge near the city; by low tide, it is possible to pass through with horses and carriages, the depth measuring hardly two and a half to three feet of water. Many people with carriages, horses etc. take this passage to all southern directions.
27. The Island and the house of Marco André.
28 The mainland of the Várzea de Capibaribe with a length of three miles and a breadth of one mile and a half with many sugarmills or 'engenhos' [Dutch: 'ingenien', bastardized Portuguese]. This is a wonderful land where many people live and great amounts of sugar are.

29 The mainland of the Baretta; this is unfertile, poor, sandy empty land, filled with mangroves for about two miles, but in the neighborhood of the mountains the country is fine, with a lot of sugar and all necessities.

30 The riffs run along the sea-coast at low tide and eight feet high with the flow by new moon.

31 A new fortification to protect the harbour, possessing artillery.

32 Newly constructed refrenchments possessing artillery against the entry of [enemy] ships and for the defense of the harbour so that, even with all forces [the enemy] can do nothing. The ships must avoid both the forts with artillery and the sandbanks.

33 The place where barks used to load and unload the ships, still called 'The Old Harbour'. One can cross through the cliffs with a bark.

Here, dear observer, you have the explanation of the map, which provides further information of the city and the situation of the Land, etc.

FAREWELL.

Printed in Den Haag for Henricus Hondius, 1630.

Obviously, Hondius did not visit Brazil himself. If he had, he would not have mentioned the existence of a bridge over the Capibaribe, 'true to life' with horses and all. The Capibaribe and Beberibe do not flow in this direction. Hondius projected a bridge over both streams, however, he mentioned only one (26). Of note are the many indications for sailors; clearly the designer took his information from one or more sailors participating in the conquest of February 1630, since the forts built at the end of 1630 are not mentioned. Interesting too is the name of Antônio Vaz Island, here called after the subsequent owner, Marco André. This house, purchased by the WIC, was the governor's first residence from 1637 until the completion of Huis Vijburg in 1642.

Recife had a real town center formed by a (market) square, bordered by the church, administrative buildings, and the Sugar Weigh-house. All of this was in the immediate vicinity of the harbour. A ferry connected the town to Antônio Vaz Island. Recife had an urban quality, especially after the circumvallation in 1638; the life of the town focused upon its center and the sea, the reason for its existence. The early 1640's brought an end to this self-absorbed centralization; 'Mauritsstad', with the palaces of the governor and the new Gemeenteraad (Provincial Council) building (the old one stood in Olinda), rose up on Antônio Vaz Island between Recife and the mainland.

Barlaeus's famous biographical document, Rerum per octennium in Brasilia etc. (see bibliography), includes two maps that help compare the situation of 1637 with that of 1644, the year that Johan Maurits van Nassau, disappointed in the WIC's attitude, left Brazil.
By superimposing one map on top of the other, one can clearly see what construction took place in those seven years. In 1940, the architect Joaquim Cardoso did just that in an article about the history of Recife in the Dutch Period; his work appeared in the periodical of the contemporary Brazilian Institute for the Preservation of Monuments (6). Aside from the physical changes in ground plan between the beginning and the end of the Nassovian government, the most noticeable difference in the urban-planning concept is caused by the construction of Mauritsstad. From then on, Recife focused itself not only oceanwards, but towards the mainland as well.

**Fig. 15**

Recife rid itself of the principal city of Olinda in 1630. Urbanization commenced irrevocably that same year with the circumvallation. Johan Maurits recognized its importance and, in 1638, ordered the walls enlarged and strengthened with six bastions, so that, together with the two already standing at the Landpoort (7), eight bulwarks defended Recife all around. Lieutenant René de Monchy engineered this reinforcement project (8). In 1637-38 he also built the new pier that replaced the 1631 pier.  

This 'Hoofd waar boats aanteggen' (Pier where boats moor) had the same width as the square connected to it within the Waterpoort: 15 arm by 20 foot. Along with other important buildings such as the palace of the Hoge Raad and the Sugar Weigh-House, the Pleyn (Square) and the Oude Markt (Old Market) on the other side of the Grote Kerk (Great Church) formed the center of town (9).  

The pier accessed the inner harbours, which connected to the outer harbour via a small channel. The depth of the inner harbour (also called 'O Mosqueiro', spot for flies), varied from 4 to 6 meters; the depth of the outer harbour ('O Poço', deep pit) from 4.50 to 7 meters. The latter lay somewhat to the north, off Fort De Bruyen.  

In the initial period following the invasion, ships entered the Mosqueiro, but after sailors discovered the problems caused by the narrow passage and treacherous sandbanks, they chose instead to drop anchor in the Poço. Small boats provided transport to shore. The average ocean-going vessel had a capacity of 200 'burdens', approximately 2 tons. Netscher describes their size: 'Pour donner une idée nette de l'extérieur de vaisseaux de ce temps-là, il suffira de dire que les dimensions d'un vaisseau de 200 latts étaient de 125 pieds rhénans de longueur, 29 pieds de largeur et 11 1/2 pieds de profondeur jusqu'à fond de cale' (10).  

'Tout ces conditions et dimensions ne sont pas modifiées', declared Victor Fournié, director of Public Works of Pernambuco, in 1881; in principle this still holds true (11). The spit of land has gotten much broader over time, not only through natural sand deposits and changes in the river's course, but also through deliberate land reclamation projects, the first of which Johan Maurits van Nassau initiated.  

A sanitation service began in 1641; the collected refuse was dumped along the western side of Recife, where the flow of the Beberibe forced it against the coast of the isthmus and thus won future land. This ordinance improved upon that of 1638, which forbade citizens to deposit their garbage in any place other than... the beach.  

After 1636, citizens were moreover required to clean and sweep the streets and sidewalks in front of their homes, under penalty of a 6 florin fine (12).
In 1637, Recife had two streets, parallel to each other and to the coast on the landspit. The first few years saw the addition of a third street, a road over the dike, and a number of cross streets. Construction so developed the land that old Recife was literally packed to the rafters; not a single new house or addition would fit in. Already in 1637, Johan Ghijseling wrote to the Heren XIX that compared to its state on his first visit in 1633–34, Recife had become almost unrecognizable through so much additional construction. Despite this, there was a housing shortage; newcomers, in any case, could scarcely find accommodations. The newly arrived governor was deeply impressed by the town, as witnessed by a letter dated 28 March 1637, in which he says that splendid houses filled Recife's terrain (13).

Another report from this period paints the same picture. The Polish Colonel Crestoffe d'Artichau Arciszewski, in service to the Dutch, also wrote to the WIC in 1636. In his letter he describes Recife as a city of two thousand residents with an alarming overpopulation problem. Arciszewski (usually called 'Artichofski' by the Dutch) proposed Itamaracá as a place for expansion. Its natural geography, miles of almost impenetrable morass and mangrove forests, made it a good buffer for the mainland. Since 1631, moreover, Fort Oranje, ever more heavily reinforced, dominated the sea and coastal stretch (14).

A 1638 census of the area and houses initiating a property tax preserves the names of the streets and paths, locates the most important ones, and indicates the most prominent and expensive residences. Pontstraat, Nieuwstraat, Geweldigerstraat, Zeestraat, and the Pleyen (the area around the Grote Kerk, including the Oude Markt) were the most expensive; residences there were taxed 25 stuivers per square foot. Next in line were the houses on Herenstraat and Wijnstraat, at 22.5 stuivers per square foot. Last came the small streets and 'cleyn Steegen' (little alleyways), most of their names unknown, at 20 stuivers (15).

In 1641, the residents of Pontstraat requested permission from the Gemeenteraad (Town Council) to pave their street. Their request was granted and carried out in two phases, as evidenced by the Dagelijksse Notulen (Daily Notes), the 'Memorie oft Notitie vande steen geconsumeerd tsedert den 10 april Anno 1641' and the 'Notitie vande steenen verbruyckt tsedert 2 July 1642 tot ultimo Juny 1643' ('Reminder or Notation of the bricks consumed since 10 April Anno 1641' and 'Notation of the bricks used since 2 July 1642 till the end of June 1643') (16). Not only these genteel streets, but also Zeestraat and the area around the Grote Kerk were paved with what Gonsalves de Mello calls 'tijolos holandeses'. I haven't yet been able to determine whether he means the real clinkers, the bricks used in the construction of houses, or the small, yellow bricks used for pavement (and for the well at Fort Oranje).

Recife had three gates: the Waterpoort between the pier and the Pleyen where the Sugar Weigh-house stood, the Pontpoort at the head of Pontstraat, and the oldest, the Landpoort, along the side of the road to Fort de Bruyn and Olinda. After the construction of the bridge between Recife and Mauritsstad in 1644, Count Maurits ordered a gate on either side to regulate traffic on the bridge. This was Recife's second gate on that side.
The bridge's construction and the concurrent planning and building of Mauritsstad on António Vaz (after December 1639 'Mauritsstad' also stood for this quarter, together with Recife) transferred Recife's center to the opposite side. Internally, Recife still maintained the character of a separate town with its own nucleus made up of the Pleyn, the Oude Markt, and the important community buildings on or around it: the Grote Kerk, the Palace of the Hoge Raad, the Sugar Weigh-house, and the lodgings and residences of the WIC—merchants.

The two oldest streets were Pontstraat and Herenstraat; to the north (towards the Landpoort), the Pontstraat became the Bockestraat, later Jodenstraat (17).

After 1637–38, Zeestraat, the Havendijk, and Wijnstraat were added; the surrounding buildings already formed the latter before 1638.

4.2 URBANIZATION OF MAURITSTAD

António Vaz

Fig. 16

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- The Inventory List of the Surrender of Buildings (Inventário dos Prédios) in 1654 speaks of the Oranjestad, which apparently ran directly in line with the Havendijk to the south.
- The position of the Moriaensteegh (no. 12 Rua dos Mouros) is not certain.
- The harbour taverns and bordellos were along Wijnstraat. The tax upon the houses was nonetheless as steep as for those along Herenstraat!
António Vaz was the name of the island's owner, a contemporary of governor Duarte Coelho, who had settled here as a merchant (18). Franciscan monks built a convent in 1606. At the time of the Dutch invasion, there were also a few houses and a small bulwark. The monastery fell into the hands of 'Overste Lieutenant Steyn-Callenfels' on 3 March 1630, who 'sonder slagh ofte stoot bemachticht [wan de] Overste Lieutenant overkommende en vondt daer geen volck' (captured it without battle or blow [as he] found no people there) (De Laet). Steyn-Callenfels set up the convent as his headquarters (19). From here, one month later, his successor Adolf van der Elst(c) would write to the Chamber of Dordrecht that Recife and António Vaz appeared to be most suitable for habitation and that in his opinion, no one just arriving from Holland would prefer Olinda for long (20). The Chambers of Zeeland (Middelburg) and Amsterdam seriously discouraged the evacuation of Olinda, as mentioned before, but events took a different turn and the town's destruction took place in November of 1630. Still, the defence facilities on António Vaz were not expanded.

Wisely, fortress construction began immediately; the Portuguese were entrenched barely 5 kilometers from Recife in the Arraiol Bom Jesus. Soon, a series of bulwarks on António Vaz, including two important concentrations, Fort Trotsch den Duivel and Fort Ernestus, supported by Fort Driehoek at the mouth of the Capibaribe river, hermetically protected the land side. The regular pentagon of Fort Trotsch den Duivel was an innovation in Brazil (21).

Hydraulic facilities were absolutely necessary in the construction of forts and bulwarks on this marshy island. Some houses also appeared, once conditions permitted.

The building of embankments and canals to prepare the land for construction did not begin on a grand scale until 1638. In 1637, military problems primarily demanded the young governor's attention.

A battle erupted at Porto Calvo, approximately 150 kilometers to the south of Recife, immediately upon his arrival. After the Dutch troops' victory, they were split into two corps. 2600 men went to the garrisons of Recife and approximately 200 to Fort Prins Willem (Afogados), Cabo Agostinho, and Porto Calvo (22).

At his appointment, the governor was initially promised 8000 men and a fleet of 32 ships. The WIC took fright at the cost and in 1636 he received only 2700 men; no fewer than 20 ships were scratched from the list (23). Including the troops already in Pernambuco, an April 1637 census indicates about 7000 men. Illness and battle casualties noticeably shrank this figure, however.

Count Maurits himself became ill. His personal physician, Willem van Milaanen, had already died in 1637. Next to malaria, the most dangerous illness was a form of dysentery, the roode loope, 'red runs'. The governor's new personal physician/secretary, Willem Piso, successfully prescribed an Indian remedy, ipecacuana (today still used as a homeopathic cure) (24).

In this same period, the count brought Recife's administration into harness; as Barlaeus says 'hij moest een ware Augias-stal zuiveren van corruptie en criminaliteit' (he had to clean out a virtual Augean stable of corruption and crime) (25). 'Neither side of the equator is
without sin', was the winged word of the time, whenever the subject was the lifestyle of Europeans in the Dutch colony. Diverse death sentences were handed down and theft was inexorably punished with expulsion.

To encourage both trade and the growth of plantations necessary for it, Roman-Catholics and Jews were given equal status with Protestants, although limitations were placed upon processions, and the public celebration of Roman Catholic Mass was restricted. Excise-duties were also no higher for other groups than for the Dutch themselves.

In total, seventeen main by-laws were enacted, along with a few dealing specifically with hunting and fishing. The Gemeenteraad controlled this from their seat in a building in Olinda.

Olinda did not rise again with her old luster. However, bricks from Holland once more made the place suitable for habitation, mostly by Portuguese.

The Gemeenteraad vested itself in the new town of Mauritshuis in November 1639. One month later they changed their name from 'Câmara de Olinda' to 'Câmara de Mauricia' on the initiative of provincial council members ('os Escabinos') themselves (26).

Despite his own misgivings, Count Maurits undertook an attack upon Bahia in 1638 after receiving diverse exhortations from Holland. With too few men under his command, the campaign was doomed to failure. To add to the misfortune, his 19-year old brother, Johan Ernst van Nassau-Siegen, died in the escapade (27).

Still, after putting the initial military and administrative perils behind him, Johan Maurits devoted himself to questions of economy and town-planning.

Not the least among his concerns was his own residence, which proved barely suitable. Moreover, it beffited his humanist-Machiavellian point of view to run a truly royal household, one whose status would also wrest respect from the enemy. The Heren XIX were of the same mind at his appointment as governor in August of 1636, but as mentioned, they deemed the costs too high and soon abandoned the idea (28).

In 1639, a certain Manoel Francisco surrendered his land on the northeast point of the island (29), and by 1642, the new palace was ready. Johan Maurits named it 'Huis Vrijeburgh' (Casa Friburgo), in honor of Holland's liberation struggle from Spain.

We will return to Huis Vrijburgh in the Architecture chapter. At the same time, Count Maurits's manor rose on the west side, closer to Fort Frederik Hendrik, but facing the mainland; it was called 'Slot Schoonzicht', generally known in Portuguese as 'Boa Vista'. He intended Boa Vista for private use. We will also return to this manor house later (30).

As map 21a shows, Huis Vrijburgh lay near Fort Ernestus. The fort was built in 1630, incorporating the Franciscan monastery Santo Antônio (31).

The moats around Forts Ernestus and Frederik Hendrik were widened during this period and connected to each other. Three bulwarks were constructed between the two forts.
The connecting moat was of hydraulic as well as strategic importance. It contained a drainage system of three canals dug into the area between the forts. This consisted of a main canal with one long and one short side canal, running to the northwest (Rio Capibaribe) and the southeast (merging point of the Rio Beberibe and the Rio Afogados) respectively.

The first section of Mauritsstad rose between the northern canal complex and Fort Ernestus; the first residence of the governor, ‘Der Hof Sein Excellenz’, also stood here (Wagner, 32). The count laid out a plantation as well, which he later (1644) bequeathed to Dirk Codde van de Burgh, member of the Hoge Raad.

Between that first house and the plantation lay the Grote Markt. It was bordered by fully grown, transplanted coconut palms, and on Portuguese maps it is called 'Praça dos Coqueiros' (Coconut Square). Houses, merchants' offices, and the Escabina, the new Town Hall, stood on the remaining sides of the square. The Franse Kerk (French Church) also stood in this area (33).

The settlement, certainly as large as Recife, gained its own urban character through this design.

‘Nieuw–Mauritsstad’, the construction of which was already required by 1640, has a very different plan. Intersected by the main canal lay two western and three south–eastern rows of four or five to six lots, arranged rectangularly with a central square flanked on both sides by the canal. Neither the nature of the parcels nor the street design give a single indication concerning the buildings surrounding these squares. Supposedly Mauritsstad had a hospital as well as a shelter for orphans and the poor; the latter specifically appeared in this new section. Given the size of the lots it seems possible that these buildings lay in the northern corner of the new section, at the main and shorter side canals. Further proof concerning this does not, however, exist.
Bridges over the canals connected the streets of Mauritsstad and Nieuw-Mauritsstad to each other. In 1644, after the completion of Boa Vista, the governor ordered the construction of a wooden bridge between Antônio Vaz and the mainland, paid for out of his own pocket. In 1645, one year after his departure, the colonists disabled the bridge by removing the middle pillars, in order to bar the intruding enemy from crossing to the island. The bridge from Mauritsstad to Recife was likewise completed in 1644. The center of today’s Recife has four bridges between old Recife and the former Antônio Vaz and four from Recife to the mainland. Interestingly, the location of the bridge from Boa Vista as well as that from Mauritsstad to Recife have remained almost the same.

The following specific circumstances affected bridge construction around Recife/Mauritsstad in those years:

a. the environment remained hostile and demanded great effort to control;

b. the delta rivers carried strong currents;

c. the colony underwent economic difficulties with the Heren XIX in Holland.

The risk involved in undertaking such extensive bridge construction should not be underestimated. The bridge between Recife and Mauritsstad, the most important of all, suffered most at the hands of these factors, especially b) and c).

The Hoge Raad considered constructing a permanent link between Recife and Antônio Vaz island as early as 1630, as evidenced by a letter from secretary Pieter de Vroe to the Heren XIX (34). The proposition dragged on from meeting to meeting in the following year, mainly because Amsterdam would not agree to vote the necessary funds.

In 1638, Count Maurits commissioned Portuguese stonemason Manuel Costa to erect a stone test pier measuring circa 3 1/2 x 2 1/2 m. The experiment measured the current’s strength where the Capibaribe and the Beberibe (and to some degree the southern current from the Afogados) met. The results would determine the definitive location of the bridge.

The Gemeenteraad of Mauritsstad grew gradually more enthusiastic about the plan. They issued a proclamation in 1641: interested parties could attend the 11 February meeting of the Hoge Raad to peruse the specifications.
The population did not express as great an interest as the Raad expected (35). The scheme’s champion was the much discussed, energetic escobino, Gaspar Dias Ferreira. Lack of interest by potential investors postponed the meeting a month, after which Balthasar de Fonseca was awarded the project. He was a merchant/broker and contractor of Portuguese-Jewish origin. The Portuguese engineer Cristóvão Álvares was the technical adviser. Fonseca promised to complete the bridge within two years for 240,000 guilders; if he married within this period, his spouse would receive 1,000 rijksdaalders. He himself had to stand surety with his own property up to 100,000 guilders; this security first had to be approved by two highly reputable Jews, Gaspar Francisco da Costa and Fernando Valha.

A nineteen-point contract stated, among other things, that the designer, engineer Cristóvão Álvares, first had to inspect all the stone. He had left the Portuguese and entered the service of the Dutch in 1630; his name is connected not only to the original Waterkasteel, but also to the later Dutch fortresses (36). Fonseca already proposed a design change in this year. He felt that replacing the proposed vertical pillars with arches would increase the durability of the construction. His suggestion was rejected.

The construction point lay where the mouths of three rivers converged, close to the open sea. From the very beginning, the resulting complicated flow of water caused the broker/contractor great difficulties, as evidenced by his proposal for an arched construction (37). By 1642, 13 of the projected 25 pillars, the abutment on the Mauritsstad side, and some wooden spans were ready; Fonseca, however, would not get much further.

He purchased another 40,000 guilders of material for the bridgehead in Recife, but evidently he found the middle section of the stream literally unbridgeable, and he withdrew from the task (38).

Legal complications occupied April to December of 1643, while the project came to a standstill. Nieuhof declares regretfully: ‘Hiermee was een tonne gouts vruchteloa in het water verspilt’ (With this a ton of gold was spilled into the water in vain) (39).

The governor had not concerned himself with the plan after the experimental phase, but now he complained to the WIC about the scant funds for realizing the project. He was also angry about the sarcastic tone that his countrymen permitted themselves; the bridge would probably never be completed, no one had heard anything about it for such a long time... As with the bridge at Boa Vista, Count Maurits ended up groping for his own purse and completing the project himself (40).

The problems caused by the current were finally solved by placing a wooden, upward-tilting construction at the foot of the pillars, including those already standing. The seven remaining pillars were made of wood in stead of stone. Two rows of eight 40 to 50 foot beams placed opposite each other formed a single pillar. The space between the eight individual sections allowed water to pass; the beams were driven 12 feet into the ground, alternately straight and angled (41).

A drawing by Frans Post (cat. Sousa-Leão D. 63) clearly shows the foot construction on the stone pillars.

In order to recoup the expenses to some degree, the governor imposed a toll on all users according to the following key:
- a citizen: two stuivers
- Negroes and soldiers: one stuiver
- a horse: four stuivers
- an ox-cart: seven stuivers
(one stuiver = five cents)

Commercial traffic paid the highest toll. The bridge served both a municipal and above all an economic function, as the ferry, laden with a heavy load of sugar, frequently capsized, or as Johan Nieuhof says, '...om des te bequaemer de zuikerkisten na het eiland te kunnen over voeren: dewijl die anders niet als hij laagh water en afgeloop zee konden overgebracht worden; en het overvaren het schuote was niet zonder gevaer: naerdien die dikwyls door de zwarte der lasten, of door storm of onweer zonken en vergingen' (...in order to transport the sugar crates more expediently to the island: because otherwise they could only be brought over during low water and tide: and transport by barge was not without danger: these often sank and were lost because of the weight of the cargo, or because of storm or bad weather).

The bridge was finished quickly as a result of competitive spirit among the workers. At its completion, the governor was requested to make over the rights to the city. He compiled with the request, upon the condition that the first day's proceeds would be appropriated for the benefit of the poor. Barlaeus writes that, thanks to the populace's great interest in this new curiosity, the first day yielded 620 florins (42).

According to Calado, the amount was 'mil, e oito censos florins, não pagando cada pessoa mais que duas placas à ida, e duas à vinda', even though each person did not pay more than two stuivers each way (43).

Count Maurits not only raised a 'koe op het dak' (cow on the roof), but also an entry gate on the Recife side (44). Chiselled upon the upper tympanum was a shield with the coat of arms of the House Van Oranje-Nassau. The back held the following inscription:

FUNDABAT ME ILLUSTRISSIMUS HEROS IOANNES MAURICIUS COMES NASSAVIAE, EC. DUM IN BRA- SILIA TERRA SUPRENUM PRINCIPATUM IMPERIUMQUE TENERET. ANNO DNI MDCXXX (45)

The bridge caused great euphoria. For that matter the Heros did not stop at throwing a banquet for the Conselho and other prominent citizens. The following day: 'outro banquete às damas, e a quantas tavernearia havia no Recife, e as mais delas emborrachou, e com isto se deu por despedido de Pernambuco', confides Father Calado peevishly (46). I will give the translation, perhaps unnecessarily: 'The following day the Count van Nassau gave another banquet, now for the prostitutes and madams living in Recife, and he got most of them drunk, thereby taking his leave of Pernambuco.'
An anonymous, undated drawing, found in 1982 in the archive of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the Federal University of Pernambuco, depicts the bridge with many technical details (47).

Fig. 17
Design for the bridge between Mauritsstad and Recife as realised in 1644. Copy of an original in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon), Department of History, Federal University of Pernambuco (Recife), nr. 56-b, undated.

The bridge was 23 palmos (5 m) wide. On both sides of the tread, instead of railings, the map shows little houses. Considering the comparative width, these may have sheltered the poor, or perhaps housed small stores. Another topographical drawing of the Recife side of the bridge, found in the same place, corroborates this supposition (48).

In 1865, a cast-iron bridge built by French engineers replaced the 'Ponte de Maurício'. This 'Ponte Nova' (officially, 'Ponte Sete de Setembro' for the day in 1822 when Brazil became independent from Portugal) was in turn replaced in the 1920's by a stone bridge. It lies on almost the same spot as the first, and is once again called 'Ponte de Maurício de Nassau'.

103
In addition to the two bridges at Recife, yet another bridge crossed the third great river, the Rio Afozados, between Antônio Vaz island and Fort Prins Willem. A broad dike running along the drainage canal also led to this point. This canal cut diagonally across the southwestern portion of Antônio Vaz to the Afozados. The design of the bridge was the same as that at Boa Vista. Harman Hagenau was the builder; since both bridges were completed in 1644, Hagenau probably had something to do with the Boa Vista bridge, although the facts concerning this are unknown. We do know that Hagenau constructed four more bridges in Mauritsstad, one twice the cost of the other three (approximately $500) (49).

Gonsalves de Mello presumes that this more expensive bridge lay on the northwest side of Fort Frederik Hendrik and connected Nieuw-Mauritsstad with its hinterland (50). However, another main bridge lay between the Grootkwartier (the old section of Mauritsstad) and Nieuw-Mauritsstad, over the main canal. These bridges were all of wood, but it is not known how high the abutments were or whether they were drawbridges. We do know that boats sailed on the canals; 'Praams, boats, and barks in the service of the residents passed under the bridges that divided the dike into different sections in the Dutch manner, so that the island was entirely criss-crossed with water' (51).

4.4 PLAN OF MAURITSSTAD

The ground plan of Mauritsstad is divided into two sections. The residential district developed between 1638 and 1642 to the right of the three canals; to distinguish it from the newer section, it was called 'het Grootkwartier' (the Great Quarter). Fort Ernestus lay between the Grootkwartier and Huis Vrijburg. Obviously the three canals were dug in order to prepare the ground for the construction of Nieuw-Mauritsstad. Bulwarks and moats connected the two forts through their walls, the canals clearly suggest a solid drainage system, and Huis Vrijburg and the palace gardens completely took up the area above Fort Ernestus. But the real unity and structure came from the internal design of Nieuw-Mauritsstad. The rectangular parcels and the perpendicular streets gave the town design a mathematical order. All of this greatly resembles the morphology of the Roman castra and the bastides of medieval Central France. The principle of such a strict arrangement, although externally different, recalls the Utopian designs of Filarete, historically closer to Mauritsstad.
Fig. 18
Map of Recife, 1983. The center bridge between the 'Bairro do Recife' and the 'Bairro Santo Antônio' is called 'Ponte Mauricio de Nassau'.
No doubt Johan Maurits knew about these designs, considering his schooling. Besides education in culture, philosophy, six languages, and etiquette, his upbringing included instruction in mathematics, strategy, and fortress construction, conforming to the humanistic ideal concerning the education of young noblemen (53). In *Nieuw Amsterdam in Noord Amerika, vergeleken met andere Nederlandse 17e eeuwse stede stichtingen*, Temminck Groll draws attention to the typical Dutch treatment of town-planning problems in the specific topographical and pedagogical circumstances of their diverse colonies (54). Contrasted to the à tort et à travers geometrical systems of Spanish territories, for example, the Dutch settlements typically adapted pragmatically to the natural conditions of the environs. The result was often less artistically striking than that achieved by the Spanish and Portuguese. On the other hand, those in the Dutch camp undoubtedly knew the theories of Simon Stevin; probably they were also familiar with the plans for Christianstad (Schonen, 1614) and most certainly with those for Christianshavn (1617–1618), both in Denmark and both by the engineer Johan Sems (1616–1636). Both Stevin and Sems display a preference for strict urban systematisation (55).

Portuguese ground plans often, but not always, resemble the Spanish: regular lots conformed to military principles, while '...open squares developed by leaving one or more quadrants unbuilt...', according to Temminck Groll (56).

Similar Portuguese building schemes include those from the anonymous depictions late-16th century of Damão, Baçaim and Calcutta (India). These were fortified early-colonial cities on the flat plains of India. Once the Portuguese were forced to build in graduated topography, they quickly departed from the prescribed geometrical forms and scale rigidly maintained by the Spanish. In contrast, São Jorge del Mina (or: El Mina), a strong fortress on the west coast of Africa in contemporary Ghana (formerly Guinea/Goldcoast) has a stricter plan. In 1625, the Dutch made a futile attempt at conquest. The construction of Fort Nassau, lying slightly to the east, dates from 1612, before the founding of the WIC (57).

In 1637, Count Maurits sent an expedition out to El Mina. Considering the strength of the fortress, the expedition succeeded in capturing and bringing the fort into Dutch possession in an amazingly short time. In 1872, it was handed over to the British. Count Maurits included a drawing of El Mina in his letter informing the States General of the conquest: a groundplan of the 'Kasteel' with the 'Negerdorp' (Negro village) behind it (58). The fort is large and rectangular and the village consists of a collection of rectangular blocks, with a square and street plan described by Temminck Groll. This map is by the engineer Tobias Commersteyn (59).
4.4.1 Batavia (the present Jakarta)

Both parties felt at home on each other’s terrain, the Portuguese as well as the Dutch. We can see this on a ground plan of the city of Batavia, just 13 years old in 1632, drawn by the Portuguese helmsman–geographer Pedro Berthelet. The ground plan is part of the book Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental (1632 to 1635) by Pedro Barreto de Resende, secretary to Miguel de Noronha, Viceroy of Portuguese India (60).

The Portuguese were no beloved guests in Batavia, one reason why the sketch of the moats is not exactly correct; the number of the side canals apparently confused Berthelet. The Dutch tackled the situation of the Ciliwung river banks more pragmatically than in the Pernambucan delta. Still, the course of events in Batavia and Recife showed some differences. While the land accretion at the mouth of the Ciliwung had disastrous consequences for drainage and the town’s hydraulic system, in Brazil, the forceful streaming of the Beberibe scattered the silt deposited at strategic points by the slower Capibaribe.

In addition, more obvious differences between the two urban-planning solutions exist. Foremost, the systematic design of Mauritssstad stands in striking comparison to the initially random construction of Batavia’s southern expansion. Both new sections were literally prey to scorched earth tactics in wartime. Nieuw–Mauritssstad was destined to be razed along with the palace complex of Huis Vrijburgh to the North, providing Fort Frederik Hendrik with a clear view of the mainland coast. In 1629, when the Susuhunan (Sultan) of Mataram attacked the town of Batavia for the second time in two years, the southern suburb and the settlements on the west bank of the Ciliwung were leveled to prevent the enemy from burrowing in. The one consolation was that the British, ever a thorn in the side of the Dutch, had their lodgings there (61). Breuning assumes that, as long as no sound circumvallation defended that section of the city, the houses in the extension had to be constructed of wood or bamboo to permit this tactic (62). The permanent construction material of Mauritssstad/Nieuw–Mauritssstad no doubt greatly contributed to the directors’ hesitation in razing it (63).

Perhaps research in name and baptismal registers would definitively answer whether and which of the fortification builders, geographers, and other technicians eventually entered the service of the WIC after working for the VOC on the construction of Batavia. The differences in systematic planning and local situations mentioned above do not demonstrate a very close relationship between the two colonies (64). We also should not forget that half a generation, as well as the publication of De Oirdeningh der Steden, lie between 1619 and 1637. Countering this last argument, Stevin’s students hardly needed an official publication of his ideas. As the ‘teaching master’ of Stadtholder Prince Maurits, Stevin himself influenced the appointment of engineers in the service of the State. The VOC and later the WIC drew from the same pool of technicians and other experts as much as possible (65).
4.4.2 Bastides and the 'Ordenanzas'

To my knowledge, one possible influence underlying the urban-planning of Mauritsstad that has not yet been researched, is that of town foundations in France and England. Both nations had garrisons in the service of the WIC (66). Both lands furnished as many seafarers, merchants, and adventurers as Portugal and the Netherlands. And Jews from both countries often had relations or trade connections in Dutch Brazil, not to mention the West Indies and North America. French Huguenots found this protestant area of Latin America a safe haven (67).

It goes without saying that the French military had engineers as specialized in defence works as those in the Portuguese and Dutch armies.

What could a comparison between the ground plans of Mauritsstad and new towns in France and England produce?

To gain insight into this question, I travelled to central France in 1984. Both the French and the British founded new cities, 'new towns', in the 13th and 14th centuries in the contested areas of Garonne, Gironde, Gascogne, Dordogne, Aquitaine, and Périgord. These developed under the following prevailing conditions of the times:

- large territories were uninhabited and covered with thick forests, a breeding ground for robbers and rabble;
- the cultivated feudal areas slowly became overpopulated;
- overpopulation also plagued cities that had grown out of early medieval settlements;
- throughout Europe, urbanization predominated the so-called 'Late Middle-Ages', thanks to the growing importance of trade and the atmosphere of individualization (68);
- the above-mentioned area fell largely under the English sphere of influence; since 1066, England, through marriage and inheritance, expanded its occupation from Normandy and England into Aquitaine and parts of Gascogne, a constant irritation to the French monarch in Paris.

![Fig. 19a](image)

Plan of Villefranche-de-Périgord, a French bastide of the 13th century; after Jongepier.
The newly founded cities were meant to alleviate these problems. Alphonse de Poitiers, duke of Anjou, was an enthusiastic proponent of this system. On decree by the French monarch, the new towns were forbidden to fortify themselves, either independently or united under a single duke, to a degree that might threaten legal authority (69).

Thus arose the bastides of central France. Their circumvallations, or what remains of them, have simple shapes. More striking is their similar mathematical structures. Note that the roads in these places are not always patterned according to an equivalence of directions. Yet whether the shape is square, oblong, oval, or, as in a single example, round, the entire city nucleus invariably remains strongly geometrical. The sideroads and firebreaks, perpendicular to the main roads, branch from two or four gates onto a central marketplace. Structures usually surround the market; the lowest level generally has an arcade. On the market square, usually in the center, lies the market hall; the provincial government and the courts sat upstairs. In well-preserved bastide towns, one can still find the Mairie meeting here, in any event for some of its functions.

In the authentic schemes, the church generally lies somewhat to the side of the marketplace. We do know of exceptions, but where the church stands directly on the market square, this is often a later change (70).

Not only the French but also the English opted several times for the bastide form of territorial control, which was of great importance both strategically and economically. Through his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine, Henri Plantagenet, King Henry II, was the first English monarch able to claim a substantial portion of France. His son Richard Lionheart founded Marmande (1182); in the 13th century (between 1263 and 1297), more than 70 English bastides arose under the monarchs Henry III and Edward I.

One of the most important places on the continent for the English transport of raw wool was the Guernsey region. The wool was sent to northern France (Calais) and to Flemish weaving mills and trading houses of the cloth industry. Not surprisingly, the greatest portion of the English bastides were founded in this area.

Examples of orthogonal town plans are also known in England itself. Bury-St. Edmunds in Suffolk dates from the end of the 11th century. Founded by Baldwin, it had 342 houses in the year 1086. It was laid out along more or less square building plots, with an extended town square to accommodate an abbey. Initially, low, mostly timber framed houses filled this small trading center. After the onset of the Romanesque style, houses of local stone with two residential stories also appeared; some later houses even had step-gables. Trade contacts, the Hanseatic League, etc., naturally played a role here (71).

Wichelsea in Sussex was founded in 1280, in the sense of the French bastides (72). Here also, the building lots are parcelled into squares, though in this case without a clear town square.

The bastides on the continent were abundant enough to influence the design of Wichelsea, but we must assume that the earlier Bury-St. Edmunds, certainly given its location, was more familiar with and probably took its design from the Roman castrum-tradition.
Strikingly, both English places have exactly balanced proportions. This resembles the Spanish settlements.

- Advantage:
  1) expandable to all sides
  2) smaller perimeter after maximum construction.
- Disadvantage:
  1) problematic joining of corners

The English *bastides* on the continent began as agrarian settlements that gradually took on a strategic role during the Hundred Years War. The French king’s decree permitting exclusively defensive facilities clearly did not concern the English; they often girded their *bastides* with impressive ramparts and walls and built strong gates. In this clustered version of the orthogonal structure, little remained of the principle allowing the settlement to expand in all directions.

The French and English strategists in Recife were of course familiar with these places. The exact place of origin of engineer/Lieutenant René de Monchy is unknown. The English Lieutenant Colonel Sedneum van Points was among those in the court’s clique (73). He visited the city more frequently than his colleague James Hinderson (74). Points (or Van Poynts) repatriated at the same time as Johan Maurits in 1644 (75). In Europe he had earned his spurs in the Thirty–Years War; if he did have any knowledge of town planning, he doubtless had little time left over to devote to its perils. And what to say of his countrymen, the English Commander John Godlaid, known by his military nickname ‘Bon Garçon’, and Philip Andrews (76)?

Johan Maurits also had French friends (Huguenots), among whom were Floris (or François) du Chattlion and his wife Anna la Palière. On 20–3–1641, the *Hooge Raad* served as witness at the baptism of their son, Hendrick (77).

Still, we have yet to find concrete evidence concerning the contributions of French or English engineers, surveyors, ‘fabrieken’, or architects. This doesn’t at all exhaust the matter of the *bastides*. The French and English *bastides* have an obvious systematic design. Apart from the fact that the English were free to ignore the French king’s demands, these towns are virtually identical in appearance. Could a prototype drawing have existed, passed from hand to hand? Might it be found in the military *bastides* of the Albigenses from the 12th and 13th centuries (78)? Did the builders off–handedly ape each other in their constructions? Was the architect the Duke of Anjou, or did a common design exist, lost in the meantime, giving such explicit instructions that the nature of the outcome was perfectly obvious (79)? Perhaps guidelines approximately like the ones that the Spanish colonists of the 16th century and after had at their disposal?
Concerning the existence of such directives, Temminck Groll directs us to the ‘Real ordenanzas para nuevas poblaciones’, also recently discussed in an article in Contribuciones a la Historia Municipal de América (80). Taverne also mentions these instructions, issued by Philip II, in his treatment of Stevin’s Vande oirdeningh der steden (81). Stevin’s script, dating from before 1594, was possibly influenced by Spanish concepts; Francesco Marchi, the Italian fortress engineer in service to Spain (like his countryman Felippo Terzi, born in Bologna and active in Portugal for Spain), inspected the Dutch fortresses with Philip II. Marchi is known for his geometrical projects, utopian in character, and, like a true child of his country and time, he followed in the footsteps of Vitruvius, Averlino, and Campaneia (Alberti, as Taverne points out, had very different notions concerning the appearance of ‘the city’) (82, 83).

We can assume that Stevin’s views concerning town-planning directly influenced the schemes of Dutch cities in the first half of the 17th century, even though his son Hendrik Stevin did not publish his book Oirdeningh until 1649. Stevin’s position as advisor to Prince Maurits and quartermaster in the service of the army of the Republic, as well as the works he published during his lifetime such as De stercktenbouwing (1594) and Castrumetatio (1617), imply a substantial influence. Moreover, Stevin wrote his books in Dutch, which made his views accessible in the Netherlands.

By studying the Ordenanzas, we hit upon the idea that these 16th-century rules for new settlements could have been based on an already-existing, obsolete, or lost set of rules. These may have eventually served as a guide for the surveyors of the bastides.

Let us allow Philip II a few words:

1 (Ord. nr. 110) ‘The place must be chosen upon a rise...’
2 (114) ‘The four main streets must extend from the central square (plaza; the starting-point for the new city, nr. 112), one from the center of either side, and two streets must always meet on the corners of the square...’
3 (115) ‘The entire plaza and the four streets extending out from it should have arcades, for these are a great convenience for the merchants. The arcades should not hinder access to the eight streets that converge on the corners of the plaza. The arcades should be rounded off at these corners, so that the sidestreets can join up easily with the plaza streets.’
4 (116) ‘...for defensive purposes and in places where horses are held, it is better that the main avenues be broad.’
5 (117) ‘The other streets that are laid out in succession around the plaza should be so projected that even if the town would grow substantially, no disharmony would arise with what has already been built, nor would the security or amenity of the city be hindered.’
6 (120) ‘After the plaza and streets are laid out, the building lots should be drawn in the first place for the construction of the cathedral..., and this lot should consist of an entire block, so that no other construction can be placed next to it, except that which the service requires or which adds to the beauty of the church.’
Inland, the church must not stand upon the plaza, but at a distance from it, so that it stands alone, separated from the other buildings and visible from all sides. The church will be lovelier so and command greater respect. It should be built upon slightly higher ground, so that the populace will have to reach it using steps....

No building lots around the plaza should be allotted to private owners, these must be reserved for the church, the town hall, and the merchants' stores and offices, which should be built first....' (84)

Although local idiosyncrasies and variations exist, in general most of the above guidelines conform to what we find in the ground plans of the bastides in central and western France and England.

Naturally the Spanish designs, such as those in Caracas, Valencia, and Barquisimeto, conform most closely to the Ordenanzas (85). But we should also consider that of the place named. Caracas dates from after 3 June 1573, the date of the Ordenanzas. The design of Caracas is attributed to Pimentel in the year 1578. Valencia, the first regular city-plan in Venezuela, dates from 1555, and Barquisimeto is likewise from the 16th century.

Fig. 19b
Plan of Caracas, attributed to Pimentel, 1578; after Gasparini.
Valencia, the Spanish colony from the mid-16th century; Damão and Bacaim, two Portuguese colonial settlements from the same period; and the French/English bastides, mainly 13th century; all of these plans demonstrate similar foundations.

Fig. 19c
Plan of Daman, 16th century. After Ruy Rasquilho.

The founders of both the medieval bastides as well as colonial towns allowed the possibility of unlimited expansion of the nucleus pattern. The roads run like channels, with building lots like ordered beds along their banks.

Not only the visual morphology, but also the flowing progress of the principle underlying the street-plan, often closely bound to equivalence of directions, evokes a strong association with Persian, Sassamadian and Arabian carpet patterns (86). The major motif in such flower carpets is the cross, formed by the four rivers that separate the four directions of the universe from each other. Unfortunately no examples of these carpets from before the 17th century still exist, but they are illustrated in old Persian miniatures. For clarity, I chose a flowered carpet from the beginning of the 18th century with distinct geometrical designs. The center of the 'universe' is octagonal, eight considered the most perfect shape in antiquity. The flowerbeds lie ordered in between (87). Without further elaboration, I will use this point of departure (and there are worse ones than the center of the cosmos) to mention the octagonal town-plans of Vitruvius (88). His designs refer literally to the winds that blow in from eight directions (seliom all at once, but that is precisely the point), and they attempt to prevent any one of the winds from dominating the townsfolk. Winds could bring on harmful illnesses. Vitruvius's streets lie in such a fashion that the wind's passage along the houses is interrupted (89). If he already knew about the Persian symbolism—given his passing philosophical digressions, we have every reason to assume that he did—then, with Roman precision, he shaped the Persian-Hellenistic symbols into runways to land the heavens onto earth.

Even if the direction of Vitruvius's streets devises from those found in the bastides, both structures' social motivations and geometric rudiments demonstrate more than an accidental resemblance, echoed in the Ordenanzas.
Persian flower or garden carpet, circa 1700. No such carpets have survived from before the 17th century. The octagonal center represents the point of the universe from which the four cosmic streams spring and where the four 'Chenar' trees have their roots, symbolizing the shadowy Tuba–tree mentioned in the Koran. Despite changing governments, religions, and cultures, this old classical theme remained. (Photo: Theo Rikken).
The terms 'utopia' and 'utopian', when used as an idea proposing an ideal, always stand for a plan that seems unachievable...but hardly appears that way to the projector. In order to make structural and, we may as well say, manipulative urban-planning practical, rigidity was rendered human. The geography of an area literally set the limits of the accommodations. We must consider in this sense the solid structure of all geometric plans and not just indulge in mildly exultant joy over a pleasing mathematical figure.

'Strategic', 'socially mobilizing', 'economical', 'healthy': all are among the motivations which city-planners such as Vitruvius, the designers of the bastides, and the Spanish colonists echo (90). Once again, the accent may differ according to the specifications demanded by the circumstance. Simon Stevin, Jan van Sems, Jan Pietersz. Dou, Willem Lobbrecht: these too belong to this group, to which we can add the masters treated in Taverner's Land van Beloije. One of these is Pieter Post. Whether he belongs among the possible designers of Mauritsstad remains to be seen.

Admittedly, the conjectures and theories concerning the origins of the city-plan of Mauritsstad are legion. The exact, ordered scheme of the city confirms that it was based on a theoretical design. It is interesting to trace the assumption that Pieter Post worked on the design, if not on the engineering, of the city. The usually authoritative historian on the subject of Dutch colonial activity in Latin America, Hermann Wäitjen, writes, without citing an exact source, that in the company of the governor to Recife were the clergyman Plante, the doctor and naturalist Willem Piso from Leiden, the German astronomer Georg Marcgraf, and the brothers Post, the architect Peter Post and the painter Frans Post.

Despite the fact that Piso and Marcgraf were not sent over until 1638, thus making it impossible for them to accompany the Prince in 1636, Wäitjen goes on indefatigably: 'Von Pieters Hand rührten auch das bald nach Vrijburgh entstandene Haus des Hohen Rats und die reformierte Kirche auf Antonio Vaz her. Vielleicht hat er sogar den Plan für die neue Stadt entworfen, die sich am Ende des dritten Jahrzehnts zwischen dem Fort Ernestus und der Feste Friedrich Heinrich 'auf dem Insel zu erheben gegann' (91).

Close study of Wäitjen's sources leads first to Georg Galland. Both of his books, Holländische Baukunst und Bildnerei im Zeitalter der Renaissance, etc. and Der Grosse Kurfürst und Moritz von Nassau, scarcely bring us any further, except that he writes in practically identical terms about the 'Gebrüder Post', leading to the conclusion that Wäitjen is quoting him (92).

One of Galland's own sources is Ludwig Driessen, who in turn refers to van Kampen and Veegens's Drietal Levensbeschrijvingen van Beroemde Mannen (93). The third of this drietal (trio) is 'Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, gezegd de Amerikaan' (called the American); this chapter is written by Daniel Veegens, who completed the scholar Van Kampen's work after the latter died (94). Veegens writes in highly laudatory terms. He describes Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen as a great patriot, unjustly ignored until then. The entire work strives to convince the reader that the Republic undervalued Maurits's vision and expertise in all areas under his control.
'Uit echte stukken opgemaakt' (Composed from original sources) claims the statement on the title page. One of these 'original sources' in Veegens's chapter, found on page 338, is a cross-reference to the writings of Hendrik Baron Collot d'Escure: *Hollands roem in kunsten en wetenschappen* (95). This work was published in 1824 and 1825, during Veegen's lifetime. Investigation reveals that the second part of *Hollands roem* quotes *Verzuimd Brazil!* (Lost Brazil), an 18th-century poem by Onno Zwier van Haren (96). Wätjen also quotes this poem, but only to point out that the Netherlands still mourned the loss of the colony more than 100 years after the fact (97).

*Verzuimd Brazil!* O rijke stranden,
Bedekt met diamant en goud!
Uw laatste rampen zijn voorhanden
Daar u geen Bankert meer behoudt.
Vergeefsch heeft Post Olinda's kerken
Verwoest voor onze nieuwe werken;
Met Nassau wijkt het wijd geluk,
De plaats, de namen zijn verlooren,
Die d'overwinnaar had verkooren,
In 't hedendaagsche Pernambucq.'

(Lost Brazil! O rich beaches,
Covered with diamond and gold!
Your final disasters are at hand
Now that Bankert [a general] no longer holds you.
In vain did Post Olinda's churches
Destroy for our new works;
With Nassau fickle luck is yielding
The place, the names are lost,
That the victor had chosen,
In present-day Pernambuco.)

Collot uses the poem to trot on stage *De grootste fout, welke wij veelligt immers in het staakhundige begaan hebben* (The biggest mistake we likely ever made in statescraft) (98), giving him an opportunity to rectify his own oversight 'to which my attention has been drawn more than once'. He means by this his identifying Post (without further specifying Christian name), whom he assumes to be the architect in Van Haren's poem, and of whom he says without any further reference: 'He accompanied them as Engineer on the same trip to Brazil, where he turned the churches and other buildings of Olinda into fortresses and houses for Mauritsstad, now Pernambuco.'

Collot proceeds, referring to Houbraken concerning Frans Post (99): 'He had a brother who was a good painter and was also invited to Brazil by Maurits, where he drew different landscapes from which afterwards he made suitable use, so that he reportedly created many West Indies landscapes' (100).

So the writer himself is not familiar with a single one of Frans Post's works! If he had been, he could have interpreted the lines,

*Vergeefsch heeft Post Olinda's kerken
Verwoest voor onze nieuwe werken;*
as a reference to the ruins of Olinda, an important element reproduced in Frans Post’s works. The ‘new works’ are Post’s drawings and paintings of Mauritsstad, partially built from stones that the Dutch carefully removed from Olinda’s houses before burning it (101).

Among the ‘new works’ we must also include the increasing plantation activity, which Post also often illustrated. The plantations were the basis of Brazil’s economy, the WIC’s prosperity and right to exist. Without a blossoming sugar trade, no Mauritsstad (102).

But the reverse was also true. If the authorities in the Netherlands had realized this, than perhaps Onno Zwier van Haren’s 18th-century reproach would have been unnecessary. And Pieter Post probably would have gone to take a look with his brother. But in fact, this was not his fate, when one considers the following data: On 17 November 1637, Pieter Post was in Holland, evident from a letter from Constantijn Huygens to the count, mentioning his commission of Post for a house on the Square, ‘om de hoek’ (around the corner) from the embryo of what became the Mauritshuis (103). Huygens was the acting principal for Johan Maurits, who offered him the position before his departure in 1636. Van Campen was the principal designer for Johan Maurits’ plan; Post, as assistant to the great architect, took care of the interior and supervised the construction. Imagine that Pieter Post sailed to Brazil in October of 1636 with the count and his brother Frans, arrived in January 1637, and had to be back in Holland by 17 November of the same year; then he would have had to have begun his return voyage in June or July. Can we assume that Pieter Post walked around Recife for, at most, a half year, noticed by no one, perhaps incognito, and, in anticipation of the count’s far-off notions for developing the city, developed a plan of his own (104)?

Although it seems unlikely that Pieter Post participated directly in the design of Mauritsstad or Nieuw-Mauritsstad, it is possible to test whether he did advise on the project by considering two ground plans he designed.

An article by Taverne in the commemorative catalogue Soweit der Erdreis reicht (Kleef, 1979) discusses a pen drawing from 1696, assuming that it reproduces a development plan by Pieter Post created in 1664 on commission from Johan Maurits, stadholder of Kleef since 1647 (105).

Another earlier work of Post’s is a plan for the extension of Haarlem, from the years 1642–1644 (106).

Both plans are characterized by ‘die Regeln militärischer Architektur’ (107). According to Temminck Groil, the geometric design is so strongly sustained in an un-Dutch fashion that the plans suggest conformity to an objective–systematic norm, an abstract system; they seem to be sliced from an arbitrary fragment. A somewhat sinister resemblance between the Kleef and Haarlem plans is that neither was ever realized.

No doubt this must have greatly saddened Pieter Post; however, nowhere does he mention the plan that supposedly was realized, namely one of an earlier date that, like the plan for Kleef, was commissioned by Johan Maurits: Mauritsstad, or, at least, the still abstract scheme for Nieuw-Mauritsstad.
Although consistent with his profession, his relationship to the count, and his brother Frans’s tenure, based on the facts marshalled above, it is quite doubtful that Pieter Post contributed to the town planning design of Mauritsstad and Nieuw-Mauritsstad.

4.4.4 Conclusion of Mauritsstad’s Urbanization

For the bulk of the project, the town founder did not call upon architects/designers of ideal plans, but relied very concretely upon engineers who felt at home with water economy, complicated enough in itself.
The flow of the Capibaribe, with its furcating delta branches and creeks, underwent very little drop in water level. The external current of the Beberibe and the Afouegos, not to mention the encroachment of the sea into the rivers’ mouths during flood, made the situation around Antônio Vaz island uncertain and difficult to manage. Moreover, in the rainy season, enormous overflows of water had to be absorbed.
Thus it isn’t surprising that many maps differ noticeably from each other in reproducing the area south of Olinda. Not only primitive measuring instruments or hasty observation fooled the geographers and mapmakers, but the changing shapes of the banks as well.
Initially, passing ships, whether headed for the Cape or not, mapped out the coast of Brazil by ‘om het hoekjen kijkend en lettend op hun kans’ (peeping around the corner and waiting for their chance) (108). After the establishment of Dutch authority, the surveyors and engineers went to work. Often they came to the WIC from civil service, but their careers could also follow the opposite route.
Judging from the titles we know, they appear to have had a military organization and signed on principally as fortress engineers (109).
Another point deserving our attention is the morphological difference between Mauritsstad and Nieuw-Mauritsstad.
Mauritsstad, also called the Grootkwartier, developed between 1637 and 1642, Nieuw-Mauritsstad around 1642-1644 or ‘45.
The Grootkwartier seems to have been built in a more or less empirical fashion. Public buildings and houses were constructed according to need, the latter on behalf of the wealthy, I believe, judging from the list of home owners and the size of the lots. From antiquity, the vicinity of a town’s public buildings has been reserved for leading residents, and Mauritsstad probably conformed to this tradition.
The design of Nieuw-Mauritsstad is completely different. Straight drainage canals dug into the land formed a grid pattern; these determined affairs from the very first drawings. The lots, almost invariably 20 feet wide, line up as if substantiating the profession of the fortress inhabitants. For that matter many houses here were intended as soldiers’ quarters; later the Portuguese used those not demolished in 1654 for the same purpose.
Perhaps we should define the morphology of Mauritsstad’s urban planning design, as well as the looser, pragmatic, congested Recife, as the only functional answers to the demand for living space not bound by existing attractions or geography aside from the nature of the soil.
The same applies to the builders of the bastides in central France, a region then scarcely touched by human hands; to the Spanish colonists in their circumstances; and to the Dutch, whose ambiance of marshes and deltas gave them little trouble.
We cannot say with any certainty who drew the design for (Nieuw-) Mauritsstad. Good grounds exist for claiming that the supposition of Collot d’Escury, Veegens, Netscher, and the trio of Driessen, Galland, and Wätjen rests upon assumptions and is based upon a satire written long after 'the place and names' had been lost. Instead of trying to find proof based on stylistic similarities in order to attribute an international magnitude to the plan, it seems to me more realistic to look in the environs of the count himself to locate those who, in the design stage, may have put the decisive stamp upon the plan. For this the following will serve.

In the 17th century, despite wars and the antagonistic interests of nations and heads of state, national borders were more open than 20th-century men suppose. The Inquisition was a powerful organization: books were placed on the prohibitive Index. The Inquisition and national hostilities were naturally detrimental to the international exchange of knowledge and art. But privately, men travelled a great deal, and quite frequently offered their services, perhaps at times under duress, to the enemy. This cosmopolitan atmosphere, beginning in the Middle Ages, was typical of the Renaissance. It goes without saying that a trade center such as Recife attracted experts from all places of origin who then went into Dutch service. Not yet explicitly defined, but certainly of great importance as well, was the eclectic knowledge of the Jews, who must also be considered.

Although already frequently mentioned, Cristóvão Álvares was one of the highly qualified technicians who came from the enemy camp (110). No doubt he was not the only one. Besides the Lobbrecht brothers, René De Monchy, Tobias Commersteyn, Frederik Pistor, Andreas Drewisch, Sems Whoever-He-Was, Hendrik Van Berchem (Perchems). Egbert Vaer, Pieter Schilder, Haye Dircks, and the contractor Belchior Álvares, ‘Caertmaecker’ Goliath must also be mentioned, as well as Johan Maurit’s father, ‘Jan de Middelste’, who founded a school for young officers and wrote a handbook about fortress construction (111).

Multapensavi—and it still doesn’t seem to be enough.

NOTES

1 Baers (1630), Olinda Conquistada, Recife 1982, p. 40.

2 Remnants of similar architectural elements can be found in the Instituto Arqueológico, Geográfico e Histórico Pernambucano (IAGHP) in Recife. Also in the collection is a statue of a man, approximately one meter tall, made of grey sandstone native to the environs. The flat backside of the statue indicates that it possibly stood against a front or doorpost. The owner must have been wealthy, in any event; since Jews were forbidden to make human images, it seems implausible that he was a Jewish merchant, although the largest fortunes were found in this group. The director of the IAGHP, Dr. José António Gonsalves de Mello, does not believe the statue decorated a tombstone (personal conversation), but the façade of the house of a wealthy man.

A stone tablet—‘NIET SONDÆR GÖT’—survived the destruction of a house on Rua Vigário Tenório. It is now in the collection of the Museu da Cidade. The supporting stones carry the date 1637.

P.J.E. Luykx drew our attention to some maps of Pernambuco in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection of the Universiteitsbibliotheek in Leiden. The collection also contains two etchings by the painter-etcher-botanist Jan van Brosterhuizen, representing Huis Vrijburgh and Slot Boa Vista. The etchings are copies of Frans Post drawings and were intended to illustrate Barlaeus’s Rerum. The maps include an example of Cornelis Goliath’s 1648 map, which is also included in the Stichting Atlas van Stolk (fig.). An interesting comparison is W. Hondius’s map ‘Anthony Vaa’ from 1640.

Mauritsstad has not yet developed into a city, but appears as a citadel, while Recife still seems to have sufficient building space within its walls (nr. 191 66).

4 Ludwig Driessen, Leben des Fürsten, etc. (1849), 1979, p. 34.


7 Ibid, p. 10.

8 For data concerning René de Monchy, see Picket 3, note 8.

9 Units of measure:
The 17th century measuring hardly knew standardization. Many cities, provinces and districts had their own units of linear measure and weights. With the unit of weight the monetaur unit was related, so differences in the latter system existed too. Concerning official documents generally two standards were used, the Amsterdam foot and the Rhineland foot, from which other units were derived.

1 Amsterdam foot = 11 Amsterdam thumb = 0,283133 m
1 Amsterdam rood = a 13 feet = 3,68 m
               b 16 foot = 4,53 m
1 Rhineland foot = 12 Rhineland thumb = 0,313947 m
1 Rhineland rood = a 12 feet = 3,76 m
               b 16 feet = 5,02 m

W.C.H. Staring, De binnen- en buitenlandse Matrien, Gewichten en Munten van vroeger en tegenwoordig, Arnhem 1980, pp. 10, 11. This very important book was first published in 1871; the 1980 edition conforms to the fourth edition from 1902.


11 The name Béringer or Beranger can still be found in Brazil. They are descendents of Julião Béranger, a Frenchman, who owned a trade venture before the Portuguese conquest of Paraíba.

12 Mello, Flamengos, pp. 58, 107.


16 Ibid, p. 108. In spite of the transport costs and the inefficient and time-consuming voyage, many bricks were bought in Holland. Between 1641 and 1643 the amount expended on Dutch bricks was f1 154.000,--; f95 000,-- was spent on Brazilian bricks; and f349 925,-- on bricks and stones found in Olinda.
The use of the material was divided as follows:
- construction of houses, warehouses
  and streets of Mauritsstad f1 380 025,--
- reparation of idem in Recife f 219 450,--


17 Mello assumes that the use of the name 'Bockestraat' (Billygoat Street, 'Jodenstraat' after the construction of the synagogue between 1635–1636) discriminated against Jews (Mello: 'Os moradores israelitas', I, p. 111). Perhaps just not!

18 Nieuhof, op.cit., p. 16.


20 Mello, Flamengos, p. 46.

21 See Picket III, note 19.
Both Bahia and Rio Grande had forts with 5 bastions, but they did not adhere to the principle of five equal corners such as Manesson proposes it.

22 Barlaeus, Recife 1980, p. 40;
Also: De Laet, Iaerlyck Verhael, vol. IV, page XLVIII: 'dat men de myeren niet wel in het gras vangen can, maer wel int nest', (One can't catch ants in the grass, but in the nest). In other words: they only had to conquer Porto Calvo in order to put an end to all the raids.

This advice by the Polish commander Crestoffle d'Artischau Arciszewski, dubbed 'Artichofski' for simplicity, was immediately taken up by Johan Maurits, resulting in the successful Battle of Porto Calvo, 1637.
The Portuguese commander, the Italian Conde de Bagnuoli, would cross the governor's path several more times.

23 Willem Piso, see 'Contract', note 7 and 'Specifications', note 14.
According to Calado, Piso fell into disfavour with the governor, but letters that they exchanged in later years are evidence against this. Calado, op.cit., vol. I, p. 131.

24 Piso also called the Dutch inhabitants' attention to the clothing of the Portuguese and their habit of washing frequently. They were better adjusted to the climate. See also 'Contract', note 7 and 'Specifications', note 14.

26 Dagelijksche Notulen 25–6–1638 and 23–6–1639. ARA, OWIC box 53; 54.


28 Driessen, Johann Moritz etc., pp. 33, 34. ‘...erst mit 32 Schiffen und einer entsprechenden Kriegsmacht an Bord unter Segel gehen sollte’. But soon after, according to the incensed Driessen, ‘...wurde die Zahl der Schiffe auf zwölf, die der Truppen auf 2,700 Mann vermindert’. Because the fitting-out took so long, the ‘Tatenlustige Gouverneur’ finally departed from Texel in the autumn of 1636 with only four ships. His flagship, the Zutphen, had only 350 men on board.

See also: ‘Specifications’, note 4.

29 Mesquita, Inventário (1654), 1940, nr. 452.

The contractor for Huis Vrijburgh may have been a certain Belchior Álvares. He was also among the landowners on Antonio Vaz island. He is mentioned many times on the inventory list as the proprietário of buildings in Recife and Mauritsstad. He was indemnified diverse times by Portugal, an indication that his principals had not yet reimbursed him for his services in 1654, when their homes were seized without further ado. Álvares, also known as 'Alves', also demanded compensation for Huis Vrijburgh.

30 Since Slot Boa Vista was intended to be a fort, it also appears in the outline of Forts (Picket II). In the Rendição das Armas (Inventário dos Prédios etc.), 1654, 'a Casa de Boa Vista' is recorded with two iron pieces.

31 See Picket 2. Since it was constructed and named in 1630, Fort Ernestus could not have been named for Johan Maurits' younger brother Johan Ernst van Nassau-Siegen, who was killed by the Portuguese in Bahia in 1638, at the age of 19. He is buried in the Grote Kerk, near the Portuguese Corpo Santo, in Recife. See also: ‘Specifications’, note 39.

32 One of the few old buildings left on Antonio Vaz was a country house, Portuguese style, that the WIC acquired and which was put at the disposal of the governor upon his arrival in 1637. ‘Küchenschreiber’ Zacharias Wagner preserves an illustration of it in his Thierbuch. He began the book in Recife between 1638 and 1644. The first complete German–Portuguese publication appeared in São Paulo in 1964. See also Hoetink, Zo wijd de wereld strekt, Den Haag 1979, p. 142.


33 Franse and Grote Kerk: See Chapter IV.

34 Mello, Flamengos, p. 92 f.f.


36 Picket 2, 'Outline of Forts'; Mello, Cristóvão Álvares, Engenheiro em Pernambuco, Lisboa, 1940.
37 When he was awarded the bridge contract, Balthasar da Fonseca publicly declared himself a Jew again and underwent circumcision. Calado expresses prudish and furious outrage at the event and berates those ‘homens da nação’ (members of the Chosen People), who shouldn’t think that just because they profess Judaism that they are suddenly worth more than Christians, as he morosely comments. Calado, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 276/277. For Palladian influences, see e.g. p. 129 of this work.

38 Ibid, p. 277.

39 Nieuhof, op. cit., p. 17.


41 Calado, op. cit., vol. I, p. 277; Nieuhof, p. 17. Nieuhof mistakenly reports that the bridge was built of stone; the rest of his story, at any rate, explicitly details its wooden construction. This lack of precision was probably due to the book’s posthumous publication. Those who saw to its publication never visited the place themselves; no corrections were added.


44 Ibid, p. 278.

45 Ibid, p. 277. The year indicated, 1640, illustrates that the governor conceived the bridgers construction long before circonstances allowed him to realize his plan.

46 Ibid, p. 278.

47 Arquivo da Faculdade de História e Filosofia da UFPE undated. Mello reports 15 stone pillars from a total of 25 planned. The drawing in question shows 20 in all; 13 are stone (‘Pillares de pedra’, drawing A) and 7 are wooden beams (‘Pillares de Madeira’, drawing C).

Melllos, Flamengos, p. 92.

48 An 1789 drawing of Recife’s ground plan, including the abutment, does indeed show cazinhas, little houses. Like the map from note I, 51, this illustration is in the Archives of the Faculty for History and Philosophy in Recife, undated.

49 Mello, Flamengos, p. 98.

50 Ibid, p. 98.


52 See ‘Builders Specifications’, Note 8; Picket 2, note 23.
On a map made by Goliath in 1648, the commentary reads: ‘nu door
den selven verricht met de forten & retranchesmenten der Rebellen
portugesen die de selve in maniere van belegeringe hebben
gemaekht, met de Defensien van d’onze tegen de selve. Anno 1648’
(Now enriched by the same with the forts and retrencements of the
Rebel Portugese, which they constructed to attack our own
Defences...) The text implies that an earlier version existed. Since
the examples resemble each other, Johan Mauritius may have given
the original to Barlaeus to reproduce in Rerum.
The manuscript of the 1648 map, four equal sections each 39 x 55
cm, is in the National Library in Vienna.

53 M.E.H. Mout, 'The youth of Johan Maurits', in: Essaybundel,
edited by Van de Boogaart c.s. 1979, pp. 12–38.


55 E.R.M. Taverne, In 't land van beloft, p. 82 f.f., p. 94 f.f.
Taverne mentions the activities of Johan Sems, 'mr. Jan Semps
geometricus', who calls himself on diverse occasions 'landmeter en
ingenieur der Staten van Vryesland'. This Sems was born in
Franeker in 1572. In 1623 he lived in Groningen, where he wrote De
arithmetische fundamenten en tabula Pythagorica ofte reecentaele
In 1600, together with the Leiden mathematician Jan Pietersz. Dou,
he wrote the handbook Practijk des landmeters. In 1615 he
measured out the 30 km long, virtually rectilinear limite or
scheidegruppe, which ran from the Zuidlaarder Meer to Ter Apel.
This line is known as the Count Willem Lodewijk – or Semslie. Ibid,
p. 84 and note 65.

Whether this Sems is the same as the assistant, Christian name
unknown, who arrived with Andreas Drewisch in 1631 to lighten
Pieter van Bueren's load: first of all, he would have been 58 to 59
years old, and secondly, his record of service would have made him
more famous. Jan Sems was 66 years old when Johan Maurits van
Nassau began to implement his town planning policy seven years
later in 1638. A letter from the Politieke Raad Paulus Serooskercke
to the Heren XIX reports that there were two engineers, Drewisch
and Pieter van Bueren, and that the third was still a young man. He
also requested two or three more engineers. Letter 30–3–1631,
ARA, OWIC box 49. Mella, Cartografia, p. 11. It is still uncertain
whether Jan Sems might have been connected with the Brazilian
situation, perhaps through a family member.

56 Temminck Groll, 'Nieuw Amsterdam', etc., p. 457.


58 ARA, OWIC box 52.

59 Picket III, 'Forts', note 3

60 H.A. Breuning, Het voormalige Batavia, Een Hollandse
stedesichting in de tropen. Anno 1619, Amsterdam 1954, p. 28.


63 Nieuhof, op.cit. p. 114, 139, 140, 143.

64 E.W. Palm, Überlegungen zur Mauritipolis—Recife, Kleef 1979, p. 25.

65 The WIC’s appointment of Willem van Lobbrecht is exemplary because we know a few facts about him through reports. He is mentioned in the Baptismal Register of Recife as well. According to a report by Herckmans, Willem van Lobbrecht took part in a reconnoitering mission to Bahia in 1639. The mission may have been prompted by Cornelis Goliath’s drawings of the three Bahian forts. Picket III, note 3, and Chapter I, note 112.

66 There are few facts available concerning the size of the French garrisons in Recife during the period of Dutch rule. The garrisons drew manpower from a number of resident Huguenot families. Because the size of a garrison varied, we can deduce nothing from their presence. We can draw conclusions, however, from the fact that by 1640 the French had their own church, the so-called ‘Franse Kerk’ (French Church). This lay at the mouth of the southern canal in Mauritssstad, across from the governor’s first home, with which it formed a small square. Contractor was Belchior Álvares Camelo. The pleas of the French minister Joachim Vincent Soler, a Spaniard and well-known in the community, brought in the funds for the church in a relatively short period of time. For further facts concerning the Franse Kerk and Soler, see Chapter IV.

Johan Maurits van Nassau supposedly had a relationship with the beautiful Margaretha, the daughter of Vincent Soler. The English garrison had 100 to 150 men.

67 See note 67. The French occupied trading posts in Paraíba after about 1520. After Portugal conquered this area in 1585, different families remained. Known French ministers were: Joachim Vincent Soler, Jean d’Arragon, and Gilbert de Vaux.

68 M. Bloch, La Société Féodale, 1939, pp. 426–428. ‘En même temps que la vie interne de la seigneurie devenait moins mouvante, elle se modifiait, sur certains points, presque du tout au tout... D’autre part, la forme de dépendance en qui la subordination d’homme à homme avait trouvé son expression la plus pure tantôt disparaissait, tantôt s’altérait. Des affranchissements répétés, qui parfois s’appliquaient à des villages entiers, diminuèrent considérablement, à partir du XIIIe siècle, le nombre des serfs français et italiens.’

69 R. Jongepier, Bastides van Gasconie ofwel middeleeuwse newtowns, pp. 8, 11, 14.

70 According to Villefranche de Périgord, Paul Abadie,— also the architect of the Sacré Coeur in Paris, created the church facing the marketplace, a 19th-century solution ignoring the original concept.
71 Temminck Groll, *Middeleeuwse stenen huizen te Utrecht en hun relatie met die van andere Noordwesteuropese steden*, Den Haag 1963, III-25: 'Bury-St. Edmunds, a city with a regular ground plan founded in XII B, has its Moyse's Hall on the Cornhill (St. Mary's Square).'

72 Ibid, p. III-27: '...this city gained a regular extension under Edward I.'

73 Sedneum (van) Points or Poynts appears upon the list of Mauritsstad home owners objecting to the *Hoge Raad's* resolve to raze the homes between Frederik Hendrik and Ernestus. This action would improve the forts' view of each other and enemy movements. Mello, *Flamengos*, pp. 167, 168. He appears several times in the Baptismal Register.

74 His name appears as James, Jim, Jacob Hinderson or Henderson. He too kept company with the count, and is mentioned several times for his performance in military actions. He remains very active even after 1644.


77 Wash, op.cit. 1888, vol. 6, p. 172. Also see note 67.

78 The Albigenses had their center in Albi on the Tarn, a high-lying city. Their dogma preached great 'purity' and their leaders, the Cathari, had attained it to the highest degree. Pope Innocentius organized a 13th-century crusade against the Albigenses (1209–1229). Politically their dogma was committed to battle. The French monarch had to protect his authority against the southern feudal lords who sided with the sect against him. Albi was built around the *église-fortresse* (church-fortress) Ste. Cécile, comparable to the military *bastide* Cordes and its church, St. Michel (12th century).

79 'There are very few documents naming the 'designers of cities'. A 1292 text from Paris records the profession of 'lotisseur', someone commissioned to trace out the parcels of ground; that is very different from planning a city. When documents do inform us who worked on the designs, we find that they were not specialists, but bailiffs, notaries, judges, mayors, bishops, and governors'. Jongepier, *Bastiden*, p. 12.


81 Taverne, *In 't Land van belofte*, etc., pp. 35–48; note 25 etc.

82 Ibid, pp. 32, 34.
83 Simon Stevin, *Onderscheyt van de Oirdening der Steden*, 1649. Noteworthy is Stevin’s advice concerning bridges: ‘Over de havens zoude ich veel bruggen begeeren als an elcke straat daer op uytcommende een brugge, gelijck hier aangevreesen voort’. (I would recommend many harbour bridges so that each street opening onto it has one, just as here indicated), p. 21. Even though Mauritssstad had bridges over the main canal and at the head of each main street, the book’s publication date (although written earlier) indicates that this pronouncement does not apply.


86 The artist Theo Rikken kindly drew the figure to my attention.

87 Ibid, p. 69. The ponds too were often octagonal in shape, and had to be absolutely flat to be completely full, as perfection demanded. Mathematics here served to realize philosophy and symbolism.

88 Vitruvius, Libri X; Lib. I, cap. IV.

89 Ibid, Lib. I, cap. VI. He also notices the entry of light, and stables (size and arrangement). Ibid, Lib. VI, cap. I, II and III. In Lib. I, cap. VI he also discusses the placement of wall openings such as windows and doors.

90 Daniele Barbaro’s important 1556 publication of Vitruvius contains commentary on proportion and harmony, and illustrations by Palladio (Andrea di Pietro da Padova). Vitruvius obviously influenced the *Ordenanzas*. Francesco de Marchi and Filipo Terzi were only two of the Italian architects in Spanish service. They (reintroduced the republications of Vitruvius’ works to the Madrid Court.

Concerning the relationship between Palladio and Daniele Barbaro, Palladio built several villa’s for the Barbari family. For Daniele himself and his brother, he built ‘a Masera Villa’, Villa Maser at Asolo, ‘which, decorated with Veronese frescoes and Vittoria’s statues, is one of the most perfect Renaissance creations in Northern Italy’ (Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, 1973, p. 66). Palladio, *I Quattro libri dell’Architettura*, 1570, Libro Secondo, p. 51.

Fra Giocondo published an earlier edition of Vitruvius’ work in 1511. It lacked the extensive commentary and interpretation of the Daniele Barbaro edition. In this connection, Taverne’s comments about Philip II’s fortifications advisor, Francesco de Marchi, are also important. Taverne, *In 't land van belofte*, pp. 33, 34, 410. While Marchi’s plea for a radial–shaped city is not directly relevant to the design of Mauritssstad, he did introduce the Italian world of ideas to the Iberian Peninsula.

For Terzi: see Chapter IV.
91 Wätjen, op.cit., p. 78, 123. Transl.: Also from Pieter’s hand, we must mention the House of the High Council, built soon after Vrijburgh, and the reformed church on Antônio Vaz. Perhaps he also projected the plan for the new city that started to be erected on the island between. Fort Ernestus and Fort Frederik Hendrik, from the end of the third decade on.

It is not clear if Wätjen points out the Town Hall that was indeed built on the island. The Higg Council, however, preferred to stay ‘on the Recife’.


For 10 pages, Barlæus (Portuguese edition) describes the count’s architectural exertions, frequently referring to his Roman predecessors Augustus, Pompeius, Marcellus, and Alcibiades (all this according to Barlæus), to which this Thucydides adds, that the grandeur of buildings not only impress the citizens, but also foreigners and enemies, consolidating the power of the ruler. Except for a ‘constructor’ mentioned for the bridge to Recife and the phrase ‘door hem gebouwd’ (built by him) for Huis Vrijburgh, meaning the count himself, there is nothing indicating the introduction of an architect, let alone a specific name.

In Der Grosse Kurfürst und Moritz van Nassau, (Frankfurt 1893) Galland, after connecting Fort Ernestus to Johann Ernst, perhaps holding to Netscher, writes ‘Es scheint, dass Anlage und Hauptgebäude der Moritzstadt, z. B. ein Regierungsresidenz und eine reformierte Kirche, von Pieter Post, dem muthmaasslichen Schöpfer der Freiburg, herrühnten’. This time he adds in all fairness, ‘Wir bedauern daher, dass wir über diese fast im Fluge aus der Erde gezauberten Bauten nicht sachgemäss unterrichtet sind, als es durch Barlæus geschieht’, p. 21.


93 Driessen, op.cit., p. VIII. Driessen was personally acquainted with Veegens.
94 'With a feeling of melancholy, I take up my pen to relate how this section originated and why my little-known name stands beside that of the famous man of letters, NICOLAAS GODFRIED VAN KAMPEN, on the title page.... For a long while he was partial to one of the noble scions of the Royal House to which the Netherlands owes so much, namely JOHAN MAURITS VAN NASSAU, who won everlasting fame for himself for the way he directed the Dutch colony in Brazil, fought for the independence of our Republic as field marshal, and benefitted the nearby town of Kleef'. Van Kampen, Nicolaas Godfried and Daniel Veegens, Drietal levensbeschrijvingen van Beroemde Mannen, Haarlem 1840, Voorrede, V, VIII, IX. The two other 'viri illustri' are Johannes Drusius, late 16th-century professor of Hebrew at Leiden and Franeker, and Willem Lodewijck van Nassau, stadholder of Friesland and Groningen, approximately the same period.


96 Onno Zwier Van Haren, De Geuzen, 1772, gezang 11.

97 Collot d'Escury, op.cit. p. 291. The spelling in Collot differs from the original. Wätjen makes an amusing error by replacing the 't' in wuft (luck) with what he apparently saw as an Old-German 's': 'Met Nassau wijkt het wust geluk'. In Dutch, woest means savage or fierce.


100 Ibid, p. 292. The passage in Houbraken about the Post brothers is entirely misunderstood by Collot d'Escury. 'Frans Post had een Broeder die een berucht Bouwmeester was, door wien hy kennis kreeg aan Prins Maurits die naderhand het huis aan den Haagse Vijverberg liet bouwen. Deze ziende zijne bekwaamheid lohte hem in den jare 1647 mee naar de West-Indiën, daar hy verscheiden jaren bleef, zig oeffenende in de Lautgezichten naar 't Leven af te teekenen, en te schilderen. (-)'

Transl.: Frans Post had a brother, a famous architect who introduced him to Prince Maurits, who later ordered the construction of the house near the Vijverberg in The Hague. He, seeing his talent, persuaded him in the year 1647 to join him in the West-Indies, where he remained for several years, trying to represent the landscapes realistically, by drawing and painting.
The year 1647 could be a misprint, but the sentences are composed in a fairly complicated way. Through the last part, which names the profession, it is clear, however, that Houbraken still means to inform us about Frans Post and not about Pieter, whom he does not mention in the index. Arnold Houbraken, De Grote Schouwburg der Nederlandsche Kunstschilders en Schilderessen, vol. II, Amsterdam 1719, pp. 343–344. According to Sousa-Leão's enumeration in the most reliable (and recent) catalogue of Post's works, we are here concerned with painting number 25. Mauritssstad and Recife, a panel measuring 46 x 83 cm., signed bottom left by F. Post. 25.8.1657. It is currently in the collection of Mr. Octaíes Marcondes Ferreira of São Paulo.

Drawing D.40 is a proof-sketch for the Barlaeus's publication representing a panoramic view of Mauritssstad and Recife from the stone reef. The drawings D.42 and D.43 are respectively Huis Vrijburgh and Slot Boa Vista, both likewise expressly intended for Barlaeus' book. These drawings are in the Print Collection of the British Museum.

Number D.63 is an unusually beautiful drawing (17 x 29 cm.), which, according to the date (1684?), could have been based upon the aforementioned painting. The row of small houses in the foreground is the same as that in profile to the right in Wagner's drawing 'Der Hof Sein. Exeellenz'. The towers of Huis Vrijburgh are clearly distinguishable in the Post background. The bridge is complete, but the ferry is also in use (center). The owner of this drawing is the widow of Sousa-Leão, who died in 1974. The drawing was shown, perhaps for the last time, during the Mauritshuis exhibit commemorating the 300th anniversary of Johan Maurits van Nassau's death (nr. 97). Upon inquiry in 1984, the Brazilian honorary consul in the Netherlands, Mr. W.M.J. Russell, learned that damp, white ants (cupim), or both combined had irreparably damaged the drawing after its return to Brazil following the exhibit.


103 Ibid, p. 16.

104 Ibid, p. 16.

105 Ibid, p. 16.


106 Haarlem was first expanded after 1670. The Pieter Post design is one of many.

107 Taverne, 'Stadterweiterung Kleve', p. 149.

109  René de Monchy was 'lieutenant', Willem van Lobbrecht 'overste luitenent'. Evidently, Willem van Lobbrecht worked in Brazil during two different periods, from 1635–1640 and from 1647–1652 or '54. He and Quirijn were sons of the Utrecht Supervisor of the States, Frederik Matthijs van Lobbrecht (died 1644). Elias Herckmans mentions him briefly in 1640 in connection with the 1639 expedition to Bahia. Between his Brazilian periods, Willem van Lobbrecht served as inspector of fortifications for the State. In 1647 he became quartermaster-general for the WIC in Brazil.

In 1648, Willem van Lobbrecht witnessed the baptism of a daughter of Tobias Commersteyn. His wife, 'Joffr. Cornelia Lobbrechts' (born Carpenter), also appears as witness diverse times. She herself gave birth three times in Recife, in 1649 to a daughter, Elisabeth, and in 1650 and '51 to sons, both named Eduard; apparently the first did not live long. Quirijn is named as witness in all three cases. Kees Zandvliet, head of Cartography in the Rijksarchief in Den Haag, kindly gave me this information about the Lobbrechts.

Lit.: Journaal van Elias Herckmans, (ARA, OWIC 40), Archief Raad van State nr. 1527, Commissieboeken, folio 16750 dated 5 March 1646; idem folio 22456; Baptismal Register Recife, Nederlands Familieblad, 1869, vol. 3, pp. 49, 52, vol. 4, p. 74 etc.

110  Cristóvão Álvares designed the Portuguese Forte do Mar, also called the Waterkasteel (see Picket II). Year of construction was 1612. In 1638 he and Tobias Commersteyn reinforced Fort Oranje on Itamaracá. He also supervised the design and building phases of Balthasar de Fonseca's bridge between Recife and Mauritsstad.

111  Jan VII, 'de Middelste', 1561–1623, reformed 16th-century war tactics along with Willem Lodewijk van Nassau and Prince Maurits and was a great authority on the Roman art of war. In 1616 he founded the Schola Militaris in Siegen and wrote a handbook about war strategy, the Kriegsbuch. He based these notes on his own experiences and, conforming to humanistic tradition, on Roman sources and later commentaries, among others Julius Lipsius. M.E.H. Mout, 'The youth of Johan Maurits and aristocratic culture in the early seventeenth century' in: E. van de Boogaart, etc. Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604–1675, a Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil, Den Haag 1979, p. 13.
Framework

Chapter II: Civil architecture of Recife and Mauritsstad

5.1 CIVIL ARCHITECTURE IN RECIFE, 1630-1644

Fig. 21

'Pernambuco', 'Port of Pernambuco', 'Port of Olinda in Pernambuco': these are the initial place indications in De Laet's Iaerlyck Verhael for 'het Dorp van 't Reciff'. He mentions it independently for the first time on 3 March 1630 (1). On the illustration of this same second volume the Verhael, however, this dorp (village) appears both coherent and fortified. At least 15 houses above a single storey (casa sobrada) in Portuguese, houses— with a—storey—under—the—roof, indicating more than just a garret plus 10 low houses, typically slave quarters, are clearly distinguishable. Also visible is a large complex of 'Verbrande Huysen' (burned houses) and warehouses, the remains of 3 March 1630, when Mattias de Alburquerque put them to the torch before abandoning Recife to the Dutch.

On 22 April 1630, Johannes Walbeeck arrived in Recife. Although originally sent to Brazil for a different purpose, he was admitted as a member of the Politieke Raad the very next day (2). He went to live in a large house on the southern side (K). Because Walbeeck left for Holland with Diederik van Waerdenburgh on 8 March of 1633, the map must have been made between 1630 and 1633. Gonsalves de Mello also comes to the same conclusion (3). Moreover, De Laet writes that in August 1631, the Dutch decided to cut down the burned warehouses and close off the rest from the Powderhouse on (between D and E) ("...af te snijden, ende de reste van 't Kruydhuyse af te besluiyten"). In other words, Recife was bounded at point D and protected with 'een goede Bostweere met twee banqueten' (a good Breastwork with two banquets) (4). On the map these already exist (F), but the situation depicted clearly predates the razing of the warehouses and Powderhouse, all the more reason to date the map liberally between March 1630 and September 1631.

Despite the more or less pejorative description of 'Povo' and 'Povoacao' ('hamlet', and 'spot'), Recife became a place of substance in the 1630's.
Beyond architectural descriptions by men like Johan Ghijseling and Artichofske, these two clear maps with their good profile of Recife are the only known depictions until the period of Johan Maurits van Nassau. Not until the count’s government, when Zacharias Wagner put together his Thierbuch (5), were the houses more fully depicted; Frans Post himself left only a single example. Two drawings from the Thierbuch show the immediate locale: one illustrates the abode of ‘Der Hof Sein. Excellenz’ on Antônio Vaz. The step-gables of the houses in the street across from it and the bordering houses in the background reproduce typically 17th-century Dutch architecture. One can assume that these gables were also found in Recife.

The other drawing (nr. 106 in the Thierbuch, ‘a short and reliable account in the interests of family and friends’) (6) shows the ‘Slavenmarkt’ (Slavemarket). Besides shrilly documenting the largely inhuman principles permitting the Dutch colony’s wealth, this drawing also lets us visualize descriptions and conjectures. ‘Casas sobradas’ flank a square, or at least a broad section of a street. One of these, judging from its sign, was probably an inn. The balconies on the first floor indicate, even if the scale is incorrect, a fully residential storey. (The ground level was usually reserved for stores, storage areas, etc.). Unusually distinct are the flat shingles, which seem typically Dutch. On the plate of ‘Der Hof’, these tiles are distinguishable from the round, double row of ‘roman’ tiles on the front Portuguese house. Tiles as well as bricks initially filled empty cargo ships as ballast, replaced on the return voyage with wood, sugar, and similar goods. The Portuguese did the same with their own building material: natural stone, pedra. Count Maurits, however, wished the colony to become as independent as possible from such shipments; the uncertainties of time, weather and wind, and enemy encounters during the trip were too great for the growing construction activities. Moreover, the shipments were not without cost. Maurits recommended establishing brick factories and tileworks. Despite a somewhat friable product resulting from the sometimes unsuitable clay, these works fulfilled the demand.

Fig. 16
Cornelis Goliath’s map from 1648 shows a few stone manufacturers: the ‘Pottebakerij (pottery workshop) van Gaspar Cock’ (5), the ‘Pannebakkerij (tileworks) van de Effogados’ (T), and north of Olinda, ‘Engenho Velho Een vervalle Suijckermolen tegenwoordigh Calekoven toekomende ML. Álvares Deodara’ (N) (A lapsed Sugarmill, currently Lime kilns, of a certain Manuel Álvares Deusdara) (7). A brick kiln also lies near the Jewish Cemetery (8).

In contrast to the stone manufacture, most of the lime kilns at the time of the Dutch government did not lie in the clay-rich stretches of the mainland coast, but in the hills of Itamaracá island. The bakkerijen (workshops) on the Goliath map were located in today’s Madalena district across from the Derbi quarter, currently still a pottery fabrication site. Cock’s pottery workshop functioned after 1641; in addition to ceramic utensils it also produced bricks and roof tiles. In 1656, two years after the Dutch fully surrendered their possessions to the Portuguese, the crown granted Henrique Dias, the legendary Negro general who fought against the invasores holandeses, ownership of these important settlements. Dias
promptly founded a church (Nossa Senhora da Assunção das Fronteiras) next to the factory, although the factory area probably already had a church in the Dutch Period (9).

Unlike the much later documents of Zacharias Wagner (1639) and Frans Post’s drawings of houses on António Vaz, the 1631 map in ‘t Ierlyck Verhael shows no evidence of a single ‘typically Dutch’ step-gable. This in no way implies that such architecture did not appear in Recife’s later years—its heyday was yet to come. Nonetheless, we can call De Laet’s T RECIF de PERNAMBUCO ‘typically Dutch’ because it sports only one example of a typical Lusitanian gable: to the left of ‘De kerck Corpo Santo’ (A), we find houses with hipped roofs (as quatro aguas, with four corners). Early 16th-century prints of Lisbon can serve as contrast.

With no other tropical topographic indications, a strikingly self-evident absence of chimneys characterizes De Laet’s illustration. A view of early New York ca. 1700, still teeming with New Amsterdam step-gables, serves as comparison. The necessary chimneys on the one hand enliven the picture, but also interrupt the horizontal restfulness characteristic of Recife. Unfortunately, De Laet’s is the only map that gives us such a clear picture of Recife before its full bloom. The town’s structure, however, is already in place. The following twenty years would not radically change this structure, limited by its location upon the small spit of land. As for the houses, an illustration in Barlaeus reproduces the situation around 1644: on the right side, a town packed full of tall houses, often with three residential levels. Still, little distinguishes the architecture and detail. The tall building to the right of the Palace of the Hoge Raad (2) is striking, with three stories and a hipped roof. The synagogue of the large and wealthy Sephardic community lay on this side of Recife in the Beekstraat (later Jodenstraat). This striking building could possibly be the only illustration of the synagogue; the quatro aguas, four corners of the roof, indicate Lusitanian workmanship, built by the Jews themselves (10).

The many tall and narrow houses are a natural consequence of Recife’s circumstances: a large population, and very little space. According to Gonsalves de Mello, this necessary flight to the skies determined Recife’s image until well into the 19th century: ‘um tipo curioso de sobrado que persistiu até o século XIX: o sobrado alto e magro’. Gonsalves de Mello wittily quotes the words of the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, who compared the formation of Recife’s characteristic house-blocks to ‘a group of people who crowd each other in order to be in a photograph together’ (11).

Brazil’s colonial residences built according to Brazilian/Portuguese models—only one 18th-century example remains—differ greatly from the Recife townhouses. To begin with, the measurements: houses of Dutch ‘origin’ (category I) are no wider than 6 to 7 meters, or twenty feet, the same size current in 17th-century Holland (12). The Lusitanians (category II), in contrast, have an average gable-width of 15 meters. The ground plans of category I have a front entrance to the left or right with two windows next to it. Category II is symmetrical in design: front entrance in the middle with two windows on either side.
The saddleroofs in category I have sharp angles, up to 60°. In category II, except on hipped roofs, the angles are obtuse, from 90 to 120°.

The townhouses in Recife have garret rooms under the roof, indicated by the windows there. The attics of category II practically always serve as a climate-regulating buffer between the heat outside and the desired coolness within. For this purpose an oeil-de-boeuf—sometimes more than one—was added to the front and back gables; later, these took on other forms. Small dormers with open, wooden screens date from the end of the 18th century. The height of the three-storey, Dutch-style residence was often three times the breadth. The ridge height, calculated by the length of the king-post, was approximately 1/4 the height of the three storeys. The Portuguese-style residence was often square and, up to the king-post, as high as it was wide. The ratio of the ridge height to the right façade was also one to four.

Dutch tiles made the sharp angle of the Dutch-style roof possible, with each tile fixed behind a batten. In contrast, the Roman-Lusitanian method had two rows of conical tiles, whose tapering shape held them in check. (Today these tiles are also latched underneath.)

Fig. 22a

Recife, 1982: Rua da Aurora.
Fortunately, Recife anno 1987 still possesses a few rows of old, mostly 19th-, but also 18th-century houses, in which we can trace the original characteristics of their colonial past. The Brazilian vernacular distinguishes between these two types of residences. Although sobrado officially means 'house with an attic-storey', it also stands for houses 'where the space under the roof, in the attic, can be used as a living-area'. The wide, more monumental houses of Lusitanian origins are called oitão; the word originally meant the side wall that ranged with the street (13). One important difference is the closed unit of the Dutch type, lit exclusively by windows. The much larger residences of the Brazilian category, behind the first two rows, generally have a patio that functions not as a garden or sitting area, but as a light source for the adjoining bedrooms and kitchens. A salient detail in the older houses of both categories is the absence of any sanitary space incorporated into the architecture. This would not change until the 19th century. Considering conditions in contemporary Versailles, the colonists were in good company.

What still remains of category I, the Dutch residences, in Recife? The answer, unfortunately, is almost nothing, in a strictly architectural sense. However, structurally—in the width, or rather, narrowness of the lots, the allied height of the façades, and the layout of the streets—Recife is strikingly different from any other city in Brazil. These characteristics fully justify our recognizing the traces of Recife's origins as a 17th-century Dutch colonial trading center.

Fig. 23
Slavemarket. After Zacharias Wagner, circa 1638. Most of the figures on the original sketch have been omitted to emphasize the architecture.
A = Slavemarket
B = Jews Street.
Zacharias Wagner, Slavemarket; figure 106 in: Thierbuch, circa 1638.

Wagner's illustration 'de Slavenmarkt' (Slavemarket) gives us an idea of the appearance of one important street, where almost every house also had a store. The figures in our illustration have been left out to make the architecture more distinct. The section later became the 'Praça dos Judeus' (Jews' Square); the wide street leading up to it, 'Bockestraat', was renamed 'Jodenstraat', then 'Rua dos Bom Jesus' (after 1654), then 'Rua da Cruz', and once again 'Rua do Bom Jesus' (after 1870).

We can best understand the sobrados of Recife when we compare them to the decor of residences found in 17th-century Dutch trade cities. The townhouse developed initially from the aisled house, where man and beast sought warmth and safety together under one roof. Its space was divided into three aisles, if we can use this broad term to describe the many simple constructions of loam and reeds. Its width usually measured 6 meters, and two rows of wooden posts supported the roof. So-called trusses (crossbeams) and underrafters joined the posts at the top.
Fig. 22b
Amsterdam, 1st half of the 20th century:
Brouwersgracht.

In the cities, the aisled house developed into a house without aisles. The former posts now formed the outside walls. In the 15th century, stacked planks gradually replaced the loam and reeds. City-wide fires forced the town fathers to issue regulations concerning the use of brick. The great fires in Leiden (1450) and Amsterdam (1452) led to the modernization of building methods in these cities. However, because of the foundation widths, the basic shape of new houses remained the same. Likewise in the 15th century, the hearth was moved from the center to the side wall, where smoke could escape outside through a fireplace and chimney.

City dwellers who did not need stable space could partition the rear into separate rooms. A staircase led to the attic, used as storage space. In the 16th and 17th centuries, this horizontal differentiation was vertically augmented by expanding storage areas into warehouses. Depending upon the demand for accommodations and the availability of other storage space, the warehouse space could become a residential storey. Between these two phases, the so-called mezzanine-level appeared. This level was constructed by lowering the ceiling of the fireplace room, allowing for a floor inbetween. When the ground level was used for a store or workshop, the mezzanine served as a living or sleeping space (14).

Besides these, some 17th-century houses contained cellars that often had their own street entrance. Such cellar-levels gave rise to the so-called cellar-shop (potthouse), a low house (or portion of a larger building) built half above and half below the ground, usually serving as a workplace for craftsmen.

The Inventário treated in 5.3.1, an inventory of the Dutch houses in Recife and Mauritsstad in 1654, makes only one mention of a cellar among the sobrados of Recife. Most of the houses of old Recife, like
true townhouses, stand adjacent or against each other, as witnessed by, among others, Wagner’s drawing. Most have their own steps, but many times mention is also made of *duas casa que usam só uma escada* (two houses using one staircase). Living area, shops, and storage space lay under one roof, or in the case of two adjoining houses, two roofs. The steps led through a passage projecting along one of the sides of the house. In houses with one staircase, the passage sometimes lay outside, behind the house, as was the case with plantation residences (15).

I believe that this construction method was inspired by the plantations, while in contrast, the ‘regular’ *sobrados*, resemble the Dutch–style city dwellings of the 17th century. Luckily the ground plan of one of the rare remaining *sobrados* in Recife can illustrate this.

*Fig. 24a*

Floorplan of Rua da Aurora 49. First storey.
Though not from the 17th-century section of Recife, this 19th-century house in Boa Vista was built upon much earlier, probably mid-18th century foundations, and, as size and drawings demonstrate, was constructed in the characteristic Recife tradition. We can add that the house is long and narrow and adjoins the street behind, where the servants' quarters and coachhouse lie. This was typical for old Recife and resembles buildings, as the Inventário describes, que dá à outra rua atrás (that emerge onto the back street). This was also common in 17th-century Holland (16). The house described here lies between the Rua da Aurora and Rua da União. A map from the second half of the 18th century proves that reconstruction did indeed occur on that side of the Capibaribe and in that quarter of the new section, Boa Vista.
Although arranged differently from Dutch-style 17th-century townhouses, the location of the passage, staircase, and courtyard in the long and narrow ground plan of house nr. 49 Rua da Aurora is essentially the same. The courtyard has a geographically determined function, serving in Brazil as an 'outer corridor' and keeping the rooms cool.

Fig. 25a
Floorplan of three 17th-century houses in Amsterdam, called de Steeman, de Landman, and de Zeeman. A reconstruction of the original plan. This type of townhouse was known between circa 1400 and 1690. After R. Meischke and H.J. Zantkuil.

The *sala de visita* lies in front, along the street, just as in many Amsterdam canal houses.

Of note, the patio did not serve as a small inner garden in Brazil, but rather fulfilled a practical function comparable to the Roman atrium. Usually the patio was tiled; it had a cistern or drainpipe in the center for rainwater, and, if large enough, a chicken coop or the like. The kitchen area, bathrooms, and servants' quarters opened onto the patio, as did the shed and coach space. The Rua Aurora building is a good example in this respect. Even the one or more patios in larger houses served no other function nor differed in appearance. Decoration consisted, at most, of a few pots with shrubbery.
A floor plan of a similar 'great townhouse', a residência like those developed in the 19th century, shows that even here the patio served as a source of light and air and as a passage from one part of the house to another (17).

Fig. 25b
Floorplan of a large townhouse with two patios. 18th century Brazil. After José Wasth Rodrigues.

José Wasth Rodrigues gives an example of another type of sobrado, a 'symmetrical, multiple-storey residence of middling size, different from the small city dwellings' (18). Instead of a patio, a house chapel fills the central space in this square plan. The salão nábre, similar to the sala de visita, and the rest of the rooms, including the dining room, lie around it. The kitchen is not indicated separately; apparently it was located in the quarto near the veranda entrance bordering the sala de jantar, the dining room. The ground plan shows the first storey, which opens onto the veranda and, as in plantation residences, leads to a staircase on the side. The wing resting squarely on top of it contains the supply area and servants' quarters.
Fig. 25c

Floorplan of a symmetrical sobrado, common in Brazil for medium-sized townhouses since the 18th century. After José Wasth Rodrigues.

The illustration notes the sizes exactly: 18.00 x 14.30 m; those of the residência are 31.80 x 18.50 m. The 5.00 m and 7.50 m differences from what we may call the 'Old Dutch' measurements of 17th-century Recife foundations are striking. The residência measurements are very close to the prevailing 20-foot width mentioned in the Inventário.

Momentarily excluding the small sobrado treated in the previous chapter, we can conclude that Portuguese agrarian residences—tropical colonial plantation houses (as depicted by Post) as well as farm residences in Portugal itself—served as the primary models for 17th- and 18th-century urban construction. The narrow foundation of the aforementioned sobrados formed a functional base for the city-planners, especially when they dominated in quantity and grouping. Their predominance in Recife gave the city its own distinct face.

Brazil did not develop an independent identity until the 19th century, after the declaration of independence in 1822. It evolved a consciously richer and more modern style for that period, an eclectic mix of Neo-Classical and Empire elements, resulting in the elegant 'Estilo Imperial'. Recife was no exception; the trend expanded the city's hybrid skyline, combining broad, horizontal residences with narrow, tall, angular-roofed sobrados.
Few of these houses remain in Recife. They deserve a better lot than falling prey to the demolition hammer to make way for the Americanized vision of the 20th-century city nucleus as a central business district.

5.2 CIVIL ARCHITECTURE IN MAURITSSAT, 1637-1644

The civil architecture of Mauritssstad, like that of Recife, contains a number of categories.

a governmental buildings
b fortifications
c public buildings
d palaces, prisons
e hospitals and orphanages
f residences
g warehouses and magazines
h inns and brothels (19)

Mauritssstad differed from Recife not only in the size of its forts and the installation of canals and polders to prepare its ground for construction. The biggest difference, which gave the place its imposing allure, were the two palaces of the governor, Count Johan Maurits van Nassau–Siegen: Huis Vrijburgh and Slot Boa Vista.

5.2.1 Huis Vrijburgh

As we saw in the previous chapter, the governor’s first residence was a complex on António Vaz placed at his disposal by the WIC. We can thank Zacharias Wagner for an illustration of this ‘Hof Sein. Excellenz’ (20). In the foreground, we see a wonderful building of Portuguese origin: wide, with a hipped roof (a quatro águas) and canopied balcony, and to the right, a gallery supported by arcades. Within the gallery, a staircase leads to a second gallery arcade. This was a common characteristic of Portuguese plantation residences at the time. The structure on the roof likely served as Georg Marcgraf’s astronomical observatory. Marcgraf’s first house collapsed one night under the weight of an observation tower; he suffered a dislocated shoulder and was forced to interrupt his astronomical activities for a time (21). Since Marcgraf served under Count Maurits himself—he is not mentioned on the wages-sheets of the WIC—the skylight may have been added for his use, although it was just as likely added to increase the cachet of the residence. Across from this Portuguese house, the actual residence of the governor, is another house with a cross-shaped saddle roof similar to Zeeland farmhouses. Whether this house was annexed during the stay of the governor or already standing before his arrival cannot be traced. But the roof and the distribution of the first-storey windows certainly suggest Netherland influence.

On Wagner’s drawing, this building appears to have served as a kitchen: a line of servants bearing trays of food proceed from it to the Portuguese house opposite. The houses connect by a row of small slave quarters forming a wall around ‘Der Hof’. A saw mill stands to the left in the courtyard, where a vertical whipsaw cuts through a log.

The houses to the right are predominantly ‘real’ Dutch, with their saddleroofs and façades ornamented with step-gables.
Fig. 27
Huis Vrijburgh, detail from an etching by Jan Brosterhuizen, after a drawing by Frans Post, used as an illustration in Barlaeus' Rerum. (Photo: Peter van Wiechen).
FIGURE 26
Houses in the Rua Bom Jesus, the former Jews Street, Recife 1982.
Comparing this illustration to the drawing (1664) or the painting (1657) by Frans Post (see De Sousa–Leão, 26), we can accept the assumption that Post illustrates the fronts of the very same houses as Wagner does. Counting from right to left, the sequence—hipped roof, step-gable, hipped roof, step-gable—in Post is the same as in Wagner, although the latter adds a few step-gabled houses.

Granted, the space in front of the houses is more a square in Post than the street in Wagner, but the location, on the water where the future bridge would stand, tallies with the place indicated on the Cornelis Goliath map (1644–1648) as the governor’s first residence. On Post’s 1642 drawing, Huis Vrijburgh, with its two towers, and, in front of it, Fort Ernestus are both clearly visible. These are missing from the compositional arrangement of the 1657 painting, which Post created in Holland, referring to authentic location sketches and drawings and to Brazilian themes, as he did for so much of his work.

The governor soon lacked space in these accommodations, and he decided to purchase ground privately and build a palace that in size and appearance would do justice to his status and his notion of what his court should be. In 1639, he acquired the lands of the Portuguese Manuel Francisco (23). Although the new palace’s façade carried the date 1641, it was not completed until 1642. Maurits named it ‘Huis Vrijburgh’ in honor of the Netherlands’ struggle for freedom against Spain. As Brazil officially belonged to Spain during this period (Spain occupied the Portuguese throne until 1640), this name probably antagonized the Portuguese enemy.

At any rate, Frans Post’s illustration in Barlaeus shows a symmetrical building. The first residential storey, located on the first level as in the Mauritshuis, is accessible from a flight of stairs taking up the entire front width. Two wings flank the main building. These continue perpendicularly, ending in a pair of mirror-image buildings, each two storeys tall. Directly against the main buildings, at the highest point where the reception hall ends, two towers are joined by a set of five arcades that together form a sort of flying–buttress system. It isn’t clear whether these arches were passable by means of a gallery; according to the drawing, it was possible.

Both towers are capped by a six-sided skylight. In the right tower, Marcgraf had his third and last astronomical observatory (24). The left tower served as a navigation point for sailors; it was visible from 6.7 miles away (25). The roofs of the main buildings and both annexes are hipped. A tympanum accentuates the middle section of the façade. The complex had a semi–circular plaza on the river. Its ten pieces of artillery protected that part of the river (‘para segurança do rio’) (26).
Two pages further in Barlaeus an anonymous ground plan lets us trace the arrangement of the stables, fishponds, gardens, and orchards, as well as the palace itself. Most of the trees planted here were then already 7 or 8 years old. Barlaeus herewith refutes the assumption that old trees cannot be replanted. The count planted 700 coconut palms, some 50 feet tall, and 252 orange trees, to which he added 600 when the population increased. There were lemon trees, grapefruit trees ('limão grande'), papayas, breadfruit trees, mangos, caju trees, pitangs, pomegranates, cacti, bananas, and many other varieties, including many 'unknown in our land', according to Barlaeus (27). He here compares Johan Maurits to Diocletian, who also enjoyed his parks, and, after government, devoted himself to horticulture and arboriculture.

Huis Vrijburgh's expenditures were 6,000 guilders. In 1645, most of the trees were pulled up and the annexes and stables destroyed in order to help defend Mauritsstad. The rebels from the interior that year successfully besieged Recife, placing it in a precarious position; the population was saved from starvation in the nick of time by the arrival of two ships (28).

Huis Vrijburgh was sold for 6,000 livres to the Jewish community, who intended to use it as a synagogue, but whether it actually ever functioned as such is not certain.

The difference in price (one livre = ½ guilder) is attributable not only to the building's condition, but equally to the loss of the gardens, etc., and the stables and annexes (29).

In 1655, Prince Johan Maurits claimed—in vain—an amount of 500,000 guilders from the WIC for the investments he had left behind in Brazil, including bridges, both houses, and land.

Mauritsstad systematically shrank between 1649 and 1654, but up to that point Huis Vrijburgh survived dismantling and, after the surrender, from 1654 on, served as the residence of the Portuguese captain-general. Over the course of time it underwent restorations until, in 1784, further maintenance was judged too expensive, and the main building was leveled to the first storey. It stood in this condition until the middle of the 19th century (30).

Currently, a few government buildings lie on this land, surrounded by beautifully laid-out and maintained parks full of plants and trees. Something of the old sphere has been preserved in this spot. Currently (1987), Gonsalves de Mello, the Brazilian Nestor on 17th-century history, wants to start a project to locate the foundations. Probably it should succeed by using infrared exploratory technology.
5.2.2 Boa Vista

To a certain degree the location of the second palace on Antônio Vaz, Slot Schoonzicht or Boa Vista (Castle Beautiful View), also retains something of its old aura.

Boa Vista served as a recreational castle. It had a completely different appearance from Huis Vrijburgh.

Boa Vista was square, with four small towers on the corners and a heavy tower in the center. The serious and strict exterior undoubtedly had a forbidding effect upon the enemy, aiding the secondary function of Boa Vista (31).

In Boa Vista, Count Maurits retreated to hatch his war-plans in the continuing struggle against Bahia. Here he wisely moderated the orders of the Company. Here he surveyed stars that he never saw in Germany, for example the Southern Cross. Here he extolled the blessings of nature and admired the equable climate, while abhorring the uncertainties of his fatherland.

'Nowhere was he so peaceful as here, thinking of his many relations in Europe, all in positions of leadership, but none surrounded with so much beauty as he', says Barlaeus (32).

The count had a museum in Boa Vista, where he collected objects, animals, and plants that ships from Africa and other parts of the world brought him. 'Barbarian' utensils, pieces of clothing, weapons, anything of strange appearance found a place here.

Boa Vista was complete in 1643, and by 1644 a wooden bridge connected it to the mainland.

Boa Vista still stood in 1654.

Number 293 of the Inventário concerns Boa Vista: 'Across from Vijfhoek on the bank of the river between here and the defences of Santo Antônio lies a grand house called 'Boa Vista', with galleries and windows and topped by a great tower, of Dutch workmanship and wonderful to see.'

It was used then to house the colonel's aide-de-camp, one Roque Ferreira (33).

In the first half of the 19th century, Recife, and specifically 'a Povoação de Santo Antônio', was rebuilt from the ground up by Francisco de Régo Barros, later elevated to Conde de Boa Vista.

After a trip to Paris (1838), he brought various French engineers to Recife, including Louis Léger Vauthier, who built the Teatro Santa Isabel in 1850. These experts constructed bridges, public buildings, and waterworks, and advised on the harbour reconstruction. The 'antiga ponte da Boa Vista' still existed around 1860 (34).

After Count Maurits moved from 'der Hof Sein. Excellenz' to Huis Vrijburgh, the empty building was apparently used by the Câmara de Olinda. However, it had deteriorated so greatly that intensive use was judged too dangerous, and a new building was erected on the Grote Markt (Mercado Grande), also called the 'Praça dos Coqueiros' (Coconut Square). The exact appearance of this building is not known. In any case, it stood in the Grootkwartier, along with the Gerechtshof (Court of Justice) and the Franse Kerk.
Huis Vrijburgh and Boa Vista were Count Maurits's most striking constructions, and they substantially raised the status of the little city on the delta. On the mainland, in the neighborhood of the brickworks of Afogados, the count also had a country house, but in all likelihood it was a plantation residence built or rebuilt according to his specifications. There are no surviving descriptions or depictions of this house, La Fontaine. It is mentioned a few times in correspondence with the WIC: 'vunt boshen gehoorde onder 't huys la Fontaine, dat Sijne Excellentie tot zijn plaistir gebruyckt...'; and: 'sijr plaistir huys int lant...'(35) (from out of the woods belonging to the house La Fontaine which His Excellency uses for his leisure...’ and 'his leisure house inland'). In the 1979 catalogue of Kleef, in addition to the essay collection of Van den Bogaart (Den Haag, 1979). Terwen includes a drawing found in Kassel that he suggests may be a design for La Fontaine (36). He ascribes this version to Maurits Post. son of Pieter Post; the father was already commissioned by Johan Maurits to draw all of his constructions to scale. His work remained incomplete, however, at his death on 6 June 1677. In 1672, Maurits Post proposed to complete the work begun by his father. The building in the drawing was probably similar to or at least inspired by Brazilian plantation manors like those illustrated by Frans Post. The symmetrical shape, the stately stairway, the accents on the ridges and corners of the roofs, and above all the pentagonally-conceived totality—a middle section with two connecting, equal sides, all flanked by two side-wings (which on this drawing have the effect of two towers!)—all point to a systematic design far surpassing the average plantation residence (37).

5.2.3 Palladio and other sources of inspiration

Taking note of what we know about Huis Vrijburgh and Boa Vista, and accepting that Terwen correctly identifies the Kassel drawing as La Fontaine, we can assume that Johan Maurits himself felt an affinity for Italian buildings. The architecture of the Mauritshuis was the first to demonstrate this. Although they lacked the means available in such renowned places as Rome, Vicenza, and Venice, for example, the builders of Huis Vrijburgh and La Fontaine saw a chance to add something strongly reminiscent of the Palladian and Post-Palladian case di villa (country houses) to the special conditions of the newly-developed tropical city in the marshy delta (38). We can extract the same tendencies in all 21 Palladio villa designs:

- symmetry
- side-wings
- semi-circular porch
- stairways and flights of stairs
- two towers
- hipped roofs
- colonades
- internal stairways
- spacious reception hall

Mutatis mutandis, the ground plan of Huis Vrijburgh in Barlaeus fits within this series without any stylistic disharmony; in fact, quite the opposite.
Floorplan of the Villa Barbari. Andrea Palladio, circa 1575.

The same holds true of the simpler La Fontaine, not least because of the idiosyncratic crown of triangular top-gable and side-wing roofs. At any rate, they give the country house a distinguished and classical cachet (despite the chicken coop close to the house!).

Another demonstration that Johan Maurits was familiar with the work of Palladio is the latter's writings on bridge construction. In his Liber Terzo, he describes the building, materials, and linkage of one of Julius Caesar's bridges over the Rhine (56–55 B.C.) (39).

Naturally, more modern contemporary engineers were active in Recife in bridge construction, among others, Harman Hagenau, the builder of the bridge over the Capibaribe near Boa Vista and four other bridges in Mauritsstad (40). A construction as gigantic as a bridge over the complicated currents of the Rio Beberibe, and that in wood, is an ingenious tour-de-force, and may have had a classical model. Given the many references to the great men of Classical Antiquity, this is equally probable for the wooden bridge of Boa Vista.

The argument that Johan Maurits van Nassau, (with Palladio and/or Serlio in hand?), assumed the major share of technical detail and execution of his own Huis Vrijburgh is implied by the scarcity of engineers in Recife at the time. Perhaps Barlaeus did not name any
specific names in connection with Huis Vrijburgh because the engineers were sent out by the WIC specifically to build fortifications and the like. Given the jealousy surrounding the count’s construction projects in Holland (the ‘Suikerhuis’ for the Mauritshuis), perhaps the biographer Barlaeus deemed it wise to say nothing more than: ‘het door hem gebouwde’ (that built by him [Count Maurits]) (40).

It is a pleasant notion that Huis Vrijburgh influenced European architecture. Robert Smith raises the possibility that Johan Maurits may have influenced the design of Slot Benrath, the castle of his ‘neighbor’ Philip Wilhelm von der Pfalz during his time in Kleef. The theory that Johan Maurits contributed to the development of his palace in Mauritsstad would gain in probability through this as yet unproven, indirect evidence (41).

Smith finds Slot Boa Vista, with its square architecture and the corner towers, reminiscent of West-European, specifically French, medieval central-block construction, as in Ancy-le-France. This type of architecture was apparently brought to Germany in the 16th century by Joist de la Cour and frequently adapted there and in Holland into the 17th century (42). In this connection, Smith refers to Portugal and Spain’s familiarity with the design of Ancy-le-France, brought to Madrid by Philip II (Philip I of Portugal). The monarch was attracted to the ‘Vlaamse Stijl’, which combined natural stone and brick in public buildings as well as residences of the nobility. Supposedly he hoped to realize the Escorial in this style (43).

After Spain took over the monarchy in 1580, Portugal naturally also came under the sway of this interest. The Paço das Cortes-Reais in Lisbon, the residence of Cristóvão de Moura, principal representative of Philip I in Portugal, was constructed along the same stylistic notions (44).

In my opinion, the closed fortress-exterior of Boa Vista should not be so elaborately traced, but rather deduced from the count’s own German origins. For this we can refer to his father’s books about fortifications and to his stay at the court of his uncle, Maurits van Nassau in Kassel (45).

This treatment of Civil Architecture in Recife and Mauritsstad has now largely completed its discussion of category (d), the palaces. The status of the new city depended upon these palaces to an exceptional degree. (The prison stood in Recife, in the Geweldigstraat.) Concerning the other categories: Fortifications (b) were taken up in Picket II. The Franse Kerk was touched upon in Chapter I and will be more extensively handled in Chapter IV. Little is left to be said of the others, except that in 1631, a few plantation residences stood on António Vaz (one of which served as the governor’s first residence), along with a few smaller leisure houses.

We may conclude that Recife, begun as a settlement and appendix to Olinda, evolved under the first Dutch Rule to a political/strategic center, and under the government of Johan Maurits van Nassau progressed to the administrative and economic seat of the territory, a position it would not yield.

In an urban-planning sense, the fortifications, circumvallation, and
canal system that connected them accentuated the town structure. Although the names of famous architects cannot be connected to any building in the city, their shapes and proportions, particularly the palaces, impressed all who saw them and, even today, still puzzle (art-)historians.

But not only the forts, circumvallation, bastions, and skyline of tall houses, not to mention the palaces of the governor and the *Hoge Raad*, led people to speak of Recife as a 'metropolis'. The liveliness and activity, the imposing bridges over the Beberibe and Capibaribe, the harbours and markets, and the many languages of the varied races and nationalities of the population, with its divergent interests and needs, also made Recife a unique place in that part of the world.

How stimulating it must have been to walk the streets of this 17th-century city and hear all kinds of languages such as Dutch, Portuguese, French, German, English, Italian, Scandinavian, Polish, Indian and Negro languages, and, though probably less on the street, Latin and Hebrew (46).

In the seven to eight years of his government, Count Maurits supported the practice of science and culture: medicine, biology, natural science, astronomy, drawing and painting, cartography, and architecture. We can also add to this the proceedings of the *Gemeenteraad*, which he established, giving an extra dimension to the political, administrative, and (atavistically) democratic qualities of the population. He strove for religious freedom of worship, opposed in this by the gentlemen of the WIC itself. His palace Huis Vrijburgh on Antônio Vaz had gardens filled with unusual vegetation and trees, an animal park, fishponds, and, in one of the palace towers, Georg Marcgraf's telescope. In a cultural climate of this intensity, the architectural activity must have been high as well.
The situation changed in 1644. In 1642, Count Maurits planned to outfit an expedition to Buenos Aires. By reconnaissance of the famous Río de la Plata, he hoped to prove the existence of gold and silver mines. He was forced to scrap this plan, however, because the WIC ordered him to deliver ships and men to Captain Hendrik Brouwer, who was sailing to Chile to incite native inhabitants there against the Spanish and to take over the mines. Brouwer succeeded in sailing west around the southern tip of South America (The Brouwer Straits), but neither his violence nor, after his death by illness, the kindness of the new commander Elias Hierckmans succeeded in winning over the Araucanians. In 1643, the governor received a delegation of Negroes from the Congo. Since the destruction of Loanda (1641), its inhabitants had feared an attack and slave-raid by the Dutch. Diplomacy seemed to put some of these fears to rest. A certain Commander Nieuwland of São Paolo de Loanda, who was not accountable to Johan Maurits for his conduct, ignored the pacts agreed upon in Recife and undertook an initially successful expedition of conquest. The parsimonious financial policies of the WIC had already angered the governor for years, and the rejection of his advice increased his fury. He refused to be responsible for orders to decrease his territory’s forces to only 200 men and to lower public servants’ salaries. Didn’t the Heren XIX see the threat of revolution that hung continuously over their heads? Didn’t they understand that the Portuguese planters owed taxes amounting to 59 tons of gold, and that they meant to avoid payment by pinning their hopes upon a systematic guerilla war supported in Bahia, one which threatened to expand into open rebellion?

The Heren XIX, at least most of them, did not understand. The situation in the fatherland had changed; in Amsterdam, the brothers Andries and Cornelis Bicker held the mayorship and chauvinistically guarded the interests of the city, rejecting long-term investments on the part of the Amsterdam Chamber (47). An immigration policy propagated by the governor came to nothing, at least nothing stimulated by Holland. The economy ‘picked up’ initially through the intensifying of trade after free trade was permitted in 1639. But the unstable political situation eventually caused the WIC losses (48).

After some cantankerous correspondence, the governor received permission to return to Europe. One of his palaces, Boa Vista, fell vacant; Huis Vrijburgh, as we have seen, was sold to the members of the Jewish community. As for his old garden on Antônio Vaz, later the Groot Kwartier of Mauritshuisstad, he presented it to Dirk Codde van de Burgh, member of the Hoge Raad.

The advice that the count summarized in an impressive farewell address was not honoured by the policy-makers who remained behind. Betrayal, defection, the superior forces of the Portuguese, the trouble stirred up by the English: the impoverished state of the garrison was no match for it all (49).

Beyond that, by 1642 the governor considered the bulk of his stay in Brazil already behind him, as evidenced by a letter to Constantijn Huygens, his acting principal during the construction of the Mauritshuis:
'Aussi j’espère d’avoir l’honneur de vous revoir bientost, car mon temps s’en va finir à mon grand contentement' (50). This fragment puts into perspective the romantic description of Barlaeus, six years later!

But the departure ultimately grieved him—he had wanted to found a university, an academy of fine arts, and a printing press upon the continent—as reported by eye-witness Johan Nieuhof.

‘Des morgens den elfden van Bloemaent, des jaars zestien hondert vier en veertigh, vertrok Graef Maurits van het Recife, na het vaderlant, na hy aldaer, omtrent acht jaren het opperbestier over de burgelijne en krijgszaken van Neerlands Brazil, gevoert had. De gantsche burgerij van het Reciff, en Mauritsstad, was in de wapenen, en stont van d’oude stad, tot een de waterpoort, en de brug langs, op een ry, daer hy doorging, en van de voornaemsten van de stad, en van elk in ’t byzonder zeer minnelijk afscheit nam. Voor de poort stond een paert gereet, daer hy op ging zitten, en reed met groot gevolgh langs het strant na Olinda. De Hoge Raden, de Raden van Justitie, en vordere krijghs-bevelhebbers, geleiden hem tot voor by de stad Olinda: alwaer die hun afscheit van hem namen. Hy reed met den Heer Bullestraten voor, die afgeschikt was, om hen by te blijven, tot dat de vloote in zee zou zijn.’

‘Ondertuschen stond de Graef verscheide malen stil, en aanschouwde zijn vermaerde burgh, die hy zelf, zoo heerlijk en vermakelijk had doen opbouwen, en toen daer liet; terwijl zijne trompetters het oud deuntje Wilhelmus van Nassouwen lustigh opbleizen.’

(The morning of the eleventh of May, of the year sixteen hundred forty-four, Count Maurits left Recife for the fatherland, after carrying the high command over civil and military affairs in Dutch Brazil for eight years. The entire citizenry of Recife and Mauritsstad was armed and stood from the old city up to the watergate, and along the bridge in a row, when he passed through, and took gentle leave of each of the prominent citizens. Before the gate stood a readied horse, which he mounted and road along the beach to Olinda, followed by a multitude. The Hoge Raad, the Raad van Justitie, and other war commanders, led him before the city of Olinda, where they took their leave of him. He rode with the gentleman Bullestraten, who was ordered to stay with him until the fleet was at sea.

In the meantime the count stopped several times and contemplated his celebrated palace, which he himself so wonderfully and entertainingly built and then left behind there: while his trumpeters lustily blew the old tune Wilhelmus van Nassouwen) (51).

Rebellions broke out immediately after the governor’s departure, and in 1645, the enemy besieged Mauritsstad—Recife on the land side.

As we have seen, to widen the field of fire and clear the view of enemy troops (the Portuguese had thrown up a bastion directly opposite Huis Vrijburgh, which the Dutch wittily dubbed ‘Fort Altena’, All-too-close), Huis Vrijburgh was partially dismantled, along with the gardens and the trees.

Most of the Dutch retreated back to Recife after a great portion of Nieuw—Mauritsstad was also destroyed and the bridge at Boa Vista dismantled by removing the middle pillars.
In 1648 and 1649, the Dutch suffered two crushing defeats at Guararapes, a plain near the Taboca hills, to the south of Afogados on the mainland. Increasingly hard-pressed by continuing insufficient support from the fatherland, the colony finally agreed to the conditions of surrender in 1654.

In 1647, Johan Maurits was urgently entreated to take on a second term as 'stadtholder' of Brazil, but he refused when his demands concerning armaments, manpower, and an honorarium were denied. In his place, Witte Cornelisz. de Witt was sent out with 54 ships in 1649. He crossed to the coast and initially provided some relief for the strained circumstances. But in 1650, just one year after his arrival, he left, incensed at the insufficient support by the fatherland, high-handedly calling Recife 'this hill of hunger', for which he was prosecuted, defended by Stadtholder Willem II. With the support of the Heren XIX, he was acquitted, in spite of the fact that their own policy had allowed the promising colony to come to such a pass (52).

The conditions of surrender were described in an act: 'Relação Diária', the daily notations concerning the place and the destruction of the fortification Recife', published in Lisbon in 1654 (33). Besides a summary of the war-manœuvres in Recife, Itamaracá, Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte, Ceará, and Fernando de Noronha island, this document contains 29 articles concerning the conditions of both parties. Naturally the forts and outfi ttings there played a central role.

- Fort Vrijhoek (Cinco Pontas)
- the house Boa Vista (a casa da Boa Vista)
- holdings of Santo António monastery (o do Mosteiro Santo Antonio, actually Fort Ernestus)
- the kat of the city Maurícia (o Kate da villa Maurícia) (54)
- Drie hoek (o da Tres Pontas)
- Fort de Bruin (o Brum)
- its redoubt (com o seu reduto) Juffrouw De Bruin
- castle Sint Joris (o Castello de São Jorge)
- Waterkasteel (o Castello do Mar)
- the remaining houses, forts, and batteries (55).

General Francisco Brito Freyre drafted a different report in Recife on 29 January 1654, three days after the surrender was officially signed. This more personal report describes the misery of the defeated and what they were leaving behind: 'They took ship, the women, children, and Negroes, almost all of the soldiers, and a couple of Jews, carrying whatever they could, while they investigated what remained in Recife. It was a sad spectacle to see, people carrying their possession with them, while others set fire to what they were leaving behind, amidst those who bewailed their departure and lamented that they were seeing all this for the last time and had many dead to mourn, which they forgave their enemies, who were also their friends' (56).
Brito Freyre described Recife as a city of 2000 occupied houses, and Mauritsstad ("a cidade Maurícöa") as a section with a different population type, Recife being the seat of trade and government. A beautiful bridge ("huma ferrosa ponte") separated them, through which ships with raised sails and masts sailed out to sea or to drop anchor (57).

The 1654 inventory has something more to say about the buildings. Published in 1839 as Inventário das Armas e Petrechos Bélicos que os Holandeses deixaram em Pernambuco e dos Prédios edificados ou reparados até 1654 (58), this inventory, drafted in Recife in 1654, was republished in 1889 and 1940.

5.3.1 The Inventário

In 1654, the Portuguese tax service took inventory of the lots and buildings in Recife and Maurícia dating from the final days of Dutch rule, surrendered during the capitulation. If known, the summary states whether the building was of Portuguese, Dutch, or Jewish workmanship. In the last two cases, rights of ownership passed to the State ("Sua Majestade"), who calculated rent and mortgage and decided the building’s fate according to its size and condition. The Inventário contains 290 entries for Recife and 174 for Maurícia. The explicit designations ‘obra flamenga’ or ‘fabricadas por Flamengos’ apply to 149 of the buildings in Recife and 106 of the buildings in Maurícia. The designations ‘fabricadas pelo Judeu’ or ‘por Judeus’ apply to 38 buildings in Recife, and none in Maurícia. We will return to this. Recife moreover had one large two-storey building (‘dois sobrados’) built by an Indian. There is no designation whatsoever for 84 buildings in Recife and 48 in Maurícia; when táboas, planks, are mentioned as the building material, it probably indicates houses, shops, and warehouses of Dutch origin (59).

In many cases the descriptions of Recife’s 290 buildings mention more than one residential unit divided over one or more storeys; moreover, many of the buildings also accomodated shops. Of note, the combination of residential unit and shop was most common in buildings built and occupied by Jews (32 occurrences). Although 113 buildings had shops, this was not the total number, as upper storeys often also housed two or more residential units or shops. Even after an exacting count and interpretation, the inventory produces a total of 196 shops. Of the 113 buildings with shops, 33 had ‘dois sobrados’ and 72 had ‘hum sobrado, so that of the shop/residences, only 8 were single-level (‘casa terreira’).

Our remarks about diverse residences in multiple-storey dwellings also applies to ground-level residences, at least those whose measurements apparently allowed it. Servants’ and slaves’ accomodations are almost never reported; they were usually shed-like shelters built between the ‘backs’ of the large buildings or on a spot in Recife’s scarce (farm)yards. The plural inventory numbers indicate the precise count, multiplying buildings with one upper storey by 2, (‘huma casa de sobrado com suas lojas’) and those with two upper storeys by 3 (‘huma morada de casa de dois sobrados com tres lojas’). Frequently we even see ‘humas casa de táboas’ (planks), or ‘humas casa que são duas moradas’ which count singly (60).
In the interest of accuracy, we have calculated houses with two upper storeys as containing not three but only two residential levels, because most of these reserved shop space on at least one, and often two of the three levels. In this way, we confirm that of the 290 lot numbers, 61 were ground-level houses (excluding the Powderhouse), with a capacity of 97 residential units. Those houses of more than a single storey, excluding the Weigh-house, the Prison, the Palace of the Hoge Road, and the 19 warehouses and customs office, 204 inventory numbers all told, together total at least 337 residential units. There are 108 shops or shop spaces. Two ‘senzalas’ are reported, annexes for Negroes, not housing the slaves but ‘accomodating’ them pending their public sale after shipment from Africa. Zacharias Wagner gives a precise and shocked report of this.

Recife had five smithies (one occupied by a Dutchman) two tailors, a tanner, a shipwright, a cobbler, a jailor, a notary, three surgeons, and nine women who lived alone, including one Dutch woman, Susanna Gré (61).

The Inventário makes several references to ‘Dutchmen lodged here while awaiting convoy’ or: ‘until they are taken on board ship’.

In 1839, this ‘Inventário das Armas e Peetrechos Bélicos que os Holandeses deixaram em Pernambuco e dos prédios edificados ou reparados até 1654’ was republished in Recife in 1940. Gonçalves de Mello reworked the first part, concerning the fortifications and the number of guns, into an annotated publication of records in Lisbon concerning the 1654 surrender. In his book, he calls the Inventário an ‘irreplaceable document’, which is certainly true (62). Strikingly, in the second part, the writer Francisco de Mesquita, perhaps because of his own Jewish origin, can name the owners of various buildings on the Jodenstraat, almost all departed. Jewish building owners on Bockstraat/Rua do Bode/Rua dos Judeus, on the east side, starting at the Porta da Terra (Landspoort) include:

- Jacob Valverde (multiple-storey with shops)
- Moisés Neto (two floors with shops)
- Jacob Zacuto (2 houses, both 2 floors, each with shops on the ground level)
- João de Lafaia (2 floors with shops)
- Jacob Fundão and Gil Correia (2 houses with one staircase, one with one floor and the other with two)
- Gabriel Castanho (1 floor with shops)
- Gaspar Francisco da Costa (1 floor with shops)
- Moisés Navarro (2 floors with shops)
- Abraão de Azevedo (2 houses of 2 floors with shops, served by one staircase)
- Fernão Martins (1 floor with shops)
- Duarte Saraiva (2 floors with shops) (63)
- Duarte Saraiva and Gil Correia (ground-level with shop)
- Duarte Saraiva (1 floor with shops)
- David Athias (2 houses with 1 floor, 1 stairway).

In the extension of the Rua dos Judeus, the Pontstraat/Rua da Balsa, running toward the bridge to Mauritssstad, there lived:

- Benjamin de Pina (1 floor, 3 shops)
- David Brandão (1 floor, with shops).
Mesquita notes no names of owners for the other side of the street, contenting himself with the familiar phrase 'the work of...'. Also of note is that he reports 17 of the shop/residential combinations as 'fabricada (or feita) por Judeo ou Flamengo'. Of a total of 24 with this questionable origin, this proves to be a high percent (66%).

To be counted as a 'Jew' within the Jewish community, one had to be born of a Jewish mother and profess the orthodox dogma. In Brazil, these were predominantly Sephardim who left Europe, principally Amsterdam, attracted to Pernambuco by the opportunities offered by the regime of Johan Maurits van Nassau. The Sephardim originally came from the Iberian Peninsula, where, after the reconquest of Granada in 1492, a puritanical wave of anti-semitic discrimination developed. To avoid forced conversion or worse, the Jews had to seek safety elsewhere, and many of them did. Yet many also remained in Spain and Portugal, secretly continuing the practice of their Jewish rites, the threat of discovery and prosecution haunting them.

When Brazil was discovered and, after 30 years, serious exploration and colonization began, many Portuguese of Jewish origin who previously had been forcibly baptised as Roman Catholics went there. These so-called New–Christians hoped to find in Brazil a less oppressive oppressive climate, away from the everlasting control of the Inquisition, and the discrimination of the Old–Christians. Rules applied to the christening of the Cristãos–Novos. They were not allowed to use old Portuguese family names. (For that matter, this rule first went into effect in France under Pope Innocentius III.) The names of trees, mammals, birds and fish, some professions, colours, and places of origin were permitted. On the other hand, it was a sign of unusual merit if someone was able to convert a Jew or Jewish family to Catholicism. As a reward, the convert could add the Old–Christian name of his godfather to his New–Christian name (64; also Chap. III, note 17). Later, the New–Christian name was often dropped, making identification on a name basis all the more difficult. But, as we shall see, the name question is even more complicated.

When we consider the situation in 17th-century Brazil, specifically in Dutch Pernambuco, we see a fascinating process of acculturation unfolding in great diversity. Consider the case:

The New–Christians did indeed depart in great numbers for the new Promised Land. The attribution of Olinda's destruction to the godless practices of the Jews probably dejected them less than the circumstances of arrest, torture, deportation, and executions carried out by the Inquisition in Lisbon. We can imagine the relief these people felt at the liberal government of Johan Maurits van Nassau. These conditions still do not broaden our insight into Jewish family names, however. Cristãos–Novos who recanted and turned back to Mosaicism still retained their Christian names, but also regained their old Jewish names. They used these as appropriate to the circumstances: alternately, interchangeably, or in combination (65).
The Jewish influence on the cultural and economic life in Brazil, in any case, was substantial and decisively important for the 17th-century trading center of Recife. Initiative, perseverance, adaptability, cultural background, and linguistic skill: these were the essential factors for success in trade in this melting-pot of origins and interests. Qualities that the 'Jews' possessed in abundance, even those not officially belonging to the Kahal Kadosh Tszur Yisrael (The Holy Community of Recife), or the Kahal Kadosh Magen Abraham (the congregation in Mauritsstad).

No doubt contributing to 'adaptability' was the rule requiring the Jewish intellectual to master a trade in addition to his own vocation within the Jewish community (Rabbi, surgeon, lawyer, etc.), with which he could provide for his own keep, independent of the community, if circumstances prevented the practice of his original profession. It is not as amazing as Gonsalves de Mello imagines, then, that 'even an intellectual like Moises Raphael de Aguilar had to make shirts for the Dutch army' (66), although it was undoubtedly annoying.

The following list derives from the conditions described in the Inventário of 1654.

Numbers 1 - 290 concern Recife, numbers 291 - 464 concern the lots in Mauricia. According to this list, the latter had only one warehouse and five shops. It also had 110 ground-level residences, sometimes no more than ‘casinhas’, inns - 146 residential units in all. In contrast, 60 ‘sobrados’ with approximately 90 residential units (excluding Palace Vrijburg, Boa Vista, Fort Frederik Hendrik, Forts Ernestus and Santo Antônio, the Franse Kerk, and the Town Hall).

Thus, the ratio of the residences remaining in Mauricia in 1654 is 110 : 60, almost the reverse of the ratio of low and tall houses in Recife, 61 : 201. Still, we can only guess how Mauritsstad looked in the days of Johan Maurits van Nassau, helped to some degree by the illustrations in Barlaeus (including those by Frans Post) and by contemporaneous descriptions by men such as Nieuhof, Calado, and Barlaeus.
### INVENTORY OF THE HOUSES AND BUILDINGS IN RECIFE AND MAURITSSSTAD, BUILT OR RESTORED BY HOLLANDERS, UP TO 1654.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no. low houses (casas terreiras)</th>
<th>units</th>
<th>no. multiple-storey residences (casas sobradas)</th>
<th>units</th>
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<tr>
<td>1 for captains o/t watch</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3 with shop, R. dos Judeos</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 powder house</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>18a annex (senzala)</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>27 senzala de negros on river</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>28 wood, orig. Dutch import.</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>36 Port./Dutch, R. da Ponte</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>57 behind no. 56</td>
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<td>10 synagogue, ground-level shops</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11 with shop</td>
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<td>59</td>
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<tr>
<td>60 warehouse,</td>
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<td>40 wareh. + _</td>
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<td>47 shop + wareh.</td>
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<td>74 parallel to _</td>
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<td>75 c. nova de tabos (wood)</td>
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<td>in alley at street 74</td>
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<td>76 R. da Ponte, wood, parallel to</td>
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<tr>
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<td>very old, for Dutch soldiers</td>
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<td>small, at bridge, Dutch occ.</td>
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<td>at bridge/Susana Gré, Dutch</td>
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<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>idem, for Francisco Martins</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>canoiero</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>wood (planks), same location as prev. nos.; for Antônio Ribeiro, tanoeiro</td>
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<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>idem; idem</td>
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<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>smithy + residence</td>
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<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>shops, small now occupied</td>
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<td>small houses next to no. 200</td>
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<td>idem, on opposite side</td>
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<td>rebuilt, vacant bldg. on sea</td>
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<td>from seash. to Gov. Palace (Squ</td>
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<td>loc. on 'Banda da Cadeia' (166)</td>
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<td>idem</td>
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<td>warehouse, same location</td>
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<td>182,183</td>
<td>in side alley</td>
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<td>Banda de Cadeia + shops</td>
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<td>190</td>
<td>idem</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>with stores, on sea side</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>bordering Palácio grounds no. 187</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>for soldiers, taken over 1659 by Belchior Alves, solicitor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>on sea side, for sold. + shop</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Gov. Pal/Dutch now for Francisco Barreto</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>corner alley + street leading to praça dos Judeos (beach)?</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>wareh. across from Gov. Pal.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>with shops, same street</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>ruine bldgs. beside previous</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>with shops, sea side</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>very old bldg. for smith</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>sobradinho beside n. 211 + shop</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241,215</td>
<td>also on sea side</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>small residen., idem alley to the praça dos Judeos (repeat 202?)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>same street (Moriaenssteeg?)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>very small flat, across fr. 211</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>same street (Wijnstraat)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>small, for Simoa, mulher parda</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>same street as previous nos.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>shop and flat beside 223</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>idem next to it</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>idem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>directly on the sea</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
231 wood, fabricadas por Judeo
tails 2
238 wood, beside no. 237 2
239 old, same street 1
245 wood, behind 244, for huma
negra por nome Maria Rodriguez 1
248 in alley no. 230 and further 2
250 idem 2
254 same alley as no. 233 1
255 watch., idem, unclear how tall 1
256 " 2
262 same location no. 258 2
281 roofless resid.,
Praça dos Judeos 2
283 on river street, direction of
Porta da Villa 2
286 small, on the sea 2

229 " (behind Wijnt?) 2
230 in alley betw. river (Beberibe) +
Praça dos Judeos (Moriaensteeg?) 2
232 small flats, same loc. + shop 2
233 same street/alley 2
234 idem, across, for soldiers 2
235 idem: 2
236 idem: 2
237 wood, very old 1
240, 241 small flats 2
243 same street 2
244 idem 2
246 in alley betw. Praça dos Judeos
+ Palácio 1
247 idem + shops 1
249 with shops, same location 2
251 2
252 " R. dos Judeos (Bockeestra.) 2
253 in alley que vai ao mar 2
257 " no. 230 2
258 " 2
259 small bldg.; idem 1
260 1
261 shop with sobradinho: idem 1
263 small, at Praça dos Judeos
(Slavenmarkt?) 1
264 front side on river 2
265 wood, small, old 1
266 id.; rented to Dutch Fl.1,000 p/m
+ shop 2
267 on Praça dos Judeos 2
268 idem 2
269 idem 2
270 shop with half storey, between
Praça dos Judeos + river side
(block) 2
271 block with shops, same location 1
272 with shops, on river side 2
273 " 2
274 shops w//sobradinho, block/id. 1
275 large (morada) with shops, id. 1
276 same location 2
277 with shops 2
278, 279, 280 very damaged on
Praça dos Judeos 2
282 Pr.d.J., hired to German+Greek 2
284 on street of river, direct.
Landpoort (Porta da Villa) 1
285 with shops, but without doors
and windows: vacant 2
287 same location as no. 286 2
288 " 1675 rented by Gaspar Dias
Ferreira, Escabino for Johan
Maurits van Nassau-Siegen 1
289 with shops, same location 2
290 wood, in Moriaensteeg (?) 2
291, 292 Forte de Cinco Pontas & Casa
Forte (Fort Frederik Hendrik/Vijf-
hoeck) and a fortified house with
artillery 1
293 Castle Schoonzicht, 'Boa Vista' 1
296 near beach, surr. by water/marsh 1
298 betw. 295+296 sobrado for
French Capuchins 1
301 All houses outside the gate,
property of Belchior Alves 3
303, 304 with shops, rented privately,
also Jesuit fathers school 2

294 casa de recreação, across
from 291 (in ruins) 1
295 across 294, partly surrounded by
a dike (covered with tiles) 1
297 watch., at 296 (possibly
multi-level) 1
299 casa terreiro, quarters for
captain Belchior Alves 1
300 at Porta So Antônio 1
302 house by gate 1
306 across gate on bridge, wood 2
307 against wall side of Beberibe 2
308 next to 307, rented to Dutchm. 1
Oliveiro Freixo's 1
309 same street 1
310 1
311 " 1
312 rented to José Lobo, 1
goldsmith 1
314,315 destroyed 2
316 on the water 1
317 house and garden 1
318 on same alley, damaged 1
320 on road of no. 319 2
322 idem 2
324 idem (road along Praço 2
dos Coqueiros)
327 wood; same road and that going to 2
sea side; for 2 needy woman
329 between street and water 2
330 1
331 in alley to sea 1
333 with front side to water 2
339 idem 2
340 in alley to street right 4
342 idem 2
343 next door 2
344 on road thru to Praço dos 2
Coqueiros
351 on Praço dos Coqueiros for 1
tailor
352 same place 2
354-362 in street of Praça dos 2
Coqueiros bridge; 1657 razed (Wagner?) 9
366 next to no. 365 2
367 by bridge on So. António side 2
368 idem 2
373 across Praça dos Coqueiros 1
374 1
376 street on 2
377 street Praça to S. António 2
378 1
381 idem 2
383 half-collapsed 1
384 at end of this street 2
385 on other street S. António - 1
Praça
387 same location 2
388 idem 1
389 idem 2
391 idem 2
392 from street-Praça dos Coqueiros 1
393 idem 2
394 idem 1
398 idem 2
398 on Praça 2
400 old, small and antiqu 1
401 idem; rented by Negress 1
402,403 as previous nos., on Praça 2
404 wooden houses, for soldiers 5
405 same location; property Mosteiro 1
de S. Francisco (S. António) 2
406 street behind along Praça 2
408 across the Praça 1
409 idem 1
410 small, very old, free occupancy 1
416 alley corner no 413, uninhab. 1
418 behind Praça, for soldiers 1
419 1
305 France Kerk now Jesuit church 1
312,313 destroyed; land of B. Alves 2
319 house & garden, corner alley and 2
straight road leading from gate 3
(S. António) to inside
321 on the same road 2
322 with shops, same location 2
325 2
326 on corner of Praça dos Coqueiros 1
328 with shops, same road as 327 2
328a next door, shop and garden 1
331 betw. street and water (back) 2
332 beside previous number 2
334 same alley no. 333 1
335 1
336 idem 2
337 front side to water 2
341 corner alley 340 & street right 1
345 same road no. 344 2
346 idem 2
347 on water 2
348 idem 2
349 on Praço dos Coqueiros (Grote 2
Markt) + shops
350 idem 2
353 2
1660 taken over by Captain 2
B. Alves; ground belongs to chapel
of his father B. Alves Sr.
363 across from bridge, wooden verandas 2
on lime-stone walls, B. Alves claims
ownership (Der Hof Sr. Excellenz?)
364 next door, own. B.A. as no. 363 2
365 by bridge across from Recife 2
369,370 same street as no. 367 2
371 across bridge; 1661 as no. 353 2
372 bridge street - Praço dos 2
Coqueiros
375 across the Praço dos Coqueiros 2
379 street Pr. - S. António 1
380 idem; large building 2
386 location as no. 385 1
390 idem 2
396 idem 1
397 corner of Praça 2
399 on Praça 2
407 same street as 406, half-collap. 2
411 wood, acrosss de Praça 2
412 same place 2
413 in alley of Praça to bulwark 2
414 idem 2
415 idem 2
417 behind Praça, for soldiers 2
452 behind monastery S. António a 2
sito with two towers and good
houses, for owner, built by de
Conde de Nassau; ground, etc., now
property heirs of Mano. Francisco
453 from S. António across from 2
Recife
454 small, across bridge + Recife 2
455 across from Recife 2
459-464 1 lever, obra portuguesa 6
420 small
421 corner Praça and alley
422,423,424,425 in same alley backs
to field (1 wood, very damaged,
with 100 roof tiles)
426-430 same position
431-446 idem, near bulwark;
3 with stone window-frames
447,448 on Praça
449,450 idem
451 idem
456 next to no. 455
457,458 idem; for Manoel Gonçalves
Correia, secretary of army
Between September 1645 and January 1646, Recife had a total population of 1,704 'free people', subdivided into 855 men, 452 women, and 397 children. Mauritius at the same time had 685 inhabitants made up of unspecified Dutchmen, Jews, Portuguese, and other whites.

This number does not include the officials in service to the WIC who totaled approximately 500 for both places, including their families. Neither are soldiers or Negro slaves included: the total number of this last category was tallied in October 1645 at 1,962.

In 1643 and 1644, the Heren XIX forced Johan Maurits to decrease the manpower for all garrisons of Dutch Brazil from 4,000 to 2,000 men. This was precisely one of the reasons he asked to be released from service. We can estimate that between 1,000 and 1,500 men were distributed and quartered among the forts in and around Recife and Mauritsstad, so that the number of inhabitants for both places totaled about 8,000 people.

Working from a number of Portuguese documents, Gonsalves de Mello distills a population of approximately 4,000 people, excluding slaves, in Recife/Mauritsstad in 1654 (67).

We can conclude that the number of merchants, craftsmen, officials, and military personnel scarcely changed during the eight to nine years of the final period of Dutch Rule. This is not to suggest that in all of Pernambuco and the surrounding country, the number of soldiers and planters, etc., did not decrease; both battles at Guararapes (1648 and 1649) caused heavy losses and prompted the repatriation of many families to Holland or the West Indies (68).

However, both places, above all the strongly fortified Recife, fulfilled a metropolitan function and offered protection, so we may assume that the available residential space remained fully occupied. The inventory list is, in our opinion, the most exact document concerning the number of inhabitants in Recife, if only because it gives indirect indications about the residents themselves.

Taken globally, Recife and Mauritsstad had a scant 1,000 residential units intended for the white population at their disposal in 1654. If we calculate between 3 to 5 people per family, then the number of inhabitants as accepted by Gonsalves de Mello is justified, this time on an architectural basis.

5.4 THE IMPORT OF THE SOBRADO FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF RECIFE

Recife's urban development after the Dutch surrendered it to the Portuguese in 1654 rested primarily on three factors:

a) the geography, in which the marshy condition of the delta made extensive hydraulic measures necessary;

b) the layout of the streets;

c) the width of the building lots and the existing construction. Concerning the latter, the narrow, tall houses typical of 19th-century Recife are generally considered a Dutch Period legacy, although it must be remarked that cities such as Lisbon also had narrow structures. Still, the proportions of Recife's urban architecture were different, developing from tri-partitioning and a completely isolated application of roof frames and other architectural elements more similar to Oporto, Northern France, and English and Dutch locales. Although Oporto was a Portuguese city, the intense trade contacts fostered strong influences from Northern Europe. In his book O Sobrado na Paisagem Recifense
(1953), 1971, the architectural historian Aderbal Jurema thoroughly documents his analysis of the stylistic traditions that influenced Recife's (unfortunately earlier) image. Reports, articles, and foreign correspondence that touch upon Recife and seem a sort of 'Aha—Erlebnis' are in this case not to be misconstrued. Of these we would like to name: A. Morales de los Rios ('Resumo Monográfico da Evolução da Arquitetura no Brasil', 1922–23), L.L. Vauthier ('Casa de residência no Brasil', 1943), Fiske Kimball ('Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the early republic, 1922), Samuel Greene Arnold, like Vauthier of the 19th-century ('Viaje por América del Sur—1847–1848') and Sidney Clark ('East Coast of South America', 1940). Jurema's point of argument is not the literal and figurative building base, whose narrow width, as generally accepted, did originate in early Dutch construction. This also applies for new sections such as Boa Vista. Some take issue with pronouncements that sobrados of five or six levels were 'typical for Recife'. In an oitão, this is indeed an exception. But this height occurred more frequently among true sobrados, as I saw myself along the old quays of the Capibaribe in the 1960's. Naturally, tall construction cannot be considered 'typically Dutch'. Jurema's conclusion that Recife, 'o burgo triste e abandonado' (the sad, abandoned stronghold), owed its urban image in the 19th and 20th century to Dutch construction methods is true because of the remarkably consistent retention of narrow lots (69).

NOTES

1 '...soo is Oversten lieutenant Steyn Callenfels ghelast een toch te doen naar 't Eylandt van António Voa, liggend dwars teghen over het Dorp van 't Reciff..., ' De Laet, Verhael II, p. 135.

2 Mello Flamengos, p. 41.

3 Ibid, p. 49.


5 Zacharias Wagner, 1614–1668. Went as a soldier to Brazil. Attracted the attention of Johan Maurits and became his 'Küchenschreiber'. Wrote and drew Thierbuch, which includes 110 drawings betraying the influence of Frans Post (composition, perspective) and Albert Eckhout (proportions of the figures). Thierbuch was first published in part in 1903; in 1964 an integral German–Brazilian edition appeared: Zoobiblion, livro de animais do Brasil (São Paulo). See also Notes, Chapter I, note 39.


6 Hoetlink etc., Zo wijd de wereld strekt, catalogue tentoonstelling Mauritshuis herdenking 300e sterfjaar, Den Haag, 1979/80, p. 142.

7 Johan Maurits van Nassau to the Heren XIX, 12–6–1643; id. dd 10–5–1644. ARA, OWIC box 58/59.
8 The owner was David Gabai de Morais. Mello, *A Nação Judaica no Brasil Holandês*, in: *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico, Geográfico e Histórico de Pernambuco* (RIAGHP) XLVIII, Recife 1976, p. 302. Apparently the quality of the local day was more suitable for the production of tiles and pottery than for bricks. See Chapter I, note 16.


10 Recently we were kindly informed by Dr. Teensma of an article by Leonardo Dantas Silva in the *Diário de Pernambuco* of 17 August 1987 that divulges the location of the first synagogue of Recife. According to the analysis of Gonsalves de Mello, the synagogue was located in two houses, nrs. 197 and 203 of the actual Rua do Bom Jesus (Jodenstraat). Gonsalves de Mello bases his theory on the analysis of Pereira da Costa’s *Anais Pernambucanos*, 1938, vol. 3. If that is the case, then number 10 the Inventário (see Groundwork 3.3, note 35) corresponds with it, providing a key to deduce the other houses of the former Jodenstraat and their owners. See § 5.3.1, particular note 63.


12 The slender 17th-century houses in Batavia (Rua Malakka) were half as narrow: 3.5 by 11.6 m long. The length seems normal, but Breuning rightly ascertains the striking narrowness. Breuning, *Batavia*, p. 39.

13 For a treatment of the *oitão*, see Chapter III.


15 See Chapter III.

16 Information about this typical Recife residence was extended by Prof. Dr. Ruy dos Santos Pereira and Dr. Olímpio Costa Jr. of Recife. The latter sent me an extensive list of facts concerning old residences along the Rua da Aurora.


19 The sequence of architectural categories is maintained according to the outline.

20 Notes Chapter I, note 48.
21 Hoetink etc., *Cat. Zo wijd de wereld strekt*, 1979, p. 197.


26 *Idem*, p. 152.

27 *Idem*, pp. 150–151. See Appendix X, 'List of plants imported from and exported to Brazil'.

28 Nieuhof, op.cit., p. 176. See also: Chapter III, note 61; Appendix IV, note 18.


30 James Henderson, *A History of Brazil*, 1821. Combination of known facts and his own findings.

In an article about Brazilian colonial architecture, the North American art historian and authority on Brazilian art and architecture, Robert C. Smith, proposes that Huis Vrijburg influenced castle Benrath near Düsseldorf. Count Philip Wilhelm von der Pfalz commissioned Giovanni Lollo Sadler to build it in the years 1663–1679. Benrath was destroyed in the 18th century, but earlier illustrations show a building like Huis Vrijburgh, with three sections connected by arcades. An impressive wall joins the tall towers. Even the location is more or less similar: Benrath lay between two small lakes, Huis Vrijburgh between the Capibaribe and the arm of a river functioning as a moat and drainage canal.


On the same subject: Friedrich Mielke’s article, 'Johann Moritz und das Potsdamer Stadtschloss', proposes that after his Brazilian sojourn, the count, later stadholder of Kleef and a great friend of Friedrich Wilhelm, elector of Prussian-Brandenburg, may have influenced the expansion of the city and gardens of Friedrichstadt and Dorotheenstadt. Friedrich Mielke, in *Soweit der Erdbund reicht*, Kleef 1979, pp. 159–163.

I myself hold to Galland (Der Große Kurfürst und Moritz von Nassau der Brasilianer), who proposes that Johan Maurits later recommended shipwrights and hydraulic experts who worked in Brazil, such as Lubbert Harmensz., Michiel Smids, and Cornelis Ryckwaert. Galland, ibid. pp. 192, 216. These same names can also be found in Recife's Baptismal Register.

Tavener also refers to Galland’s information, 'Ein Plan zur Stadterweiterung etc.', Kleef 1979, pp. 151–158, note 1.

31 Barlaeus, Recife 1980, p. 159.

32 Idem, p. 158.

33 Mesquita, Inventário, p. 131.


35 Mello Flamengos, pp. 100, 217.


37 One exception, in any case, was the Engenho Real, depicted by Frans Post on various paintings, nrs. 64 and 65 (Sousa-Leão 1979). The epithet real, meaning 'royal', often refers to the subsidy Portugal extended to found an engenho (sugarmill). In this case it applies to a sugarmill dating from before the Dutch attack in 1630. Sousa-Leão incorrectly attributes the five section tracery and arcades in the middle section of the great house to the influence of Huis Vrijburgh. In this instance, the builder probably created an architectural form reminiscent of a Palladian interpretation of earlier farmhouses, in any case without a Dutch intermediary. Van Nederveen, Van villa tot fazenda, in: De stenen droom, Zutphen 1988, pp. 156, 157.


39 'Havendo Julio Cesare (come egli dice nel quarto Libro de suo Commentarii deliberato de passar il Reno...'), ibid, Libro Terzo p. 12. In the winter of 56–55 and 53–52 B.C., Caesar decided to cross the Rhine. The exact location of the two bridges constructed somewhere between Cologne and Coblenz is not known. (Julius Caesar, De Bello Gallico IV. caput 17.)

40 Mello Flamengos, p. 98.


42 Smith, op.cit. pp. 74–75.

43 The indicator 'Estilo Flamengo' simply means 'Dutch Style'. What Smith means by this he does not make clear.

44 Smith, p. 75.

46 The Jesuits were the first to study Indian languages seriously. To win converts for Roman Catholicism among the Indians, they had methodically to acquire proficiency in Tupi, until then completely unknown. To do this, they set up linguistic study centers soon after their arrival in 1549, where they could catalogue priests' experiences. The next four decades saw the creation of a Tupi Catechism, a Grammatica and a Vocabularium. Manuel da Nóbrega wrote the first Catechismus, José Anchieta the Grammatica and Leonardo do Vale the Vocabularium (1591). In 1592, the 4th Congregation of the Provinces convened in Bahia and officially asked Rome's permission to employ the acquired language skills in church services and to print the Christian dogma in the Língua Brasileira: 'Ut Indorum conversionis per idoneos ministros consultatur, petit Congregatio facultatem ut typis licet excudere Lexicon idiomate Brasiliensi, Artem atque Doctrinam Christianam eodem sermone conseriptam'. (Archivum S.J. Romanum, Brasilia 2, 79).


The Jesuits paid less attention to Negro slaves in the first few hundred years than to the Indians. 'Von der Mohren Ehe', 'Von der Mohren Gestalt', 'Von der Mohren Getränck', 'Wie die Mohren ihr Brod Bachen', 'Wie die Mohren einen König eruählen', etc., are some of the comments in Michael Hemmersam's Reise nach Guinea und Brasilien 1639–1645, published posthumously in 1663.


48 When the Chartered West India Company was established in 1621, only members of the alliance were permitted to sail and trade along the coasts under the Company's license. Non-member merchants were excluded. The consolidation's success and the accompanying expanded trade interests also increased the costs. Intensive trade seemed the necessary means to achieve the required turnover, but the company apparently felt the task too demanding. Moreover, the ban resulted in a lively traffic in smuggle and illicit trade.

Johan Maurits was one of the proponents of free trade. In 1638, as a result of his correspondence with the States General, they approved free trade for Brazil, except for:
- Negro slaves
- war materials
- brazilwood

The WIC maintained its monopoly over these (29-4-1639).
Falsifying Bills of Lading did nothing to diminish illicit traffic, however; the Company as such was not the only beneficiary of the repeal. The Portuguese and other non-Dutch inhabitants of Brazil had the same opportunities as other free merchants. Their depots stood in Olinda, under the control of the WIC. Wätjen, op.cit., pp. 293–299. Letter Johan Maurits van Nassau–Siegen to States General and Heren XIX, 16–1–1639, ARA, OWIC box 53. Letter States General/Heren XIX to the Government in Recife, idem.

49 See Hoetink etc., Cat. Zo wijd de wereld strekt, Den Haag 1979, for Johan Maurits’s integral Valedictory Address (pp. 259–287). Also Johan Nieuhof, op.cit. p. 58: ‘Voorts leverde hy hen zeker schriftelijk memorie over, by hem ingesteld, die hen tot beright moght dienen, om hunne regering daer na eenighsints te richten: zeggende bereit te zijn dies aengaende, zoo het van nooden mocht zijn, nader met hen daer over te spreken’. This occurred on 6 May (‘den zeten van Bloemaent’), when Count Maurits summoned ‘eerst den raet van justitie: daer na schout, schepenen, commissarissen van de compagnien, de krijgsbevelhebbers van den borgerye, en de voornaemste Joden, in de voorzael van het raethuis’, Ibid., p. 57.

50 Mello, Flamengos, p. 101.

51 Nieuhof, op.cit., p. 57.


53 Mello, A Rendição dos Holandeses no Recife (1654), Recife 1979.

54 ‘Kat’: fortified elevation with artillery.

55 Mello Rendição, p. 126, Apenso III.

On 31 January 1654, the Hoge Raad’s meeting notes report that Portuguese supreme commander Francisco Barreto ordered the Hoge Raad to command all ships waiting along the coast of Brazil for the Portuguese Armada to head for Recife so that the repatriation of the Dutch inhabitants and all who wished to accompany them would run smoothly. Gonsalves de Mello names the captains of six frigates (two, the Middelburg and the Dordrecht, serving the Republic), four caravels, four or five yachts, and six barques and ‘bootjen’ (‘barquinhas’). Ibid. pp. 36, 37.


57 Ibid, pp. 102–103.
58 Under orders from Cosme de Castro Passos, director of the Royal Dominions, writer Francisco de Mesquita (or Misquita; one sees both versions) drafted the *Inventário* in order to register the lots and buildings of conquered Recife and those 'on the other bank of Santo Antônio' to determine the costs or rental prices for the mostly new residents. (In some cases, when evidence existed, the lots were resold or made over to the initial owners from before the Dutch invasion.) The 1940 edition also includes facts concerning rights of ownership and the condition of the buildings in later years until 1671. The 464 numbers appear on pages 2-174.

59 The less prosperous could not afford such expensive, usually Dutch-imported bricks, and instead ordered 'Noortsche deelen' ('Planks from the North', is Mello's translation) meaning Scandinavian pine. Archive pieces often report similar shipments. This easily workable material, although less durable in the hot, humid climate of Brazil than in Scandinavia or even relatively damp Holland, was nonetheless much in demand not only for residential construction, but also for forts, fortifications, and ship construction. In 1639 and 1640, one plank cost 1.50 guilders in Recife ('30 stuivers'), and a finished plank 2.00 guilders.

Not only were low houses (casa terreira) built from wood, but frequently also uma casa de tábua com sua loja, uma casa de sobrado, de tábua, and even casa grandes de tábua de dois sobrados. Mello Flämengos, p. 80.

According to Richshoffen, p. 74: '...so dann ein Floßt welche ausz Holland kommen, mit Diehlen und alterhan materialien beladen....'

60 Translation: some houses containing two residences.

61 'Humas casas terreiras junto á ponte, em que mora huma Flamenga por nome Susana Gré, viuva a quem forão alugadas em des mil reis por ano, em dinheiro de contado pago aos quarteis, que começo em dito vinte e sete de Maio de seis centos cincoenta e quatro'. Mesquita (Nr. 85). (Some low houses by the bridge, where a Dutch woman called Susana Gré lives, a widow, to whom they are rented for 10 Milreis per year, to be paid in cash in four equal portions, beginning on 27 May 1654.) Mesquita, *Inventário*, p. 46.

62 Mello, *Rendição*, p. 15. See also Notes Chapter II, note 53.

63 Clergyman Daniel Schagen and D. Cornelius van der Poel report that space in one of Duarte Saraiva's large shop-residences on Jodenstraat was used as a synagogue. The synagogue was called the 'Kahal Kadosh Zur Israel', the Holy Community of the Rock Israel. The building was probably hired for this purpose and most likely the synagogue occupied the top level of one of Saraiva's buildings. He was a wealthy man who owned several sugarmills, an offspring of the Saraiva da Mendonça family—before their baptism they went by the name 'Coronei'. Duarte, however, recanted and turned back to Mosaism, unlike his brother Antônio Mendonça, reputedly a pious Christian.
The definitive building dates from 1840–41 and is described in the Inventário as 'Hunas cazas grandes de sobrado da mesma banda do rio, com fronteira para a rua dos Judeus, que lhes serviu de sinagoga, a qual he de pedra e caid dom duas lojas por baixo, que de novo fabricario ditos Judeus'... (Some large multi-level residences on the same side of the river with their façades on Jodenstraat, serving the Jews as synagogue, for which purpose they erected, from stone, the new building with two shops on the ground level.) Inventário, ed. do IAHG Vol. XLVIII, 1976, pp. 242–244, 293; idem, 'Gente da Nação', in: RIAHGP 1979, vol. LI, pp. 69 f.f. 

64 The puritanical atmosphere after 1492 was not the only cause of the anti-semitic measures. Dom Manuel promulgated very strict laws in 1499 concerning forced conversions. 'Rewards' of land in Brazil were naturally enough not an option at the time, for the simple reason that Brazil was first 'discovered' in 1500. After 1506, the sharp measures were softened, and remained so after Dom Manuel's death (1521). His heir, Dom João III, gradually began to lean towards religious fanaticism. He petitioned the Pope to establish a permanent Inquisition, a notion opposed by diverse cardinals, who suspected that Dom João acted against the prosperous New–Christians out of avarice rather than the zeal of pure piety. Still, the Papal Bull arrived in Portugal in 1532. The New–Christians sent a delegation to Rome to convince the Pope of the Portuguese monarch's base intentions against them. They were successful, and the Bull was suspended until 1536. The Jesuit order, officially recognized in 1540, had already been active for some years. Already in 1538, Dr. Diogo de Goveia, Rector of the University of Paris, pointed out to Dom João that Jesuit priests could serve in baptising and educating the inhabitants of newly–discovered regions. Useful in colonizing the new land, far from fatherland Portugal, yet at the same time 'guarded' by the nearby missionary Jesuits, the New–Christian's 'reward' seemed promotion out of sight. Livermore, H.V., A History of Portugal, 1947, pp. 242–243 f.f.; Serafim Leite, Summa Histórica, p. 1.

65 It was customary that Cristãos–Novos who turned back to Mosesism used a name as circumstances might require. We find an example of this confusing (for outsiders) multiplicity in the Saraiva–family (Chapter III, note 24). See: Alfonso Cassuto, Die portugiesischen Juden in Glückstadt, Hamburg, undated, p. 7.


Walls

Chapter III: the sugar culture as the primary source of income

6.1 HISTOIRE ÉCONOMIQUE or HISTOIRE-DE-MENTALITÉ?

The simplest form of domestic economy—which is actually a pleonasm—is where a man manufactures, sows, and harvests himself all that he needs for his own survival. One splendid example of this is found in that children's book for adults, Robinson Crusoe. Daniel Defoe’s intention at the time was less to use his creation to preach the bliss of simplicity than to contrast the free will of the individual with the regulations of society. Already centuries before Defoe wrote his book, society had grown beyond its initial, uncomplicated stage. The time was long past when man’s survival depended entirely upon his own strength and the weather. No family, no village, no city, and no country was entirely self-supporting.

Colonial trade added another dimension to the complex relationship of special interests. The economy progressed from annual markets, a system that arose through man’s dependence upon the seasons and that remains even today the only opportunity some areas have to exchange goods and products, to the staple market. With the 17th-century growth of free trade in colonial commodities, the 'futures market' appeared. The following comments should be made about this system of price control. Except for failed harvests, war and enemy activities such as ransoms were the most important factors contributing to unstable trade. Either provoked by these factors or reacting to their threat, merchants tried to guarantee their profits by means of 'futures', a controversial system used in the Netherlands for quite some time.

Already in the 16th century, authorities tried to prevent manipulation of the market mechanism of supply and demand by banning futures (1). They took measures not only against domestic, European, futures, but also against the same practices as applied by the Heren XVII of the VOC. As the directors of an organization laboriously fused together in 1602 out of various 'pre-companies', these men initially retained their earlier 'interest-promoter' mentality, failing to consider the demands arising from the control of a cooperation (as opposed to a nameless partnership).

Consequently, true to tradition, they paid the accountants, bankers, and remaining personnel out of their own pockets, and just as in earlier times, they themselves remained the primary purveyors of the goods demanded from overseas. They themselves were also the major purchasers of the products weighing down the returning ships. In Van Dillen’s Van Rijkdom en Regenten, we read that the Heren XVII arrogated the futures-rights to themselves, 'through which they acquired a large portion of the landed spices against low prices, which they in turn sold to others at a profit' (2).

This trade practice had already aroused indignation in the time of the 'pre-companies'. Amsterdam's Reformed Church council lectured the directors of the Old Company in December 1599 about the 'pepper scandal sold among her people', but this and other admonishments had less effect than the flawed practices themselves.
During the First Charter period (1602–1623), various pamphlets directed against the self-serving policy of the VOC directors appeared. When the States General granted the Second Charter in 1623, it expressly stipulated that products supplied by the Company could only be sold through public auction, where the directors had the same rights as everyone else (3). No doubt they had in mind the forty-five article charter that the Highly Esteemed Heren of the States General had granted to the West India Company on 3 June 1621, as we can see in articles XXXI and XXXII: 'De Bewinthebbers sullen geen Schepen, waeren ofte goederen, haer int geheel ofte deel toecommende, aen dese Compagnie mogen leveren ofte verkoopen, nochte vande selve Compaignie eenige Coopmanschapen ofte waeren coopen, ofte doen verkoopen, directelyck ofte indirectelyck, noch portie ofte gedeelte daerinne hebben'... etc.

(The Directors shall not deliver nor sell any Ships, wares or goods, delivered either in entirety or in portions, to this Company, nor may they purchase from this same Company any merchandise or wares, or themselves sell, directly or indirectly, either share or portion that they have in it...). And: 'De Bewinthebberen sullen gehouden wesen by affixie van billeten to notificeren soo diuwijls sy eenige waeren ende Coopmanschapen van nyewys sullen hebben ontfangen ten eynde een yder daervan tydelyck kennisse mach hebben, aleer tot eyndelycke vercoopinge sal worden geprocedeert'.

(The Directors shall be held to the affixation of bills of notification as often as they receive new wares and Merchandise so that everyone will gain knowledge of the same in time, before the eventual sale takes place) (4).

On this matter, the VOC's organisation at the time was less complicated than that of the of the WIC. Whereas spices and other tropical products from the East Indies came from the native population and its representatives, in Brazil (as well as the Caribbean and New Netherlands on the North American east coast), colonists themselves cultivated or controlled export. Thus, in these areas, not only the desired profit–margins of the merchants, but also those of the planters had to be considered.

Consequently, in order to assure the planter's income, a harvest price was set long before the land was plowed or the crop ripe. The primary threats (calamities of weather and wind, the hostilities resulting from unstable political situations) justified the retention of this form of 'future', for the planters. What certainly did not work in favour of the WIC was the opportunity this gave the free trade merchants to influence the market in the Netherlands.

Besides the products themselves, the acquisition of fiscal contracts also did a lively business. The excise duties and taxes imposed by the Chartered Companies were offered and awarded to the highest bidder. When these taxes concerned percentages of the expected harvest, the tax–collector also had a chance to share in the profits or losses. These pachters, unlike the 'Bouckhouders ende Cassiers' (Accountants and Bankers) were not 'gesalariseert tot laste vande Bewinthebbers uyt hare Provisie' (salaried at the expense of the Directors out of their Provision), but had to earn their keep by retaining percentages of the collected monies (5).

We will now consider and connect various economic facts, accenting the sugar culture. We will also connect this culture with the construction of Recife–Mauritsstad.
<table>
<thead>
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<td>+ Marcos André</td>
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<td>- Gaspar Dias Ferreira</td>
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<td>+ Jacob Goes/kap.</td>
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+ Manuel Gomes de Melo
+ Cristovão Pais
+ André do Couto 'São João'
+ Pedro Lopes de Vera
  'Bom Jesus'
45 + Luis Marreiros,
  'Megoupa'
  + Dom Luis de Sousa, Jurissaca
  'São João'
+ Felipe Pais, Garapu
+ Miguel Pais 'Algodoais'
+ Gaspar de Mere, Marapaticipe
  'São Marcos'
50 + João Rodrigues Caminha
  'Três Paías'
+ Diogo Fernandes Pantorro

+ Dona Adriana viúva
+ Pedro Lopes de Vera
+ 
  + Diogo de Araújo
  de Azevedo
+ 
+ Moises Navarro
+ 
+ 
+ Gaspar Nieuhoff v. d. Ley
+ 
+ Miguel v. Merenburch/
  Martinus de Coutre
  (de Conter)
+ Sargento-Mor Antônio
  Vieira
+ 
+ Nicolaes de Haen/
  L'Empereur & Cia
+ João Gomes de Melo
+ João Lopes de Vera
Ipojuca
+ António Ribeiro de Lacerda
+ 55 + António Ribeiro de Lacerda
(no engenho de Bertioga)
+ Maragarida Alvares
+ Manuel de Mesquita da Silva
+ António Ribeiro de Lacerda
(no engenho de Maranhão)
+ Manuel Vaz Viseu
+ 60 + Gaspar Fragoso
+ Cosmo Dias de Afonseca,
Tabatinga, 'Sa Luzia'
+ Cosmo Dias de Afonseca
no Salgado
+ Bastião Coelho
+ Gaspar da Fonseca Carneiro
'Pindobora'
65 + Ana de Crasto
+ Manuel de Navalhas
+ Alexandre de Moura
no 'Coculpe'
+ D. Francisco de Moura
Serinhaem
+ Pedro Fragoso de Albuquerque
(no Tapicuru de Cima,
'N.S. de Ajuda')
+ Francisco de Talde, Sangas,
Exanagoua, Juangua
70 + Francisco Rodrigues do Porto,
Camarigibe, 'So António'
1630

1b 1623
+ Estevão Paez Barreto,
São Gonçalo de Urca,
'N.S. de Guadalupe' 'Ilhetas'
+ Julião Pais 'São José'

1636
+ c

1638
+ c + João Pais, Cabral, 'Sa Luzia'

1639

1655

1630
+ c

1636
+ c Luis Lopes Tenório + João Tenorio

1638
+ c João Tenório

1639

1655
+ c + Arriado de Araújo
+ Mateus da Costa + Duarte Saraiva
+ Filho de Gaspar d.F.C.

1638
+ c Do Isabel de Moura (viúva
de D. Francisco de Moura)

1639
+ João Carneiro de Mariz+ António Gonçalves da Paz + Duarte Saraiva

1655
+ c Da Catarina Carmela viúva + Willem Placard + Daniel de Haen
+ Manuel Velho
+ c + Da catarina Cemla,
viúva de Jerônimo Taide
+ Manuel Pinto Pereira + Blanco Mendes
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| + Vincente Campelo (no engenho) +
|    de Filipe de Albuquerque,
|    Anacuara, 'N.S. da Palma' |
| + Jacques Péres (Peres) + |

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| + Jerônimo Albuquerque (Cabo) +
| + Pedro Lopes de Vera
| 'N.S. do Rosario' |
| 75 + Miguel Ferreira, Engenho
| Serinhaém, 'Todos os Santos' |
| + Manuel Gonçalves (Una) |
| + N.S. da Guia* |
| + Diogo Paes Barreto |
| + N.S. da Fonseca* |
| + Jacques Péres, 'Rio Formoso' |

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<td>- + Da Catarina, viúva</td>
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| + Sebastião Vaz Ferreira/
| Francisco Fernandes Amor |
| + Diego Paes Barreto |

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<tr>
<td>+ Servaes Carpentier</td>
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<th>Porto Calvo</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ Rodrigo do Barros Pimentel</td>
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<td>'Monro'</td>
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<tr>
<td>+ Manuel Ramalho</td>
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<tr>
<td>+ Manuel Carmelo</td>
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<td>+ Baltasar de Almeida Botelho</td>
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<td>+ João Lins</td>
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<td>+ Estevão d'Alpoém</td>
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<th>85</th>
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<tr>
<td>+ Pedro Fernandes</td>
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</table>
Alagoa
+ António Martins Ribeiro +
+ Cristóvão Dias Delgado +
+ Diogo Soares +
+ Tomé de Rocha +
(São Miguel dos Campos)
90 + João Gomes de Andrade +
+ Francisco Gomes Flures +
+ André Coelho +
+ Julião Peixoto +
- Jerónimo de Rocha -

Id 1623 1630 1636

Igassu
95 + Francisco Coresma de Abreu +
+ Pedro de Rocha Leitão, Alama, +
'Fé de Deus' +
+ Rui Colasu +
+ Gonçalo Novo de Lira +
+ Francisco Correia +
100 + Domingos de Oliveira +
+ André da Rocha no 'Ubu' +
+ Miguel Alumnes Soares +
+ Balthasar Rodrigues Mendes +
+ Polociano Brandão +
105 + Gonçalo Novo de Lira, Arari +
+ Duarte Ximenes +
+ Domingos da Costa Brandão +
+ N.S. Senhora da Paz +
+ Jorge Rodrigues do Porto +
Musaque, 'São João Batista' +
+ Pedro Fernandes Porto +
110 + Jerónimo Couto +
+ Jerónimo Couto, nos Três Paus, +
Capibaribe, 'N.S. Senhora da Encarnação' +

+ Sebastião Dias +
+ Gabriel Soares +
- Martys Mendes -

1638 1639 1655
- Francisco de Lugo Brito -
+ Da. Isabel Cabral viúva +
+ +
+ Gaspar Pechco Jancutina +
'Hans Willem Lowiesen'
'São Felipe e Santiago' +
+ João Lourenço Franckes +
+ Servaes Carpentier +
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<th>1639</th>
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<td>N.S. da Conceição'1625</td>
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<td>2  Pedro le Grand 'São Paolo'</td>
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<td>3  Julião Pais d'Alto, CABO 'São Francisco', Utinga</td>
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<td>5  João Pais de Castro, CABO 'São João'</td>
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<tr>
<td>António Gonçalves de Paz 'Santo Cosme',</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fernando Gomes 'N.S. das Candeias', 'Cajubuso'</td>
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**Porto Calvo**
- Rodrigo de Barros Pimentel, 'Sa António'
- Cristóvão Botelho 'Engenho Novo'
- Manual Carvalho de Queiroga 'São Francisco'

**Algou(s)**
- Lucas de Abreu
- Henrique de Carvalho
- Eng. do Barbalho no Rio São Miguel
- Francisco Cloet 'N.S. de Ajuda'
- Domingos Rodrigues d'Azevedo 'Eng. Velho'

**Serinhaém**
- Miguel Fernandes de Sã 'Ararangil'
- Álvaro Fragoso Toscano 'Tipiscuru de Baixo',
- So António' (Waca')
- Pedro Lopes de Vera 'São Brux'

**Ipójuca**
- Francisco Soares Canha, 'São Paolo', Sibíro de Baixo
- 'N.S. do Rosário', 1625
- 'Eng. Guerra'

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- + recently feito
- + ultimamente feito
- + Álvares Barbalho
- ± Wijnigen/Maj. Henderson
Cabo
'Eng. Novo'/?São Miguel’
António da Silva 'São Braz’ (S.B. Coimbra)
Manuel de Sousa de Abreu, 'Santa Ana’
N.S. da Graça’
Manuel Bezerra 'Albiqueira’/?Alinhiero’
Andre Soares 'Penanduba’
Da Catarina d’Albuquerque 'Eng. Muribeça’
'Engenho Novo’ (with D. v. Hoogstraeten

2a  1636
Gaspar Dias Ferreira, 'Eng. São José’
Johan van Bligenburch/Jacob Dossen 'Soupsopema’
Armão de Olanda 'São João’
'Margaree’
Padres Beneditos 'São Bento de Maspace’
Francisco Mendes Foyres/Jeronimo Cabral/
An da Rocha Bezerra 'Paratibe’

Iguaçu
Manuel Jacome Bezerra 'Arama’, 'N.S. do Rosário’
Padres Beneditos, Maspace, 'São Gonçalo’
Dominigos Velho Freire, Pirajui, 'N.S. de Nazaré’

Itamaracá
Lourenço Cavalcante, Ipiranga, 'Santo Antonio’
João Pais Barreto, Jacaré, 'Santa Cruz’
Rui Paz Pinto, Tracumhaem de BAixo, ‘Avjo São Miguel’
Jeronimo Cavalcante, Tracumhaem de Cima, ‘Mosombo’
Cosmo de Silveira de Oliveira, ‘Cosme e Damiano’
Dom Brites, Copissura
Luchano Brando, 'N.S. do Rosário’
Antonio da Costa Freitas, 'N.S. do Rosário’
Diogo da Fonseca de Lemos, 'São João Batista’
Diogo Lopes Lobo/Domingos Pinto da Fonseca, Massandubá

+ c/Duarte Saraiva
+ - Jacob Stachouwer/+
+ - Nicolaes de Ridder
+ - Cap. Fernão Soares

1638
recentemente levantou

1639

1655
+ Da Clara das Neves

+ c/Jan Wynants
- c/Hans Willem Louwiesen - Joost v.d. Bogaert
- -
+ c/Servaes Carpentier
+ c/Helmech Ferreres - David van Kessel
- c Hans Willem Louisen - Joost van den Bogaert
+ +
+ +
+ 
+ N. Koets
Domingos de Oliveira/Baltasar Rodrigues Mendes
'So Amaro', Embiapeceu
Francisco Lopes de Orosco, Araribe de Baixo, 'N.S. do Ó'
Francisco Lopes de Orosco, Araribe de Cima, 'Bom Jesus'
Engenho de Goiana
Engenho Maxima
Pieter Seulyn de Jonge, Eng. Haerlem
Francisco Lopes, Eng. Velho
Martin Lopes, Eng. Beapecu
Eng. Tripicu

Maria de Oliveira

Joost van den Bogaert
Joost van den Bogaert

Pieter Seulyn de Jonge

Várzea
Eng. de António Fernandes Pessoa, 'São Timoteo'
Eng. de Carlos Francisco, Meio'
Eng. de Francisco de Brito Pereira, 'So. Antonio'
Willem Schott/Christoffel Eyerschettel
'Três Reis Magos', 'Staatsburgh'
Charles de Tourlon 'Maritu',
'São Tomé'
António Fernandes Pessoa, 'Tispeó'
António Borges, 'N.S. de Rosário'

+ c/Jacob Stachouwer
±
+
+ (lavrador Cosme Abreu Pereira)

±
3 ENGENHOS ONLY APPEARING ON THE 1655 LIST.

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<th>Location</th>
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<td>São Lourenço</td>
<td>Eng. do Doutor Manoel Barbosa da Silva +</td>
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<td>Eng. da Água Fra, Arcângela da Silverira +</td>
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<td>Eng. de João Fernandes de Punha +</td>
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<td>Santo Antônio do Cabo</td>
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<td>Eng. de Ruy de Brito ±</td>
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<td>Eng. Ubacu (Baixa) +</td>
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<td>Eng. de Ubacu de Cima (Eng. Goiana) +</td>
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<td>Porto Calvo</td>
<td>Eng. de Capiana +</td>
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<td>Santo Amaro</td>
<td>Molinote de Belciur Velho (Alvares?) +</td>
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<td>Cosme de Abreu Pereira +</td>
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<td>Antônio Pereira +</td>
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\(+ = \text{functioning} \quad c = \text{confiscated} \quad - = \text{not functioning} \quad \pm = \text{not fully operational}\)
In the previous chapters, we discussed the relationship between population density and construction. While both elements lack exact figures, means of correlation and deduction can generate acceptable approximations.

With a sort of jalouse-de-métier, I eyed the successful venture of Adriaan van Oss, an historian who died prematurely in 1984. He demonstrated demographic changes by using facts about colonial monuments, instead of the other way around, as is usually the case (6). I must chance a similar attempt for Recife-Mauritsstad if this investigation and this subject is ever to see light.

Neither Dutch, nor Brazilian, nor Portuguese archives have until now yielded any other material than is found in this dissertation. I have tried to pull together what is available. As not all the information I garnered from Bills of Lading, market reports, and available publications proved important in expanding my insight into the history of Recife's development, I naturally proceeded with some degree of selectivity. I considered the following factors relevant:

- the shipping between Holland and Pernambuco
- the number of Negro slaves imported by the WIC
- the level of taxes
- the quantities of sugar transported to Holland
- the export tables of the WIC
- the export tables of the free trade.

It should be possible to gain insight into the appearance of the town from the above factors, for the simple reason that they say something, directly or indirectly, about the people involved in all this activity: the great merchants and agents, the small businessmen, the craftsmen, the other citizens, and their family members, wives and children, not to mention their personnel of colour.

6.2 REGISTER OF SUGARMILLS (ENGENHOS)

'Portuguese already live here', wrote Johan Gijsselingsh to the Netherlands upon his arrival in Recife in 1637 (7). Apparently the ban of 1635 and 1636 forbidding the Portuguese to settle or stay overnight in Recife was repealed or faded away through habit (8).

What kind of people were they, these Portuguese from the city, or at least from Recife, who helped the place to reach its near-maximum capacity in 1637? Most of them lived either in barely inhabitable Olinda, or they were planters who had their domiciles on the engenhos, the sugar plantations and mills of the interior. There is no doubt concerning this last, but even so, many planters possessed a pied-a-terre on the coast to dispatch business, purchase and repair goods, or to relax in. While in many cases they stayed with relatives who worked as craftsmen or otherwise in the city, frequently the prosperous sugarplanters themselves owned a house there. Increasingly as well, the actual plantation owners did not occupy their estates themselves, but only resided there occasionallly. Their true residence stood in the city (9).
Recife developed as a city because of its advantageous location for the landing of merchant ships. The exported commodities did not come from the city itself, but as was the case in all Dutch colonies, from the hinterland. The only exception might be Deshima (Decima); Nagasaki was an important city whose cultural riches formed a considerable share of the trade merchandise. Recife owes its greatness to the importance of rural products: in addition to the exportation of brazilwood, the cultivation of sugarcane, and its production into sugar in the sugarmills. In order to throw the history of Recife's development into full relief, the following chapter will explore diverse aspects of the sugar culture. Architecture first becomes a human document when we can gain insight into the people responsible for its construction.

In one respect, these people were the Dutch merchants, but without the Portuguese, especially the colonists of Portuguese-Jewish extract, the delta landscape of Capibaribe and Beberibe would not have been as populated as Frans Post's work depicts. Six lists from 1623, 1630, 1638, 1639, and 1655 naming sugarmills, their owners, and their locations give us a pleasing survey of plantations existing just before the Dutch entered Brazil, during their rule, and directly after their surrender to the Portuguese (10). They include plantations in Pernambuco, present-day Alagoas, Itamaracá, Paraiba, and Rio Grande do Norte; the list dating from 1655 only inventories levy requirements in Pernambuco and Itamaracá. To facilitate a quick comparison, the accompanying table does not separately take up the sugarmills in the two northernmost capitaniaes. For the rest, in contrast to developments in Pernambuco, the number in Paraiba and Rio Grande do Norte remained constant in those years (Paraiba with 20 and Rio Grande with two to four).

1 The 1623 data comes from an account by José Israel da Costa, a Portuguese Jew who lived in Bahia before the Dutch invasion of 1624 and came to Holland around 1635. Costa may have recovered his Jewish name Israel when the Dutch rule made it less problematic.

Costa's account contains a priceless summary of engenheiros and engenhos (owners and sugarmills), along with annual yields in arrobas of first and second quality sugars. Through him we also learn the materials necessary to construct a sugar factory as well as the required efforts and costs.

For the construction of each factory, much money is needed, for the houses as well as for the mills and the presses where the sugar is produced, but also for the roofing, wood, hardware, carpenters and stonemasons, the moulds, carts, the white personnel who had to be well-paid and well-fed all year round, the quantities of firewood for the fires, the crates, draught-animals and cows, not to mention the subsistence of the 70 slaves, necessary for the maintenance of every sugarmill and as replacement workers in cases of illness'.

Gonsalves de Mello correctly calls this account a 'valioso documento'; it is as well the oldest source of information about the sugar culture in the Nordeste (11).
Costa wrote his story for the States General, which in 1638 had already exercised authority over Brazil for six years, though to a large extent through the WIC organization. The possible profits that the sugar industry might yield to the WIC, if properly conducted (almost 5 million guilders annually), may have contributed to the decision to appoint Johan Maurits van Nassau as governor in August of 1636.

2 Adriaen Verdonck composed his ‘memoir’ in 1630. He was born in Brabant and spent some of his youth in Lisbon (12). Verdonck wrote his travel account for the *Politiëke Raad* in Pernambuco, which at the time still sat in lustrous Olinda. His survey is not as exact as José da Costa’s, but he sums up the same number of *engenhos* per district as da Costa, if one supplies his names with locations from the 1638 and 1639 documents.

3 In 1636, Willem Schott, one of the *Politiëke Raad*, put together a concise report for the Chamber of Zeeland (1633) (13). Schott, who for a time himself owned a sugarmill in the Várzea (‘Três Reis’), sums up the sugarmills abandoned by the owners/occupants after Matias d’Albuquerque’s departure (1635) and confiscated and sold when possible by the Dutch directors, the WIC. Many of the abandoned *engenhos*, because of war manoeuvres, were in derelict condition. When the owner remained but was hostile to the Dutch, he was dispossessed. Often the Portuguese (or Portuguese-Jewish) owners returned and were allowed to buy back their property from the WIC. By 1636 and the years following, the increasingly interested Dutch began to participate in the actual cultivation and processing of sugarcane, although in too limited a fashion to exploit the colonization of the interior. Unfortunately, Schott’s inventory applies to only a portion of Pernambuco, namely the fields between Rio das Jangadas and Rio Una, an area similar to southern Pernambuco and northern Alagoas.

4 Johan Maurits van Nassau sent an extensive description of the four conquered capitâncias – Pernambuco, Paraíba, Itamaracá, and Rio Grande do Norte – to the Heren XIX of the WIC in 1638. The document was also signed by the members of the *Hoge Raad*, Matthias van Ceulen, Adriaen van der Dussen, and Servaes Carpentier. This ‘Kort Discours’ is the same as the Generale Missive, now in the ARA in Den Haag, the archive of the WIC and the States General (14). The *Kort Discours* is dated 14 January 1638 and describes the situation in the year 1637.
Fig. 30

Final page from the Cort Discours concerning the situation in the interior at plantations and sugarmills. Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen and the Hoge Raad to the Heren XIX of the WIC, 14-1-1638. AaP, OWIC 52.
5 The ‘Relaas over de Staat van de veroverde Gewesten van Brazil’ (Account concerning the State of the conquered Territories of Brazil) by Adriaen van der Dussen dates from the following year, written around 10 December 1639 ‘aan boord van de Overijssel’ (on board the Overijssel) and was delivered to the Heren XIX on 4 April 1640 (15).

The summaries and descriptions of the sugarmills, their owners, condition, yields, and number of workers and their shares in the yields included in the two accounts are amazingly similar and especially interesting within our framework. Various engenhos that no longer operated in 1637 functioned again in 1639, and the other way around. The war manoeuvres in the interior appear to have fatally interfered with the harvest, although the WIC’s confiscation of abandoned engenhos, or those belonging to owners hostile to the Dutch, generally had favourable results. The governor pleaded passionately with the Heren XIX in these years to ‘subsidize’ the owners to enable them to repair the damage and replant their destroyed fields. Additionally, the reinstatement of the free trade provided quicker and cheaper delivery of necessary materials.

6 Finally, Francisco de Mesquita composed an inventory of sugarmills for the Portuguese. He served the new Portuguese authorities as a secretary and is the same man who framed the first draft of the inventory of forts, artillery, and civil edifices in 1654 (16).

This inventory, dated 4 August 1655, was initiated to register the sugarmills in Pernambuco’s formerly Dutch interior along with the amounts the owners were obliged to pay Portugal, payments legally comparable to property tax except that the fee was based on the engenho’s yield (17). In 1655, there were in all 109 sugarmills. Pretentiously, the one-time, short-term Dutch owners are not even named; instead the list used the names of the original owners from 1623, of whom some were doubtless dead by 1655. Of these 109, 20 were so damaged that they were difficult to exploit. The tax levied during the Dutch Period is also recorded, perhaps as an indication of the payments expected by Portugal. Whether the futures market and tenant payments are relevant here is not certain. This list includes 53 engenhos also appearing on da Costa’s 1623 list, among them 11 heavily damaged ones that were inoperable in 1655. On the map of fig. 58, an important number of the engenhos mentioned above are indicated by characters.
The second capitania to enjoy a rich sugar–culture tradition was Paraíba. This picture shows the Paraíba River, as indicated on the inventory compiled for Louis XIV. To the left, in the background, Fort Margaretha, named after the governor’s mother, is barely visible. In the foreground, a plantation settlement. Frans Post, canvas 104 x 130 cms, coll. Louis XIV, inv. nr. Litt. E. E., Louvre nr. 1725. Sousa nr. 62.
6.3 IMMIGRATION POLICY

The immigration policy strongly advocated by the governor resounded only faintly in the Dutch population. Maurits was already pressing the point in 1638, periodically sending official letters not only on behalf of Sergipe, heavily battered in 1637, but for the entire Dutch territory of Pernambuco, Paraiba, Rio Grande, etc. Not only would colonization of the hinterland expand the sugar culture and, consequently, increase its income, it would also open up the interior, diversify the population, and further the administrative as well as military infrastructure through economic gains (18).

Interest in Holland, nonetheless, remained severely limited. The only group actually interested in emigration to Brazil were the Jews, and, given their language and culture, primarily Sephardim from Portugal and Spain. After the reconquest of Granada in 1492 and the resulting waves of puritanism and anti-semitism, Sephardic centers grew up in London and Amsterdam. Amsterdam was the largest ('Jerusalem of the North').

The WIC did offer extra facilities and compensation for the costs of passage (19). Often Jewish immigrants remained in their place of destination, Recife, making their way through negotiation or advancement. But we also find many names among the rural sugar producers that indicate roots in this population group or in the Cristãos-Novos, who had already been operating in Brazil in this capacity since the 16th century.

Not surprisingly, the Sephardim saw new trade opportunities in Brazil after the reinstitution of the free trade (20). But aspiring colonists also came forward from their numbers. One of the most remarkable enterprises among these was led by Manuel Mendes de Crasto (Jewish name: Manuel Nehemias), who, along with 200 others, boarded the two ships 'De Soutcas' and 'Graeuw Paert' in Amsterdam in 1637 and arrived in Recife on 5 February 1638. Their purpose was to found a settlement in the interior, but after the death of their chef d'équipe, it seems the colonos dispersed, each to find his own way in the city (21).

The Dutch population in Brazil grew worried over the large number of Jews who took the opportunity offered by the Dutch state to emigrate to Brazil free of charge or for a small fee. Communications to the fatherland often echoed the sentiment, 'This country is filling up with Jews, who arrive with every ship' (22). The States General's announcement in 1634 guaranteeing universal freedom of worship must have stimulated Marranos, Sephardic, and Ashkenazic Jews (although the latter to a lesser extent; neither was there a special bond between these last two groups) (23).

A visit to Portuguese--Jewish cemeteries in Middelburg and Ouderkerk aan de Amstel evokes both the period and the critical role that these entrepreneurs played in the exploitation--and exploration--of Brazil.

The following names, found in the old section of the Portuguese--Jewish Cemetery in Ouderkerk aan de Amstel, also appear in some form in archives relating to Brazil in the 16th and 17th century.
Across from Antilles, Vaz on the mainland lay the Jewish cemetery indicated on Columbus's 1548 map (25). Nothing survives of it, so that the oldest Jewish cemetery in the western hemisphere is the Sephardic cemetery in Willemstad on Curacao. After the Dutch left Brazil—and even before—most of the Jewish presence was at least tolerated. So arose the Judensavanne in Surinam (1660–1665), while the Jewish communities in the Antilles grew in number. No wonder that various names appearing in this Haim cemetery on Curacao have counterparts in Brazil.
Paz
Pereira
Touro
do Vale;
all dead between 1670 and 1707 (5430 – 5467) (27).

Their flexibility in adapting to new circumstances allowed the Jews, not preeminently experienced in maintaining themselves in agrarian sectors, to seize the opportunity in Brazil with tremendous initiative and success and to settle down there as if born sugarcane cultivators and producers, as if they and their fathers had done nothing else their entire lives.
Fascinatingly, so many of the names that we find on the lists and registers, undoubtedly only a portion mentioned above, are still common in Brazil today. Naturally, they indicate the descendants of the Cristãos–Novos, and perhaps, in some cases, those who remained as Marranos, despite the Portuguese Inquisition (28).

Little came of the promised freedom of worship, however, during the Dutch Period. Roman Catholics were forbidden to hold processions or celebrate Mass publicly, and Jews were barred from the Gemeenteraad. Ironically, these measures clashed with both the wishes and the mentality of the governor, but were demanded by the sanctimonious Calvinistic representatives of the Heren XIX.

Antisemitism among the Dutch merchants stemmed from distrust and jealousy. The Dutch did not adapt their clothing, habits, or language to their Brazilian circumstances as quickly and easily. They were above all dependent upon translators who spoke Portuguese as well as Dutch, something unnecessary for the bilingual Sephardim from Amsterdam (29).

We must mention here that, in recognition the political and economic relationship between the Netherlands and Portugal, and through the developments in Brazil, a chair in the Portuguese language was inaugurated at the University of Utrecht in 1636 (30). It would be interesting to research who occupied this chair in the 17th century and how many students it served.

In my opinion, the analysis by Nieuhof approaches the truth, when, in the account by Van der Dussen in 1639, we read: 'The Portuguese, who find themselves here and are subject to our sovereignty, are the most important elements in the cultural development of this land' (31). Or, as Balthasar van de Voorde, counsel in Recife, related to the Chamber of Zeeland in 1643: 'We rule the land and its inhabitants, but the Portuguese rule our possessions' (32).

The greatest omission of the Heren XIX's policy was their failure to give emigration from the Netherlands to Brazil priority in their program. To investigate why there was so little interest for actual emigration to Brazil would require specific research into the standard of living of the rural Dutch population in the 17th century. The climate in Brazil, for most of the year, was very good, the soil was fertile, and the language would not prove a stumbling block, provided the colonists came in great numbers.
Considering economic factors, the situation in Holland's agrarian sector was also probably too prosperous, despite the military
movements during the War of Independence (Eighty Years War) (33). Besides this, I believe that many sociological motives kept people at home. Piso noticed that, in contrast with the Portuguese, the Dutch dressed much too warmly. He also recommended cooking in pots lined with tin (at the time, many pots were made of copper) and, moreover, prescribed native medicines (34). From the paintings by Frans Post and his colleagues, we see that the Dutch continued to appear in knee breeches and knee socks, jerkins covered by coats, collars, and high hats—although these last might have provided some protection for the scalp and face against the sun (35).

Adaptability was not the strong point of the gentlemen merchants, nor was the desire to start afresh. The rural population of the fatherland was not sufficiently stimulated towards emigration, while, for the most part, the merchants remained in foreign areas only until their fortunes were made (36). Again, the Jewish community formed an exception.

Thus, as far as the Dutch colonial efforts are concerned, we cannot really speak of a 'European desire for expansion', a notion currently under discussion in scholarly and popular literature. This 'Europese Expansiedrang' was certainly a factor for the English and Portuguese. A talent for assimilation went hand in hand with 'settling', and taking along and maintaining one's own cultural expressions. While true that in their later years these colonists, at least the merchants, also often returned to the homeland, the cultural ambiance in the colony still functioned and fitted the demands of daily life. Above all, one aspect of expansion is the desire to disseminate one's own culture. Given a strong cultural awareness, the population group will feel the need to share this awareness with its surroundings. At best, this need is charismatic but charisma as a pious wish is often lost in a violent imposition upon the environment for the sake of profit. The colonization of the Spanish in Central and South America is one salient example. While in their case they struggled for the control of the area's mines, in a similar case of Dutch violence against the natives of Ambon, the welfare of clove-trees, and not, primarily, the spread of religion and culture, formed their goal (37).

The sugar culture was and remained traditionally in Portuguese hands. They possessed the required know-how. The income of the WIC and the free trade depended upon them. The mestre-de-açúcar decided if the juice of the pressed sugarcane was sufficiently refined to go to the moulds. He was a Portuguese. His assistant, and the purgadores, who supervised the slaves scooping the foam from the boiling sap and the purification vats in the refinery, were also Portuguese. All these functions required specific knowledge and experience. The Dutch were unsuited for this after such a short time at the helm. The strict fiscal regulations of the WIC did little to arouse enthusiasm for emigration to a hostile and foreign climate. Nieuhof, pinpointing the problem as he so often does, criticizes the system. The Dutch preferred not to risk themselves in an area where the Portuguese veterans, the first to colonize and cultivate the land, 'zich menigmaal zeer weveligh betoonden' (often displayed resentment (towards us)) (38). His opinion was shared by Gaspar Dias Ferreira and Padre Antônio Vieira, who were surprised that the Dutch never tried to operate the sugar plantations themselves,
nor attempted to educate the Negro slaves, whom they also mistrated (39, 40, 41).
Not all Portuguese owners of engenhos actively supervised the operations themselves. Like the Dutch, they often filled other positions, specifically in the army. But the high-ranking personnel—the mestre-de-açúcar, the purgador, etc. (see above)—all Portuguese, dealt with their masters in the same language, had the same religion and nationality, and had the same political interests. Naturally, the Dutch owner and his Portuguese personnel were diametrically opposed along these lines. The Dutch sugar baron, perhaps precisely when he initially or simultaneously filled a public or military function, was and remained an occupying power (42).

In my cases, the list by Van der Dussen contains, along with the names of the engenhos and trapiches (small sugarmills), not only the name of the owner but also the names of the personnel, all Portuguese with one exception. Evidently, this subcategory of the sugar culture was neglected by the Dutch government and the WIC. The infrastructural breaks also had evident and serious consequences.

6.4 THE WIC, FREE TRADE AND THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

The WIC collected its sugar income in different ways. They levied a pacht or tenancy fee on the canefields and engenhos, comparable to today's property tax. After 1637, they also levied tax upon the sugar yields, the so-called suikerrienden, sugar tithes (Portuguese: Dizimos da miúça or miudeza) (43). The tenancy fee and tithes determined the value of the plantation. Annually (infrequently every two years), these amounts were set and offered for registration by the WIC; Dutch, Portuguese, and Jewish brokers, often themselves engenho-owners, could be granted one or more districts, either for collection of the tenancy fee, tithes, or both.

Barlaeus reports the following names for the year 1638:
- Pernambuco, tenancy fee: João Fernandes Vieira;
- Itamaracá, tenancy fee: Peter Seuleyn Jr.; (44)
- Pernambuco, tithes: Moisés Navarro, Tomás Espanhol, and Conrad Jan Maickinia;
- Itamaracá, tithes: Tomaz Espanhol, Peter Seuleyn Jr.

We know that João Fernandes Vieira also took over the tithes and remaining taxes in Pernambuco in 1641 for the sum of 188,000.00 gilders. In later registers, after the failed harvest of that year, he no longer appears. How much we can attribute his absence to the disappointing results alone is debatable. Vieira, initially a friend and associate of Jacob Stachouwer (member of the Politieke Raad and later Hoge Raad), already turned against the Dutch in 1640, when the Portuguese, vainly anticipating a Dutch defeat at the hands of the Spanish Armada, encouraged the planters in the interior to revolt (45). After 1654, Vieira acquired various sweeping sugarcane fields and 16 engenhos. To properly administrate these, he initiated rules concerning work methods and the treatment of slaves (46). Concerning the latter, Vieira recommends visiting their quarters every morning, determining whether any are ill, and insuring that the sickness does not spread. He commands that
Negroes be sent to mass every Sunday and never be punished with sticks, stones, or roof-tiles, but '...whenever they deserve it, tie them up to a wagon and whip them'. Vieira, himself a mulatto, was less moved by love of humanity than by the fear that broken bones and haemorrhages would weaken his workforce. Notably, he restores a rule that Johan Maurits van Nassau instituted and that had fallen into oblivion after the governor's departure, namely that Negro slaves be given the opportunity to tend their manioc fields and vegetable gardens on Sundays and holidays. At the time, the senhores de engenho were also required to provide manioc fields for their slaves. The Dutch (read Sephardic Jews) carried this rule over to the Antilles, where it was known as a 'Brazilian custom' (47).

The sugar was divided into three sorts:
1. **branco**, white, most refined sugar; also called **blanco**;
2. **moscovado**, **mascavo**, unrefined, brown in colour;
3. **pamela**, **panela**, thickened syrup, left over after refining; usually used on the **engenho** itself, but also poured into moulds and shipped to Holland. Similar to today's block sugar of inferior quality – **rapadura**.

We owe Wätjen our thanks for having researched the archives for all possible facts concerning the import and export of articles, provisions, slaves, and specifically sugar. 'Dass es eine mühselige, zeitraubende Arbeit war, aus Briefen, Protokollen, Manifesten, Konossementen, Fakturen usw die Ziffernreihen zusammenzufügen und tabellarisch zu ordnen, wird jeder begreifen, der ähnliche Listen aus Archivalien hat herausziehen müssen' (48).

I will add here that the most legible sections are those surviving from WIC archives. The beautiful seals and signatures of skippers and merchants make it moreover most agreeable reading material.

6.4.1 **Taxes**

The **Hoge Raad** taxed sugar twice:
- tenancy of the sugarmill
- tithes on the sugar yield.

Drawing from the archives and the books of Barlæus, Wätjen and Gonsalves de Mello, we note the following amounts for both tax-categories:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1637</th>
<th>Amounts in guilders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tenancy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernambuco</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itamaracã</td>
<td>not yet in effect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraiba and</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio Grande do Norte</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1638

Pernambuco 26,000 148,500* + 14,900 = 163,400
Itamaracá 9,000 19,000* + 6,500 = 25,500
Paraíba and Rio Grande do Norte 54,000* + 3,000 = 57,000

35,000 245,900

* increase added by the government in Recife

Tithes realized in 1639–1645

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pernambuco</th>
<th>Itamaracá</th>
<th>Paraíba and</th>
<th>Rio Grande do Norte</th>
<th>Total tithes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1639</td>
<td>128,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>31,000</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>179,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1641</td>
<td>154,000</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>51,000</td>
<td>231,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1642</td>
<td>128,000</td>
<td>27,500</td>
<td>55,500</td>
<td>211,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643</td>
<td>113,500</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>42,500</td>
<td>177,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1644</td>
<td>105,000</td>
<td>21,800</td>
<td>39,000</td>
<td>165,800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1645</td>
<td>74,000</td>
<td>21,400</td>
<td>34,000</td>
<td>129,400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Full information concerning 1640 is not available, since the registers from that year are missing. At any rate, the rebellion in the interior among the planters, whether whole-heartedly supported by the Portuguese who had left Bahia and crossed the São Francisco or not, and the heavy downpours of rain that year probably unfavourably affected the harvest. Otherwise, the rebellion was part of an all-encompassing plan to attack the Dutch on all sides: from the sea, with the powerful fleet under Mascarenhas that had set sail from Lisbon for Bahia at the end of 1639, and from the interior, with the troops of Cunha de Andrade and Felipe Camarão. The fleet was made up of 86 or 93 sails, including 24 colossal galleons with a total crew of 12,000 to 15,000 men. The Dutch fleet had 41 ships with 473 pieces of artillery and 2796 hands. Thus Commander Willem Loos had considerably inferior forces at his disposal. Still, the greater manoeuvrability of the Dutch ships and their tactic of approaching the enemy as closely as possible resulted, after four days (the 12th, 13th, 14th and 17th of January 1640), in an éclatant victory for the Dutch. Barlaeus's book describes the facts, illustrated by Frans Post's splendid plate (49). The Spanish and Portuguese attempt to land was thus thwarted. Moreover, Johan Maurits van Nassau did not fall into their trap by loosing his army upon the Portuguese troops that appeared on the banks of the São Francisco. Better to suffer some damage to the fields, he believed, than to run the risk that the Spanish forces, if they managed to land, might attack the city from behind. The Netherlands struck two commemorative medals when news of the victory over the Iberian powers reached there. But the WIC remained unrelenting in its refusal to send more troops to Brazil. On the contrary, after the coup of 1 December 1640 restored the Portuguese monarchy to the House of Braganza, the Company formed an ambiguous policy. On the one hand, the governor received orders to expand the borders as much as possible, before a treaty between Portugal and the Netherlands made this impossible ('now
that the governmental shock in Portugal makes it impossible for them to send reinforcements to Brazil" (50). On the other hand, they insisted upon decreasing the number of troops and never considered bringing up fresh troops from Holland.

Concerning the first, although Johan Maurits did not wage a second attack on Salvador, he did direct his attention to the west coast of Africa, the slave arsenal, where after a heavy battle with the Portugese, São Paolo de Loanda fell. For this, he dispatched a fleet under Admiral Cornelis Jol, nicknamed 'Houtbeen' (Pegleg), carrying 2000 to 3000 Dutch and more than 200 Brazilian soldiers under the command of James Henderson (51). After Loanda, Jol crossed over to São Tomé, home to an important sugar culture (52). Jol and a great number of other Dutchmen died from the 'agues of the land' (the day and night temperatures differed by several degrees), but the conciliatory administration of Jol's replacement, Matthijs Jansz., fostered a blooming colony that already had 60 engenhos after two years. In 1643, the first reports of shiploads of sugar from São Tomé appear, recording a total of 500 crates weighing 10,514 arrobas (1 arroba = 28 pounds) (53).

The sugar was packed in various types of cases: hoeden (literally, hats), vats, pipes, and crates (kisten). One crate held approximately 20 kilos of sugar.

João Fernandes Vieira recommends in his 'Regimento' that the sugar, especially the 'mais fino' be packed with the greatest possible care. Only absolutely dry crates should be used, and the covers should be tight (54). Considerable damage could occur on the long voyage, first on the way from the fazenda to the coast on carts and boats, then during storage in the warehouse, while loading onto merchant ships, and on the voyage to Europe, accompanied by dampness, ants, and other vermin. Wätjen justly calls the figures in the reports inflated: they never calculate the above-mentioned risks for weight loss, whereas anyone at all familiar with the tropics must also consider these factors. The registers do not record the precise sizes of the hats, pipes, and vats (55).

One ship's capacity was 54 arrobas, for which the free merchants were charged 110 guilders for cargo and port tariff. The freight was not surrendered to the receiver, either in Recife or in Dutch ports, before this fee was settled. Payment did not have to take the form of jingling coins; sugar was also accepted (56).

Naturally, clever merchants knew how to avoid the stipulations. Rapid barks were loaded on splendid natural landings on the beaches of northern Pernambuco and Paraíba and sent after the carriers already under sail. We find reports in ships' logs of cargoes lost enroute; no doubt these concern not only losses actually suffered through storm, but also instances where the owner exchanged either cargo or means of transport while underway.

Correspondence from the Heren XIX to the Brazilian government makes more than one mention of similar practices being discovered. The cargo was confiscated and either a fine or a prison sentence levied against the skipper and merchant (57).

The following is an excerpt from tables found in Wätjen of the sugar exported by chartered and free merchants (58). Wherever possible,
the distribution between the individual chambers of the WIC (Amsterdam, Zeeland, Rotterdam (the Maze), Hoorn (the North Quarter), and Groningen (City and Environ)) is reported. We can assume that smuggling raised the official production and export of Brazilian sugar by a considerable, though unknown value.
6.4.2 EXPORT TABLES OF THE SUGAR ON THE ACCOUNTS OF THE WIC 1636-1645

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1636</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>1817K 41.721A</td>
<td>5.098A</td>
<td>15.473A</td>
<td>9.023A</td>
<td>49A</td>
<td>9.232A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14V (A)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>478K 11.026</td>
<td>1.794</td>
<td>4.416</td>
<td>2.415</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2.234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3V</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P</td>
<td>113K 2.599</td>
<td>2.576</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

x) no distribution noted for 1977 arrobas

| 1637 | B    | 95K 29V 2.144A |       |        |       |         |         |
|      |      | 1Pp         |       |        |       |         |         |
|      | M    | 50K 1.114    |       |        |       |         |         |
|      | P    | 3K 69        |       |        |       |         |         |

weight of barrels and pipes unknown
the tables for this are incomplete

| 1638 | B    | 2043K 42.378.75A | 12.798 | 5.479.5 | 3.207 | 2.673  | 2.473   |
|      | M    | 647K 13.484    | 4.133.5 | 1.633.5 | 624   | 649    | 646     |
|      | P    | 176K 4.138.5   | 1.313.5 | 518     | 230   | 221    | 212     |

| 1639 | B    | 3874K 81.417.75A | 38.143.75 | 17.151.75 | 8.467 | 8.475  | 9.171.25 |
|      | M    | 1374K 29.139.75 | 13.417.75 | 6.199    | 3.098 | 3.097  | 3.328   |
|      | P    | 867K 20.283.25  | 9.247.25  | 4.371.5  | 2.190 | 2.190  | 2.284.5 |

in this year, the distribution of 15,748.25A B, 5,798A M and 1,826.5A P is not reported

| 1640 | B    | 1848K 39.745   |       |        |       |         |         |
|      | M    | 703K 4.853.5   |       |        |       |         |         |
|      | P    | 76K 1.791      |       |        |       |         |         |

distribution among the Chambers is incomplete

| 1641 | B    | 3450K 71.377.75 | 30.884.75 | 18.403.5 | 6.512.5 | 8.725  | 6.852   |
|      | M    | 843K 17.190.5   | 7.808.5   | 3.566.5  | 1.872.5 | 2.225.5 | 1.718.5 |
|      | P    | 256K 5.693      | 3.577     | 758      | 592.5  | 460    | 305.5   |

| 1642 | B    | 3483K 70.249.75 | 33.469.5  | 17.619.25 | 6.599 | 6.115  | 6.447   |
|      | M    | 79K 16.563      | 7.821     | 3.950.75 | 1.586 | 1.461  | 1.743.75 |
|      | P    | 184K 4.304      | 2.572     | 1.413    | 19    | -      | 100     |

| 1643 | B    | 1213K 22.320.75 | 10.211.25 | 5.350    | 3.017 | 3.742.5 | -       |
|      | M    | 485K 9.247.5    | 3.389.5   | 2.818.5  | 1.851.5 | 1.188  | -       |
|      | P    | 80K 1.631       | 1.252.5   | 378.75   | -     | -      | -       |

added to this was 500K = 10,514A sugar from São Tomé

| 1644 | B    | 79K 14.376.5A   | 1.773.25  | 9.891.5  | 1.230.5 | 687    | 894.25 |
|      | M    | 354K 6.524.5    | 1.035.25  | 4.000.25 | 746    | 315    | 426.5   |
|      | P    | 80K 1.631       | 1.252.25  | 378.75   | -      | -      | -       |

the Chamber of Zeeland received the largest share of the Brazilian sugar, because it did not share in the sugar from São Tom the previous year.

| 1654 | B    | 1086K 21.321.5  | 5.983.5   | 9.367.5  | 1.801 | 1.465  | 2.704   |
|      | M    | 486K 9.798.25   | 2.671     | 3.501.75 | 1.502.5 | 931.5  | 1.191.5 |
|      | P    | 66K 1.118       | 666.25    | 451.75   | -     | -      | -       |
Export tables of sugar on the free merchants’ accounts 1626-1645.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Sugar from São Tomé</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1636</td>
<td>2970.5K</td>
<td>68,322A</td>
<td>51,647</td>
<td>6,302</td>
<td>6,555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1803K</td>
<td>38,171</td>
<td>15,594</td>
<td>2,070</td>
<td>1,702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32K</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>828</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1637</td>
<td>3644K</td>
<td>76,452.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2009K</td>
<td>42,059</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>752K</td>
<td>17,540.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1638</td>
<td>4414K</td>
<td>92,910.75</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1885K</td>
<td>39,180.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>439K</td>
<td>10,159</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1639</td>
<td>7262K</td>
<td>154,135.25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3012K</td>
<td>60,844.75</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>204K</td>
<td>4,420</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640</td>
<td>11092K</td>
<td>237,817.5</td>
<td>91,553.75</td>
<td>62,947</td>
<td>22,537.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4177K</td>
<td>87,762.5</td>
<td>32,683.75</td>
<td>23,326</td>
<td>10,440.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1284K</td>
<td>27,721</td>
<td>12,650.5</td>
<td>5,403.5</td>
<td>3,714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1641</td>
<td>7256K</td>
<td>154,431A</td>
<td>71,721.5</td>
<td>29,827.5</td>
<td>27,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2279K</td>
<td>47,757</td>
<td>22,440</td>
<td>8,871.5</td>
<td>8,420.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>253K</td>
<td>5,810</td>
<td>3,376</td>
<td>1,142.5</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1642</td>
<td>9559K</td>
<td>183,505</td>
<td>76,467</td>
<td>30,112.75</td>
<td>26,448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3300K</td>
<td>65,376.25</td>
<td>25,563.75</td>
<td>13,716</td>
<td>8,501.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11K</td>
<td>206.5</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643</td>
<td>7909K</td>
<td>159,448.5</td>
<td>63,916</td>
<td>34,319.5</td>
<td>26,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3276K</td>
<td>67,802.15</td>
<td>27,848.75</td>
<td>11,653.25</td>
<td>12,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44K</td>
<td>1,082.25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,062.5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1644</td>
<td>6193K</td>
<td>128,855.5</td>
<td>63,442.5</td>
<td>29,566.5</td>
<td>8,725.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1981K</td>
<td>42,810.5</td>
<td>20,167</td>
<td>7,883</td>
<td>3,541.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>141K</td>
<td>3,808</td>
<td>2,146.5</td>
<td>1,028</td>
<td>265.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The differentiated amounts do not agree with the total yield: 8863A B, 827,75A M and 292A P are missing!

This year included 7000A sugar from São Tomé.
We also know and can compare the sugar yield in Recife from these same years to that arriving in Amsterdam during the same period.
The amounts in Recife are noted in schellingen per arroba, those in Amsterdam in guilders per Amsterdam pound. (1 s = 6 lb.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Recife (Arroba)</th>
<th>Amsterdam (Guilder)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1637</td>
<td>1 A to 26 s = 28p = f 7.80;</td>
<td>1p to f0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>1 A to 37 s = 28p = f11.10;</td>
<td>1p to f0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1638 Jan.</td>
<td>1 A to 38/40 s = 28p = f11.40/12.00</td>
<td>1p to f0.30/0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>1 A to 34/36 s = 28p = f10.20/10.80</td>
<td>1p to f0.56/0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1639 Jan.</td>
<td>1 A to 28 s = 28p = f 8.40;</td>
<td>1p to f0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640 Nov.</td>
<td>1 A to 28 s = 28p = f 8.40;</td>
<td>1p to f0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1641 Mar.</td>
<td>1 A to 22 s = 28p = f 6.60;</td>
<td>1p to f0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul.</td>
<td>1 A to 24 s = 28p = f 7.20;</td>
<td>1p to f0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug/Sep.</td>
<td>1 A to 21 s = 28p = f 6.30;</td>
<td>1p to f0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>1 A to 19/2 s = 28p = f 8.85;</td>
<td>1p to f0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1642</td>
<td>1 A to 28 s = 28p = f 8.40;</td>
<td>1p to f0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643 Feb.</td>
<td>1 A to 21 s = 28p = f 6.30;</td>
<td>1p to f0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1645 Feb.</td>
<td>1 A to 21 s = 28p = f 6.30;</td>
<td>1p to f0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May Jun.</td>
<td>1 A to 18/2 s = 28p = f 8.55;</td>
<td>1p to f0.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A = arroba; B = branco; M = muscovado; P = panela;
V = var; Pp = pipe;
s = schelling; p = pound
Note 59 lists the prices of WIC shares from the years 1628 - 1650 (59).

Although the price per share is connected to the price of sugar, the market quotation depends in part upon other products and the national and international political situation. Foremost among the other trade products was the pau brasil, brazilwood, which the WIC monopolized. Further products included other sorts of wood, confected fruits, tobacco, hides, and indigo.

The following quotes (nominal value 100%), relevant to the construction history of Recife-Mauritsstad, have survived (60):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>year</th>
<th>average price per share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1636</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1637</td>
<td>95 1/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1641</td>
<td>111 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1642</td>
<td>102 1/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1644</td>
<td>55 1/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1645</td>
<td>43 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1646</td>
<td>36 3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650</td>
<td>14 1/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expectations ran high in 1636, the year that Brazil was granted a true government with a Governor-General. Tension ruled in 1637, with the battles at Porto Calvo and the disruptive situation in the interior. Some of the Chambers urged the conquest of Bahia. In spring 1640, everything seemed to be running smoothly. This, however, was the year of the Spanish Armada, the rebellion of the planters, and the advance of Camarão over the São Francisco. The plunge in share prices in 1646 speaks volumes: the Portuguese besieged Recife and Mauritsstad, and a large part of the latter was razed; Recife came close to starvation but was saved in the nick of time by van Bancert's fleet and the swift yachts 'De Valck' and 'Elisabet' that preceded him (61). Shortly thereafter, trade fell into a malaise from which it never recovered.

If we run through the tables of sugar yields in arrobas from 1638 to 1645, we can see how strongly the free trade competed with the WIC (62). In 1639, the chartered merchants attained what we may call a maximum total yield of 130,000 to 140,000 arrobas; the free traders, however, exceeded this 'maximum' in 1641 with no less than 360,000 arrobas.

Both categories of merchants experience 1637 as a low-point in trade. This probably resulted from the battles that the energetic generals Sigismund von Schoppe, Crestoffe Artichofsky, James Hinderson, and Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen waged in the interior. In 1639, Portuguese guerrilla activities and the razing of many plantations resulted in a 1640 harvest decline. The following year, competitive prices, caused by a tremendous volume of business, brought profits to the free merchants; they here clearly ascend to their peak.

We can only guess to what extent planters themselves secretly chose the advantageous free trade sales-potential over trade with WIC-merchants; exact figures are naturally not available.

The small number of Negro slaves present in the city during the
years of growth in the countryside is certainly significant! The sugar trade had just begun declining, a trend that set in definitively after the departure of Count Maurits, when the availability of work on the plantations also decreased along with a proportional rise in employment opportunities in the city, something that the WIC had industriously initiated (63).
6.5 TRANSITION, CRISIS AND DECLINE

Eyewitness Johan Nieuhof relentlessly elucidated the collapse of the Brazilian economy in the 1640's. The sharpness of his observations and remarks probably made him choose not to publish them. Care with the masters was adviseable: Johan Maurits's dash against the Calvinistic bulwarks served as a shining example. After a several-year sojourn to his birthplace Bentheim beginning in 1649, Nieuhof went to China and Dutch India for the VOC in 1652. No doubt his unflattering analysis of the WIC's policy would have endangered his appointment as a representative for that company (64).

For Nieuhof, the economic decline was principally caused by the great burden of debt taken on by the sugar producers. They assumed that plantation yields would properly discharge the debts. They borrowed money to improve their presses and plant their fields; as noted above, many of the interior's sugarcane fields had been destroyed by the war manoeuvres. Those engenhos still intact had no sugarcane to grind; often enough the mills themselves were in a state of disrepair.

'D'invooorders, van wat landaert of staet die ook waren, wierden by de Hooge Raden aen-gemoediget, ten einde, in die tijden van vrede, een ider zich tot den bouw der landeryen zou begeven: daer in men hen ook zoodanigh de handt bood en holp, als de gelegentheit was mede brengende: opdat daer door de vruchten en hoopmanschappen meer en meer aeengewonnen werderde, de handel, en diensvolgens het inkomen der Kompagnie, zou worden verbeter'.

(The inhabitants, from whatever land or state they came, were encouraged by the Hoge Raad to dedicate themselves to the cultivation of the land in this time of peace: they were offered such hand and help in this as opportunity arose: so that by this the fruits and products could be increasingly reclaimed, and the trade, and thereby the income of the Company, could be improved) (65).

After recovering its independence in December 1640, Portugal sealed a treaty with the Netherlands; this treaty was officially recognized in Brazil in 1641 (66). The planters, merchants, and agents were euphoric; they assumed that from then on, business could only run smoothly. They began to win large profits and take on equally large debts. Creditors set lax terms for repayment.

Nieuhof: 'Daar Wierden vele millionen verhandelt. Men zagh slechts na koopluiden, die een weinig contanten en gerede penningen wisten te geven: hoewel men op tijt zooveel kon krijgen als men begeerde: want door de ruimte van gelde scheen men meer op de profijten en voordelen te zien, als wel op de verzekerthet van schult'.

(Many millions changed hands. One only looked after merchants who had cash and ready pennies to give out: however one immediately could get as much as one wanted: because of the free flow of money people seemed to concentrate more upon the profits and advantage rather than the certainty of debt) (67).

The finances of the Company in 1640 and 1641 were such that the Hoge Raad itself bought lots of sugar and sent it to the fatherland.

'Op het Reoff en Mauritsstad wiert sterk getimmert: want vele burgers bouwden aldaer treffelijke huizen: waer door dezelve plaezte tot een fraeie en cierlijke stad opsteeg'.
(A great deal of construction went on in Recife and Mauritsstad: because many citizens were building striking houses there: which turned the said place into a beautiful and ornamental city) (68).
Here we find a direct relationship between profits from the sugar culture, trade, and the development of Recife and Mauritsstad as substantial urban focal-points.

'Alle pracht en eeuwigheid was er in overvloed, en de verteringen boven mate groot: want iedereen achte zich, ten aanzien van zijne uitstaande schulden, rijk: invoege zoo wel de koophandel, en bouw der landen, als alle burgelijcke welvaren bloeiden en toenamen'.
(There was all splendor and ornamentation in overabundance, and the expenses were abnormally high: for everyone judged himself in view of his outstanding debts: likewise the trade, the cultivation of land, and all civic comforts bloomed and grew) (69).

But then comes the turn: 'Tot eindelijk, in het laatste van het jaar zestien honderd twee en veertigh, en in het begin van 't jaar zestien honderd drie en veertigh, alles begun te veranderen'.
(Until at last, at the end of the year sixteen hundred forty-two and the beginning of the year sixteen hundred forty-three, everything began to change) (70).

Nieuhof records then, that the campaigns and 'schipvaerten' (sea-voyages) to Angola, Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, Maranhão, and São Tomé gradually emptied the magazines of their full store of food and war implements. Though the expeditions yielded favourable results, they could not deliver immediate monetary profits; the garrisons, ships, and military materials had first to be maintained. 'Dit veroorzaekte groot schaarsheid in de magazijnen'.
(This led to great scarcity in the magazines).

Additionally, the merchants in the Netherlands who had invested money in the sugar trade—as well as ships, crews, magazines, facilities, and agents—on—the—spot—demanded to see some profits and sent communications to Brazil concerning the return of their capital, '...waer door eenigen, die op hun stuk letteden, al het gelt, dat zy konden van hunne debiteuren krijgen, tezamen pakten, en na het vaderland zonden. Hieruit begun grote schaarsheid van gelt, en bijgevolg ongelogenheit in en handel te ontstaen: en continuëerde zuîx van tijt tot tijt zoo, datmen daer in d'uiterste schaarsheid van gelt quam te vervallen'.
(...which caused some who took note of their business to collect all the money they could get from their debtors and send it to the fatherland. From this began a great scarcity of money, with the result that difficulties in trade developed: and this continued, so that men came to experience the most extreme scarcity of money) (71).
In 1640, the Hoge Raden Hamel, Codde van der Burgh, and Van Bullestraten had already noticed that the Portuguese had acquired an unusually large amount of debt through the purchase of sugarmills and fields, Negroes and even whole shops without any prospects of short-term profits. According to Nieuhof, the Raden suspected that the Portuguese hoped the whole situation would soon change when the fleet outfitted by Spain succeeded in taking Brazil away from the Dutch. The Portuguese, anticipating a complete political transformation, also purchased goods in great quantities, and the ‘aftoors en verkopers, op deze toelegh en ooghuit der Portugesen zoo zeer niet lettende, verkochten, als door begeerlijkheid van winningen verblint, hunne goederen rijkelijk uit’. (…agents and shopkeepers, unaware of this design and intention on the part of the Portuguese, liberally sold out their goods as if blinded by the desire for profits) (72).

Now and again the Portuguese were forced to pay, and great shipments of merchandise continued to arrive from the fatherland, ‘tot eindelijk alles quam te sluiten: en de koopman of niet meer hadde om te verkopen, of den Portugesen niet meer wilde borgen’ (until finally everything closed down: either the merchant had nothing more to sell, or no longer wished to extend the Portuguese’s credit).

Everyone began to seek repayment. Although the Portuguese never intended to satisfy their Dutch creditors, many of them were ruined and a great number of lawsuits ensued. Even when these were decided in favour of the merchant, he de facto often had little or no power to collect his money. Many debtors went into hiding or departed; those that did land in prison stayed there at the expense of their creditors! The cost of maintaining them could run so high that the creditors themselves requested their release from prison. In anger, creditors foreclosed on many fields and mills, but clearly most of the executants were forced to be their own ‘purchasers’; necessity forced them to take up residence in their doubly-acquired domicile.

Because sugarcane cultivation and sugar mill operation employing labourers of different background and language are by nature very different than sale by auction, negotiation with captains, and handling of import/export problems, it comes as no great surprise that thereafter, the size of the yields compared unfavourably with those in the past. This had little to do with either national and international politics or internal economic regulations.
6.5.1  

**Graphs**

Economic developments have causes in and consequences for their own society. They are sociological in origin. Sociological data, in turn, are indispensable for cultural-historical research. For this reason, the figures mentioned previously in this chapter are framed in graphs and compared to each other. This allows me not only to develop a visual image of the somewhat detailed verbal descriptions, but also to provide a well-organized outline emphasizing a number of things.

**Fig. 31, 32, 33**

Comparison between WIC trade and the Free trade weights in sugar.

The exact total for the WIC in the years 1636–1645: 570,359 3/4 arroba; idem for the Free trade: 1,863,398 1/4 arroba. 1 arrobas = approx. 14 kg.
(54 arrobas = 1 shipload, 1 shipload = £110.00 taxes)
FIGURE 32a  Negro slaves 1636–1645 and the yearly sales proceeds in gilders.

FIGURE 32b  Ships sailing from Holland to Recife, 1636–1645.

FIGURE 32c  Taxes and tithes, the latter imposed for sugar, 1637–1645.
FIGURE 33  Number of inhabitants of Recife-Mauritsstad.

The period of greatest construction, 1639 to 1644, coincides with the peak of the WIC—merchants’ sugar exportation, followed by the free merchants’ export.

The number of ships arriving from Holland, (carrying, among other things, construction material for houses and engenhos) also rises.

Fig. 34

The situation shown here predates 1640, although the map mentions this date. The citadel of the ‘Groot Kwartier’ shows the former residence of the governor (1). There is as yet nothing to be seen of the construction of Huis Vrijburgh. Old Recife seems to have enough space to contain the necessary dwellings. Jodenstraat (2) may still have been
called 'Bockestraat'. The map is a copper-plate engraving by W. Hondius, 1640. 34.5 cm x 46 cms. Coll. Bodel Nijenhuis, Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, nr. 191 66; detail.

until the year 1642, when the belligerent correspondence between the governor and the Heren XIX increased. It is not clear whether the ten years' truce with Portugal is somehow connected with the drop in number of ships. Certainly privateering and piracy, practiced mostly by Zeeland, declined, and the WIC no longer deemed it necessary to send warships or shipments of soldiers, one of the principal reasons for the friction between the Company and Johan Maurits.

The inflation in sugar prices relates directly to the increase in the number of slaves in the city; the opportunities for work in the country declined.

The high taxes in 1640, the year of civil disruption and torrential downpours, is striking.

6.5.2 The Theory of the J-curve

We are concerned here with a short span of time: barely half a generation; for the graphs, between five and ten years. It makes no sense to ridicule the short-sighted and failed policy by theorizing over alternatives to 'Lost Brazil'. However, given the brevity of the period, it is useful to evaluate the available facts on the strength of their connection and interpret them on a more abstract level. For this, I sought counsel with James C. Davies. This sociologist graphed the process that occurs when pressure on a population results in revolution. He makes a connection between the actual satisfaction of the population's needs and the pattern of their expectations, which always lies somewhat above the former (73).

Davies proposes that the elasticity or resilience of a people can remain high for a long time, provided that the actual situation never lies too far below the level of expectations. As long as expectations do not lag too far behind the disappointing reality, people will be ready to take on offers, make investments, and 'work on the future'. A sudden decline in the trend will not be perceived as a danger: people still have their eye on prosperity. If however, the necessary and expected recovery takes too long, and the curve remains under tension for too long, then the impatient break between reality and the pattern of expectation occurs. At that moment, according to Davies, a people is ripe for revolution. In a representative graph, Davies noted the J-shape, and called his theory by this character: the Theory of the J-curve. This theory can be applied to the Brazilian situation during the 17th-century Dutch government.
Fig. 35a - J-curve
1: greatest activity of construction
2: period of creditors and lawsuits
X: potential moment for revolution

Although the term 'revolution' might create such an anticipation, I do not intend to apply the J-curve to the rebellion among the Portuguese colonists in 1645. They were more an instrument in the hands of army units on watch in Bahia than a group reacting to a fall in their circumstances far below their expectations. I would, however, like to explore the psychological implications for the population of Recife/Mauritsstad and the WIC. Even though the signs of recession had already begun to manifest themselves at the beginning of the 1640's, for some reason, the Dutch found precisely that moment the logical one to reinforce and, where possible, expand old Recife and to begin, and largely complete, a great hydraulic conservation project with a visionary city layout.

In comparing the graph of the WIC's sugar trade with those of the free trade, the latter corroborates the J-curve. Doesn't the peak of the free trade occur after the WIC begins to decline? Thus the recession appears only temporary because, so reasoned the WIC, 'they (the free traders) have already recovered, so we'll just have to wait out this rebellion and the deluge of rain...'. Reluctantly but dependably, taxes and tax increases were paid. Taxes decreased proportionately to the rise in the sugar export, until at last the inflationary developments, initiated by creditors in the Netherlands, provoked the inevitable economic crisis. Meanwhile, the city population grew, and with it grew the need for construction.

But this urgency aside, the first steps taken during the boom period had prepared the area for construction. Land had to be purchased; approval and permission had to be sought and granted. All this took time, especially those actions requiring response from the Netherlands. In the meantime, the economic tableau unfolded. Yet even in the changed situation, the aspiring builder, the merchant seeking to establish himself, and even (or especially) the governor, despite his private wish to throw in the Brazilian towel and let the obstinate WIC look after its own interests, continued to develop construction projects and complete truly impressive architectural and city-planning designs (74).
Recife circumvallated, reinforced, and provided with an abutment; bridge planned.

Ground purchased for Huis Vrijburgh, drainage of marshes on António Vaz, construction begun on Town Hall. Rise of the sugar yield: maximum yield for the WIC (though unknown to them at the time); institution of the free trade. Everything apparently running well. Reality and expectations remain parallel.

Construction of Huis Vrijburgh. Low-point for WIC sugar, but the free trade rises; expectations remain positive. WIC shares high (134).

Huis Vrijburgh occupied, although incomplete, progress in construction of Groot-Kwartier; new initiative for the bridge. WIC sugar trade flowers; free trade reaches its peak. Politically stable situation: ten year treaty with Portugal. Seven capitâncias now in Dutch hands, plus a strong occupation in Africa. 1000 soldiers sent back to Holland. The large supply of sugar yields less income in Holland than in previous years. Quotations of WIC shares unknown. ‘Op het Recife en Mauritssstad wiert sterk getommen’ (Nieuhof). Reality and expectations go hand in hand.

Huis Vrijburgh completed; Construction of Boa Vista begun; progress on the bridge between Mauritssstad and Recife; Franse Kerk built, subsidized by the Heren XIX with f8,000.00 (75). Area between Fort Frederik Hendrik and Fort Ernestus drained and circumvallated; outline for building plots and construction of ‘Nieuw-Mauritssstad’ begun.

‘Tot eindelijk, in het laatste van het jaar zestien honderd twee en veertigh, en in het begin van ‘t jaar zestien honderd drie en veertigh, alles begon te veranderen’ (Nieuhof, 76).

Although urged to conduct campaigns prior to the closing of the treaty, the government in Recife see their magazines emptying and are forced to recall the troops. Johan Maurits sends his personal secretary, Karel Tolner, to Holland with the warning that the retreatments are fundamentally wrong (77). The recovered identity of the Portuguese population had sharpened their desire to recapture their old colony, he argues: they are only ostensible subjects. The directors should, on the one hand, impress them with a display of status, and on the other, win them over with moderation. But the reduction in military force goes through, despite the urgent tenor of Tolner’s message. ‘He costs us too much; that’s why the shares won’t rise’, the directors comment, and the governor’s contract is extended for only one year (78). Fall in sugar; rise in the city’s slave population.

Construction of Slot Boa Vista completed; construction of bridge stagnates. The States General oppose the WIC, saying that recall of Johan Maurits van Nassau would be a great blunder. Still, he receives notice of his dismissal at the end of 1643. New attempts to populate
the interior. Suggestions to this effect ignored by the WIC.
3000 Negro slaves in Recife. approximately 1500 more than in 1639.
WIC sugar falls; free trade shows some recovery. Warehouses reduced (79).
Average sugar price in Holland low (37 cents per pound).
Scarcity of currency in Brazil "...en bijgevolg ongelegenheit in den
handel" (Nieuhoff). Less money available for military wages and the
barest of necessities (80).

1644

Bridges between Mauritsstad–Recife and Boa Vista–mainland
readied at the expense of Count Maurits; recession in WIC sugar
complete. Free trade recedes strongly.
5000 Negro slaves in the city; taxes and tithes fall.
Still, the WIC does not judge it necessary to shift the accent of their
policy.
Few ships with supplies of provisions, medicines, materials, coins,
and soldiers from Holland land. Physicians in Recife must provide
medicaments for other areas and expeditions from the supplies that
do arrive (81).
Income from the slave trade naturally declines strongly as well.
Import from Africa is abandoned, but rebellion, plundering, and
sabotage lead to a manpower shortage that in turn prevents the
recovery of the sugar industry.
The scarcity of articles contributes to inflation.
Reductions in troops are once again announced.
Tax increases and the strict enforcement of collections ordered.
The governor returns to the Netherlands.

Conclusion:

a) The WIC based their outlook on the military successes of
1630–1635, afterwards justified by the rising trend of expectations.
The stock market reports show that the expectations in 1643 were
not shored up by reality. Still, they did not accept the end and kept
on full-steam with existing policies, without any notion of
statesmanship. Insight came, too late, in 1646.
b) Johan Maurits van Nassau objected only to the premises of the
WIC. He agreed that great profits were to be gained in Brazil, but
under other policies than those set by the XIX. It is debatable
whether his expectations and the actual situation also ran so
parallel that they necessity resulted in construction measures,
urban–planning and defence projects, bridge construction, and
civil/political measures (institution of the Gemeenteraad, social
hygiene regulations, etc.). The money and energy these took might
otherwise have been used for military actions and sanctions, which
would have perhaps better satisfied his employers’ desires for
short–term profit.

We believe, however, that the political and strategic insight of the
governor did not distort the actual situation. The seriousness of the
task itself—to preserve the WIC’s colony with its diversity of
inhabitants and their various interests—compelled the measures
and conditions he proposed.
When reality forced him to take measures counter to his own
insights, he himself asked in 1641 to be released as soon as possible,
even before he had completed his first five–year term (82). His
request was then denied.
The WIC still believed in the correctness of its own idea.
The territory of the WIC extended beyond Brazil and the west coast of Africa. The West Indies, formed by the Windward and Leeward Isles (the Lesser Antilles), bases on 'the Wild Coast' (approximately the current Guyanas), and 'New Netherlands', (the territory approximately 37 1/2° to 41 1/2° north latitude, between the actual states of New York and Pennsylvania), with New Amsterdam as its focal-point, together formed a tremendous colonial potential. But the income, the worth of its shares (which expired in 1645, after which they could either be redeemed or renewed), lived and died with the fate of Brazil. The WIC measured its own worth too much upon its annual distribution of profits. It was initially blinded by the success of the VOC, its own luck in capturing the 'Silverfleece', and later by the rapid rise of the sugar trade.

The factors described above, stemming from different sources, and leading to a sudden drop in the yield, turned a lack of confidence in the future into a regrettable series of decisions such as those in the years 1643 and 1644. These set off a downward spiral, hastened by the ego-political notions of the city-fathers of Amsterdam in the 1640's (including the brothers Andries and Cornelis Bicker among other mayors) (83).

Ergo: The concept of 'reality' within the WIC differed totally from the notion of Count Maurits, the local governor-general. The connected pattern of expectations was thus very different for each of the parties.

The 1640 market quotations did not follow the decline in trade opportunities; this was apparently unexpected, and thus too sudden, for the WIC. A drop in prices did begin in 1643, but it did not reach a disturbing level until May 1644, the month that the governor departed. In panic, the Hoge Raad attempted to wrest tax payments through strong legal action.

A large portion of the newly built city was razed as the Portuguese came 'Al-te-na' (all-too-close, the name the Dutch gave the fortification secretly erected by the enemy on the mainland directly across from Huis Vrijburgh) (84). Both panic and revolution are desperate.
The J-curve, with the relevant factors of the time inserted, serves as an adequate model for the policy-making of the WIC. The use of this 20th-century model of interpretation is methodologically justified when one considers the situational logic.

Fig. 35b
The same graph applied to the Brazilian situation 1630–1645.
1: greatest activity of construction
2: period of creditors and lawsuits
3: impatient break between 1 + 2
4: period of anticipation of rebellion (1644–45)

6.6 THE WIC AND THE IDEA OF A TOWN

The question remains: What relationship exists between the preceding economic-sociological information and the construction of Recife–Mauritisstad?
As we have seen, Johan Maurits van Nassau, and not the WIC, was accountable for the construction designs of Mauritisstad and the reinforcing of Recife.
The execution of these plans conformed to the needs of the local population, but the progressive vision of the extension.
Nieuw–Mauritisstad, also responded to optimistic expectations for the future. Naturally the Heren XIX shared these expectations, the more so as Recife–Mauritisstad completed the chain running from New Amsterdam to Batavia to the Singalese Colombo and to Capetown. Paramaribo and Willemstad did not yet exist and in a certain sense they developed as replacements for lost Recife and New Amsterdam.
'Accountability' also literally applied to the governor's palaces and both bridges. But who paid for the materials, the workforce, the execution, and the control of the construction? Who generated the policy? Where did the money come from? The answers are connected to the history of the WIC's founding. For this, refer to part 3 of the Introduction: 'Groundwork', Picket III (85).
We can get an idea of the WIC's precarious pecuniary background from the facts summarized in Picket III. A 'new factor', late in arriving, the costs of the city's construction could not be passed along to the State. At the beginning of the conquest, the WIC controlled the loveliest city: Olinda. It was destroyed in 1631 because the Dutch, with too few soldiers stationed locally, were
unable to subdue the guerrilla war.
Ergo: If the Dutch in Holland had been truly determined to preserve
Olinda (as the Stadtholder advised), then the State should have
contributed extra military material and equipment. The WIC was
not solely responsible for the lack of urban-cultural affinity.
For that matter, the WIC showed its best side to its own
money-lender—the Republic. 1628, the year the 'Silverfleet' was
captured, was also the year the Spanish invaded Gelderland and
causd the States General problems. As the WIC found itself
euphorically prosperous, they contracted to loan the Republic
400,000 guilders, a sum that they never recovered (86).

Fig. 36
Sugarmill in northeast Brazil. Frans Post
1652. Sousa-Leão nr. 17. Mittelrheinisches
Landesmuseum Mainz, nr. 153.
Until 1636, the expenses of the WIC were estimated at about 45 million guilders (De Laet); credits included income earned from brigandage, conquest, and booty amounting to seven to 12 million guilders in silver and gold, as well as 30 million stemming from additional products.

Article XLII mentions the rights of the Stadtholder in his capacity as admiral-general and those of the 'Officiers, het Bootsvolk ende Soldaten'; the monies needed to equip the ships and to reinforce the forts also came from the booty (87).

The investors had to put up 1/3 of their investment capital in cash; the rest they could deposit in three consecutive years. History proves that in 1624, the Company's capital was already too small, leading the organization to offer its shareholders a choice between increasing their deposit by 50% or selling their rights. The following years saw a growing trade in similar bank post bills, and sometimes dishonest claims of additional payments. Kunst rightly refers to the placards (placenten) which the States General already posted during the establishment of the VOC to prevent undesirable speculation and falsification of stock certificates. The impotence of their measures is indicated by the repetition of similar placards for the WIC in 1621, 1623, 1624, 1630, 1636, and 1637.

In order to provide a reasonable amount of start-up capital, the registration date was moved up to 1623. In total, over five million guilders were collected:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
<td>2,846,552.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeeland</td>
<td>1,379,775.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maas area</td>
<td>1,039,202.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,265,529.50</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The VOC half-heartedly contributed one million guilders (89).

In 1636 and 1639, increases of capital were called in, just as in 1624. To stimulate shareholders, a dividend of 6% was also issued in 1639, while the intervening years saw the rise of a bonded debt, and the States General granted a f700,000 subsidy in 1631 and 1634. They added another f500,000 in 1639. In 1637, the WIC captured Elmina at its own expense. The battle at Port Calvo, the first feat of arms of Count Maurits, had taken its toll as did the futile siege of Bahia, where the Dutch fleet narrowly escaped (90).

The sugar profits dropped disappointingly after Sergipe and portions of Alagoas and South Pernambuco were burned to the ground. In short, given the number of military manoeuvres, the extra contribution that the WIC requested from the States was certainly reasonable.

The restiveness in the sugar trade and the differences between the Heren XIX and the governor led the States General to establish a financial control commission in 1643. The commission was composed of seven members and chaired by a representative of the States General.

The task of this Exchequer was to monitor an administrative Moloch: 74 Directors, of which 19, the Heren XIX, formed the central administration.
The chairman was a representative of the States General; the Chamber of Amsterdam delegated 2 members, and the Chambers of Maze, Middelburg/Visningen/Veere, Hoorn, and Groningen contributed one member each, for a total of seven members—the 'Councilmen and Statisticians'.

The Exchequer inspected and further controlled the individual accounts of the Chambers as well as those of the colonial territories. Moreover, it also prepared the meetings of the XIX, oversaw the execution of the decisions made there, and coordinated between the Chambers. The purpose of the monitoring was to provide efficient management and a financial policy that would bring the profits and losses of the whole Company back in harness. Amsterdam and Zeeland, each with their own mutually antagonistic aims, were for particular reasons displeased with the establishment of this 'efficiency—bureau—avant-la-lettre'. Van Brakel confirms that neither the opinions nor the methods of the Exchequer ever overcame their hesitations (91).

Those Lords blessed with directorships could make opportunistic use of the latest information. Their advantage caused an unfair relationship between them and the other merchants and speculators, a situation that led to complaints. But the Exchequer could not—or did not want to—hinder the WIC merchants from selling provisions to Brazil. Neither could they prevent chartered merchants from trading under foreign flags and making profits through the free trade or through traffic with the enemy, thereby injuring their own company.

The fact that the WIC owned all that it built, including the city, gave it the liberty to demolish the entire affair. And in fact this happened in part in 1645, before the city was even completed.

The mentality of settling and colonization is, for that matter, completely different from that of privateering and piracy or of slave trading. Equivocal management of personal and company interests troubled the most prominent Heren; witness the dealings of a certain Samuel Blommaert. As director of the WIC, Blommaert was also an agent for the Swedish African Company (92). This organization in Stockholm mainly represented Dutch and North-German trading houses. Hamburg, Freudenstadt, and Glückstadt also had many Jewish trading houses. The Danish monarch Christian IV himself tempted many of these to Glückstadt and Freudenstadt by offering subsidies and facilities, a manoeuvre designed to provide a 'Scandinavian' counterweight to the domination of the Hamburg trading houses (93). Blommaert passed on information concerning the WIC and its plans to his masters in Stockholm. The Swedish company was a considerable competitor for the position of the WIC in Africa and the Caribbean. Beyond passing information, Blommaert also declared himself a proponent of piracy, totally opposed to Johan Maurits van Nassau's plans to make Brazil into an independent, largely self-supporting territory (94).

The above information implies that the money for the construction of Mauritsstad in 1640–1644 and the reinforcement of Recife in 1638 came from the coffers of the Recife government. In order to meet the expenses, the new governor had already decided to initiate the sugar tithes in 1637, the year of his arrival (see above). The taxes were regularly increased or expanded to include the capitâncias such as Paraíba, Rio Grande, and Itamaracá.
The qualifications 'He costs us too much' and the 'Sugarhouse' demonstrate just what Holland thought about the Brazilian governor. During the same period, the Company Exchequer was set up, while the governor paid for the essential bridge connections himself. The attitude of the XIX and others resulted in the governor's departure, despite the objections of the States General. This sealed the fate of the young city rising out of the marshes along the characteristically Renaissance idea of a town (195). Pragmatism is only functional as a mentality when it is supported by a world of ideas that does not seek short-lived, seductive solutions to complex problems. Regarding content, economy should support this, and not be an end in itself. Histoire de mentalité demonstrates that, precisely in the plying of economic motives, a society displays, at most, a very slow rate of change.

NOTES

   One should thus not have negotiated with farmers or merchants before they brought their goods to the city, p. 48.


3 Ibid, p. 115.

   This work is sensitive to the value of historical documents as the cultural monuments of our civilization. Kunst retains the original spelling of the Charter's 45 articles, adapting the script only to meet the current demands for text accessibility.

5 ARA, OWIC box 53. Wütjen, op cit., p. 199 f.f.


7 Letter from Johan Ghijsseeling to the XIX, 20–3–1637; ARA, OWIC box 52.

8 Dagelijkse Notulen, 29–5–1635 and 18–1–1636, ARA, OWIC box 68.
Many of the later engenho owners, specifically the Jewish ones, began as merchants and remained so in fact. The rising trend allowed them to later acquire one or more engenhos, but they seldom actually established themselves in the country. When they did so, they often acted out of financial need. In contrast, the original colonists, also of Jewish extract, were often very attached to their property, which either they or their (grand)fathers had cleared and cultivated. Dutch employees and military personnel also purchased sugarmills after their terms of service; the mills served as their main residence when they could not afford a city dwelling, mainly because they were not merchants.

In A Economia Aguardenteira (Recife 1981), José Antonio Gonçalves de Mello provides us with an annotated publication concerning these lists and others that relate to 17th-century documents on the sugar economy. The facts in Barlaeus are based on the account by Adriaen van der Dussen, written during his return voyage 'on board the Overijsse', dated 10 December 1639. Barlaeus, p. 126 f.f..


Ibid. p. 33.

Ibid. p. 51.

Ibid, p. 77; ARA, OWIC box 53.


The Portuguese also levied harvest tithes; tenant fees and tithes had different collectors. Mesquita, Engehos 1655, p. 169.

After three years of faithful service, soldiers serving in Brazil had an opportunity to establish themselves there as landowners. Gonçalves de Mello claims that in Richshofer's opinion, this opportunity excited great interest. Richshofer, describing his 1632 return voyage, mentions the possibility, but confirms that he and most of his colleagues were glad to repatriate. Mello Flamengos, p. 52; Richshofer op. cit., p. 100: '...Jedoch aber freundslichen ersucht weiters zu dienen, auch denjenigen, welche noch länger allhie verbleiben wolten, nicht allein doppelten Sold, sondern auch officia zu geben versprochen...es haben sich aber gar wenig dazu verstanden, sondern ein jeder nach seinem Vatterland dermahien eines wider zu kommen, verlangen getragen...'

Also: Mello, 'A Nação judaica RIAHGP 1976, vol. XLVIII', p. 233: 'So we see, countless Jews tried to obtain a free crossing to Brazil; although not all of them actually went, the number that did was considerable.

One could enter a request with the province Amsterdam for an entire or partial subsidy for the trip for oneself and for the members of one's family. This measure was actually meant to stimulate more intense settlement of the interior. Most of the Jewish population, however, established themselves in the city; apparently this is why many requests were denied or only partially granted. Manuel Mendes de Crasto's spectacular venture was to found a real colony; he obtained permission to board ship on 17 November 1636 because he ...gesint is een heel colonie van de hebreusche Natie in Brasil te brengen 200 zielen, soo ryeke als arme ... (plans to bring to Brazil an entire colony of 200 souls, rich as well as poor, of the Hebrew Nation).


It is interesting to compare these names to the list of engenho-owners!

21 Chapter III, note 12.

22 Mello Flamengos, p. 249.


24 The following is a list of largely Portuguese-Jewish family names; those printed in italics were active in the sugar culture. The rest were merchants, craftsmen, officials, military personnel, or filled other capacities in Recife, Pernambuco, or Paraíba, reminiscent of Chaucer's words:

To set aside the word of Solomon
For this is what he said for everyone:
'Do all things by advice', his saying went,
'And then you'll have no reason to repent'.
Though that may be what Solomon commends,
Dear Lord, my brother, nay my best of friends,
As surely as the Lord may give me rest
I think your own opinion is the best.
(Chaucer, 'The Merchant's Tale', Canterbury Tales)

Abenaca
Abendana
Abeneca
Abeniacar
Abenica
Abinum
Aboab
Aboab Cardoso Pais
Aboaf
Abrabanel Dormido
Aguilar
Alafaiia
Al Farin
Almeida
Álvares
Álvares da Fonseca
Alves
Amenas
Andrade Velosinos, de
Antunes da Palma
Arari
Arco
Aron
Athias
Azevedo
Azubi
Barassar
Barbas
Barbalho Bezerra
Barácas
Baroche
Baroque Henriques
Barsimson
Batista
Batista da Cruz
Baru
Baru Isidoro
Baruch
Baruch Álvares
Baruch Vega
Barzilay
Belmonte
Bemveniste
Benhacar Bomdia
Bomdia
Bonuel
Borges
Branco
Brandão
Bravo
Brito
Bueno
Bueno Henriques
Bueno de Mesquita
Burgos
Cáceres
Calvo
Caminha
Campos, de
Canches
Cardosa, Cardoso
Carneiro
Cabrillo
Cartier
Carvalho
Castanho
Castiel
Castro, Crasto, de
Chacao
Chamis
Chaves
Cide
Coelho
Cohen
Cohen Caminha
Cohen Henriques
Cohen de Lara
Cohen Peixoto
Coem, Coin
Coronel
Correia
Cortiços
Costa Brandão, da
Costa Caminha, da
Costa, da
Costa Cortiços, da
Cruz, da
Darça
Deliatein
Dias
Dias Brandão
Dias da Fonseca d’Afonseca
Dias Guterres
Dias Soeiro
Dormido
Dorta de Paz
Drago
Duarte Brandão
Elias
Ephraim
Faria
Faro
Febo
Fernandes
Fernandes Brandão
Fernandes Cardoso
Fernandes Guarinos
Fernandes Pato
Ferreira
Ferro
Figueiroa
Fonseca, da
Fonseca Gomes, da
Fontes
Françês
Franco
Frazão
Fundão
Furtado
Furtado
Gabai
Gabai Correia
Gabai Leitão
Gabai Morais
Gabai de Pisa
Gabai Side
Gabai Vila Real
Gago
Galas
Gama, da
Gedion
Gidejon
Gomes
Gomes Chacão
Gomes da Costa
Gomes da Paz
Gomes Pina
Gracel
Guarinos
Guidon
Guimarães
Guteres
Habib
Hamis Gago
Haro
Henriques
Hoeb
Homen Coronel
Ilhão
Isidoro
Israel
Israel de Ávila
Israel Brandão
Israel Dias
Israel Dorta
Israel Ferreira
Israel Pena
Israel de Pisa
Israel Sanches
Israel Velilhos
Izrael
Izrael Mendes Dias
Jacob, bar
Jacobs
Jeosua Aboab, de
Jesurun
Jesurun Coelho
Jesurun Henriques
Jesurun Mendes
Joanis
Juda Leão
Justo de Paz
Lafaia
Lagarto
Lara
Leão
Leitão
Levi
Levi Bomdia
Levi Mendes
Levi Pereira
Levi Rezio
Lion
Lis, de
Lopes
Lopes Morais
Lopes Morais
Lourenço
Luís
Lumbroso
Macabeu
Machorro
Madeira
Maduro
Maestro
Marchena
Martins
Martins Dormido
Martins da Silva
Matias Moreno
Matos, de
Mayer, bar
Medina, de
Mendes
Mendes Barbas
Mendes de Crasto
Mendes Dias
Mendonça Furtado
Mercado, de
Mesquita (de)
Messias
Messias de Hamburgo
Michael
Mocata
Monsanto, (de)
Montesinso, (de)
Morais, de
Moreno
Mota, da
Musaphia
Nahamias
Namias
Nassi
Navarro
Nehemias
Nehemias de Crasto
Neto
Neves, das
Nunes
Nunes da Fonseca
Nunes do Paço
Nunes Torres
Nunes do Vale
Nunes Velho
Nunes Ximenes
Oeb, Hoeb
Oliveira
Pacheco
Paço, do
Paes
Palache
Palma, da
Paredes
Pato
Paz (da, de)
Peixoto
Pena
Pereira
Peres
Pina, (de)
Pires
Pisa, de
Pitoque
Preto
Querido
Ramires
Redondo
Rezio
Rison
Rocha, da
Rodrigues
Rodrigues Cide
Rodrigues da Costa
Rodrigues Mendes
Rodrigues Monsanto
Rodrigues Nunes
Rodrigues de Sousa
Rodrigues Vila Real
Rosel
Russom
Semá
Senhor
Salom
Salom de Azevedo
Salom Soares
Samuels
Sanches
Saraiva (*)
Saraiva Coronel
Sarfati
Sedie
Seixas, de
Senior
Senior Coronel
Serra, (da)
Serrano
Side
Silva, (da)
Soares
Soeiro
Solis, (de)
Sousa, de
Tavares de Matos
Tavora, de
Torre, de la
Torres, (de)
Touro, (de)
Tovar, (de)
Tudesco
Valle, do
Vale Fonseca, do
Valença
Valverde
Vaz
Vaz de Crasto
Vaz de Fontes
Vaz Henrique
Vega
Veiga, da
Velilhos
Velho
Velosino
Vila Real
Vieira
Ximenes
Yllan, de
Zacuto
Zuzarte

*) the Saraiva family also used the name Senior, Senior Coronel, and Coronel.

One Duarte Saraiva was a brother of Antônio Mendonça. Mendonça was baptised and reputedly a muito bom Cristão, while Duarte openly professed the Lei de Moisés. Antônio Mendonça appears on the 1623 list of engenho-owners in the Várzea. See Chapter II, note 64.
We find the names Dias and Vaz separately in Brazil. Vaz Dias and Teensma note that Aron Vaz Dias, a Portuguese Jew who arrived in Amsterdam around 1759, was the first in the Kellilah (the Jewish community) with that combination of names. All members of this family outside of Portugal descended from him; he was, moreover, a Marrano during the long period he spent in Portugal (J.J. Vaz Dias, and B.N. Teensma, ‘Van onderdrukking naar vrijheid, de Portugese achtergronden van een joodse Amsterdammer uit de achttiende eeuw’, Studia Rosenthaliana, vol. XXI nr. 1, mei 1987, p. 35). The family names of Marranos who kept a foothold on the Portuguese hinterland up to the 20th century were (are), among others: Almeida, de Barros, Brandão, Cardoso, de Castro, da Costa, da Cunha, Cruz, Dias, Fernandes, Gomes, Henríques, Mendes, Mesquita, Monteiro, Morão, Nunes, Pereira, Pessoa, Pimentel, Pinto, do Santos, da Silva, Sousa, Teixeira, and Vaz (op. cit., p. 51). They are almost all names included on the previous list and are still found in Brazil today.

In this list occur names, like Saraiva and Mendonça, that were used both by Jewish and by Christian families. Many Portuguese families had members who remained (New-)Christians, while others fled from the country and often returned to Mosaismy. They were Jews who remained true to the old belief or returned to it (Marranos). The faithful Cristãos–Novos, descended from the same families, sometimes used the same, sometimes different names (like Saraiva and Mendonça).

The impression is that the engenhos–owners, often colonists from the earliest days, felt strongly tied to their piece of land and usually remained Cristãos–Novos, while the merchants, exceptions notwithstanding, were generally more flexible in questions of belief.


28 Van Nederveen, NIW, nov. 1985, p. 132

29 Wätjen, op. cit., p. 248; Mello, Flamengos, p. 248; Freyre, Casa Grande & Senzala, 1966, Vol.I, p. 8. Nieuhof illustrates how useful it was to speak a smattering of languages in critical periods when he mentions João Fernandes Vieira’s threatening negotiation letter to the Recife government, addressed to: Schout Paul Antoni Daems and the merchants Matthias Beci, Balthasar de Fonseca, Duarte Saraiva, and Gaspar Francisco da Costa. (Note: Daems had wanted to ban Costa in 1641 because he had returned to the Jewish faith.) Nieuhof, p. 180; Mello I, p. 258.


31 Mello, A economia açucareira, p. 181.
32 Letter dated Recife, 9–6–1643, ARA. OWIC box 58.


35 People from the West preserved their own clothing, food habits, and customs wherever they went. The so-called 'Nagasaki-prints' are educational in this respect (collection *Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde* in Leiden). The 17th-century Japanese depicted Dutchmen in patent-leather shoes carrying long clay-pipes, an English lady in a fashionable hoop-skirt, and a Russian sporting a fur hat. This head-gear, at any rate, would certainly have been extremely obvious in a country right beneath the equator.

36 Emigration to New Amsterdam and New Netherland was more successful, probably because the climate was similar to Northern Europe's. The immigrants were, however, required to follow strict regulations. The laws concerning the 'crye personen, coloniers, huisgezinnen, bouwmeesters, meesterknechts, bouwlieden, huisluieden, landlieden, bouwmeesters, bouwmeisjes, jongens, personen in dienst der Compagnie, benevens het bootsoor, de troepen en de Indianen' are treated extensively in the Van Rappard Documents, annotated and published by Wieder (see Picket III, note 19). The colonists received free passage and land from the WIC in exchange for which they were to remain for six years. After this, they were free to sell their concerns and retain the profits, thereby coming to own what they had been given. In contrast, the types of crops and the conversion of the harvest (corn, hay, flax, hemp, etc.) were both regulated. Wieder, op. cit., pp. 25, 26, 27, f.f.

37 Johan Nieuhof, *Zee en Lant-Reize door verscheide Gewesten van Oostindien, behelzende veele zeltsame en wonderlijke voorvallen en geschiedenissen beneficiëns een beschrijving van lantschappen, steden, dieren, gewassen, draghten, zeden en godsdienst der inwooners: En inzonderheid een wijdeloogig verhael der Stad Batavia, verciert doorgaens met verscheide koopere Platen*. Amsterdam, 1682, p. 27 f.f.

39 Ibid, p. 135. Gaspar Dias Ferreira was a colourful figure; his energy and resourcefulness enabled him to manoeuvre in difficulties and take advantage of critical situations. As an escahino, provincial council member (1639), he advocated the construction of the bridge between Mauritisstäd and Recife (1642) and on 16 December 1639 submitted a plea to change the name of the Gemeenteraad (Town Council). On 23 December the request was granted and from then on, instead of 'Câmara da Olinda', the institution called itself 'Câmara da Cidade Maurícia'. Gonsalves de Mello calls him a 'homem extremamente inteligente, mas sem escrúpulos'. Ferreira, who was a Cristão-Novo, swore before the provincial council that neither he nor his forefathers were ever Jewish. He became a naturalized Dutch citizen but recovered Portuguese nationality and died around 1656 in Lisbon, his birthplace in 1595. In our opinion, Gonsalves de Mello's judgment of Dias Ferreira is out of place in light of the discriminatory, life-threatening, and itself unscrupulous pressure of the Inquisition, active again in Pernambuco immediately after the Dutch surrender. Gaspar Dias Ferreira, 'Rendimento dos frutos anuais destas quatro capitarias', in: Memorial, 5.12—1637. Archief Staten-General folder 5.772/ARA, OWIC box 52. Mello Aec经济体 açucareira, pp. 251—253. This 'Memorial' actually supported the governor's argument to reinstate the free trade after the WIC had restricted all trade to itself in 1637. See Wätjen, op cit., pp. 285—303.

F.A. Varnhagen, Barão de Porto Seguro, História das lutas com os Holandeses no Brasil, Lisboa 1872, p. 181: ‘...Sendo mui notável uma (de 6 de decembro) da Câmara de Olinda’. Gaspar Dias Ferreira went to Holland with Johan Maurits van Nassau in 1644. After the 'enganheiros' rebellion in 1645, he was arrested but escaped in 1649. This naturally throws an entirely different light upon Gonsalves de Mello's dismissive judgement; in contrast, Varnhagen patriotically and respectfully reports these facts, op cit., p. 256. Letter, Johan Maurits van Nassau to the XIX concerning the free trade: dated 7—5—1637, ARA, OWIC box 52.

40 Padre António Vieira, priest at Bahia and spiritual (sic) leader of the reconquest-inclined Portuguese since 1639. Mello, Flamengos, p. 135.

41 Ibid, p. 135.

42 Portuguese military and civilian leaders who were engenheiros: Cap. Fernão Soares da Cunha, António Cavalcânti, Sargento-Mor António Vieira, João Pais Barreto, João Fernandes Vieira. The same for the Dutch; among others, Commander Sigismundus von Schoppe, J. Garstman, Willem Schotte), Kapitein Jan Hiek, Jacques Hack, Overste Diederick van Hoogstraeten, Overste Elias Herckmans, Servaes Carpentier.

44 The name Seulijn appears twice in Recife’s Baptismal Register during between 1630 and 1654. On 26 November 1638 he became the father of daughter Agneta and on 1 July 1639 served as witness at the baptism of a son of the couple Knock-Meynss. Co-witnesses at this baptism included Caspar van der Ley, an officer who later went over to the Portuguese camp and who still has descendants in Brazil today (‘Wanderley’), and Matthijs Beex, merchant and administrator, later also active in the Caribbean. Beex married Anna Hack, the sister of Jacques or Jacob Hack, captain and sugar planter. The Hack family had various family members in Pernambuco. Anna Hack was a witness at the baptism of Agneta Seulijn, along with Matthijs (Matthijs) van Ceulen, lieutenant-colonel and founder of Fort Ceulen in Paraíba. Seulijn moved in the most distinguished circles.

45 The plans of the enemies against Dutch Brazil were on a very broad scale. According to their own idea, their fleet had to be supported on land not only by soldiers in the service of Spain, but equally by general rebellion among the Portuguese subject to the Netherlands’. Van Kampen and Veegens, op.cit., p. 250.

46 Mello, A economia açucareira, p. 257-263.

47 Ibid, p. 256

48 Wätjen, op.cit., p. 315.


50 Ibid, p. 262.

51 Cornelis Jol (‘Admiraal Houtbeen’, similar to ‘Peg-leg’) and Vice-admiral James Henderson (British; his name also appears in the Familieblad as Jacob Hinderson). Jacob Henderson, and Jim Henderson) left Recife for Africa in May 1640. On 24-8-1640, Governor Pedro César de Meneses surrendered São Paulo de Loanda to the Dutch. The booty included: ‘29 bronze and 69 iron cannons, many weapons and other war implements, much wine and manioc flour and 30 large and small ships’. Barlaeus, op. cit., p. 212. The conquest occurred after the Portuguese monarchy’s restoration and the official end of war between the Netherlands and Portugal. Besides contracting ‘friendly relations’, the Netherlands promised to send a fleet to the Portuguese coast to support its struggle against Spain, once again the enemy of both nations. Resolution, States General, 14-5-1641, Royal Archive...

Given Jol’s departure date, word of the political shift had probably not yet reached Brazil. Or, if the governor was aware of developments, he opportunistically pretended ‘it was no concern of his’. The discrepancy between the hostile manoeuvres and the treaty negotiations is not entirely clear. At any rate, the Portuguese greatly resented the African conquest campaign and saw it as a motive to stimulate the guerilla war in Brazil. If architecture and bridge construction are indirect evidence that the count was acquainted with art and the work of Italian humanists, we might also conclude, by the same reasoning, that he knew Machiavelli as well.
52 Nieuhof, op.cit., p. 7.

53 Wätjen, op.cit., p. 319.

54 Mello, A economia açucareira, p. 262.

55

| Content | 1 hat appr. 980 L. | 1 pipe appr. 532.7 L. | 1 vat appr. 950 L. |

We averaged the different contents indicated by Staring for several elements and materials measured by these old sizes and weights. W.C.H. Staring, De Binnen- en Buitenlandse Maten, Gewichten en Maten van vroeger en tegenwoordig, (1871), 1980, pp. 16–17; p. 49.

56 Wätjen, op.cit., p. 297.

57 Ibid, p. 299.

58 Ibid, pp. 316–324.


Quotations of WiC stock prices (nominal worth 100%) on the Amsterdam Exchange, 1628–1650:

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<th>Year</th>
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<td>Sept.</td>
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<td>Aug. 11</td>
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60 Dillen, op.cit., p. 246.

61 'Doch God verzog al deze zwareheid, als alle onze hoop uit was, met een vrolijker uitkomst. Want men had niet meer als twee dagen tijds, tot dien uitsuul bestemt, als op den twee en twintigsten van Zomermaent, welken dagh ik nooit vergeten zal, twee schepen, se Valk en Elizabet, door de zee quamen bruiken, dat het schuimde...De blijdschap die daer was kon niet verhaelt worden. Het liep al na de haven, wat van de honger noch gaen kon...De kapitein van de Elizabet heeft zelf my verhaelt, hoe my onderweeghs verscheiden mael tegen zijn volk gezeidt had. Daer moet noot op het Reçiff zijn. God geef ons dagh een dagh zulken schoon weer en windt, om daer haest te komen...

(Still, God provided us with a happy deliverance from these difficulties, once all our hope was gone. We had not given the situation much longer than 2 more days before starting on a sortie, when on the 22 of June, a day I shall never forget, two ships, Valk and Elizabet, came roaring through the seas, making it foam... The joy that ensued cannot be described. Everyone not prostrate with hunger ran to the harbour.... The captain of the Elizabet himself told me that he had told his crew several times enroute that there must be great need in Recife. May God give us good weather and wind, day after day, in order to arrive quickly....)

62 Arroba: approximately 15 kilo.

63 After the reestablishment of the free trade, the WIC retained 3 monopolies: a) the slave trade; b) pau Brasil, or brazilwood; c) import of war materials.

64 Nieuhof, op.cit., p. 52


66 In the meantime, this gave the Dutch the opportunity to formally continue hostilities.

67 Nieuhof, op.cit., p. 44.

68 Ibid, p. 44.

69 Ibid, p. 44.

70 Ibid, p. 237.

71 Ibid, p. 45. See also: Appendix IV.

72 Ibid, p. 45.


74 Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen would demonstrate a strong passion for city-planning and architecture during his European career as well.
75 Requests for a subsidy by predicant Joachim Vincent Soler. Also see Chapter IV, notes 30–34. The contractor, Belchior Alves Camelo, was a prosperous Portuguese of Jewish descent who possessed a number of houses in Recife and Mauritsstad and owned at least one sugarmill. After 1654 he filled a position in the Portuguese army; Mesquita is imprecise with titles and describes him sometimes as 'coronel', sometimes as 'capitão'. Mention is also made of a Belchior Alves Jr., but we lack the information to determine whether contractor and colonel/captain are one and the same person, or father and son.

76 Nieuhof, op. cit., p. 44. See note 65.

77 Letter from Johan Maurits van Nassau and the Hoge Raad to the XIX, dated 29–9–1642. ARA, box 57.


79 Letter to the XIX concerning the condition of 77 or 78 residents of Recife/Mauritsstad, dated 1–4–1643. ARA, OWIC, box 58.

80 The Hoge Raad decided to issue currency using Guiné gold, to the great displeasure of the Heren XIX, see Appendix VI.

81 Dr. Piso provided us with a list of medicaments sent to besieged and temporarily captured Valdivia (Chile) in 1643. Ruy dos Santos Pereira, op. cit., pp. 122–127.

82 Netscher, op. cit., p. 188: 'Le fevrier 1641, les Etats-généraux adressèrent une lettre à Joan Maurice qui, à trois différentes reprises, avait déjà demandé à être rappelé de son poste et à être remplacé par un autre gouverneur dès que le terme de cinq ans serait expiré'. In this letter, they urgently requested him to remain 'chiefly because of the strange State of Affairs in Europe', assuring him 'we would embrace this conjuncture as the most notable and greatest service that Your Excellency could extend and demonstrate to us and to this State'. In the same letter, they stated that the loss of Portugal had considerably weakened Spain's power and that, consequently, an increase of Brazilian troops was unjustified. An indication of the theory—and—reality relationship between politics and practice. Letter to the States General, ARA, Lias Staten-Generaal, WIC 1641–44.

83 Hoboken, op. cit., pp. 309–327. See also Lewis Mumford, The City in History, 1961, pp. 505–506. He confirms that those controlling the capital invested more than enough in beautiful, quality residential construction for themselves, whereas in the Jordaan, the city's southwestern area, 'the poorest workers, or the immigrant French protestants, the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' barely had 'minimal accomodations'.

84 Nieuhof, op. cit., pp. 191, 195.

85 Kunst, op. cit., pp. 41–82.
86 Ibid, p. 75.


88 Wätjen, op.cit., p. 37.

89 Ibid, p. 36; Simon van Brakel, De Hollandsche
Handelscompagnieën der Zeventiende Eeuw. 1908, pp. 31–36.

90 See list of stock quotations. note 59.

91 Kunst, op.cit., p. 78; Van Brakel, op.cit., p. 143: 'They were more
similar than they seemed. The East India Company never knew
exactly what its profits were. Consequently, it could not figure a
bonus or percentage. The situation was apparently no different for
the West India Company. At any rate, the instructions for the
Exchequer of the West India Company does not give us the
impression that it had greater insight into the demands of good
administration and good accounting'.

92 Kunst, op.cit., pp. 80, 81: W.R. Menkman, De West-Indische

93 Alfonso Cassuto, Die Portugiesische Juden in Glückstadt
Hamburg, undated, pp. 2, 3.

124–126. Menkman draws attention to the outstanding conditions
present for a West Indies empire, even after the Brazilian debacle: a
naval base on Curaçao, agrarian products from New Amsterdam
and Latin America, and a work force from West Africa.

95 John Rykwert, The Idea of a Town, lecture, Akademie voor
Beeldende Kunsten, Arnhem 1983, based on his book of the same
name, London 1976. The Dutch translation of Rykwert’s lecture is
published in: J. Brand and H. Janselijn, Het idee van de Stad,
Roofing

Chapter IV: religious architecture connected to the Dutch period

7.1 THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

'Tuesday after the noon meal we returned to land. We had to wash clothes and needed firewood. Upon our arrival, we found about 60 men standing upon the beach. They were naked and held arrows and bows in their hands. They approached us immediately, without the least hesitation.

'After some time, a few of them began to help. They laid down their weapons and joined us without further ado, helping us to carry the firewood and take it to the boats. And they romped with us and enjoyed themselves greatly.

'In the meantime, two carpenters had put together a large crucifix. They had felled the tree for it the day before. Many of these men went and watched the carpentry work. And I must confess that they expressed greater interest in the carpenter's tools than in the crucifix, since they possess no iron and chop trunks and wood with stones, which they whet to be as sharp as shells and clamp between two lathes. At any rate, this is what our men have told us, because they saw these hatchets when they visited their houses yesterday'.

This fragment comes from the travel account by Pero Vaz de Caminha (1), dated 1 May 1500 and addressed to Dom Manuel I. It goes on to describe the religious service celebrated by the company the next day on the beach. It was Easter. Caminha relates how the native jungle-inhabitants watched the priest's performance in awe. They even aped the example of the crew members and followed them to receive communion; this action automatically baptized them in a general christening.

Two days after arriving upon the coast of the newly discovered continent, the discoverers brought the native population into the Roman Catholic Church. The newly-baptized were ignorant of both the event's significance and consequences. The action was symptomatic of the Church's intensity regarding this land. After the Easter service on the beach, the island received its first name, 'ilha da Santa Cruz' (Holy Cross Island).

Serafim Leite S.J., the foremost historian of the Jesuit Order's activities in Brazil, writes in his standard work História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil: 'O Brasil nasceu a sombra da Cruz' (Brazil first saw light in the shadow of the Cross). History would certainly produce enough shady ramifications (2).

The Church was forced to delay its systematic baptism plan, however. Eventually, it came to pass, 'ao tardo passo dos missionários', (with the calm tread of the missionaries) to quote Euclides da Cunha. Missionaries did not embark with any enthusiasm until after 1580, when Spain's puritanical Philip II occupied the Portuguese throne. In quickening tempo, Franciscans, Carmelites, Benedictines, and Dominicans began to populate the colonial settlements, adding their forces to the Jesuits, till then the only order performing missionary work of any consequence. They provided churches, cloisters, and chapels to the coastal string of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Pernambuco, and Paraíba.
The Cristãos-Novos and the Sephardim were the primary developers of the sugar culture and trade. Negro slaves constructed the forts, the thousands of houses, and the palaces. They worked the plantations, the engenhos, and the harbours. This was the situation under both Portuguese and Dutch governments.

Yet the principal social benefit to the community was the Roman Catholic Church. While true that the Dutch authorities enacted restrictive measures with sweeping consequences for religious freedom, the Church remained a latent, insistent power, not only in political/economic policy, but also in the relationship the general population experienced with their God.

To complete the image of Pernambuco and its new capital Recife as it appeared in 1654 after the expulsion of the Dutch and their antagonistic, heretical religion, the following pages survey the religious buildings that, in their construction history, relate to the period when the WIC ruled this territory. Where necessary, I draw attention to the edifices in Portugal on which Brazil modeled its own buildings. As far as required, I will investigate the development of Portuguese ecclesiastical architecture in these places; however, this dissertation in no way proposes to present a complete architectural history of Portugal or to investigate thoroughly the similar influences of Flanders, northern Netherlands, and the rest of Northern Europe. I covered this topic in my previous doctoral essay, which was of a different character than the present one and has the title: *De Kerelijke Architectuur in Noord-Oost Brazilië in de XVIIe en XVIIIe Eeuw*.

Appendix I treats those churches that, while important to urban-planning and architecture in the era when ‘churches from the Dutch Period’ were restored and reconstructed, bear no relation, even in appearance, to Recife’s development history.

This discussion of religious edifices employs the following two criteria:

a. religious order, according to their dates of immigration;
b. location, specifically:
   1. Olinda
   2. Recife/Mauritsstad
   3. the Interior.

The buildings themselves naturally serve as source materials; further, I consulted contemporary and later writings, as well as ground and floor plans. The most interesting documentation, however, occurs in Frans Post’s paintings. He amply represented Olinda’s ruins in his works, but in addition to witnessing the conflict between Roman Catholicism and Calvinism, Post’s work also provides us with a good image of the plantation chapels and monasteries that enriched the glowing country beyond the coast: a double approach to ‘cultivation’.
7.2 JESUITS

The Order

Priests arrived in Brazil even before conversion was undertaken on a large scale. Among them, the Jesuits had the most active organization. They extended their efforts beyond the simple, spiritual guidance of the plantation population. They sought out the natives and established themselves near or within native settlements. After the bandeirantes, credit for the exploration of the interior goes to the Jesuits and not to the soldiers or aspiring colonists. They founded permanent settlements according to the pattern prescribed by the Spanish Ordenanzas for the New World territories: a central square surrounded by the most important buildings, with the remaining houses and residences laid out around these in a simple, geometric pattern. The Indian huts filled the outermost edge.

In this way, the Jesuits brought a completely different existence to the primarily nomadic Indian tribes. By introducing them to new cultivation methods, they gave the nomads ways of producing new food they did not have before. Beyond dispute, this drastically disturbed the aboriginal traditions. But for Europe, the dogged work of the Jesuits contributed immeasurably to the exploration of the land. Their reports added to the knowledge of the country’s geography and its agricultural possibilities. ‘São muitas as cartas de Jesusitas que contêm algum elemento novo no campo das investigações científicas’, according to Serafim Leite (Many are the letters of the Jesuits which contain something new in the area of scientific inquiry) (3). This quality was an intrinsic part of the Renaissance mentality. Willy-nilly, and certainly unconsciously, it often educated and shaped the thought of those contemporaries concerned with physical investigation and, consequently, philosophy.

In Portugal, the Jesuits administered the Faculty of Arts and Letters at the University of Coimbra. In 1555 they founded their own university at Évora, ‘and these for long remained the only two universities in the Portuguese Empire’, according to Boxer (4). Portugal’s mission fell under official regulations, the ‘Padroado Real’. These were promulgated by the King and, depending on the situation, those involved challenged their papal validity. The Jesuit monopoly on missionary work was neutralised in 1608 and 1633 by Pope Paul V, who permitted first the mendicant orders, then the Carmelites, Benedictines, and others to employ other than Portuguese ships to depart for the colonies (5).

The Jesuit fathers adopted a paternal attitude towards the natives, as if they were entrusted with the care of a son not yet fully grown. But their strict educational and training methods sometimes received a little nudge from accidental circumstances of climate. Mitagai, the Indian Chief, during a fatal drought in the sertão, traveled to the coast with 800 tribal members. In exchange for submitting to Christian baptism, he received his own, new village, complete with a church, Aldeia de São Miguel. Various other colleagues of Mitagai, also threatened with starvation, followed his example (6).
The founder of the Jesuit Order in Brazil was Padre Manuel da Nóbrega. An energetic man, gifted in many areas, he and six colleagues followed in the wake of Tomé de Sousa, who set sail in 1549 with 1000 men to serve as the first governor of Brazil in the capital, Bahia. Nóbrega sent many letters, reports, recommendations, and decisions to the University of Coimbra. Already in 1549, he noted enthusiastically that 'a terra do Brasil' brought forth all manner of fruits, 'among them grapes that bear fruit twice per year, although the ants cause much damage' (7). He blessed the manioc root and praised bread made from manioc flour and corn, which 'makes one forget the bread at home'. Fishing, shellfish harvesting, cattle breeding; everything was possible. Citrus fruits abounded, as did figs 'as good as yonder' (8). He saw to it that fazendas were constructed and gardens added at every colégio. The 'Quinta do Tanque' at Bahia became famous, not only for its vegetable gardens but also for the cotton (eventually sugar) plantations and the remarkable botanical gardens full of medicinal spices (9). The resemblance to Johan Maurits van Nassau's efforts are striking. Nóbrega emphasized the development of domestic industry, arts, and crafts, not only for the maintenance and income of the native population, but also to accustom the formerly nomadic Indian tribes to their settled existence (10). He introduced textile arts, so that more than raw materials could be exported to the motherland. Even today, hammock weaving is considered 'typically Indian', a craft they learned in the days of the ubiquitous, diligent, and providential missionaries of the Jesuit Order.

Nóbrega also paid unusual attention to the morals of the variegated population, which, through promiscuous practices, became even more mixed. He urged immigration from Portugal and repeatedly requested shipments of women, 'even fallen ones'. Once, in a single breath, he placed an order for 'more priests, women, seeds, and carpentry tools'. He managed to appease the restiveness of the male population by convincing them that they were obligated to legally marry the native mothers of their children. In cases where this was impossible because of existing wives in Portugal, they could make an official declaration of legitimacy, which also granted the woman certain status and protection (11). Nóbrega did not distinguish between Europeans, different Indian tribes, or various Negro tribes. He and his colleagues simply refer to:

1. Brancos (Whites)
2. Índios (Indians)
3. Pretos (Blacks) and their 'cruzamentos';

1 x 2 = Mameluco (4)
1 x 3 = Mulato (5)
2 x 3 = Cariboca (6)
5 x 5 = Pardo, also used for 4 x 5, 5 x 6, and 4 x 6 (12).

We should add here that further nuances in the population can be distinguished through 16 gradations.
As the above shows, the Jesuit Order enormously influenced spiritual life, material circumstances, and residential design. Their influence penetrated and dominated more fully than can be established for any other spiritual order or missionary group, including the Dutch Protestants, not least of all because of the Jesuits’ exclusive hold on education and, along with it, the training of the young. In 1600, the Order had 172 members in Brazil; one century later, it had 317. Plumb notes in Boxer’s *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*: “Whatever criticism might be levelled against them, it cannot be denied that the sons of Loyola almost invariably were men of high standards, strict principles, and stern discipline” (13). One of the Society of Jesus’s most important efforts was in the field of education. They devoted themselves to establishing not only higher institutions, such as the universities in Paris and Portugal, but they founded large and small schools, usually boarding-schools, in colonies ‘all over the world’. This also held true in Brazil.

7.2.1 Jesuit architecture in general

In 1554, the fathers in São Paulo de Piratininga erected a small school with their own hands. It greatly improved upon prior facilities. José de Anchieta, a priest making the rounds of outposts, described how his colleagues lived ‘in a hut of straw, with a rush-mat as a door and with no protection against the cold, even though it freezes at night. Their beds are hammocks like those of the Indians, and instead of blankets they have a small fire, for which they drag the wood from the forest upon their own shoulders. Their clothes are humble, and for shoes and boots, they wrap a piece of wool around their feet. Sometimes they get some food from the Indians: flour from the manioc root, a piece of fish or game’ (14).

The Jesuits followed Rome’s instructions as closely as possible, building ‘a perpetuidade—porque ainda que custe mais, sai mais barato’ (for permanence—because although it costs more, it will prove cheaper) (15). When they had good clay at their disposal, and when stone and lime were difficult to come by, they resorted to the native method of working clay into ‘taipa de pilão’. The *taipa*—balls of clay or loam pressed together, was worked into a framework of branches and baked dry by the sun. When possible, they imported stones from Portugal, or even India. These served as ship’s ballast during their transport to Brazil. They also used a compromise of stone and clay, ‘*pedra e barro*’, whenever they had insufficient lime to make mortar.

In general, we can establish that later cities usually grew out of seminaries whose construction was permanent. The founding dates of these seminaries, or *colégios*, as they were usually called in Portuguese, are: Bahia, 1564; Rio de Janeiro, 1568; and Olinda, 1575. Church taxes centrally imposed by the motherland paid for their establishment. In Brazil, the permitted construction budget comprised 10% of the harvest raised in the country. The growing trend toward specialization gradually converted this into nothing more than a sugar tax.
The variability of this amount, the result of a percentage levy, disadvantaged ongoing construction. The fluctuation was a thorn in Manuel da Nóbrega's side. Several times he urged that the amount be fixed. The system of sugar—tithes was retained however, and eventually the Dutch adopted it as well. Nóbrega was able to convince the Court at Lisbon to loan the Order the amount needed for construction. This sum would be paid off yearly in sugar by the fathers in the colony.

To this end, the Jesuits founded engenhos. The first Society of Jesus sugarmills appeared in Bahia in 1601. Between that year and 1640, many more followed, scattered over the hills in the northern portion of Bahia and Sergipe. In 1640, Johan Maurits van Nassau ordered the Dutch to retaliate against the Portuguese guerrilla activity; they set fire to the entire area south of the São Francisco river, seriously damaging the canefields. The Portuguese had earlier done the same to the area north of the river, an action unfavourably influencing the yields in 1640 (see Chapter III, 'The sugar culture').

The floor plans of the Jesuit churches can be categorized as follows (16):

a) the simple oblong, with a slight indication of side chapels or alcoves; the nave and the main altar (a capela-mor) are conceived as one space, the only division formed by the arch in the crossing of nave and side—aisles, the arco cruzheiro. This is the most 'Brazilian' type.

b) clearly divided nave and capela-mor, separated by scale and height (through steps). Very frequent in Minas Gerais (18th—century).

c) combination of the previous two types. A separate space for the capela-mor, but the two side—altar positions still give the impression of a single large space, where believers participate in the liturgical mystery. Adopted by the larger churches of the 17th century and later.

Fig. 37a, 37b, 37c
Floor plans of Jesuit churches in Brazil:

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a a simple oblong with a slight indication of side chapels or alcoves; the nave and the capela mor are conceived as one space; the only division is formed by the arch in the crossing of the nave and side—aisles (the arco cruzheiro); the most common type.

b clearly divided nave and capela mor, separated in scale and height through steps. Frequent in Minas Gerais.
c. combination of a and b. adopted by the larger churches of the 17th century and later.

In one instance (d), the fathers chose to position the side-altars perpendicular to the nave, reminiscent of the Latin cross (Igreja do Socorro, Sergipe).

*Fig. 37d*

rare type, reminiscent of the Latin cross.

The final design (e) shows the growing influence of the principal church of the Jesuit Order, II Gesù in Rome (1568 f.f.). The size of the side altars indicate a crucifix, but the number of side-chapels on both sides of the center nave preserves the spatial unity. The floor-plans of the Igreja do Colégio do Salvador (Bahia), the São Paulo de Piratininga (São Paulo), the church in Belém de Pará, and the Nossa Senhora da Graça (Olinda) approximate this shape.

*Fig. 37e*

the two main side chapels call attention to the concept of a Latin cross, while the many smaller side chapels preserve the original idea of spatial unity.

After Lúcio Costa.

The Jesuits’ pragmatic attitude in pursuing their activities in accordance with the rules of their Order allowed them to adapt their constructions to local circumstances. Nevertheless, we can speak of a ‘Jesuit style’, particularly during the Counter Reformation, the same period that witnessed the birth of the Order. The ‘sons of Loyola’ developed specific architectural characteristics even under inflexible conditions restricting the types of material and construction expertise available.
The functional, oblong church is a typical design. For the exterior, the fathers either consulted experts from Lisbon or had drawings sent over from Portugal. In this way, important churches such as the São Roque in Lisbon and the Espírito Santo in Évora served as prototypes, not only for other Portuguese locations but also for the colonies across the ocean.

The greatest differences occur in the interiors. The number and size of the side chapels depended upon the needs and prosperity of the community. The latter also influenced the ornamental elements of the façade, although in general, the Jesuits preferred a sober style, in which the decoration primarily ornamented architectural elements such as pilasters, architraves, tympana, or archfields.

The Jesuit buildings can be divided into three categories:
1. the cult: church, choir, sacristy;
2. the work: educational institutions, offices;
3. the housing: monasteries and convents, hospitals, gardens and orchards.

These buildings preferably lay along a square that served as a promenade and meeting place. Sometimes the Order itself formed a sub-community within the local population, although one whose many important buildings completely dominated the local fabric both sociologically and architecturally.

The Superior Manuel da Nóbrega and his companion António Pires were the first Jesuits to arrive in Pernambuco in 1551. António Pires dedicated himself to translating the catechism into Tupi; later he would expand the Colégio in Olinda.

The Capitão of Pernambuco, Duarte Coelho, and his wife Dona Brita de Albuquerque Coelho, welcomed Nóbrega and Pires to Pernambuco with a great show of hospitality. But the priests wasted no time on ceremony. "The moral condition was deplorable," wrote Nóbrega, and he immediately took measures concerning confession and mass obligations (17).

Coelho actually viewed the arrival of the Jesuits with mixed feelings; he feared their power and influence. His cordiality must have been an attempt to offset the troubles preceding the visit; likewise he probably meant to mitigate hard feelings by offering the priests a small school to use for their future colégio, one he had built himself. Nóbrega gratefully accepted this offer. A royal subsidy helped the seminary get off the ground: "Sur la demande des habitants, le roi Dom Sébastião décida la fondation d'un collège et le pourvut d'une dotation annuelle de 400800. On réunit des aumônes pour construire une nouvelle église et des bâtiments collégiaux" (18).
The complex was built upon the highest point of Olinda. The official name was 'Real Colégio Nossa Senhora da Graça'. The title 'royal' indicates the subsidy, actually indirect, which allowed the priests to sell an amount of sugar. The seminary was ready by 1572, and the church belonging to it, the Nossa Senhora da Graça, was almost ready in 1597, according to a letter by a priest passing through Olinda, who found a church 'de traca de São Roque' there (19).

*Fig. 38a, 38b, 38c*

**FIGURE 38a**
FIGURE 38b

FIGURE 38c

The São Roque in Lisbon was one of the first churches built along the principles of the 1563 and 1565 Councils of Trent. These categories were:

FIGURE 38d
São Roque, Lisbon, circa 1630. After Lúcio Costa.
1. churches (with or without side chapels) used by large groups of people to participate in services;
2. churches and buildings dedicated to didactic aspects of religious training, including seminaries, colleges, and universities;
3. spaces for meetings, lectures, and mystery plays (20).

The 1565 Council allowed each order to retain its own specific qualities. The Jesuits were the first to carry out the commission of the Council. After 1573 and the election of General Francisco de Borgia, the Jesuits even developed a general blueprint that could accommodate all the activities of their priests and community (21).

As we saw, the Jesuit church distinguishes itself by a spacious nave allowing a direct view of the main altar. Not a crucifix shape, often without side aisles, it instead creates a space where the congregation could be directly addressed and involved in the liturgical ceremonies and where mystery plays could take place and be seen.

Aside from the São Roque (1656–1673), symbol of the late 16th and early 17th centuries, Portugal also had the Espírito Santo in Evora (1567–1574) and the São Paulo in Braga (1567–1588). The colleges of Santo Antão in Lisbon and the Espírito Santo in Evora were centers from which the Jesuits propagated their dogma.

Globally, the prototypical Jesuit church was Da Vignola's Gesù (1568). Portugal, however, by and large continued to build along its own traditions. Brazil was not inspired by Rome, but rather by the Lusitanian models, namely the churches of São Roque, Espírito Santo, and São Paulo.

7.2.2 Jesuit Architecture in Olinda and Recife and environs until 1654

Olinda

1. Nossa Senhora da Graça and Colégio

The first Jesuit churches rose almost concurrently in Olinda and Bahia, slightly earlier in the latter. Father Manuel de Nóbrega founded the Nossa Senhora da Ajuda in Bahia in 1549. The Nossa Senhora da Graça in Olinda followed; like the Ajuda, it belonged to a colégio, a boarding school and educational institution for boys. The church in Olinda rose out of a small monastic society, Nossa Senhora da Graça, which had settled there before the first Jesuits. Nóbrega and António Pires, appeared in Pernambuco in 1551. The little church built there very rapidly proved to be too small, and it stood barely five years. António Pires S.J. returned to Pernambuco in 1572 and was able to raise the money to replace this early and now delapidated building. The second version survived until 1631, when the Dutch destroyed Olinda. The walls remained standing, and the imposing dimensions of the Colégio, remarkable for their time and location, inspired Frans Post to depict them and other ruins of Olinda many times. The Portuguese restored the building around 1661.

In all probability, the Nossa Senhora da Graça was the work of the priest/architect Francisco Dias S.J.. He was a student of Filippo Terzi, who came from Bologna and was initially also a member of the Society of Jesus.
Fig. 39
Nossa Senhora da Graça, Olinda. The Dutch approached the city in 1630 from more or less this direction.

Terzi introduced the Jesuits’ 16th-century construction principals to Portugal. In 1576, he signed a four year contract to serve the Portuguese monarch Dom Sebastião as a fortification engineer. The king was killed in 1578 at the Battle of Alcácer Quibir, and Terzi himself was wounded. In 1580 he returned to Portugal in the wake of Philip I (Philip II of Spain). By then, he had already worked with Juan de Herrera, a Plateresco specialist, decorating the Spanish monarch’s buildings. Terzi’s most important work in Portugal is the São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon, built for the Augustine Order in 1582 (22).

George Kübler points out one of Terzi’s own innovations, the sectioned façade of the São Vicente: ‘But the strange windowed main front was in its time unprecedented. Indeed it is the prototype and model for countless façades in Portugal and Brazil’. Kübler goes on to identify other characteristics:
1. towers and narthex are in line with one another in the scheme;
2. this line is only interrupted/accentuated by pilasters on the corner towers and cornices between stories;
3. the five-part division on the ground floor combines with the three narthex entrances, seven traves, and three alcoves strongly accentuated by pediments;
4. the upper story has three windows between the imposing alcoves of the towers;
5. the lower part of the towers underline the division of the architectural concept and also serve as attic for the transition between ground level and first storey (23).

Kübler makes one interesting remark: ‘When the belfry stages of the towers are blocked out, the façade is a palace or townhouse front’ (24).
To return to Olinda de Pernambuco, anno 1597: despite the peculiarities of local climate, materials, and available construction skills, factors undoubtedly compelling some simplification, the Nossa Senhora da Graça in every way fulfills the ethical and aesthetic criteria set by both the Societas Jesu and Portugal. In the 18th century, baroque motifs added to the windows and the main entrance altered the façade. The restoration led by dr. José Luiz da Mota Menezes in the 1970's restored the exterior to its 16th-century condition, 'à traça de São Roque'. The decoration was removed from the entrance, and pilasters once again accentuated the window traves. A simple air vent above the entrance replaced the windows (25).

Beyond this simplified version of São Roque reflected in the façade of the Nossa Senhora da Graça, we can trace Francisco Dias's other contributions in the three stone arcades of the main altar and the two side altars. For a long time these were covered with wood-carved panelling, but during the recent renovation of 1974-1978, Mota Menezes restored not only the exterior, but also the interior to its 16th- and 17th-century condition wherever possible. Fig. 38a

A post-Terzian influence is also evident in the narthex beneath the choir tribune, which accentuates the entrance below it. Filippo Terzi adopted a similar construction in the the São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon.

During a tour of the restored churches of Olinda in 1982, Mota Menezes drew our attention to the flagstones, some supposedly dating from the Dutch Period. They are the traditional orange-brown colour, also adopted in the galleries of the cloister's courtyard of the Colégio.

2 Igreja do Salvador do Mundo, Sé Velha

The church's founding dates back to a chapel from 1540, of which nothing remains. In 1567, the travelling companion of Manuel de Nóbrega, António Pires S.J., supervised the expansion of the grounds and added a terraced extension upon the hill. Ten years later the adjacent rise would hold the Jesuit college and the Nossa Senhora da Graça.

In 1576, the Igreja do Salvador was ready. An Italian architect from the Academy of Florence, Baccio de Filignaria, supposedly also worked on the design: the Tuscan columns, the Renaissance quality of the entrances, the pairs of pilasters, and the broken archfield may be his contributions (26).

We can trace these characteristics on Frans Post's paintings; six of the 18 illustrations he made of Olinda's destroyed churches were of the Sé.

The repairs and subsequent reconstruction of the Sé lasted from 1654 until 1700. The entrance was changed into a so-called entrada de retáculo, a doorway with sister-columns and a decorated architrave, almost as if in an altarpiece. One finds this same construction in the church entrance at the Carmelite cloister.
After the destruction of Olinda, the Dutch sent five church bells to the Netherlands; at least one originally came from Holland, and in all probability one of them came from the Sé (e, below):

a) one bell inscribed: Deum laudamus te (Corpo Santo?);  
b) one bell inscribed: Laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus;  
c) one bell inscribed: Virgo duleis ave domino quam gratia replet;  
d) one bell inscribed: Hendreycck wegevaert goet mij in de Stadt Campen Anno 1600 (H.W. cast me in the city of Kampen);  
e) one bell inscribed: Salvator Mundi salve me (27).

The Foundation for Monument Preservation of Recife, The Patrimônio de Preservação de Edifícios Históricos, is currently restoring the Sé, once again under the direction of Mota Menezes. At the same time, on the square across from the Sé, excavations are underway to reconstruct the earlier state of Olinda 'no tempo holandesés', led by the archeologist Ulysses Pernambucano de Mello (see Appendix VI).

Recife

1 Igreja do Corpo Santo

The Jesuits built the Igreja do Corpo Santo of Recife in the beginning of the 17th century; later the Franciscans took over the church. It was a small church with a single tower; the steeple is clearly distinguishable on De Laet's and other maps.

The Dutch used the Corpo Santo for their own, Reformed services. To distinguish it from the French and the English churches in Mauritstads, the edifice was dubbed the 'Grote Kerk' (Great Church), or simply 'De Kerk'. By 1641 the number of faithful had outgrown the Grote Kerk, and the tower was judged too low to bear the churchbell (whether this concerned the original or a new bell is uncertain). They decided to raise the tower; however, the foundation was apparently too weak and in 1651 the proposed reconstruction was still unfinished. In 1795, the Franciscan Order of Recife split into two groups: the Santo Antônio Matriz and the Irmandade do Corpo Santo. The church received the official name Capela da Irmandade do Corpo Santo. The building stood until 1800. The Brothers built a new church in 1812. This was a larger building with two towers, one completed and one under construction. Its details were a hybrid of neo-classical and baroque motifs. The concave stone tablets above the church doors typify Pernambuco from the late 17th through the 19th century. They resemble those of the Santa Teresa dos Carmelitas and the Ordem de Santo Antônio do Recife. Apparently a Jesuit priest, Frei Pedro Gonçalves, chose the location of the Corpo Santo. His chapel stood towards the end of the 16th century; he was later proclaimed a saint and initially the 'Povo do Recife' was named after him, 'Freguesia de São Frei Pedro Gonçalves', or 'Freguesia do Corpo Santo' (28).
Mauritsstad Santo António do Recife

1 Espírito Santo

The only church built by the Dutch in this former capital of Dutch Brazil stood where the current Espírito Santo now stands. This was the Franse Kerk, (French Church), belonging to the French Huguenot community.

The foremost dominee in the French community was Vincent Joachim Soler. He was born in Valencia and had been an Augustinian monk. After coming to France, he converted to Calvinism. Soler remained in Pernambuco between 1636 and 1643; of his correspondence from this period, five letters to the Chamber of Zeeland and to Ds. André Rivet, Professor of Theology at the University of Leiden, survive. In 1640, he wrote to Rivet that the French community needed its own church, and the Heren XIX consequently granted his request for 4000 guilders. In Recife, Johan Maurits van Nassau raised a similar amount by fining a Jew for supposedly having used blasphemous language.

The Franse Kerk was constructed in 1642. It stood in the Grootkwartier of Mauritsstad. This part of António Vaz island lay left of the bridge as seen from Recife; it also held the first residence of the governor. The contractor for the work was Belchor Alves (also called Alveis) Camelo, who often appears on the Inventário dos Prédios as the builder/owner of houses, usually sobrados (29).

Gonsalves de Mello calls the Franse Kerk a construction in the shape of a 'Greek Cross' (30). This is not entirely correct; an illustration by Frans Post shows that the center nave has a higher roof than the transept. Both nave and transept seem equally long, although this is not absolutely clear in Barlaeus's print. That the cross arms are equally long does not necessarily prove that they are equally tall.

Still, Joachim Soler may have had the Greek cross design in mind. Before he left for Pernambuco, he lived for a time in Condé-sur-Notreau in Normandy with his wife and two children (31). Churches in Normandy frequently have the same square floor plan and high ascending saddle roof that characterized the Franse Kerk in Recife.

It seems more likely, however, that the general point of departure was the frequently-used central construction common to Protestant churches. The Noorderkerk in Amsterdam, built in 1620, could just as easily have served as a model (32). Strikingly, Breuning also considers the Noorderkerk as the model for the first city church in Batavia, constructed between 1632 and 1634 (33).

In addition to Soler, the French-preaching dominee Gilbert de Vaux also served the Franse Kerk. After Soler's departure in 1644, however, it seems that only a reader, Jean Aragon, remained. The French services continued at the usual time, Sundays from 9 to 11 A.M., but from 1644 on, the Dutch also used the church in the afternoons (34).

I treat the Franse Kerk here because the Portuguese Commander-in-chief Francisco Barreto surrendered it to the Jesuits in 1654 (35). The reconstruction begun in 1686 left nothing
of the original building except for a description handed down by the new architect, António Fernandes de Matos: 'a small church, more like a chapel, with a single tower whose bell could be heard far across the region'. According to Barlaeus, the 'templum gallicum' was 'a simple building in which, even so, the innumerable faithful found a place'.

The reconstruction under Fernandes de Matos, who redonated the honorarium paid to him to the church coffer, lasted until 1689. 'Recife is the only place in Brazil, and probably in the entire world, where the overseas congregation have their own separate church along with a seminary', notes Serafim Leite (36). Also in 1654, Francisco Barreto presented the Jesuits with 'dois sobrados para o futuro colégio, ao entrar da Porta de Santo Antonio' (37).

After the Society of Jesus was banned from Brazil in 1760, the college was used first as the governmental palace and then as a university building (Faculty of Law), after which the building, slowly falling into complete disrepair, was replaced in our own time by the Grande Hotel.

Fernandes de Matos's church, Nossa Senhora da Ó, renamed Igreja do Espírito Santo (its current name), was from its inception in 1687 richly decorated with tiles. These tiles, pintados com elegância, represent the life and the mysteries of the Blessed Virgin. A lithograph based upon a drawing by Schlappriz from 1863 shows this church located on the 'Pátio do Colégio dos Jesuítas', then called the 'Praga de Pedro II'. The latter name commemorated the historic event of 1859, when the Brazilian emperor landed on the wharf of Recife (38).

The building in the print is of modest proportions. Its three entrances are marked by Tuscan columns with a superimposed broken tympanum. Above the entrance on the first story we find three alcoves whose appearance approximately reprises the entrance below. Images of saints stand in the alcoves. Both the windows and the balconies of the alcoves are distinctively striking.

Fig. 40a
Espírito Santo, square in front of the church. It retained its old design, 1982.
Espirito Santo, detail of the main entrance, 1982.

Just as noteworthy on this print is the right tower of the church. Higher than the left tower and without a steeple, it anchors the telegraph antennae.

The local Service for Monument Preservation undertook a restoration of the Espirito Santo some time ago. The three entrances are not being reconstructed according to mid-19th-century designs; instead, the upper section will be worked in arenito. This resembles the Santa Teresa, worked in concave lioz, a greyish Portuguese limestone.

7.3  FRANCISCANS

The Franciscan Order had different objectives than the Jesuit. In contrast to the extroverted, organizing attitude and actions of the 'Companhia de Jesus', the 'Capuchinhos', or Franciscans, restricted themselves chiefly to the liturgy and its mystical experience, and the practice of agriculture. This is clearly evident in the ground and floor plans of their buildings, churches, chapels, and cloister complexes, fairly extensive for that time and circumstance.

The churches differ noticeably from those of the Society of Jesus in that wherever possible they hold to the crucifix design. The main altar, with the Blessed Sacrament, is thus the climax of the architectural concept and less directly connected to the commonalty in the nave.

The symbolism carries through outside the church as well. The fathers erected a crucifix (after the 18th century, often upon a monumental socle) either on the square in front of the church or on the center wall surrounding the church's terrace.

The gardens and trees stand as close as possible to the cloister buildings, initially connected by a pallisade, later by a stone wall. Frans Post's paintings seldom indicate place or object clearly. This is not surprising, as he did most of his work after his return to the Netherlands. Still, if we consider church/cloister/garden as an
architectural unit, in most cases we can identify the image. The Franciscans devoted themselves in particular to the study of the botanical and biological phenomena of the new land. The study and identification of all that lives and grows developed into an occupation during the Renaissance. The faithful could also devote themselves to this occupation, provided that their descriptions or proofs did not push beyond the limits proclaimed by Church dogma, namely that the Earth was meant by God to be the centre of His Creation. Hence, Frei Cristóvão de Lisboa, OFM, was able to write one of the first biology books about Brazilian flora and fauna. The manuscript, contains a natural history of Maranhão with innumerable illustrations of mammals, birds, fish, and plants of the area. This *Códice de Frei Cristóvão de Lisboa* dates from the beginning of the 17th century and is preserved in the Arquivo Histórico Colonial in Lisbon (39).

Frei Cristóvão was born towards the end of the 16th century in Lisbon. He left in 1624 with Dom Francisco Coelho Carvalho’s expedition to Brazil, filling the post of custódio (watchman) for the province Maranhão for the Franciscan Order. It is not known when he returned to Portugal. In gratitude for his meritorious actions, Dom João IV vested him with the office of bishop in Angola. He died in Évora in 1652. The most interesting aspect of his work is the similarity of his observations and records to those of Marcgraf, Eekhout, Post, Wagner, and Nieuhof, active at about the same time. Like Wagner’s *Thierbuche*, Cristóvão’s codex lay buried for a long time and first came to light in Angola in the 1930’s. It complements the work of the Dutch scholars. If Frans Post’s depictions of Franciscan cloisters give us an idea of their exteriors, then Cristóvão’s codex affords us a into their inner workings (40).

7.3.1  *Franciscan architecture in Brazil, general*

Occasionally, examples of both 17th- and 18th-century Franciscan cloisters still exist in Brazil. In broad terms, these are characterized by:

1. a rectangular cloister courtyard in the center;
2. the following buildings ranged around this courtyard:
   a) the church, usually to the right of the courtyard;
   b) study and discussion halls;
   c) refectory and kitchen;
   d) laundry;
   (Library and sleeping quarters were usually located above);
3. the later courtyards, often with a top gallery, the library and sleeping quarters opening onto this;
4. a look-out place, called a *mirante*, located above the library; primarily used by members as a place for meditation, but serving equally well strategically;
5. a square or terrace belonging to and directly in front of the church, often attached to it by a portion of the building (e.g., the sacristy) or by walls; a large wood or stone cross on top of this, often set upon a socle;
6. a single belfry, not in line with the façade but pushed back in some way toward the opposite side of the courtyard; if no belfry exists, the bell hangs in a *sineira*, or bell-cage, added above or to the side of the façade.

259
Fig. 41
Locations of Franciscan monasteries according to Frei Vicente do Salvador, circa 1615.

The church floor plans also bear a striking number of similarities. These similarities apply not only to the Franciscans; we find the same characteristics in Carmelite, Benedictine, and even Jesuit churches. In any case, they are almost always present in Franciscan churches, specifically the more ‘mature’ edifices from the 18th and sometimes the latter half of the 17th century.

1 The crucifix—form so beloved by the Franciscans was too complicated for colonial architects. Instead, they usually used a single space with a single nave, sometimes with two side aisles, covered like a hall church.

2 The main altar is set off from the capela-mor, which is sometimes a disguised separate structure attached to the nave; this differs greatly from the Jesuits.

3 The side-aisles often run behind and around the capela-mor, so that it is taken up into the unity of the architecture.
4 If this is not the case, then an apse and radiating chapels often run behind the capela-mor.
5 The larger churches contain tribunes above the side-aisles.
6 The larger churches also have two towers.
7 The façade is characterized by three or sometimes five arcades in front of the entrance. In the latter case, the last two arches serve as the entrance to the sister towers. The center arcade is almost never accentuated in Franciscan churches.
8 The three arcades lead to a galerie or vestibule serving as the single entrance to the church.
9 The horizontality of the façade is created by the uniform arcades and reinforced by the architrave above them. This separates the ground floor and the first level.
10 The corner pilasters are interrupted by feature 9; this gives them a completely decorative function and further reinforces the horizontality of the other elements.
11 The first floor windows are above the arches of the ground level. The regularity continues into the tower sections.
12 The columns, whether singly or in pairs, are Tuscan.
13 The number, position, and size of the arcades are remarkably uniform in Franciscan churches; the springing of the arch always begins upon the diameter of the circle.

Other architectural elements such as volutes, pediments, ornamentation, window frames, pinnacles, steeples, and so forth are ad libitum, according to the architect, budget, etc.

In the 17th-century work by Frei Vicente do Salvador, História do Brasil, an illustration representing Franciscan cloisters and mission locations between 1614 and 1617 shows that the larger churches in Olinda, Recife (Antônio Vaz), Iguarassu, Ipojuca, and Filipéia (later 'Frederikstad' in Paraíba) all had two towers (41). As reported earlier, the orders required Rome's approval or (as the Pope's secular representative) the permission of their monarch concerning the number of towers.

Since the Jesuits were the most powerful congregation, their requests were usually granted, unlike those of the other orders. The typical Franciscan architecture, with its extensive cloister-complex projected onto the towerless side of their church edifice, functionally compensated for the missing second tower.

Fig. 42
Floor plan of the São Francisco monastery and Nossa Senhora das Neves church, Olinda. This type of floor plan is exemplary for 17th-century Franciscan monasteries in Brazil.

a: nave
b: chapel of the Third Order
c: sacristy of the Third Order
d: cloister
e: cells
f: chapter-room
g: kitchen
h: patio with well
i: refectory
j: library
k: choir
l: bellfry

7.3.2 Franciscan construction in Recife circa 1654

Olinda

1 Nossa Senhora do Monte

In 1537, two years after Duarte Coelho, Pernambuco’s first capitão, arrived, a chapel rose upon a high inland hilltop, next to the seaward hills that would later contain Olinda’s center. Nothing remains of this ‘Casa de Nossa Senhora do Monte’. In 1582 the oldest Franciscan church in Brazil was built upon the same spot; one year later a cloister was added. The Benedictines took over and expanded the complex in 1596. Since 1585, the Franciscans had had the more spacious Convento de São Francisco in Olinda at their disposal; besides being closer to the sea, it also had more available drinking water.

Fig. 43a

Nossa Senhora do Monte, Olinda.
In his standard work, *L’Architecture Réligieuse Baroque au Brésil* (1958), Germain Bazain reports that some traces of the 17th century can still be seen in the Nossa Senhora do Monte: a small bell-tower, a marble *lavabo*, a door from the front portal, and blue–white tile tableaux near the stairs, which, provided with cushioned panel posts, leads to the sleeping quarters (42).

After the Benedictines followed the example of the Franciscans in 1599 and founded their great monastery São Bento in a more comfortable location, the Nossa Senhora do Monte became a retreat-place.

2 Igreja Nossa Senhora das Neves and Mosteiro São Francisco

In 1582, Philip II of Spain (Philip I of Portugal) granted the Franciscans permission to found another cloister. The foundation activities continued until 1590. The fathers chose the location themselves, on rocky, partly clay soil. The architect Frei António dos Anjos OFM put the final touches to the building in the years 1627–1630.

Dutch soldiers torched and completely destroyed the great building in 1631. The monks departed for Pau d’Alho (also written Paudalho), where they set up an emergency cloister in 1635. The top façade, with its volutes, is clearly visible on one of Frans Post’s paintings (43).

![Fig. 43b](image)

*Nossa Senhora das Neves e Convento São Francisco, Olinda.*

Some annexes, washbasins, a holy water basin, and the rainwater well are all that remain of the 16th- and early 17th-century building. After 1654, restoration continued until 1755. The church contains tile tableaux illustrating the life of Maria; these rank among the most beautiful in Brazil. As with almost all early tile tableaux, the workshop and artist are unknown. Tile
tableaux representing the life of Saint Francis also appear in the entrance to the main building and in the courtyard. These tiles are blue and white, according to the 18th-century Portuguese fashion. A chapel stands beside the church belonging to the ‘Ordem Terceira’, the Third Order or Minorite brothers, whose patron was Saint Rochus. The Order has been present in Brazil since the end of the 16th century. It is a small, sober building, the interior has many woodcarvings. These monks counted many followers among the Negro population. As we shall see, this branch of the Franciscan Order also had its own independent church edifices and residences. The floor plan of the Mosteiro São Francisco in Olinda has exactly the characteristics typical for this order’s cloisters noted above.

3 Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Santo Antônio dos Homens Pretos

This small church, adjoining a small monastery, was built around 1627. It was reconstructed in the 18th century. It is a complete complex with the characteristic triple-arcade entrance, three windows above. The façade is composed according to the Third Order.

The original triangular pediment has been replaced by a structure with scrollwork and simple volutes; the pinnacles on both sides are too heavy. It is one of the nicest little churches in Olinda.

The church escaped the fire of 1631 because of its remote location. In 1645, the Portuguese commander Henrique Dias, a native of Brazil, celebrated mass here in honor of his parish patronage. Henrique Dias commanded the Negro battalions (‘Capitão e Governador dos Negros’) serving in the Portuguese army against the Dutch (43).

This church building, intended for the Negro population (read ‘slaves’), also served as their baptismal place ‘Rome’, and above all the Franciscans, attempted to convert Negroes by integrating the religious rituals that the slaves brought with them from Africa with the symbols of the Church itself. These rituals and rites, called xangô in Pernambuco, candomblé in Bahia, and macumba in Rio de Janeiro, are treated in Appendix II.

Mauritsstad

1 Convento Santo Antonio

Manuel Gonçalves Olinda founded and built the Convento Santo Antonio in 1606. It was ready by 1613. The architect’s name indicates his place of birth.

The building was quite lovely, located on what was otherwise an almost deserted area on Antônio Vaz island. De Laet mentions it in describing the events of 1630:

‘Den 3den Martyr naar dat een publique Dunschegginghe was ghedaen, weghen de overwinninge, die Godt vreemdtt hadde, soo is den Oversten Lieutenant Steyn Callenfels ghelast eenen wacht te doen naar ‘t Eylandt van Antonio Vaz, tijgende dwars tegen over het Dorp van ’t Reciff, ende alleen hy een Rietiere daer van gheschevyden, altsae een schoon Klooster lagh.’

On the 3d of March, after a public Thanksgiving for the victory which God had granted. Lieutenant Colonel Steyn Callenfels was ordered to go to the Island of Antônio Vaz, which lies directly across
the Village of Recife, only separated from it by a River, where a beautiful convent was situated (44).

Richshoffer says laconically:

Richshoffer precisely distinguishes between the two rivers. Other literature frequently confuses the names of the delta branches or uses them interchangeably. This is apparent from another diary passage that also mentions the name of the convent:

The convent was incorporated into the construction of Fort Ernestus. One of the outside walls of the building served as the southeast wall of the fort, on the Recife side; this side of the fort seems to have been the least defensible.

In 1654, all buildings including the fort were surrendered to the Portuguese. Fort Ernestus contained 11 bronze pieces and five iron pieces. (For comparison: Frederik Hendrik had five bronze and 11 iron!)

Construction of the current complex continued into the 19th century. The façade of the church has the usual Franciscan tri-partitioning with arched portals. The vaulted cornice between the first floor and the pediment is fairly heavy for the limited space allowed this decorative element.

The similar architectural ornamentation, originally baroque in character, is not typically Pernambucan, but rather Bahian. Salvador de Bahia was the country’s major city; after the discovery of the mines in Minas Gerais, much money was donated to increasing the splendour of the churches. This trend was encouraged by the ostentatious Portuguese monarch himself, Dom João IV. The Santo Antonio is not unique in this respect: witness the façade of the Santo Antonio Matriz, the cloister of the Franciscans in João Pessoa, the small churches in Goiana and Marechal Deodoro, and the late decorations added to the Santa Maria dos Anjos in Penedo (all included in Appendix I). The façades of all of these buildings retain classical, vertical lines; the decoration fashionable in the 18th century is ‘pasted on’. The true Baroque churches of Brazil are in Minas Gerais. The floor plans of these edifices are laid out according to the spatial concepts of 17th-century Italy, and the externally adapted ornamentation is intrinsic to the total plasticity.
In the Convento Santo Antonio in Recife, ornamentation, such as the vaulted cornice, is applied to the fairly heavy volutes on the fronton and along the window frames. Voluminous as it might be, it gives no indication that it comprises an essential part of the actual architecture. The interior is just as richly decorated, with gilded wood-carvings. The stairway to the sleeping chambers of the convent is covered with wall tiles, above this is a frieze in original blue-white Delft tiles.

Although architecturally younger, the Convento Santo Antonio is a well-preserved reminder of the stirring period of Dutch domination. In 1630, Colonel Adolph van der Els took up residence in the monastery and from there wrote to the directors of the Chamber of Dordrecht that no better location for a city existed (46). During the Dutch Period, the company of 180 to 200 English soldiers stationed in Recife used the convent as a church. The clergyman was Samuel Batselaer, 'Ecclesiastes Anglicanus Mauritssstadii'. The services were held on Sunday mornings (47).

There was also a cemetery near the convent; for a larger fee (75 gilders as opposed to 12 gilders), one could be buried within the building. For children, the fee was halved (1645) (48). The bell tolled twice for burials, once in the morning and once in the afternoon. Those who could not afford an official grave had to bury their dead along the beach near the hospital (1650).

The Convento de São Francisco is today called the Convento do Santo Antonio, and should not be confused with Santo Antônio Matriz, the episcopal church of Recife, treated in Appendix I.

Iguarassú or Igaruçú

1 Igreja Matriz de Santos Cosme e Damião

Founded in 1535 by Duarte Coelho, this small building is the oldest church in Brazil, completed by 1548. Thanks to Frans Post's illustrations, the most exact one appearing in Barlaeus, we know precisely how the building looked (49). The façade was oblong, with a single entrance and a triangular top-façade as the headpiece of the saddleroof. There was an air-vent in the triangle. Perhaps this also served as a light source; the windows on the sides seem to have been very small. Nothing is known about the interior or the nature of the ceiling.

The Cosme e Damião did not have a tower, but it did have a bell-cage (sineira) on the right side of the façade, diagonally above the entrance.

The drawing of the ground plan (50) shows the wall around the court along the right side of the church ('Adro Lateral').

The Cosme e Damião underwent a fashionable reconstruction in the 18th century. We can see the influence of the Santo Antônio Matriz and the Marechal Deodoro in this reconstruction (see relevant sections). The recent restoration conforms more closely to what Post depicted.
Fig. 44a
São Miguel, Ipojuca. Except for the ornamentation on the cornice and the belltower, the church has the same form and exterior as in 1606.

44b
Idem, main entrance.
This Franciscan monastery was founded in 1588. Frans Post took Iguarassu as his subject for six paintings, including in them the Santo Antonio [51] and the Cosme e Damiao. Fig. 12.
The Dutch attacked the Santo Antonio during the celebration of Mass on 1 May 1632. Three years later the monks were permitted to return to Iguarassu from the interior. They were then suspected of secret contacts with Bahia, the base supporting the intensified guerrilla activity against *os invasores*, incited by the fire-and-brimstone sermons of Padre Antônio Vieira after the unsuccessful siege by Johan Maurits. The monks were deported to Itamararac island, leaving the monastery abandoned until 1654.
Repairs of the monastery lasted from 1661 until 1693 and the restoration of the church until about the middle of the 18th century. The façade shows the familiar tri-partition, horizontally as well as vertically. The renaissance division of the traves by half columns and pilasters follows the classical plan of the Third Order. The accentuation in-between the three façade-sections is fairly unusual: on the other hand, the triple row of arcades, the recessed towers, and the expansive complex immediately identify the Santo Antonio of Iguarassú as typical Franciscan architecture. The volutes of the pediment are 18th-century additions. Like the tails of a mantle or the pleats of a dress, they extend over the two wall sections on both sides of the façade. During restoration of this most recent section in the 1970's, the pediment was once again crowned with a crucifix.

We found the working drawings for the Santo Antonio and the monastery in the archive of City Monument Preservation of Recife in 1982 [52].

The ground plan of the monastery-annex-church is a good illustration of the characteristics of Franciscan cloister constructions [53].

Ipojuca

Santo Antonio/Senhor do Santo Christo/Santo Antonio/São Miguel

The Santo Antonio was founded in 1606 in the rich sugar region of Ipojuca. It had the same architect as the Santo Antonio on Antonio Vaz—Manuel Gonçalves Olinda.

In the collection of the Museum des Siegenland in Siegen is a Frans Post painting representing 'the village Ipojuca'. The great monastery on the hill directly above the village is the Franciscan cloister, characterized by the usual elements of Franciscan architecture:

- the buildings are attached to each other;
- the tower does not continue the façade; in this case, it even lies behind the church edifice;
- the sacristy or part of the sleeping quarters lies directly in front of the church, herewith connecting the square to the church.

268
Fig. 45a

45b
The same church after reconstruction in 1715.

44c
Present situation: the recent restoration in 1954 reminiscent of the Frans Post version.
The monastery was abandoned, but not destroyed, in 1630. In the latter third of the 17th century, the building was reconstructed, reportedly in accordance with a vision of the Pernambuco's capitão, Francisco Dias Delgado. In this new plan, the tower was moved forward from its usual position out of line with the façade. As a result, the galerie, opening onto the three arcades, also acquired an arcade along the side, an advantage with regard to space, air, and light. Later these openings, where they existed, were often sealed up with plaster, but in Ipojuca they remained open.

The complex was heavily damaged by fire in 1935, but the repair work managed to retain the 17th-century concepts. The proud inscription '1606' on the medallion of the façade, however, somewhat flatters the architecture. Still, 'Ipojuca' is remarkably authentic in appearance, perhaps due to the simple fronton that for once has not been replaced by an 18th-century pediment with all its volute-work. The frames of the three windows along the first floor have also retained the strictness of the early 17th-century version. Germain Bazain, in his standard work *L'Architecture Régionale Baroque au Brésil*, proposes that Ipojuca may have served as a model for other Franciscan monastery churches. Bazain bases his proposal upon the '1606' date inscribed upon the façade. This date agrees with the founding date of the monastery, but the exterior comes from a later period—the end of the 17th century.

In his description of the São Francisco of Olinda, Bazain, with a Post painting in mind, remarks: 'On peut être tenté d'interpréter les 3 arcades qu'on voit sous un peu de mur comme celles d'un porche, d'une disposition analogue à celle qu'on voit à Ipojuca' (54). However, contemporary illustrations of Frans Post clearly do not show any arcades, but rather an entrance with a covered portal. The same applies for all the other Franciscan monasteries that Post depicted, including Ipojuca and Iguarassu. Olinda, with its arches, is
the only exception. Moreover, before the arrival of the Dutch, Olinda was the main city of Pernambuco, in both fact and spirit. Its sugar barons made it a richer, more prosperous place than the true capital of Brazil, Salvador da Bahia. Although Ipojucá's wealth of plantations made it important, Olinda would have sooner served as a model than would a freguesia. Olinda, which became a symbol of resistance following its destruction in 1630, undoubtedly served as a model for the restoration of destroyed or delapidated buildings after 1654.

Serinhaém

Fig. 46
The village Serinhaém. Frans Post, canvas 113 x 145 cms, Sousa-Leão nr. 61, Louvre nr. 1722. The church visible between a papaya tree and a palm tree is probably the monastery discussed.
Convento de São Francisco

The Franciscan monastery in Serinhaém was founded in 1630. Frans Post illustrated it a few times (55). He found a fairly recent building, not destroyed, yet obviously suffering from frequent war. A small fort stood nearby. The surrounding area was famous for its fertile soil and was the location of many sugar mills. During my visit to Serinhaém in 1982, I found that nothing remained of the original exterior yielded by the restoration after 1654. Supposedly, the church façade closely resembled that of Ipojuca, which lies about five kilometers from Serinhaém. At the moment the complex is plastered harsh-white, retaining only the tri-partitioned arcade entrance of its original characteristics.

Pau d’Alho

Mosteirinho da Irmandade de São Francisco

The small monastery of Pau d’Alho (Paudalho) dates from 1635. It was built during the Dutch Period to absorb refugee Franciscan monks from Olinda and elsewhere. The monastery buildings have disappeared. The church is a 17th-century ruin built out of thick brick previously unknown in Pernambuco. The place is situated at a distance of about 50 kilometers west of Olinda. The name Pau d’Alho means garlic wood, a tree belonging to the Fitolacaceae family. The most striking element of many Franciscan monasteries is the construction of the pilasters and columns. Instead of a single capital, the columns are extended by an extra capital-element. The arch begins on that highest element, which has a larger capital than the bottom block.

We can find similar columns and pilasters in the Santo Antonio in Iguarassú, the Santo Antonio in Ipojuca, and also here in Pau d’Alho. Insofar as the priest/architects of these churches were not the same, blueprints apparently circulated that proved useful in addressing the prevailing circumstances and needs of the area. Probably one of the many unidentified Franciscan monasteries in Post’s work may be this complex, an important one in its time.
Itamaracá

Santa Lúcia

Fig. 47a

The chapel, of Santa Lúcia, Itamaracá, situation 1982.

In 1966, on Itamaracá island off the coast of Olinda, we found a chapel that, although neglected, still impressed us as so authentic that it could have been lifted directly from a Frans Post canvas. 'Monument Preservation' evidently agreed with us, because by 1982 it was freshly plastered and repaired.

It is a single-aisle construction; the sacristy lies behind. There are two windows and a cushioned door. A wooden cross stands before it upon a stone socle. We could find no further facts concerning this most pleasant little church, except for the generally suspect assertion of a passer-by—'Do tempo holandês'—and the assurance that it was dedicated to Santa Lúcia. Because it resembles the chapels illustrated by Post, which were certainly 'do tempo holandês', and even more so because it lies along the road to the completely renovated Fort Oranje, I mention it here. It has earned a place in this section because of its typical church-square crucifix, and because of reports that the Dutch interned disobedient Franciscan fathers upon Itamaracá.
The chapel in Fort Oranje is discussed in Picket II. Although the chapel indicated on the map was constructed in 1763, the one currently standing is a reconstruction after the excavations of the 1970's.

![Fig. 47b](image)
The former chapel of Fort Orange at Itamaracá, after restoration in the 1970's; today it houses a museum and souvenir shop. Notice the bell-cage.

7.4 CARMELITES

The Carmelites came to Brazil in 1580. The Order had a reputation for prosperity and lived in constant rivalry with the Jesuits. This is most obvious in their denied requests for a second belfry. A monastery church that does not simultaneously serve as a parish does not especially need to have the chime of its bells carry a great distance. But the Society of Jesus, more often than the other orders, was usually granted permission to erect a second belfry (56). The Carmelites were banned from Brazil in 1823. They were suspected of obstructing the newly-independent young state (1822). Pope Leo X repealed the ban in 1840, but the Carmelites did not always return to their old residences. In this case, the monks returned to Olinda from Bahia in 1840, but only to gather their rich possessions and repatriote to Europe or Bahia; they took everything, right down to the flagstones. Three years after their arrival in Brazil, they were granted permission to build the great monastery in Olinda; but construction was already underway in Bahia.
7.4.1 Carmelite Architecture in Recife and environs, to 1654

Olinda

1. Monasterio do Carmo/Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte

![Fig. 48a](image)

The church of the Carmelite monastery at Olinda, 1982. Notice the entrance with its small columns and architrave, forming the 'entrada de retábulos'; the entrance of the Sé has been similarly restored, 1982.

After permission from Portugal in 1583, the monastery’s construction began in 1588. The enormous complex was not yet completed in 1630. Originally the church was dedicated to Santo Antonio.

Little remained of the Carmelite monastery after the razing of Olinda in 1631. Post illustrated the ruins several times, and the size of the building on these paintings is quite striking. Apparently it more closely resembled a 'fortress, as such marking the conquest of this part of tropical America for our Lord Jesus Christ', according to Gilberto Freyre (57).

The Carmelites resided in Slot Boa Vista after 1654. The current building, although dating from the 20th century, is a reconstruction according to construction drawings from the 18th century. The last decrepit remains of the original had been pulled down in 1907.

A legend still exists among the population concerning the 'Monge do Carmo'. According to this story, a grey monk supposedly inhabited
the grotto's ruins for years. His face was reduced to a skull as punishment for the crimes he committed as an officer in the army. This ghost story was one of deteriorating Olinda's attractions in the early 19th century. In 1851, some students from the Faculty of Law went on a research expedition to Olinda. One of them described their discoveries: in the catacombs, they came across a grey-haired, statuesque old man with long hair and a long beard, dressed in a black woolen habit. He carried a book in one hand and a snuffbox in another. The boys assumed that he was a scholar, because the walls were scratched and scribbled over with geometric figures, drawings, and mathematical configurations; they also saw allegorical scenes of 'all the terrors awaiting us upon the Day of Judgment' (58).

In those days, the grey monk was the only inhabitant. In 1861, orders were sent from Bahia to arrest the Abbot Frei João do Amor Divino Mascarenhas. He lived in Recife and interpreted his name all too secularly, 'living scandalously in concubinage and deserting the church' (59).

The most recent restoration dates from the 1970's. The most striking quality of the Carmo are the two great towers emphasizing the importance of this complex. The entrance is also quite interesting; like the entrance of the Sé Velha in Olinda, it is a so-called entrada de retábulo. Resembling an altarpiece, one or more columns frame the door. Above the door, an architrave rests on top of the columns' capitals. The architrave accentuates the separation between the ground level and the first storey. The socles of the columns are fairly high, and the capitals are finished in a sort of Corinthian fantasy.

Almost all Carmelite churches have heavy scrollwork and volutes. They lack the refinement of most of the Franciscan designs and point up the prosperity that the order enjoyed. Possibly, they lean towards the Baroque, à la Balet (60).

To increase the confusion concerning the name of this church, the Carmo is also called 'Santa Teresa', so that it is easily mistaken for the true Santa Teresa, also called 'Nossa Senhora do Desterro'.

2 Nossa Senhora da Conceição

During my last visit in 1982, this Carmelite church, with its three arcades and generally sober façade, including the tower posted on the right side, impressed me as authentic 17th- and 18th-century. The small church was destroyed and abandoned in 1631 and wasn't repaired until 1678. A total restoration followed in 1772. A comparison of the plan to the Franciscan model shows noticeable similarities. A Franciscan example may perhaps have served as the blueprint; it seems that both orders often made use of the same architect.

3 Santa Teresa/Nossa Senhora do Desterro

The chapel of the Santa Teresa was built in 1645. The commander João Fernandes Vieira vowed to erect it after his victory in the battle of Tabocas (61).

The actual church rose in 1661, when Vieira returned from Angola where he had been appointed governor in reward for his service during the resistance against the Dutch. The concept, including the pediment, is quite simple. Instead of the usual ar-vent, window, or
relic-niche, the Santa Teresa has a crowned and laureled head. It is not known whether this was meant as a symbol of ‘the victory’, an homage to the king of Portugal, or a tribute to João Fernandes Vieira himself, who is buried here along with his wife, Dona Maria César. The latter became a widow in 1680 and joined the Carmelite Nuns (see Appendix I).

7.5 BENEDICTINES

As with the Franciscans and the Carmelites, the Benedictines also made their entrance into Brazil towards the end of the 16th century. The first church they used in Pernambuco was the Nossa Senhora do Monte in Olinda, originally a Franciscan construction. The cloister was enlarged in 1596 and given to the Benedictines. The Franciscans moved into their own great monastery, the São Francisco.

Besides the Nossa Senhora do Monte, the Benedictines also used the São João Batista dos Militares, but only for public worship, as the small church did not have a monastery.

For a description of the Nossa Senhora do Monte, see the pertaining passage.

The church São Pedro Mártir, mentioned by Baers and Nieuhof and indicated on various maps of the time, dated from the beginning of the 17th century. The Benedictines used it for some time. Although the church was ruined in 1630, Johan Maurits van Nassau restored it, and in 1641 it served as a hospital during a smallpox epidemic. By the 20th century the church was in such disrepair that it had to be demolished. The present São Pedro Apóstolo dates from 1710–1872 and bears no relation to the Dutch Period.

The Benedictines, like the Carmelites, were reputedly prosperous. They quickly set themselves to cultivating sugar: their Paraíba plantations appear on the list of 1623 and the ‘Engenho Masurepe pertencente aos Padres de São Bento’ (the sugarmill Masurepe, owned by the Benedictine fathers) in São Lourenço, a small spot south of Recife, appears on the lists of Johan Maurits van Nassau (1638), Van der Dussen (1639), and the Portuguese Inventário (1655). The order also had its own brickworks in Olinda.

During the Dutch Period, after the monastery in Olinda was destroyed, the monks lived in two sobrados along the Zeestraat (‘Rua da banda do mar’). They had to share this after 1654 with two army adjutants, while a certain Domingos Jorge and his nephew took up residence in one of the shops (62). This situation lasted until 1659, when the monastery in Olinda was partially repaired.

The Benedictines have many followers among the Negro population. Freyre points out that ‘Benedito’ and ‘Bento’ are very common names among men and boys of this population (63). São Bento himself is often depicted with a black face and black hands.

In typical Benedictine architecture, the entablature is not only crowned with a crucifix but also with pinnacles on either side. When the construction lacks a tower, this motif is repeated in the base of the lowest volute.
7.5.1 Benedictine architecture circa 1654

Olinda

1 Mosteiro de São Bento

The grounds of the Mosteiro de São Bento previously held a brickwork belonging to Gaspar Sigueira and his wife Maria Pinto. The monks purchased the land on the condition that they say a weekly Mass for the spiritual welfare of this couple. Unfortunately, history does not record the purchase price. The first buildings were completed between 1597 and 1599. The monastery was destroyed in 1631.

In his description of Olinda, Johan Nieuhof confuses this monastery with the Colégio of the Jesuits:

'D'uithoek van Olinda wort Tipo by d'inwoonders des lands genoemt. Op het hoogste der stad stont een klooster der jezuïten, en anders Bentus genoemt, dat zeer prachtigh, door Sebastiaen, koning van Portugal, gesticht, en met rijke inkomsten begiftigd was. Het had een zeer lustige uitzigt, en kon van verre uit zee gezien worden.' (The headland of Olinda was called Tipo by the natives of the land. A Jesuit monastery, called Bentus, lay upon the highest point of the city. It was founded in great splendour and endowed with rich donations by Sebastiaen, the king of Portugal. It had a very delightful view, and could be seen from far out at sea) (64). This was possibly the case at the time, but we still assume that Nieuhof has confused the ruins with each other.

It seems, however, that the prosperity of the Benedictines was only a fable.
The repair and reconstruction of the São Bento began in 1654. The monks continued to build until the end of the 18th century, which provoked Gilberto Freyre to remark: 'Pode-se dizer que foi trabalho feito com vagar ou paciência beneditina' (One could say that the work was carried out with benedictine patience).

The church façade is simple. The main entrance is accentuated by an archfield carried by pilasters. The round window above is flanked by two rectangular windows and framed by a stone Maltese Cross, the emblem of the Order. Sober scrollwork frames the pediment, which contains a coat of arms. The cornice between the first floor and the pediment is slightly bowed. This and the concave curvature of the pinnacle give the São Bento more of a baroque character than is the case in most Nordestino churches from the 17th and 18th century. While true that these are heavily ornamented, their basic concepts are otherwise absolutely strict.

The prosperity of the Order is expressed inside by the gilded and richly-tooled carvings in the sacristy and choir. These are among the most beautiful examples of Brazilian woodcarving. The wood is the famous and durable jacarandá. Its hardness made it difficult to work, but its dark-brown tint was highly prized. For that matter, gilding was unnecessary on this wood.

In the 19th century, so few Benedictines remained in Brazil that the monastery in Olinda was abandoned. In 1827 it housed the Faculty of Law (from which the 1851 student expedition departed for the 'Monge do Carmo'). The Faculty moved to Recife in 1854, leaving the building empty until 1895, when Pope Leo XIII sent Benedictines from Belgium to Brazil. They organized affairs from then on.

Francisco Nunes Soares is named as the architect of the 18th-century section and the interior. He also worked on the interior of the São José in Recife and was the principal designer of the Benedictine Igreja Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres, which lies upon the hills of Guararapes.

The most recent restoration (early 1960's) removed the access to the main entrances, with its neoclassical, fashionable pillars ranging along either side, as well as the trees and bushes of the nearby garden. Only the enormous palms (at least the surviving ones) still remain. The São Bento now lies upon a wide and open square.

2 Igreja da Misericórdia

The founding of the Misericórdia goes back to 1599. The monks were German Benedictines, a branch founded in the 8th century with the help of Bonifatius in Benediktbeuren.

The Misericórdia was destroyed in 1631. Repairs began at the start of the 18th century and were completed by 1724 (65).

The proportions of the façade, the modest ornamentation, the symmetry, and the small diamond-shaped window within all call to mind the Library of the mother-monastery in Benediktbeuren, constructed between 1722 and 1725 by Michael Otschmann. Otschmann had to be satisfied with painted accents on doors and windows, but in Olinda these accents are worked out in stone sculptures. However, the broken tympana are the same. The vaulted barrel of the church in Benediktbeuren and that of the Misericórdia (and for that matter the São Bento) are strikingly similar.
We can possibly trace the influence through the sketchbooks of Wendel Dietterlin or even Hans Vredeman de Vries (Wolffenbüttel, Prague, 1580–1584) rather than to the Mediterranean. Naturally we must add that the ideas of the above-named artists derive from 16th-century Italy (66).

3 São João Batista dos Militares

The São João was founded around 1570. It is the only church that survived the fire of 1631 unscathed. For this reason it served as a cathedral from 1654 until 1711, when the Sé Velha was repaired. The São João underwent several restorations in the 17th and 18th centuries, but recent, post-war repairs removed the pompous front added during those earlier projects.

Although the Benedictines did not build the São João and only used it from 1592 to 1599, I include it here because it remained completely intact during the Dutch Period. Frans Post might have painted it for this reason, one of his paintings is unusual in representing a monumental church in an otherwise rural setting. As with most of his oil works with Brazilian motifs, he painted this in the Netherlands, but we must keep in mind that he based these paintings upon sketches and notes made on the spot. The painting, *Brasilianische Landschaft* (1668–1675), is in the collection of the Staatliches Museum in Schwerin (GDR). Sousa-Leão remarks: "This church is different from all the others painted by Post. Its classic front and bulky tower look too imposing for its rural setting; another creation of an architecturally-minded artist" (67).

Sousa-Leão entitles it *Unfinished Church*, perhaps for the unplastered tower and sides.

The towers of the São João dos Militares stand on the same side as shown in the painting. The entry is accentuated by a porch resting on columns. Above this appear authentic 17th-century ornamentation consisting of a niche or escutcheon, framed with scrollwork and crowned with an archfield. The entrance of the São João, as well as the position of both windows on the first story, are very similar to Post's church. Just such an 'architecturally-minded' artist would not let a completely intact church escape his notice. The 'rural setting' can be interpreted as a characteristic Post ingredient, along with the passing figures, the sugarmills, and the river landscape in the background, all framed by a carefully painted *reposoir* of various trees, flora, and fauna.
Brazilian landscape. Frans Post, panel 47 x 64 cms. Sousa-Leão nr. 66, Staatliches Museum Schwerin nr. 239. The ornament above the entrance of this unfinished church could be a Maltese Cross, used by the Benedictine Order as an emblem. The horseman is clothed in Portuguese fashion; his wife is probably in the hammock, carried by slaves.

Guararapes

Igreja dos Guararapes/Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres

'Lying on one of the hills which have meant so much in our history, the Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres is important not only as an expression of patriotism and piety.' So begins the article about this church by the Director of Monument Preservation in Recife, dr. José Luiz da Mota Menezes. In the article, 'Notas Sobre a Evolução da Igreja de Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres dos Montes Guararapes' printed in the RIAHGP, vol. XLIX, 1977 (68), Menezes traces the church's development as far as he can and connects the construction, and even more so the 18th-century reconstruction, to the events then taking place in the area.
Fig. 50

The church of Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres, Guararapes.

a + b 1656

c + d 1674

e + f 1756

g: current situation. After José Luiz da Motta Menezes.
The church of today is an 18th-century reconstruction of the 1656 chapel. In that year, the new Portuguese governor Francisco Barreto Menezes gave the Benedictine fathers in Olinda a donation to erect a chapel upon the hills of Guararapes, in thanksgiving for two victorious battles against the Dutch at Guararapes, 16–18 April 1648 and 19 February 1649.

The small 1656 chapel was replaced by a larger one in 1675; more precisely, a larger nave was added to the smaller, and the first chapel henceforth served as a capela-mor. The pilasters of this first section were moved to the sides, becoming the corner pilasters of the back part of the new nave.

The current façade, with its three portals, dates from the third construction phase, begun in 1756. As in many Franciscan designs, these portals access the gable. The Franciscans also erected the same great cross; at Guararapes it stands in front of the church on a typical, 18th-century socle.

Different from the Franciscan designs, but typical for the Benedictines, two windows flank an oculus above the portals. Like the São Bento in Olinda, these are also framed by a sculpted stone Maltese Cross. Balconies grace the windows in the façade and at an equal height in the sister towers. Terzi adapted similar balconies for the São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon. Church designers in Portugal and Brazil frequently copied his example, giving their exteriors a secular, palace-like character.

The interior of the Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres is worth a visit, because it is almost completely cloaked in blue-white tiles arranged in a diamond-shape pattern. The abstract colour-combination is characteristic for Portugal in the first half of the 18th century.

The importance of this church is apparent in the two towers flanking the pediment. Their height and the strength of their volutes seem a step beyond the São Bento in the evolution from Mannerist to Baroque ornamentation. At any rate, the bowed cornice, analogous to that of the São Bento, interrogates the pediment more harmoniously than in many other churches.

On the basis of a description, Mota Menezes had made a few sketches of the church's 17th-century condition, which I reproduce here.

The final construction phase took place in the 18th century under the same architect who worked on the São Bento in Olinda, Francisco Nunes Soares (1782–1795).

Despite the fact that, art-historically, the construction date cannot be placed within the Dutch Period, the cultural and historical concept of this book demands that the Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres should be treated in this chapter rather than in Appendix I. The battles at Guararapes in 1648 and 1649 are as important to the identity and self-assurance of the Brazilian population as they were strategic for the Portuguese victors of the day. The resulting self-confidence led them to make decisions, judge situations, create and restore edifices, and direct their society. In the history of Recife's development, the buildings, witnesses of the past, are outstanding human documents. Essential to this development history, 'Guararapes', through its specific cultural and historical implications, certainly cannot be left out of this catalogue raisonné of 17th-century religious architecture in the Nordeste.


3. Ibid. p. 154.


5. The 'most doughty exponents and defenders of the claims of the Padroado for the next two centuries'. Ibid. pp. 232, 233.


8. Ibid., p. 178.

9. Ibid, p. 190. The *botica* of Pernambuco, belonging to the Colégio do Recife, and to a lesser extent those of Olinda, also enjoyed renown throughout Brazil by 1757.

10. Ibid., p. 193.

11. Ibid., pp. 3, 4, 150-152.

12. Ibid., p. 154.


16. Borrowed from Lúcio Costa, see previous note.


20. In 1584, the priest Cristóvão de Goveia S.J. asked Rome for permission to perform plays in Portuguese, so that 'coisas mais esculísticas' (more profound subjects) could be presented to the people in a natural manner. Leite, 1965 ed., p. 43.

22 James Lees-Milne, *Baroque in Spain and Portugal and its Antecedents*, London, 1960, pp. 156–162. 'Each architect, Italian-trained, brought to his country—in Terzi’s case it was his adopted country—that cold, impersonal, international style derived from Vignola’s scholarship’ (p. 161).

23 Mario Soria and George Kübler, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions*, New York 1958, p. 106. Lees-Milne’s analysis fits nicely with this: Terzi managed to make his version of Vignola-ism rather more flexible than Herrera’s; and it became more popular in Portugal than in Spain. In other words, unlike Herrera, who worked directly under the watchful eye of Philip II, Terzi at a distance was able, when it suited him, to evade the rigid counter-reformation formulas, to which the pious and ascetic King too tenaciously adhered.' Lees-Milne, op. cit., p. 161.

24 Kübler, op. cit., p. 106.


26 Ibid.


32 The architect of the Noorderkerk was Hendrick de Keyser (1565 Utrecht – 1621 Amsterdam), a painter, sculptor, and architect. Keyser became a citizen of Amsterdam in 1591; three years later he was appointed the city architect.

33 Breuning, *Batavia*, pp. 42, 43.

34 Mello, *Flamengos*, p. 115; Nieuhof, p. 47.

35 Leite, *História 1965*, p. 206: ‘A primeira escola a ler e escrever da Companhia de Jesus no Recife foi datada 1619.’ (The first Jesuit school to teach reading and writing was established in 1619). This was actually the second. The first was intended for Indian children; the second for the established city population.


37 Mesquita, *Inventário*, number 207.


40 In addition to the 18 depictions of Olinda's ruins, 21 of Post's paintings take Franciscan cloisters as their subject.


45 Richshoffer, pp. 52–61. Transl.: On the 21st (March 16030) the Colonel (Van Waardenburg) ordered the lieutenant Steyn Callenfels and some companies to the island Antônio Vaz, situated before Recife or Village 'Povo' on the other side of the river Beberibe. As he found this entirely empty, for the inhabitants with all their belongings had left it to hide themselves in the woods, the lieutenant decided to occupy the convent and to return with the rest of his people.

On the 20th (June 1630) an important accident occurred in the middle of the river or stream between Recife and Antônio Vaz, named the Beberibe. At high tide a boat carrying 30 persons capsized and everyone drowned. The other stream, between the convent and the mainland, is called Capibaribe in the Spanish language.

46 Mello, *Flamengos*, p. 46.


49 Post painted the Cosme e Damião six times.

50 Archive number Cosme e Damião: Departamento do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional, (DPHAN), 1o Distr. 249.

51 Post's illustration shows the tower of Santo Antonio of Iguarassú on the same side as the cloister building. This changed in the 18th century.

According to Sousa-Leão's index: 21, 31, 82, 84, and 85 illustrate the Santo Antonio. These paintings have unusual documentary and informative value.

52 Archive number Santo Antonio Iguarassú: DPHAN, 1o Distr. 233a, 21767/222.99 and: 242b, 276.76/34.03(5)/222.99.
53. The towers are on the other side on Post's painting (Sousa-Leão, Post 1973, nr. 43).

54. Bazain, op cit., vol. II, p. 133. Transl.: It is tempting to interpret the three arches, visible under a wall section, as an entrance porch, similar to that in Ipojuca.


56. Mello, Flamengos, p. 17. Marc Bloch (in a passage concerning the Hungarians who were eventually driven back to the lower reaches of the Danube: 'Les agglomérations, fort petites, étaient mobiles. Bien après la christianisation, entre 1012 et 1015, un synode interdit aux villages de s'éloigner à l'exces de leur église. Sont ils partis trop loin? Ils devraient payer une amende et revenir.' A clear example of Christianity's influence upon the shape of parishes, boroughs, and hamlets, as well as city neighborhoods, synonymous to parishes. The church tower (in Italian: campanile) had a dominating and binding role in this so-called 'campanilisme' rule. Block, Marc. La Société Fédérale, p. 24. Paris, 1939.


58. Ibid. pp. 105, 106.

59. Ibid. p. 113.

60. Balet, op cit., p. 7.

61. Nieuhof. Brasil, pp. 180–182. João Fernandes Vieira played a cardinal role in this period. Initially he tried to use his persuasive powers to convince the Dutch of the hopelessness of their situation. His letter to Dutch and Portuguese-Jewish merchants on 12 September 1646 points out the superiority of the Portuguese forces. According to Vieira, even if Portugal could not expel the Dutch, it would undoubtedly receive help from the monarchs of France and Castille. 'Bedriegh toch U zelven niet; want Brasil en zal uwe niet zijn' (Do not deceive yourselves: Brazil will not be yours). He continues by playing upon their opportunistic spirit of trade 'God wil onze wapenen favoriseren, en, zoo wy ons leven verliezen, zal het zijn in defensie van ons H. geloove en vrijdom en alle de heeren kooplieden en andere personen sullen verliesen haar leven, goederen en schulden; alsoo zij niet hebben gewillt, nooch toegelaeten aen te nemen by tijts de verstekeringhe, die haer tot groot voordeel soude geweest sijn' (God wants to favour our weapons, and, if we lose our lives, it will be in defence of our Holy belief and freedom, and all the gentlemen merchants and other persons shall lose their lives, goods and debts: if they do not want, nor will allow themselves to accept in time the assurance that could have been theirs to their great advantage). Raphaël de Jesus omits this letter in his heroic biography of João F. Vieira (Craesbeeck: Lisboa 1679); he does quote Vieira's proclamation setting a reward of 8,000 guilders for each member of the Hoge Raad! Raphaël de Jesus, op cit., republication Recife 1979, pp. 234–235.

64 Nieuhof. op.cit., p. 19.
66 At the time, Scamozzi and Serlio were at least as famous as Dietterlin and Vredeman de Vries in Portugal. more so in the Northern European architecture world.
Conclusion

In order to conduct research whose character and content are fundamentally cultural-historical, one must delve into many different sources. Even when the information differs greatly and seems widely divergent, it is precisely this diversity that prevents the accent from lying, for example, only on historical fact or only on art scholarship.

Dutch colonial city foundations had a limited, imperialistic base. They were characterized by an ambivalence regarding the military efforts necessary for adequate defence. This ambivalence resulted from the colonial population preferring to direct their efforts primarily towards trade and not towards settlement and cultivation. Where the latter occurred, the white population grew more permanently attached to their piece of acquired land. The Portuguese and English colonies exemplify this; for the Dutch, the same applies to South Africa and the Boers. In the first decade, even a century after colonization, this Dutch ambivalence was manipulated by the oligarchic decision-making process of the companies. Authority did not rest with a proportionally representative number of the public (the colonists), but rather with a handful of trade-oriented merchants. Responsibility for defence and attack was left to the State. However, the State only picked up the gauntlet in the interest of the nation, and not in the interest of private business. The vertical stratification of the population rigorously maintained this division.

In totalitarian regimes, private and state interests are by nature closely united. The Tories and Whigs also nurtured close political and economic cooperation after the Glorious Revolution (1688). In the long run, colonization along Dutch principles is inferior. This is not only apparent through indirect evidence, but was understood as well by contemporaries such as Willem Usselincx, Johannes De Laet, and Johan Maurits van Nassau.

Johan Maurits van Nassau's government was important in determining and directing both the development and the mentality of Recife society.

The local conditions, influenced by the presence of materials and the opportunities to process them, the size and quality of the labour force, and the violence of the climate, were more important for the appearance of Dutch and Portuguese colonial cities than the geometrical strictness of their theoretical ground plans would indicate. Pragmatic solutions that adapted to the geographical peculiarities determined the development of the city. Olinda, El Mina, Batavia, and Recife are examples. For the Dutch, Mauritssstad/Nieuw-Mauritssstad is an exception. However, because the Portuguese filled the canals and randomly saturated the area with construction, the assertion still holds true. All this contrasts greatly with the urban-planning projects of colonial Spain according to the closely-followed Ordenanzas.
The improvisational mentality mentioned above led, in colonial architecture, to stylistic innovations with specific local variations. A strict determination of style can lead to forced attributions. This is not to say that the profound talents of the great masters overseas did not positively influence the periphery through their example books. But local ties, specific materials, and the freedom to alter what appeared on paper often led to two results:

a) an eclectic style not traceable to a single source;

b) the same pure forms, created without a basic artistic philosophy or responsibility, resulting in more or less formal ornamentation.

The urge that later (art-)historians felt to systematize led to many stylistic simplifications. For example: (1) crediting Pieter Post with the plan for Mauritsstad; (2) searching for a direct Palladio-imitator as the architect of Huis Vrijburgh, and; (3) applying the label 'Baroque' to all 17th- and 18th-century churches in the Nordeste. We have refuted these premises or at least proven their relativity.

The Dutch poet Martinus Nijhoff once wrote: 'Om ieder ding van het dagelijks leven staan geheimen heen geschreven' (Secrets surround each thing in daily life). Even ordinary things bury a piece of the truth. Art history and cultural history are the history of the thought and actions of regular people; sometimes among the crowd walks one with guiding qualities. The history of Recife's development illustrates this no less than does European society.

After the proclamation of the Declaration of Independence in what would become the United States of North America (1776), the self-confidence of the Iberian peninsular colonies increased as well. When Brazil received its independence in 1822, its people began to search for a national identity that would set it apart from its motherland. They found it in Brazil's unique 'Dutch Past'; it gave the young nation the psychologically desirable feeling of superiority. The 'Dutch Revival' increased with the development of republican tendencies in the final quarter of the previous century.
SENZALAS
Appendix I: Religious architecture after 1654

This appendix will discuss churches that served as stylistic signposts in the years following the Dutch surrender until approximately the mid-18th century, but were not directly related to the Dutch Period themselves. The buildings resulted from a spiritual climate influenced by the following factors:

a) the primary architectural guide lines came from Europe, mainly Portugal;
b) imported Portuguese/European architects and floor plans appeared less frequently than in the first colonization phase;
c) local talent comprised the workforce, including:
   - artisans;
   - construction labourers;
d) the lower costs of local materials made them preferable to Portuguese or other imports;
e) local craftsmen preferred to work with local, familiar materials;
f) taste and stylistic assimilation were closely allied.

These factors led to an entirely new Brazilian architectural style. The 'Barroco Jesuitico' of Bahia, which resembles 'stripped Spanish colonial Baroque', does not apply to the Nordeste.

For the record, the Baroque churches of Minas Gerais grew out of a specific development beyond the scope of this section.

Recife

(Aliás Ilha Antônio Vaz/Mauritsstad/Bairro Santo Antônio do Recife)

1 Concatedral de Madre de Deus.

In 1659 in Lisbon, a group of clergymen under the leadership of Padre Bartolomeu de Quental founded the pious congregation of the Nossa Senhora das Saudades. The congregation belonged to the rule of Holy Philippus of Neri. The members of the Order wished above all to devote themselves to the conversion of the heathens. In 1662 or 1667, after various offers from the Vicar-General, they accepted the chapel of Santo Amaro of Água Fria near Olinda. Their zeal was great and they soon founded a bishopric in Olinda. The city architect, Antônio Fernandes de Matos, apparently supervised the construction of the Madre de Deus as early as 1679–1680. Matos himself gave the Order the land for the construction, on the north side of old Recife, near the bridge. The complex grounds appear for the first time on a 1733 map of Recife (Planta do Bairro do Recife, levantada por Manuel de Almeida da Fortuna, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, see Appendix VII). Fernandes de Matos donated the land on condition that the Order say daily Mass for the salvation of his soul. In 1982, I inquired whether they still followed this tradition, but I received contradictory information. Along with the grounds, Matos also donated 8000 cruzados towards construction costs and later served as architect as well.
The façade of the Madre de Deus nicely balances the overall size, the distribution of the bays, and the vivid ornamentation. The first stone was placed in 1706 (the Royal Permission did not arrive from Lisbon until 1707). The Order celebrated its first mass in the church in 1715, and by 1720 they had finished construction. The rapid construction schedule apparently contributed to the stylistic coherence. The architect’s unusual sensitivity to the relationship between height and width is Palladian: ‘e proporzionate le altezze alla larghezza’.

2 São Francisco de Assis da Penitência da Ordem Terceira.

The São Francisco da Penitência da Ordem Terceira was built against the side wall of the Convento São Francisco, also known as the Convento Santo Antonio on Antônio Vaz. The first stone was placed in 1696. The building and its ‘Capela Dourada’, Golden Chapel, reflect the wealth that poured into Recife almost immediately after 1654. The architect Antônio Fernandes de Matos, himself a member of the Order, built the complex. In 1702, the capela-mor was enlarged and turned into a blinding horror of gilded carved wood. The recent discovery of the Minas Gerais mines (1699) made the colony’s sudden and lavish use of gold possible. In 1804, the chapel was enlarged by a new façade made of Portuguese iroz, originally intended for the Corpo Santo in old Recife. Padre Fernando Pio, a well-known 20th-century connoisseur of liturgical art, praises the mystical atmosphere that completely and precisely evokes the principles of Franciscan dogma: ‘Esta Capela teria sido feita como ponto místico da atração poderosa, chamando o pecador para o templo, templo que seria, nessa acepção, menos igreja do que um salão de arte pura, fidalga, amena e convertadora’ (This chapel was meant to be a mysterious and powerfully alluring place, calling the sinner towards the temple, a temple which, in this interpretation, should be not so much a church as a hall full of pure art, precious, enticing, seductive) (1).

The blue and white tiles covering large portions of the outside wall to the top of the steeple are unique. Ornamentation of the church continued into the 19th century.

3 Igreja de Santo Antonio, Matriz.

As far as the construction date is concerned, the Santo Antonio Matriz has as little to do with the Dutch Period as the São Francisco da Ordem Terceira. Recife’s third Franciscan church became the episcopal and principal church of the city. It influenced the entire construction history of Recife and the surrounding area, and through this became important for the policy regarding early churches and edifices.

The grounds, purchased in 1752, were in the center of the Santo Antônio district. The owner was the Irmandade do Santíssimo Sacramento da Matriz do Corpo Santo of Recife. The location made it easier for the population of the growing province to fulfill its religious obligations; a good part lived ‘over the bridge’ in the Santo Antônio district. (The Franciscans took over the Corpo Santo at the end of the 17th century after the Jesuits had completed the Espírito Santo; see relevant passage.)

The first stone was placed in 1753, and by 1765 the building was ready. The church was enlarged in 1795.
The arched cornice between the upper section of the first storey and the pediment is unusually striking. The resulting roundings above the three traves are fairly rare for Nordeste churches. We find similar Baroque ornamentation in the Nossa Senhora do Rosário in Olinda (1627), the Nossa Senhora do Rosário in Recife (1804), the Franciscan monastery complex in João Pessoa (Paraíba), and the Carmelite churches of Recife, Goiana, and Marechal Deodoro (today the state of Alagoas). Inspiration may have come from Bahia and the homeland Portugal; the ostentatious monarch João V apparently thought the Brazilian gold mines were inexhaustible, given the many lovely architectural examples that sprung up all across the country.

The Santo Antonio's two flanking towers extend the width of the façade.

Fig. 51a–d

a–d Four solutions for the topographical situation of the Santo Antonio Matriz, Recife, proposed in the 1970's. The ultimate choice was for the concept, if not the actual design, put forward in proposal nr. 51d; the visual power of the dominating skyscrapers are kept as far away as possible from the 18th-century church.
In the 1970's, the center of Recife, including the area directly around the church, underwent a rigorous change. Old, traditional residences and architecture, including 18th- and 19th-century warehouses, made way for American-style cement colossi. José Luiz da Mota Menezes, architect and director of the 'Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional', a local organization for the preservation of historical architecture, created four alternative designs for the Santo Antonio's immediate vicinity. He opposed the total destruction of those city sections that, in an urban-planning sense, developed during the Dutch Period, and he hoped to 'save what could be saved' with his designs.

The Santo Antonio, an artistic monument and historical document, could only retain something of its original allure with the greatest care. Da Mota Menezes' object was to keep the tall buildings away from the immediate vicinity of the church as much as possible. Ultimately, a compromise of the four designs prevailed. The tall office complex to the left is turned 90 degrees. This does bring it closer to the church, but the angle spares the 18th-century sobrado on the Rua da Imperatriz. The church thus not only gains a cultural-historical buffer against the 20th-century cement violence through its monastery on the right, but on the left as well (2).

The ground plan of the Santo Antonio has the same closed nave, main altar, and choir sections typical of Franciscan churches (3).

Fig. 52
Santo Antônio Matriz, present situation.
In 1687, the Barefoot Carmelites received permission to build a second monastery in the region. Anticipating this official sanction, the monks began building two years earlier in Santo Antônio do Recife, formerly Mauritsstad. The architect of the large building complex was the city architect of Recife, Antônio Fernandes de Matos. He also had a hand in the design of the Espírito Santo, and the Franciscan Minorites' São Francisco with its Capela Dourada. Matos himself was a member of this Order (4).

Matos the architect also served at the time as an army officer and was entrusted with the task of maintaining the fortifications. He practised a Brazilian variation on the dual function of the Renaissance architect: both technical engineer and designer. His military and civil commissions contrasted sharply.

Matos greatly influenced the architectural style of his time and place. Church edifices invariably have the same strictly ordered floor plan and impressive heavy ornamentation around pediments, windows, and doorways. The Carmo in Recife has these same characteristics.

A second tower was planned, but, unlike the optimistically constructed nave, it was never approved.

Perhaps the Carmelite church's luxuriousness can be explained in part by the Order's Italian origin. Unlike the Franciscans, the Carmelites did not proclaim the virtues of a sober lifestyle. Certainly striking is their ambition to play a role in social and political life, like their greatest rivals, the Jesuits. At any rate,
ostentation gleams from most of their edifices. In Portugal we find a similar architectural style: rectangular buildings with Baroque-like ornamentation. There is, however, an important difference between the two. In Portugal, most of the churches date from an earlier period; their ornamentation was added later according to the fashion of the day. In northeast Brazil, the older buildings dating from the Dutch Period were rarely restored completely. Instead, new buildings were constructed requiring ornamentation. These new buildings, however, were not executed in authentic Baroque style, but rather in the traditional oblong plan. The ornamentation already described was then added to the design. The resulting combination conformed neither to the original floor plan, nor to the ornamentation, but developed from both at once, or in quick succession.

The crypt of Carmo and the side portal to the right of the main entrance contain tableaux of blue and white tiles. The portal serves the same function as the narthex of a Franciscan church; it was the vestibule for those not admitted to the service for whatever reason. Prior to inhabiting this church, the Carmelites had their home in Slot Boa Vista. A pillar in the front portal apparently once stood in Boa Vista.

In the 1970's, the São José area surrounding the church burst through and the remnants of old Mauritsstad buildings disappeared. The intimacy of the square, with its shady trees, flowers, and vegetable market, was completely lost. Compare this to the open square in front of the Espírito Santo, which, despite cultural-historical vandalism, has been spared until now.

5 Santa Teresa do Carmo da Ordem Terceira.

Members of the Third Order of Saint Theresa arrived in Brazil in 1695. Their church rose next to the Great Carmo and by 1710 it was far enough along for them to use the main altar. The building was not completely finished until 1737, and the upper façade dates from 1785–1803. This last is richly decorated and too heavy to fit the little church comfortably. The three portals, imported ready-made from Portugal, are made of lioz, a hard Portuguese limestone. The portals are repeated along the sides in much softer Brazilian arenito. Fig. 53

The church tower was not begun until the final decade of the 19th century. The Order first asked Dom João V for permission to build it in 1748. They were denied; it wasn't necessary for the sound of a mere monastery church's campanile to carry so far. (The Franciscan Minorites in Bahia were denied the same request on similar grounds during this period.) In 1773, the Carmelites of the Third Order began to construct the tower anyway, after lodging a new request. The tower was still unfinished when the Carmelites—including the Third Order—were banned from Brazil. The ban was lifted in 1840; seven years later the Order was once again denied permission to construct the tower. Permission finally came at the end of the 19th century. Thus, the design of the steeple's Baroque roof, with its arched drum and onion-shaped crown, is not a stylistic atavism, but, implicitly speaking, resulted from political-theological calculations influenced by chronology.
The brotherhood was founded in the early 18th century. The church was completed in mid-century. The façade is strict, decorated with fanciful window and entrance frames. The three relatively large portails have pillow panels (portas almofadadas). The sculpted frames are in arenita.
The interior of the church is distinctive, first for its rich wood carvings and gilded high altar, and second for the choir ceiling’s painting of the first Battle of Guararapes (1648) by the same painter commissioned to decorate the Santa Tereza and the São Pedro (5, 6).

In 1656, Belchior Álvares and his wife Joanna Bezerra gave the French Capuchin Brothers land for the construction of a home. With support from the population, they were able to turn it into a church-monastery annex. A statue of Blessed Maria on the main altar gave the church its name, replacing the original 'Espírito Santo'.

Thanks to the Benedictines, many of the Nordeste’s small churches in Pernambuco and near Recife earn a place in the Appendix because of their construction dates. São Bento, the patron saint of Negroes, often portrayed with a dark-skinned face and hands, enjoys great popularity. The Nossa Senhora da Conceição das Barreiras is a fine example of these charming buildings, recognizable by the Maltese Cross on their front façades. The church grounds had and still have many breadfruit trees (jaqueira), and over time these gave their name to the church (7).

The Nossa Senhora das Jaqueiras was founded in 1766 by Henrique Martins, owner of the estate. The church is not much larger than a capela de engenho, similar in spirit to those so often depicted by Frans Post. Francisco Nunes Soares, designer of the São Bento of Olinda, the São José of Recife, and the Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres of Guararapes, is assumed to be the architect. The edifice is small but well-proportioned, and these days its romantic situation makes it a favourite wedding location.
Olinda

1. Convento de Santa Teresa/Nossa Senhora do Desterro.

The monastery of the Santa Teresa of Olinda dates from 1687, the same year permission for the Carmo of Santo Antônio arrived. The Barefoot Carmelites did not recognize the original rule of the Order of Mount Carmel (Turin). Suspected of practices dangerous to the state, the monks were banned from Brazil in the 19th century and their monastery was turned into a boys’ boarding school (8). In the 1950’s and 1960’s, it housed a girls’ boarding school: currently it serves as a center of industrial textile art. The large building lies along one of the southern slopes of Olinda.

The interior of the convent and church are decorated in 18th-century green, yellow, and brown tiles. Also from the 18th century are the church’s blue and white tile tableaux illustrating the life of Holy Teresa of Ávila. The altarpiece and tribunes are worked in rich wood carvings.

Marechal Deodoro

1. Igreja do Convento de São Francisco.

Fig. 54

The church of the monastery of São Francisco, Marechal Deodoro, 1982. On the left, the church of the Frades da Ordem Terceira. The influence of the Santo Antonio Matriz in Recife is obvious.

The monastery was founded in 1635 by two Franciscans. Their number eventually grew to twelve. Suspected of contacts with the enemy, they were forced to flee to Bahia in 1639; the date implies that the Dutch initially accommodated Roman Catholics, provided they did not engage in practices dangerous to the state. The monastery remained empty until 1659. The Convento was reconstructed 30 years later, the church in 1692. The façade maintains its tripartition but distinguishes itself by a sharply bent
cornice. The curves are carried through to the pediment. A small oculus above the middle of the three windows accentuates the vaulting. This singular construction demanded a vertical rather than a broad application of Baroque plasticity. The effect is one of exaggerated ornamentation. The cemetery church somewhat outside the village of Marechal Deodoro also shares this quality. Goiana, approximately 350 km northwest of Marechal Dordoro, boasts two churches in the same style—the Igreja da Ordem Terceira do Carmo and the Nossa Senhora da Soledade, both dating from the 18th century. No doubt the same architectural drawings circulated in this area; perhaps the same architect had a hand in the designs.

Although the initial construction date (1635) justifies inclusion in Chapter IV, I have placed this church in the Appendix instead. Its late design, like that of the Goiana churches, is unique and bears no relation to the churches of Recife, save for the ostentation similar to that displayed by the Santo Antonio Matriz.

The São Francisco has been under restoration since 1980. The ground plan of the interior shows the familiar Franciscan pattern, where the space of the nave and the high altar suggest two separate worlds (9).

Penedo

1  Santa Maria dos Anjos/Igreja e Convento de São Francisco.

Penedo was the southern-most fortress establishment during the Dutch Period. It was situated on the north bank of the Rio São Francisco. 'The noblest, greatest and most celebrated river in this district', praises Nieuhof, 'stretched out as a border between the rapitanus of Pernambuco and the Bahia de Todos os Santos, that is the Bay of All Saints' (10).

In 1637, some weeks after landing in Brazil and after the battle of Porto Calvo, Count Maurits ordered the construction of 'Fort Maurits' to secure the border. Frans Post devoted a plate in Barlaeus to it (11).

Despite the governor's repeated exertions, the opposite bank, actually not Bahia but Sergipe d'El Rey, was never colonized. However, o tempo holandês enjoys the strength of a legend in this area. Many of the ruins are ascribed, correctly and (mostly) incorrectly, to the Dutch Period, or at any rate to the 17th century. The Santa Maria dos Anjos in Penedo did not escape the ascription of romanticized dates. But the Santa Maria dos Anjos was not founded until 1657, clearly after the Dutch had disappeared from the scene. The three arches and tight architrave show the original plan of the building, similar to Ipojuca's. The pompous volutes of the pediments and windows were added in the 18th century, after 1759. They are ornamental Baroque motifs dating from the prosperous period following the discovery of the Minas Gerais mines.
2 Santa Teresa.

The cloister–annex church Santa Teresa dates from the 18th century. As the name indicates, the complex, lying on a high point of the river, belongs to the Carmelites. The front façade’s original, sober ornamentation has been preserved. It comprises the usual three sections. Untroubled by their Jesuit rivals, the Carmelites in this little place built two towers, aligned with the front façade. Perhaps the toll of the bells reached the opposite bank of the Rio São Francisco.

NOTES

1 Fernando Pio, Roteiro da Arte Sacra, Recife 1960, p. 59. Pio, in 1982 still the senior director of the Museu de Arte Sacra of the Franciscans in Recife, describes all paintings, wood carvings, liturgical vestments, and tiles of Recife’s and Olinda’s old churches in the Roteiro.

2 Ground plan Santo Antonio Matriz: Archives of the (SPHAN) Recife unnumbered.

3 Topographical plan Santo Antonio Matriz: ibid., nr. 1063, Carta 19/3401/11/221.99.

4 Gonsalves de Mello, Antonio Fernandes de Matos, biography, Recife 1957.

5 Pio, Roteiro, p. 45.

6 A beautiful map with a ground plan of the Nossa Senhora da Conceição exists at the SPHAN, in 1633A/23/1/801.

7 Latin: Artocarpus integrifolio. Similar trees stand opposite the Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres in Guararapes as well. Besides the fruit, the jaqueiros also provided shade with their broad crown of leaves. See Appendix IX.

8 Freyre, Olinda, p. 129. Freyre reports that the monks were famous in the 19th century for their cough-suppressing drink, brewed from the sap of the breadfruit tree.

9 Archives of the SPHAN, unnumbered.

10 Nieuhof, op.cit., p. 9.

11 'Castrum Mauritij ad Ripam Fluminis S. Francisci'. Barlaeus, op cit., 1647, fig. 17 near p. 43. The illustration shows Europeans, probably Dutch, crossing the river São Francisco, kneeling on very small, one-person rafts. These rafts seem to be made of the light balsa-wood, the same material used in constructing the jangadas today.

Nothing remains of the buildings serving as temples and dance spaces for the Negro slaves' religious gatherings during the 17th and 18th century. Still, the idolatries they brought with them from Africa to Brazil are closely tied to the Dutch Period and merit consideration.

Xangô or changô refers to today's richly nuanced mixture of native African rites, Roman Catholic liturgy, and Indian deity-worship. Naturally, this mix was different in the 17th century. Negro slaves, stripped of all goods and chattels, including family, brought only memories of their native religion with them from home. This religious expressive quality allowed them to retain their own identity. The name Xangô is used in Pernambuco, Pará, and Bahia; (Bahia also uses 'Candombé'). The various names indicate marginal differences in liturgy.

Xangô first appeared in Brazil between 1634 and 1641. Wagner mentions it in his *Zoo biblion* (1). and Nieuhof reports it in his description of *Palmeiras Grandes* and *Palmeiras Pequenas*, settlements founded by escaped slaves, the *hospers* (literally: forest-runners).

'De kleine Palmeiras, daer in zich vele wegeleope Negers begeven hadden, en gereg word omert 6000. Negers te woonen, leit twintig mijlen boven de Alagoas, tusschen bosschen neffens de vliet Ganganzubi, die zich in de groote vliet Paraiba ontlast. Hun dorp bestaat uit drie straten, ieder van een halve uren lang. De huizen, of liever houten, zijn van geplagte takken en stroo gemaakte, en staan alle nevens elkander en de plantersven erachter. Zij onderhouden eenighzins den godsdienst der Portugesen: maar kunne eige priesters en rechters.'

(Small Palmeiras, where many escaped Negroes had taken themselves and which has about 6000 Negroes living in it, lies 20 miles above the Alagoas, between woods next to the stream Gangazubi, that discharges into the great stream Paraiba. Their village has three streets, each half an hour long. The houses, or better said, huts, are made of plaited branches and straw, and all stand next to each other and the gardens lie behind. They maintain the Portuguese religion somewhat; but have their own priests and judges) (2).

Nieuhof continues in the same piece:

'Zy leven by dadelen, bataten, bonen, meel, Mandioka, gerst, suikerriet, hoenders, (die aldaer in groote overloed zijn) en bij visch, die de nabuygelee vliet verschaft. Zy krijgen tweemaal 'sjaers den oogst van gerst en brassen en smullen verheugt. Eer ze zaten, ontsheken zy, den tijt van veertien dagen zeer groote vuuren, die van verre kunnen gezien worden, daer in zy kruiden en andere dingen verbranden.'

(They live on dates, sweet potatoes, beans, flour, mandioca, barley, sugarcane, hens (present in great abundance), and fish, which the nearby stream provides. Twice yearly they harvest barley and carouse and feast in delight. Before they sow, they burn great fires for a period of 14 days, visible from afar, and burn herbs and other things in them) (3).

And in the passage concerning the other village we read:
‘De groote Palmeiras leit twintigh of dertigh mylen achter het vlek S. Amar neffens den bergh Behe genoemt, en was omringt met dobbele heining. Men ziet daer in omtrent vijf duizent Negers woonen, die in de dalen neffens de bergen, leven; behalve de vele andere, die by vijftigen en honderden hier en daer zich aophouden. Zy zoeven en maeyen in de bosschen: waar in sy ook een afgebroken en gebroken wegh hebben, die tot vluchten gemaakt is. Des daeghs bereiden sy spijzen, en tellen eerst des avonds hun volk, om te zien, of sy eeuighen missen. Daerna dansen sy onder het slaen op trommelen, die van verre kunnen gehoord worden tot middernacht.’

(Great Palmeiras lies twenty or thirty miles beyond the spot Santo Amaro next to the hill called Behe, and it is encircled with a double set of fences. About five thousand Negroes live there, in the valleys next to the hills, besides the many others, who keep themselves here and there by the fifties and hundreds. They sow and reap in the woods: they also have a broken-down path there for escape. During the day they prepare victuals, and first thing in the evening they count their people, to see if any are missing. Afterwards they dance to the beat of drums, which can be heard from afar until midnight).

The 18th century knew more about the religious context of the dance celebrations. Between 1768 and 1769, the Count of Pavolide, then governor of Pernambuco, wrote:

‘...the blacks of Costa da Mina perform repugnant dances, secretly at home or in the woods, led by a priest whose altar carries live goats and clay images. They drench their bodies with diverse oils and rooster blood, and, after saying different prayers, they consume corn cakes. They have convinced the farmers that these pieces of bread are lucky and that men and women, women and men, will fall in love’.

In the last quarter of the previous century, an eyewitness to celebrations at the Igreja de Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres de Guararapes remarked:

‘There were prayer-songs and Xangô dancing all night’.

In 1934, Recife had 14 Xangô-groups; after a ten-year ban, the number increased to more than 40. Today there are well over 100; bear in mind that the city has grown and the population increased considerably.

Although Recife’s Xangô never had the extroverted lustre of the Bahian Candomblé, the strength of this religious experience has stubbornly defied the ages and encouraged a relative increase in its following. The esoteric character of the gatherings and rituals give the participants a feeling of supernatural relief and spirited solidarity, while participation in and of itself has an element of prestige. The sacrifices, songs, rhythmic dances, scents, fetishes, magic fruits, salves, herbs, oils, and statues smothered by candles and incense make everyday life simpler and easier to endure’, according to Xangô expert Dr. René Ribeiro, professor of Philosophy at the University of Recife.

Ribeiro contends that Xangô, formerly the name of a figure from Yoruba mythology, today the collective name for all known varieties of the cult, ‘is in fact resting upon fantasy, living buried in the subconsciousness of our folk culture’.
From the start, the Church tried to hinder the intoxicating influence of the Negro dances.

In contrast, the Classis in Recife, conscious of the weighty and hopeless task of combating 'Portugeese inwoonderen, dapper obstinaet in 't stuck van haer religie' (Portuguese inhabitants, stoutly obstinate on the subject of their religion), had little opportunity to christen the Negroes, despite many promises, documents, and plans. Sometimes the social circumstances of a single case drew their attention: one example is a Paraiba dominie's report pleading for the Negress Francisca. She was the concubine of a Dutch captain, Martin Daij; once she became pregnant, he sent her away, 'banishing' her to Fernando de Noronha Island. She fled instead to Paraiba (9). The Dutch colonist's lack of interest for the Negroes' spiritual welfare might also be connected to the small number of Portuguese-speaking ministers. Those who knew the language were Roman Catholic or Jewish and therefore unsuitable for Protestant missionary work.

The Roman Catholic Church, particularly the Franciscans, had a very different attitude. After the Dutch disappeared, confusion was cleared away, and Portuguese-Brazilian society began to rebuild itself. The religious experiences of the Negro slaves began to become integrated with those of the Church, not so much that the official liturgy changed, but enough so that African rites acquired many Roman Catholic features. The Negroes even built separate chapels for their own services. The African gods took on Christian varnish by assuming the names of saints whose qualities resembled their own ascribed attributes or place in the religious hierarchy. On the other hand, Maria, Joseph, God the Father, and Jesus Christ were named after heathen gods. The familiar hagiographic iconography transformed the 'clay images'. Roman Catholic priests, observing this phenomenon, allowed the Negroes to construct chapels inside their monastery complexes, such as the one in São Salvador. The Capela de Nossa Senhora do Rosário do Santo de Homens Pretos in the São Francisco honours not Maria or Saint Antonius, patron and saint of Black Men, but Iemanjá, Exu, Ogún, Oxalá, and their colleagues. This permitted black men and women to embrace the new, true religion without neglecting their own religious symbols. Pernambuco had many similar chapels. Iemanjá represented Maria, Star of the Sea, with blonde hair, blue eyes, blue upper garment, and sandals resting upon star-powdered waves. Exu alternated between playing Joseph and locally favoured saints, but he was also seen as Jesus. Ogún was Saint George, preferably with his lance held in attack—pose. Oxalá was God the Father or Jesus, Man of Sorrows. And Xangó, often accompanied by a little dog, became the equivalent of Saint Rochus or Saint Antonius, the adopted patron himself. Small churches and chapels preferred and visited principally by Negroes were named Nossa Senhora do Rosário, São José dos Pretos, Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe dos Homens Pardos, etc. There is a Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe dos Homens Pardos and a Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos in Olinda. Both were constructed in 1627 but completely rebuilt in the following centuries. The Xangó—cult gives them an entirely different aura, bringing religious experience from the realm of mystery to the boundaries of magic, through which men attempt to gain power over nature and matter by liturgical acts. In this sense, the outwardly impressive, completely incomprehensible actions of Roman Catholic priests appealed directly to sensitive Negroes. Whether from a
feeling of superiority or leniency, the clergy had the psychological insight to tolerate the syncretism. Indian tradition was another ingredient, especially in the use of herbs, hypnotism, and fortune-telling (10).

The rites often have a set pattern, with increasingly faster dancing in files accompanied by drums and singers. The priest, the so-called Pai Santo (Holy Father), also acts as precentor. His clothing distinguishes him by the number of chains and amulets around his neck and arms. He also performs solo dances. Each time, one or more participants, usually female, fall into a trance.

If one knows anything at all about Xangô history, it is soon apparent that these rituals and stories are still very important to the average Brazilian. In many respects, daily life is still steeped in them. Celebrations, sacrifices, prayer-meetings, the colours, stones, objects of luck or adversity, aphrodisiacs, prophesies, diets, and personal histories: Xangô is woven from all these things, moments, and ideas. Below are two stories illustrating the shrewd survival capacity of the Xangô (11).

**Story 1**

One day, Orumila, the divine, holy, and powerful, left his palace to take a walk. He went with his entire retinue, the Exus, his slaves. At a certain place he came across another procession, whose focus was a beautiful woman. Orumila was awed by so much beauty. He called to his Exus and told them to inquire who the lady was. Exu (here an individual) approached and respectfully asked the lady her name and who her master was.

She answered that she was Iemanjá, a queen and the wife of Oxalá. Exu returned with this message, but was sent once again by Orumila to invite the lady to his palace. He wished to speak with her.

Iemanjá gave no immediate reply. But one day she went, and she became pregnant as a result. Iemanjá and her husband already had four sons (Xangô, Ogum, Ode, Oxossi) and two daughters (Eua and Oba). When this child was born, Orumila sent his secretary, Exu Baba, the oldest of the Exus, to check if the child had his sign, a birthmark, upon its head. The child was a girl, name Oxun. She was Orumila's only child; he raised her and spoiled her terribly.

One day, Xangô, the god who is always in trouble, rode his horse past Orumila's palace and saw Oxun. He instantly fell in love with her and cunningly deceived the Exus guarding the palace.

But Orumila did not want his daughter to marry Xangô and ordered the Exus to deny him access to the palace henceforth. Xangô concocted a trick. He told the Exus that he had a message to deliver to Orumila from Oxalá. His excuse worked and he was permitted to enter, led before Exu Baba, Orumila's secretary, by the Exus themselves. He went through a passageway followed by all the Exus. He opened a door, the Exus still behind him. Once inside, however, he was able to get rid of them; he drew his sword and pointed it at them, especially at Exu Baba. Then he locked all of them inside.
After this he found Oxun. When Orumila saw them together and saw them sharing the evening meal, he agreed to their marriage. Some time after the wedding, Xangó, who went on sprees and debauches, decided to lock Oxun (who stayed at home) in a tower. They were not very happy together. She was rather wayward, would not sleep with him, and they bickered a lot, etc. When Oxun was locked up, Exu Erameta (the of the crossroads) came near the Xangó's palace by a crossing in the roads. He saw Oxun in the tower and heard her crying. When he asked who she was, she told him and he quickly went to tell Orumila. Orumila made an 'iṣe' (a powder of magic herbs) and sent word to his daughter to open her window. He then blew the powder inside, and Oxun, walking to the window, changed into a dove. She flew home to her father and changed back again into Oxun. And this is why Oxun eats no doves.

Orumila is the 'Ifá', the director of creation (Olurum is the Creator). He does not often appear in the rituals. There is a story that he must be free of divine women or female goddesses. Always surrounded by his Exus, his relationship and connection to lemanjá is exceptional. Stories recounting the disobedience of the Exus and Orumila invariably excite great hilarity among the listeners, as do the rather openly scabrous passages.

Lua or Oya, Oba, and Oxun personify the three African rivers. Xangó’s faithlessness is blamed on his wife Oxun’s obstinacy; the community always listens to this story with great enthusiasm. Xangó appears as the clever hero, the Casanova, who places himself above the law, persuades others to do the same, and always turns things to his own advantage. His ingenuity is paired with a knowledge of magic herbs and sorcery. He is the messenger and mediator and ‘always wins’.

Story 2
The second story clearly demonstrates Christian influences in the morality of the tale.

Oxalá had an ekin, a type of sea bird. Ekin’s task was to convey messages and predictions to the house. Now it seems that Ekin was a very good friend of the abo, the goat. Ekin told him everything that happened in Oxalá’s house. Abo began to intrigue among the housemates. Oxalá noticed this and, assuming he had a traitor in his house, wished to punish the guilty party. He called all the orixás (gods and goddesses) together. Ekin got wind of this, told his wife, and fled. The gods went to a babalawo (priest) (13). After throwing cowrie shells, the priest commanded that the ekin must not stick his head outside the door for sixteen days.
The gods decided to order Xangó to search for Ekin; they assumed he must be the only guilty one because he lived in the house. Xangó knew of Ekin’s friendship with Abo and told the goat that he was searching for Ekin. Abo immediately decided to help Xangó. He took two wooden gamelas (bowls) that fitted in one another and filled them with Ekin’s favorite food, obi olobo (fruit, apparently berries from the coca plant). He went to Ekin’s house and called out ‘Ekin—ô—ô—ô...’, repeating this twice. Ekin heard his friend’s call and told his wife he would just go see what he wanted. His wife reminded him of the babalawo’s command, but Ekin said, ‘Abo is my friend. I am going to see what he wants, what of it?’ He opened the window and Abo held up the bowls, one poised to cover the other and capture the bird. Ekin saw the delicious food and flew into the gamela to pick at it, and so he was imprisoned.

Abo went to Oxalá’s house to bring his captive to Xangó. Underway he met Iansa, the wife of the wind. Iansa knew that Ekin was trapped in the gamela, because orixás know everything, and she took pity on him. She talked to Oxun and the two decided to free the ekin. They concocted the following: in an open clearing, Iansa blew extremely hard into the face of the goat so that he had to keep his head down against the storm. This gave Iansa and Oxun the opportunity to open the gamela’s lid and allow Ekin to escape. Oxun threw her bracelet into the bowl and when the wind had passed and Abo went on, he thought that the scratching of the bracelet was the ekin.

When Abo arrived at the house of Oxalá, the latter already knew what had happened (because the orixás know everything). Oxalá asked Abo three times whether he had Ekin with him, and three times the goat answered ‘Yes’. Oxalá then told Abo to report to Xangó, who would punish the guilty one. Xangó was present along with all the orixás, and he asked, although he knew very well what had happened, whether Abo had Ekin with him in the gamela. Three times Abo answered ‘Yes’. Then Xangó commanded, ‘Open the bowls’. When the bowl was open, there lay the bracelet of Oxun, the wife of Xangó... Xangó grew furious and asked the goat how he got it. Abo answered that he had carried Ekin and that he did not understand how he had escaped and where Oxun’s bracelet came from. Xangó said that as punishment he had meant to eat Ekin, but that he would now have Abo instead. He asked the orixás whether he should punish Abo in this fashion. Iansa stood first and said that she agreed, followed by Oxun and the other orixás. Xangó then took the goat by his horns and hit him thrice on the head with a stone that he always carried in his pocket. This stone is called oholoburun. Then he threw the goat inside and said that he would deal with him and eat him up later. Xangó had never eaten goat before, but he did afterwards; prior to slaughter, he always hit the animal three times on the head with his Xangó—stone, just like the first time. Iansa, the dona do vento (wife of the wind), will not eat goat’s flesh because one of her sons is ill and sits pitifully upon a stool wrapped in a goatskin.

This myth is known as ‘Abo’s betrayal’. Besides its moral message, it also has information about the commonplace offerings to Xangó and Iansa.
It is difficult to get information concerning the rituals and liturgical actions. The stories, songs, and prayers occur in a mixture of Portuguese and Fon, the collective name for the Yoruba language's various dialects. Pernambucan Xangó is a mixture of original (i.e. from the initial slave period) Yoruba stories and Bantu fetishes and customs. The current dances are mixed with Indian elements, primarily based upon rhythm. The offerings were adapted to local circumstances and range from fruits, sweets, and pearls to incense or other smoldering herbs, wood carvings of limbs and heads, and money. Every district has a market with herbs, berries, powder, amulets, goat's feet, bird's claws, coins, fishbones, pearls, chains, shells, bottles of brightly-colored drinks, pieces of soap, salves, and too much more to list. The powders and soaps usually promise to eroticize and foster relationships, or, exactly the opposite, to call up voodoo powers that will lead to another's deterioration. Voodoo practices are the order of the day, but sooth-saying evenings in cases of birth, death, love, and hate are also common. Paranormal healing gatherings occur frequently. The rainbow and the full moon are important phenomena. The first day of December is the important feast of lemanjá. Towards evening, processions and groups head for the beach. Young girls in white garments inaugurate the festivities by entering the sea. The following day, the beach is strewn with flower offerings washed in by the waves. After a period of dancing and singing, participants assembling in their own Xangó location. These are not exactly secret, but they are inaccessible to outsiders. The song and dance performances take place in private, and at times practices are carried out that are forbidden in the light of day. One such practice, prohibited by the authorities but often performed on 1 December, is the sacrifice of calves. In Recife, however, the story is making the rounds that Xangó tricked lemanjá into eating the meat of an uncastrated goat. As a result, the religious rules now allow this particular meat on this day, apparently replacing the forbidden calf-slaughter.

I noticed in 1982 that the former candles had been replaced by a type of waxer light, while the luminous wreaths behind Oxalá, Ogun, lemanjá, and the other orixás, exquisitely arranged in their niches with bowls of offerings at their feet, were now formed by electric lights. Even Xangó keeps up with the times and, in doing so, maintains its culture and binding quality (14). Today's Xangó participants descend from a people who, torn from their place of birth for the sake of profit, succeeded in borrowing a base for existence from the singular strength of their own culture, one which has survived until today.

Neither the penetrating missionary work of the Roman Catholic Church, nor the largely indifferent attitude of the Dutch did much to change this; the latter actually may have nurtured the development of the Xangó.

Despite all the evil that the slave trade brought, this, at least, is a positive element, objections noted.
NOTES


3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 René Ribeiro, Antropologia da Religião e outros estudos, Recife 1982, p. 124. Ribeiro is an expert in native religious movements and is attached as a physician and sociologist to the Federal University of Pernambuco.


7 Information received in 1982 from Geraldo Fonseca Lima, professor of psychology at the Federal University of Pernambuco. In that year he was also the dean of the Faculty of Letters. Upon invitation, and accompanied by Prof. Fonseca Lima, the writer witnessed a Xangô performance in November of 1982. In the 1960’s, all Xangô gatherings were extremely secret and only under very unusual circumstances were outsiders, especially foreigners, admitted. The writer, through good connections with members of the ‘regular folk’, was given the opportunity to attend several sêances. By 1982, there appeared to be three categories of gatherings:

a) the most closed, often held among only a very small circle of people, sometimes even restricted to family;

b) the large, officially sanctioned gatherings that, despite their ‘for the masses’ feel, still retained their authenticity. University research teams were also allowed to witness these performances;

c) the gatherings organized for tourists; the performing participants emphasized the decorative and musical aspects of the rituals.

Much of the information included in this appendix comes from my own observations.

8 Information given to me by Prof. Ribeiro (see note 5), October 1982. This same remark appears in Antropologia da Religião, p. 126, published that year. Ribeiro is an authority on a number of Negro languages and dialects. The Xangô rites are performed in Fon or Jeje–Fon, the language of the Ewe–Fon tribe, or in Nàgo, and also in a syncretism of the two, Jeje–Nagô.

9 Jodocus Anstetten (or: Amstätten), Journael 1635. ARA, Verspreide West Indische Stukken, nr. 1408.

10 In a Xangô gathering attended by the author in 1982, the Pai Santo remained fairly static while an Indian woman dominated the performance with her dancing the entire night.
11 The versions of the two stories that follow were borrowed from Ribeiro, op cit., pp. 128-131. Apparently they are among the most familiar; the writer heard slight variations of these same Xangô-adventures several times in Pernambuco and Alagoas during the period 1963-1967.

12 *baelua*. Fon: priest. The Brazilian-language version is *babalaô*.

13 Xangô-groups are often subsidized by 'notables'. They do not attend gatherings themselves, but pay the group to conduct prayer sessions for healings, success in business, and love, or other worthy aims.
Appendix III: Alpendres: Canopies and awnings

Fig. 55a–g

a–g Several types of alpendres:

a  Capela do Corpo Santo, Oporto (Portugal). Real columns bear the penthouse.
b  Capela do Socorro, Bahia. As in Oporto, the penthouse is constructed with a ridge and a roof on three sides, resting upon columns. After Luís Saia.
c  Village church in Abrantes (Bahia). One of the earliest churches in Brazil. After Germain Bazain.
d  Plantation house and sugarmill. The simple type of construction, here borrowed from Frans Post, appears quite often in his pictures.
e  Old plantation house, after Frans Post.
f  Casa de fazenda, Aparacida (São Paulo), 18th century.
g  Seventeenth or eighteenth-century house on the Praça João Afredo, Olinda. The painting on the house next door dates from the election campaign, November 1982.

The Portuguese term alpendre, when indicating a portal or balcony with an awning, translates most clearly into 'a canopied space'. Covered galleries along residences are also called alpendres. If the structure is a terrace in back of a house, we can compare the term with the Malay emper: in layout and exterior, many old houses in
the former Dutch East Indies are based upon Portuguese architecture. The *alpendre* is often an element in Brazilian plantation residences, usually a gallery along the first storey. In ecclesiastical architecture, we find *alpendres* in Frans Post’s paintings as covered portals and small portals of churches and chapels. An *alpendre*, often paired with a crucifix upon the roof, lends an otherwise simple construction the allure of a religious structure. The portals served practically as:

a) shelter against sun and rain;
b) belfries when there was no tower;
c) a space for the priest to stand when he addressed the faithful in the open air.

For a), we should note that those forbidden to enter the church (for example, tramps, slaves, and the sick) could use the portal. In Italy, the narthex and gallery developed from these covered outer spaces. Because the Franciscan Order dedicated itself specifically to the poor, their churches eventually incorporated outer spaces and the church square as well. The characteristic Franciscan triple-gate gallery developed from this. The latter does not appear on Post’s paintings. In his time, small canopies were fashionable for churches, etc.; on the plantations, the style was an awning on the ground floor and along the galleries, as mentioned above. The last case comprises coverings that extend the roof. In ecclesiastical *alpendres*, we find both saddle- and hipped-roofs, the latter with one or more ridges (1). In Portuguese, the terminology indicates the number of ridges and draining levels *uma água* and *as duas águas*. Dutch uses only one term, *schilddak* (hipped-roof), regardless of the number of ridges, which range from one to four.

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*Fig. 56*

Cross of Aviz, Vure, Adonara (India). After Antonio Pinto da Franca.
Although structurally complicated, the alpendres' workmanship is simple enough to conform to the materials used in countryside chapels. Coverings varied from slanted awnings to hipped-roof extensions with four pillars or sister-pillars. By 'pillar', we rarely mean anything more than a wooden pole, but worked natural stone or brick was also used (2). The renovation of the façades in later fashions and materials completely or partially obliterated these primitive constructions (Guararapes) (3). By 1958, Bazain mentions only two, surviving, authentic 17th-century alpendres, one in São Paulo and one in Serinhaém (4). The São Paulo alpendre is actually a reconstruction of an original, and by 1982 I could no longer find the one in Serinhaém. The director of Recife Monument Preservation, Dr. José Luiz da Mota Menezes, hopes for the complete reconstruction of the chapel on Barlaeus's map of Serinhaém.

The canopies of the houses have lasted somewhat longer, in fact, until the present. The ordinary houses and aldeia huts in the interior usually have a covered front area. They are made of clay, wood, and palm leaves, the same materials as the mocambos, small slave quarters depicted by Frans Post. In Pernambuco we find both saddle- and hipped-roof constructions. But the rare, old plantation residences also have every possible type of covering, awning, and gallery. These are, quite naturally, of sounder material.

Although Indian quarters and huts also have alpendres, this style is not originally South American but traceable to Iberian influences. These versions exist in other Portuguese colonies, such as those still found on the present-day Indonesian islands Flores and Adonara, in a little place called Vure along the Kapel Krus Kosta (Portuguese: as costas, on the back, shoulders) (5).

It is not unlikely that the alpendre's disappearance is related to the mid-17th century pronouncements of Popes Urbanus VIII and Innocentius X forbidding improper behaviour in the gardens and portals of churches. In Brazil, 'native' dancers, mostly Negro slaves, would customarily guide the priest with African rituals to the church's front portal. They waited there for him, talking and laughing, and, if we can believe a report by a Jesuit priest, 'praticando coisas indecentes'.

The third, very lovely, type of alpendre can occasionnally still be found as an architectural monument, and thus an historical document. These are the wood-carved, covered balconies along city residences. The balconies are Arabian in origin, not surprising in the light of Portugal's Moçarabian culture. Their prevalence in Recife, especially in prestigious houses, is clear from the 18th-century illustrations of the Rangel family made near the Nossa Senhora da Penha in the São Jose district, a quarter since grievously mutilated and largely vanished. A few can also be found in Olinda.

The alpendres can be classified as follows:
I Alpendres along churches;
II Alpendres along civil architecture.
I:
1. single-cornered awning, *bico de pato* (duck beak); (see picture frontpage for variation).
2. saddle-roof, separated from the roof construction and against the church wall.
3. saddle-roof, extending the roof construction.
4. double-ridged hipped-roof.
5. single-ridged hipped-roof.
6. pillars resting directly upon the ground level.
7. pillars resting upon a small wall, sometimes with balusters.

II:
1-5: as in I. 1-5
6. various types of glass awnings mounted on cast-iron frames, dating from the 19th century.
7. as in I. 7.
8. gallery according to the I.1-principle on the upper levels.
9. gallery beneath the roof-extension on the upper floor(s).
10. open, wooden, Moçarabian balconies.
11. upper balconies along upper stories.

II. 1 may be constructed along the entire width of the façade and form a covered terrace.
II. 2 may be pushed far forward and form a long, covered entrance to the house. Other variations include canopies covering the outside stairs to the gallery on the first storey.
II. 11 are recommended by Olinda guides, keen on history, as 'Casas Holandesas'. Even if the houses themselves or at least their fundamentals dated from the 17th century, the balconies, in any case, were added after the Dutch departed, in the first half of the 18th century at the earliest.

Although Frans Post found his supreme biographer in Joaquim de Sousa-Leão, whose work was, moreover, important in reviving interest in Dutch Brazil's 17th-century culture. It is striking that, while Bazain recognized the documentation value of Post's work concerning *alpendres*, Sousa's own descriptions of the paintings often mentions an 'unusual porch', 'wooden porch, unknown in Pernambuco', or 'alpendre with an unusual front'. But the branching truss-construction was not in itself unusual in these entrance areas of both ecclesiastical and civil architecture.
NOTES


2 *Alvanaria* should be categorized as a primitive version of ‘natural stone’: it is a mixture of natural stone or brick pieces cemented together. It was also used to construct more massive walls.

3 Located on page 2.

‘Un alpendre devant la façade disposition en tout semblable à celle qu’on voit dans les églises antérieures à l’invasion hollandaise sur les tableaux de Frans Post, et qui disparu presque partout dans les monuments du Brésil.’

5 Flores, Larantuka, Confraria da Reinja Rosari (comparable to Brazil’s Nossa Senhora do Rosario). This chapel has a saddle–roof whose shape is repeated in the alpendre. Adonara, Vure, Kapela Krus Kosta. In 1714, the *fidalgo* Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho, directly descended from Pernambuco’s capitao–line, gave the province of Vure a *luitblok* (chime). It was placed in the alpendre to serve as a *sineira*. A. Pinto da França, *Portuguese influences in Indonesia*, p. 54, fig. 42.
Appendix IV: Coinage in Dutch Brazil

After Johan Maurits departed in May of 1644, the supreme authority fell into the hands of a triumvirate. 'A merchant, a goldsmith and a carpenter', banters Mollema. He was not completely in tune with the facts. Hendrik Hamel, Adriaen van Bullestraten, and Dirck Codde van de Burgh (who died within a short time) were all merchants. Codde was replaced by Pieter Bas, a goldsmith in Haarlem, his hometown. It seems that Hamel's son, Hendrik Jr., was indeed a carpenter in Mauritsstad (1).

Be that as it may, as soon as the Hoge Raad gained sole authority, they offered little resistance to the decrees of the Heren XIX. They tried in every possible way to increase the sugar yields and the profits of other trade products. They also threw to the four winds the written and oral advice that Johan Maurits van Nassau gave them before his departure.

The tax burden increased instead of decreased. Sanctions were passed to frighten sugar farmers into cooperation. Their debts, according to Johan Maurits's own calculations, had risen to approximately 130 million guilders; of this, half was due the WIC. The interest varied between 2 and 3% monthly. We know of cases reaching 40 or 50% per annum.

As we saw in Chapter III, no cause for alarm existed provided the sugar yield arose sufficiently high. But if the trend changed even slightly, if harvests failed or other problems remained, trouble ensued.

The Hoge Raad's policies assumed that the crisis had already passed and did not stem from structural inadequacies. Their short-term politics only served to aggravate inflation. Still, their measures are understandable; they themselves were searching for a means of paying the soldiers, who were beginning to complain about the back-pay they were due.

With an ex-goldsmith among the members, the following solution struck them as a Columbus's Egg. Before returning to the Netherlands from Africa, ships loaded with slaves frequently paid courier-calls to Brazil first. Since 1612 the Dutch had gained a firm foothold on the Gold Coast, specifically in the land of Guiné (Ghana after 1956), by erecting the splendid Fort Nassau upon a hill along the coast. It lay to the east of Fort São Jorge da Mina, built by the Portuguese in 1482 and captured in 1637 by Colonel Hans van Koin for the WIC (2). The conquered area was further expanded in 1642 with the capture of Axim.

The principal share of the Dutch gold supply came from this area. Boxer even proposes that all Dutch gold coins were struck from Guiné gold (3). Thus, it is no surprise that from the very beginning, Johan Maurits van Nassau wanted the WIC's West African territory under Dutch Brazilian administration. Black gold wasn't the only attraction.
The Hoge Raad decided to circulate their own currency in the summer of 1645 (4). On 21 July of that year, they decided to take a percentage of the gold shipment that had just arrived from Guiné on the ship 'Zeelandia'. They intended either to strike coins or sell the gold and repay when possible at a later point. They calculated their percentage at 40 troys for every ninth share of the five Chambers (5). The troy, or mark troisch, the numismatic unit of weight for silver and gold, by that time had various values (6). The distribution gave Amsterdam four, Zeeland two, and the remaining Chambers (Northern Quarter, Friesland/Groningen and the Maze) each a single share. Together, this gave Brazil 360 troys, of which an unknown portion was sold while the remainder was used for coinage. An 'Instructie' was issued to this effect on 10 October 1645. Pieter Jansen Bas supervised the execution. He appointed four mint-masters: Andries Ketelaer, Hendrick Bruynsvelt, Johannes Courtenuis, and Pieter Verbeec (7). Commander Jacob Alrichs was appointed comptroller. He was also empowered to convey the gold from the Guiné ships. How many coins were struck that first year is still unknown. The unit was called the 'Braziliaanse Dukaat'. It had three denominations: 12 guilders, six guilders, and three guilders, all with the same square shape. On one side stood the emblem of the WIC (GWC) and on the other side, the value and the word 'Brasil'. Not unexpectedly, the Heren XIX were not pleased with this pecuniary action. They began to have serious doubts about the business allegiance that the other side of the ocean felt for their government. In 1646, when Recife once again decided to issue its own coins, Amsterdam even announced its intention to recall and imprison the Hoge Raad (8). The salary of 600 guilders allotted to Pieter Bas for unusual services especially riled the Heren XIX; it demonstrated to them that 'The High and Secret Councillors [Hoge en geheime Raden] were always on the lookout to fulfill their own conditions in an exorbitant fashion' (9). They quickly forgot that the Horatian doctrine 'Pecuniae obedient omnia' also applied to themselves. They hardly considered their own acquisitions of private (free trade) practices, their holdings in foreign and therefore rival companies, and their furtive futures-market practices to be objectionable conflicts of interest. As it was, the Hoge Raad, in high dudgeon, struck 355 marks in new ducats in 1646, and they were not dismissed. They struck an equal quantity of each value of coin: 6,200 pieces of each, totaling 18,600. The value exceeded 140 million. At the same time, the Hoge Raad justified themselves to the WIC directors. They stressed the precarious financial situation and the internal peace of Brazil that depended upon it. Additionally they argued that, of the 1500 free civilians in Recife, only 600 would remain; most were preparing for departure to the fatherland, and trade was completely paralyzed (10). Once more, the WIC obviously could not operate without the supporting strength of the free trade.

Some signs indicate that coins were also issued in 1647, if the date of a 12 guilder coin, struck in Recife in 1647 and included in a 1941 catalog of Brazilian coins, is correct (11). Because that year produced no substantial improvement in Brazil's monetary situation and economic conditions, a third issue might have been possible. Further indications or correspondence, however, does not exist.
In 1654, immediately after the surrender to the Portuguese, an unknown number of coins were struck ‘because the treasury was completely empty, to the point that even the smallest debts could not be settled’. The silver—gold was naturally unavailable—was contributed by the private households of government members Schonenborch and Haexs, ‘who put together 23 pounds’ (approx. 10 1/2 kilos) (12). Hendrik Brunsvelt struck five denominations from this, square and minted on only one side with the letters GWC and the values in Roman numerals: XXXX stuivers, XXX stuivers, XX stuivers, X stuivers, and XII stuivers. The 12 stuivers, 60 cents, were equal to two schellingen.

The issues in 1645 and 1646 were calculated in guilders, thus using the decimal system, but the units were produced in the duodecimal system of twelve, six, and three florins. The two—schellingen coin, based on the Danish unit, was set in the West Indies at approximately one Spanish or Portuguese real. This made the Dutch—Brazilian coin accessible in that part of the world; the Dutch could continue to use the Spanish and Portuguese units while combining them with their own money.

The makers probably chose the square shape of the coins because they cut them from gold or silver plates. This procedure was more efficient than using round or multiple—edged shapes. The bills and order—lists for the instruments needed by Recife’s mint—masters have supposedly survived. Considering that the WIC directors in Holland opposed the Brazilian mintage so adamantly, I find it remarkable that the Dutch in Brazil had the insolence to order these from the fatherland (13).

It is no simple task to compare the Brazilian coins and the money circulating in the Netherlands at the same time.

In the first place, before 1681 the Republic did not have a standard coin, although different plakaten had circulated since 1619 (14). Moreover, until 1681 the guilder or florin (20 stuivers) was only considered money of account and not used as currency. The guilder was calculated according to the silver equivalents of circulating silver coins. In his De Nederlandsche Prijsgeschiedenis, Posthumus indicates that this type of calculation made it difficult to establish a ratio between silver coins and their weight in fine silver. We are not speaking here of the so—called remedy or margin permitted the mint—master; this amounted to a negligible number of milligrams. Simple exchange and interchange of coins caused much stronger fluctuations in actual silver weight from year to year (15). A dialogue appearing in a 1649 Vlissingen pamphlet, De Zeeuwse Verreikijker, reports that a captain would get no more than 38 guilders and eight stuivers in Dutch money for 48 Brazilian guilders, a difference of 192 stuivers (f.9.55) (16).

In that year, the most marketable specie of higher value in Holland was the Rijksdaalder, equal to 50 stuivers, with a silver content calculated according to the golden florin (gulden): 10.28 grams of fine silver. One stuiver was 0.2056 grams; the captain’s gold Brazilian currency added another 39.4742 grams.

Even Brazil did not always measure the gold content precisely. One account from mint—master Jan Bruynsvelt reveals that he categorized coins he struck on 29 and 30 August and 2 September 1646 as ‘Under’ and ‘Above’ the desired weight.
In the *Instructie* of 1645, Pieter Bas was allowed to produce coins below the weight limit:
- the 12 *guilder* coins weighed between 7.72 and 7.57 grams;
- the six *guilder* coins weighed between 3.36 and 3.79 grams;
- the three *guilder* coins weighed between 1.93 and 1.90 grams.

According to the *Dagelijksse Notulen* of 18 August 1645, the gold weight of coins struck in Recife could not comprise less than 25% of the value. Some weeks later, the *Generale Missive* reports not 25 but 20% (17).

One ounce of gold cost £37.00 at the time; one *mark troosisch* was thus £296.00. We are speaking of raw gold here. (A captain’s monthly salary amounted to £30.00.)

The value of a *mark troosisch* minted gold was set at 32 coins of 12 guilders each, amounting to £384.00. The difference between the gross raw value and the net minted value would be £88.00, except that the alloy’s copper weight was approximately 8.33% (£32.00). The actual value of the 12-florin ducat, thus, was approximately 14.66% lower than the nominal value (18).

Because of the colony’s perilous situation, merchants hastened to transport their money as quickly as possible to safe regions (19). To stop this outward stream, the *Hoge Raad*, since 16 August 1646 the ‘*Hoge* (or Supreme) *Regeringe van Brazilie*’, proclaimed that Brazilian money would increase in exchange. In 1647, Spain and Portugal fell in line with this measure to raise the exchange rate of the Brazilian Ducado (20). But the percentage differences between the Dutch and Brazilian gold money continued. The result was that salaries in both currencies acquired an actual difference. The veterans protested against the higher salaries of the newly-arrived troops, and the newcomers objected to payment in Brazilian currency (21).

In 1653, their complaints compelled the States General to decree a 25% increase in salaries paid in Brazilian currency (22).

The Cabinet of Medals and Coins in Leiden preserves the coin collection of the previous *‘gevolmachtigde van de Koningin’* in Lisbon, now known as the Pilaer Collection (23). Investigation of this interesting collection brought to light a single Brazilian coin, the golden three-*guilder* ducat from 1646 (24). As far as I know, it is the only remaining specimen attesting to the numismatic escapades of an inventive board of directors.

The *Heren XIX* were never stingy with criticism. After 1654, the issuing country (in this case, ‘*Hollants–Brasil’*) had vanished and the money lost its right to existence as a means of payment. The entire coinage attempt was an episode best forgotten as soon as possible, and quite likely those still possessing Brazilian money melted most of it down.
Fig. 57a
Emergency coin, three guilders, issued by the Geoctroyeerde West Indische Compagnie (emblem GWC). Gold; appr. 16 x enlarged; front.

b
The same coin as fig. 57a; reverse. This gold coin, is, as far as is known, the only WIC coin preserved from that period. Coll. Munten- en Penningkabinet, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden; Fonds Pilaer, nr. 1742. To this collection my attention kindly was drawn by Prof. Dr. C.W. Fock.
NOTES

1. Hamel Jr. may be confused with his father, who appears upon the list of Amsterdam Chamber members for 1621. De Laet I, p. 34.


4. ARA, OWIC, folder 60.

5. The five Chambers' distribution key was:
   Amsterdam: four shares
   Zeeland: two shares
   Maze: one share
   Northern Quarter: one share
   Friesland/Groningen: one share

   The troy had two measures in Holland:
   1. the general *mark trooisch*
   2. the Amsterdam *mark trooisch*
   The value of the general *mark trooisch* was approximately the same: eight ounces, equal to 5120 azen (246,067 grams).
   The Amsterdam troy was somewhat higher: 247,047 grams.
   These facts were kindly extended by ir. F. Sevenhuysen.

7. Mello, ibid, pp. 189, 193.

8. ARA, OWIC folder 9.

9. ARA, OWIC folder 9. The same correspondence forbids ships returning from Guiné to call at Recife in the future!


12. Ibid., p. 219.

13. Mello, ibid, p. 206. I have not been able to locate these lists in the ARA. It is possible that Bruysvelt, the mint-master, intended his bill for the *Hoge Raad*. In that case, my reserved remark concerning the order is irrelevant. I am continuing the search in the ARA.


15. Ibid., CX.

16. Pamflet *De Zeeuwse Verrekijker*, Vlissingen 1649, anonymous, KB, Knuttel 6484.

17. Mello, *Ducados*, p. 193; *Dagelijkse Notulen* 18-8-1645, ARA, OWIC.
18 Goldsmiths were active in Recife even before the Hoge Raad decided to issue coins. And once it ordered to coin two medals, honouring the captains of the 'Gulden Valk' and the 'Elizabeth' in 1645 (chapter II, note 28). The skippers each received a gold medal as a remembrance, with the inscription: 'Door de Valk en Elizabeth Is het Recife onzet' (Through Valk and Elizabeth Is Recife delivered.) Nieuhof. op cit., pp. 175–176. Another contemporary account speaks of: 'Pernambuco onzet Door de Gulde Valk en Elisabeth'
(Pernambuco delivered By the Gilded Hawk and Elisabeth)
Amsterdamschen Veerman op middelburgh, 1650, p. 8.
Gonsalves de Mello unearthed the names of both skippers, Overcamp and Someren (Lyste van Arrivement Scheepen, ARA, OWIC folder 63). He also regretfully concluded that no trace remains of the two medals, supposedly struck in Recife by the same minters/goldsmiths who saw to the issue of ducats in 1645 and 1646. Gonsalves de Mello, J.A., 'Os Ducados Brasilieiros de 1645 e 1646 e as moedas obsidionais cunhadass no Recife em 1654', RIAHGP, vol. XLVIII, 1976, p. 198. Compare to Nieuhof. Brasil. p. 146. ARA, OWIC box 70.

19 When food grew scarce, the currency's purchasing power decreased.

20 Mello, Ducados. p. 216.


22 Mello, Ducados. p. 217.

23 The Pilaer Collection is named for the Portuguese monarch's diplomatic agent in the 1860's and 1870's. Sir G.J. Pilaer. Van der Chijis, then director of the University of Leiden's Munte- en Penningkabinet, had requested all agents and consuls to foreign nations to send him coins and medals, of archeological value or not, from their country of appointment. Pilaer did this throughout his life and bequeathed the Kabinet a sum whose interest would provide for new purchases. Because this legacy went to the University itself, the Portuguese collection remained in Leiden after Royal Decree surrendered the remaining substantial collection to the Rijks Munt- en Penningkabinet in The Hague.

24 Description of exact sizes:
15 × 13 × 13 × 13 mm; gold; on one side 'Anno BRASIL 1645', on the other side, above the WIC emblem, 'XIX', and below it, 'GWC'.
The coins were purchased from the Callenfels collections in 1866. Cat. no. old Pilaer Collection: 356.
Appendix V: Nomenclature of sugar plantations

Today, the sugar plantations around Recife still play a role derived from their old functions. Fifteen of the 24 districts on the mainland lying outside the historical city nucleus still carry the names of the engenhos that formed their core. The engenhos linked the area to European culture. Their names now link past and present. Bairro Recife, Santo António, and 18th-century Boa Vista form the historic city center. The remaining districts are called arredores, outer districts, those 'lying in the surroundings'.

At the beginning of this century, the Pernambucan historian and writer Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa (1851-1923) collected a series of articles about the arredores. He meant to research the history and etymology of their names. I borrow an important part of the following information about the arredores' nomenclature from this work. I have also used the lists and reports of the engenhos (José Israel da Costa, 1623; Adriaen Verdonck, 1630; Willem Schott, 1636; Johan Mauritius van Nassau, 1638; Adriaen van der Dussen, 1639; and Francisco da Mesquita, 1655). Finally, I have also made use of information given to me by Ruy dos Santos Pereira and Eduardo da Silva de Sampaio, a former taxi-driver, presently a bank employee, an amateur historian, and an inexhaustible source for the historian who, pursuing a correct interpretation of the past, is interested in contemporary daily life in the Nordeste.

The map shown in fig. 58 designates the locations of the engenhos treated below, indicated by Arabic numerals. The list of characters designates the location of the sugarmills treated in Chapter III.

1 Apipucos. In 1593, the colonist (colono) Leonardo Pereira owned an engenho of this name (1). The engenho São Pantaleão do Monteiro, in 1623 owned by Francisco Monteiro Bezerra, lay across from it (2). In 1577 the grounds of Apipucos and São Pantaleão all belonged to the owner of Engenho Monteiro, André Gonçalves. He apparently also founded the engenho Apipucos. After Leonardo Pereira, Apipucos passed to Dona Jerónima de Almeida and, after her, to Gaspar de Mendonça, still the owner in 1630. The Portuguese list of 1655 reports that 'o de Gaspar de Mendonça, dos Apipucos' yields 'a quatro por cento' (3). In 1645, after losing the Battle at Tabocas, Dutch troops revenged themselves upon the houses, possessions, women, and girls of Apipucos, according to a bitter account by Padre Manuel Calado (4).
Fig. 58

Topographic map of Recife and environs. After Francisco Pereira da Costa by Martin Frissen.
2 Casa Forte. One of the first cultivated spots in Pernambuco. Capitão Duarte Coelho gave it to Diogo Gonçalves in the mid-16th century (5). The latter was married to Isabel Fróis (or Frôes), who, at the request of Queen Dona Catarina, accompanied Coelho and his spouse Brites de Albuquerque in 1535 (6). Their daughter Isabel married Jerônimo Pais de Azevedo. Ana Pais was born around 1610 on the estate of Casa Forte. Her first husband, Pedro Correia da Silva, died in 1630 during the Dutch attack on Forte São Jorge. on the isthmus between Olinda and Recife. Her second husband was a Dutch captain, Charles de Tourlon, sent to Holland in 1637 for ambiguous reasons. There, an investigation into his loyalty began. A year later, he was allowed to return to Brazil as a private citizen. Supposedly, Count Maurits and Dona Ana had a relationship. Be that as it may, she wrote pleading letters to Holland, and in 1638, Count Maurits made Charles a member of his bodyguard, which accompanied him on his trip to Bahia. After the death of her husband, Dona Ana remarried once again in 1645—the judge Gisbert (or Gijsbert) de With. Her second marriage produced a daughter, Isabel Tourlon, who married a Dutch infantry officer, Viglio Gaspar Krovestein.

In 1692, the heirs of Ana and Gisbert de With and Isabel Krovestein-Tourlon filed a request with the Portuguese ambassador in The Hague, where the family resided, for information concerning the amount of sugar that might be awarded to them from their ancestral property (7).

Casa Forte was an ox-driven sugarmill located in a beautiful area of good soil and lovely forests, near the Passo do Fidalgo, later called Sant’Ana, on the left bank of the Capibaribe. In 1645, the engenho sheltered the Dutch troops after their defeat on Tabocas hill (8). Casa Forte was also called 'Engenho de With', but in Brazilian history, the battle of Tabocas is known as 'A Batalha de Casa Forte' (17 August 1645). Casa Forte was torn down after 1810.

3 Cordeiro. A territory in the fertile fields of the Várzea, in the neighborhood of Engenho Madalena (9), Cordeiro was the property of Colonel Ambrósio Machado (1616), who also owned part of Antônio Vaz island (south of Fort Vrijhoek). Machado apparently died during the Dutch capture of Forte Arraial do Bom Jesus in 1635. The engenho was abandoned and fell into decay. The crumbling pieces formed a shallow spot in the branch of the Capibaribe bordering the engenho; this came to be called the 'passagem de Ambrósio Machado'. The engenho was confiscated in 1636 and sold to an unknown Dutchman the same year. In 1654, a portion of the fields came into the possession of João Fernandes Vieira’s adjutant, João Cordeiro de Mendanha. His name and the memory of the engenho have been preserved. Cordeiro was still functional in the 19th century, property of a certain Joaquim da Silva Pereira in 1831.

4 Jiúquá. Mentioned as an engenho for the first time in a 1598 reallocation. The founder was probably the Madeira fidalgo Francisco Berenguer de Andrade; he also appears in the 1623 list (10).
Berenguer sold Jiquiá to António Fernandes Pessoa, a Pernambucan native and the son of colono Pedro Afonso Duro. The owner abandoned the engenho in 1630, when he retreated to the engenho Sibiro, his property near Ipojuca (11). Fernandes Pessoa died in 1633. His widow, Dona Maria de Aguiar, returned to Jiquiá; she died in 1647. Her daughter, Ana de Lira Pessoa, married Luis da Silva. He received the engenho as Ana’s dowry. After his death, Ana married Francisco de Faria Chóia. The couple sold Jiquiá to Captain António Borges Chóia. In the 18th century, the engenho passed from his family to the commander of the city of Recife, Roque Antunes Correia, whose grandson of the same name disposed of the business. In 1846 it was still operating, in the hands of Manuel Cavalcânti de Albuquerque.

Jiquiá was an engenho de bôi. Father Manoel da Salvador, alias Padre Manoel Calado, alias Manoel dos Óculos (oculos means spectacles; he owned a rare example, leading to his nickname) visited it in 1638. After performing Mass in the home of Francisco Berenguer de Andrade, he travelled to Huis Vrijburg, where Count Mauritius permitted him to hold another service, according to Pereira da Costa (12).

5. Madalena. The Engenho Madalena dates from the end of the 16th century. The first owners were the jídalgo Pedro Afonso Duro and his wife Dona Madalena Gonçalves. Pernambucan by birth and a daughter of the prosperous colono Diogo Martins Pessoa. The grounds of the engenho originally belonged to Jerônimo de Albuquerque, the brother-in-law of Duarte Coelho. In 1630, Pedro Afonso sold Madalena to João de Mendonça, a man distinguished in military service by his ‘muito valor e distinção’, and always accompanied by his slaves and horses (13). A road, the Passagem da Madalena, led to the plantation. A cross over also bridged the Capibaribe. In the 19th century, a stone bridge allowed the passer-by to cross without a toll, according to a rhyme on a column:

'Do Augusto o poderoso braço
Te franqueia um livre passo.'

(The mighty arm of Augustus provides you with free passage) (14). The residence was called Sobrado Grande and had extensive surrounding lands. In the third decade of the 19th century, however, the engenho was no longer in operation.

6. Monteiro. On 5 December 1577, Manuel Vaz and his wife Dona Maria Rodrigues sold Engenho São Pantaleão do Monteiro to Jorge Camelo and his wife Dona Isabel Cardoso ‘with all lands, forests, clearings, houses, machinery, slaves, and cattle’, according to a purchase agreement of the same date, drawn up in Olinda (15). The sale also included a piece of land in the Várzea; payment was 20,000 arrobas (approx. 300,000 kilos) of white sugar (azúcar branco) over a period of 10 years beginning in 1578.
Jorge Camelo lived aristocratically. He was a liaison officer and in 1585 took part in an expedition to Paraíba to subject and convert the Indians. The fields of Monteiro were unbelievably fertile and wide. They boarded the plantations of Apipecos, Casa Forte, and the Beberibe and Capihabori to the south. In 1707 Ambrosio Machado de Carvalho's engenho, though no longer operating, was added to the property. According to a purchase agreement of 16 November 1707, the property was further expanded on that date by the purchase and surrender of territories once belonging to João Nunes Vitória and Dona Isabel Cardoso (the owner in 1577).

In 1593, Monteiro belonged to Fernão Martins Pessoa, married to Dona Maria Gonçalves Raposo, and in 1606 to Francisco Monteiro Bezerra and his wife Dona Maria Pessoa, the daughter of Fernão Martins, who had received the property as dowry. The engenho owes its final name to this owner.

Francisco Monteiro Bezerra was captain of an infantry company and perished in the attack upon Forte Aflagos (Fort Prins Willem) in 1649. His successor was one of his four sons, João Pessoa Bezerra, who conspired against the Dutch.

During the 19th century, the engenho was abandoned. The lovely chapel São Pantaleão do Monteiro fell into ruin, and, in 1921, the statues and artefacts were taken to the church of Casa Forte.

7 Tejipió. Originally Tejipió was a grand estate possessing a sugarmill. It lay on the left bank of the river Tejipió. The sugar, packed in wooden crates, was brought to Recife in small boats such as the ones in Post's paintings. In his 1663 sugar memoir, João Fernandes Vieira warns that this packaging had to be constantly monitored so that the white sugar would not be lost or mixed in with the mascowado (16).

Tejipió played a role in the the great landowners' anti-Dutch campaign; in 1642, Vieira secretly met Captain Antônio Dias Cardoso of Bahia here, and in 1645 it was the departure point for the soon-to-be-victorious troops headed for the battle of Tabocas. That same year, Vieira rebuilt the Casa da Fazenda into a beautiful and spacious residence, and with material remaining from the now-decrepit engenho, he erected the chapel Nossa Senhora do Rosário in gratitude for the victory (17).

Vieira, who eventually owned 16 engenhos, reports in his testament of 1674, drawn up on his estate Engenho Maranguapes, that '...the fields of Tejipió...will be purchased by Sebastião Bezerra' (18). The Tejipió streams eastwards from Recife, and the ground here is also unusually suited for the cultivation of sugarcane and vegetables. The name comes from the Indian teyu-piôg, root of the Tej, an Euphorbia-like plant (19).

8 Torre. After the Portuguese commander had to abandon Olinda and Recife to the Dutch in 1630, he went inland about 30 km from the coast and erected Forte Arraial do Bom Jesus. From the very beginning this fortification was an irritation to the Dutch. Before they succeeded in taking the fort in 1635, they undertook preparatory actions. One of these was the occupation of Engenho Marcos André (20). The place was built up into a small fortress, including soldiers' quarters. Since then the place was called 'Engenho da Torre' (21).
Marcos André was a prosperous plantation owner who married a Pernambucan woman from the Borges Uchôa and Barbalho Uchôa families. After Marcos André, the engenho went to a certain Antônio Borges Uchôa, who distinguished himself in the battle at Tabocas by his courage, according to Frei Rafael de Jesus in his 1679 biography of João Fernandes Vieira (22). Antônio built a bridge over the Capibaribe in 1654. Schlappriz recorded the dikes and the remains of the bridge in his mid-19th century print ‘Os Caes da Ponte d’Uchôa’ (23).

The engenho was ox-driven and stretched out over an area bordering Casa Forte, Madalena, and Jiquiá. Around 1715, the engenho da Torre belonged to one Cristóvão de Holanda Cavalcânti. He exchanged the plantation for Engenho Moreno (24) of Antônio Rodrigues Campelo, his family operated the fazenda, as the estates were later called, until the beginning of the 20th century.

The chapel, Nossa Senhora do Rosário, has been restored several times, but still stands in the same place and serves as the parish church of the Torre district. The last restoration dates from 1867. The Rodrigues Campelo family grave is located in the chapel.

9. Várzea is the name of the territory west of Recife and Olinda, where the Portuguese established sugarmills from the first days of the capitania. In older chronicles the name varies from ‘Vargea’, ‘Vergea’, and ‘Varja’, to ‘Vargem’ meaning cultivated land, flat land, the low-lying area on a river. Apparently it is similar to the Dutch term .watermeadows: the piece of land between a canal and a dike). The Dutch often wrote it as ‘Versjes’.

Fig. 59a
Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Várzea, 1982. The house on the left is supposedly the one on the left side in the background of figure 60a.
Around 1550, 'Várzea de Capibaribe', one of the engenhos belonging to Diogo Gonçalves, the grandfather of Ana Pais Altero, stood in the area. It had a small chapel, the Nossa Senhora do Rosário da Várzea, which was transformed into the parish church of the district, similar to the Nossa Senhora do Rosário in Torre. This chapel dates from before 1612. The current (Dutch) priest, Padre Jorge Polman, proposes that A Village (Sousa–Leão Post, 1973, nr. 20, property of the Amsterdam Scheepvaartmuseum) shows the situation that Frans Post found there in the 1640's. His argument focuses on the floor plan of the church; the Capela Santíssimo Sacramento and part of the nave resemble the sacristy and nave in the painting. Padre Jorge also points out the hard stone thresholds and broad bricks from the ruins of a house across from the church, comparing them to the row of houses in the painting, one of them indeed a sobrado and thus probably the property of a prosperous man (25).

Fig. 59b
Remnants of a hard-stone swallow and an old brick wall, located on the right side of the Nossa Senhora do Rosário. Supposedly these remnants come from one of the houses in front of the church, as depicted by Frans Post on fig. 60a.

The popular tale that is preserved as an attraction concerns Felipe Camarão, the Indian commander 'que, com seus arcos e flexas defendeu a Fé e a Pátria contra o Batavo Invasor', (who, with his bows and arrows, defended the Faith and the Fatherland against the Batavian Invader) was buried here after he perished in the first battle of Guararapes in 1648. The diary of a liaison officer stationed in the Várzea in 1630, the year of the Dutch invasion, reports 16 sugarmills in the area called Várzea do Capibaribe, 'an extensive region that forms a parish and is surrounded by a river of the same name'. Pereira da Costa later names not 16 but 20 engenhos, plus three from a later period (26).
Fig. 60a & h
Settlement in North-East Brazil. Frans Post 1654, panel 51 x 70 cms. Sousa-Leão nr. 20. Coll. Scheepvaartmuseum nr. A59(2). The narrow windows indicate the defensive functions of churches and chapels in the Interior during the 16\textsuperscript{th} and first half of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. On the left in the background a part of a casa grande is visible.

Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Várzea 1982, detail of the left side
a Engenho Santo António, the first foundation by Diogo Gonçalves and apparently identical to Engenho Várzea do Capibaribe. In the 17th century (between 1638 and 1643) it belonged to Charles de Tourlon, as dowry from his marriage to Ana País. Later property of Fernandes Vieira.
b São João, 'arruadado' in 1645 but nonetheless sold by Jacques Moca for a steep price (three payments of 8,000 cruzados each) to Fernandes Vieira. His conspiracy headquarters in 1645.
c Engenho do Meio, confiscated and sold in 1638 to Jacob Stachouwer (Portuguese, Estacour) and Fernandes Vieira. The buildings were tumble-down and only the fields remained, but the gentlemen returned the engenho to its former glory. In 1645 Vieira set up the bulk of the resistance here, 'o Forte Real do Bom Jesus, o Arraial Novo'. In 1686, the Engenho do Meio was administered by Vieira's widow, Dona Maria César.
d São Francisco. After the 1654 surrender, purchased by General André Vidal de Negreiros. Afterwards given to his daughter, Catarina, who married Diogo Cavalcânti Vasconcelos. Vidal de Negreiros owned more land in the Várzea, bordering or in the neighborhood of this engenho. In 1689, ownership transferred to Captain Gonçalo Ferreira da Costa.
e São Braz. Reported in 1637 as the property of António Barbosa. An operational engenho -d'água.
f Curado, previously São Sebastião, in 1637, owned by Sergeant Major Pedro Cunha de Andrade, who married Dona Cosma Frois, niece of Diogo Gonçalves. It was an engenho- de-boi, fully operational in those years. Portuguese troops departed from the capela de engenho, São Sebastião, early one morning in February 1645 to rescue the wife and the mother-in-law of Fernandes Vieira. The women had been taken prisoner in Engenho do Meio and brought to Engenho Casa Forte days before by the Dutch, incensed over the last battle at Tabocas.
g São Paulo. In 1637, property of Henrique Afonso Pereira. An engenho- de-boi. In 1641 it belonged to António de Oliveira, land-agent of the royal plantation on Itamaracá. Likely one of Frans Post's pictures representing an Engenho-Real illustrates the Itamaracá engenho.
h Santos Cosme e Damião, reported without further information.
i Engenho de Maria Barroso, engenho- de-boi, not operational in 1630.
j Engenho que foi de Carlos Francisco, an engenho- d'água, sold in 1637 to Jacob Stachouwer. Pereira da Costa proposes that this is the same as Engenho do Meio, later the property of João Fernandes Vieira.
k Engenho de Francisco de Brito, engenho- de-boi, intact in 1630.
l Engenho de Luis Braz Bezerra, engenho- d'água, operational in 1630.
m Engenho que foi de Dona Catarina, the same as São Tomé. Reported in 1657 as belonging to 'Guilherme Bribão, flamengo de nação' (Dutch by birth), who bought it for 6,000 cruzados from António de Sousa Moura, 'português e morador nesta capitania' (Portuguese and resident in this capitania).
Engenho que pertenceu a António Machado, sold in 1639 to Willem Schott (Schotte), who renamed it ‘Reis Magos’ (Three Wise Men of the East). Schott was a member of the Politieke Raad for the Chamber of Zeeland in 1633. In 1636, his colleagues were Jacob Stachouwer, Balthasar Wijntges, Ippe Eisens and Elias Herckmans (27). Schott supervised the territory between the Rio Jangadas and Rio Una, including the freguesia Serinhaém. In 1636, he drew up a list of important facts about the engenhos there, which Gonsalves de Mello discusses in his A Economia Açucareira (28). Schott names 46 engenhos in all, located in Cabo, Ipojuca, Serinhaém, and Gonçalo de Una. Schott paid 20,000 cruzados for his engenho. For the rest, Gonsalves de Mello reports that Schott did not buy this engenho, but rather the engenho belonging to Ambrósio Machado, ‘Cordeiro’. Still, Pereira da Costa studied Cordeiro’s history so thoroughly that I will stick to his information.

Three engenhos in the Várzea date from a later period, after the ‘Restauration’ in 1654. The names of two, ‘Brum–Brum’ and ‘Brum’, are reminders of Forte do Brum, behind Recife, built in 1630 under the supervision of Commander De Bruin.

O Brum–Brum was (re?)established upon the old grounds in 1667 by a veteran of the resistance against the Dutch. Captain Miguel Bezerra Monteiro, Knight of the Royal House and Ordem de Cristo. The engenho still existed in 1882. the property of the heirs of Bernardo Antônio de Miranda.

Engenho Brum, also located on the left bank of the Capibaribe, has long since disappeared. The lovely district Caxangá rose on this land.

Engenho Camaragibe, ‘de antiga construção’ (an old-fashioned construction) writes Pereira da Costa. Considering the works of Frans Post, we can imagine what that means. The engenho disappeared, so to speak, with its last owner, dr. Pedro Francisco de Paula Cavalcânti de Albuquerque, Visconde de Camaragibe, imperial senator and representative of the old Pernambucan nobility, who died in 1875, according to Pereira da Costa. According to the etymologist Teodoro Sampayo, the engenho’s name means ‘on the river Camara’ (Tupi: camarà–g–y–pê). Camara is the name of a plant of the Verbenaceae family, Lantana brasiensis, frequently used as a curative spice (29). Finally, one more reminder of the Dutch Period recently sprang to life in the Várzea with the establishment of an observatory near the school and parish house. The observatory was set up by Padre Jorge Polman, mentioned earlier. It is the only observatory in Recife, and as such, its founder follows in the footsteps of the first astronomer in the southern hemisphere, George Maregraf (30).

Afogados. Although tradition does not directly mention a sugarmill, the spot where the Dutch built the fortification Prins Willem in 1633 did have a number of houses and cultivated fields. The soil was (and is) the notorious red piranga, hard as stone in the summer, and soft mud in the winter rains. This area had the most brickyards, pottery workshops, and shingle factories.
In a higher-lying spot, where the river Afoágados was fordable, lay the fields of the engenhos Tejipió, Jiquia, Torre, Madalena, and the estates of Sebastião de Carvalho, Paranga and Remedios (31). At the time, the Dutch made it more inviting by adding drainage canals and a dike. In the 18th century, the area slowly grew more populated.

Afoágados lies southeast of Recife, but it traditionally belonged to the province of Olinda. Legally, the area did not come under the authority of the province of Recife until 1817.

11 Cururuanas. Not the name of an engenho or its owner or patron, but a small spot near the plain of Guararapes belonging to the district of Jaboatão. In 1646, Dutch troops 'visited' Cururuanas in search of cattle. During this poaching raid, they attacked neighboring Engenho São Bartolomeu, property of Francisco do Vale.

Cururuanas already cultivated watermelons during the Dutch Period; the Portuguese imported these at the beginning of the colonization period (32).

12 Remedios belonged to Sebastião de Carvalho; its fields extended over the Afoágados to border those of Tejipió, the property of João Fernandes Vieira. Carvalho originally took part in of the conspiracy against the Dutch in 1645, but apparently dissension with Vieira concerning the boundaries between their estates led him to betray the plans to the enemy.

The Dutch visited this engenho several times and entrenched themselves there during skirmishes with the Portuguese in the second half of the 1640's. Also called 'Estância de Sebastião de Carvalho' after its owner, it became 'Estância da Piranga' at the beginning of this century. Piranga is also the name of a spot in Afoágados; Fort Prins Willem, later Forte Afoágados, was also called 'Forte da Piranga'. The name indicates the condition of the soil, meaning 'red mud' (very useful for pottery) (33).

13 Barreta. Although not a sugarmill or plantation, Barreta reminds us in many ways of the close ties this land has to the development of the sugar culture.

The place lay along the mouth of the Rio Afoágados (actually the southern arm of the Capiharibe), around Nogueira island (34). Fort Vijfoek was uma légua (approximately 6 km) away (35).

Even before 1630, boats from the hinterland could unload their sugar at the village dock. A warehouse stored the sugar until the time arrived for transport to Portugal. In 1630, Matias d'Albuquerque, in order to secure the harbour of Recife and the passage through the stone reef to the bay, ordered a ship with ten cannons and 160 crewmembers to cruise the waters. The harbour could be effectively guarded within the distance of 'um tiro de canhão', a cannon shot (approx. 500 meters). Because Dutch commander Diederik van Waerdenburgh approached from behind Olinda, however, this measure eventually served little purpose. The Dutch built a fort near this place, 'Passo da Barreta', called Fort Schonenburgh for the president of the Politieke Raad, Hendrick Schonenburgh, representative of the Chamber of 'Vriesland en Stad en Lande'.

335
In the ‘campanha da Restauração’ period (1645–1654), Barreta saw continuous hostilities. Later, in 1711, during a popular uprising in Recife against the Olinda bourgeoisie, Barreta served as a fortification and barracks.

14 Estância, property of João Velho Barreto, was an estate with fields and a large settlement between the Rio Jaboatão and the Capibaribe. With Barreta it formed the southern stronghold of Albuquerque in 1630 (36). The Dutch called the location ‘De Nieuwe Stad’ (The New City). A Dutch merchant, Gillis van Uffelen (or Van Luffel), owned part of the fields and houses here. Van Uffelen was the captain of a civil guard and co-signed a petition against the Hoge Raad’s proposal to raze Mauritssstad’s buildings and houses to give Fort Frederik Hendrik a better view of the island’s north side and the mainland (37).

In 1646, Henrique Dias, an army leader from the campanha who headed a largely Negro army, founded a chapel, the Nossa Senhora da Assunção. After the recapture of Mauritssstad’s immediate hinterland, Dias took up residence in the Sítio da Estância. However, his sober chapel fell into decay. In 1688 and again in 1694, Dias’s successors tried to obtain a royal subsidy to restore the chapel. The third request, entered by the latest of several commanders of the ‘Henriques’, Domingos Rodrigues Carneiro, was successful. Permission to begin restoration was granted on 14 August 1703; 15 August is Assumption Day (38).

Officially, thus, the church is called: ‘Capela de Nossa Senhora da Assunção das Fronteiras das Estâncias de Henrique Dias’.

15 Dois Irmãos. The name, Two Brothers, commemorates the joint-owners of the engenho, built in the first half of the 19th century. The owners, Antônio and Tomás Lins Caldas, were known by their nicknames Toné and Coló. The two inherited the lands and part of the decrepit, unexploited sugar factory Apipucos. The population honoured them with a song on holidays:

‘Viva seu Toné
E seu Coló também
Vivam os dois irmãos
Que se querem bem!’ (39)

The engenho fell into disuse at the end of the previous century and the place was integrated into the expansion of Recife.

The names Boa Vista, Imbiribeira (a location on the Afogados), Poço da Panela (a fresh-water spot in the fields of Casa Forte), Capunguá, and Arraial, the first bulwark of Matias de Albuquerque against the Dutch, are reminders of the years 1630–1654. The Dutch rule over the area, and the importance of the sugar plantations to the Nordeste.

The sugar culture was important sociologically for those Cristãos-Novos who entered the literally promised land, economically for those steeped in the secrets of trade, and strategically as a military stronghold; various Portuguese captains began as regular planters, but, armed and burdened with responsibilities, united the agrarian and military métiers. Finally, the sugar culture was important nationally in expanding ‘o litoral’, the initially settled coastal area. Exploration of the interior advanced from there (40).
NOTES


2 List of sugarmills, 1623, nr. 2.


4 'After the wounded were brought to Recife, some upon wagons, others in hammocks slung from the shoulders of Negroes or across a saddle. 332 went to Apipucos and the rest to the Várzea, many dying underway.... Hendrik Hus then went to Apipucos with all his people, where he set up camp in the middle of the area around the church. He himself sat down to eat some black biscuits and dried beef, chased down with beer and gin, whereupon he ordered his soldiers and the Indians [*Indios Brasilianos*] to destroy the houses of the plantation residents, which they did with great wrath. After they had robbed everything, and smashed to pieces what they could not carry, they took the women, and pulled their earrings from their earlobes so that they ripped, and their clothes from their bodies, and raped them and deflowered the young girls, and those who resisted with cries were beaten raw.... Father Jorge Dias, an honourable man of 70 years, was hung up by his arms by the Indians and beaten until he told them where the money was, and Father Manoel do Salvador (the writer himself), who was there on retreat, was robbed blind. They smashed what remained to pieces and even destroyed the doors and the roof of the house'.


5 Pereira da Costa, op.cit., p. 51 ff.

6 List 1623, nr. 10.

7 Alfred Lück, 'Fürst Johann Moritz und die Frauen', in: *Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen*, Siegen 1979, p. 80; Mello Flamengos, p. 142. Barlaeus delicately includes only one passage praising Turlon, head of the body-guard, who quickly collared some conspirators. Barlaeus, op.cit., Recife 1980, p. 188; see also 'Builders Specifications', note 17.

8 'When this had occured [see note 4], commander Hendrik Hus let the trumpet sound and led his troops from Apipucos to the *engenho* of Dona Ana Pais, where a great and strong house lay with some smaller ones nearby, and where he slept....at 6 km distance from Recife [*distância de uma légua do Recife*]', Calado op.cit., p. 39.

9 Pereira da Costa, op.cit., p. 67 ff.

10 List, 1623, nr. 9. Berenguer was one of the *engenheiros* who joined Fernandes Vieira in the resistance. He is still present in the 1655 list as a plantation owner.
11 Whether Pereira da Costa is correctly informed here is uncertain. In 1630, the engenho Sibirô de Riba (the Sibiroy de Cima) belonged to Manuel de Navalhas (1623 nr. 66); in 1638 it was reported confiscated and sold to João Carneiro Mariz. A different engenho Sibiros, Sibiro de Baixo (de cima, high; de baixo, low) is reported between 1638 – 1655 as the property of a Francisco Soares Canha (prob. F. Soares da Cunha). A economia açucareira, pp. 64, 83, 142, 240. Antônio Fernandes Pessoa is named as the owner of the Várzea engenhos 'São Timoteo' and 'Tisepeo'. This could possibly be 'Tejípi', but not 'Jiquia'.

12 Pereira da Costa mistakes the year; it cannot have been before 1640, as Huis Vrijburg did not exist before then. The palace wasn't completed until 1642. Pereira da Costa, op.cit., p. 86. Calado several times mentions his friendship with 'o Príncipe Conde de Nassau'; 'Logo o Príncipe mandou chamar ao Padre onde ele habitava junto ao rio Jiquia, e lhe disse que viesse para sua casa...' (Straightaway the Count of Nassau allowed the priest to come to him from his lodgings by the Jiquia river). Upon this occasion... '...lhe disse em secreto que também lhe daria licença para dizer missa em sua casa à portas fechadas para sua consolation, e de alguns Católicos seus amigos' (...he secretly gave him permission to say Mass in his house for his own comfort and for some of his Catholic friends). During this visit, the count offered to build the priest a house in the growing 'Maurícia', as Calado writes. 'e o Príncipe lhe ajudou a fazer -la com seu cabedal' (and the prince helped him with his own capital), '...como ele João Maurício tinha três grandes amigos Portugueses, com os quais de contino tratava, a saber um Frade chamado Manoel do Salvador e o segundo João Fernandes Vieira, e o terceiro Gaspar Dias Ferreirai...' (...as he, Johan Maurit, had three great Portuguese friends, with whom he continuously conversed, etc.). Calado, op.cit., vol. I, pp. 112, 113, 129.

13 Pereira da Costa, op.cit., pp. 97, 98.

14 Ibid, p. 100. 'Augusto' refers to the charmism of the Roman emperor. The dono do engenho wanted to show the same attitude toward his people.


16 Mello, A economia açucareira, p. 261.

17 Raphael de Jesus, Castrioto Lusitano, 1679/1844/1979, pp. 272, 295.


19 Ibid, p. 128.

20 List 1623, nr. 8.

21 Pereira da Costa, op.cit., p. 129.

22 Raphael de Jesus, op.cit., p. 266.
23 Gilberto Ferrez, O Album de Luiz Schlappriz, Memória de Pernambuco, Album para os Amigos das Artes, 1863/1981, pp. 70, 71.

24 List 1623, nr. 24.


26 Pereira da Costa, op.cit., p. 142.

27 Mello, A economia açucareira, p. 47.


29 Pereira da Costa, op.cit., p. 139.

30 The initiative begun by the Dutch clergyman developed into a district affair, and momentarily has the attention of the province of Recife, which subsidizes the concern.


34 Nogueira, literally ‘nut tree’. In Brazil there are two types of trees, both called ‘Nogueira’: a) the Juglans regia; and b) Aleuritis moluccana. The latter is popularly called noz-da-India. Apparently we are dealing here with type a).

35 Compare to the British league (approximately 3 miles).

36 ‘About five miles on, on a branch of the great river, lies a small town of little importance, which our people call the New city’. Nieuhof, op.cit., p. 16.


38 Pereira da Costa, op.cit., p. 81. The story indicates that the mills worked more quickly than the officials; one year later, construction was underway, but, for the second time, money was still a promise. On 11 October 1711, the promise was repeated yet again. The church, including the restoration already underway, was in a mess, but from then on, it seems, the effort actually got underway.
39 Ibid. p. 74. Translation: 'Long live the honorable Toné, as well Coló; Long live the Two Brothers and may they prosper!'

40 The second publication of Arredores do Recife contains an additional article by José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello concerning the Capunga district. In this article, 'Capunga: Crônica de um bairro Recifense'. Mello connects the earlier situation of the Sítio da Capunga and the unknown location of Johan Maurits van Nassau's country-house, La Fontaine, and its nearby village, Aldeia Nassau. In his principal work, Tempo dos Flamengos, Mello suggests that Aldeia Nassau might be São José do Manguinhó, also near old Recife and, like Capunga, now the name of a city district. The only indication concerning the location of La Fontaine appears on Cornelis Goliath's 1648 map: 'Het Dorp Aldeiu hier is een Brouwery en Stuycker Pas' (The village Aldeia here is a brewery and sugar plantation). We know that Johan Maurits van Nassau allowed Dirx Dix to operate a beer brewery in La Fontaine, which actually belonged to the WIC. The XIX sanctioned the business; it seems the beer was somewhat 'heavy'. Dagelijksse Notulen, dated 11-10-1640, 13-04-1641 and 13-09-1642. ARA, OWIC Box 68 + 69. All this uncertainty makes the proposal concerning La Fontaine's location somewhat weak and susceptible to charges of falsification; for this reason I include neither Capunga nor Manguinhó in this series.
Appendix VI: Archeology

On the square across from the Sé in Olinda, the Federal University of Olinda has for some time conducted research into the original condition of the city. Excavations and measurements have helped to clarify the construction methods and social circumstances of the 16th and 17th centuries. Traces of foundations and rare remnants of human habitation, such as shards, have been unearthed (1). Organic remains and corrodiile materials and matter have not withstood the climate's heat and humidity over the centuries. This applies not only to the artefacts of the European population, but also to the native Indian tribes, the Tapuy and Taihuwaru.

Fortunately, Fort Oranje in Itamaracá lay close to the beach. After the Portuguese abandoned the fort in the second half of the 18th century, wind and sand had free play. Sand completely covered the fort, burying WIC cannon, the yellow IJssel-brick well, the soldiers' quarters (including the small church), and the imposing entry gate. In the 1970's, a group of archeologists and their students, also from the Federal University, excavated the fort. Thanks to the preserving, thick layer of sand and, apparently, the salty air, the fortification and its buildings have been largely preserved. The wooden rafters of the roofs collapsed; these and the walls have been partially reconstructed. On the other hand, the complete human remains of a Dutch officer were uncovered; the shoulder decorations and the copper buttons of his uniform were still intact (2). Ulysses Pernambucano de Mello leads the excavations in Olinda. Despite the scant European remains, he is not disappointed. He considers it fortunate that the Indians mastered the craft of firing clay utensils, leaving us finds of crockery, jewelry, statues and toys, and pipe heads.

Ulysses Pernambucano de Mello, neto, also conducts research into the antiquity of native pipe heads (3). The Indians taught the Portuguese how to use tobacco as a medicine and a narcotic, both in daily life and on religious occasions (4). Tobacco use originated in both of the Americas. Two sorts of tobacco plants are native to this hemisphere: the *Nicotiana Tabacum* and the *Nicotina Rustica*. The word 'tobacco' comes from the Antilles. The term does not indicate the plant, but the pipe used to inhale the dried and glowing spice (5). The Brazilian Indian population speaks of *beber fumo* (drinking smoke). The plant itself was and is called *petume*, *petum*, *pitime*, *betin*, and *petigma*. The pipe---tobacco or *tabacco*---was initially made of dried and rolled palm leaves. *Petume* was stuffed into this container. Chronicles from the earliest colonial period report its use by warring tribes, who smoked a huge tobacco-roll together during negotiations or a cease in hostilities (6). The original peace-pipe, it seems, was actually a cigar.

Ulysses de Mello has shown that the Portuguese around Bahia already had great tobacco plantations in the 16th century. In 1630, Adriaen Verdouck wrote to the WIC that the most important tobacco zones in the Nordeste were in Porto Calvo, Una, Serinhaën, and along the banks of the Rio São Francisco. Other tobacco reports occur in the account by Hendrik de Moucheron and Joannes van Walbeeck (1643) (7).
Marcgraf was the first to describe the smoking of a true pipe and not a container of rolled leaves. These cachimbos were made of a piece of hollowed wood with a hard nut or fruitstone shell head (pindoba, urucuru ba, jucara or an açaí). Marcgraf also reports heads made of argila cozida, a brittle baked clay 'like those in Europe' (8). He speaks here of the Brazilian Indians; in 1565 the Indians in Florida are identified as smokers 'who smoked their dried herb with a cane and an earthen cup in the end' (9).

Influence upon the leisure-time habits of Europe was striking; the first baked pipes in England date from 1590 and in the Netherlands from 1609. Smoking became such a rage in these countries that, according to a contemporary Portuguese report, 'all Holland smells of tobacco' (10). The English and Dutch pipemakers reaped the profits of this new fashion, exporting millions of 'stone' pipes to North and South America. The native tribes themselves became the most ardent consumers of this 'typical' English or Dutch smoking utensil, derived from their own manners and customs. The European and Indian pipe heads found in Olinda and everywhere in the Nordeste contribute to the historical documentation of the Dutch period through both their appearance and their traceable antiquity.

Olinda's council, as part of the 150th anniversary of the city's founding (1535–1985), undertook an ambitious program to conserve, repair, and restore historical sites and buildings. The program's social and economic aspects (increasing the attractiveness of the houses as residences as well as tourist sites) served historical and cultural values. The entire city would be ambitiously renovated—the old residences as well as the churches.

NOTES

1 The excavations in Olinda began in 1982. That same year, Olinda was declared an 'historical monument' under the supervision of Unesco.

2 Initially, they were thought to be the remains of Admiral Ligthart, but he was buried in the Grote Kerk in Recife (1648).


4 Piso was also struck by the narcotic and somewhat dehydrating and cleansing effects of tobacco use resulting from nicotine. He enthusiastically recommended cultivating it in the garden, like corn or vegetables. The WIC did not encourage this; it would diminish control over the income from excise duties. Later, in his Historia Naturalis (1648), Piso states that, at least in Holland, smoking had increased to an unhealthy extent.

A century earlier, in 1550, the mood concerning tobacco was more positive, like Piso, the emphasis was initially put upon its medicinal qualities. Manuel da Nóbrega S.J. wrote to Coimbra that he himself needed to smoke, 'because of the humidity and diarrhoea'.

6 See accompanying illustrations. Descriptions can be found in:
b) Hans Staden, Zwei Reisen nach Brasiliën (Duas Viagens ao Brasil), São Paulo 1942, p. 81;
c) Jean de Léry, Voyage au terre de Brésil (Viagem à Terra do Brasil) 1555, São Paulo 1941, p. 163;
e) Fernão Cardim, Tratado da Terra e Gente do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro 1925, p. 172;
f) Gabriel Soares de Sousa, Tratado descriptivo do Brasil, 2 volumes, São Paulo s.a. II. p. 269;
g) Claude d’Abbeville, História da Missão dos Padres Capuchinos na Ilha do Maranhão, São Paulo 1946.

Thevet and Staden contain perhaps the oldest known description and illustrations of Indian smoking customs. Thevet also includes the first report of cangaéira as the term used for ‘smoke container’. Soares de Sousa describes the effects: ‘The Indians always carried it with them, because it helped them to forget hunger and thirst’, op.cit., p. 285. Claude d’Abbeville and Jean de Léry express themselves in the same tenor, saying that the Indians could go without food or drink for three or four days if they had their smoking apparel with them (op.cit., respectively pp. 239 and 163).

7 Ulysses Pernambucano de Mello neto, Fumo, 262.

8 Ibid, p. 54–56.

9 Ibid, p. 74.


Among the northern European propertied class, it was customary in the 17th century to offer a pipe to visitors. The pipe was among the common attributes of the prosperous Dutchman, even when far outside his native borders and across the oceans, as a so-called ‘Nagasaki–print’ demonstrates. The ‘common folk’, who could not afford toeback, contented themselves with a stilling pipeful of mushrooms and henbane.

17th-century genre illustrations of grinning tavern guests, looking vaguely about with a beer mug before them and a pipe in hand, were probably meant as warnings. The old ones sang, but the young ones pipe, a painting by Jan Steen showing a smoking ‘Father’ (self–portrait) and ‘Son’ holding a pipe, seems to follow this edifying trend. The excessive use of tobacco so displeased the Popes Urbanus VIII in 1642 and Innocentius X in 1650 that they forbid it, threatening excommunication.
12 The Indians in turn imitated the 'Gouda pipes'. Their pipe heads had many simple shapes, but even today we also find pipe heads in the form of a face, sometimes with a beard. They attach the red, unglazed earthenware pipe head to a hollowed, wooden stem or a thick cane, just as Marcgraf described.
Appendix VII: 18th-century Maps and Ground plans

In 1982, I had the opportunity to work in the Archives of the Faculdade de História e Filosofia in Recife. There, I found some maps and ground plans that gave me a rough image of the situation in Recife/Mauritststad between 1654 and the end of the 18th century. I say rough because the dates are either missing, or—in cases where the maps are clearly facsimiles based on earlier, more primitive drawings—highly questionable.

THE MAPS


Fig. 61
Plano da Vila no. 45; Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon), cod. 51–IX–18.

A murky copy of an anonymous map. The topographic data are so poorly noted that one wonders whether the maker actually visited the place.

a) Neither the relationship between the pieces of land and the river mouths nor the sizes correspond.

b) The bridges over the Capibaribe and the Afgadros are roughly indicated, but the most important bridge connecting Recife and Antônio Vaz over the Beberibe is in a completely different location, namely at the 'ilha Santo Alberto'.

c) The fort on the isthmus between Recife and Olinda, here called 'Batuarte Cavaleiro que o inimigo fez no districto do Perexil',

345
should actually be Forte São Jorge; however, this was not built by ‘o inimigo’, (the Dutch) but by the Portuguese.

d) On the ‘Ilha de Santo António’, Mauritsstad is labeled ‘Alojamento do inimigo’ (residence of etc.). Very inaccurate, without a single indication of the canals; as mentioned, the bridge is also missing.

e) The map bears no trace of the residences and settlements; Fort Prins Willem near the bridge over the Afgados is also missing. We can consider this map a curiosity. Perhaps it served as a global orientation for military personnel. Possibly, it is a copy of another, 17th-century version.

2 *Plano de Pernambuco*, commissioned by Donald Campbell and executed by Paulo Dias d’Almeida, marine sergeant, no. 67, seal of the Arquivo Militar no. 81, seal of the Arquivo de Desenhos (drawings) no. 30. Recife ADDE N 80: noted in pencil. 1800. The date seems rather late to me and it is likely a facsimile of an earlier map. (Facsimile by Isabel Sangareau da Fonseca, Lisboa 1952.)

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*Fig. 62*

Plano de Pernambuco. Paulo Dias d’Almeida. Archives of Drawings, Recife, no. 30. Probably a replica of an older map; this one dates from approximately 1800.
a) The bridges over the Capibaribe and the Afgados are missing.
b) Fort Cinco Pontas is also missing.
c) The connecting road between Recife and Olinda is indicated only summarily.
d) Further construction on the mainland is not indicated.
e) Recife and the mouth of the Afgados lie much too close to each other.

Certainly a Portuguese (or 'Brazilian'), as the maker of this map is reported to have been, could have executed a more precise drawing, considering all the information known about this area by 1800. A rough date of 1630 seems more acceptable.

3  *Plano do Porto de Pernambuco*, from Cabo Santo Agostinho to Olinda, commissioned by the Maritime Department, anonymous. According to the map's legend, the date is 1799, but this seems to have been filled in later. The archive code ADDAE 64 gives 1769 as the date; considering the almost childish distortions and our notes concerning the previous map, even this date seems late. The presence of Santo Amaro church (1644) does not help reveal the actual date.

One similarity between maps 2 and 3 is the straight, geometrical layout of the houses upon Santo Antônio, in contrast with the clustered growth of residences on Recife.

4  *Configuração da Vila de S.Antônio de Recife, observado do Sul para o Norte*, by José Gonsalves da Fonseca, 1766. Two seals: Arquivo Militar, without number, and Arquivo de Desenhos, no. 28. A flattering inscription dedicates this map to the Secretary of the 'Estado da marinha e Conquistas', 31 March 1766.

The reproduction of the Palácio do Governador with its two towers is interesting. Moreover, the bridge between Recife and Santo Antônio has exactly 20 pillars.

This map and the sketch of profile and skyline is the most exact and compositionally finest reproduction of 18th-century 'Vila de Santo Antônio do Recife' that we have been able to find. The examples in Recife are facsimiles by Isabel Sangareau da Fonseca, which she made in Lisbon in 1952.
Fig. 63
Vila de Santo Antônio de Recife. José Gonsalves de Fonseca, 1766. Side a is a facsimile by Isabel da Fonseca taken from the original drawing (1952).
The same drawing, side b.
1 *Planto do Bairro do Recife*, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino without number, undated, by the engineers João de Macedo Corte Real and Diogo da Silveira Velhoso. The map apparently is not as old as the following, but it is the only one showing Recife opposite the ocean reefs.

Fig. 65
Planta do Bairro do Recife, w.h. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon).


Earlier than the previous map. The Madre de Deus already exists (1706–1720).

'L' signifies the former 'Lantpoort', now the bulwark 'Bom Jesus'. The bulwark's wide street heading towards the Corpo Santo was previously the Jodenstraat. At the time of this map, it was called 'Rua da Cruz' (Cross Street).
Fig. 66
Planta do Bairro do Recife. Manuel de Almeida da Fortuna, 1733. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon). Significant is the development of the city at the 'top' of the isthmus, on the land reclamation side, as Johan Maurits van Nassau had already commanded.

3  Portion of 18th-century Recife, southwest. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino—1738 (date handwritten). The 'Convento' is marked as 'D' on plan two and as 'M' on plan one. The street widths are interesting: the three in front of the convent measured 15 hands (approximately 3.5 meters) and the street angling to the left almost four meters. Streets from the Dutch Period measured 20 feet (approx. 5 meters), the same as the average building lot. The Congregation of the Oratório de Madre de Deus was dedicated in 1687 (plan no. 6).
Fig. 67

Recife between Forte do Mato and the Convento dos Padres da Congregação Madre de Deus, 1738. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon).
Portion of Recife between the Rua do Bom Jesus and the wharf, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino no. 59, anonymous, without date. The plan is apparently older than the previous ground plan; there, the jetties definitely exist, while here, only a single jetty, 'Trapixe novo', appears. The houses between the 'Rua dos Tanoeiros' (Tanners' Street) and the warehouses on the wharf ('Armazem') are called 'Casas antigas' and no doubt date from the Dutch Period.

Fig. 68
Part of Recife between the former Jews Street and the harbour. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon), no. 59.
5. *Demonstração Geográfica*, made to establish the 1759 situation concerning the home owners' opposition to the construction of a warehouse across from their houses ('zij het, dat het zonder dak is' (a beit without a roof)). Numbers 12, 13, 19 and 20 are still 'cuzas antigas'. According to archive reports, the map antedates the year 1787, indicated on it, but is considered to be from 1760. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino 1760.

Fig. 69
Part of the Bairro do Recife, 1760. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon).

6. *Planta do Bairro da Rua da Ponte da Conceição do Recife de Pernambuco*, drawn and printed by Francisco Xavierus, 1788. View from the foot of the bridge to Santo António facing north. The former 'Pontstraat' is here called 'Rua da Conceição da Ponte'. The bridge itself indicates 'cuzinhos' on both sides. Also: 'Ponte de Madeira', (Wooden Bridge), 'the old Bridge of the Dutch'. The Rua da Conceição becomes the 'Rua da Cadeia Velha' (Old Prison Street) leading to the Corpo Santo.

The map is exactly measured.

A far-reaching reconstruction of this section of the city was undertaken to halt the erosion of the Beberibe on the west side.

The map indicates that the parcels VXFÉ, previously the property of the Widow Lúcia Pereira, are now inhabited by the monks of São Bento.
Qualitatively, the map is one of the best documents still showing evidence of 17th-century Dutch contributions to old Recife; the city's position as the center of an intense traffic in trade naturally prevented it staying in its original state. Moreover, this and the map of the Ponte do Recife (see Chapter I) are the only illustrations of the bridge (in this case, more specifically, the abutments on the Recife side) built under Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen's supervision.

Fig. 70
Planta do Bairro do Recife, Rua da Conceição da Ponte, formerly Pontstraat. Francisco Xavierius, 1788. It is not known whether this name, Dutch for Ferry-boat Street, changed to 'Brugstraat' (Bridge Street) after the realization of the bridge in 1644. Because of the similarity between the Dutch 'pont' and the Portuguese 'ponte', the name 'Pontstraat' was likely retained until the Portuguese finally took over the city.
In the same archive we found a lovely map of the Santo António city section, later divided into Santo António (previously the Grootkwartier) and São José (Nieuw-Mauritsstad). Additionally, we found a drawing with an illustration of the Pateo da Penha. On this we can see the singular differences between the broad, low houses and the tall, multi-level residences, such as those built in the city at the beginning of the Dutch Period.

1 Plano da Villa do Recife de Pernambuco e Parte da Costa até a Cidade 'D' Olinda; anonymous, 1791. No archive number; a copy of an original in the Biblioteca Municipal in Évora, Portugal. Although called 'Plano do Recife', the ground plan of Santo António is especially important here. The quality of the copy did not result in a clear illustration, therefore we shall describe this map more extensively.

The great precision of the topography and the city's structure is further clarified by explaining the indications:

A Redoubt São Francisco (above Olinda)
B Fort Santo António—of-the—Coconut Palms (previously São Jorge)
C Fort São João Baptista do Brum (Fort De Bruin, still intact)
D Fort of the Sea (Waterkasteel)
E and F Fort Good Lord Jesus of the Gates
G Fort Vijfhoek (Pentagon, here already with just four bulwarks; restored to this condition in the 1970's)
H Royal Palace (according to the floor-plan of Huis Vrijbrug in Barlaeu, P. 52a)
I Casa da Alfândega (customs office; in 1759 the citizenry objected to this office)
J Ponte do Recife (the stone and the wooden pillars are distinguishable)
K Ponte da Boa Vista
L Reclamation and settlement Boa Vista
M Reclamation and settlement Afogados (begun by the Dutch)
N Barra (passage) of Olinda
O Barra Grande
P Barra do Picão
Q Nossa Senhora do Pilar (1679—1682)
R Matriz (episcopal seat) do Corpo Santo (early 18th century: previously the location of the Grote Kerk)
S Madre de Deus with the Congregation ‘do Oratório’ (1706—1720)
T Church and Convent of Santo Antonio of the Capuchines (17th and 18th century)
U Church and Hospital of the House of the Espírito Santo.
V Church of the Most Holy Sacrament and Affiliation of the Corpo Santo (1686—1689)
W Nossa Senhora da Conceição dos soldados (early 18th century)
X Nossa Senhora do O with the Jesuit College (today Espírito Santo. restored in the 1980’s. The Grande Hotel now stands on the location of the college. The French Church (1686 +) was in this area)
Y Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Misericórdia
Z Nossa Senhora do Rosário (1739—1777)
a. Church and Convent of the French (reformed) order of Carmelites (1685–19th century)
b. Church Santa Teresa of the Third Order of Carmelites (1695–1737)
c. São Pedro dos Clérigos (1728–1782)
d. Nossa Senhora do Livramento dos Pardos
e. Nossa Senhora da Penha
f. Nossa Senhora do Terço (1696–19th century)
g. São José (1787)
h. Powderhouses

Buildings G, H, T – Z, and a – h are on Santo Antônio island. Nothing remains of the Dutch canals; neither are they present on earlier maps, unclear as these are. The street between Cinco Pontas and Igreja Nossa Senhora da Penha (e) and Nossa Senhora do Livramento dos Pardos (d) is clearly the same as that running immediately east of the main canal in the Mauritsstad scheme.

2. Vista do Largo da Penha, drawing, anonymous, without date, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino/75. The street indicated in no. 1 above agrees with the letter H, to the right of the church complex belonging to the priests of the Nossa Senhora da Penha of the Capuchines. The houses directly above show the typical combination of low and multi-storey construction, the so-called sobrado. These houses, belonging to the Carmelites, were depicted by Luiz Schlappriz in 1860–1863 (1). They closely resemble the very rare monuments of the Pátio do São Pedro.

Fig. 71
View of the Patio da Penha showing the houses of a wealthy 18th-century citizen of Recife, José de Sousa Rangel. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon), no. 75.
The sobrados to the left and above belonged to a certain José de Sousa Rangel. The balconies, like the one on the sobrado to the right and above, are remarkable. In Moçarabian style, they consist of wooden galleries decorated with carved wood and covered with a canopy roofed by tiles. Olinda still has two similar balconies, along houses (inaccurately called 'casas holandesas') on the Rua do Amparo and the Praça João Alfredo.

Fig. 72
Patio de São Pedro, 1982. The three houses are indicated on figure 71 as 'As casas... dos Carmelites'. The Carmo bell-tower appears behind them. One of the very rare authentic old spots in Bairro São José.

NOTES

1 Luis Schlappriz arrived in Recife in 1858 and returned to his homeland, Switzerland, in 1865. He worked as a painter and lithographer in the studio of Franz Heinrich Carls, a German whose forenames were brazilianized to Francisco Henrique. Carls arrived a year after Schlappriz and opened a lithographic studio on the Rua da Cadeia, nr. 52, on the first storey. Before returning to Europe, Schlappriz put together an album of the Recife area’s vistas and typical spots for his friends back home. He developed these prints between 1863 and 1864. In 1881, Gilberto Ferrez, a tireless collector of cartographic and topographic curiosities, saw to a republication of this album, Memória de Pernambuco, Album para os amigos das Artes, Recife 1863. The little group of houses is clearly recognizable on the print 'Vista do pateo da Penha' (200 x 276 mm, Mercado de Verduras, the Vegetable Market). This city section was razed in the 1970’s. (Gilberto Ferrez, op.cit., p. 44-45.)
Appendix VIII: Monuments in Recife and environs

In this work I have often complained about Recife's former treatment of its historical sections, old Recife and Santo Antônio/São José. My complaints focus upon the failure to conserve or restore historical architecture. The resulting decay legitimized demolition, and new buildings attempted to pull the town's status up with its skyline. On the other hand, once the historical architecture was flanked by new, tall buildings, its distinctive scale and shape gained in value. This architecture's unique character helped the protests against the modernization of the city nucleus make gradual gains.

The Charter of Venice regulations, released in 1964 by ICOMOS (the UNESCO's International Council for Monuments and Sites), classifies not only isolated historical objects as monuments. The 'look of a city or village' acquires monument value 'as expressions of a particular cultural pattern' (1). Recife consequently designated large sections of the old city districts and rows of connected lots as Conjuntos Antigos. The designation includes two ratings:
1. Zona de Preservação Rigorosa (ZPR): complete restoration.
2. Zona de Preservação Ambiental (ZPA): repair and maintenance.
(An aggressive tropical climate makes the latter category of essential importance!) (2).

Before elaborating, I would like to discuss the history of the Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional, similar to the Dutch Monument Preservation.
Dom André de Melo e Castro, Conde das Galveias, Viceroy of Brazil, was the first to fight to preserve a building from demolition. This was the duital chapel in Vila Viçosa, in the State of Minas Gerais (3). During the tenure of the Count of Galveias (1736–1753), the opportunity arose to stimulate an historical consciousness closely tied to the Dutch Period.

To protect the harbours of Recife, a new citadel replaced the existing one. The architect, the Benedictine monk and civil engineer Frei Estêvão de Loretta Joassar, found it necessary to raze the marine barracks to clear space for the much larger structure.

The Pernambucan governor, Henrique Luiz Pereira Freyre de Andrade, under whose government a thorough overhaul of old Recife took place (see map in Appendix VII), asked written permission from King Dom João V to replace the razed barracks by establishing a garrison in the Palácio das duas Torres, 'that the Count van Nassau built, on the mainland side of Santo Antônio island'.

Huis Vrijburgh.

The Viceroy got wind of this and immediately wrote to the monarch that changes to the 'Palace with two Towers', the work of Count Maurits van Nassau, 'would distress him deeply'. The soldiers' lifestyle would rapidly reduce the entire building to chaos. 'Above all, I would mourn losing a reminder to their descendants of the illustrious and glorious deeds of the Portuguese, fulfilled in the Restauração of this capitania.'

The Viceroy, a good diplomat, also mentioned a sum showing that converting the palace into barracks would be no less expensive than building a new one (4).
Almost 100 years later, in 1855, the librarian of the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, Frei Camilo de Monserrat, saw to it that all imperial provinces sent drawings of historical buildings to the national library, aiding the restoration of monuments based on old illustrations. The imperial minister, Luiz Pedro da Couto Ferraz, Viscount of Bom Retiro, agreed with this suggestion. Insufficient funds kept the initiative from further progress.

Emperor Dom Pedro II was interested in history, but neglected to take measures to preserve architectural monuments. The Republic did nothing to develop this branch for what should have been a branch of national policy for its first 50 years. At last, in 1926, Professor Bruno Lobo, president of the Brazilian Foundation for Fine Arts (Sociedade Brasileira das Belas Artes) commissioned a colleague, Prof. Alberto Childe, curator of Antiguedades Clássicas of the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro, to prepare a law for the preservation of artistic national monuments.

This passed, but in keeping with Professor Childe's speciality, the extensive description stated that "those possessions of every applicable state that can be considered national treasures" should include all ruins, buildings, structures, graveyards, memorial stones, and ponds where possible fossils or paleontological, archeological, and historical artefacts were present, a very broad description primarily meant to protect Pre-Columbian art and ethnography (5).

In 1923, an impressive address by Pernambucan deputy Luís Cedro Carneiro Leão to in the Chamber of Representatives led to an amplification of this law. Cedro began his address by apologizing for raising an issue the Chamber had not previously considered, although the State was not indifferent to this topic. He then launched into the subject of old churches and colonial houses. "These old churches, with their original architectural physiognomy, and these old colonial houses that have moved us with the picturesque inventiveness of their design are valuable and unusual documents of our own history" (6). Cedro names the churches of Ouro Preto, São João del Rei, Mariana, and Caeté in Minas Gerais ('in many of them, Aleijadinho left traces of his talent' (7)), and continued with the 'temples of Olinda, and Pernambuco', etc.

In his speech, Cedro mentions the French Parliament's 1830 decision to establish a credit for national monuments. At any rate, Brazil began to classify what was henceforth called 'national monuments'. The meeting of 3 December 1923 established eleven articles regulating the inspection and costs of the monuments (8).

The regulations underwent years of tinkering and refinement. For example, an important addition banned exportation of antiquities, which were no longer considered just private possessions, but the spiritual property of the entire people; historical documentation of these materials would be seriously impeded if they disappeared from the country, according to similar sentiments in the 1924 amplification.

The law protecting historic and artistic heritage went into effect on 30 November 1937 and was published twice in the Brazilian national newspaper, Diário Oficial, on 6 and 11 December of that year (9).
The law comprised five chapters totalling 30 articles. Further organizational regulations appeared in 1937 and 1941. Still, the Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional did not become a true Serviço, with its own personnel, funds, buildings, and material dedicated to carrying out operations, until 1946 (10).

Clearly, an important part of these operations would take place in Pernambuco. But the old capital Bahia and spectacular Minas Gerais would compete formidabley for monument funds. Honesty dictates that I mention Pernambuco's unfavourable conditions; poor economy, illiteracy, and enormous poverty demanded great effort. Nevertheless, the intelligentsia remained alert to Monument Preservation. In 1979, the Province of Recife published the official state of affairs; perhaps coincidentally, it marked the 300th anniversary of the death of Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, Governor of Dutch Brazil. Too much has already been lost and too little money budgeted for what is already planned. But for the sake of organization, it helps to categorize the earmarked objects, especially when a specific level of maintenance and a cadastral description can be established (11).

No task presents a project developer with greater risk of error.

The objects treated in this book appear in the list of monuments, implicitly or explicitly, in the following categories:

**Category 1, Conjuntos Antigos, ZPR or ZPA condition**

1. **Bairro do Recife**
   1. Section around Forte do Brum: ZPR.
      The fort is in good repair (12).
   2. Section leading from the Madre de Deus district, across the Avenida Marquês de Olinda to the Rua Bom Jesus, Praça do Arraial da Marinha, and the streets parallel to the Rua Bom Jesus, Rua Domingos Jose Martins, Rua da Guia, and Rua do Apolo (including all cross streets): ZPR (13).
      This section includes the Rua Bom Jesus (formerly the Rua da Cruz--Jodenstraat--Bockestraat), a portion of the Rua do Brum, and the Rua da Guia, site of Recife’s 17th-century circumvallation.

The plots of the streets comprising the construction completed between 1630 and 1654 lie in this area, as do a number of smaller paths, among others the Travessa do Bom Jesus, known as 'Moriaensteeg' in the Dutch Period. This last section encompasses the old area between the Wijnstraat (Avenida da Alfândega, completely changed and broadened) and the Rua do Guia (probably Havenstraat), parallel to the walls. The ZPR designation is deserved, considering the ruinous condition of many of the buildings.

3. The remaining areas of Bairro do Recife, including the triangular plain across from the Ponte Mauricio de Nassau: ZPA. In the 1960's, a few skyscrapers appeared here (sector 4) (14).
   These zones are subject to a number of regulations regarding maximum height and density of construction.
   These ZPA areas contain seven sectors.
Fig. 73
Bairro do Recife. The area between the thick lines is supposedly preserved.
1 Ponte Maurício de Nassau.
2 Rua Bom Jesus, formerly Jodenstraat.
3 Travessa do Bom Jesus, formerly Moriaensteeg (?).
4 Forte do Brum, Fort De Bruyn.
After Gustavo Krause.
II. Bairro de Santo António and São José
The Santo António and São José districts contain four ZPR’s and one ZPA (15).

Fig. 74
Bairros Santo António (I) and São José (II). The area between the thick lines is supposedly preserved.
1. Santo António Matriz.
2. Nossa Senhora do Carmo.
5. Palácio do Governo on the site of the former Forte Ernesto.
7. Ponte Mauricio de Nassau.
8. Espírito Santo, location of the former Franse Kerk.

After Gustavo Krause.
1-4 The first three for the most part cover the area between Forte Cinco Pontas (Museu da Cidade) and the Avenida Guarárapes/Praça da Independência, in other words, the entire area of Bairro São José south of the Avenida Dantas Barreto. This last is the huge highway constructed at the cost of part of Bairro São José in the 1970’s. Formerly, Mauritsstad/Nieuw-Mauritsstad lay within these zones; a considerable portion of the town-planning scheme is still recognizable in the alignment of the building lots. Traces of the main canal and a few other waterways are also visible. Later city growth swallowed up Slot Boa Vista and the bridge over the Capibaribe. Natural deposits and poldering of marshy areas drastically changed the river’s course. The Slot lay approximately on the site of today’s Igreja do Carmo (16). Poldering has also broadened the section of the city leading to Bairro Recife. The old dike no longer borders the water. Streets and paths, including the main roads, run parallel to the 17th-century layout.

5 The ZPA area contains sections of the Santo Antônio district, named after the 1606 convent, enclosed by the walls of Fort Ernestus in 1630 (17). Interestingly, the older Huis Vrijburgh complex, which partially survived until the 19th century, has been designated ZPR, along with all its parks and gardens. The count would certainly have been pleased that the theater/concert hall stands in that part of the district, near the spot where his palace once stood. The French architect Louis Léger Vauthier built this Teatro Santa Isabel in 1841 (18). The district is beautifully preserved in every respect. The ban on office buildings in this area is the greatest homage that Recife could pay its original architect, Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen.

III Bairro da Boa Vista
This 'extension' of 17th-century Recife began to develop in the first years of the 18th century. Thus, it has little direct chronological connection to the Dutch Period. But the rare remains of the houses along the Capibaribe quay, the Rua da Aurora, display the typical, narrow 20-foot width.
Boa Vista has four ZPR and two ZPA zones. One of the latter zones contains four sectors and the other one sector (19).
Far and away the largest is the first ZPR. In contrast to the oblong blocks of Bairro Santo Antônio/São José, the streets here run in more or less parallel half-circles, dissected by small cross streets (20). The Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico e Geográfico is housed here in an 18th-century outão (Rua do Hospício 130).
The Rua do Hospício has another remarkable building, a sobrado with a narrow front façade and, because of its small breadth, a relatively high saddle-roof cutting through two storeys.
Unfortunately, the design is obscured by a late-18th century 'Neo-classical' façade with roof frame. However, the ridge-angle typical to Recife sobrados is still clearly visible along the side. The front façade is beautifully tiled.

IV Praça da Várzea
The Conjunto Antigo contains one ZPR and one ZPA, the latter made up of three sectors.
Only the ZPR area interests us: the Praça do Rosário with the church of the same name. The church/school/astronomical observatory complex (São Sebastião) borders the square on the right. On the left are some remnants of walls with hard stone thresholds (21).

A planter’s house lies behind the Praça do Rosário and along the back of the church. Although I found it in a rather poor state of repair in 1982, its 1979 designation was no higher than ZPA (sector 2) (22). Indisputably, the lack of continuous maintenance is having its revenge here.

V Apipucos

The whole of this earlier plantation of—among others—Gaspar de Mendonça was declared a Conjunto Antigo, designated with one ZPR and one ZPA (23). The largest section of the settlement is ZPR. The old, low houses are in a continuous state of indigence, but are nonetheless inhabited and will probably hold each other up awhile longer. Although very old and as such paraded in the monument list, Apipucos does not seem to be a priority. Still, a few years ago, one very important project occurred in the area: the repair of the roofs. The ZPA zone contains the reservoirs (marshy areas) of Apipucos and the little church on the hill, some hundreds of meters away from the settlement.

Category 2: Forts

All forts and remains of forts in Northeastern Brazil have been declared monuments (24).

Category 3: Edifícios Isolados (Isolated Buildings)

The Edifícios Isolados include churches, palaces, courthouses, and other public structures such as the Teatro Santa Isabel (ZPA), oitãos, plantation residences, and private buildings of recent and unusual construction. The last category includes a 19th-century factory and a few private residences in the new saddle-roof style of the 1930’s, called arquitetura cubista by Brazilian stylists (25).

I Churches

All churches discussed here have been declared monuments. A list of churches urgently needing restoration was established in 1950. Unfortunately, actual restoration did not immediately follow (26).

a Capela da Jaqueira, Recife, Cr. 50,000.00
b Nossa Senhora da Conceição dos Militares, Recife, Cr. 50,000.00
c Mosteiro de São Bento, Olinda, Cr. 200,000.00
d Ordem Terceira de São Francisco, Olinda, Cr. 100,000.00
e Igreja da Misericórdia, Olinda, Cr. 100,000.00
f Capela Engenho Bonito, Nazaré da Mata, Olinda, Cr. 60,000.00
g Capela São Roque, Serinhaém, Cr. 15,000.00
h Capela Cosme e Damião, Igarassú, Cr. 100,000.00
i Igreja Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos, Goiana, Cr. 80,000.00
j Mosteirinho de São Francisco, Pau d’Alho, Cr. 45,000.00
k Engenho Poço Comprido, Vicência, Cr. 50,000.00
Considering the state of the old Pau d’Alho monastery as Germain Bazain found it in the 1950’s, clearly not all of the total 850,000.00 cruzetos was immediately spent (27). I found an undated and unnumbered list in the archive of the Patrimônio (Sobrado Madalena) that might be an estimate. Although sums were voted on the basis of this list, the credit terms were uncertain. I myself found the condition of the plantation chapel Nazaré da Mata and the Cosme e Damilão in 1965 and 1966 absolutely unacceptable. However, the aggressive climate might have reversed maintenance in a relatively short period of time.

I have no information about the Engenho Poço Comprido (k) or the church in Goiana (i). The stylistically related church in Marechal Décodo is at present undergoing thorough restoration, although the pace is very slow. I noticed that month-long halts separate the various construction phases and the quality of restoration or repair declines in these periods. The remaining churches on this list, including the Nazaré da Mata and Igaras, have meanwhile been restored. ICOMOS has declared all Olinda a monument. The mayor of Olinda asked the Dutch government to contribute to the restoration as a Wiedergutmachung for the razing of 1631, but until now, his request has had no response.

II Public Buildings
Public buildings belonging to post-Dutch history are not considered here, except for ‘Cinco Pontas’, whose function changed from military to public. This former fort is treated extensively in Picket II (28).

III Oitãos
Recife has a number of oitãos from the 18th and 19th centuries. The outside walls are generally completely covered with tiles forming a network of stylized flower motifs or arabesques. The colours range from blue-white to yellow-white, green-yellow, or multi-coloured, with additions of brown, red, and dark blue.

The headquarters of the Recife Monument Preservation Organization is established in a lovely oitão, the ‘Sobrado Madalena’, originally an 18th-century building (29).

Although chronology dictates that we not treat this category here, I will discuss the application of tiles next, since they are a typical feature of oitãos.

III.1 Tiles
The Spanish and Portuguese word for tile, azulejo, is the same in both languages, although pronounced differently. It derives from the Arabian al zulaich (small stone) indicating the little stones found in Roman mosaics. On the Iberian Peninsula, azulejo gradually became the word for larger tiles covering walls and floors. The tile works on the Peninsula were originally Spanish. The important centers were in Seville (majolica-technique) and Talavera de la Reina (majolica-technique).

Flemish artists played a large role in the development of tile works. Not only were tile makers like Guido Andries and his son Francisco Andrea Flamengo important, men like Pieter Coecke van Aelst and the De Vriendt family (Floris, Floris de Vriendt, in Spanish ‘Florés’) indirectly influenced the designs as well.
Portugal did not possess an original mudéjar tradition. The first tiles (15th and early 16th century) were imported. By the time the Spanish Hapsburgs ascended the throne, however, Portugal had its own Flemish–Portuguese tile tradition. The Portuguese were strongly 'azulejo'-minded. The Flemish, however, also imported their own illustrations and style along with their techniques, so that the motifs in both countries are often remarkably similar. Portugal was not satisfied with only importing Flemish tile makers; tile factories were founded at Lisbon, Oporto, and Coimbra, where good clay could be found. The motifs also became very much 'their own'. Complicated, polychrome patterns covered the walls completely. In the 17th century, tile production lay largely in the hands of native craftsmen. Nevertheless, cheaper Flemish tiles were formidable competitors until the ban on tile importation in 1687, especially when fashions changed and even Portugal began to prefer the simpler, monochrome tableware. A tendency towards luxury and perhaps the Counter–Reformation's desire for emphatic expression allowed Portuguese tile designers to regain control. Father and son António and Policarpo d'Oliveira Bernardo are famous for their suggestive perspective patterns. This tradition continued until mid-18th century, when carpets made of polygonal tiles became more popular. Brazil also followed this fashion. Remarkably, all blue–white tile coverings, whether entire walls or single friezes, are valued for their 'flamenca' origins, although polychrome and magenta–white tiles stem just as much from the Dutch tile tradition of that time. Tile application was, if possible, more popular in Brazil than in Portugal. They were a wonderfully hygienic method of covering floors and walls in the tropics. Moreover, simple houses acquired a festive air from them, while wealthy residences became even lovelier. Brazil has tile centers everywhere, especially in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia, but also in the north (Pará, Maranhão, Ceará). Pernambuco boasts the famous 17th–century remains in the Capela São Jerónimo of the Igreja Nossa Senhora da Graça and in the Igreja do Amparo, both in Olinda. Also from the 17th century are the 'wallcarpets' of the Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres in Guararapes. The entire outside of the Capela Dourada (São Francisco) in Recife, including the steeple, is covered with tiles. According to Mota Menezes, this is 19th–century work. The fashion in Brazil, like that in Portugal, shifted in the first half of the 17th century to a preference for blue–white Flemish or Dutch styles. In the 18th century, the fashion was yellow and green. Brazil's struggle for independence in the 19th century was reflected in a conscious effort to distinguish its tiles from Portugal's. Initially, Brazilians preferred brown–yellow–green–white combinations and varieties. The growth of republican tendencies resurrected historical interest in the first proto–democratic beginnings of Johan Maurits van Nassau–Siegen's government. At any rate, in this period (last quarter of the 19th century), the preference was for blue–white tiles. However, French (polygons, smaller sizes) and Spanish (busy, colourful arabesques) influences were also strong. Recife had various pottery, roof–tile, and brickworks. We do not know of any tile works from the Dutch Period. As in Portugal, the tiles are used intensively wherever they fit into the architecture (30).
IV Plantation residences

1 In the periphery of Recife province stands a 19th-century engenho whose planter's house is in a worrisome condition. It lies on the west bank of the Capibaribe, and is called 'Casa Grande do Engenho Barbabito' (31). An emergency ZPR designation was granted this building in 1979. As with other buildings on this list, I was unable to obtain information concerning the voted funds or terms of restoration.

2 Fábrica do Taparana, momentarily an old porcelain factory, occupies the property of the 16th- and 17th-century sugar planter Cavaalcânti (32). The factory, designated ZPA, is in a mangrove area along the coast between the isthmus and Olinda.

3 Of the two sitios (settlements) located on the sites of the Portuguese entrenchments the Arraial do Bom Jesus Velho (1630-1634) and the Arraial Novo (1645) (33):
   a the latter is designated ZPR and, cynically enough, is the only entry in the 'Ruinas' category. It comprises a few small limestone residences covered with Romanesque roof-tiles.
   b The Arraial Velho, on the current site of São da Trindade, was founded in the 19th century; the construction has nothing to do with the 1630 fort. A great number of limiting regulations and bans forbids any additional construction. As a ZPA, it is excellently maintained.

These two monuments, whose dates frame a quarter century of wasted Dutch energy in Brazil, do not simply commemorate this remarkable episode in Brazilian history. The very memory of the episode, evoked by buildings not directly connected to the original historical constructions, justifies their inclusion on the monument list. This inclusion completely conforms to the decrees of the Venice Charter: 'The term historical document includes...witnesses of an important historic events.... Moreover it includes...modest objects, which over time have acquired cultural significance' (34).

The Departamento do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (DPhAN) and the army joined forces to restore two forts. The first was the previously mentioned Itamaracá; the second was Fortaleza Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres do Pau Amarelo. The latter was first illustrated on a 1702 ground plan (568x451 mm). It was completed in 1980 (35).

Finally, I would like to include the following remarks in this Appendix of historical monuments in Recife and environs.

Southwest of the Boa Vista district, following the flow of the Capibaribe upwards, lies a district named for the earlier sugar plantation of the Pais d'Altero family, 'Casa Forte'. This engenho is extensively described in Appendix V (Nomenclature of sugar plantations) (36). The talked-about life story of Ana Pais has also crossed our path a number times in the course of this study. The reason that I draw attention to this district, however, has nothing to do with information directly related to the Dutch Period. At the end of the 18th century and especially in the 19th and early 20th century, the gentry of Recife built splendid, spacious residences here. Almost all of them had large gardens with shady, often fruit-bearing trees.
Recently, because the old city nucleus of Recife (Bairro Recife, Santo Antônio/São José and Boa Vista) acquired a monument designation, it became difficult for the middle and official class to obtain land or a residence in the center. As a result, enormous, 10- to 20-storey complexes mushroomed in Casa Forte. The existing gardens had to be sacrificed, and because the familiar pleasures of life were increasingly edged out by the apartment colossi, the residences disappeared as well. In other words, one side of the city, although terribly mutilated, was now being preserved, while on the other side, a valuable atmosphere was being destroyed. The few 18th-century and officially designated 19th-century houses and gardens still in existence are an increasingly historical reservation. It would be a good idea if the authorities enforced monument preservation in such a way that owners of edificios isolados were not only forbidden to demolish but also required to maintain the buildings. Naturally, subsidies would have to be attached to this condition.

Recife's hinterland is so enormous and the connections to the center so well organized that it must be possible to avoid replacing what already exists with foreign, context-destroying architecture. Because Recife went so far as to politicize and organize 'city preservation' through legislation, clearly if it continues with modern, that is to say, contemporary construction, it will inflict further punishments on an environment not designed for such change.

'City planners and architects should welcome opportunities to experiment with radically new, integrated forms that will hold an entire community' (37). This is not the place to theorize extensively about planning, or sociological and anthropological concerns of the megapolis, specifically Recife. But as I have explored the history of Recife's development so intensively, I find it appropriate to consider its future. I have done this here by exposing the detrimental developments in a valuable piece of the bourgeois past of the last century.

NOTES

1 C.L. Temminck Groll, 'Restauratie van Stads- en Landhuizen op de Nederlandse Antillen en op Aruba', in: Nos Futuro, Wegen naar een toekomst voor de Nederlandse Antillen, pp. 441–454. The Charter of Venice is printed in its entirety in this recent publication (Walburg Pers 1986), so that an integral repetition is irrelevant here. For our purpose it suffices to quote from the first of the 15 Articles:

'The term historical monument includes not only those architectural creations regarded as isolated objects, but also the look of a city or village as expressions of a particular cultural pattern, as examples of an unusual development within that pattern, or as witnesses of an important historic event. Moreover, it includes not only objects classified as art, but also modest objects which have gained cultural significance over time'. Ibid, p. 444.

The first congress in Paris in 1957 gave the first impulse to establishing ICOMOS. The establishment and objectives were formulated in Venice in 1964 during the second congress, actually the first ICOMOS congress. See Temminck Groll, op.cit., p. 443. ICOMOS's seat, like that of UNESCO, is in Paris. Ibid, p. 443.
International restoration is an UNESCO concern prompted by the destruction during World War II.

2 Law nr. 13957, 28/09 1979 of the Prefeitura do Recife, concerning conservation, repair, and restoration of historical documents, has 19 articles. Article 4 establishes the Zona de Preservação and distinguishes within this classification the Zona de Preservação Ambiente and the Zona de Preservação Rigorosa. The remaining articles contain regulations and obligations for execution of the necessary operations in the ZPR and ZPA areas.

3 Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade, Brasil, Monumentos Históricos Arqueológicos, p. 11.


5 Ibid., pp. 15-17.

6 Ibid., p. 19.

7 Aleijadinho, 'Little Cripple', António Francisco Lisboa, 1730-1814. Architect and sculptor from Minas Gerais. Created monumental works of expressive, dramatic character. Worked in wood and soapstone. Among his most famous works is the terrace complex with figures of the 12 prophets in Congonhas do Campo (Minas Gerais) at the Igreja Bom Jesus de Matosinhos. The work was executed between 1800 and 1805. The church's architects included Francisco de Lima. Aleijadinho was the son of a leading Portuguese architect, Manuel Francisco de Costa Lisboa, and a black slave, Isabel. The son's liberty was purchased at his baptism. In contrast to his interest in school and homework, he developed his artistic talent auspiciously. In 1984, at the UNESCO meeting for 'Historical Patrimony' in Buenos Aires, the Brazilian representative Marcos Vilaça proposed that Congonhas be declared a 'Cultural Patrimony of Humanity'. A decision was expected in 1985, but until now has not been announced.

8 Melo Franco de Andrade, op.cit., pp 20-22.

9 Ibid., p. 20.

Notes of the Chamber of Representatives 1923, Vol. XIII, pp. 30-34.

10 Melo Franco de Andrade, op.cit., p. 79.


12 Own finding. Forte do Brum is in the ZPR-1. Krause, Preservação, p. 53.

13 Ibid, p. 53.

14 Ibid, pp. 53-56.


17 Krause, op.cit., pp. 60–64.

18 In a letter to a fellow countryman concerning the residences he found in Recife in the 19th century, Vauthier is deeply impressed by the pleasing proportions of the tall, narrow, brick buildings. Vauthier, L.L., ‘Casa de residência no Brasil’, in: Revista do SPHAN, no. 7, Rio de Janeiro 1943, p. 159–170. See Chapter II, note 69.

19 Krause, op.cit., p. 45. The house on the Rua da Aurora (cadastra nr. 469) treated in Chapter II lies in ZPR–4.

20 If we compare the street plots in Boa Vista with those in São José, the fundamental differences in layout become obvious. São José, although distorted by the great traffic snake of the Praça da Independência to Boa Viagem, has maintained its abstract principles. Boa Vista, on the other hand, with its curved streets, paths, and alleys, seems completely ‘organic’, as if the Portuguese atavistically projected a medieval character onto their town–planning designs in developing this largely marshy area of the mainland. We see the same characteristic in Bahia, Olinda, and Rio de Janeiro.

21 See Appendix V, ‘Nomenclature of sugar plantations’, no. 9.

22 Supposedly it was one of João Fernandes Vieira’s plantation houses, or, at least, the site belonged to him; the house itself dates from the 19th century.


24 See Picket II.

25 Krause, op.cit., p. 66. The fact that the buildings are cube–shaped does not entirely imply that cubist principles can be connected to their design. The static character of existing architecture and the very functional application of materials and construction methods makes the contrary more likely.

26 List, undated, found in the archive of the Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico (Sobrado Magdalena) in Recife, November 1982, without name or number. Similar publication in Melo Franco de Andrade, op.cit., p. 172.

28 The use of a fortification for the peaceful purpose of a museum serves both the conservation of the building and that of the historically based identity of a people. On this principle, the Council for Cultural Affairs based its decision in 1962, recommending Fort Zeelandia in Paramaribo, Suriname, for restoration and turning it into a historical museum. The design sketch, made by Temminck Groll, was approved by the Advisory Council for Cultural Cooperation in the Kingdom. Temminck Groll. A. R. H. Tjin A Die, etc., *De architectuur van Suriname. 1667–1930*. Zutphen 1973, pp. 14–38.

29 The *Sobrado Grande* named in Appendix V, 'Nomenclature of sugar plantations', nr. 5, is the same building now located at a busy intersection.


32 Originally Italian, the Cavalcânti family was among the first sugar planters in 16th-century Brazil. In Brazilian history, commanders, politicians, and great landowners represent the name Cavalcânti. The Tacaruna factory was one of the family’s last possessions. The building is momentarily vacant. Ibid., p. 128.


34 Temminck Groll, *Nos Futuro* p. 444.

35 José Luiz da Mota Menezes and Maria do Rosário Rosa Rodriguez, op cit., pp. 113, 114.

35 Appendix V, 'Nomenclature of sugar plantations', nr. 2.

Appendix IX: Vegetation replanted internationally by the Portuguese

The following is a list of edible plants and fruit trees, replanted principally by the Portuguese from the places of origin to other continents. Later the Spanish, Dutch, and English did the same. Sometimes a plant or tree did so well that it was difficult to confirm whether it was a native plant or originally from elsewhere. Johan Maurits van Nassau conducted experiments in this area and imported both flora and fauna from other areas. His gardens at Huis Vrijburgh and Slot Boa Vista were characterized by the diversity of their foreign vegetation and by the many varieties that the Brazilian plants, etc. themselves produced. The abundance of fruits must have been remarkable and the success of the way the governor managed transport, planting and care of the often very big trees, belonged to one of his prouds. Barlaeus’ summing up includes the species cocos-palm (almost 600 pieces), 58 lemon-trees, 18 other citrus-fruits, papaya’s, breadfruit-trees, mango’s, cashewnut-trees, ‘Bacome sive Bananes’ and a lot of other vegetation, among others ‘herbes ad Medicorum & Chimurgorum usus’. (Barlaeus, De Rerum, 1647, pp. 143, 144.)

**Latin America**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Latin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 abacate</td>
<td>avocado</td>
<td>Persea gratissima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 algodão</td>
<td>cotton</td>
<td>Gossypium spp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 amendoim</td>
<td>peanut</td>
<td>Arachis hypogaea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inglesa (Br.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ananas sativa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ananás/abacaxi</td>
<td>pineapple</td>
<td>Rollinia delicosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Br.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 anona/fruta de</td>
<td>sweet</td>
<td>Ipomoea batatus Lam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Selanum cuberosum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 batata doce</td>
<td>potato</td>
<td>Vanilla spp/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 batata inglesa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Orguidacea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 banilha/</td>
<td>vanilla</td>
<td>Theobroma cacao L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baunilha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 cacau</td>
<td>cocoa</td>
<td>Anaradium occidentalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 cajú (Br.)</td>
<td>cashew</td>
<td>Cocos nucifera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 coqueiro</td>
<td>cocos-palm</td>
<td>Psidium guayava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 goiaba</td>
<td>guave</td>
<td>Carica papaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 mamão</td>
<td>papaya</td>
<td>Manihot utilisima casave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 mandioca (Br.)</td>
<td>manioc</td>
<td>Passiflora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 maracujá</td>
<td>passion/fruit</td>
<td>quadrangulensis L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 milho</td>
<td>corn</td>
<td>Zea mays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 pimento</td>
<td>chilipepper</td>
<td>Capsicum annuum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piri-piri/</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jatropha curoas</td>
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<tr>
<td>jindugu (Br.)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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373
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Latin Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>tabaco</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td>Nicotiana tabacum</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>tomate</td>
<td>tomato</td>
<td>Lycopersicum</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Asia</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>algodão</td>
<td>cotton</td>
<td>Gossypium spp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bananeira</td>
<td>banana</td>
<td>Musa supientum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>cana de açúcar</td>
<td>sugarcane</td>
<td>Saccharum officinarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>canela</td>
<td>cinnamon</td>
<td>Cinnamomum zeylanicum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>chá</td>
<td>tea</td>
<td>Camelia sinensis L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>inhame</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alocasia Indica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>laranja</td>
<td>orange</td>
<td>Citrum sinensis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>limão</td>
<td>lemon</td>
<td>Citrus limonum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>loquat</td>
<td>loquat</td>
<td>Eriobotrya japonica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>manga</td>
<td>mango</td>
<td>Mangifera indica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>pimenta</td>
<td>pepper</td>
<td>Capsicum annuum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Africa (and probably Asia)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>cafeiro</td>
<td>coffee</td>
<td>Coffea arabica L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>jaccá (jenipapa)</td>
<td>breadfruit tree</td>
<td>Artocarpus integrifolia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ricino</td>
<td>castor-oil plant</td>
<td>Ricinus ricinus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Glossary

Unless otherwise indicated, foreign terms are Portuguese.

A

abobada  dome, arched roof from alvenaria
 açucar  sugar
 açucareiro/a  concerning sugar
 administrador  1. clerk; 2. administrator
 adro  place before a church, belonging the complex
 agua  1. water; 2. draining level
 aldeia  village
 alfandega  customs-house
 algodao  cotton
 alho  onion
 alma  soul
 almirante  admiral, superior of an armada
 altar  altar
 altar-mor  high altar
 alto/a  high, on top of
 alvenaria  uncut natural stone used in construction
 amarelo/a  yellow
 amparo  assistance
 anjo  angel
 arco  arch
 arco cruzeiro  span between nave and choir
 arraial  encampment
 arrecife  reef. A-: old name for Recife
 arredores  outskirts
 arroba  unit of weight, appr. 14 kilos
 átrio  (entrance-)hall
 azulejo  tile, flagstone

B

bairro  quarter, town district
 balanca  weigh-house
 balsa  species of light wood, used to construct
 fishing-boats
 bandeirante  explorer of an unknown territory who is a
 member of a group under its own bandeira
 (standard/flag)
 barca, barco  small boat
 bastiao  bastion
 bastide (French)  settlement with a rigid geometrical form
 boi  cow, ox
 bom/boa  good
 braço  arm
 branco/a  white
 brasil-hout (Dutch)  brazilwood, a type of hardwood used to extract
 a red-coloured paint
caboclo  farmer from the inland
caju     a type of fruit
cal      lime
caldo (de cana)  juice (of sugarcane)
câmara municipal  town council
campo    field
cana     sugar cane
candomblé  syncretistic religion, mostly in Bahia
cantaria cut natural stone used in construction
capela   chapel
capela-mor  choir
capitania province
capitão  captain; head of a capitania
capuchinho, capucho Franciscan (secular)
caravela caravel
carioca resident of Rio de Janeiro
carneiro goat
carta    1. letter; 2. map
cartografia cartography
casa     house
casa grande main house of a plantation
castelo  castle
chirurgijn (Dutch) doctor, surgeon
cidade city, town
cóco    coconut
colégio  seminary, school
companhia company, (religious) order
conceição conception
connessement (Dutch) Bill of Lading
consistório vestry, consistory
convento  convent, monastery
coqueiro  cocos—palm
corpo    body
corpo da igreja nave
Corpo Santo Holy Sacrament
corredor corridor, passage
cruz     cross
cruzeiro  1. concerning a cross; 2. Brazilian currency
cupim    termite(s)
curral   corral of cattle

de, do(s), da(s) of the, from the
descalço barefoot
deus; Deus god; God, The Lord
dóce     sweet
Dom      Lord, Monseigneur
domínio  1. domain, 2. dominion, mastery
Dona    Lady, also commonly Mrs.
donó de engenho owner of a sugar mill
dormitório dormitory
dourado/a gilding
E

e and
enfermaria nursery
enfermeira nurse
engenheiro owner of a plantation
engenho sugarmill, plantation
entalhado/a ornamented with woodcarvings
entalhador woodcarver
entalho woodcarving
entrada entrance
entrada de retâbulo entrance with columns and a decorated tympanum or archfield
escabino member of a town council
escola school
escravo slave
escrivão secretary
esscutor sculptor
escultura sculpture
estatuário sculptor of human figures

F

fabrië(c)k (Dutch) technician, engineer
fachada façade, also used for side-facades
farinha flour, flour of the maniok-root, also: farinha de man(d)íoca
favela slum
fazenda large farm or plantation
fazendeiro owner of a large farm of plantation
fidalgo knight
filho 1. son; 2. junior
flamengo/a 1. Fleming; 2. Flemish
frade, frei monastical brother
freguesia place with district adminstration
freire/freira monastical sister
frevo dance with a quick rhythm, specific to Pernambuco
frontaria front façade
frontispício front façade
fronton pediment

G

galilé galiilee, porch of a church
geral, plural gerais general
gerailista native or inhabitant from Minas Gerais
graça mercy
guerra war
h
hoed (Dutch) hat, unit of capacity, esp. for chalk and coal, resp. 981.7 L. and 1172.4 L.
homem man
homem preto negro
hospício hospice

i
i (Tupi) water
Idade Média Middle Ages
igreja church
ilha island
imagem 1. face; 2. religious statue, figure of a saint
imaginário 1. sculptor of religious sculptures; 2. fantastic
indígena/a the people of the interior, inland
indígena/a 1. Indian, from an índio/a; from India
Indio/a Indian
interior 1. the interior, inland; 2. inland-like
irma sister
irmã community of friars/sisters
irmãdo brother

j
jacarandá redish hardwood
janela window
jangada light, flat fishing boat made of balsa
jaqueiro breadfruit tree
jeto trick
judeu/judia Jew, Jewish
juiz judge
### K

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karveel (Dutch)</td>
<td>caravel, caravel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kist (Dutch)</td>
<td>chest, unit of capacity, cubic measure, appr. 450 L.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### L

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laranja</td>
<td>orange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>last (Dutch)</td>
<td>weight, unit of weight, esp. for corn and herring, resp. appr. 3004 L. and 1500 L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lavabo</td>
<td>water basin (liturgical)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lavatório</td>
<td>wash place, wash basin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limão</td>
<td>lemon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limpo</td>
<td>clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lindo/a</td>
<td>beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lioz</td>
<td>grey marble from Portugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>litoral</td>
<td>1. coast; 2. from the coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lusíada</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusitânia</td>
<td>old name for Portugal</td>
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<tr>
<td>lusitano/a</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
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### M

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
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<tr>
<td>macumba</td>
<td>syncretistic religion specific to Rio de Janeiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mapa</td>
<td>map</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mark trooisch</td>
<td>app. 246 grams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dutch)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mascavado</td>
<td>brown sugar, not completely refined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matriz</td>
<td>episcopal church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mazombo</td>
<td>inhabitant of Brazil whose parents are foreign, specifically Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mercado</td>
<td>market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mestiço</td>
<td>halfbreed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milho</td>
<td>maize, Indian corn, mealies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mina</td>
<td>mine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minas Gerais</td>
<td>name of the Brazilian State where the mineral mines were detected in 1699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mineiro</td>
<td>geraldista, inhabitant from Minas Gerais</td>
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<tr>
<td>mirante</td>
<td>watch-tower, belvedere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miuda</td>
<td>tithe</td>
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<tr>
<td>miudeza</td>
<td>tithe</td>
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<tr>
<td>moçarabe</td>
<td>influence of Islamic culture on the Iberian Peninsula</td>
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<tr>
<td>moeda</td>
<td>coin</td>
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<tr>
<td>moinho</td>
<td>mill; small sugar mill</td>
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<tr>
<td>monastério</td>
<td>monastery</td>
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<tr>
<td>monte</td>
<td>mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monteiro</td>
<td>adj. from monte; mountain inhabitant</td>
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<tr>
<td>mordomo</td>
<td>administrator of a good, an irmandade, etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>mouloiro</td>
<td>Islamite</td>
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<tr>
<td>mourisco</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
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<tr>
<td>mulato</td>
<td>offspring of a black and a white world</td>
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<td>mundo</td>
<td>world</td>
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N

narthex (English) galilee
neto grandson
Nordeste the North-East part of Brasil
Nossa Senhora Our Lady, Mary
novo/a new

O

óculos spectacles
oeil de boeuf round window
(French)
officinalis (Latin) medical, used in medicine
oitão large house of various floors
olaria pottery, also for tiles, bricks, etc.
Ordenanzas regulations concerning the construction of new
(Spanish) places in the Spanish colonies

P

pacova banana
padre 1. father; 2. priest
palácio palace
palma 1. palm of the hand; 2. palm leaf; 3. unit of measure, approx. 10 cm.
palmeira palm tree
panela sugar, made from the residu left over after refining
pão bread
pardo/a offspring of two halfbreeds
pau wood
pau brasil brazilwood
pé foot
pedestal lower part of a column, tower etc.
pedra natural stone
pedra bruta rough, uncut stone
pedreiro stone mason
peixe fish
pescador fisherman
pilar column without ornaments
pinha pinecone, also used for a particular architectural ornament
pintor painter
pintura painting
pipa 1. cask, 2. unit of capacity, esp. for wine, approx. 530 L.
pijp (Dutch) pipe
planta plan, ground plan
poço pond, small lake
ponte bridge
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<tr>
<td>porta</td>
<td>1. door; 2. gate</td>
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<tr>
<td>portal</td>
<td>main entrance of a building</td>
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<tr>
<td>portão</td>
<td>large door, entrance of a building</td>
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<tr>
<td>pôrtico</td>
<td>large porch, hall of a church</td>
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<tr>
<td>porto</td>
<td>harbour</td>
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<tr>
<td>povo</td>
<td>1. people, nation, 2. small village</td>
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<tr>
<td>povoação</td>
<td>see: povo</td>
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<tr>
<td>praça</td>
<td>place</td>
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<td>praia</td>
<td>beach</td>
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<td>prazer</td>
<td>pleasure</td>
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<tr>
<td>presbitério</td>
<td>presbytery</td>
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<tr>
<td>preto/a</td>
<td>black, also used for Negros</td>
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<tr>
<td>purgador</td>
<td>inspector in a sugar-mill who checks the process of cooking and thickening the juice</td>
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<tr>
<td>rapadura</td>
<td>block of pressed sugar</td>
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<tr>
<td>real</td>
<td>royal, coin (Spanish and Portuguese)</td>
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<tr>
<td>rede</td>
<td>hammock</td>
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<td>refeitório</td>
<td>refter</td>
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<td>relatório</td>
<td>report</td>
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<td>Renascimento</td>
<td>Renaissance</td>
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<td>renda</td>
<td>lace</td>
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<tr>
<td>rendição</td>
<td>capitulation</td>
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<tr>
<td>repoussoir (French)</td>
<td>foreground of a painting, supplying the remaining parts with an introduction and relief</td>
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<td>retábulo</td>
<td>altar, altar-piece</td>
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<tr>
<td>rio</td>
<td>river</td>
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<td>roode loope/rode lope (Dutch)</td>
<td>dysentery, diarrhea</td>
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<tr>
<td>rosário</td>
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<tr>
<td>rua</td>
<td>street</td>
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S

sacrário 1. reliquary; 2. sanctuary
sacristia sacristy, vestry
Salvador God, the Saviour
são, santo/a holy, saint
São Salvador da capital of the State Bahia de Todos os Santos
Bahia de Todos os Santos
Santos
sargento sargeant
sargento-mor sargeant-major
scheepslast (Dutch) unit of capacity, esp. for corn or herring, see last
schelling (Dutch) old coin (appr. sixpence)
Sé cathedral
seminário seminary
senhor mister
senhora mistress, lady
senzala(s) stables and dwellings of the slaves on a property
sertão desert in the interior
sineiro hell-cage, helfry, hell-tower
sino hell
sobrado house with two or more storeys
sol sun

T

taipa wall of lime in a frame of sticks, dried in the sun
tapete carpet
Tapuia Indian tribe
tec(c)to roof
telha pan-tile
telhado the outer part of the roof
terço, terceiro third
terra 1. land; 2. country
terreiro place with the special destination for afro-brasilian cults
tijolo brick stone
tonelada see: scheepslast
torre tower
traitor traitor
trapiche warehouse
travessa passage
Tupi language of several Indian tribes

U

ultramarino/a overseas
urubu vulture
V

valeroso
vaqueiro
várzea
vat (Dutch)
velho/a
vero/a
viagem
vila
virgem
voet (Dutch)

valiant, courageous
cowboy
fields, especially sugar-plantations
1. vat, 2. unit of capacity, esp. for oil and salt, resp. appr. 735 L. and 184 L.
old
true
journey
town with municipal rights
virgin
measure of distance; 0.283 m; 0.308 m

X

Xangô

syncretistic afro-brasilian religion of the Nordeste, especially Pernambuco

Z

Zé, Zé-Zé

abbreviation of José (Joseph)
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Art(agon)
Arroyo
Arr(a)uda
Arti(s)chau
Artichofski/y
Athias
Augusto
Augustus
Averlino
Aymard
Azevedo
Azubi
A. Coelho
A. da Fortuna

B
Badstueber
Baerle
Baers
Bagnuoli
Baldwin
Balet
Baluarte
Banckert
Bandecci
Bankert
Barácas
Barassar
Barbalho/B. Bezerra
Barbari
Barbaro
Barbas
Barbosa
Barlaeus

Baroque/B. Henriques
Barreto
Barré
Barroso
Barros
Barsimson
Bartolomeu
Baruch/B. Álvares/
Baru/B. Isidoro
Barzilay
Bassegodda
Bas
Batista/B. da Cruz
Batselaer
Bayer

4.4.4*
2*
3.4, 3.4*
4.1.1, 4.4.4*
4.1.1, 4.4.4*, 5.1, 6.4.2–0
5.3.1, 6.3, 6.6*
A:5
4.4.4*, A:4, A:5
4.4.2
6.6*
1*, 5.3.1, 5.4*, 7.5.1*
6.6*
7.2.1
A:7
5.4*
2
3.1*, 4.1, 4.4.4*, 7.5
4.4.4*
4.4.2
3.4, 7.4.1, 7.5.1*
A:7
6.4.2
2*
4.4.3
6.6*
6.6*
6.6*, A:5, A:8
4.4.4*
4.4.4*
6.6*
A:5
2, 3.3*, 4.1, 4.2, 4.4.4*, 5.1, 5.2.1, 5.2.2, 5.2.3, 5.3, 5.3.1, 5.4*, 6.4, 6.4.1, 6.6*, 7.2.2, 7.3.2, 7.5.1*, A:1, A:1*, A:3, A:5*, A:7, A:9
6.6*
4.4.1, 5.4*, 6.6*, 7.2.2, 7.5.1, A:5, A:8
A:6*
A:5
5.2.2, 6.6*
6.6*
3.1*, A:1
6.6*
6.6*
4.4.4*
3.2, 3.2*, A:4
6.6*, 7.5, 7.5.1
7.3.2
3.3*

405
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bazain</td>
<td>3.4*, 7.3.2, 7.5.1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaumont</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beci, Beck, Becx</td>
<td>6.6*, A:5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belmonte</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bemveniste</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6.6*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bet(e)ra(i)nger</td>
<td>4.4.4*</td>
</tr>
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<td>4.4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berendsen</td>
<td>A.8*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berenguer de Andrade</td>
<td>A.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berge</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bergh</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berghen</td>
<td>A.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berthelot</td>
<td>4.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bezerra</td>
<td>6.6*, A:1, A.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicker</td>
<td>3.2, 5.3, 6.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bie</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bloch</td>
<td>4.4.4*, 7.5.1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block</td>
<td>7.5.1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blommaert</td>
<td>3.2*, 6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloom</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodel Nijenhuis</td>
<td>4.4.4*</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5.2.2</td>
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<td>3.4</td>
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<td>6.6*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bonjour</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2*, 4.4.4*, 5.4*, 7.5.1*</td>
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<td>7.2.1</td>
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<td>2*</td>
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<td>3.2*, 7.2, 7.5.1*, A:4</td>
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<td>3.4</td>
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<td>2*, 6.4.1</td>
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<td>7.2</td>
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<td>A.4*</td>
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<td>4.4.1, 4.4.4*, 5.4*, 7.2.2, 7.5.1*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brito</td>
<td>6.6*, A:5</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>4.4.4*</td>
</tr>
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<td>2*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brouwer</td>
<td>2*, 5.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bruin</td>
<td>A.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bru(i)y/nsvelt</td>
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<td>3.3, 4.1.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
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<td>5.2.3, 5.4*</td>
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<td>1.3.1, 4.3, 4.4.4*, 5.3.1, A:5</td>
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<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
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<td>3.3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camarão</td>
<td>6.4.1, 6.4.2, A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4.4.4*, 6.6*, 7.2.2, A:5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2.6.6*, 7.1, 7.5.1*</td>
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<td>4.4.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Campbell</td>
<td>A:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campell</td>
<td>A:5</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>4.4.3, 7.2.2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2*, A:8*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>A:6*</td>
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<tr>
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<td>4.1, 4.4.4*, 6.6*, A:5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>A:7*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carneiro</td>
<td>6.6*, A:5, A:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>A:5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>A:4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4.4.4*</td>
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<td>3.2, 6.2, 6.6*, A:5*</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Carvalho</td>
<td>6.6*, 7.3, A:2*, A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casanova</td>
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<td>5.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassiers</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassuto</td>
<td>5.4*, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castanho</td>
<td>5.3.1, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castiel</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castilho</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castille</td>
<td>7.5.1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castanho</td>
<td>5.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castro</td>
<td>3.4, 6.3, 6.6*, A:8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. Passos
Cavalcânti
C.de Albuquerque
C.de Vasconcelos
Cavaleiro
Cedro Carneiro Leão
Senior
Cervantes
Ceulen
César
Chacão
Chamis
Chaplin
Charles V.
Chattilion
Chaucer
Chaves
Chaviez
Childe
Chijs
Cide
Clark
Clasen
Claudel
Clemens XIV
Cocteau
Codde van den Burgh
Coecje van Aelst
Coelho
Côem
Coets
Cohen/C.Caminha/C.Henriques/C.de Lara/C.Peixoto
Collot d’Escury
Columbus
Commelin
Commersteyn
Coninck
Coornhert
Cordeiro da Mendanha
Corneille
Cornelisz
Cornhill
Cornips
Coroa
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coronel</td>
<td>5.4*, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correia</td>
<td>5.3.1, 6.6*, A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cortiços</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cour</td>
<td>5.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtenius</td>
<td>A:4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coutinho</td>
<td>2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couto Ferraz</td>
<td>A:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craesbeeck</td>
<td>7.5.1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crasto</td>
<td>6.3, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croce</td>
<td>3.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crusoe</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunha</td>
<td>6.3, 6.6*, 7.1, A:5</td>
</tr>
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<td>Cura</td>
<td>3.2, 5.4*, 6.3, 6.6*</td>
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<tr>
<td>C. Brandão/C. da C. de Andrade</td>
<td>6.4.1, 6.6*, A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. de Mello</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Lisboa</td>
<td>A:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daems</td>
<td>6.6*, A:5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daij</td>
<td>A:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalen</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Dantas Silva</td>
<td>5.4*, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davies</td>
<td>6.5.2, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defoe</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delia</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
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<td>Denis</td>
<td>2*</td>
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<td>Descartes</td>
<td>2*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deus(odar)</td>
<td>5.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dias</td>
<td>4.4.4*, 5.1, 6.6*, 7.2.2,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dias Delgado</td>
<td>7.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dias Ferreira</td>
<td>4.3, 4.4.4*, 5.2.2, 6.3, 6.6*, 7.5.1, A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dix</td>
<td>A:5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dietterlin</td>
<td>3.4, 7.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diffie</td>
<td>2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dillen</td>
<td>6.1, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diniz</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diocletian</td>
<td>5.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dricksz</td>
<td>4.4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirx</td>
<td>A:5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domingos</td>
<td>7.5, A:5, A:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dor(d)th</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dormido</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorta de Paz</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dou</td>
<td>4.4.3, 4.4.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drewisch</td>
<td>3.3, 4.4.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Driessen 4.4.3, 4.4.4
Drummond d'Andrade 1*
Drusius 4.4.4*
Dufy 10
Dupuis 11
Duro A.5
Dussen 3.3, 6.2, 6.3, 6.6*, 7.5, A:5
D. d'Almeida A.7
D. da Fonseca/D. d'Afonseca/D Guterres/D. Soeiro 6.6*

E
Edward I 4.4.2, 4.4.4*
Eeckholts 2
E(f)e(c)khout 2.2*, 5.4*, 7.3
El(t)s(siens 3.2, A.5
Eleanore d'Aquitaine 4.4.2
Elias 6.6*
Elsevier 2*, 3.2*, A.8*
El(s)t 3.1*, 4.2
Ephraim 6.6*
Espanhol 6.4
Estacour A.5
Euclides da Cunha 7.1
Eyerschettel A.5*

F
Faria 6.6*, A.5
Farinha 6.6*
Faro 6.6*
Fauconnet 11
Febo 6.6*
Ferdinand of Spain 2
Fernandes/F. Brandão/F. Cardos 6.6*
o/F. Guarinos/F. Pato
Fernandes Vieira 3.4, 6.4, 6.4.1, 6.6*, 7.2.2, 7.4.1, 7.5.1*, A:1, A:5, A:8*
Fernando 1*, 4.2, 5.3, 5.4*, 7.5.1*, A:1, A:2
Ferreira 6.6*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ferrez</td>
<td>7.5.1*, A:5*, A:7*</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4.4</td>
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<tr>
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<td>A:8</td>
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<td>10</td>
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</table>

**G**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Page Numbers</th>
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<td>G. Leitão/G. Side/G. Vila Real</td>
<td>5.3.1, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabriel</td>
<td>5.1, A:5</td>
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<td>Gaffarel</td>
<td>A:6*</td>
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<td>Gago</td>
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<td>Galas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Galland</td>
<td>4.4.3, 4.4.4, 5.4*</td>
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<td>A:6*</td>
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<td>4.4.4*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gautherot</td>
<td>5.4*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ge(i)dion 6.6*
Geel 3.4*
Gerritsz Wedda 3.3
G(h)ijsselin(gh) 3.2, 3.2*, 4.1, 4.1.1, 5.1, 6.2, 6.6*
Ginsburg 3.4*
Giocondo 4.4.4*
Goch 3.2
Gockinga A:5*
Godes 3.2*
Goddad 4.4.2
Goliath 2, 3.3, 4.4.4, 5.1, 5.2.1, 6.3, A:5*
Golschmann 10
Gomes/G Chacao/G da 6.6.*
Costa/G da Paz/G Pina
Gonçalves A:5
Gonçalves Olinda 7.3.2
Gonçalves Raposo A:5
Gonsalves 5.4.1, A:5.
Gonsalves de Mello 1.2*, 3.1, 3.3, 4.1.1, 4.3, 4.4.4*, 5.1, 5.2.1, 5.3.1, 5.4*, 6.2, 6.4.1, 6.6*, 7.2.2, A:1*, A:4*
Goveia 5.4*, 7.5.1*
Goyen 2*
Gracel 6.6*
Gracia 3.4*
Granada 5.3.1, 6.3
Greene Arnold 5.4
Groot 3.3
Griebe 5.4*
Guarinos 6.6*
Guerreiro 3.1*
Guevara 3.4*
Guia 5.4*, A:8
Guido A:8
Guidon 6.6*
Guimarães 6.6*
Guteres 6.6*
G. da Fonseca A:7
G. Morais 5.4*, 6.6*
H

Habib 6.6*
Hack 6.6*
Haeecxs 3.2, A:4
Hagenau 4.2, 5.2.3
Hall A:8
Halters A:5*
Hamburg 6.6*
Hamel 3.1, 3.2, 6.5, A:4, A:5*,
Hamis Gago 6.6*
Hanseatic 4.4.2
Hapsburgs 2, A:8
Harmensz 5.4*
Haro 6.6*
Hauthain 3.4*
Heyn 2
Hellendoorn 3.4*
Hemart 3.2*
Hemert 3.2*
Hemmersam 2*, 5.4*
Henderson 4.4.4*, 5.4*, 6.4.1, 6.6*
Hendrikse 2*
Henriques 6.3, 6.6*, A:5
Henry III 4.4.2
Herekmans 2, 2*, 3.2, 3.2, 4.4.4*, 5.3, 6.6*
Herculano 2*
Herrera 7.2.2, 7.5.1*
Herrero Gaveia 3.4*
Hi(c)k 3.3, 6.6*
Hinderson 4.4.2, 4.4.4*, 6.4.2, 6.6*
Hita 1*
Hoboken 3.2*, 5.4*, 6.6*
Hoebe/Oeb 6.6*
Hoekveld 5.4*
Hoetink 2*, 3.2*, 4.4.4*, 5.4*
Holstein-Sonderburg 2*
Hommel Coronel 6.6*
Hondius 4.4.4*
l' Honoré Naber 2*, 3.1*, 3.2*
Honório Rodrigues 3.1*, 6.6*
Hoog(h)straten 3.3, 3.3.1, 6.6*
Horatian 3.4
Horatio 3.2
Horatius A:4
Houbreken 1*, 4.4.3
Houtbeem 6.4.1, 6.6*
Houwens Post 1, 6.6*
Huisman 6.6*
Hume A:6*
Hus A:5
Huygens 2*, 4.4.3, 5.3
Hygino Duarte Rodrigues 2*, 6.6*
| A:2          | 3.4*      |
| 4.4.4*, 5.3.1, A:3, A:6* |           |
| A:3, A:6*   |           |
| A:8*        |           |
| 2           |           |
| 3.1, 5.4*, 6.2, 6.3, A:5 |           |
| 2           |           |
| 6.6*        |           |
| 6.6*        |           |
| 6.6*        |           |
| 6.6*, A:5   |           |
| 2           |           |
| 4.4.4, 4.4.4* |         |
| A:6         |           |
| A:4         |           |
| 3.1*, 3.2*, 4.4.4*, 6.4.1 |        |
| 2*          |           |
| 6.6*        |           |
| 6.3, 6.6*   |           |
| 6.6*        |           |
| 2           |           |
| 2, 5.4*     |           |
| 2*          |           |
| A:1*        |           |
| 2*, 4.2, 4.4.4* |       |
| 1, 2, 2.1, 3.1*, 3.2, 3.2*, 3.3, |   |
| 3.4*, 4.1, 4.1.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4.2, | |
| 4.4.3, 4.4.4, 4.4.4*, 5.1, 5.2, | |
| 5.2.2, 5.2.3, 5.3, 5.3.1, 5.4*, 6.2, | |
| 6.4, 6.4.1, 6.4.2, 6.5.1, 6.5.2, 6.6, |   |
| 6.6*, 7.2, 7.2.2, 7.3.2, 7.5, 7.5.1*, | |
| 8, A:1, A:4, A:5, A:5*, A:8, A:9 |   |
| A:8         |           |
| 6.4.1, 6.6* |           |
| 4.4.4*      |           |
| 3.2         |           |
| 3.2*        |           |
| 5.4*        |           |
| 6.6*        |           |
| A:5*        |           |
| 2           |           |
| 5.4         |           |
| 5.4         |           |
| 6.6*        |           |
| 6.6*        |           |
K

Kampen 4.4.3, 4.4.4*, 6.6*, 7.2.2
Ketelaer A:4
Keulen 3.3
Keye A:4*
Keyser 7.5.1*, A:5*
Kezer A:8*
Killaen A:5*
Kimball 5.4
Knock 6.6.*
Knuttel A:4*
König 5.4*
Koin A:4
Krause A:8*
Kroyestein(-Tourlon) A:5
Kübler 3.4, 7.2.2, 7.5.1 *
Kunst 3.1*, 3.2*, 3.4*, 6.6

L

Lack 4.2
Laet 2, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 4.1, 4.2, 4.4.4*,
Lagarto 5.1, 5.4*, 6.6, 7.2.2, 7.3.2, 7.5.1*,
Lahoest 8, A:4* Lafaia5.3.1, 6.6*
Lara 6.6*
Larsen 2*
Laurenszoon 3.1*
Laurens 3.3
Le Brun 2*
Lees-Milne 7.5.*
Leão 6.6*
Leite 5.4*, 7.1, 7.2, 7.2.2, 7.5.1*
Leitão 4.1, 6.6*
Lemmens 2*
Leo X 7.4
Léry A:6*
Levi 6.3, 6.6*
L. Pereira/L. Rezlo 6.6.*
Levy 3.4*
Lewis 4.4.4*,
Ley 3.3, 6.6*
Lighthart 3.3, A:6*
Lima A:8*
Linschoten 3.2
Lins Caldas A:5
Lion 6.6.*
Lira A:5
Lis 6.6.*
Lisboa 7.3, A:8*
Livermore 5.4*
Lobbrecht 3.3*, 4.4.3, 4.4.4, 4.4.4*, A:4*
Lobo A:8
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>References</th>
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<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
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<td>3.4, 3.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lopes</td>
<td>2*, 3.4, 6.3, 6.6*</td>
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<td>A:8</td>
</tr>
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<td>1*, 2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lourenço</td>
<td>6.3, 6.6*, 7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyola</td>
<td>7.2, 7.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luffel</td>
<td>A:5</td>
</tr>
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<td>6.6*</td>
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<tr>
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<td>A:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machado</td>
<td>A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machiavelli</td>
<td>2*, 6.6*</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2*</td>
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<td>Manesson</td>
<td>3.3, 4.4.4*</td>
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<td>2, 5.4*</td>
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<td>4.4.4*</td>
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<td>4.4.2, 4.4.4*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marcos</td>
<td>A:5, A:8*</td>
</tr>
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<td>A:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>B (see also: Gonsalves de Mello and Cabral de Mello)</td>
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<td>A:5</td>
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<td>5.4*</td>
</tr>
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<td>Milaenenn</td>
<td>2*, 4.2</td>
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<td>Milhaud</td>
<td>1,1*, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miranda</td>
<td>A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misquita</td>
<td>5.4*, 6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitagaia</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mocata</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moisés</td>
<td>5.3.1, 6.4, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
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<td>Molina</td>
<td>3.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mollema</td>
<td>2, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3*, 5.4*, A:4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moltaboddo</td>
<td>2*</td>
</tr>
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<td>Monchy</td>
<td>3.3., 4.1.1, 4.4.2, 4.4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monsanto</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monserrate</td>
<td>A:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monteiro</td>
<td>6.6*, A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montesinso</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morais</td>
<td>5.4*, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morales de los Rios</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moreno</td>
<td>6.6*, A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moritz</td>
<td>2*, 4.4.3, 4.4.4*, 5.4*, A:5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mota Menezes</td>
<td>1,3.3, 6.6*, 7.2.2, 7.5.1, A:1, A:3, A:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moucheron</td>
<td>A:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouchy</td>
<td>3.3*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Moura 5.2.3, A:5
Mout 4.4.4*
Mumford 6.6*
Musaphia 6.6*
M. Bezerra A:5

N
Nathalmias 6.6*
Nasoni 3.4
Nassi 6.6*
Nassau, N.-Siegen: see Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen
Navalhas A:5*
Navarro 5.3.1, 6.3, 6.4, 6.6*
Nederveen Meerkerk 2*, 6.6*, 7.5.1*
Nehemias 6.3, 6.6*
Nery da Fonseca 5.4*
Neto 6.6*
Netscher 2, 4.1.1, 4.4.4*, 6.6*
Neves 6.6*, 7.3.2
Nieuhof 3.1*, 3.3, 3.4*, 4.2, 4.4.4*, 5.3, 5.3.1, 5.4*, 6.3, 6.5, 6.5.2, 6.6*, 7.3, 7.5, 7.5.1, A:1, A:2, A:4*, A:5*
Nieuwland 5.3
Nijhoff 2*, 3.2*, 8
Noordegraaf 6.6*
Nóbrega 5.4*, 7.2, 7.2.1, 7.2.2, A:6*
Nunes 6.3, 6.6*, A:5
Nunes Soares 7.5.1, A:1*
Nijhoff 3.2*, 3.3*, 8
N. da Fonseca/N. do Paço/N. Torres/N. do Vale/N. Velho/N. Ximenes
N. Vitória A:5

O
Óculos 3.1, A:5
Oldebarnevel(d)t 3.2, 3.2*
Oliveira 6.6*, A:5, A:8
Olimpio Costa Jr. 5.4*
Onório 6.3
Oorschot 3.4*
Oquendo 3.1
Oss 6.1, 6.6*
Otschmann 7.5.1
Overcamp A:4
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pacheco</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padova</td>
<td>4.4.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paes</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pais</td>
<td>2, 3.2*, 6.6*, A:5, A:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pais(x) d'Altro</td>
<td>2*, A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palache</td>
<td>5.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palière</td>
<td>4.4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palladio</td>
<td>4.2, 4.4.4*, 5.2.2, 5.2.3, 5.4*, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palm</td>
<td>4.4.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantaleão</td>
<td>A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pater</td>
<td>3.1, 3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pato</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul V</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paula Cavalcânti d'Albuquerque</td>
<td>A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavolide</td>
<td>A:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paz</td>
<td>6.3, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pena</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>A:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro II</td>
<td>3.2*</td>
</tr>
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<td>Pereira</td>
<td>1, 2, 5.4*, 6.3, 6.6*, A:5, A:7, A:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pereira da Costa</td>
<td>4.4.4*, 7.5.1*, A:5, A:5*</td>
</tr>
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<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pessoa</td>
<td>2*, 6.6*, 7.3.2, A:1, A:5</td>
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<td>Peter the Great</td>
<td>2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pevsner</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pfalz</td>
<td>5.2.3, 5.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip II</td>
<td>4.4.2, 4.4.4*, 5.2.3, 7.1, 7.2.2, 7.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pictor</td>
<td>4.4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pies</td>
<td>2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pieters</td>
<td>2*, 4.4.3, 4.4.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietersz Dou</td>
<td>4.4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilaer</td>
<td>A:4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pimentel</td>
<td>4.4.2, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pina</td>
<td>5.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinto</td>
<td>1*, 6.3, 6.6*, 7.5.1, A:3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pio</td>
<td>A:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pires</td>
<td>6.6*, 7.2.1, 7.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piscator</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pisa</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piso</td>
<td>1*, 2, 2*, 4.2, 4.4.3, 4.4.4*, 5.4*, 6.3, 6.6*, A:6</td>
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<td>Pistor</td>
<td>4.4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitoque</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pizo</td>
<td>2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantagenet</td>
<td>4.4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plante</td>
<td>4.4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumb</td>
<td>7.2, 7.5.1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poel</td>
<td>5.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Page Numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poi(ync)ts</td>
<td>4.4.2, 4.4.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polman</td>
<td>A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pombal</td>
<td>3.3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pompeius</td>
<td>4.4.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontormo</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post</td>
<td>2, 3.1, 5.2.2, 6.2, 6.4.1</td>
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<td>Post(Frans)</td>
<td>1.2, 2*, 4.3, 4.4.3, 4.4.4*, 5.1,</td>
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<td>5.2, 5.2.2, 5.3.1, 5.4*, 6.3, 7.1,</td>
</tr>
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<td>7.2.2, 7.3, 7.3.2, 7.5.1, 7.5.1*</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A:1, A:3, A:5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Post(Pieter)</td>
<td>2*, 4.4.3, 4.4.4, 4.4.4*, 5.2.2, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postumus</td>
<td>6.3.1, 6.6*, A:4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prado Valladeres</td>
<td>2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preto</td>
<td>6.6*, A:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.Castro</td>
<td>3.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.Schilder</td>
<td>3.3.3.3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quental</td>
<td>A:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Querido</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabelo</td>
<td>3.2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racine</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafael</td>
<td>A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramires</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangel</td>
<td>A:3, A:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raphael de Jesus</td>
<td>5.3.1, 7.5.1*, A:5, A:5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raposo</td>
<td>A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rappard</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redondo</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rego Barros</td>
<td>5.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reinbach</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reinja</td>
<td>A:3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rembach</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rembrandt</td>
<td>2*, A:6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reno</td>
<td>5.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resende</td>
<td>4.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rezio</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ribeiro</td>
<td>A:2, A:2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Lionhearted</td>
<td>4.4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richshofer</td>
<td>2, 3.1, 3.3, 5.4*, 6.6*, 7.3.2, 7.5.1*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Riddler</td>
<td>3.3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rivet</td>
<td>7.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rocha</td>
<td>6.3, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rodrigo</td>
<td>A:8*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rodrigues</td>
<td>2*, 5.4*, 6.6*, 7.5.1*, A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rodriguez</td>
<td>A:8*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roesser</td>
<td>A:2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rois(z)</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosa</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosário Rosa Rodrigues</td>
<td>3.1, 3.3*, A:8*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rosel 6.6*
Rostand 1*
Roth 2*
Ruiz 3.4*, 6.6*
Russell 4.4.4*
Russon 6.6*
Ruyters 4.4.4*
Ryckwaert 5.4*
Rykvert 6.6*
R.Coutinho 2*
R.Campelo A:5
R.Cide/R.da 6.6*
Costa/R.Mendes/R.Monsanto/R.
Monsanto/R.Nunes/R.de
Sousa/R.Vila Real
R.Ferreira 2

S

Sadler 5.4*
Saia A:3*
Salomon 2*
Salom/S.Azevedo/S.Soares 6.6*
Salvador 7.2.2., 7.3.1, 7.5.1
Sampaio A:5
Samuels 6.6*
Sanches 6.6*
Sand A:6
Sangareau da Fonseca A:7
Santos Pereira 1.1*, 2, 2*, 5.4*, A:5
Saraiva 2*, 3.4, 5.3, 5.4*, 5.6*, 6.6*
Sarfati 6.3, 6.5
Scamozzi 6.6*, 7.5.1*
Schagen 5.4*
Schilder 2*, 3.3, 4.4.4
Schilt 3.2
Schlaaprijtz 1*, 7.2.2, 7.5.1*, A:5, A:7
Schlooenborch/burgh 3.2, A:4, A:5
Schloeppe/s 3.2, 3.3*, 6.4.2, 6.6*
Schott(e) 3.2, 6.2, 6.6*, A:5
Sebastianen(ão) 3.4, 7.1, 7.5.1
Sedie 6.6*
Seeghers 2*
Segel 4.4.4*
Seixas 6.6*
Semá 6.6*
Sem(p)ls 3.3, 4.4, 4.4.3, 4.4.4, 4.4.4*
Senior/S.Coronel 6.3, 6.6*
Serlio 5.2.2, 5.2.3, 6.6*, 7.5.1*
Serooskercke(n) 3.2, 4.4.4*
Serra  6.6*
Serrano  6.6*
Seuilijyn  2, 6.4, 6.6*
Sevenhuysen  A.4*
Seville  A.8
Shakespeare  3.4
Shearman  3.4*
Silberling  2*
Silva  2*, 5.4*, 6.6*, A.5
Silva Nigra  2*
Silveira Velhoso  A.7
Simon  6.6*
Siqueira  7.5.1
Slicher van Bath  6.6*
Smids  5.3.1*
Smith  5.2, 3, 5.4*, 7.5.1*
Snyder  A.5*
Soares  3, 6.6*, 7.5.1, A.1
Soeiro  6.6*
Solemni  3.4
Soler  2*, 4.4.4*, 6.6*, 7.22, 7.5.1*
Solis  6.6*
Solomon  6.6*
Someren  A.4
Sophocles  3.4*
Soria  7.5.1*
Sousa  6.6*, 7.2, A.6*,
Sousa-Leão  1.2*, 3.1*, 4.3, 4.4.4*, 5.2.1, 5.4*, 7.5.1, A.1*, A.3, A.5
Sprigge  3.4*
Stachouwer  3.2, 3.3*, 6.4, A.5
Staden  A.6*
Staring  4.4.4*, 6.6*
Steyn Kallenfels(z)  3.3, 4.2.1, 5.4*, 7.3.2, 7.5.1*, A.4*
Stevin  4.4, 4.4.1, 4.4.2, 4.4.3, 4.4.4*
Stuhldreher-Nienhuis  2*
Susana Gre  5.4*
S. Coronel  6.6*
S. da Canha  A.5
S. da Cunha  A.5*
S. da Mendonça  5.4*
S. de Sampaio  A.5
S. de Sousa  A.6*
S. Leitão  A.4
S. Moreno  3.2*
S. Moura  A.5
S. Pereira  A.5
S. Rangel  A.7
T  
Taborda  3.1*, 3.3
Talaveira de Reina  A.8
Tavares de Matos  6.6*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taverne</td>
<td>4.4.2, 4.4.3, 4.4.4*, 5.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Távora</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teensma</td>
<td>3.1*, 5.4*, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
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<td>6.6*</td>
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<td>6.3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6.3</td>
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<td>Teodoro</td>
<td>A.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terwen</td>
<td>4.4.4*, 5.2.2, 5.2.3, 5.4*</td>
</tr>
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<td>4.4.2, 4.4.4*, 7.2.2, 7.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>A.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>2, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomsen</td>
<td>2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thucydides</td>
<td>4.4.4*</td>
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<td>A.8*</td>
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<td>A.5*</td>
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<td>A.8*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>A.5</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Torre d’Ávila</td>
<td>6.6*, A.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torres</td>
<td>6.6*, A.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourlon</td>
<td>2, 3.2*, A.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6.3, 6.6*</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
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<td>Trouw</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tudesco</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Uffelen</td>
<td>A.5</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ulysses Pernambucano de Mello</td>
<td>1*, 7.2.2, A.6, A.6*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Urbanus VIII</td>
<td>A.3, A.6*</td>
</tr>
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<td>Usse linx</td>
<td>3.2, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Vaer</td>
<td>3.3, 4.4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>A.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valdivia</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vale</td>
<td>5.4*, A.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valença</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valha</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valverde</td>
<td>5.3.1, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varnhagen</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasalos</td>
<td>3.1*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Temminck Groll

1. 4.4, 4.4.2, 4.4.3, 4.4.4*, 5.4*,
A.4, A.4*, A.8*

Tenório
4.4.4*

Teodoro
A.5

Terwen
4.4.4*, 5.2.2, 5.2.3, 5.4*

Terzi
4.4 2, 4.4.4*, 7.2.2, 7.5.1

Thevet
A.6*

Thomas
2, 6.6*

Thomson
2*

Thucydides
4.4.4*

Tichelaar
A.8*

Timoteo
A.5*

Tjin A Die
A.8*

Toledo
2

Tolner
6.5.2

Tomaz
6.4

Tomás
A.5

Torre
6.6*

Torre d’Ávila
6.6*, A.5

Torres
6.6*, A.8

Tourlon
2, 3.2*, A.5

Touro
6.3, 6.6*

Tovar
6.6*

Trouw
3.2

Tudesco
6.6*

U

Uffelen
A.5

Ulysses Pernambucano de Mello
1*, 7.2.2, A.6, A.6*

Urbanus VIII
A.3, A.6*

Usselincx
3.2.5

V

Vaer
3.3, 4.4.4

Valadares
A.5

Valdivia
6.6*

Vale
5.4*, A.5

Valença
6.6*

Valha
4.3

Valverde
5.3.1, 6.6*

Varnhagen
6.6*

Vasalos
3.1*
Vaux 7.2.2.
Vauthier 5.2.2, 5.4, A:8
Vaz 7.3.2, 6.6*
Vaz Dias 6.6*
Veegens 4.4.3, 4.4.4, 6.6*
Veere 3.2, 6.6
Vega 3.4, 6.3, 6.6*

(see also: Lope)
Veiga 6.6*
Velho 6.6*
Velilhos 6.6*
Velosino 6.6*
Verbeec A:4
Verdonck 3.3*, 6.2, A:5, A:6
Veronese 4.4.4*
Vélez 3.4*
Vidal de Negreiros 3.3, A:5
Vieira 3.1, 6.6*
Vieira/Fernandes V. 6.4, 6.4.1, 6.6*, 7.2.2, 7.3.2, 7.4.1, 7.5.1*, A:5, A:8*

Vieira d’Alagoa 7.5.1*
Viglio A:5
Vignola 7.2.1, 7.5.1*
Vila 6.6*, A:7, A:8
Vilaça A:8*
Villegaignon A:6*
Visscher 4.4.4*
Visser 3.1, 3.1*
Vitruvius 4.4.2, 4.4.3, 4.4.4*
Vondel 2*
Voorde 6.3
Vredeman de Vries 3.4, 7.5.1
Vriendt/Floris de 3.4, A:8
Vroe 4.3
V. de Castro/V.de 6.6*
Fontes/V.Henriques 6.6*
V. Fonseca 6.6*

W

Waerdenburg(h) 3.1, 3.3, 5.1, 7.5.1, A:5
Wagner 4.2, 4.4.4*, 5.1, 5.2.1, 5.3.1, 5.4*, 7.3, A:2
Wal 3.1
Walbeeck 3.2, 5.1, A:6
Walrand 3.2*
Wanderley 6.6*
Warnsinck 3.2*, 4.4.4*, 5.4*
Warnsingh A:5*
Wash 2*, 4.4.4*
Wasth Rodrigues 5.1, 5.4*
Wedda 3.3
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wegevart</td>
<td>7.2 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitehead</td>
<td>2*, 5.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wieder</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wijntgein(s)</td>
<td>3.2, A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willarts</td>
<td>2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willekens</td>
<td>2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willem II</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willemsz</td>
<td>2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winius</td>
<td>2. A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With</td>
<td>2. A:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witt</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wittkower</td>
<td>4.4.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witt</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiznitzer</td>
<td>2*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Worp</td>
<td>3.4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**X**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xaverius</td>
<td>A:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ximenes</td>
<td>6.3, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Y**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yerushalmi</td>
<td>5.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yisrael</td>
<td>5.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yllan</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>A:2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Z**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zacuto</td>
<td>5.3.1, 6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zandvliet</td>
<td>4.4.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zantkuijl</td>
<td>5.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zumthor</td>
<td>A:6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zuzarte</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
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Samenvatting

Aan de architectonische en stedebouwkundige overblijfselen is de ontstaansgeschiedenis van Recife nauwelijks af te lezen. Dat het hele gebied op de Isthmus van Olinda, ingeklemd tussen de rivieren de Capibaribe, de Beberibe en de Afogados en de Atlantische Oceaan, zwaar bevolkt is, destemene. In tegenstelling tot de civiele architectuur bestaan er nog steeds de resten van talloze forten en vestingwerken, wanneer die van steen waren, althans. Olinda was voor de Hollandse Periode de monolste stad van de regio en misschien wel van heel Brazilië. Salvador da Bahia inclusief. 'Het Vlek Recife', het dorp op ongeveer drie kilometer afstand van Olinda daarentegen, was met zijn pakhuizen niet meer dan een dependance van deze stad. De mannen van de West Indische Compagnie (WIC) slaagden erin om, na de verovering van Olinda in februari 1630 deze bezitting te behouden, voorwaar een groter succes dan in 1624, toen Bahia al na een jaar aan de rechmatige eigenaars moest worden teruggegeven (rechtmatig in de zin van het Verdrag van Tordesillas, 1494). De consolidatie van het domein in 1630 ging echter niet dan ten koste van Olinda. Door zijn ligging in een onoverzichtelijk, geaccidenteerd terrein bood de plaats onophoudelijk gelegenheid aan guerrillastrijders de Hollanders te bestoken, hiertoe aangevuurd door Matias de Albuquerque, de Portugese bevelhebber, die zich verscholen had in het binnenland.

Anderhalf jaar na de Nederlandse overwinning besloot men de troetse stad te verwoesten, mede vanwege het feit dat de Hollanders zich door de komst van een Spaanse armada ook vanuit zee bedreigd voelden. Van de kloosters der Jezui eten. Franciscanen, Carmelieten en Benedictijnen bleven slechts ruines over. Het grootste deel van de kerken, waaronder de kathedraal, onderging hetzelfde lot en natuurlijk alle burgerwoonhuizen en openbare gebouwen. Maar wel hadden de Hollanders alvorens de zaak te verwoesten, zorgvuldig van elk gebouw het bruikbare bouwmateriaal gesloopt en naar Recife getransporteerd. Deze plaats werd hiermee uitgebouwd en versterkt. Olinda was geschiedenis geworden, Recife begon de zijne te schrijven. De plaats groeide zo snel, dat al na zeven jaar nauwelijks nog uitbreidingsmogelijkheden voorhanden waren. Ondanks dit trachtte de WIC de economische en militaire capaciteit van de kolonie zoveel mogelijk te vergroten.

Hiertoe was een krachtig bestuur een conditio sine qua non. De suikermolens in het binnenland waren in handen van aan de Hollandse 'invasores' (invallers) niet altijd even loyale eigenaars. Voor de WIC echter was de suikerhandel de essentie van haar bestaan, aldaar. Maar de uitoefening van een bewind over een samenleving, zo heterogeen samengesteld uit rassen, klassen en talen als daarginds, was een groot probleem. De WIC dacht in de persoon van Johan Maurits Graaf van Nassau-Siegen, een neef van de Stadhouder, Prins Frederik Hendrik van Oranje Nassau, de persoon te hebben gevonden, die tegen een dergelijke problematiek opgewassen leek. Ongetwijfeld zou dit ook het geval zijn geweest, indien de Compagnie de jonge militaris-doctus carte blanche gegeven had zijn ideeën op strategisch, economisch en sociaal gebied te verwezenlijken. Het begin, waarop de WIC zelf was gegrondevast, was echter dualistisch. Aan de ene kant bevonden zich de kooplieden-participanten met hun belangen, terwijl anderzijds de Staten-Generaal aan de WIC opdracht hadden gegeven tot militaire bezetting van het grote en voor Nederland totaal nieuwe
gebied. De financiële en militaire middelen daartoe werden echter niet in voldoende mate verstrekt. De Heren XIX, die het bestuur van de WIC vormden, zagen zich genoodzaakt in de eerste plaats aan de wensen van de participanten tegemoet te komen. Deze waren het per slot, die een tamelijk groot kapitaal bijeen hadden gebracht om de zaak in beginsel mogelijk te maken. De tweeslachtige houding van zowel de Staten Generaal als de WIC was ten nadele van de bewegingsvrijheid van Johan Maurits van Nassau. Zijn eigen werkopvatting was een andere dan de interpretatie die door de WIC aan zijn opdracht werd gegeven. Hij wilde van Brazilië een zo zelfstandig mogelijk landsdeel maken met een krachtig binnenlands bestuur, in plaats van het een kolonie te laten zijn, waarvan de belangen ondergeschikt zouden blijven aan die van het moederland. Wrijvingen en zich steeds scherper manifesteerende tegenstellingen leidden in 1643 en 1644 tot respectievelijk zijn ontslagaanvraag en ontslag, ternauwernood acht jaar nadat men hem met het gouvernementschap bekleed had.

Afgezien van alles slaagde de gouverneur erin de Portugezen achter de Rio São Francisco terug te dringen. Met de hoofden van Indiaanse stammen kwam het tot overeenkomsten. De bezittingen in West-Afrika werden uitgebreid en versterkt; die in Pernambuco en de aangrenzende Capitanias eveneens en de Nederlandse invloed werd zelfs totdat de Spaanse kolonie Chili, voelbaar. Een inventarisatie van de Pernambucaanse suikermolens en waar nodig reparatie ervan, bracht overal verbetering. Ook schonk de gouverneur veel aandacht aan de vestingbouwkundige en stedebouwkundige problematiek en aan de bestuurlijke infrastructuur. Hij stelde een gemeenteraad samen, waarin alle sociale rangen en standen vertegenwoordigd waren. Om de woningnood, die in 1637 bij zijn aankomst reeds dreigde, op te lossen, liet hij het eiland Antônio Vaz, gelegen tussen de isthmus en het vasteland vlak tegenover Recife, draineren en inpolderen, opdat het bebouwd zou kunnen worden. Het eerste gouvernementele onderkomen bevond zich daar reeds, maar omdat deze oude planterswoning, op den duur niet voldeed, stichtte Johan Maurits er een nieuwe residentie, 'Huis Vrijburgh' geheten. Met Fort Ernestus, dat al dateerde uit 1630, het nieuwe Gemeentehuis en de Franse Kerk vormde dit paleis de kern van de nieuwe stad, 'Mauritssstad'. Min of meer tegelijkertijd werd 'Nieuw-Mauritssstad' gebouwd, dat geprojecteerd was tussen dit eerste gedeelte, ook wel het 'Groot Kwartier' genaamd, en het Fort Frederik Hendrik, in 1630 gesticht als Fort Vijfhoek of Fort Trotsch den Duivel. De Hoge Raad, die in de kolonie de directe vertegenwoordigers van de WIC was, gaf er voorkeur aan haar zetel in Recife te laten, evenals de logementen van de kooplieden. Dit is verklarbaar uit de geografische locatie: dicht bij de haven, de pakhuizen, de suikerwaag, de schepen op de see. In die eerste jaren dat Mauritssstad van de grond kwam, was er nog geen brug, die de beide stadssieden verbond. Het eiland werd gedomineerd door de beide hierboven genoemde forten met vier redouten daartussen. Nu kwam er een stadsgracht die de forten verbond en een kanalenstelsel, dat naar twee kanten voor afwatering zorgde. De bouwkavels werden rechtstreeks in een strakke geometrische volgorde geprojecteerd. Deze vorm was in de Noordelijke Nederlanden van de zeventiende eeuw niet onbekend en doet reminiscenties ontstaan met de stadspianiën van Stevin, Van Geelkerken, Sems of Pieter Post. Met deze laatste architect onderhield Johan Maurits van Nassau op meer dan een wijze
relaties. Ten eerste was Post gecontracteerd voor de voltooiing van het 'Mauritshuis' in Den Haag en ten tweede was zijn broer, de schilder Frans Post, persoonlijk door de gouverneur aangesteld om hem op zijn reizen en tochten te vergezellen en de gedenkwaardigheden vast te leggen.

De allereerste stichters van 'het vlek' waren indiaanse vissers; de Portugezen maakten er een plaatsje van met een eigen bestuur ('freguesia'), terwijl de stichting van de voor die contremen en in die tijd terecht genoemde 'metropool' op naam van de Hollanders is te schrijven. Maar het is volstrekt onbekend welke architect(en) voor het bouwplan verantwoordelijk was (waren). Wel staat vast, dat de grote stimulator achter alles de gouverneur zelf was. Diens persoonlijke inzet leidde eveneens tot de constructie van de brug tussen Mauritsstad en Recife, hetgeen uit correspondentie en andere contemporain bronnen aantoonbaar is. Dat de Brazilianen zich tot op heden van de juistheid van zijn visie bewust zijn, wordt geïllustreerd door het feit, dat de nieuwe brug, die de oude vanaf ongeveer medio-negentiende eeuw zou gaan vervangen, op bijna dezelfde plek werd aangelegd en nu de naam 'Ponte Mauricio de Nassau' draagt. Meer inzicht verkrijgt de onderzoeker bij de bestudering van de inventarislijst, die in 1654 door de Portugalse koninklijke thesaurier werd opgemaakt van alle vestingwerken en civiele gebouwen te Recife en Mauritsstad, die door de Hollanders werden overgedragen. Het merendeel van de laatste categorie heeft betrekking op Recife, aangezien korte tijd na het vertrek van Johan Maurits uit Brazilie de kolonie in ernstige moeilijkheden kwam. De Portugezen deden een aanval op de plaats en de Hollanders trokken zich terug 'op het Recief', dat dramatisch beleggerd werd. Tot beter uitzicht op de andere oever van de Capibaribe, waar de Portugezen zich verscholen, slechts met een groot deel van Mauritsstad en Nieuw-Mauritsstad en ook de latere krijgs handelingen waren voor de ooit zo ambitieus geprojecteerde stad weinig gunstig. Door de zorgvuldige optekening van de locaties en de bij de gebouwen behorende aantekeningen over grootte, bewoners en toekomstige bestemming, kan men zich een levendig beeld vormen van de wijze, waarop in ieder geval Recife zich tegen de heuvels en begroeiing van het vasteland heeft afgetekend. Bovendien is het mogelijk om door juist de bouwkundige informatie een schatting te maken van de hoeveelheid inwoners, die tussen 1640 en 1654 in de stad als geheel gewoond hebben. De op die manier tot stand gekomen schatting beoogt een aanzet te geven tot de methode om kunstgeschiedenis te hanteren als een discipline, waaruit demografische en andere sociologische gevolgtrekkings kunnen worden getrokken. De hierboven ter sprake gebrachte stedebouwkundige en civiel-architectonische onderwerpen worden in de eerste beide hoofdstukken behandeld. Een manier om cultureelhistorisch onderzoek te verrichten, waarbij diverse studiegebieden worden benut, wordt beproefd in Hoofdstuk III over de economie en suikercultuur. Om inzicht te verkrijgen in de bewegredenen van de planters, de kooplieden en vooral van de Heren XIX, werd de 'J-curve' op de situatie tussen de jaren 1635 en 1645 geprojecteerd. De J-curve is een door de socio-econoom James Davies gehanteerde statistische figuur. Davies toont hierdoor de relatie aan tussen de verwachtingen van een volk, de reële omstandigheden waarin het zich bevindt en de voorwaarden tot plotselinge crisis. Deze treedt op, wanneer zich na een periode van geleidelijke groei plotseling een
moment van onverbiddelijke neergang aandracht. Aanvankelijk wordt hierin niet geloofd, totdat het hiat tussen verwachting en werkelijkheid ontoelaatbaar groot geworden is. Op dat moment zou er in de bevolking een bereidheid tot revolutie ontstaan, aldus Davies. Het is ons streven geweest om aan te tonen, dat er achter de beslissingen van de WIC niet louter materialistische motieven staken, maar dat er psychologische reacties een rol speelden, die de voor het behoud van de Braziliaanse kolonie desastreuze besluitvoering hebben beïnvloed. Het lijkt mogelijk de J-curve op de toenmalige omstandigheden van toepassing te verkla ren. Naast zulke pluridisciplinair onderzoek komt de traditionele kunstgeschiedenis aan bod bij de behandeling van de vraag, welke stijlen de religieuze architectuur voör, tijdens en na de Hollandse Periode in Noord–Oost Brazilië kenmerkten. Leidraad hiervoor was in de eerste plaats het werk van Frans Post. In zijn schilderijen en tekeningen komen wij zeer veel kerkers, kloosters en kapellen tegen. Het werk van Post onderscheidt zich bij uitstek door deze architectonische accenten. Zij zijn tezamen met de menselijke figuren altijd ingebed in een wijs landschap. Dit heeft dikwijls een hoge horizon en is vrijwel altijd aan drie zijden omgeven door een repoussoir van flora en fauna. Posts werk is voor de beeldvorming van het land in die tijd van groot belang, niet alleen als illustratie van bestaande theorieën, maar ook als bron waaruit nog regelmatig nieuwe bevindingen opborrelen. De door de Hollanders in 1630 en door Post in 1637 aangetroffen stijl van de Portugese religieuze bouwkunst, was renaissancistisch van aard. Vormen en proporties der gebouwen correspondeerden met die van klassieke tempels, zij het, dat zij niet met zuilengangen omgeven waren, maar door muren gesloten. Tijdens de Hollandse Periode werd het merendeel der bestaande kerkgebouwen onherstelbaar beschadigd. Zowel ruines als intact gebleven bouwwerken werden door Post in zijn tafereel verwerkt. Voor zover uit afbeeldingen en tekeningen of beschrijvingen van de restauratie-tijd na 1654 valt op te maken, vertoont de herbouwde architectuur hetzelfde klassieke stramien. De strak opgerichte gevels werden nu echter, naar de mode van de tijd, versierd met uit Europa afkomstige motieven uit de Barok. Het contrast tussen de strengere basisvorm van het gebouw en dit soort decoratie maakt het niet eenvoudig om aan deze bouwkunst één stilistisch predicaat te hechten. De benaming 'Barok' is in elk geval niet op zijn plaats; 'Maniëristisch' evenmin vanwege het gebrek aan eenheid van een totale kunstbeoefening, die aan een dergelijk concept ten grondslag zou dienen te liggen. Het gaat hier om een bouwkundige versieringslust, die in het Noord–Oosten van Brazilië niets van doen heeft met integratie met literatuur of andere kunsten. De nuances in ogenschouw nemend, zou men mogen concluderen, dat hier in wezen gesproken kan worden van een volstrekt zelfstandige manier van doen, waarbij lokale invloeden en capaciteiten een even grote rol spelen, als de uit Europa geërfde beeldvorming. Vandaar de door ons gebruikte term: 'Estilo Colonial Nordestino', waarmee de religieuze bouwkunst van het Noord–Oosten van Brazilië uit de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw meer recht wordt gedaan, dan bij routinieraar hantering van slechte Europese terminologie. Tenslotte geven enkele Appendices extra informatie aan de onderwerpen van de vier hoofdstukken, zij het, dat de erin aangeroerde stof slechts marginaal wordt behandeld. Zij hebben tot doel het silhouet van de stad Recife, zoals die groeide onder de handen van de Hollanders, waarbij zij een
onafhankelijkheid verkreeg, die zij nimmer meer zou prijs geven, beter te doen uitkomen. Daaruit is nu de skyline van een metropool ontstaan van enorme afmetingen. De stad heeft dermate gigantische problemen op economisch en sociaal gebied, dat hiervoor helaas al te vaak oplossingen worden gezocht, die ten koste van historische overblijfselen gaan.

Recife heeft een ontstaansgeschiedenis gehad, die door veel bijzonderheden wordt gekenmerkt; de voornaamste elementen eruit werden hier op verschillende wijze belicht. Het zou de moeite waard zijn, om de fundamenten van de grote gebouwen, zoals paleizen, openbare gebouwen, fortten, maar ook de oorspronkelijke tracering van het stratenplan en de kaden, door infrarood fotografie op het spoor te komen. Gezien de siechte financiële situatie, waarin Brazilië zich momenteel bevindt en op grond van Nederlands grote historische rol in Pernambuco, pleiten wij op deze plaats voor de instelling van een hiertoe te gebruiken Fonds.

Van niet minder belang zou het onderzoek zijn naar de invloed, die een grote stad als Recife op het achterland heeft. Is er sprake van een stimulus en zo ja, waarin uit zich dat? Of heeft de grote stad door zijn zuigkracht juist een remmende werking op de ontvloeiing van haar omgeving? De situatie waarin Recife en Pernambuco zich in onze tijd bevinden geeft aanleiding te veronderstellen, dat de relatie tussen de Grote stad en Het Binnenland even dualistisch is als die tussen het 'Casa Grande e Senzala'.

432
Sumário

Pouco se consegue deduzir acerca da história da origem do Recife quando se vê os restos arquitectónicos e urbanos. Ainda mais pelo facto de ter havido muitas lutas em toda a área do istmo de Olinda, encaixado entre os rios de Capibaribe, Beberibe e o Afogados, e o Oceano Atlântico. Contrastando com a arquitectura civil, contudo ainda existem os restos de inúmeros fortes e fortalezas de pedra.

Antes da invasão dos Holandeses, Olinda era a cidade mais bonita da região, e até talvez de todo o Brasil, incluindo Salvador da Bahia. Por outro lado, 'o povoado Recife', povoação a uns três quilómetros de distância de Olinda, com os seus armazéns, não era mais do que uma dependência anexa desta cidade. Os senhores da Companhia das Índias Ocidentais (WIC—West Indische Compagnie) conseguiram assegurar esta possessão depois da conquista de Olinda em Fevereiro de 1630, éxito ainda maior do que em 1624, quando Bahia teve de ser restituída aos donos legítimos (no que respeita o Tratado de Tordesilhas em 1494). No entanto a consolidação do domínio em 1630 não se fez à custa de Olinda. A sua situação geográfica de pouca visibilidade e terreno acidentado oferecia constantemente a oportunidade de assaltos dos guerrileiros do interior aos Holandeses, sendo esta guerrilha posta em prática por Matias de Albuquerque (ou: d'Albuquerque), comandante português que se tinha refugiado no interior.

Ano e meio depois da vitória dos Holandeses, decidiu-se destruir esta bela cidade, pois que os Holandeses sentiam-se ameaçados pelo lado do mar com a chegada da Armada Espanhola. Dos mosteiros dos Jesuítas, Franciscanos, Carmelitas e Beneditinos só ficaram algumas ruínas. A maior parte das igrejas, entre as quais a Catedral, sofreu a mesma sorte, e também como é óbvio, todas as casas civis e edifícios públicos. Mas antes de destruir a cidade os Holandeses retiraram cuidadosamente de cada edifício todo o material de construção usável, e transportaram-no para o Recife. Ficando desta forma ampliado e fortificado. Olinda passou a história e o Recife começou a escrever a sua. Este lugar cresceu tão rapidamente que ao fim de sete anos já quase não havia possibilidades de ampliação. Apesar disso, WIC procurou ampliar o potencial económico e militar da colónia tanto quanto possível. Para este fim um governo firme era 'conditio sine qua non'. Os engenhos no interior encontravam-se nas mãos de 'senhores' que nem sempre eram leais aos 'invasores' Holandeses. Enquanto que para WIC a indústria do açúcar era a base da sua existência. Mas estruturar administrativamente uma sociedade tão heterogénea, constituída por raças, classes e línguas como esta era um grande problema.
Foi quando WIC teve a ideia que João Maurício, Conde de Nassau-Siegen, sobrinho do Governador Frederico Henrique de Oranje Nassau, fosse a pessoa indicada para resolver tais problemas. Tal teria sido o caso se a Companhia tivesse dado carta branca ao jovem militar-doctus, de forma a que ele pudesse pôr em prática as suas ideias estratégicas, econômicas e sociais. O propósito da WIC era no entanto dualístico. Por um lado estavam os comerciantes-participantes com os seus interesses, enquanto que por outro lado os Estados Gerais da Holanda (Staten-Generaal) tinham dado como tarefa a WIC a ocupação militar deste território vasto e completamente novo para os Países Baixos, enquanto que os meios financeiros e militares para tal não tinham sido suficientemente proporcionados. Os Senhores XIX (Heren XIX), que formavam a comissão administrativa da WIC, viram-se em primeiro lugar obrigados a satisfazer os desejos dos participantes, uma vez que estes foram os que, afinal de contas, forneceram o grande capital necessário no início. Esta atitude ambígua dos Estados Gerais (Staten-Generaal) assim como da WIC foi prejudicial à liberdade de movimento de João Maurício de Nassau. A sua forma de agir era diferente da interpretação dada pela WIC ao seu cargo. Ele queria que o Brasil fosse um país tão independente quanto possível, e com uma forte administração interna, em vez de ser uma colônia cujos interesses seriam subordinados aos interesses da mãe-pátria. Conflitos e antagonismos cada vez maiores conduziram em 1643 e 1644 respectivamente ao seu pedido de demissão e demissão mesma, oito anos após ter-lhe sido dado o cargo de governador. Apesar de tudo o governador conseguiu repelir os Portugueses para trás do Rio S. Francisco. Fizeram-se negociações com os chefes indígenas. As possessões na África Ocidental foram alargadas e consolidadas; assim como foram em Pernambuco e Capitanias limitrofes, e a influência holandesa fez-se sentir até mesmo na colônia espanhola do Chile. Um inventário dos engenhos e onde necessário a sua reparação melhorou a situação em toda a parte. O governador também dedicou o seu tempo à construção de praças fortes, urbanização e a infra-estruturas administrativas. Fundou uma Câmara Municipal com representantes de todas as classes sociais; e para pôr fim ao problema de habitação que já existia quando da sua chegada em 1637, mandou drenar e formar pântanos (conquista de terreno ao mar) na ilha Antônio Vaz, situada entre o istmo e o continente em frente ao Recife. Era ali que se encontrava a primeira residência governamental, mas como esta casa de plantação antiga a certa altura já não satisfazia as necessidades, João Maurício fundou uma nova residência chamada Huis Vrijburgh (Casa Friburgo). Esta, juntamente com o Forte Ernesto que já datava de 1630, a nova Câmara Municipal e a Igreja Francesa, formavam o núcleo da nova cidade chamada Mauritshast (Maurícia). Durante aproximadamente a mesma altura construiu-se a Nieuw-Mauritshast (Nova Maurícia) que sobressaia entre esta primeira parte também chamada Groot Kwartier (Quartel Grande) e o Forte Frederico Henrique, fundado em 1630 sob o nome de Fort Vijhoek (Forte Pentagonal) ou Fort Trotsch den Duivel (Forte Desafio ao Diabo).
O Conselho Supremo que era a representação directa da WIC na colónia preferia ficar na sua sede do Recife, onde estava a maioria das hospedarias dos comerciantes. Isto compreende-se visto a sua situação geográfica: ficava perto do porto, dos armazéns, da Casa do Peso do açúcar, dos navios. Nos primeiros anos em que a cidade Maurícia estava em desenvolvimento ainda não havia nenhuma ponte que ligasse as duas partes da cidade. A ilha era então dominada pelos dois fortes acima mencionados, com quatro baluartes entre eles. Foi então provida dum canal que ligava os fortes, e uma rede de canais que tomava conta do escoamento das águas. Os terrenos de construção eram rectangulares e projectados numa ordem geométrica fixa. Esta forma faz lembrar os planos urbanos de Simon Stevin, van Geelkercken, Sems ou Pieter Post. Era com este último arquitecto que João Maurício mantinha boas relações. Primeiro, e segundo, o seu irmão, pintor Frans Post, foi pessoalmente nomeado para o acompanhar nas suas viagens e excursões para registar os acontecimentos memoráveis.

Os primeiros fundadores do 'povoado do Recife' foram pescadores indígenas; os Portugueses fizeram dele uma freguesia com administração própria, enquanto que a fundação dela como 'metrópole' se deve aos Holandeses. Não se sabe ao certo os nomes dos arquitectos responsáveis pelos planos.

No entanto sabe-se que o grande instigado foi o próprio governador. Foi a sua dedicação pessoal que levou também a construção da ponte entre Mauritssstad e o Recife, o se pode comprovar através de correspondência e outras fontes contemporâneas. Para provar que os Brasileiros têm consciência das ideias justas do governador dos invasores, a ponte agora chamada 'Ponte Maurício de Nassau' encontra-se situada quase no mesmo sitio em que se encontrava a velha ponte, a qual foi substituída a meios do século dezanove. O investigador fica a saber mais sobre este assunto quando estudou a lista feita pelo secretário do real fiscal de contas português Francisco de Mesquita, em que se inventariaram todas as fortificações e edifícios civis localizados no Recife e na Maurícia, e que foram entregues pelos Holandeses. A maioria do inventário diz respeito ao Recife, visto que pouco tempo depois da partida de João Maurício do Brasil, esta colónia começou a ter grandes dificuldades. Os Portugueses atacaram o lugar e os Holandeses recorraram para o Recife, o qual se encontrava fortemente assediado. Para terem melhor vista na outra margem de Capibaribe, onde os Portugueses se refugiaram, os Holandeses arrasaram uma grande parte da cidade Maurícia e de Nova-Maurícia. Outras acções beligerantes também não foram favoráveis a esta cidade uma vez tão ambiciosamente planeada. Dos registos cuidadosamente feitos por Mesquita, mostrando a posição e esquemas dos edifícios no que respeita dimensões, habitações e destinação futura, pode fazer-se uma ideia da forma como o Recife ressaltava contra as colinas e vegetação do contíngente. Além disso, é possível fazer-se uma aproximação da quantidade de habitantes existentes na cidade entre 1640 e 1654, através da informação de urbanização que nos é dada. A aproximação obtida desta forma visa impulsionar o método de utilizar a História das Belas Artes como uma disciplina da qual se podem tirar conclusões demográficas e sociológicas. A urbanização e assuntos arquitectónico-civis foram mencionados nos dois primeiros capítulos. Outra maneira de fazer investigação histórico-cultural, na qual vários campos de estudo são
aproveitados, é apresentada no capítulo III acerca da economia e cultura do açúcar.

Para se obter uma ideia sobre os motivos dos donos do engenho, dos comerciantes, e sobretudo dos Senhores XIX (da administração da Companhia das Índias Ocidentais), projectou-se a curva J na situação entre os anos de 1635 e de 1645. A curva J foi inventada pelo sócio-economista James Davies. Nesta curva estatística Davies mostra a relação entre as expectativas dum povo, as circunstâncias reais em que se encontra, e a possibilidade dum a crise súbita. Esta aparece quando depois dum período de crescimento progressivo, de repente se anuncia um declínio inexorável. Primeiro não se acredita, até que o hiato entre as expectativas e a realidade se tornou insuportável dá origem a que o povo esteja pronto a fazer revolução, isto segundo a opinião de Davies. O nosso empenho foi o de mostrar que as decisões da WIC não se basearam somente em motivos materialistas, mas que também se basearam em reações de origem psicológica, tendo estas jogado papel importante. E foram estas que influenciaram fortemente a decisão de manter o Brasil como colónia.

É possível explicar-se o emprego da curva J nas circunstâncias de então. Assim, além da investigação pluridisciplinar, aparece a História das Belas Artes tradicional quando se faz a pergunta: qual era o estilo arquitectónico religioso corrente antes, durante e depois da ocupação holandesa no Nordeste do Brasil? Então utilizou-se em primeiro lugar a linha directriz da obra de Frans Post. Nas suas pinturas e desenhos encontramos muitas igrejas, mosteiros e capelas. A obra de Post distingue-se por estes realces arquitectónicos, os quais se integram sempre com as figuras humanas numa paisagem ampla e de alto horizonte, enquadrando-se num ‘repoussoir’ de flora e fauna tropicais. A obra de Post é de grande valor para o estudo do país naquele tempo; não só como ilustração de teorias já existentes, como também na qualidade de fonte histórica original. O estilo que os Holandeses encontraram em 1630 e Post em 1637 das igrejas portuguesas era de características Renascentista. A forma e proporções dos edifícios correspondiam com as de templos clássicos, se bem que não estivessem rodeados por colunatas mas sim por paredes. Durante o Período Holandês muitas das igrejas foram danificadas a ponto de já não poderem ser reconstruídas. Post ilustrou não só as ruínas como também os edifícios que ficaram intactos. De ilustrações e desenhos ou descrições da época da restauração após 1654, pode-se concluir que a arquitectura reconstruída mostra a mesma linha orientadora clássica. No entanto as fachadas antes sóbrias mostravam agora elementos decorativos vindos da Europa, do Barroco, seguindo a moda corrente.
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O contraste entre a forma básica sóbria do edifício e este tipo de ornamentação não facilita dar-se um predicado estilístico a esta arte de construção. O Barroco não é o estilo apropriado: o Maneirismo também não, por causa da falta de unidade dumha prática artística total que lhe pudesse dar esse nome. Aqui trata-se dumafirma de ornamentação na arte de construção que não se integrou com a Literatura ou outras Artes no Nordeste do Brasil. Poder-se-ia então concluir que se trata aquindum estilo muito próprio, no qual as influências locais e possibilidades tiveram papel relevante. assim como noções vindas da Europa. Por isso fazemos uso da terminologia: 'Estilo Colonial Nordestino', e fazemos assim justiça a este estilo arquitectónico religioso do Nordeste do Brasil, dos séculos dezasseste e dezoito, em vez de utilizarmos terminologia europeia já gasta. Para finalizar junto alguns apêndices que elucidam melhor a informação dada nos quatro capítulos, se bem que os assuntos tocados sejam tratados marginalmente, estes esclarecem a imagem que se tem da cidade do Recife tal como se desenvolveu sob o domínio holandês. Desta cidade nasceu uma metrópole de tais dimensões e com tão grandes problemas no campo económico e social, que se pedem soluções já tantas vezes procuradas, à custa de restos históricos.

O Recife tem uma história que é caracterizada por muitos elementos específicos; os elementos principais foram aqui tratados de várias formas. Valeria a pena tentar descobrir por meio de fotografia infra-vermelha os aliceres de grandes construções, tais como palácios, edifícios públicos, fortes, mas também de vestígios originais de planos de ruas e de portos. Tendo em vista a má situação financeira em que o Brasil se encontra presentemente, e em virtude do grande papel histórico que a Holanda teve em Pernambuco, apela-se aqui para que se crie um capital disponível, a ser utilizado para este fim. Seria ao mesmo tempo de grande importância fazer um estudo sobre a influência que uma tão grande cidade como o Recife teve no interior. Houve acção estimuladora, e se houve, como é que se expressou? Ou será que a grande cidade teve uma acção paralizante no desenvolvimento do interior, justamente devido à sua forte atração? A situação em que o Recife e Pernambuco se encontram neste momento leva-nos a presumir que a relação entre A Grande Cidade e o Interior é tão dualista como a relação entre a Casa Grande e Senzala.