

STUDIA ROSENTHALIANA

TIJDSCHRIFT VOOR JOODSE WETENSCHAP EN GESCHIEDENIS IN NEDERLAND

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MISTAKEN IDENTITIES OF SIGNATORIES OF THE CONGREGATION ZUR ISRAEL, RECIFE

EGON AND FRIEDA WOLFF

Our research on the destinies of the members of the first Jewish Congregation in the Americas brought to light inconsistencies in the biographies of several signatories. Reason for the contradictory information appeared to be the fact that people with the same names lived simultaneously in different places and caused considerable confusion among the historians.

We took the signatures affixed to the Minute Book of the congregation Zur Israel in 1648¹ as a starting point for our research. We compared them with other signatures of the same people wherever we could find them: in London, Curaçao, Surinam, Albany (New York), The Hague and especially in Amsterdam. There the archives of the Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst proved to be an invaluable source.

Three signatures in the Minute Book belong to three different personages. Witznitzer² ignored this fact and ascribed all data to one David Senior Coronel born about 1567 who became the treasurer of the Holy Land funds in Recife in 1652. Emmanuel³ described the same David, born about 1575, who died in 1650. The treasurer of the Holy Land funds must, therefore, be the grandson of the above mentioned, son of Ishac Senior Coronel. About the third David Senior Coronel nothing was known up till now. We believe to have identified this third David as a member of the Hamburg branch of the family, a nephew of the "elder" David Senior Coronel. Our main source were the records of the Santa Companhia de Dotar Orfas e Donzelas in the Amsterdam archives. There we found the confirmation of Emmanuel's statement that there were a grandfather and a grandson of the same name. The hereditary membership of David Senior Coronel, no. 133 in the Santa Companhia list, was passed on to the grandson of the same name in 1655, after his return from Recife.⁴ But we discovered also that inscription no. 180 belonged to another David Senior Coronel, from Hamburg, who had been accepted as a member in 1643-4.⁵

This David was not the only Senior Coronel who had come from Hamburg to Holland: Ysaque Senior Coronel of Hamburg became a member of the Santa Companhia too,

¹ Portugees-Isr. Gemeente te Brazilie: Register houdende reglementen en besluiten 1648-1654. Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst van Amsterdam, further quoted as GAA. PA, 334/1304, pp. 10-14.

² Arnold Witznitzer: *Jews in Colonial Brazil*. New York. 1960. P. 172.

³ Isaac S. Emmanuel: *Seventeenth Century Brazilian Jewry*. American Jewish Archives, further quoted as AJA. April, 1962. P. 62.

⁴ Santa Companhia de Dotar Orfas e Donzelas. 1639-1661. GAA PA, 334/1143, n. 133.

⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 180.

inscription no. 142.⁶ There exists also a contract copied in the Minute Book of the Amsterdam Sephardic congregation⁷ which mentioned a fund of f 6000 donated by David Senior Coronel (the elder, residing in Brazil) which was administered by his son Ishac. As this Ishac was about to depart for Brazil, the administration of the fund was given to his cousin and namesake Ysaque Senior Coronel of Hamburg. Again the same names occur in the Senior Coronel family.

Let us return now to the three Brazilian David Senior Coronel.

Grandfather David was born in the Iberian peninsula about 1570. His name was then Duarte Sarayva. In 1598 he settled in Amsterdam and married on August 15th of the same year, Maria Nunes, daughter of Pedro Homem and Branca Nunes. This was his second marriage. The name of his first wife was Britte Rodrigues.⁸

Numerous traces of his commercial activities have been discovered. In 1603, he gave a power of attorney to Aernout and Gaspar Luls in London to claim for him a consignment of sugar loaded in Lisbon which was seized by English ships and taken to England in 1601.⁹ In several other notarial deeds there are details about his shipping salt from Portugal and trading with other commodities. Sometimes his name is given as Duarte Saraiva Coronel.¹⁰

In 1610 he was appointed trustee of a young Portuguese orphan in Amsterdam.¹¹ In the same year he and six other members of the Amsterdam Sephardi congregation signed a contract with two Dutch butchers for delivery of kosher meat, slaughtered under Jewish supervision.¹²

He traded with Brazil since the early 1600s.¹³ After the Dutch conquest of Pernambuco in 1630, he decided to move to Recife. This occurred probably about 1636, as he had signed in Amsterdam the "Livro de Ymposta da Nação" in 1634.¹⁴ In 1641 he was the agent in Brazil for the Santa Companhia de Dotar Orfas e Donzelas.¹⁵ That he was one of the most important Jewish inhabitants of Dutch Brazil may be proved by the fact that he was one of the four personages to whom Menasseh ben Israel dedicated the second volume of his "Conciliador".¹⁶ When Prince Maurice of Orange planned to resign his

⁶ Ibid, n. 142.

⁷ Livro dos Acordos da Naçam, Escamot. . . GAA PA, 334/19, p. 130.

⁸ GAA Naam Klapper 1578-1650, vol. 2598. GAA Lijst van de Registers van Doop, Trouw en Begraven te Amsterdam. Pui-boek n. 665 Blz. 422.

⁹ Not. Arch. 94, fol. 173-174. Notary Jan Fransz Bruyningh, in Notarial Records relating to the Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam up to 1639 by E. M. Koen, Studia Rosenthaliana Amsterdam, further quoted as SRA. Vol. 2, n. 2; 1968. P. 270.

¹⁰ Ibid. Vol. 4, n. 2; 1970. P. 251-2. Also Vol. 6, n. 2; 1972. P. 231.

¹¹ Ibid. Vol. 5, n. 1; 1971. P. 115.

¹² Ibid. Vol. 5, n. 2; 1971. P. 222.

¹³ Ibid. Vol. 3, n. 2; 1969. P. 246.

¹⁴ Libro de Termos da Ymposta da Nação. . . 1622-1639. GAA PA, 334/19, P. 55v.

¹⁵ Isaac S. Emmanuel: New Lights on Early American Jewry. AJA, January, 1955. P. 34-5.

¹⁶ Segunda parte del Conciliador. Amsterdam. En casa de Nicolaus de Ravesteyn. An. 5041 [in fact 5401], p. 87.

governorship of Dutch Brazil, the Jews drew up a petition asking him to stay. Duarte Sarayva was the first of ten prominent signatories.¹⁷

1642 was a bad year for the Jewish community in Brazil. Daniel Gabilho, a Jewish broker, went bankrupt and was condemned to be hanged in January. The Jews of Recife raised about f 15.000 to save him, pay for his debts and send him elsewhere. The month of February brought a new scandal. A Jew from Mauricia was taken by the police and later expelled from Brazil. And in the middle of the year another incident happened. Moses Abendana, a Jew, died under suspicious circumstances, leaving a debt of about f 12.000. It was never clarified whether he was murdered or had committed suicide. His unpaid debts cast a cloud on the whole Jewish community. Four rich members of the community, among which David Senior Coronel alias Duarte Sarayva, took it upon them to pay the debts.¹⁸

Duarte Sarayva acquired several sugar mills from the West India Company soon after he had arrived in Brazil. On June 17th, 1637 he bought one for f 60.000 and another one for f 10.000; one week later the "Engenho Novo" (New Mill) for f 40.000, and in September, 1638, another one for f 10.000.¹⁹ His down payments were very low, for after the reconquest by the Portuguese in 1654, he still owed f 90.000 to the Dutch West India Company.²⁰ The Company, therefore, kept a mortgage on his sugar mills to cover their credits when Portugal would pay compensation for goods abandoned in Brazil.²¹

David was also active as a taxfarmer in Brazil and paid f 128.000 to the Government for the lease in 1639. In 1644, he paid f 105.000 for tax farming rights.²² An inventory of buildings in Recife of 1654 showed that the "Jew Duarte Sarayva" owned a "newly built dwelling of two stories, with shops on the groundfloor, situated with the front in Jewstreet, in which now lives Christovao Peres".²³ He did own another building²⁴ and shared a house with Gil Correa, alias Abraham Mocata,²⁵ also a signatory of the rules of the congregation Zur Israel.

After the Portuguese conquest of Recife a compensation of f 667.900,²⁶ more than seven times the value of his debt to the West India Company, was requested by Ishac Senior Coronel, son and heir to Duarte Sarayva²⁷ who died before September 1651. As there are no other claims for indemnification made by the other members of the Senior

¹⁷ Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, further quoted as ARH. Staten-Generaal. N. 57556 doc. no. 295, year 1642.

¹⁸ Wiznitzer: Jews. . . P. 87.

¹⁹ Emmanuel: Seventeenth Century. . . P. 35.

²⁰ Ibid. P. 56.

²¹ Ibididem.

²² Wiznitzer: Jews. . . P. 71.

²³ Inventario das Armas e Petrechos Belicos, que os Holandeses deixaram em Pernambuco e dos Predios Edificados ou Reparados ate 1654. Imprensa Oficial, Recife. 1940. N. 19.

²⁴ Ibid. N. 21.

²⁵ Ibid. N. 20.

²⁶ ARH. Staten-Generaal, n. 12577.43¹.

²⁷ Emmanuel: Seventeenth Century. . . P. 56.

Coronel family, including the grandson David Senior Coronel, the amount must have covered the whole estate of the family. A separate request for f 1.945²⁸ from David (Senior) Coronel must refer to the David from Hamburg, nephew of David the elder.

This Hamburg David was, as we assume, treasurer of the Holy Land funds in Recife in 1651-52,²⁹ though Emmanuel³⁰ thinks it was grandson David, as he ignored the existence of the third Hamburg David.

David, the grandson, was the son of Ishac Senior Coronel who had married in 1624,³¹ therefore David was in his early or mid-twenties. David from Hamburg had become a member of the Santa Companhia in 1643-4,³² was possibly older than David the grandson and therefore probably more qualified for the post of treasurer.

David the grandson, after his return to Amsterdam in 1654, was assessed eight guilders for the Jewish Community and four more for the Burial Society.³³ In the census of 1675 he was included among the married inhabitants of Amsterdam.³⁴ He died the following year, 1676 (29th of Ab 5436), and was buried at Ouderkerk.³⁵ His son Izaq Senior Coronel became the new bearer of the inscription n. 133 at the Santa Companhia de Dotar Orfas e Donzelas "in place of his father David Senior Coronel, who is with God, as the oldest son of the deceased" ("em lugar de seu pay David Senior Coronel que Dio tem, como filho mais velho do defuncto").³⁶

Regarding David Senior Coronel of Hamburg we found that he died in 1675, or earlier, as in that year his son Jacob already inherited the inscription n. 180 in the Santa Companhia.³⁷ This supports our opinion that the David Senior Coronel of the 1675 census was the grandson of David Senior Coronel-Duarte Sarayva and not the one from Hamburg.

JACOB and MORDOCHAJ SENIOR. They were brothers who had lived formerly in Amsterdam, where JACOB and MORDECHAJ SENIOR HENRIQUES, another pair of brothers, also lived. Still others with identical names were not interrelated.

Malcolm Stern who contributed much to reestablish the Jewish cemetery at Nevis, an islet in the Caribbean, believed that the Jacob Senior buried there in 1709 was probably the former resident of Recife.³⁸ In order to check this clue we visited the cemetery and

²⁸ ARH Staten-Generaal, n. 12.577.43¹.

²⁹ Portugees-Isr. Gemeente. . . GAA PA334/1304, p. 22.

³⁰ Emmanuel: Seventeenth Century. . . P. 63.

³¹ Ibidem.

³² Santa Companhia. . . GAA PA334/1143, N. 180.

³³ Livro dos Acordos da Naçam. . . GAA PA334/19, p. 370.

³⁴ Joaquim Mendes dos Remedios: Os Judeus Portugueses em Amsterdam. Coimbra, 1911. P. 200.

³⁵ Beschrijving van de Grafstenen van de Begraafplaats te Ouderkerk. GAA PA334/1328-9. Box 18, n. 140.

³⁶ Santa Companhia. . . GAA PA 334/1152. Document n. 319.

³⁷ Ibid. GAA PA 334/1144, N. 180.

³⁸ Malcolm H. Stern: A Successful Caribbean Restoration: The Nevis Story. Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, further quoted as PAJHS, N. 61-1. 1971.

came to the conclusion that the person buried there was just a namesake.³⁹ We thought it highly unlikely that the tombstone would include one additional letter of the deceased's name (the opposite happens sometime): the epitaph shows "JAHACOB", the signature in Recife was "JAACOB". We finally unearthed a Jahacob Senior who had resided in Amsterdam while Jaacob Senior lived in Recife. Jahacob was on the board of directors of the Burial Society of Amsterdam in 1647,⁴⁰ of the Fraternity Bicur Holim in 1648⁴¹ (in that year Jaacob Senior signed the rules of the congregation Zur Israel in Recife), of the congregation Talmud Torah of Amsterdam in 1651⁴² (in that year Jaacob Senior's daughter Miriam was born in Recife). His signatures found under several documents in Amsterdam, were quite different from the one in Recife, they always show the first name with an "h", Jahacob.⁴³

Therefore, the information given by Stern refers probably to Jahacob Senior of Amsterdam, who might have been the same who sailed on October 1679 from Barbados to Nevis,⁴⁴ and was buried there in 1709.⁴⁵ The migrations of Jahacob Senior and his wife Esther to Hamburg, Essequibo, Barbados, and finally to Nevis, cannot be attributed to Jaacob Senior of Recife.

Isaac Emmanuel also sketched the history of the Senior family which shows, however, certain inconsistencies. He started with Philippe Henriques, also known as Juda Senior, brother of David Senior Coronel. Philippe, as Juda, registered his marriage to Ester Pimentel in 1616 in Amsterdam.⁴⁶ She was then 16 years old. They had three children: Mordechaj, Jahacob and Ribca. Mordechaj was born in 1620, Jahacob about 1631;⁴⁷ both went to Recife. Four years after their return to Holland, in 1658, the two brothers registered their respective marriages to the Lopes sisters, Sara and Hester, under the name Henriques.⁴⁸ This is the story as told by Emmanuel.

We found that Jacob Senior Henriques and Jaacob Senior lived in Amsterdam at the same time. Both were included in the census of 1675 as married householders.⁴⁹ We scrutinized various specimens of the signature of Jacob Senior Henriques⁵⁰ and found them completely different from the one of Jaacob Senior of Recife.

³⁹ E. & F. Low [Egon & Frieda Wolff]: Um Cemiterio do Século XVII. Revista Aonde Vamos, Rio de Janeiro. April 5, 1973. N. 1540. P. 3-6.

⁴⁰ Livro dos Acordos da Nacam. . . GAA PA334/19, pp. 300-314. Termos de Ets Haim. 1637-1728. GAA PA334/1052.

⁴¹ Index dos S^{res} que servirão no Mahamad. 1639-1795. GAA PA334/155. Registro dos S^{res}. . . Parnassim da Hebra Bicur Holim. 1639-1939. GAA PA334/157, p. 11.

⁴² Index dos S^{res}. . . GAA PA334/155. Notícia dos Parnasim y Noivos de Ley que servirão no. K.K. de TT desde o Anno 5398. 1639-1744. GAA PA334/156.

⁴³ Vide 40.

⁴⁴ E. M. Shilstone: Records of the Jews in Barbados. Notebook A, p. 49. In manuscript, in the Museum of Barbados.

⁴⁵ Vide 39.

⁴⁶ I. S. Emmanuel: Precious Stones of the Jews of Curaçao. Bloch Publishing Co., New York. 1957. P. 302.

⁴⁷ Ibididem.

⁴⁸ Ibididem.

⁴⁹ Remedios: Os Judeus Portugueses. . . P. 202.

⁵⁰ Santa Jesiba de Guemilut Hasadim. 1661-1761. GAA PA334/1191, p. 66 left and right.

During our research quite a lot of persons called Jacob Senior were discovered: contributions for the building of the synagogue of Amsterdam were made in 1670 by Jacob de Baruch Senior⁵¹ (30 guilders), as well as by Jahacob de Jeuda Senior and sons⁵² (70 guilders). In 1675 Jacob Senior Henriques was assessed ten guilders,⁵³ the same year, Jaacob Senior of Recife signed the Minute Book of Amsterdam (*Livro de Termos*) in the same hand as in Brazil.⁵⁴

The Honen Dalim fraternity of Amsterdam had the following members in 1643: Jacob Senior, membership number 381⁵⁵ and Jacob Senior no. 392⁵⁶; number 549 belonged to Jahacob Senior Henriques (about 1655).⁵⁷ In 1672 appeared, under number 604, Jeuda, son of Jacob Senior.⁵⁸ He was probably the same Jeuda Senior of Jacob who was registered as a bachelor in the 1675 census of Amsterdam.⁵⁹ But if we start with the descendents of the various Jacob Senior we shall get completely mixed up.

We have no intention either to present the detailed information about the Senior Henriques family, as we have concluded that they were not the Senior family of Recife. A Jacob Senior who had made a contribution in 1619⁶⁰ at the burial of Sara de Pina cannot be identified without further proof, with Jaacob Senior of Brazil. We could gather the following data about Jaacob:

Jaacob Senior lived in Brazil in 1642. In that year, as already told, his co-religionist Moses Abendana was found dead, leaving liabilities to the amount of 12.000 guilders. Four members of the Recife community pledged to pay the debts: David Senior Coronel, Mordochai Abendana, João da Fonseca and Jaacob Senior.⁶¹ The Jaacob Senior, presented by the historian Isaac Emmanuel, was about eleven years old in that year.

Jaacob, apparently, did not return immediately to Amsterdam after the defeat in 1654. In the records of 1656, among "some persons arrived from abroad"⁶² his name is mentioned. He was assessed two guilders for both the Community and Burial Society. Although the first name was spelled "Jacob" by the clerk, there is no doubt about his identity, as the statement reads "Jacob Senior of Brazil."

His daughter Miriam,⁶³ born in Recife in 1651, married in Amsterdam, at the age of 13, Baruch Senior, born in Hamburg in 1638, son of Juda Senior, perhaps a relative of the

⁵¹ *Livro dos Acordos da Naçam.* . . GAA PA334/19, p. 625.

⁵² *Ibididem.*

⁵³ *Ibid.* P. 718.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* P. 709.

⁵⁵ *Hebra Honen Dalim. 1625-1684.* GAA PA334/1186.

⁵⁶ *Ibididem.*

⁵⁷ *Ibididem.*

⁵⁸ *Ibididem.*

⁵⁹ *Remedios: Os Judeus Portugueses.* . . P. 208.

⁶⁰ *Livro de Bet Haim do Kahal Kados Bet Yahacob.* GAA PA334/1, p. 31.

⁶¹ *Wiznitzer: Jews.* . . P. 87.

⁶² *Livro dos Acordos da Naçam.* . . GAA PA334/19, p. 405.

⁶³ *GAA Naam Klapper 1651-1700.* Vol. 4071 (*Pui-boek* n. 686 Blz. 47).

Hamburg branch of the family. Baruch was also known as Gabriel Henriques recalling the Senior Henriques of Amsterdam.

The obstacles to disentangle the various MORDOCHAJ SENIOR were even harder. Jaacob's brother certainly was not the one who contributed one guilder to the Sephardic burial society in Amsterdam in 1615. His name was Mordochai Israel Senior.⁶⁴ Our Brazilian Mordochaj Senior also had a namesake in Amsterdam, who signed the Minute Book of the Sephardic Congregation in 1642.⁶⁵ Yet another namesake became a member of the Amsterdam burial society in 1648⁶⁶ when our Mordochaj signed the regulations in Recife. He was the son of Felipe Henriques of the Henriques family. At the Honen Dalim fraternity we found a Mordocay Senyor, membership number 72,⁶⁷ and Mordochai Senior, no. 168, appeared in the list of 1634.⁶⁸

Mordehai Senior and his sons contributed 200 guilders in 1670⁶⁹ for the construction of the new synagogue. According to Emmanuel he was the same who had taken the surname Henriques in 1658. But Emmanuel did not explain why he used in 1670 the name Mordehai Senior and later again the name Mordehai Senior Henriques. For Mordehai Senior Henriques lived in Curaçao at least since 1675; he was director of the local congregation, six times its president, treasurer, etc.⁷⁰ His descendents married descendents of signatories of the Recife Minute-Book as f.i., Jacob Fundão.⁷¹ But Mordehai Senior Henriques is decidedly not the same person as Mordochaj Senior, formerly of Recife.

In 1675 Mordehai de Jeuda Senior was assessed 39 guilders⁷² in Amsterdam, in 1678 a Mordehay Senear 30 guilders.⁷² The different versions of the name are due to erratic spelling of the clerk and do not permit any conclusion.

The burial records of Ouderkerk indicate a Mordehay Senior, deceased in 1681,⁷⁴ and his wife (not his widow) Sara in 1689 (or 1659).⁷⁵

The genealogy of the Sarphati-Pina shows the marriage in 1677, of Jeosua, son of Aharon Sarfatti of Recife, born in Brazil in 1650, to Ribca, daughter of Mordechai Senior.⁷⁶ This Mordechai was just a namesake, recently escaped from Spain. Ribca, the bride, was born in Madrid in 1650 (our Mordochaj resided then in Recife).

However, in 1660, another Ribcah, daughter of Mordochaj Senior, was admitted to the

⁶⁴ Livro de Bet Haim do K.K. Beth Yahacob. GAA PA334/1, p. 115.

⁶⁵ Livro dos Acordos da Naçam. . . GAA PA334/19, p. 123.

⁶⁶ Termos de Ets Haim. 1637-1728. GAA PA334/1052.

⁶⁷ Hebra Honen Dalim. 1625-1684. GAA PA334/1186.

⁶⁸ Ibidem.

⁶⁹ Livro dos Acordos da Naçam. . . GAA PA334/19, p. 626.

⁷⁰ Isaac S. and Suzanne A. Emmanuel: History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles. AJA, Cincinnati. 1970. P. 782-3.

⁷¹ Ibid. P. 893.

⁷² Livro dos Acordos da Naçam. . . GAA PA334/19, p. 719.

⁷³ Ibid. P. 782.

⁷⁴ Beschrijving van de Grafstenen. . . GAA PA334/1328-9. Box 14, n. 113a.

⁷⁵ Ibid. N. 113.

⁷⁶ Genealogieën van de Volgende Stamvaders. . . GAA PA334/529.

Purim lottery of the Santa Companhia de Dotar Orfas e Donzelas.⁷⁷ She was one of the “needy damsels whose father lived in Amsterdam”, perhaps the one formerly of Recife.

The mystery increases with an Aron Senior who married in Amsterdam in 1642. His fiancée was Sara Senior, daughter of Abraham and Rachel. Aron was born in Madrid in 1615 and stated at his wedding that his parents lived in Brazil,⁷⁸ without giving any details about their identity.

With the discovery of the signature of our Mordochaj Senior, given in Amsterdam in 1666,⁷⁹ which is identical with the one in Recife, we are again on firm ground. The signature was affixed to a complimentary letter for the pseudo-messiah Sabbatai Zevi. As many other Jews of that time our Mordochaj believed that the messiah had come.

His request for compensation of goods abandoned in Brazil to the amount of 1.732.7 guilders was still open in 1670.⁸⁰ In the documentation we also found some other spellings of his name: Mardachai and Mardagai Signior. He probably lived in Amsterdam at the time of the census of 1675⁸¹ and the bachelor Jeuda de Mordohay Senior,⁸² also mentioned in the census, could have been his son.

ISHAC FRANCO DRAGO also is a striking example of mistaken identity.

Symon Drago, a resident of Recife, has been generally considered to be the signatory Ishac Franco Drago. He was a New Christian who had converted to Judaism after the Dutch conquest.⁸³ According to Bloom, he “had been a prominent merchant in that city.”⁸⁴ Emmanuel stated: “On June 10, 1633, Symon Drago, alias “Isack Franko”, who had settled many years earlier in Pernambuco as a Marrano, purchased from Duarte Rodrigues Mendes a Sepher Thora with silver Rimonim (ornaments for a Sepher Thora). Perhaps Franko Drago bought it for use in Recife . . . and he may have been the same “Ishac Franco Drago” who was Parnas [churchwarden] of Magen Abraham [the Jewish congregation of Mauricia, opposite Recife] in 1653”⁸⁵

In a later article,⁸⁶ Emmanuel became positive: “Ishac Franco Drago, alias Simon Drago. . . second alias Michael Fernandes d’Oliveras . . . born 1608. . . died before 1672, leaving his mother Esther as his heiress.”

Wiznitzer repeated the data given by Callado and Emmanuel, and added that “Isaac de Castro in his deposition in Lisbon in 1647 stated that he knew in Recife an Isaac Franco Drago, married, about forty years old, who was identical with the former Catholic Simão

⁷⁷ Pautas (Lijsten met Namen van Meisjes). . . GAA PA334/1181. See 1660.

⁷⁸ GAA Naam Klapper (Pui-boek n. 677/7v.).

⁷⁹ J. S. da Silva Rosa: *Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam*. Amsterdam, 1925. P. 86.

⁸⁰ ARH Staten-Generaal. N. 12577.43¹.

⁸¹ Remedios: *Os Judeus Portugueses*. . . P. 204.

⁸² *Ibid.* P. 208.

⁸³ Frei Mancel Callado: *O Valeroso Lucideno e Triumpfo da Liberdade*. Lisboa, 1668. P. 170-1.

⁸⁴ H. I. Bloom: *The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*. Williamsport, Pa. 1937. P. 129.

⁸⁵ Emmanuel: *New Lights*. . . P. 3.

⁸⁶ Emmanuel: *Seventeenth Century*. . . P. 64.

Drago, born in Brazil".⁸⁷ Other historians also identified Symon Drago with Ishac Franco Drago.

However, we do not consider the testimony of a prisoner of the Inquisition as positive proof. Torture, physical or mental, might have caused this statement of the Jewish martyr, or the fact that the Inquisition was helpless against a Jewish convert and could not hurt him, as he was living in Dutch Brazil. And all other incidents seemed mere occurrences in the life of Symon Drago, not necessarily the signatory Ishac Franco Drago.

According to the stories "Symon Drago purchased a Sepher Thora in Amsterdam in June 1633. . . for use in Recife".⁸⁸ However, on Elul 29, 5394 (September 1634) Ishac Franco Drago was not only in Amsterdam, he was *still* a member of the board of Directors of one of the three local congregations, Neveh Salom, as proven by his signature affixed to the record of the meeting of the three congregations, transcribed in the "Libro dos Termos da Ymposta da Nação".⁸⁹

The Santa Companhia de Dotar Orfas e Donzelas, referring to 1636, mentioned in their records⁹⁰ the associates who enjoy the benefit of their membership, one of them being Ishac Franco Drago by Abraham Franco Castelomendo (who might have been his maternal grandfather without male descendants). The signature of Ishac Franco Drago, identical with the one in Recife, appears in the same book, dating probably of 1638.⁹¹

The records of the treasurers of the congregation Neveh Salom for 1638 show that Ishac Franco Drago was not very prompt in paying his dues; his debt rose from 61.1 guilders to 79.4⁹² and was still 75.6 next year,⁹³ just before the merger of the three congregations, when Abraham Franco Mendes was treasurer of Neveh Sallom.

We did not discover the date of his transfer to Brazil, certainly after 1639, but not later than 1645, as his son Jacob was born in Brazil in 1646.⁹⁴ Jacob was married in 1673 to Luna Mendes, daughter of Aron Mendes.⁹⁵

Ishac Franco Drago died in 1662 and was buried in Ouderkerk.⁹⁶

JOSEPH JESURUN MENDES. A case of double *and* mistaken identity. His tombstone in Barbados reads:

⁸⁷ Wiznitzer: Jews. . . P. 173.

⁸⁸ Vide 85.

⁸⁹ Libro de Termos da Ymposta da Nação. GAA PA334/13, p. 55v.

⁹⁰ Santa Companhia. . . 1622-1639. GAA PA334/1142, p. 107v.

⁹¹ Ibid. P. 109.

⁹² Neveh Sallom. Libro dos Gabaim. 1616-1639. GAA PA334/9. P. 206-8.

⁹³ Ibid. P. 209.

⁹⁴ GAA Pui-boek n. 689/45v.

⁹⁵ Ibidem.

⁹⁶ Beschrijving van de Grafstenen. . . GAA PA334/1328-9. Box, 12, n. 73.

DO BEM AVENTURADO E TEMEROZO
 DE Ds O Sor JOSEPH JESSURUN MENDEZ
 QUE FALLECEV DE 83 ANNOS FUNDOU A
 ESNOGA DE NIDHE ISRAEL A DEFENDEU
 E PROTEJEU ATE SUA JAZIDA COM SEUS
 PAES QUE FOY EM 15 DE TEBETT 5460
 SUA ALMA GOZE DA GLORIA

HERE IS BURIED THE BODY OF
 M^r LEWIS DIAS WHO WAS BELOVED &
 RESPECTED BY ALL MEN IN HIS TIME
 HE DIED ON THE 27th OF DECEMBER
 1699 BEING 83 YEARES OF AGE.⁹⁷

As one can see, even in death he kept his Jewish and common name, clearly a case of double identity.

In Barbados he was generally known as Lewis Dias, in Jewish circles as Juseph Jesurun Mendes (as he spelled his name when signing the rules of the congregation Zur Israel in Recife),⁹⁸ founder of the local synagogue, former resident of Brazil.

We believe that he was the Luis Dias of Recife who there had acquired goods at the auction of the West India Company to the amount of 204 guilders.⁹⁹ Later, in 1653, under the same name, he bought wood from the local Government through the Jewish broker Abraham Cohen.¹⁰⁰ Luis Dias in Brazil and Lewis Dias in Barbados were one and the same person: Juseph Jesurun Mendes.

On August 2, 1661, Ludovico Dias Guterres became a British denizen.¹⁰¹ The document stated, that the citizenship conferred on him, covered any name used by him in the past or future. In the opinion of various historians¹⁰² Ludovico Dias Guterres has been identified with Lewis Dias — Juseph Jesurun Mendes, probably based on the similarity of names.

Although we have no proof to the contrary we find it unlikely that Lewis Dias and Ludovico Dias Guterres were the same person. We discovered that Juseph Jesurun Mendes was in Amsterdam on Sebat 29, 5422,¹⁰³ about six months after the denization of Ludovico Dias Guterres in Barbados. Juseph became a member of the Santa Companhia de Dotar Orfas e Donzelas and signed the term of admission on the aforementioned date, early 1662. He certainly was not accepted in the brotherhood on the day of his landing in Holland. The admission took probably a month or more. It seems a bit incongruous that he should have left Barbados practically after receiving his denization papers.

⁹⁷ Copied by the authors.

⁹⁸ Portugees-Isr. Gemeente. . . GAA PA334/1304, p. 11.

⁹⁹ H. I. Bloom: A Study of Brazilian Jewish History 1623-1654. PAJHS N. 33. 1934. P. 64.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. P. 99.

¹⁰¹ W. S. Samuel: A List of Jewish Persons Endenized and Naturalized 1609-1799. Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, further quoted as TJHSE, vol. XXII, p. 113.

¹⁰² Wiznitzer: Jews. . . P. 174, f.i.

¹⁰³ Santa Companhia. . . 1661-1735. GAA PA334/1144.

A Luis Dias Gutieres although not a signatory of the rules and regulations of congregation Zur Israel had been a resident of Brazil; fact is that that he later requested compensation for property and goods left in Brazil.¹⁰⁴ This fact does not permit to conclude that he and Luis Dias were the same person. Among the hundreds of these requests not more than forty belonged to signers of the rules of Zur Israel.

There exists a testament in Barbados, written in Portuguese, dated April 15th and signed May 24th, 1698, by Luis Dias.¹⁰⁵ Although he had lived for more than forty years on the island where he was known as LEWIS DIAS, when making his last will he returned to his native language, Portuguese, and used his old Portuguese name in its original version. If he were identical with Luis Dias Gutieres, he certainly would have started his testament with the words "I Luis Dias Gutieres" and would have signed it that way. However, the testament begins "I Luis Dias" and was signed six weeks later: LUIS DIAS.

DR ABRAHAM DE MERCADO was president of congregation Zur Israel in 1648 when the new regulations were adopted.¹⁰⁶ He was one of the four Brazilian Jews to whom Menasseh ben Israel dedicated the second volume of his "Conciliador".¹⁰⁷ Dr. Abraham was the first Jewish physician in the Americas. This did not exclude commercial activities of which we discovered various indications as, f.i., shipments of merchandise from Holland by his son Isaack de Mercado.¹⁰⁸ Dr. Abraham had also requested compensation for loss of goods and real estate to the amount of 43,449,13 guilders.¹⁰⁹

He returned to Holland after the retreat, applied for and received permission from Cromwell, in April 1655, to practice medicine in Barbados¹¹⁰ ("Abr. de Mercado, M.D., Hebrew, and David Raphael de Mercado, his son to the Barbadoes where he has an order from his Highness to exercise his profession"). Cecil Roth¹¹¹ and Arnold Wiznitzer,¹¹² erroneously, believed that his son David Raphael was also a physician. If this were correct the permission would have been worded, "... where *they* have orders. . . to exercise *their* profession." Moreover, we found on David Raphael's tombstone in Barbados the word "Merchant" indicating his profession.

Not included in the permission was Dr. Abraham's father, Aaron de Mercado, who died in Barbados and whose grave is one of the oldest Jewish tombs dating from 1660.

We did not discover the tomb of Dr. Abraham de Mercado in Barbados. Isaac Emmanuel believed that he returned to Amsterdam. And really in Ouderkerk, Dr. Abraham de Mercado was buried in 1669¹¹³ and his wife Ester in 1658.¹¹⁴ But we discovered something

¹⁰⁴ ARH. Staten-Generaal n. 12.577.43¹. N. 94.

¹⁰⁵ W. S. Samuel: A Review of the Jewish Colonists in Barbados, 1680. TJHSE Vol. XIII. 1932-1935. P. 78.

¹⁰⁶ Port.-Isr. Gemeente. . . GAA PA334/1304, p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ Segunda parte del Conciliador. . . Vide 16.

¹⁰⁸ ARH. Staten-Generaal n. 1256.34. Jan. 4, 1650, p. 1; 1v.

¹⁰⁹ ARH. Staten-Generaal n. 12577.43¹. N. 4.

¹¹⁰ E. M. Shilstone: Jewish Monumental Inscriptions in the Burial Ground of the Jewish Synagogue at Bridgetown, Barbados. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc., New York. 1956. P. VI.

¹¹¹ Cecil Roth: A History of the Marranos. New York. 1959. P. 289.

¹¹² Wiznitzer: Jews. . . P. 175.

¹¹³ Beschrijving van de Grafstenen. . . GAA PA 334/1328-9. Box 21-2. N. 48.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. N. 47.

else: Dr. Abraham de Mercado became a member of the Santa Companhia de Dotar Orfas e Donzelas in Amsterdam in 1662,¹¹⁵ just eight days before the abovementioned Juseph Jesurun Mendes had signed the records as a newly accepted member. While the signature of Juseph is identical with the one given in Recife, Dr. Abraham de Mercado signed the book in a completely different hand. In Recife there was no capital letter "M" of "Mercado" as he signed his surname "demercado",¹¹⁶ while the signature of 1662 is a quite clear "Dr Abraham de Mercado". Moreover, we found that the paraph is quite dissimilar in 1662 from the one in 1648. According to a Rio lawcourt expert we consulted, the paraph does not change during the lifetime of an adult person. Even the Minute Book of Recife shows an example: Eliau Nahmias was elected treasurer in September 1649. He signed the first two meeting records Eliau Namias, the next three Eliau Nahmias. But his paraph is always the same.¹¹⁷

One must come, therefore, to the conclusion that there were two persons alive, at the same time, named Dr. Abraham de Mercado. This would explain Emmanuel's assertion that Dr. Abraham had a son called David, also known as George Nunes. George had several thousand copies of the Shulchan Aruch printed in Amsterdam by Joseph Athias.¹¹⁸ David was obviously not David Raphael de Mercado. But it would be strange if a father would name one son David and another one David Raphael. David de Mercado – George Nunes – was perhaps the son of Dr. Abraham de Mercado, member of the Santa Companhia de Dotar Orfas e Donzelas and not, as Emmanuel believed, the son of Dr. Abraham de Mercado, formerly of Brazil. The census of Amsterdam of 1675 showed one more David: David de Mercado de Yshac.¹¹⁹ This David could have been a grandson of our Dr. Abraham who had a son called Isaac.¹²⁰

There was a JOSEPH DA COSTA in Brazil and his uncle Joseph da Costa lived in Amsterdam. One went to New Amsterdam. Was it the uncle or was it the nephew?

Joseph da Costa and his brother David da Costa had lived in Brazil and signed the rules of the congregation Zur Israel in November 1648.¹²¹ They were sons of Abraham da Costa of Amsterdam whose brothers were Gabriel (better known as Uriel da Costa), Aaron, Mordechai and Joseph, also known as Joseph Perez da Cunha.¹²²

Malcolm Stern was not entirely correct in his "Americans of Jewish Descent" when he stated that Joseph the nephew (as well as David the nephew) were "in Brazil in 1649".¹²³ Both had already put their signatures in the Minute Book in 1648.¹²⁴

¹¹⁵ Santa Companhia. . . 1661-1735. GAA PA334/1144.

¹¹⁶ Portugees-Isr. Gemeente. . . GAA PA334/1304, p. 8; 9; 10; 15; 16; 17.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. P. 19; 20; 21.

¹¹⁸ Emmanuel: Seventeenth Century. . . P. 63.

¹¹⁹ Remedios: Os Judeus Portugueses. . . P. 206.

¹²⁰ Samuel: A Review. . . P. 75.

¹²¹ Portugees-Isr. Gemeente. . . GAA PA334/1304, p. 11.

¹²² Malcolm H. Stern: Americans of Jewish Descent. Cincinnati. 1960. P. 35.

¹²³ Ibididem.

¹²⁴ Vide 121.

According to Stern¹²⁵ and Oppenheim,¹²⁶ Joseph da Costa-Joseph Perez da Cunha, the uncle, lived in New Amsterdam in 1655. Emmanuel,¹²⁷ Wiznitzer¹²⁸ and Pieterse¹²⁹ believed that the resident of New Amsterdam was the one who had lived previously in Brazil. We are able to prove this latter opinion as correct due to the fact that the signatures of Joseph da Costa in the Minute Book of Recife (a total of seven)¹³⁰ are identical with the one of the lease signed in New Amsterdam in 1655.¹³¹

We have to state that the comparison between the signatures of uncle and nephew Joseph da Costa was the most puzzling of our research of more than a hundred signatories. We also consulted a handwriting expert of the Rio lawcourts who confirmed our conclusion about the origin of the more than twenty signatures affixed in Brazil, Holland and America, that none of the twelve signatures found in Amsterdam dating from 1633 to 1650¹³² belonged to Joseph da Costa of Recife. One more, of 1670,¹³³ was of a third namesake. The seven signatures in Recife came from the same hand as the one which signed the lease in New Amsterdam in 1655.¹³⁴

Under these circumstances we believe it unnecessary to go into the information found about Joseph da Costa in Amsterdam as we cannot prove that one or the other refers to the future resident of Recife and not to his uncle who had stayed behind in Amsterdam. There were references since 1620 about Joseph da Costa, burials of three of his children, that he was treasurer of the congregation Bet Yahacob, also later, of the united one, Talmud Torah, of the philanthropic society Abodat Ahesed, member of the Santa Companhia de Dotar Orfas e Donzelas. In several of these instances the signature proved the identity of Joseph the uncle.

The fact that Joseph da Costa, the uncle, was again a member of the board of the congregation Talmud Torah of Amsterdam in 1648-9¹³⁵ was probably the reason for Stern's assertion that Joseph da Costa was in Brazil "in 1649".¹³⁶ Pieterse believed that "about 1650 he must have departed for Brazil, where, in 1652, he was parnas of "Sur Israel."¹³⁷ Again a case of mistaken identity: it was the nephew who had been elected in

¹²⁵ Vide 122.

¹²⁶ Samuel Oppenheim: *The Early History of the Jews in New York 1654-1664*. PAJHS N. 18, p. 16.

¹²⁷ Emmanuel: *Seventeenth Century*. . . P. 63.

¹²⁸ Wiznitzer: *Jews*. . . P. 172.

¹²⁹ W. Chr. Pieterse: *Livro de Bet Haim do Kahal Kados de Bet Yahacob*. Assen, 1970. P. 184.

¹³⁰ *Portugees-Isr. Gemeente*. . . GAA PA334/1304, p. 11; 22; 23; 24; 25.

¹³¹ Lease of December 6, 1655, by Joseph da Costa. Library of the State of New York, Albany, N.Y. Vol. III-140.

¹³² *Libro dos Termos da Ymposta da Naçao*. . . 1622-1639. GAA PA344/13. P. 6; 21; 55; 55v.

Livro dos Acordos da Naçam. . . GAA PA334/19, p. 65; 90; 120; 154; 170; 273; 274.

¹³³ *Varios Papeis de Pleitos Findados*. . . GAA PA334/118-9. P. 24v.

¹³⁴ Vide 130.

¹³⁵ *Registro dos SS:res que servirom*. . . 1639-1939. GAA PA334/157. P. 6.

¹³⁶ Vide 122.

¹³⁷ Pieterse: *Livro*. . . P. 184.

Recife September 15, 1651,¹³⁸ as proven by his signature under the subsequent minutes,¹³⁹ identical with the one under the rules of Zur Israel of November 1648.¹⁴⁰

We do not believe that Joseph da Costa left Brazil in 1654 directly for New Amsterdam. As the Dutch and Jews had to depart, at the latest, in April 1654, Joseph, in this case, would have been probably the first Jew to arrive in New Holland, prior to Jacob Barsimson, and especially prior to the 23 passengers of the ship *St. Charles*.

Isaac da Costa wrote that three sons of Abraham da Costa went from Brazil to Surinam.¹⁴¹ We discovered only two sons in Brazil, Joseph and David (Isaac da Costa did not mention any names), but also believe that they went to Surinam. The marriage register of that colony in the next century shows several da Costa branches: Baruch, son of Aharon da Costa, Abraham, son of Armando, Judith, daughter of hazan Baruch, Jakob da Costa. Their descendents still live in Surinam and the authors had the opportunity to discuss the family history there with one of their members.

Anyway, contrary to Isaac da Costa, our Joseph did not stay in Surinam but went to New Amsterdam. There he was mentioned, for the first time, in August 1655.¹⁴² Oppenheim thinks that he arrived there only after July 1655, as Joseph did not sign a petition presented that month.¹⁴³ However, the request was not signed by all Jewish residents of New Amsterdam, only by two of them, perhaps the most important ones. If Joseph was a newcomer it would be understandable that he was not considered to be a prominent member. One can even conjecture that he might have arrived before July 1655. For in December of that year he rented a house for the period of July 1st, 1656, to July 1st, 1657. As the lease of his dwelling apparently would expire July 1st, 1656, one can surmise that he had rented it also for one year, thus starting July 1st, 1655, which would mean that he must have arrived in New Amsterdam already in June, 1655, a point immaterial to his (mistaken) identity. By the way, the signature of the lease signed in December, 1655 is definitely the one of Joseph da Costa of Recife, the nephew.¹⁴³ As a curiosity we should like to mention that one of the witnesses, Isaque Israel, was not the one who had signed the rules of Zur Israel in Recife, but just a namesake.

Samuel Oppenheim¹⁴⁴ wrote: "Joseph d'Acosta, whose name appears as one of the principal shareholders [of the West India Company], is no doubt identical with the one of that name who came to New Amsterdam apparently in August, 1655. He is undoubtedly the same Joseph d'Acosta of Amsterdam who is spoken of as the brother of the celebrated Uriel Acosta." However, in the same article about the early Jews in New York he included a translation of the court proceedings of a law suit initiated in New Amsterdam and dated July 23, 1658, in which Joseph d'Acosta was the plaintiff and a certain Hans Coenraetsen the defendant. Joseph demanded "payment of 132 guilders in which the defendant has

¹³⁸ Portugees-Isr. Gemeente. . . GAA PA334/1304, p. 21.

¹³⁹ Ibid. P. 22; 23; 24; 25.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. P. 11.

¹⁴¹ I. da Costa: *Noble Families among the Sephardic Jews*. Oxford University Press, London. P. 115.

¹⁴² Oppenheim: *The Early History*. . . P. 16.

¹⁴³ Ibididem.

¹⁴⁴ Ibididem; also p. 90.

been condemned by the court of justice of Recife in Brazil, which act of condemnation he produces . . .". This suggests that the Joseph da Costa of New Amsterdam was the same who had lived previously in Brazil and got there, in 1653, a decision against Hans Coenraetsen. He, therefore, was the one who was the son of Abraham da Costa and not the Joseph da Costa of Amsterdam, brother of Uriel and Abraham da Costa. Joseph da Costa was mentioned for the last time in New Amsterdam in a law-suit against Jean A. Duyvelant in June 1660.¹⁴⁵ Afterwards he left for Amsterdam where, in 1661, Joseph da Costa was one of "some persons arrived from abroad"¹⁴⁶ (*algvas pessoas vindas de fora*). He was assessed ten guilders for the Jewish Community and five more for the Burial Society.¹⁴⁷ There is no doubt that he was Joseph the nephew, as he was entered in the record as Joseph, son of Abraham da Costa,¹⁴⁸ probably in order to avoid confusion.

Joseph da Costa, his uncle died in 1664 and was buried in Ouderkerk.¹⁴⁹ His inscription no. 127 in the Santa Companhia de Dotar Orfas e Donzelas was inherited by his son Jahacob da Costa¹⁵⁰ (whose successor, in 1692, was his brother Abraham de Joseph da Costa).¹⁵¹

Our Joseph still owned money to the West India Company which had put a mortgage on his Pernambucan sugar mill "Salgado". But his demands for compensation from Portugal referring to properties abandoned in Brazil were among the highest of former Jewish residents: 147.104,2 guilders.¹⁵² His request for indemnification was still undecided in 1670.

In the case of Joseph da Costa as well as of all the other signatories discussed here (the three David Senior Coronel, Jaacob and Mordochaj Senior, etc.) we do not present all data known but only those which reflect upon the identity or mistaken identity of the person in question.

MOSES AMBROSIUS — DAVID ISRAEL — ABRAM ISRAEL — RICKE NOUNES, passengers of the St. Charles.

The late historian Arnold Wiznitzer tried to identify the passengers of the ship St. Charles, which had arrived in New Amsterdam in early September 1654, with former residents of Recife.¹⁵³

"MOSES AMBROSIUS was a misspelling of Lumbroso". This is the opinion of Samuel Oppenheim.¹⁵⁴ Wiznitzer repeated it nearly verbally: "Moses Ambrosius is a misspelling of Mose Lumbroso whose signature is found in the Minute Book".¹⁵⁵ The fact that

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. P. 60.

¹⁴⁶ Livro dos Acordos da Naçam. . . GAA PA334/19, p. 494.

¹⁴⁷ Ibididem.

¹⁴⁸ Ibididem.

¹⁴⁹ Beschrijving van de Grafstenen. . . GAA PA334/1328-9. Box 31, n. 2.

¹⁵⁰ Santa Companhia. . . 1661-1735. GAA PA334/1144. N. 127.

¹⁵¹ Ibididem.

¹⁵² ARH. Staten-Generaal n. 12577.43¹. N. 82.

¹⁵³ Arnold Wiznitzer: The Exodus from Brazil and Arrival in New Amsterdam of the Jewish Pilgrim Fathers, 1654. PAJHS. N. 44, p. 80-97.

¹⁵⁴ Oppenheim: The Early History. . . P. 57.

¹⁵⁵ Wiznitzer: The Exodus. . . P. 93.

nothing else was unearthed about Mose Lumbroso in Recife (perhaps he had died there and was buried in the Jewish cemetery still to be rediscovered) and the fact that Moses Ambrosius did not appear again in the history of New Amsterdam, Jewish or not,¹⁵⁶ does not make them one and the same person.

DAVID ISRAEL is a similar case. But as no David Israel had signed the Minute Book in Recife, Wiznitzer declared David Israel Faro to be identical with David Israel. David Israel Faro was the only one among the signatories who had as first names David Israel. And again nothing else was discovered about David Israel Faro of Recife or David Israel¹⁵⁷ of New Amsterdam.

There was no ABRAM ISRAEL either among the signers of the Minute Book of Recife. So Wiznitzer chose Abraham Yzrael Diaz and Abram Ysrael de Piza, "either of whom may be identical with Abram Israel".¹⁵⁸ Why mutilate the name of Abraham Yzrael Diaz or Abram Ysrael de Piza just to prove a theory, without a shred of evidence?

We have found numerous occurrences *after 1654* about Abram Ysrael de Piza, always as such, never as Abram Israel. He petitioned the Santa Companhia de Dotar Orfas e Donzelas to admit to the Purim lottery of 1660,¹⁵⁹ "Rachel, daughter of Abraham Ysrael de Piza." At that time he lived in Amsterdam in very unfavourable circumstances. In the next year he tried his luck in a partnership with Sir William Davidson¹⁶⁰ in a gold mine venture in Jamaica with disastrous results. He was mentioned several times in connection with the respective contract, always as Abram Ysrael de Piza. We did not discover one single instance where Abram Ysrael de Piza had appeared as Abram Israel.

During our research in Amsterdam we discovered that Abraham Yzrael Diaz was another one of the arrivals from Brazil, assessed ten guilders for the Community and five more for the Burial Society. The date was the seventeenth of Elul, 5414,¹⁶¹ about ten days before the landing of Abram Israel in New Amsterdam in 1654 which proves the impossibility that he could be the signatory Abraham Yzrael Diaz.

"Ricke Nunes may have been the widow of one of the two Nunes (Moshe or Mose) whose signatures are also found in the Minute Book".¹⁶² This assertion, by Wiznitzer, was not supported by any proof or even circumstantial evidence.

We have discovered in Amsterdam a document of 1654 by which the Recife signatory Mosseh Nunes petitioned the Santa Companhia de Dotar Orfas e Donzelas to be allowed to take over the hereditary inscription of his deceased father Ysack Ysrael Nunes.¹⁶³ He

¹⁵⁶ Earl A. Grollman: Dictionary of American Jewish Biography in the Seventeenth Century. AJA, June 1950. P. 3.

¹⁵⁷ Ibididem.

¹⁵⁸ Wiznitzer: The Exodus. . . P. 92-3.

¹⁵⁹ Santa Companhia. . . GAA PA334/1181. Pautas, 1660.

¹⁶⁰ W. S. Samuel: Sir William Davidson, Royalist (1616-1689) and the Jews. TJHSE Vol. XIV. 1935-1939. P. 69.

¹⁶¹ Livro dos Acordos da Naçam. . . GAA PA334/19, p. 369.

¹⁶² Wiznitzer: The Exodus. . . P. 93.

¹⁶³ Santa Companhia. . . Ingekomen Stukken. GAA PA334/1151. Doc. no. 340.

signed the request in the same hand as the Recife rules in 1648. He was still alive in 1670¹⁶⁴ when he asked the Santa Companhia to have his daughter Abigail concur in the Purim lottery of that year.

On March 1st, 1669, Rifka Nunes was married in Amsterdam.¹⁶⁵ She stated that she had been born in Brazil in 1650 and that her nearest relative was her mother Clara. As we have just shown that Mosseh Nunes was still alive one year later, at Purim time 1670, Clara could not have been *his* widow, but of the other Nunes, Moshe. Therefore, Ricke Nounes was not the widow of any of the two Nunes of Recife in 1654: one was still alive in 1670 and the name of the wife of the other was Clara.

Another point is that the co-passenger Assar Leeven (Levi) sued Ricke Nounes one week after their arrival in New Amsterdam for "repayment of 8. 1/2 pieces of Eight disbursed on his account at Gamoniké and f 15 for a Waistcoat and other things delivered to the Defendant. Deft. acknowledges to have borrowed 5 pieces of Eight at Gamoniké, and 7 fl. advanced to her husband, . . ."¹⁶⁶ Considering this fact one comes to the conclusion that Assar Leeven, Ricke Nounes and her husband had lived and traded at Gamoniké and that her husband had died there. The case of Ricke Nounes is just another one of "mistaken identity."

¹⁶⁴ Santa Companhia. . . GAA PA334/1152. 1670.

¹⁶⁵ GAA Naam Klapper 1651-1700. Vol. 3885. (Pui-boek 687 Blz. 314).

¹⁶⁶ Berthold Fernow: Records of New Amsterdam. Court Minutes, p. 242. (Translated and edited).