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## Sociabilidade do Brasil Neerlandês (1630 - 1654)

Xavier, L.F.W.

### Citation

Xavier, L. F. W. (2018, October 30). *Sociabilidade do Brasil Neerlandês (1630 - 1654)*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/66712>

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**Author:** Xavier, L.F.W.

**Title:** Sociabilidade do Brasil Neerlandês (1630 - 1654)

**Issue Date:** 2018-10-30

## Apêndice

Listagem dos privilégios de estrangeiros na base de dados do Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo em Lisboa:

### Chancelaria de Dom Afonso V

1. João de Bruges, morador na Vila de Tavira. Livro 1, doc. 2, fol. 101v, 8 de maio de 1462.
2. Nicolas de Ras, francês, recebe os mesmos privilégios que alemães e flamengos. Livro 3, fol. 5, 28 de março de 1452.
3. João Pastel, mercador flamengo. Livro 4, doc. 1, fol. 25v, 27 de março de 1452.
4. André Gonçalves, sapateiro flamengo. Livro 11, doc. 1, fol. 73v, 6 de novembro de 1449.
5. Jacob Balya, mercador flamengo. Livro 11, doc. 2, fol. 114, 18 de agosto de 1451.
6. Veutir Viseti, pintor flamengo. Livro 12, doc. 1, fol. 94v, 25 de abril de 1452.
7. João Gonçalves, tanoeiro flamengo, recebeu perdão real. Livro 15, doc. 2, fol. 20v, 26 de março de 1455.
8. João Pires francês recebe os mesmos privilégios que flamengos, alemães, franceses e bretões. Livro 15, doc. 1, fol. 55, 1 de junho de 1455.
9. João de Bruges, alfaiate flamengo. Livro 15, doc. 1, fol. 133, 24 de setembro de 1455.
10. Afonso Bernardes, procurador dos mercadores flamengos e alemães. Livro 19, doc. 3, fol. 29v, 28 de maio de 1439.
11. João Eanes, tanoeiro. Livro 20, doc. 4, fol. 44, 16 de junho de 1449.
12. Henrique Vitola bretão e Armam Álvares, flamengo, direitos e proveitos das minas de ouro e prata, que à sua custa e despesa descobrirem em qualquer lugar do reino. Livro 22, doc. 1, fol. 5v, 2 de agosto de 1471.
13. "D. Afonso V privilegia os mercadores flamengos e outros naturais das terras do Duque de Borgonha, concedendo-lhes licença para só pagarem 1/4 do valor das sisas dos panos de cor, e se os rendeiros, escrivães ou outros oficiais não cumprirem como o estabelecido terão que pagar uma pena de 5.000 reais brancos para os Cativos". Livro 28, doc. 1, fol. 28, 30 de abril de 1468.

14. João Flamengo e Dinis Mongave, moradores em Corck na Irlanda, para comerciar suas mercadorias pelo reino, contanto que paguem os devidos direitos, e salvagardos de possíveis represálias. Livro 31, fol. 104v, 28 de agosto de 1496.

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Inv. 8, 30 de julho de 1629 – 18 de abril de 1642.  
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    - b. *Brieven, rapporten en beschrijving over Angola, Tobago, Brazilië en andere gebieden in Zuid-Amerika en het Caraibisch gebied*, inv. 44.
    - c. *Instructie van de Staten-Generaal betreffende het bestuur van Brazilië*, inv. 48.
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    - A. Processos
 

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## Social interactions in Dutch Brazil (1630 – 1654)

Between 1630 and 1654, the Dutch West India Company (WIC) occupied part of Portuguese America with Recife, one of the richest cities of the Atlantic of the time, as its capital. The WIC was founded in 1621 as a means of attacking Spain at its Achilles' heel, its colonies. Rich Brazilian sugar plantations excited Dutch imaginations with dreams of great profits and large fortunes. In addition, Brazil was the weakest and least defended part of the vast Spanish Empire, which since 1580 included all of Portugal's colonies, since the Crown dedicated much more military power to its silver mining regions in Peru and Mexico.

Both Spain and the WIC recruited the bulk of their troops from outside their countries' borders. Recent research demonstrates that around seventy per cent of the WIC's military were not of Dutch origin. Moreover, when WIC military personnel and colonists arrived in Brazil, they found indigenous peoples, Africans and Europeans already living there. In the latter case the vast majority were Portuguese, but also included Flemish, Dutch and French, among others. Thus, one of the most heterogeneous societies in the Early Modern Atlantic world evolved in the Dutch colony, forming a multicultural society where European, African and indigenous peoples socialized with one another. One may ask therefore, how did those different cultures interact?

Hitherto, the Dutch presence in the South Atlantic has received less academic attention than its counterpart in Southeast Asia and the colonies in the Caribbean after the loss of Brazil in 1654. Whenever Dutch Brazil came under academic scrutiny, scholars investigated its economic, political and cultural dimensions, often highlighting Johan Maurits van Nassau as an emblematic figure. Conversely, a more recent trend in academic analysis involves paying attention to the importance of social aspects. However, in the previous studies concerning social interactions, it was implied that there was actually only limited contact between the different groups, if there was any at all. This would be all the more true in the case of the Dutch, because, due to their alleged inability to adapt, they were supposed incapable of interaction within the new society and environment. Finally, even though one finds references to the presence of non-Portuguese and non-Dutch cultures in the colony, the society has been rigidly divided into two opposing sides: the Dutch and Portuguese, as if all individuals there recognized themselves in one of these two groups. This type of analysis leaves out the meaning historical actors gave to the labels "Dutch" or "Portuguese", and therefore tells only

one part of the history. In addition, scholars identified religion as a defining national attribute of both the Dutch and Portuguese. In doing so, historians have depicted those individuals who went to Brazil under the auspices of the WIC as "Dutch Protestants" and unable to adjust to the tropics, whereas the "Portuguese" were Catholics, fought for one of the Iberian kings, and were highly adaptable to the local circumstances.

It is appropriate for the purpose of this project to use a micro-historical approach, which offers the tools to unearth the complex tangle of relationships in which individuals and groups were involved in daily life. The foundation of this study into the contemporaneous societal dynamics is Dutch primary sources.

The evidence suggests that despite their supposed "nationality" and religion, Dutch and Portuguese colonists associated in social, economic and legal spheres of the colony. Socially, they were able to accommodate linguistic differences by using French or Latin as a "lingua franca" or by employing translators as mediators. Furthermore, there were inter-confessional marriages and illicit liaisons. Last, but not least, Dutch, French, German and Portuguese individuals served in the colony's militia.

Economical interactions between Dutch and Portuguese preceded the Dutch colonization of that part of Brazil since agents were involved in an array of material exchanges in Europe and in Portuguese America. After 1630, this did not change much. On a daily basis, historical actors extended credit, borrowed money, operated in retail trade and the sugar and dye wood industries, and were active in the slave trade.

Long before Dutch rule in Brazil, individuals were able to exploit Dutch and Portuguese legislation to defend their interests; some procured more favourable decisions from one court when they lost in another; others were tried after committing crimes. Following the conquest of Recife, the WIC succeeded in implementing Dutch legislation in the colony, enforcing Dutch laws and legal procedures. Dutch and Portuguese alike were able to resort to courts of law to solve their disputes and faced judgment under the different codes after breaking the law.

Painstaking research in Dutch and Portuguese archive materials, so far poorly assessed on the topic of social relations, reveals intense and intricate associations between the different groups, both in terms of ethnicity and social strata.

## Samenlevingspatronen in Nederlands Brazilië (1630 – 1654)

Tussen 1630 en 1654 hield de Nederlandse West-Indische Compagnie (WIC) een deel van Portugees Brazilië bezet. Van die Nederlandse kolonie was Recife, destijds een der rijkste steden in het Atlantische gebied, de hoofdstad. In 1621 was de WIC opgericht om de macht van Spanje in zijn achilleshiel, zijn koloniën, te treffen. De welvarende Braziliaanse suikerlanden deden de Nederlanders watertanden de mogelijkheid tot het maken van grote winsten. Brazilië was boven dien de zwakste schakel in het verdedigingsstelsel van het omvangrijke Spaanse Rijk, waarvan ook alle Portugese koloniën sinds 1580 deel van uitmaakten. De Spaanse Kroon besteedde immers haar militaire macht vooral aan de verdediging van haar zilvermijnen in Mexico en Peru.

Zowel Spanje als de WIC rekruteerde het gros van hun troepenmachten in het buitenland. Recent onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat ongeveer zeventig procent van het WIC-leger niet uit Nederlanders bestond. Wanneer onderdelen van dat leger met de hen vergezellende kolonisten in Brazilië aankwamen, troffen zij daar niet alleen inheemse volkeren aan, maar ook Portugezen, Vlamingen, Nederlanders, Fransen en Afrikanen, die daar eveneens woonachtig waren. In Nederlands Brazilië ontwikkelde zich zo een der meest heterogene samenlevingen van de vroegmoderne Atlantische Wereld. Met andere woorden: er is sprake van een multiculturele samenleving waar Europese, Afrikaanse en inheemse bevolkingsbestanden met elkaar in aanraking kwamen. De vraag hoe die verschillende culturen op elkaar reageerden is daarom gewettigd.

Tot voor kort heeft de Nederlandse aanwezigheid in het Zuid-Atlantische gebied minder aandacht van historici gekregen dan die in Oost-Azië of in het Caraïbisch gebied. Als Nederlands Brazilië al onderwerp van studie was, dan richtten historici hun aandacht vooral op de economische, politieke en culturele aspecten, veelal met de persoon van Johan Maurits van Nassau als centraal aandachtspunt. Moderne stromingen in het historische onderzoek richten hun aandacht ook op de sociale aspecten binnen dergelijke koloniale samenlevingen. Eerdere studies op het gebied van samenlevingspatronen gingen ervan uit dat er slechts beperkte contacten – zo zij al bestonden – tussen de verschillende groeperingen bestonden. Vooral in de Nederlandse koloniën zou er van een dergelijke segregatie sprake zijn geweest, omdat Nederlanders over een gering aanpassingsvermogen zouden beschikken, en daarom moeilijk in nieuwe samenlevingen en milieus zouden kunnen aarden. Hoewel in Nederlands Brazilië wel degelijk ook andere Europese –

dus niet-Portugese en niet-Nederlandse – culturen bestonden, wordt in de historische handboeken de maatschappij aldaar strikt gescheiden in twee elkaar vijandig gezinde groeperingen: de Nederlandse en de Portugese; net alsof alle individuen die zich daar bevonden zich tot lid van slechts één van die twee groeperingen gerekend zouden hebben. Dit doet geen recht aan de betekenis die de eigentijdse inwoners aan de termen “Nederlands” of “Portugees” gehecht hebben, waardoor slechts een deel van de geschiedenis verteld wordt. Bovendien wordt het begrip “godsdiest” in de historiografie vaak als welomschreven nationaal kenmerk van zowel de Nederlanders als de Portugezen geïnterpreteerd. Het waren dus de geschiedkundigen die personen die onder de auspiciën van de WIC naar Brazilië trokken tot “Nederlandse Protestanten” bestempelden, die niet in staat zouden zijn geweest in de tropen wortel te schieten, terwijl de Portugezen allemaal katholiek waren, voor hun Iberische vorsten streden, en in hoge mate toegerust waren zich aan de plaatselijke omstandigheden aan te passen.

Voor dit onderzoek is een microhistorische methode gehanteerd, omdat die de mogelijkheid schiep de verstrengelde onderlinge verhoudingen te ontleden waarin de mensen en groeperingen in het dagelijks leven met elkaar omgingen. Het zijn Nederlandse primaire bronnen die de feiten voor dit werk naar de sociale dynamiek in Nederlands Brazilië geleverd hebben.

Die feiten tonen aan dat Nederlandse en Portugese kolonisten ondanks hun onderling verschillende “nationaliteit” en godsdiest in de kolonie wel degelijk sociale, economische en juridische contacten onderhielden. Sociaal konden zij het taalverschil ondervangen door Frans of Latijn als “Lingua Franca” te gebruiken, of door de hulp van tolken en vertalers in te roepen. Verder werden er huwelijken en andere samenlevingsverbanden tussen partners van verschillende geloofsovertuiging gesloten. Tenslotte deden sprekers van het Nederlands, Frans, Duits en Portugees dienst in de bestaande burgerwacht.

Al voor het bestaan van Nederlands Brazilië hadden Nederlanders en Portugezen met elkaar in dat deel van Portugees Amerika handel gedreven; via tussenpersonen was dat ook in Europa en elders in Brazilië het geval geweest, een situatie die na 1630 nauwelijks veranderde. Bij naam en toenaam bekende ondernemers waren dagelijks actief in het bankwezen en in de detailhandel, de suikernijverheid, de leverantie van verfhout en de slavenhandel.

Lang voor de stichting van Nederlands Brazilië waren individuele ondernemers al in staat zich te bedienen van Nederlandse en Portugese rechtsregels om hun belangen te behartigen. Mensen die onder het ene

systeem niet aan hun trekken kwamen, zochten hun toevlucht tot het andere; bovendien was bij overtredingen het wederzijdse strafrecht op hen van toepassing. Na de verovering van Recife kon de WIC het Nederlandse rechtssysteem in haar kolonie invoeren, en daar aldus de Nederlandse wetten en rechtspraktijken toepassen. Zowel Nederlanders als Portugezen werden daar toen naar Nederlandse rechtbanken verwezen om hun juridische geschillen te beslechten, of in geval van rechtsovertredingen berecht te worden.

Nauwgezet en vooral op sociale contacten toegespitst onderzoek in Nederlandse en Portugese archieven kan nog veel onderbelichte maar hecht verstrengelde raakvlakken tussen de destijsd in Nederlands Brazilië actieve etnische en maatschappelijke groepering aan het licht brengen.

Lucia Furquim Werneck Xavier nasceu em Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, em 27 de fevereiro de 1971. Em 1995, completou o curso de Licenciatura em História na Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais. Após a graduação, atuou no magistério em escolas públicas por quase cinco anos. Ela mudou-se para a Holanda em 2001, onde aprendeu o holandês e a paleografia neerlandesa. Obteve o título de Mestre em História Social pela Universidade Erasmus em Rotterdam, em 2007. Entre 2007 e 2013, ela foi pesquisadora júnior no Projeto Resgate de Documentação Barão do Rio Branco pelo Ministério da Cultura do Brasil em parceria com a Universidade de Leiden. Entre 2013 e 2018, dedicou-se à pesquisa e redação da tese de doutramento “Sociabilidade no Brasil Neerlandês (1630 – 1654)”.