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The Tapuia of Northeastern Brazil in Dutch sources (1628-1648)

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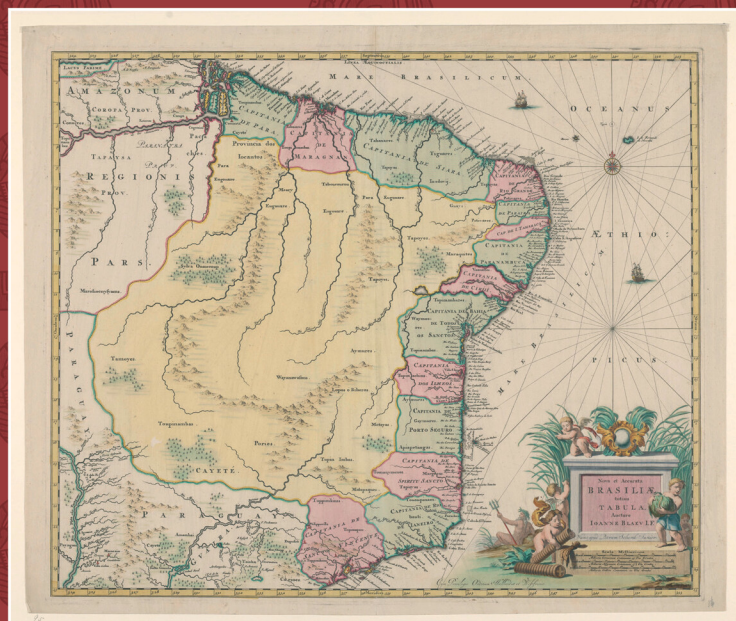
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THE EARLY
AMERICAS:
HISTORY AND
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THE TAPUIA OF NORTHEASTERN BRAZIL IN DUTCH SOURCES (1628–1648)

MARTIJN VAN DEN BEL
& MARIANA FRANÇOZO

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The Tapuia of Northeastern Brazil in Dutch Sources (1628–1648)

Transcribed, Translated, and Annotated by

Martijn van den Bel
Mariana Françaço



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This work is dedicated to our friend Lodewijk Hulsman (1950–2016)



Contents

Foreword IX

Acknowledgments XV

List of Figures XVI

Introduction 1

1 Before Meeting the Tapuia 5

2 The Tapuia Deal 10

3 Indirect Indigenous Rule and the Portuguese Revolt 12

4 Tapuia Life 16

Note on Transcription and Translation 18

1 Declaration of Gaspar Paraupaba (1628) 20

2 Description of Pernambuco or Declaration of Gaspar Paraupaba
(1637) 35

3 Interrogation of Andries Tacoe (1631) 54

4 Memoir of Marcillean (C. 1631) 63

5 Letter of Pedro Potij (C. 1631) 71

6 First Journal of Joris Garstman (1634) 75

7 Second Journal of Joris Garstman (1634) 80

8 Description by Gerrit Hulck (1635) 110

9 Description by Elias Herckmans (1639) 125

10 Description by Zacharias Wagener (1641) 148

11 Description by Gerardus Vossius (1641) 159

12 Description by Johannes de Laet (1644) 173

13	Journal of Jacob Rabbi (1648)	188
14	Description by Caspar van Baerle (1647)	202
15	Journal of Roulox Baro (1651)	224
	Epilogue	274
	Glossary	277
	Bibliography	278
	Index of Persons	288
	Index of Places	290

Foreword

In the colonial period, several areas in what was then called “Brazil” were places of the unknown. Not only was the land unknown, but also its inhabitants. The Portuguese made little progress into the territory between their arrival at the beginning of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, only advancing from Ceará to Bahia, scratching away at the coast like crabs, in the words of Frei Vicente do Salvador.¹ In some of these areas, they maintained intense relations with a number of Tupi-speaking coastal peoples, and broadly recorded—albeit in a generalized way—what they understood to be their main characteristics. These same peoples would also be objects of interest to and described by other Europeans—Amerigo Vespucci, Antônio Pigafetta, André Thevet, Hans Staden, Jean de Léry, explorers who disputed this space with the Portuguese or who were part of the crews that traveled to and through Brazil at their service.

Together, they painted striking images of the land and its inhabitants that were subsequently disseminated in several European publications. In geographic terms, the Indigenous peoples described abundantly in printed matter from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were those who circulated in the space covered by the Treaty of Tordesilhas, a large area between the mouth of the Tocantins and Parnaíba rivers in the north and the Captaincy of São Vicente in the south. The natives of the Amazon were not included in the first image that was created of the inhabitants of Brazil, which is fundamentally a representation of the Tupi-speaking groups. The latter are presented as very different from the peoples of the inland areas or *sertões*, called “barbarians” by the Tupi and—following their accounts—by the Europeans.²

The backlands of Brazil, as opposed to the coastal area, were seen as a space “free from Portuguese colonial power”³ and would remain so, especially in the case of the captaincies of northern Brazil (Ceará, Rio Grande, Paraíba, and Pernambuco) until the mid-seventeenth century. The advance towards the innermost areas of the territory was interrupted by the invasion funded by the West India Company, between 1624 and 1654, which caused the draining of human

1 Frei Vicente do Salvador, *História do Brasil 1500–1627* (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1982 [1627]).

2 Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, *Índios no Brasil. Histórias, direitos e cidadania* (São Paulo: Claro Enigma, 2012), 28.

3 Marcos Galindo, “O Governo das Almas. A expansão colonial no país dos Tapuia, 1651–1798” (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2004), 14.

and material resources towards the war against the Dutch. Once this dispute was resolved or at least its threat diminished, the colonists began to advance towards the interior at a steady pace. From then on, the territory and also its peoples became increasingly familiar.

The wealth of reports about the process of conquest and expansion towards the *sertão* was preceded by a few narratives written by individuals who had an initial contact with the peoples living there or had collected information from Indigenous peoples of the coast or settlers. Missionaries who participated in the conquest recorded the first impressions. The Spanish Jesuit Juan de Azpilcueta Navarro gave one of the oldest testimonies about an Indigenous people he called “Tapuia” in letters written in the mid-sixteenth century. He defined them as “bestial and ferocious,” a people who walked like animals and spoke a barbaric language.⁴

The Tapuia then appeared in the writings of his fellow Jesuit José de Anchieta, from 1584. He locates them in the interior—“throughout the hinterland”—and states that they were one of “several nations of barbarians of very diverse languages.” They were called *tapuia*—or “slaves”—by the coastal Indigenous peoples, states Anchieta.⁵ Another Jesuit, Fernão Cardim, advanced knowledge about these peoples. In 1584 he listed and located several nations of Tapuia Indigenous groups in the inland regions of Bahia—Porto Seguro, Ilhéus, and Camamu.⁶

This picture was enriched by the records of Gabriel Soares de Souza, a plantation owner in the Recôncavo area of Bahia, who wrote the encyclopedic *Descriptive Treatise of Brazil*.⁷ Souza states that the Tapuia were the earliest inhabitants of the coast, but had lost ground to the Tupi, who by Souza’s time ruled the area. He also refers to the great variety of languages, customs, and divisions amongst these Indigenous groups, making it impossible to “describe them all.” He wrote that it was still necessary to “gather much information about their groupings, lives, and customs.” This not being possible, he describes the information he had collected from the Tapuia closest to the settlers in Bahia.

4 João de Azpilcueta Navarro, “Carta escrita de Porto Seguro a 24 de junho de 1555,” in *Cartas Jesuíticas, II. Cartas Avulsas, 1550–1568* (Rio de Janeiro: Oficina Industrial Graphica, 1931), 148.

5 Joseph de Anchieta, “Informação do Brasil e de suas capitanias, 1584,” in *Cartas Jesuíticas, III. Cartas, Informações, Fragmentos Históricos e Sermões do Padre Joseph de Anchieta, s.j.* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1933), 302.

6 Fernando Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: J. Leite e Cia, 1925 [1584]), 200.

7 Gabriel Soares de Souza, *Tratado Descritivo do Brasil em 1587* (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco/Editora Massangana, 2000 [1587]).

Towards the interior, a territory unknown to Souza's informant network, these Tapuia, he says in a generalizing tone, "all speak, sing and dance in the same manner, and have the same customs in their ways of life and heathen ways, with very little difference."⁸

These accounts comprise almost everything that was known about the Tapuia until the beginning of the seventeenth century. As previously mentioned, this paucity of information stands in stark contrast to the abundant data about the Indigenous peoples of the coast available in travel literature and iconography, in a corpus of laws, in letters and reports by missionaries, and in settlers' accounts. And it was not the Portuguese or others associated with them who produced the richest known reports about the peoples of the *sertão*. The "country of the Tapuias," an expression found in one of the first records by the Dutch, produced in 1631, was still very far removed from the colonial world of the coast. Only with the arrival of people linked to the West India Company—and their eagerness to obtain information and establish alliances with the local Indigenous populations—would larger records be collected about the multi-ethnic groups in the backlands of the northern captaincies.

This book, edited by Martijn M. van den Bel (Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives, France) and Mariana Françaço (Universiteit Leiden, Netherlands) brings together, for the first time in English, a series of translations of texts with precious information about the Tapuia of northeastern Brazil. As mentioned above, the Dutch and people linked to them were responsible for the most significant reports produced about the Tapuia in the first half of the seventeenth century, predating by several years the records produced by the Portuguese in the 1650s as they began a continuous movement towards the hinterland.

The selection made by the editors of this volume comprises writings by figures well-known to students of the "Tempo dos Flamengos,"⁹ such as Caspar van Baerle, Elias Herckmans, Johannes de Laet, Joris Garstman, Roulox Baro, and Zacharias Wagener, but also less famous texts by Gerrit Hulck, Gerardus Vossius, and Jacob Rabbi. These narratives were authored by people who had established different levels of relations with the Indigenous populations of Brazil, including some who got to know them through reports from third par-

8 Soares de Souza, *Tratado*, pp. 259, 297–301.

9 José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, *Tempo dos Flamengos. Influência da ocupação holandesa na vida e na cultura do norte do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2001 [1947]).

ties, such as Van Baerle, de Laet, and Vossius, and others who interacted directly with the Tapuia during their service in Brazil.

Garstman and Herckmans, for instance, lived in frontier areas of Dutch colonization in Paraíba and Rio Grande and interacted with Tapuia peoples who were constantly passing through. The most privileged observers amongst this group of Europeans were Jacob Rabbi and Roulox Baro. The former not only acted as an interpreter and mediator with the Tapuia, but also lived with and married an Indigenous woman. His connection with the Tapuia was so close that he began to stray from the purposes of the mediation mission assigned to him by the Company. Rabbi is a figure that merits further study, given that current historiography identifies him as the driving force behind Tapuia actions against Portuguese settlers, while in fact what emerges from a close reading of the sources is that Rabbi was a perfect instrument of the Tapuia in their war against the Portuguese. Baro, Rabbi's replacement and an experienced translator, also lived and integrated with the Tapuia and offers an interesting and rich record of the culture of these peoples.

However, the crown jewels of this edition are undoubtedly the compilations of reports by Indigenous people from the coast—the Potiguara—who established communication with the Tapuia of the hinterland, among them Andries Tacoe, Antonio Paraupaba, Gaspar Paraupaba, Marcilliean, and Pedro Potij. The text signed by Potij, possibly dating from 1631, is one of the oldest written records made by an Indigenous person in Brazil. Potij—along with Antonio Paraupaba, Gaspar Paraupaba, and a dozen other Potiguara—lived for a few years in the Netherlands, learned Dutch, and converted to Calvinism. He went on to be one of the intermediaries for the Dutch among the Indigenous of Brazil most esteemed by the West India Company. Later, he would exchange correspondence written in Tupi with Indigenous people allied to the Portuguese—the famous “Tupi Letters of the Camarões,” which were later translated into Dutch and Portuguese.

This material will expand our knowledge about the history of the peoples of the *sertão* and their relationships with other natives and non-Indigenous people. These statements, descriptions, interrogations, memories, and letters were produced by or from the perspective of the Potiguara, who had long had relations of conflict, cooperation, and coexistence with the peoples of the *sertão*. The Tapuia region was large and overlapped Potiguara territory in Rio Grande and Paraíba. Although generically referred to in the historiography as “Tapuia” (a category that emerges from the colonial experience, much like “Tupi”), information about the Tarairiu people of the Janduí in particular stands out in these documents. The Tarairiu sought contact and alliance with the Dutch right at the beginning of the second invasion, in the 1630s. The Company, in turn, pur-

sued more information about these Tapuia and sent emissaries—and “cultural intermediaries”¹⁰—to prepare the ground and consolidate these unstable—and “infernal”—alliances for the future.¹¹

In this collection of texts, the names of several other Tapuia nations also appear alongside those of their leaders, which definitely helps us to think about the Tapuia outside the generalizing colonial category. These sources also reveal the complex and intense relationships of these peoples with coastal groups and with Europeans in the frontier zone, an area where the balance of power clearly favored these *sertão* groups. As mentioned, the Portuguese—and later the Dutch—occupation of the regions of Rio Grande and Ceará was very precarious. Their failure to establish solid economic activity in these regions certainly played a role in this weakness. However, in the 1530s, the Portuguese had started the process of establishing sugarcane cultivation along the coast, a move that directly affected the peoples of the *sertão*, who saw intrusions in their territories by Indigenous people fleeing the coast. These migrations would result in conflicts, but also in the merging and assimilation of groups. The events on the coast affected the peoples of the *sertão*. Furthermore, the Tapuia Indigenous people visited the coastal areas for the cashew harvest season. Areas that they themselves would have preferred to live in, as can be read in the description made by Elias Herckmans, in 1639 (Document 10). It is perhaps the perception that these increasingly widespread movements were driven by the sugar wars between the Portuguese and Dutch, that, years later, led some Tapuia to meet the Dutch at their arrival and choose a side. The Dutch seem a natural choice, given the impact of the Portuguese on the coast and what they had heard from the natives of the coast. These are just some of the points that this documentation invites us to (re)consider.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that the editors of this volume make a great contribution to Indigenous studies in Brazil. They provide essential raw material for the work of anthropologists, archaeologists, geographers, and historians, among others, and honor the tradition of researchers of the so-called “Dutch Brazil” period—scholars such as José Hygino Duarte Pereira (1847–1901), Pedro da Cunha Souto Maior (1857–1925), Alfredo de Carvalho (1870–1916), José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello (1916–2002), Benjamin Nico-

10 Marcus P. Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade: Dutch-Indigenous Alliances in the Atlantic World, 1595–1674* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

11 Ernst van den Boogaart, “Infernal Allies: The Dutch West India Company and the Tarairiu 1631–1654,” in *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen 1604–1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil*, ed. Ernst van den Boogaart, Harmannus Hoetink, and Peter James Palmer Whitehead (The Hague: Johan Maurits van Nassau Stichting, 1979).

laas Teensma (1932–), and Lodewijk Hulsman (1950–2016)—who shared their knowledge of the Dutch language, translated sources, and allowed those not skilled in that language to make use of this important set of documents. Martijn M. van den Bel and Mariana Françaço also contribute to the renewal of research on the Indigenous peoples of Brazil and their relations with the Dutch, Portuguese, and other Indigenous peoples, as did Alfredo de Carvalho (1870–1916), Estevão Pinto (1895–1968), José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello (1916–2002), Ernst van den Boogaart (1943–), Lodewijk Hulsman, Mark Meuwese (1969–), Marcos Galindo (1962–), and Cristina Pompa (1956–).

Bruno Romero Ferreira Miranda

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Figures

- 1 General map of northeastern Brazil with maximum geographical extension of Dutch Brazil, c. 1641. Map developed by M. van den Bel based on data provided on the website Natural Earth. 5
- 2 Map of Rio Grande and Pernambuco, after Naber 1934, map 2. Developed by M. van den Bel. 13
- 3 Detail of northeastern Brazil, Pierre de Vaulx, 1613, FR-BnF CPL GE SH ARCH 6. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. 21
- 4 Anonymous manuscript map of Paraíba before the Dutch attack in 1631, NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 49, document 134. Courtesy of Nationaal Archief, The Hague. 55
- 5 Drawing of a quartz mountain described by Jan Bautista Sijens d'Amsterdam during his voyage to Moucouri in 1600 in the *roteiro* manuscript of Hessel Gerritsz, c. 1629, B-BnRJ MS 1312882, fol. 29^v. Acervo Fundação Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil. 69
- 6 Drawing of a Tapuia man by Zacharias Wagener. Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Herbert Boswank. 150
- 7 Drawing of a Tapuia woman by Zacharias Wagener. Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Foto: Herbert Boswank. 154
- 8 Drawing of Tapuia man and woman, Piso and Marcgraf 1648, p. 280. Courtesy of Peter H. Raven Library/Missouri Botanical Garden. 192
- 9 Drawing of tree trunk running among the Tapuia, Piso and Marcgraf 1648, p. 280. Courtesy of Peter H. Raven Library/Missouri Botanical Garden. 193
- 10 Manuscript map made by vicar Justus alias Jodocus à Stetten showing the quarters of Jandeweyj, Caracara, and Comert[i]vra, 1645, NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 60, document 76. Courtesy of Nationaal Archief, The Hague. 225
- 11 Anonymous English map of northeastern Brazil, c. 1640, FR-BnF DCP CPL GE SH 18E PF 165 DIV 3 P 3 RES. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. 272
- 12 The cutting of purple wood, Thévet Singularitez 1558, p. 114. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. 273

Introduction

The history of the colonization of the Americas has often been told from the perspective of European conquest of the peoples and environments of the New World. This narrative of European superiority and dominance is now being challenged and reconsidered in light of both novel readings of archival sources and new archaeological findings. The focus is shifting to both localized histories and long-term perspectives that do not begin in 1492 (or 1500 for Brazil) but rather take the European invasions as an incidental development alongside processes already underway in Indigenous societies.¹ As a result, these histories highlight the participation and agency of Indigenous and other non-European peoples in historical transformations on a global scale, thereby erasing the artificial divides between Europeans, Indigenous peoples, Africans (and their descendants) on both sides of the Atlantic, and mixed colonial populations.² Another important aspect of this historiographical turn is the revelation of the degree to which European settlers and explorers depended on local populations for their everyday provisions and for the expansion and consolidation of the conquest. Overall in the Americas, the colonizers' first goal was to secure small strongholds and their direct surroundings by establishing alliances with

- 1 See for instance Neil Whitehead, "Colonial Intrusions and the Transformation of Native Society in the Amazon Valley, 1500–1800," in *Native Brazil: Beyond the Convert and the Cannibal, 1500–1900*, ed. Hal Langfur (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), 86–107; Mark Harris, "Revisiting First Contacts on the Amazon 1500–1562," *Tempo* 23, no. 3 (2017): 508–527.
- 2 The historiographical production on Indigenous agency in history has been growing steadily since the 1980s, and is—fortunately—too extensive to be cited in its entirety here. We suggest a few important historical overviews and historiographical reviews focusing on the colonial period (that is, prior to Brazilian independence in 1822), amongst which the chapters about Brazil in Frank Salomon and Stuart Schwartz, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas, Vol. 111: South America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); John M. Monteiro, "Tupis, Tapuias e Historiadores: estudos de História Indígena e do Indigenismo" (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2001); Hal Langfur, "Introduction: Recovering Brazil's Indigenous Past," in *Native Brazil: Beyond the Convert and the Cannibal, 1500–1900*, ed. Hal Langfur (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), 1–28; Maria Regina Celestino de Almeida, "A atuação dos indígenas na História do Brasil: revisões historiográficas," *Revista Brasileira de História* 37, no. 75 (2017): 17–38; Maria Regina Celestino de Almeida and Tatiana Seijas, "Amerindians in the Iberian World," in *The Iberian World 1450–1820*, ed. Fernando Bouza, Pedro Cardim, and Antonio Feros (London: Routledge, 2020), 357–374; Bruno Romero Ferreira Miranda, and Mariana Albuquerque Dantas, "A Government of Indigenous Peoples: Administration, Land, and Work in the State of Brazil during the Portuguese Empire (1548–1822)," *e-Journal of Portuguese History* (2021), <https://doi.org/10.26300/5bto-4s02>.

neighboring Indigenous and local peoples. Beyond protection and provisions, Europeans also sought information about the territory they found themselves in: they were interested in fertile lands and mines, as well as potential new allies or trading partners.

Various Indigenous peoples living in the territory that became Portuguese America—both in coastal areas and inland, as well as in the Amazon—were major actors in the transformations that unfolded after the first arrival of the Portuguese, in April 1500, on the shores of what is now the state of Bahia. As trading partners, allies, enemies, soldiers, enslaved workers, relatives, and much more, a variety of groups and individuals engaged in complex relationships with similarly diverse groups of European and enslaved Africans brought to their land. Yet, while the complexity and diversity of colonial societies is undeniably present in the historical record, Indigenous peoples stand apart, often described in these same sources in rather simplistic, essentializing terms. Moreover, (textual) sources frequently make a dualistic distinction between “civilized” and “barbaric” natives. In colonial Brazil, these were the Tupi and Tapuia, respectively. Neither one was in fact a single, homogenous Indigenous group. The term “Tupi” encompasses the many Indigenous peoples living along the coast of Brazil who spoke similar languages (soon classified as the Tupi linguistic family) and were therefore grouped into one large category by missionaries. The Tapuia, on the other hand, were not a distinct Indigenous group and did not speak similar languages. These were peoples living in the interior of the country who seemed to have very different customs from those of the Tupi. According to John Monteiro, the word “Tapuia” comes from the Tupi for “escaped from the village”, from “*taba* (*aldeia*) and *puir* (*fugir*).”³ “Tapuia” thus became a European label for all non-allied Indigenous people, the “other” or the “enemy”. This dualistic idea was already spread in the earliest accounts of the first missionaries about northeastern Brazil:

Nosotros nos fuymos otro día y passamos muchos despoblados, especialmente uno de veynte y tres jornadas, por entre unos indios que llaman Tapuzas [Tapuyas], que es un género de indios bestial y fiero, porque andan por los bosques como manadas de venados, desnudos, con cabellos

3 Monteiro, “Tupis, Tapuias,” 12. Rebecca Parker Brienien also noted that the labels “Brazilians” and “Tapuias” were artificial, “they set up a contrast between the colonized and the untamed [...] a seventeenth-century Brazilian version of Columbus’ distinction between the Arawak and the Carib.” Rebecca Parker Brienien, “Art and Natural History at a Colonial Court: Albert Eckhout and Georg Marcgraf in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Brazil” (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2002), 182.

muy largos como de mugeres. Su habla es muy bárbara, y ellos muy carniceros | y traen flechas ervoladas y despedaçan un hombre en nada. Para 32^v
 passar por entre ellos ajuntamos muchos indios de los nuestros, que están de paz, y passamos con espías adelante con harto peligro. Un índio que vénia con nosotros, que era para mucho, passó adelante un tiro de ballesta de los blancos, y vino de súbito una manada destos Tapuzas y, despedaçándole, llevaron en quartos. Y con este miedo, ni los hombres blancos, ni los indios se osaron apartar de ay adelante del camino, por lo qual padecían mucha necessidad, aun de agua. Los dias aqui eran calorosos y las noches frias, las quales passávamos sin más cobertura que la del cielo.⁴

While such binary descriptions are purposefully exaggerated, somewhat unreliable, and certainly disrespectful, they do tell us about the circumstances of the encounters and the types of relationships established between the different Indigenous groups and diverse colonizers. These observations and interpretations had serious consequences for the lives and well-being of the different Indigenous men and women then living under or fighting against European rule, starting with the erasure of their individual and collective historical experiences—all combined under the umbrella-term “Tapuia”—and leading to the perpetuation of prejudice against them.⁵

The documentation produced during the Dutch conquest of northeastern Brazil (1624–1654) was no different. In fact, the Dutch sources inherited the terms used by the Portuguese colonizers, who “made distinctions between

4 João de Azpilcueta Navarro, “Carta do P. Juan de Azpilcueta Navarro aos padres e irmaos de Coimbra, Porto Seguro 24 de junho de 1555,” in *Monumenta Brasiliae II (1553–1558)*, ed. Serafim Leite (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1957), 247, letter 39: “We left on another day and passed by many uninhabited areas, notably one twenty-three days’ walk away, among some Indians called Tapuzas [Tapuias], which are a beastly and ferocious group of Indians, because they roam the forests like herds of deer, naked, with very long hair like women. Their language is very barbaric, and they are butchers | and they carry poisonous arrows and they can effortlessly tear a man to pieces. In order to pass through them we gathered many of our own Indians, who are peaceful, and we passed with spies at the vanguard at great risk. One Indian who came with us had gone far ahead, passed a crossbow shot from the white men, and suddenly a pack of these Tapuzas came and, having torn him apart, carried him off in pieces. And with this fear, neither the white men nor the Indians dared stray from the road, so they suffered great deprivations, even of water. The days here were hot and cold the nights, which we spent with no other cover than that of the sky.” 32^v

5 For a study of demarcations of Indigenous languages and ethnic identity, including of the Tapuia, see José R. Bessa Freire, “A demarcação das línguas indígenas no Brasil,” in *Políticas culturais e Povos indígenas*, ed. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha and Pedro de Niemeyer Cesarino (São Paulo: Cultura Acadêmica, 2014), 374.

Amerindian peoples based on criteria that reflected their own interests and their misapprehensions about the languages and the sociocultural characteristics of Amerindian peoples.”⁶ Dutch seventeenth-century sources therefore most often use terms such as “Tapuia” and “Tupi”—the latter sometimes also called “Brazilians” (*brasiliaenen*)—but also specific ethnic markers such as “Potiguara” (Tupi-speaking group of the coast).

In this book we present transcriptions and translations of 15 historical documents concerning the Tapuia written before and during the Dutch colonial presence in Brazil. Our aim is to make available a set of little-known documents about these peoples and to facilitate the work of scholars, experts, and others interested in trying to (re)write Indigenous histories from a more complex and complete perspective. The specific documents have been chosen due to the attention they give to the importance of Tapuia and Indigenous peoples in general during the Dutch conquest, revealing their know-how, forms of warfare, and cultural practices. An introduction precedes each translation, briefly discussing the content, context, and publication history (when extant) of these various documents.

Our own choice to use the term “Tapuia” should also be explained. In his influential essay on the “infernal allies” of the Dutch in Brazil, Ernst van den Boogaart argued that the Tapuia referred to in Dutch sources should, in fact, be identified as the Tarairiu Indigenous people.⁷ While acknowledging van den Boogaart’s contribution (and those of earlier scholars before him), we have sought to represent as faithfully as possible the sources we transcribe and translate here, and so we keep “Tapuia,” leaving the work of more precise ethnic identification to scholars dedicated to such areas. Similarly, while the current name of the Indigenous community living in northeastern Brazil is spelled Potiguara (and we refer to them thus in this introduction), we chose to leave the term “Potiguar” in our translation as it is spelled in the sources.

In order to highlight certain valuable aspects of these sources, in this introduction we present a brief history of Dutch engagements with the Tapuia as well as a partial reconstruction of the Tapuia way of life as described in the documents presented here. In both cases, we indicate in parentheses the documents of the present collection upon which we base our narrative.

⁶ Almeida and Seijas, “Amerindians,” 363.

⁷ Boogaart, “Infernal Allies.” For more on this particular attribution of ethnic identity, see our introduction to Document 9 below.



FIGURE 1 General map of northeastern Brazil with maximum geographical extension of Dutch Brazil, c. 1641

MAP DEVELOPED BY M. VAN DEN BEL BASED ON DATA PROVIDED ON THE WEBSITE NATURAL EARTH

1 Before Meeting the Tapuia

As part of the Dutch revolt against the Habsburg monarchy and, in particular, against King Philip II of Spain, who had inherited rule of the provinces of the Netherlands, the Dutch West India Company (WIC, founded 1621) developed a master plan or *groot dessein* that aimed to lay waste to the Spanish Empire overseas and to exploit the Americas. From a strategic perspective, this plan was partially based on the belief that Indigenous peoples in the Americas would be willing to side with the Dutch in fighting against the Portuguese and Spanish colonizers. In practice, the situation would prove more complicated

than the Dutch had anticipated, as our sources show.⁸ Trade and intelligence had already demonstrated the riches of Brazil, a Portuguese colony now under Spanish rule after the Iberian Union in 1580. The Dutch aimed first for the capital of Portuguese America, the city of Salvador do Bahia, which they briefly conquered between 1624–1625.⁹ After the counterattack of the Portuguese-Spanish armada, part of the Dutch fleet returned to the Netherlands and the rest hid in the Baía da Traição, to the north of Bahia in the Captaincy of Paraíba.

After leaving the Baía da Traição in 1626, Admiral Boudewijn Hendrickx embarked for Holland with 13 Indigenous Potiguaras.¹⁰ The future of these men was radically altered by this voyage, for they were educated in the Dutch language and customs in order to serve the WIC in executing its master plan. Although the first attempt to secure a stronghold in Brazil had failed, the Dutch now tried a different approach. They relied upon American intelligence gathered in New Netherland, along the Amazon River, and the Guianas, where they had traded with the Indigenous populations; local intelligence was key to the success of permanent trade. Clearly, it was of the utmost importance to understand the native customs and speak the native languages in order to obtain political alliances and *truchements* or local guides to find support for attacks on the Portuguese in Brazil. Hendrickx recruited these 13 Potiguara to play this role for the Dutch.¹¹ A few years later, in 1628, six of the Potiguaras were

8 See Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

9 For the announcement and interpretation of the Dutch conquest of Salvador in the Netherlands, see Michiel van Groesen, “A Week to Remember: Dutch Publishers and the Competition for News from Brazil, 26 August–2 September 1624,” *Quaerendo* 40, no. 1 (2010): 26–49.

10 Potiguaras lived on the northeast coast of Brazil, specifically in the region that later became the Captaincy of Paraíba, and spoke a Tupi-family language. Lodewijk A.H.C. Hulsman, “Brazilian Indians in the Dutch Republic: The Remonstrances of Antonio Paraupaba to the States General in 1654 and 1656,” *Itinerario* 29, no. 1 (March 2005): 51–53; Frans L. Schalkwijk, *Reformed Church in Dutch Brazil (1630–1654)* (Zoetermeer: Boeken-centrum, 1998), 169. Assuerus Cornelisz, a Dutchman of Hendrickx’s fleet who was taken by Portuguese in 1625, and only released again in 1628, offered precious information about Paraíba; see de Laet in Benjamin N. Teensma, *Suiker, verfhout & tabak, Het Braziliaanse Handboek van Johannes de Laet* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2009), 66–67.

11 The careers of the Potiguara recruited by Hendrickx in Bahia da Traição as agents of the WIC, in particular that of Antônio Paraupaba, was the main interest of Dutch historian Lodewijk Hulsman, who spent much time in the Amsterdam City Archives to trace the life and deeds of these Amerindians. In fact, the city of Amsterdam, and many other European ports, was apparently full of Indigenous people from all countries and colonies. See Thomas G. Mathews, “Memorial Autobiografico de Bernardo O’Brian,” *Caribbean Studies* 10, no. 1 (1970): 101–102.

debriefed by Kiliaen van Renselaer on the situation near Paraíba, as can be read in the *roteiro* (rutter) manuscript of Hessel Gerritsz (see **documents 1 and 2**). The Dutch launched another more successful attack on Brazil in 1630 but this time they aimed for Pernambuco and at least three Potiguara took part in this military mission. Whether these Potiguara played an important role during the attack is unknown but is certainly possible, since the Potiguara and other Tupi peoples of this region had developed 'friendly' contacts with the Portuguese.¹²

As soon as the Dutch set foot on land, the Potiguara became an integral part of the newly installed Dutch administration. At about the same time, the Dutch met and started to engage with Tapuia peoples, especially the group led by Chief Jandovy.¹³ According to later European sources, the Tapuia had previously been a sedentary people and knew how to cultivate the land.¹⁴ They eventually abandoned their sedentary way of life to become nomads, a change connected to the impact of colonialism as witnessed among other Brazilian groups.¹⁵ As the Portuguese expanded along the Brazilian coast, favoring the Tupi in alliances over other groups, the latter formed alliances to confront the new power block.¹⁶ In the face of warfare, disease, enslavement, and politics, certain groups choose to leave their territory and wander. Seventeenth-century Indigenous leader Jandovy and his people are without doubt a good example of this colonial confrontation in the period of the Dutch presence in Brazil.

Jandovy, and before him his father, migrated with his people every cashew season from the interior to the Atlantic coast near São Francisco to collect cashews. They also had crops that they tended in the interior but apparently did not live in their vicinity. Besides harvesting cashews and honey, cultivating certain crops, and hunting rats or *yperie*,¹⁷ these Tapuia also relied on plunder-

12 Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms*, 140.

13 Also spelled "Nhanduí," especially in Portuguese-language sources and publications.

14 John M. Monteiro, "The Crises and Transformations of Invaded Societies: Coastal Brazil in the Sixteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas, Vol. 3, Part 1: South America*, ed. Frank Salomon and Stuart Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 973–1024.

15 See for example the Guayaki in Pierre Clastres, *Chronique des Indiens guayaki. Les Indiens du Paraguay: une société nomade contre l'État* (Paris: Plon, 2016 [1972]), 92.

16 See Johannes de Laet, *L'Histoire du Nouveau Monde ou Description des Indes Occidentales* (Leiden: Bonaventure & Abraham Elsevier, 1640), 479–480: "Il y a en outre d'autres nations, qui s'accordent mal avec les precedentes, ni mesme fort bien entre elles, appelees d'un nom commun Tapuyas." ["There are other nations who do not get along with the aforementioned one, and do not even get along among themselves very well, which are generally called Tapuyas"].

17 Roulox Baro, "Relation du voyage de Roulox Baro, interprete et ambassadeur ordinaire de la Compagnie des Indes d'Occident, de la part des Illustrissimes Seigneurs des Provinces

ing *engenhos* (mills) or attacking enemy villages for subsistence during their roamings. This particular lifestyle did not win them great popularity with other groups and Jandovy was doomed to wander the hinterlands to survive until the Dutch arrived looking for a partner against the Portuguese and rebellious Indigenous villages.¹⁸ Perhaps the Dutch might have wished for another ally, one seen as more civilized and malleable such as the Tupi, because the Tapuias were then portrayed in European writing as the ultimate savages:

Ils sont de grande stature, ont la peau dure, endurcis au labeur, hardis & outre mesure legers, ils ont les cheveux noirs & longs; & n'ont ni villages ni bourgades, mais ils vageuent sans certaines demeures; ils sont fort gourmands de chair d'homme, & ruinent & gastent tout par tout où ils arrivent. Ils ne cultivent point de champs, mais sont accoutumés à vivre de rapine & à manger le Manioc tout crud; ils ont des arcs grands & fort rudes, des massuës de Pierre, avec lesquelles ils cassent la teste à leurs ennemis, or ils les surprennent le plus souvent à la despourveü, & sont non seulement redouté des Sauvages, mais aussi des Portugais, à cause de leur grande cruauté.¹⁹

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- Unies au pays des Tapuias dans la terre ferme du Brasil. Commencé le troisieme Avril 1647. & finy le quatorziesme Juillet de la mesme année,” in *Relations véritables et curieuses de l'isle de Madagascar et du Brésil*, ed. Augustin Corbé (Paris: Auguste Courbé, 1651), 205.
- 18 See de Laet, *L'Histoire*, 325. De Laet mentions the Tapuias for the first time in July 1631, when Tamarica is taken by the Dutch Colonel Artichofsky, stating that the Company “van den beginne veel wercks ghemaect van een natie van Wilden dies noemen Tapujas, ende gheraden ghevonden der selver hulpe teghen de Portugesen te ghebruijcken” [“from the beginning we invested a lot in a nation of Savages called Tapujas and decided to ask their help against the Portuguese”], who apparently lived around Rio Grande. See: de Laet, *L'Histoire*, 238. This is one of the earliest mentions of Tapuias in Dutch documents. The *Memorie van Adriaen Verdonck voor president en raden van Pernambuco, betreffende de gewesten Pernambuco, Tamaraca, Paraíba en Rio Grande* of 20 May 1630 does not mention the Tapuia at all. This document was first translated into Portuguese by Alfredo de Carvalho and later by José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello. See Alfredo de Carvalho, “Descrição das Capitánias de Pernambuco, Itamaracá, Paraíba e Rio Grande ... por Adriano Verdonck,” *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico e Geográfico Pernambucano* 9, no. 55 (Recife, 1901): 215–227; José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, *Fontes para a História do Brasil Holandes, Vol. 1: A Economia Açucareira* (Recife: CEPE, 2004), 33–46.
- 19 De Laet, *L'Histoire*, 480. In chapter 3 of book 15, de Laet gives a good overview of the Indigenous ethnonyms, their distribution, and diversity in Brazil: “They are tall, resilient, toughened by labor, bold and extremely inconstant, they have long black hair, and have nether villages nor hamlets, but wander without fixed abode. They are very fond of human flesh, and ruin and waste everything wherever they go. They do not cultivate fields at all, but are accustomed to living on plunder and eating raw Manioc. They have long, crude bows, clubs of stone with which they break the heads of their enemies, but most often

Indeed, historian Gonsalves de Mello stated that the main allies of the Dutch were the Tapuia, even though their most frequent and closest contact was with the Tupi.²⁰ The main goal of the WIC regarding the Indigenous populations of northeastern Brazil was to secure alliances with all groups in order to expand its intelligence network on the ground and military capacity. This meant establishing diplomatic alliances and making political concessions and agreements. The documentation kept in the WIC archives evidences the indispensable participation of Potiguara and Tapuia leaders and peoples in the political and military life of the Dutch colony (see **documents 3 to 5**). This is clearly shown, for instance, in a letter written by Pieter or Pedro Potij in 1631.²¹ Potij stated that a certain Maraca Patira, a Tupi from Acawijtiba, came down from the mountainous hinterland and told him that the King of Rio Grande had gone to Pepetama with his people while the people of Bahia da Traição remained neutral. Potij also reported that the inhabitants of Tapeuia who had fought against those of Pepetama now found peace with each other and fought together against the Portuguese, requesting reinforcements for their fight.²² This letter must have been used by Johannes de Laet when he stated that a Tupi had arrived declaring that he was sent by the King of the Tapuia.²³ It is believed that he was sent by Jandovy and Oquenou to see whether the Company's Tapotinga were still in Pernambuco because they wanted to merge with them to become one people.²⁴ The ship *Nieuw Nederland* was sent subsequently to Ceará under the command of Ellert Smient, who was accompanied by the Portuguese Samuel Cohen, a Tapuia named Marcilliaen, as well as a few Potiguara such as Andries Tacoe, in order to negotiate an alliance to attack Rio Grande in collaboration with the Tapuia.²⁵

they take them by surprise, and they are not only feared by the Savages, but also by the Portuguese, for their great cruelty."

20 Gonsalves de Mello, *Tempo*, 214–215.

21 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 49, document 118.

22 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 49, document 118. See also Johannes de Laet, *Iaerlijck Verhael van de Verrichtingen der Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie in derthien Boeken*, ed. S.P. L'Honoré Naber and J.C.M. Warnsinck (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1934), 12, 25–26.

23 Johannes de Laet, *Historie of iaerlijck verhael van de verrichtingen der geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie* (Leiden: Bonaventure & Abraham Elsevier, 1644), 247.

24 See also Marcus Meuwese, "For the Peace and Well-Being of the Country: Intercultural Mediators and Dutch-Indian Relations in New Netherland and Dutch Brazil, 1600–1664" (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2003), 96.

25 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 49, documents 80 (1631112) and 129 (c. 1631).

2 The Tapuia Deal

Apparently, no deal was concluded in October 1631 because of setbacks with WIC officers and the shortfall of contacts with important Indigenous interpreters.²⁶ For a year there was no further communication between Jandovy and the Dutch but in February 1633 an Indigenous messenger visited the Dutch and the WIC responded promptly by sending a few Tupi. The latter, however, failed to contact Jandovy. In the meantime, the Dutch, under the command of Joris Garstman,²⁷ attacked the Portuguese fort of Reis Magos at Rio Grande (later renamed Fort Ceulen by the Dutch) in December 1633, probably hoping that Jandovy would show up in support. The WIC included Caspar Paraupaba and his son Antonio on the expedition, but Jandovy did not make an appearance, and Garstman dispatched a messenger in February 1634 to find him. About a month later he finally arrived at Fort Ceulen with his people, to signal his readiness to join the Dutch (see **documents 6 and 7**).²⁸ Many gifts were presented and the two parties agreed to fight together.

Jandovy and Garstman planned to attack Cunhaú, a hamlet on the Rio Grande coast, but there were some mixed feelings about this joint expedition.²⁹ According to the Gartsman, the “Taponiers” held great ceremonies invoking the Devil³⁰ and, according to Servaes Carpentier, they feared that they wanted to kill women and children.³¹ Furthermore, Jandovy had many problems with other Indigenous groups, who repelled his people and they were constantly on the move. Unfortunately, Paraupaba did not master Jandovy’s language, making negotiations rather difficult.³² In order to ease the talks and gain each other’s trust, Jandovy and Garstman decided to make an exchange: Jandovy left a son with the Dutch and Garstman instructed six soldiers to join Jandovy, four of whom returned, the other two having decided to stay.³³ One of the four men

26 Boogaart, “Infernal Allies,” 523.

27 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 50, document 18 (16331221).

28 It is possible that this messenger was Jansenpretinger, who also played an important role for Garstman and later disappeared; see Meuwese, “For the Peace,” 100. According to de Laet, *Iaerlijck Verhael*, 7, this intermediary was a Tapuia and not trained in Holland, but WIC correspondence designates him a “Brasiliaen.”

29 Boogaart, “Infernal Allies,” 527. See also the letter written by the Calvinist minister Vincent Joachim Soler: *Cort ende Sonderlingh Verhael van eenen Brief van Monsieur Soler, bedien-aer des H. Evangelij inde Ghereformeerde Kercke van Bresilien* (Amsterdam: Boudewyn de Preys, 1639), 5. Soler considered drinking and dancing the greatest vices of the Tupi.

30 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 50, document 52 (16340322).

31 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 50, document 61 (16340418).

32 Arnoldus Montanus, *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld: of Beschryving van America en 't Zuid-Land*, (Amsterdam: Jacob Meurs, 1671), 373–374.

33 Montanus, *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*, 446–447.

who came back was Dirck Mulder, who had apparently mastered Jandovy's language.³⁴ It is possible that Gerrit Hulck was another of these four (see documents 8 and 9).

On 2 October 1634 there was another rendezvous between Jandovy and the WIC under the command of Jacob Stachouwer.³⁵ Colonel Arcizewski "interviewed" Caracara, brother of Jandovy, and obtained much important information about the geographical origins of Jandovy's people.³⁶ This time, Paraupaba arrived with Jandovy's sister, Commendaoura, who was sent back with a letter calling on Jandovy to attack Paraíba.³⁷ The *capitania* was invaded by the Dutch in November 1634, but they had prohibited Jandovy's people from looting the inhabitants or *moradores* and from carrying out their customary cultural ceremonies;³⁸ for this reason, Jandovy refused to take part in the attack in Paraíba.³⁹

34 See Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms*, 146; NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 68 (16370509 and 16381122).

35 Johannes de Laet, *Iaerlijck Verhael van de Verrichtingen der Geotroyeerde West-Indische Compagie in derthien Boeken*, edited by S.P. L'Honoré Naber and J.C.M. Warnsinck, 4 vols. Werken Uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereeniging xxxiv. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1937), 47–48.

36 Laet, *Iaerlijck Verhael* 1937, 48–50. In the memoir given to Count Johan Maurits in 1637, Arcizewski discusses the Tapuias twice and states, for example, that: "[Capitain Tournalon] ving op eenen Tapoyer van den vijant, die een brief van Camaron hadde (dien Tapoyer door nalatichyent ontlep hem noch); hij sond den brief aen mij ende ick aen de Heeren, oock denselven 5en Decemb., in den weleken brief men sach, dat den vijant de Tapoyers solliciteerde tot sijne assistentie" ["Captain Tournalon caught a Tapuia from the enemy, who had a letter from Camaron (this Tapuia managed to run away due to (Tournalon's) negligence); he sent me the letter and I sent it to the Lords (xix), also on the same 5 December, in a letter one read that the enemy requested help from the Tapuia"]. See Christoffel Arciszewski, "Memorie, door den Kolonnel Artichofsky, bij zijn vertrek uit Brazilië in 1637 overgeleverd aan Graaf Maurits en zijnen geheimen raad," *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap* 25, no. 5 (1869): 305. These letters were written in Tupi by Felipe Camarão in October 1645 and addressed to, amongst others, Pedro Potij and Antonio Paraupaba; NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 60, documents 52–57. The letters have been studied by a number of scholars in the twentieth century. See for instance Teodoro Sampaio, "Cartas tupis dos Camarões," *Revista do Instituto Archeologico e Geographico Pernambucano* 12, no. 68 (1906); Pedro Souto Maior, *Fastos Pernambucanos* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1913). More recent contributions are those by Montserrat, Barros, and Barbosa, who identified Simão Soares Parayba as another author of part of this set of letters, and by Eduardo Navarro de Almeida, who has completed a translation of the letters directly from Tupi into contemporary Portuguese. See Ruth Monserrat, Cândida Barros, and Bartira Ferraz Barbosa, "Um escrito tupi do capitão Simão Soares Parayba (1645)," *Corpus* 10, no. 2, (2020), <https://journals.openedition.org/corpusarchivos/4218>; Eduardo de Almeida Navarro, "Transcrição e tradução integral anotada das cartas dos índios Camarões, escritas em 1645 em tupi antigo," *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas* 17, no. 3, (2022), e20210034. doi: 10.1590/2178-2547-BGOELDI-2021-0034.

37 Laet, *Iaerlijck Verhael* 1937, 50–52.

38 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 50, document 48 (16340215).

39 Laet, *Iaerlijck Verhael* 1937, 70. The Dutch next attacked Barra de Conayou (spelled

This decision brought an end to the cooperation between Jandovy and the Dutch, who also slowed down their expansion into the northern *capitanias*. Tupi and Dutch captains were now installed in different villages or *aldeias* in the region of Goiana, and in the captaincies of Paraíba and Rio Grande, in order to hold control of the region. In November 1637, when Count Johan Maurits arrived in Brazil, Sigismund von Schoppe was ordered to attack Sergipe.⁴⁰ During this military action, Tupi *aldeia* captains were preferred over the Tapuia and were paid for their work. In November 1641, the Dutch attacked Maranhão, which would be the last Dutch stronghold in the north.⁴¹

3 Indirect Indigenous Rule and the Portuguese Revolt

Besides this intricate network of Indigenous communities with whom the Dutch engaged, other Indigenous groups—particularly peoples of the Tupi linguistic family—continued to live in *aldeias* under Dutch rule. In fact, the Dutch closely followed the sixteenth-century Portuguese model of creating Indigenous settlements as a means of population control and religious conversion. These *aldeias*, often headed by Jesuit and other Catholic missionaries during the Portuguese conquest, still needed to be directed and controlled in the later Dutch period. In 1645, when Paraupaba returned to Brazil after his stay in Amsterdam, he had proposed to the Brazilian High Council to create a sort of independent Tupi land in the vicinity of the Dutch colony, a land of which Paraupaba himself would be king. The “Heeren XIX” or Lords XIX believed this was a good way to strengthen ties with the Tupi, but the Brazilian High Council thought it was a preposterous idea.⁴² After they had quickly

“Cunhaú” in Portuguese) under the command of Colonel Arciszewski and Commander Garstman with 50 cavaliers (without horses) and 46 Tapuias; see Laet, *Historie*, 405–408. NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 68 (16370929); NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 53, document 22 (16380114); NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 46, document 4 (16400401).

41 See the description of Maranhão by Dujardin in Décio Alencar de Guzmán and Lodewijk A.H.C. Hulsman, *Holandeses na Amazônia (1620–1650): documentos inéditos* (Belém: Imprensa Oficial do Estado do Pará, 2016), 46–47: “Dit eijlant marinjhon was doen ter tijt wel versien met inwoonders soo dattet in zijn begrijp hadde wel 33 a 34 dorpen waer van elck een van dien over de seven ofte acht hondert man sterck waren ende waren natien genaempt Tapuijen en Tupinenbaes dewelck daer naer bij de portegisen meest al omgebracht zijn ende vele van haer wechgeloopt die haer in secrete plaetsen inde bosschen aldaer als noch verhouden” [“At the time, the island of Marinhon [Maranhão] was filled with people, so there were 33 to 34 villages each 700 or 800 men strong, and these were the nations called Tapuijen [Tapuias] and Tupinenbaes [Tupinambás], most of whom were later killed by the Portuguese but many ran away to their secret places in the forest, where they still remain”]; NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 46, document 10, fol. 2^v (16381100).

42 See Meuwese, “For the Peace,” 178–179.

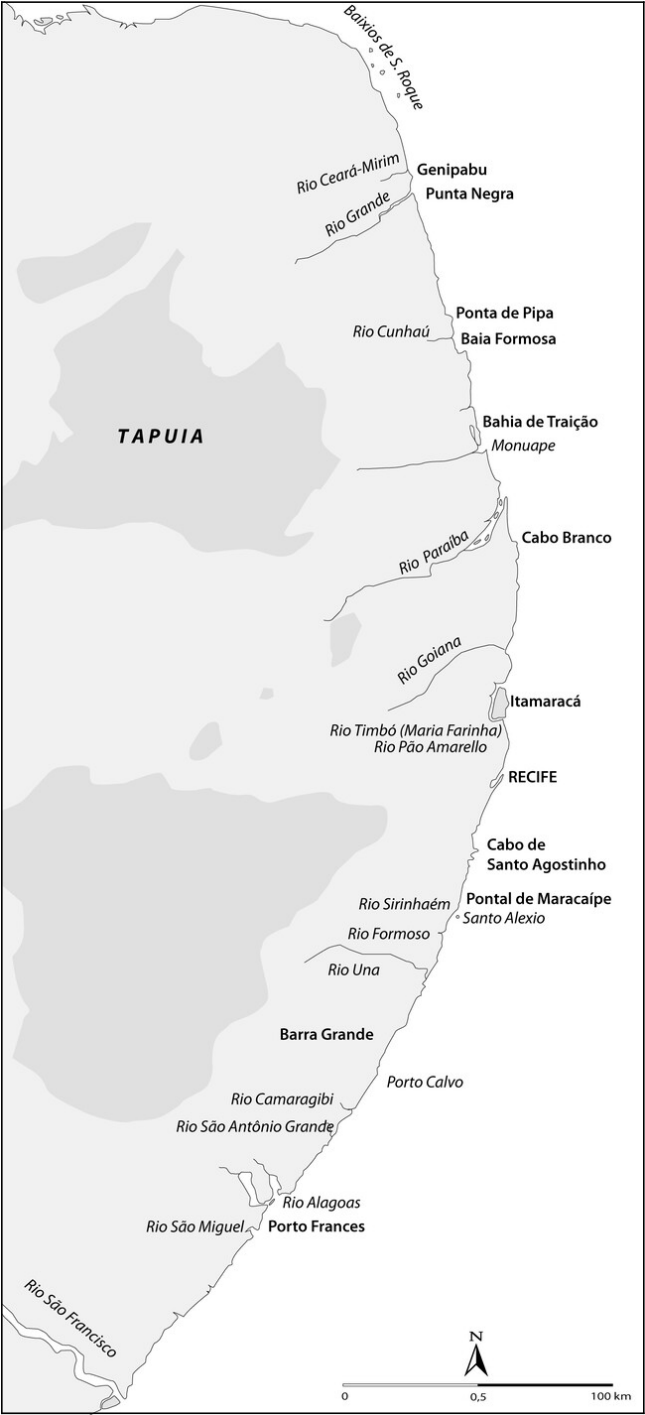


FIGURE 2
Map of Rio Grande
and Pernambuco,
after Naber 1934,
map 2
DEVELOPED BY M.
VAN DEN BEL

turned down Paraupaba's suggestion, the High Council wrote to the Lords XIX that they would instead proceed with the implementation of the system of indirect rule. Instead of one "Indigenous king," the WIC authorities established a system of three Tupi *regidores* or civic magistrates who were to confer with the "Director of Brazilians" before taking any decisions. The Recife councilors ordered Johannes Listrij, the "Director of the Brazilians," to convene a council with all those Tupi who wished to be appointed as representatives in the new judicial and governmental structure.⁴³ This meeting was held in the *aldeia* of Tapissaria located between cities of Goiana and Recife sometime in late March or early April 1645. At this summit, 20 prominent Tupi leaders, among whom were Potij and Paraupaba, worked with Listrij on the selection and appointment of the Tupi magistrates. Gonsalves de Mello connects this summit, and the WIC's decision to appoint Indigenous *regidores*, to the difficult relations between the Dutch and the Indigenous people in Maranhão. The WIC had attempted to allow the enslavement of Indigenous peoples, at first prohibited by the Company's own regulations; furthermore there was clear overall mistreatment of native peoples by Dutch settlers in the region. The native population was thus disinclined to cooperate with the new colonizers, and there was fear among the Dutch about being massacred. The Company needed to meet Indigenous demands for freedom, and allow them some sort of political self-representation, in order to avoid confrontation.⁴⁴

In the new system of indirect rule all the *aldeias* under Dutch control were now divided into three districts, each governed by a board of *schepenen*. The position of *schepen* is of Dutch origin and roughly translates as "civic magistrate." The candidates for *schepen* were nominated by the Tupis themselves but ultimately appointed by the High Council. Finally, each board of Indigenous *schepenen* was presided over by a *regidor*. The term *regidor* was adopted from the Spanish bureaucratic administration in South America. Throughout Spanish Peru, *regidores* were Indigenous administrators who functioned as indispensable intermediaries between Spanish colonial officials and the "republic of Indians." In Dutch Brazil, the *regidores* fulfilled a similar function for the Recife

43 The "Director of the Brazilians" served as a law enforcement official for the High Council in Recife and primarily had a mediating role with the Indigenous peoples through frequent contact with them. Listrij served as such between 1640 and 1654. In the first years of the colony of Dutch Brazil, there was only one such director and his role was mainly military; after 1645 they also worked on political and social levels and many more directors (or "Commanders") were appointed, about one per province. See Meeuwse, "For the Peace," 220–236.

44 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 70 (16450411); Gonsalves de Mello, *Tempo*, 218–220.

government. The three *regidores* were the most senior Indigenous magistrates and dealt directly with Listrij and other Dutch colonial officials.

Potij and Paraupaba were two of the three candidates that the Tupi selected as *regidores*, Potij for the district of Paraíba, Paraupaba for the district of Rio Grande. The third candidate was Domingo Fernandes Carapeba, a distinguished Tupi military leader who represented the *aldeias* located in the jurisdictions of Goiana and Itamaracá. Potij and Paraupaba's status as leaders strongly suggests that their talent as cross-cultural negotiators familiar with the Dutch language and authorities had made them useful and influential in the eyes of their people. By choosing the Dutch-speaking Potij and Paraupaba to these important positions, the Tupi signaled that they wished to have *regidores* who had experience interacting with the Dutch colonial government.⁴⁵

In 1640, the Portuguese reclaimed their sovereignty from Spain and started to wage war upon the Dutch in Brazil. Just a few years later, a bloody guerilla war broke out between the Dutch and Portuguese and their Indigenous allies in which Tapuia and Tupi often faced each other. Although Jandovy was perhaps only moderately interested in waging war for the Dutch, he was certainly interested in local politics and fighting alongside the Dutch against other Tapuia peoples inhabiting the interior. Caught in a political web as the king of many Tapuia bands, he also played the Dutch by making advances with the Portuguese.⁴⁶ The journey of four months into the interior made by Roulox Baro, Jean Strassi, an unnamed Tupi, and three unnamed Tapuia in 1647 along the Potegi River to locate Jandovy is exemplary of his influential place in the unstable political context of Dutch Brazil in the midst of the Portuguese revolt.

Major losses were suffered by the Dutch during the revolt. Such military defeats and the difficulty and delays in drawing sufficient profit from this Brazilian colony soon led the WIC to decide to withdraw its troops from Brazil, which concretely took place in 1654. The Indigenous allies of the Dutch were abandoned to their fate. Some Indigenous men traveled to the Dutch Republic to convince the directors of the Company and the States General to return to Brazil, to no avail.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, in Brazil, the former allies of the

45 Gonsalves de Mello, *Tempo*, 218–220.

46 Baro, "Relation," 200, 208–210, 216–219, 225–226, 230. Jandovy apparently also commanded a mounted cavalry of at least four riders. See Baro, "Relation," 215.

47 About a decade earlier, when Count Johan Maurits left Brazil for the Netherlands on 10 May 1644, five Indigenous traveled with him. We know that Paraupaba and two Tapuia, called Carapeta and Waybepa, were among them. Two of these men died during their stay in the Dutch Republic. See NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 70 (16450412). For the Brazilian visitors see Caspar Barlaeus, *Nederlandsch Brazilïë onder het bewind van Johan Maurits, Grave van Nassau, 1637–1644*. After the Latin edition of 1647 first edited in Dutch by S.P. L'Honoré

Dutch were either slaughtered by Portuguese troops or escaped to the interior of the country.⁴⁸

4 Tapuia Life

In addition to providing much information about the role played by Indigenous people in the political and military history of Dutch Brazil, the Dutch sources also allow for a partial reconstruction of Tapuia customs and ways of life. Roulox Baro wrote an account of his experience in which, as well as discussing regional politics, he also provided much ethnographic information about the customs of Jandovy and his people. Baro's journal, Gerrit Hulck's book (copied and complemented by Elias Herckmans), Jacob Rabbi's journal, as well as the accounts by other men, copied and reported by Gerard Vos, Johannes de Laet, and Caspar van Baerle are probably the only original first-hand sources on Jandovy's people (see **documents 11 to 15**). The few words written on them by Zacharias Wagener may also have been copied from other documents (see **Document 10**).

According to Baro, the Tapuia ate roast pigs, armadillos, rats and snakes, which they hunted, as well as domesticated animals; they also fished and collected honey and fruit, with which they made alcoholic beverages. The Tapuia had agricultural land (called *rossen* in Dutch, probably derived from the Portuguese word *roças*) where they cultivated maize, beans, peas, tobacco, and pumpkins. Maize was ground to produce flour or *farinha*, called *suasu*, as was manioc. They also ate stews based on manioc tubers and maize kernels which were boiled down in earthenware pots made by the women. These stews were accompanied by "manioc balls, wild manioc, fish called *piapahu*, maize, rats caught in their gardens and stew." Large ants, called *capiaira*, were eaten with maize as a snack, even while walking—a fact that presumably surprised the Dutch. In order to ensure the fertility of their crops, they honored them with ceremonies performed by shamans.⁴⁹

Naber (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923), 195–198. On Paraupaba's presence, see NL-HaNA 1.05.0101 60, documents 73 and 79 (16450627). The history of these Indigenous men and women who traveled to the Netherlands following the demise of Dutch Brazil still awaits and merits further research, a task that was being carried out by historian Lodewijk Hulsman.

48 See Antônio Vieira, "Relação da Missão da Serra de Ibiapaba," in *Escritos Instrumentais sobre os Índios*, ed. J.C. Sebe Bom Meihy, 122–190 (São Paulo: Educ, 1992).

49 Baro, "Relation," 231.

Various ceremonies or rites of passage were observed and recorded by the Dutch, notably funerary and initiation rites which were commonly accompanied by the wailing and crying of the women. The accounts tell of the consumption of ground human bones mixed with maize flower or *tapioca* (manioc starch) in order to end the mourning of family members. The rites of passage included piercing the lower lip, ears, and/or cheeks and passing small sticks or stones through the holes to mark the naming of children.⁵⁰ They also involved the consumption of an alcoholic beverage called *cauim*, made of manioc, and of drinks made of water and the ground seeds of ‘cleansing’ plants such as *copaiba* (*Copaifera* spp.) or *ipecacuanha* (*Carapichea ipecacuanha*) (see notes in **document 15**). A Tapuia who wished to marry had to present himself at night before Jandovy’s hut to ask for approval; Jandovy would give his blessing by blowing smoke from a large tobacco pipe upon him.⁵¹

Dutch descriptions of Tapuia life and customs were not free of a certain degree of astonishment or even prejudice. Baro’s text reveals surprise, for instance, at a game often played by the Tapuia which consisted of running while carrying logs. In order to prepare the log, cut from a tree named the *corravearas*, the bark was removed with fire and the trunk was then polished until perfectly smooth. The participants in the game, mainly men, painted themselves. Baro witnessed Jandovy taking part, running with great speed and agility despite his old age; he also observed the Tapuia chasing rats while running with the logs.

The Dutch texts emphasize worship of the Devil or “Houcha” in order to depict the Tapuia as “savages” compared to the “civilized” Tupi, highlighting their demonstrations of excessive exuberance to condemn the “delusion” of Tapuia ceremonies. The Devil’s hand was commonly recognized in sickness and enemy attacks, and Jandovy would gather the shamans to deliberate on such matters, often consulting Houcha’s predictions on the outcomes of planned actions. In fact, Baro recounts that, in response to his arrival among the Tapuia, Jandovy consulted Houcha on what to do about Baro’s request for an alliance with the Dutch. Houcha advised him not to attack his enemies without Dutch military aid and Jandovy therefore decided to continue wandering with his people. Baro’s account ends by stating that Jandovy eventually lost credit among the Tapuia and Tupi, and they abandoned him with the Dutch.⁵²

50 Baro, “Relation,” 239–240.

51 Baro, “Relation,” 240–241.

52 Pierre Moreau, *Klare en Waarachtige Beschryving van de leste Beroerten en Afval der Portugezen in Brasil* (Amsterdam: Jan Hendriksz & Jan Rieuwertsz, 1652), 61.

Note on Transcription and Translation

Transcriptions follow the so-called “mixed method” customary in Dutch paleography. However, due to the large number of foreign names and words, and the orthographic variety presented by the documents, we kept the original spellings rather than attempting to harmonize them, as we were not always sure if the same person was indicated. We also kept the original layout of the manuscripts in order to present the texts in their original form as faithfully as possible. The original pagination of each document is provided between square brackets. Definitions of frequently occurring words and explanations of difficult passages of the translated texts are provided in the footnotes. A glossary lists typical and common words found in the original texts, which are marked with *.

The translations are followed by transcriptions of the original documents. We have tried to provide a literal translation of each document, staying as close as possible to the seventeenth-century syntax. Elements of style in the translations have been normalized, including capitalization; however, capitals have been maintained for titles (e.g., Master, Chief, Council, Director, Lord, Captain, Governor, Commander, Lieutenant, etc.) as they have for terms such as “Blacks”, “Negroes”, “Whites” where the original documents do so.

The documents were transcribed and translated by the editors of this book except where otherwise stated. Most of the documents are available at the Nationaal Archief in The Hague (the Netherlands). The two declarations by Antônio Paraupaba are kept at the National Library of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil and the John Carter Brown Library in Providence (USA); Hulck’s book is kept at the Universiteitsbibliotheek of Ghent (Belgium); the diary of Zacharias Wagener is to be found in the Kupferstichkabinett in Dresden (Germany), and finally, the journal of Roulox Baro is readily available in any well-stocked library, as is the account of Jacob Rabbi, the latter having been published as part of Piso and Marcgraf’s *Historia naturalis Brasiliae*; the observations of Christophe Artichewksi were copied in Gerardus Vossius’ *De Theologia Gentili, Physiologia Christiana*, in Johannes de Laet’s *Historie ofte iaerlijck verhael*, and in Caspar van Baerle’s *Rerum per octennium*. All the documents can also be consulted online. Finally, it should be noted here that we decided not to include the chapters relating to the Tapuia in the works of Arnoldus Montanus (*De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*) and Johan Nieuhof (*Gedenkwaardige Brasiliaense Zee- en Lantreise*). Although these chroniclers may have had access to (unknown) documents now considered lost, we consider their chapters to be (good) summaries of the information presented here, therefore their inclusion in this book would be redundant.

A number of documents have already been published and translated into Portuguese—mostly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Where available, these editions were consulted to double-check the present translations. References are given in the short introductions to each document outlining their significance for the history of the Tapuia and the Dutch. Finally, we made use of online Dutch dictionaries for old, most often obsolete, words.

Documents

1. Declaration of Gaspar Paraoupaba (1628), B-BnRJ MS 1312882;
2. Description of Pernambuco or Declaration of Gaspar Paraoupaba (1637), US-JCBL Codex Du 1;
3. Interrogation of Andries Tacoe (1631), NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 49, document 80;
4. Memoir of Marcilliean (c. 1631), NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 49, document 129;
5. Letter of Pedro Potij (c. 1631), NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 49, document 118;
6. First Journal of Joris Garstman (1634), NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 50, document 48;
7. Second Journal of Joris Garstman (1634), NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 50, document 52;
8. Description by Hulck (1635), Gerrit Hulck, *Een korte beschrijvinge*;
9. Description by Herckmans (1639), NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 46, document 3;
10. Description by Wagener (c. 1641), Zacharias Wagener, *Das Thierbuch*;
11. Description by Vossius (1641), Gerardus Vos, *Addenda*;
12. Description by de Laet (1644), Johannes de Laet, *Historie of iaerlick verhael*;
13. Journal of Jacob Rabbi (1647), in Piso and Marcgraf, *Historia naturalis Brasiliae*;
14. Description by Caspar van Baerle (1647), in Barlaeus, *Rerum per octennium*;
15. Journal of Roulox Baro (1647), Roulox Baro, *Relation du voyage de Roulox Baro*.

Declaration of Gaspar Paraupaba (1628)

This declaration reveals the deep understanding Brazil's Indigenous people and in this case the Potiguara had of their environment. The Potiguara were an important Indigenous group in northeastern Brazil who halted the Portuguese expansion there in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹ They waged war against the Portuguese and their allies, the Tabajares, with the aid of French colonists and traders, who had frequented this area from the early days of the European presence.² The latter also showed the Potiguara how to build stockades, earthworks, and instructed them in other European means of war that astounded the Portuguese, who were often defeated by them. Eventually, the Portuguese established strongholds in Paraíba and the Potiguara drew back seeking out for new allies such as Dutch sailors.

The Portuguese pushed on with their conquest of northeastern Brazil towards the Amazon, where the English, Irish, and Zealanders had started trading tobacco with the local population. At the same time, the French had installed themselves in Maranhão. The latter were conquered and the Portuguese finally fortified the right bank of the Amazon at Belém in 1616. So, when Boudewijn Hendricx arrived in Baía da Traição in 1625 after the short-lived Dutch occupation of Salvador da Bahia, the Potiguara were eager to join them and to send their people to Holland. These Potiguara spent at least three years there and were educated in the Dutch language at the WIC's expense. They provided important intelligence about their homeland—on distances, inhabitants, and other Indigenous groups in this area. For instance, the Dutch learned from them that upon the Pernambuco River there were Tabajares villages called Jarousu, Tamarac, Araruba, and Guagana. Near the Paraíba and Rio Grande rivers lived Pindaguasu and Potiguara people, and on the Monguagape River lived the (Po)tiguara, Paraupaba's people. Paraupaba stated that the Tiguara had previously lived in the Baía da Traição but that, by the time of his declaration, this area was inhabited by the Tabajares. According to Elias Herckmans (see **document 9**), the Portuguese had enslaved many Potiguara after Hendricx

1 John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians* (London: Macmillan, 1978), chapter 8.

2 Unfortunately, there is little French archival material relating to this interaction between the French and Potiguara as most French enterprises were armed in Normandy and the Dieppe archives were destroyed in the late seventeenth century.

arrived at Baía da Traição, and the Indigenous village there was then abandoned.

This declaration is part of the West Indian *roteiro* compiled by Hessel Gerritsz in the late 1620s, which is available in the Brazilian National Library in Rio de Janeiro under signature MS 1312882. It was donated to the library by Edward Bondam who produced a French translation which he published in 1909.³ The Rio de Janeiro document appears to be an extract of an expanded (final?) version of Gerritsz' rutter that can be found in the Dutch National Archives in The Hague which has not been published yet.⁴

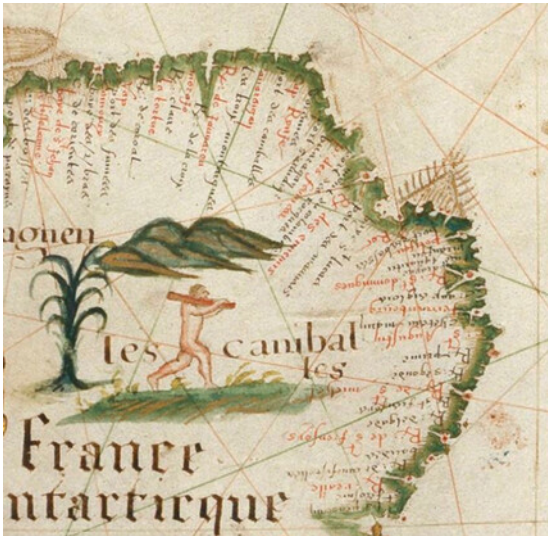


FIGURE 3
Detail of northeastern Brazil,
Pierre de Vaulx, 1613, FR-BnF
CPL GE SH ARCH 6
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIO-
THÈQUE NATIONALE DE
FRANCE, PARIS

3 Hessel Gerritsz, "Journaux et nouvelles tirées de la bouche de marins hollandais et portugais de la navigation aux Antilles et sur les cotes du Brésil: manuscrit de Hessel Gerritsz traduit pour la Bibliothèque Nationale de Rio de Janeiro par E.J. Bondam," *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* 29 (1909): 97–179.

4 Leupe collection, NL-HaNA 4. VEL, document X.

Original Handwritten Document, B-BnRJ MS 1312882

34^v, 68

Verclaringe van Gaspar paraoupab[a]
 van siara out 50 jaren andrens francisco
 van siara oudt 32 jaren
 pieter potij van de baij de traicaon
 antonij guirawassanaij,
 antonij franciso & lauijs Gaspar tsamen
 vande baij traicao een vande natie van
 tiguar vande nordt cust van brisil[ien]
 aengeteijckent door Sr Kiliaen van rens[elaar]
 op den 20 meerte anno 1628 in amsterdam

Van pharnambuco tot paratihu daer die van
 pharnambuco suicker molens hebben is 2 mijllen
 van paratihu tot jarousu een reviertien
 daer de portugesen wonen is 3 millen
 Tamaraca heeft een revier bewoont met portugesen
 araruba een cleijn reviertien bewont met portugesen
 is voor bij tamaraca & van jarousu 2 mijllen
 guauana een revier bewont met portugisen
 van araruba 6 mijlen
 pariba een revier bewont met portugisen
 van guanana 12 mijlen
 Wireria een revier bewoont met portugisen
 heeft brasilien hout* met een suickermolen van pariba 6 mijlen
 monguangape een revier heeft veel boeren
 die haer generen met tuback & beesten brengen
 haer botter & kaes tot pariba ter marckt
 is van wireria 3 mijlen
 baija de triacao van monguangape ½ mijl
 Tamaratuba een cleijn reviertjen met een suickermolen
 3 mijllen van see sonder ander volck als vanden
 suickermolen bij haer selfs verbrandt als boude[wijn]
 heijnssen in baij de traicao voor is
 vande baije 1 mil
 Gratapijca Guartapicaba sonder revier
 heeft goet water aen strandt en geen uijer
 van strandt brasilien houdt van camaratuba
 een dach reijssens is 6 mil

Translation

Declaration of Gaspar paraoupab[a] of Siara, 50 years old, Andrens Francisco of Siara, 32 years old, Pieter Potij of Baij de Traicao, Antonij Guirawassanaïj, Antonij Franciso & Lauijs Gaspar altogether from the Baij Traicao and from the Tigar nation from the north coast of Brazil, signed by Sr Kiliaen van Rens[elaar], 20 March 1628 in Amsterdam 34^v, 68

From Pharnambuco to Paratihu, where there are sugar mills, is 2 miles.⁵

From Paratihu to Jarousu, a small river where the Portuguese live is 3 miles.

Tamaraca has a river inhabited by Portuguese.

Araruba [is] a small river inhabited by Portuguese; it is past Tamaraca and 2 miles from Jarousu.

Guauana [is] a river inhabited by Portuguese; 6 miles from Araruba.

Pariba [is] a river inhabited by Portuguese; 12 miles from Guanana.

Wireria [is] a river inhabited by Portuguese. [It] has a lot of Brazil wood and a sugar mill, 6 miles from Pariba.

Monguangape [is] a river with many farmers who plant tobacco and keep animals. They bring their butter and cheese to the Pariba market; [it] is 3 miles from Wireria 3 miles.

Baija de Triacao [is] ½ mile from Monguangape.

Tamaratuba [is] a small river with a sugar mill; [it is situated] 3 miles from the sea [and] only occupied by people from the sugar mill, which was burnt by them when Boude[wijn] Heijnssen was in the Baij de Traicao; [it] is situated 1 mile from the bay.

Gratapijca Guartapicaba [has] no river, has good fresh water at the beach and at less than one hour's distance from the beach there is Brazil wood; Camaratuba is 6 miles away, one day of travel.

5 A Germanic terrestrial mile is about 5,600 m.

35^r, 69

Turimatau een groote revier diemen met de jacht
 een goet stuck wechs can op seijlen heefte een
 suickermolen drie mijllen van see van guartap[icab]a 1 mil
 Guiraijre een strandt van curimatau 4 uijren ga[ans]
 van guiraijre tot pharnambuco 2 uijren
 van pharnambuco tot tagerijrich 4 mijlen |
 Ende een halfe mijl van Guiraijre te lande is Guargane
 bewoont van visschers portugesen negros & brasilianen*
 maer die portugisen zijn daer niet starck
 piragu oft porto de buseos een reviertjen met varsch
 water sonder portugisen,
 Tareijrich een cleijn revierteken daer is een fransman
 Juao oroutan genoemt die vischt & soudt de visch voor
 de portugisen die in pernambuco woonen die sij met schepen
 comen haelen
 potiug oft rio grande een groote revier met een
 casteel aen de oost sijde, dicht aen den water candt
 versien met 9 metalen stucken 40 soldaten een dorp van 8
 huizen & kerck & het volck van de suicker molen nament-
 lijk 5 portugisen & eenige swarten die schepen comen
 dicht aent casteel comen het is van pirangu 5 mijllen
 siara een reviertjen met varsch water sonder portugisen
 daer halen de schepen water van potug 3 mijllen
 piracabuba reviertjen sonder portugisen van siara 1 mijl
 pecutinga een strandt met varsch water goe ree* en
 goede ancker grondt sonder portugisen van piracabuba
 is 2 mijllen
 Uguasu een reviertjen van varsch water geen portugisen
 van pecutinga 6 mijllen
 Raasaij strandt sonder portugisen van uguasu 3 dach reisen
 Guamare revier voor schepen geen varsch water
 van caalsa 2 mijllen aritauwa ½ mijl vorder.
 Carwaretame revier voor schepen weinich varsch
 water een sout pan die altijt soudt heeft van guamare
 3 uijren gaens.
 Barijtuba een cleijn reviertjen van soudt waeter van
 carwaretame ½ mijl
 guararug revier voor schepen onbewoont van barituba
 een halff dach gaens de tapuijas* wonen landt waert in
 bosschen

Turimatau [is] a large river which one can sail up with a *jacht** over a long distance. It has a sugar mill three miles from the sea; [it is] 1 mile from Guartap[icab]a.

Guiraijre [is] a beach 4 hours' travel from Curimatau.

From Guiraijre to Pharnambuco [is] 2 hours.

From Pharnambuco to Tagerijrich 4 miles |

35^r, 69

And half a mile over land from Guiraijre is Guargane, inhabited by Portuguese fishermen, Negroes, and Brazilians, but the Portuguese there are not strong [from a military point of view]

Piragu or Porto de Buseos [is] a river with fresh water [and] without any Portuguese.

Piraijrich [is] a small river where a Frenchman lives called Juao Oroutan, who catches fish and salts it for the Portuguese in Pernambuco, who come over and put it in a ship.

Potug or Rio Grande [is] a large river with a fortress⁶ on the east side next to the water line having 9 metal cannons⁷ and 40 soldiers; [there is] a village of 8 houses and a church and the people of the sugar mill, to wit 5 Portuguese and a few blacks. The ships can come close to the fort; 5 miles from Pirangu.

Siara [has] a river with fresh water without Portuguese; there the ships fetch water, 3 miles from Potug.

Piracabuba [has] a river without Portuguese, 1 mile from Siara.

Pecutinga [has] a beach with fresh water and a good road and anchorage without Portuguese, from Piracabuba it is 2 miles.

Uguasu⁸ is a river with fresh water without Portuguese; 6 miles from Pecutinga.

Raasaij is a beach without Portuguese, 3 day's travel from Uguasu.

Guamare is a river for ships but there is no fresh water; Caalsa [is] 2 miles [away and] Aritauwa ½ mile further.

Carwaretame is a river for ships with little fresh water and [has] a salt pan, which always has salt; 3 hours travel from Guamare.

Barijtuba is a small river of salt water; ½ mile from Carwaretame.

Guararug⁹ is a river for ships, uninhabited; from Barituba it is half a day's travel. The Tapuijas live there in the interior in the forests.

6 The Dutch use most often the word *kasteel* or castle, which we translated as fortress.

7 Cannons that shoot metal balls or scrap; there are also cannons shooting stone balls.

8 Today Rio Jiqui, see Juvandi de Souza Santos, "Cariri e Tarairiú? Culturas Tapuia nos sertões da Paraíba" (Unpublished PhD diss., Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, 2009), 234.

9 Today Rio Açú, see Santos, "Cariri e Tarairiú?" 234.

35^v, 70

Ugequageguarin een cleijne reviertjen onbewoont van
 guararug een halff mijl
 iandupatuba een cleijn revier soudt water onbewoont
 van ugequageguarin een dach reijnsens
 wupanen revier onbewoont van iandupatuba een
 dach reijnsens
 iaguarij groote revier van soudt water onbewoont & is
 ondiep van weijnich water van wupanen 2 dach reijnsens
 parijpoire cleijne revier met sout water onbewoont
 van iaguarij een dach reijnsens
 Guara pugugi cleijne revier sout water onbewoont
 van parijpare een dach reijnsens
 wuijchoro cleijne revier sout water onbewoont van
 guarapugug een dach reijnsens
 uguaguasu [een] strandt met weinich water sonder volck
 van wuijchoro 1 dach reijnsens moccourou |
 Siara revier voor jachten & goet water een gro[ote]
 plaets daer veel volck woont daer eenige onder sijn
 die schrijven connen daer is hout om swarte verwen
 letter houte veel catoen touback balsem olij blan[cke]
 door schijnende steen & 3 mijllen van siara is de
 berch boraguaba die een silver mijne heeft 2 dach
 reijnsens men can de berch uijt de schepen sien het
 silver leijt aen brockelingen & werde anders uij[t]
 de grondt gegraven daer is noch een silver mijne th[...]
 dach reijnsens van siara in een plaets Guarung[..
 genaemt dicht bijt water aen een revier camosij
 genoemt 2 dagen op waerts is een berch van loot
 & geen uijer gaens daer van is een berch van
 cristal oock isser een silver mijne ontrent pariba
 in een plaets toutouuba genoemt
 Het is vaste eerd geen steen daert silver inde
 berch van Guarandug in leijt & meest is in
 borauguaba oft sonder onder scheijt
 De voorgenoemde verclaerders geven voor reeden [...]

bij sij verseckert sijn dat het haer niet en mist & dat
 het wisselijck silver is dat sij inde genoemde bergh
 vinden dat het wit & hart is & in cleijne stucken w[erd]
 gevonden sij houden die kennis onder haer natie het
 wort gevonden onder inden berch daer maer lange[..

Ugequageguarin is a small river, uninhabited; [it is] half a mile from Guararug. Iandupatuba is a small river of salt water, uninhabited; from Ugequageguarin a day's travel.

The Wupanen river is uninhabited and from Iandupatuba a day's travel.

Iaguarij is a large salt river, uninhabited and shallow with little water; from Wupanen 2 days' travel.

Parijpoire is a small salt river, uninhabited; from Iaguarij one day's travel.

Guara pugugi is a small salt river, uninhabited; from Parijpare one day's travel.

Wuijchoro is a small salt river, uninhabited; from Guarapugug one day's travel.

Uguaguasu is a beach with little water and without people; from Wuijchoro 1 day's travel to Moccourou. |

35^v, 70

Siara is a river for *jachten*¹⁰ with good water. It is a big place where many people live; among them are a few who know how to write. There is wood for black paint, letter wood, much cotton, tobacco, balm oils, white transparent stone, and 3 miles from Siara is the mountain Boraguaba, which holds a silver mine, at 2 days' travel. This mountain can be seen from the ships. The silver can be found in boulders and, if not, it can be dug out of the ground. There is another silver mine [...] day's travel from Siara in a place called Guarung[..], close to the water upon a river called Camosij. 2 days up this river there is a mountain of lead, and less than an hour from this place is a mountain of crystal. There is also a silver mine near Pariba in a place called Toutouuba.

It is not solid rock because there is silver in the mountain of Guarandug but more is to be found in Borauguaba and without differences [in quality]. The aforementioned respondents give as a reason [...] they are not missing it and it concerns "switching" silver that one encounters in the aforesaid mountain, that it is white and hard and is to be found in small pieces. They keep this knowledge among their people. It is to be found within the mountain [and when] one goes

¹⁰ *Jachten* or yaghts are fast ships used to chase other (larger) ones, and they were often used by privateers and pirates. Only later did this type of ship become more luxurious in its construction. We prefer to maintain the Dutch word *jacht*.

gaende bij oft ontrent comende sietment licht
 gebruickent aen de netten tot de visschrij sij sta[en]
 daer vast op want sijt gesien hebben
 presenteeren met de compangniers schepen werd
 darwaert te gaen om silver te haelen willen dan
 tsamen met de haren weder hier comen & dan
 weder naer haer landt gaen.
 Tapijrg een groot volck ontrent moccuru heeft
 varsch water wuapaba een hooge berch bij tapij[rug]
 den overste van tapijrg genoemt caiaba & een
 ander genaemt vaguasu

Tatakowih Boscruijt
 Tataponja houtcool
 Tatatouja coegel
 Mocaba een roer
 Tatabowich solfer

36^r, 71

Secker sap uijt bladen gedruickt droogent tegh[..
 t[.]er en doet dat in de houtcool oock doen daer
 wit[...]et in dit wit goet het welck sij tatadow[ih]
 noemen is hart als sout & druipt aen stremen van
 gebercht neer & vindent aen cleijne corlen |
 Gebroocken als ertten & vanckt vjer dese berch
 leijt in wich[..] 2 dach reijsens van see boschw[aerts]
 in gaspaer heeft den berch gesien & soomen dat
 tatakowich aenden berch aen brandt stack soo soud
 den ganschen berch wech springen
 Upesem cleijn reviertjen van varsch water van siara
 2 dach reijsens [4] mijllen
 para een strandt een cleijn revier met goet varsch
 water en ancker grondt van upesem 5 mijllen
 couru een groote revier & strandt van para 8 uijren
 taregrij soute revier sonder varsch water van courou
 een dach 1½ mijl
 tataijoug varsch water gravende in strandt van taregrij
 een dach 4 mijllen
 pondahug een groote revier sonder varsch water van
 tataijoug een dach 5½ mijl

there and one approaches, one sees a light; it is used [as a weight] for the nets when fishing. They insist on this because they have seen it.

They wish to go there with the Company ships to get the silver, then come back here with theirs [members of their nation], and then return to their country.

The Tapijug are an important people [who live] near Moccuru. There is fresh water at Wuapaba, a high mountain near Tapij[rug]. The chief of the Tapijug is called Caiaba, and [there is] another [person] called Vaguasu.

Tatakowih	Powder
Tataponja	charcoal
Tatatouja	bullet
Mocaba	a rifle
Tatabowich	sulphur

When a certain juice is pressed out of leaves and dried [...] and one puts that in charcoal and one also add [...] in this white stuff is what they call *tatadow[ih]*. It is hard as salt and drips in streams down from the mountain and can be found in small crumbs, | like broken peas and it bursts into flame. This mountain is situated towards [...],¹¹ 2 days' travel from the sea [...]. Gaspaer¹² has seen this mountain and if someone lit tatakowich powder to the mountain, the entire mountain would explode.

36^r, 71

Upesem is a small fresh river [and situated] from Siara at 2 days' travel of [4] miles.

Para is a beach with a small river with good fresh water and anchorage; 5 miles from Upesem.

Couru is a large river and beach 8 hours from Para.

Taregrij is a salt river without fresh water; 1½ mile or one day [travel] from Courou.

Tataijoug [has] fresh water [when one] digs at the beach of Taregrij; [at] one day, 4 miles [from ...].

Pondahug is a large river without fresh water; 5½ miles or one day from Tataijoug.

¹¹ Probably Wuijchoro.

¹² Caspar Paraupaba, the father of Antônio.

aracatihug een groote ondipe revier sonder varsch water
 van pondahug een dach 5 mijllen
 paratihug groote ondiepe revier sonder varsch water
 van aracatihug 6 mijllen
 Tijmohug cleijne ondiepe revier sonder varsch water
 van paratihug 3½ mijl
 iurocaquare strand met weijnich varsch water
 van tijmohug 4 mijllen
 Upeba groote ondiepe revier sonder varsch water van
 iurocaquare 4 mijllen
 Camosij groote revier voor groote schepen sonder varsch
 water van upba 9 mijllen de schepen comen ontrent ½
 dach gaens de revier op van camosij 2 dach reijzens.
 heeftmen een berch guarundugh & leijt voor de rivier
 camosij
 Die van phernambuco iarousu tamaraca araruba
 & guagana sijn tebaijer
 die van pariba rio grande pindaguasu & potiguar
 die van mongaugape tijguar de tijguar gaen gecleet
 baij de traijcao plach ook bewoont te sijn van tijguar
 maer nu sijn daer de tobaijer
 de ijguars wonen achter de baij de traijcao & copaba
 caalsagasu giurau guire vrinde vande portugisen.
 Guirapesene wari[...] [.].nouresitouba iareroug & siara &
 vechten met pijl en booch de tapuija wonen tot guararug
 uguasu & daer rondtom sijn wel groot van stature
 vechten met warp pijllen sonder [b]ooch sijn vijanden vande
 tobaijars & vande portugisen die mannen dragen lanck
 haer naeck de mannelijckheijt voor toe gebonden haer
 vrouwen haijer cort te landwaert vande tapouija woonen
 de iandouij & achter guararug itaijesa piuodisa
 ariaguamug hier valt de blauwe steen vechten met
 warp pijlen uijt der handt gaen naeck geen vaste woonplaets |
 Achter de iandouij woonen de karakara tot
 Guartinguta cranaijwipug tatinguta achter de
 karakara woonde iacareguesu & noch bet landt
 waert woonen de simberarou tot vratingeta ubosoo
 & ander plaetsen 10 dach reijzens van baij de traijcao
 ende 12 dagen van siara dese semberarou & de tigura[.]
 sijn christenen en connen bidden hebben het vaderonse
 in h[ae]r tael de andre niet

36^v, 72

Aracatihug is a large shallow river without fresh water; 5 miles or one day from Pondahug.

Paratijhug is a large shallow river without fresh water; 6 miles from Aracatihug.

Tijmohug is a small shallow river without fresh water; 3½ miles from Paratihug.

Iurocaaquare is a beach with little fresh water; 4 miles from Tijmohug.

Upeba is a large shallow river without fresh water; 4 miles from Iurocaaquare.

Camosij is a large river for big ships without fresh water; 9 miles from Upba.

Ships can travel about ½ day up the river; 2 days' travel from Camosij. There is

a mountain [called] Guarundugh which is situated in front of the river Camosij.

Those from Phernambuco, Iarousu, Tamaraca, Araruba, and Guagana are Tebaijer, those from Pariba [and] Rio Grande [are] Pindaguasu and Potiguar.

Those from Monguaugape are Tijguar; the Tijguar walk in clothes.

The Baij de Traijcao is also believed to be inhabited by the Tijguar, but now there are Tobaijar.

The Ijguars live beyond the Baij de Traijcao and the Copaba, Caalsagasu, [and] Giurauguire [are] friends of the Portuguese.

The Guirapesene, Wari[...], [...]nouresitouba, Iareroug, and Siara fight with bow and arrow. The Tapuija dwell in Guararug, Uguasu, and thereabouts; [they] are rather tall of stature and fight with arrow-throwers [and] without a bow.¹³ They are enemies of the Tobaijars and Portuguese. The men wear long black hair and go naked except for the genitals which are tied up in front. The women have their hair short. Towards the interior from the Tapouija live the Iandouij and beyond the Guararug [live] the Itaijesa and Piuodisa. [At] Ariaguamug one can get blue stones. They fight by throwing arrows from the hand; they go naked and do not have a fixed habitat. |

36^v, 72

Beyond the Iandouij live the Karakara at Guartinguta, Cranaijwipug, and Tatinguta. Beyond the Karakara lived Iacareguesu and very nearby towards the interior live the Simberarou until [the villages of] Vratingeta, Ubosoo, and other places at 10 days' travel from the Baij de Traijcao, and 12 days from Siara. These Semberarou and Tigura[...] are Christians and are able to pray and have learned the "Our Father" in their language, unlike the others.

13 This device is the *atl-atl* or sagay, used to throw darts or javelins.

Bontgenoten vande tiguar

iandouij
 carakara beh[.] soldaten vader van iandouij
 simberarou
 iacaregusu
 taporoirug
 iapowas[o]u
 kitarih[.]
 tiguar of vrinden
 tapouijas oock vijanden vande portugisen maer
 loopers voor den vijandt

De luijden in iaquarij parepoijre & guatap[..
 sijn iapouasou vijanden vande portugisen oock vijanden
 van tapouija & vrinden met de tiguar
 de natie in hoichore heet kitarih[.] & vrinden
 vande tijguar.

Mocurou een baij 1 mijl van siara heeft geel houdt
 voor schrienwerckers om inte leggen dat hout heet
 tatajouba in pariba en siara is groote me[ni]chte
 van genbar die wort gegeten met grauwe ert[en]
 gesooden in eerder potten en gestamt is genoemd
 mangarataij letter hout heet ugaijraquatuijara
 blauwe steen doorluchtijch als een saffier heet
 itawijgh soo groot als een man daer sij coralen*
 aff maecken die wort gevonden in araguamuy
 int landt van iandouij
 brasilien houdt heet uwijrapitang
 swart verf houdt heet uwijagug
 catoen amonij ioug
 balsem olij uw[.]ijra iaantug tuback petom
 brasilien peper cuguuga loot ofte tin itatijuck
 tin noch root of geel coper en hebben sij ofte kennen
 niet isser & stael noemen sij ijta dan valt tot
 tarij[.]ch 2 millen te landt in ijta is de gemene
 naem van steen & alle harde dingen int eertrijck
 silver noemen sij ijtajouba
 Gout noemen sij ijtajoujouba

Allies of the Tiguar

Iandovij

Carakara nbr[...] soldiers, father of Iandovij

Simberarou

Iacaregusu

Taporoirug

Iapowas[o]u

Kitarih[.]

Tiguar or friends

Tapouijas [are] also enemies of the Portuguese but they run from the enemy.

The inhabitants of Iaquarij, Parepoijre, and Guatap[.] are the Iapouasou, enemies of the Portuguese, [and] also enemies of the Tapouija and friends of the Tiguar. The nation in Hoichore is called Kitarihou [and is] friends with the Tijguar.

Mocurou is a bay 1 mile from Siara and has yellow wood by carpenters for paneling. This wood is called Tatajouba in Pariba and Siara. There are large quantities of ginger to be consumed with gray peas cooked in earthen pots and stamped [stewed] what is called *mangarataij*. Letter wood is called *ugaijraquatuijara*. [There is] blue stone as transparent as sapphire is called *itawijgh*, as big as a man, of which they make beads, which is to be found in Araguamuy, in the country of the Iandouij.

Brazil wood is called *uwijrapitang*.

Black dye wood is called *uwijagug*.

Cotton is called *amonij ioug*.

Balm oil [is] *uw[.]ijra iaantug tuback petom*.

Brazilian pepper [is] *cuguuga*, lead or tin [is] *itatijuck*.

They do not know tin or red and yellow copper, or it may not exist [there]. They call steel *Ijta*, and it can be found in Tarij[.]ch, 2 miles towards the interior. *Ijta* is the common name for stone and all hard objects in nature.

Silver they call *Ijtajouba*.

Gold they call *Ijtajoujouba*.

Description of Pernambuco or Declaration of Gaspar Paraupaba (1637)

This document, the so-called “Brazilian Rutter or Handbook” of Johannes de Laet, has been transcribed and published in Dutch by Benjamin Teensma.¹ The declaration by Paraupaba in this document is similar to and most certainly a copy of the previous document made about ten years later and added to the rutter of Johannes de Laet. This Brazilian rutter is kept by the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, USA, under signature number Codex Du 1, fols. 6^r–9^r.

¹ Benjamin N. Teensma, *Roteiro de um Brasil Desconhecido: João de Laet, Descrição das costas do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Kapa Editorial, 2007); Teensma, *Suiker, verfhout & tabak*.

Original Handwritten Document, US-JCBL Codex Du 1, Fols. 6^R–9^R

6^r Beschrijvinghe van de noordwestcuste van Brasil beginnen-
de van Pernambuc ast tot R. Camusipe wt het raport vande
volgende bresilianen, Caspar Pranpaba van Siara, out 60 iaeren,
Andries Francisco van Siara, oudt 50 iaeren, Antonio W[isc]awassoway
van Tabaussaram liggende te landwaert in 2 dagen van Pariba
oudt 30 iaeren: Pieter Potty, oudt 20 iaeren.

Van Olinda te landwaert in light Paratith daer suijcker meulens staen.
3 mijlen leeger een rievriere Jarousou, daer aen volght 't eijland Tamaraca.
2 mijlen beneden Jarousou een kleyn rievierken Araruba.
6 mijlen voorder light de rievier guagana.
De Bresilianen van dese quartieren sijn Tobaiaries vrinden vande
portugesen.
12 mijlen beneden guagana de rievier pariba (eenige mijlen van daer
soude een silvermijn wesen, dan sij en hebben die niet gesien, de plaets
wordt genoemt Touyouba) in die rievier light een fort van hout gemaect
ende voorts met kley & stroo door een toegesmeert, dat dickwils afregent.
De Stadt pariba light dry mylen boven t fortje; & alsoo de bresilianen van
daer ontrent tot R. grande sijn petivares, gesubiugeert by de portugesen
& dien volgende vijanden vande Tiguares de natie van onse bresilia-
nen, soo hebben de selve soo veel kennis niet van de gelegentheijt
van die plaets, als wel andere daer se de vrijen toegangh hebben ge-
hadt: dese bresilianen sijn petiguaries, nu vrinden vande Portugesen
& voor dese vande francoisen.

Translation

Description of the northwestern coast of Brazil, from Pernambuc to R. Camusipe drawn from the report of the following Brazilians, Caspar Pranpaba from Siara, 60 years old; Andries Francisco from Siara, 50 years old; Antonio W[isc]awassoway from Tabaussaram, situated 2 days [journey] towards the interior from Pariba, 30 years old; Pieter Potty, 20 years old. 6^r

From Olinda towards the interior lies Paratith where there are sugar mills. 3 miles further [there is] a river Jarousou, which is followed by the island Tamara-raca.

2 miles beyond Jarousou [there is] a small river, the Araruba.²

6 miles further there is a river [called] the Guagana.

The Brazilians of these quarters are Tobaiars, friends of the Portuguese.

12 miles beyond Guagana there is a river called the Pariba (a few miles away there is supposed to be a silver mine, but they have not seen it, the place is called Touyoubá) on this river is a fortress made of wood and smeared with clay and straw that often rains down.³

The city of Pariba is situated three miles beyond the fortress; and the Brazilians from thereabouts up to R. Grande are Petivares,⁴ subjugated by the Portuguese and for this reason enemies of the Tigvares, the nation of our Brazilians. They do not have much knowledge of the surroundings of that place but do of other places because they are free to enter. These Brazilians are the Petigvares, now friends of the Portuguese and before them of the French.

2 Teensma omitted this sentence.

3 Teensma proposed here *dat dicker vastegeit*, the interpretation that the clay and straw mixture which is smeared on the wooden walls provides a better or "thicker firmness" to the fortress; however, our reading proposes the contrary, that the mixture of clay and straw is "often washed away by the rain."

4 For the "Petivares," see Anthony Knivet, "The Admirable adventures and strange fortunes of Master Antonie Knivet, which went with Master Thomas Candish in his second voyage to the South Sea, 1591," in *Purchas his Pilgrimes, The Fourth Part* (London: William Stansby & Hernie Fetherstout, 1625), 1201–1232. Knivet also mentions the "Tapoyes" on page 1226: "On the coast betweene *Fernambuquo*, and *Baya* inhabite a kinde of *Canibals*, called *Mariquites*, which all other Indians call *Tapoyes*. Tapoyes in their language is a *Wilde Man*: among all the *Canibals* that name is held in great disgrace, except among themselves, or another kinde of *Canibals*, called *Vaanasses*, like the *Mariquites* in their behaviour. The *Mariquites* are men of a good stature, the women are very proper of person, and fight with their Bowes as well as the men. They have no dwelling, but runne up and downe the Wildernesse like wilde Beasts: they have no Religion, nor friendshippe with any Nation, but warre, wheresoever they come (but now they are in peace with the *Portugals*.) They have holes in their lippes, as the other

6 mijlen beneden Pariba light de Rievier Wirerya, drij mijlen opwaerts light een suijckermeulen, daer ontrent en is gheen ander volck als die vande meulen, welck light 6 mijlen van pariba.

3 mijlen van pariba & 6 mijlen vant begin vande rievier Wireria is goede quantijt bresilie houdt te becommen, welck sij noemen uwaripitang.

3 mijlen beneden wirerya light R. monguangape, hier woonen portuges boeren, die boter en kaes te pariba te marckt brengen, hebben veel beesten & maecken veel Tobac.

½ mijlen van R. monguangape light de baye Traycion, daer den Gen. Boudewijn Hendrixz aen land was, alwaer veel bresilianen Tiguares bij hem quaemen, daer van 8 inde Camer van Amsterdam & 5 inde Camer van Groeningen gecommen sijn, die de Camer van Amsterdam heeft doen leeren, leesen & schryven, waer van de 2 oudtste, Caspar p[aua]p[aua]ba, andries francisco ende Louis Ockita van anerare met t jacht den Bruijnvis vertrocken sijn den 12 sebtember 1630, etc.

1 mijl vande baye Traycion light een kleijn rievierken voor chaloepen genaemt Camaratube; 3 mijlen op de selve is een suijckermeulen, die se verbrandt hebben, doen den Generaal Boudewijn hendrix. daer was & is apparentlyck nu weder op gemaect; hier is geen ander volck als vande meulen*:

6^v Vier ueijren gaens van Camaratube light een groote woonplaets genaemt Taboussuram daer de Tiguares woonen, welcker overste Yaguary | overmidts hij Boudewijn Hendrix faveur thoonde, gevluht is naer de Tapuia, dan soude wel wedercommen als occasie sagh.

6 mijlen van Camaratube light de baye formose genaemt quarta-picaba alwaer goet water aen strandt is, hier ontrent (een uijer gaens van twater) is quantiteyt brasilie hout* te becommen

Canibals have, but they are not carved in their bodies as the *Petiwares* are: they take wives as the other *Canibals* doe, as many as they will. Their language differs from all other *Indians*; they take a kinde of Gumme to rubbe their bodies with, and then they take the young Feathers of Parats, and other Birds, and paint their bodies. These *Canibals* are verie tawnie of complexion, verie swift; will never come to the field to fight as other *Canibals* will, but alwaies keepe in the Mountaines, lying in holes, and hiding themselves behinde Trees; and when they see that they have advantage of their enemies, they will start out, and hurt, and kill as manie as they can have advantage of. Thus when these *Caniballes* have done what mischiefe they can, they will runne away, and hee that can runne fastest is accounted most valiant. You shall have of these *Canibals* [1227] at the River of *San Francisco*, *San Miguell*, *Saint Antonio*. These *Caniballes* likewise cate mans flesh, but they use not those Ceremonies which the *Petewares*, and other *Caniballes* doe."

6 miles beyond Pariba sits the River Wirerya, three miles upriver is a sugar mill, and there are no other people but those from the mill, which is situated 6 miles away from Pariba.

3 miles from Pariba and 6 miles from the mouth of the river Wireria there is a good quantity of Brazil wood to be found, which they call *uwaripitang*.

3 miles beyond Wirerya lies the R. Monguangape, here live Portuguese farmers who make butter and cheese and bring it to the Pariba market. They have many beasts [cattle] and produce much tobacco.⁵

½ a mile from R. Monguangape lies the Baye Traycion, where General Boudewijn Hendrixz set foot on land, where many Brazilian Tiguares came up to him, of whom 8 went to the Chamber of Amsterdam, and 5 to the Chamber of Groningen; those from the Chamber of Amsterdam learnt to read and write of which the two [*sic*] eldest, Caspar P[aua]paba, Andries Franciso and Louis Ockita from Anerare left with the *jacht** *Bruijnvis* on 12 September 1630, etc.

1 mile from B. Traycion lies a small river for small boats called the Camaratube. 3 miles upriver is a sugar mill, which was burnt when General Boudewijn Hendrixz was there and apparently has been rebuilt; the only people here are those from the mill. Four hours' travel from Camaratube sits a large village called Taboussuram where the Tiguares live, their chief Yaguarary, | who was in favor of Boudewijn Hendrixz, fled to the Tapuia, and came back when he saw opportunity.

6^v

6 miles from Camaratube lies the Baye Formose called Guartapicaba where there is good water at the beach. Around there (one hour's travel from the water), one can get a quantity of Brazil wood, which the French were accus-

5 One of the many similarities with the Rio de Janeiro manuscript.

welc de francoisen plegen te haelen, eert haer bij de portugesen belet wierdt; men kan wel 3 a 4 mael op een dag wegh & weer gaen van tbrasil hout tot de baye: dese baye heeft een grooten hogen bergh, soo dattmen het brasil hout soude moeten brengen van ter sijden Camaratube ofte vande sijde van Curimatau, daer een goede wegh daer naer toe is, doch met boomen beset & ende aldaer commende soudemen het van den voorschreven bergh van boven neder smijten is steijl genoegh, & alsoo met boots t scheep brengen, de schepen souden een gotelingh* sceut van land moeten liggen, dese plaetse is van consideratie; dan soo langh wij geen meester sijn van pariba ofte R. grande, soo soude men het met meerder volcks moeten haelen, alsoo daer volck soude moeten wesen om de passage te versekeren van t bosch tot aende baye.

1 mijl van formose light een rievier voor jachten genaemt Curimatou, alwaer 3 mijlen opwaerts een suijcker meulen light de iachten en konnen soo ver niet op commen, maer men moest een mijl met chaloupen op vaeren.

4 mijlen van Curimatow is een reede genaemt pernambuco ofte guiraire, ½ mijl te landwaert in light guagana, daer vissers woonen.

3 mijlen van guarire light t'Rievierken Tareyrick, daer geel hout valt, genaemt Tatayouba; ooc yser dat sij noemen Ita, twee mijlen te landwaert in.

1 mijl van Tareyrick is een rievierken van versch water, daer geen portugesen woonen, genaemt pirangue ofte porto dos busios hier is dicht bij twater brasilie hout, daer woondt een fransman die vist voor de portugesen & hier sijn geen berghen, soo dattmen t hout light soude krijghen, dan is maer 5 mijlen van R. grande.

5 mijlen van pirange light een groote Rievier R. grande & in bre-silis poterug, alwaer int incommen dicht aen twater naer de sijde van pirange, een fort light van steen gemetselt daer 40 soldaten op liggen & 9 metale stucken, doch naer tseggen van de stierman die in pariba 33 maenden gevangen heeft geseten soudender 80 soldaten & 24 stucken* op liggen: dese plaetse dient bemaghtight, men kan met de schepen dicht onder t Casteel* varen, de muijr is vande grond op getrocken, liggende tgescut soo hooge, dattmen daer onder soude connen staen & de muijr in stucken breken, de vijand soude geen ander scade connen doen als met steenen smijten; inde deure van tfort moet men met een leer klimmen, daer bij light een dorp met 8 hujsen van portugesen behalven de kerke, noch is hier een suijckermolen

tomed to obtain, until they were hindered by the Portuguese. One can go back and forth 3 to 4 times a day from the Brazil wood to the bay. This bay has a big, tall mountain, up which one must bring the Brazil wood, from the Camaratube side or the Curimatau side, where there is a good road that is nonetheless set with trees. When one arrives [at the summit], one should throw it down from said mountain because it is steep enough, and then bring it in boats to the ships. The ships ought to be watered a cannon shot from the land; this place is important. However, since we are not masters of Pariba or R. Grande, one should get it with many people, and there should [also] be people to defend the passage from the woods to the bay.

1 mile from Formose lies a river [suitable] for *jachten** called the Curimatou, where 3 miles upriver lies a sugar mill. The boats cannot go far up but one has to sail one mile up in small boats.

4 miles from Curimatow is a road called Pernambuco or Guiraire, ½ a mile towards the interior lies Guagana, where fishermen live.

3 miles from Guarire lies the River Tareyrick, where one gets much yellow wood, called *tatayouba*. There is also iron, which they call *ita*, two miles towards the interior.

1 mile from Tareyrick is a freshwater river, where no Portuguese live, called Pirangue or Porto dos Busios. Close to the water here one can find Brazil wood where a Frenchman lives who fishes for the Portuguese and there are here no mountains so the wood can be fetched fairly easily for it is only 5 miles from R. Grande.

5 miles from Pirange lies a large river [called] R. Grande and in Brazilian [it is called] Poterug, where (when one enters the river close to the water towards the Pirange side) lies a fort of stone masonry with 40 soldiers and 9 metal cannons. According, however, to the claims of a helmsman who was imprisoned for 33 months in Pariba, there are 80 soldiers and 24 cannons. This place has to be conquered, one can get the ships close to the fort. The wall is built from the ground [and] the cannons are put so high that one could stand below them that one could break down the wall. The enemy could only harm us by throwing stones. One must climb a stepladder to reach the door, there is a village of 8 houses with Portuguese except [*sic*] for the church; there is also a sugar mill

7^r daer 5 portugesen op sijn & eenige swarten. Alhier sijn veel |
 beesten, wegen de schoone weyden. daer wordt veel tobac geplant
 & veel gember diese mangaratay noemen.
 Dese brasilianen meynen datmen R. grande wel met 6 oft 8 schepen
 & iachten soude bemaghtigen, alsoo de portugesen noordelycker aen
 geen bresilianen en hebben die haer vrinden syn, welcke bresilianen
 ons stracx souden toevallen, van versceijden quartieren, te weten
 twederley soorten van Tapuyas die veel volcx hebben & groot
 van stature sijn, vechten met handpijlen sonder boge, sij wonen
 tot Yguasu, guararuick & daer rontomme. voorts de Jandouy
 die oock met de pijl wt de hand vechten, de welcke wonen
 achter de Tapuyas te landwaert in, haer plaetsen sijn genoemt
 Ytayoso, pinodua, ariaguanrick etc. & staet te noteren dat
 te araguanuck de blauwen steen valt, genaemt Ytawick
 daer sij coralen* van maecken & wij mejnen dat het acori is
 daermen op de cust van guinee gewicht van gout voor krijcht.
 Als wij inde rievierre guararuick ofte te Carwaretame by
 de soutpanne waren, soo soudemen door hulpe vande Tapuyas
 seer licht te ariaguanuck commen: achter de Jandouy wo-
 nen de natien Carakera tot guratinguta, cranay, urpug, ta-
 tinguta & anders. hier naer volgen de Icareguasus; voorts de
 sumbararou tot Uratingeta, opposa & ander plaetsen, sijnde
 10 daghen vande baye Trayciaon, doch nergens naer half
 soo ver van R. grande.
 De Tiguares synde eygentlyc de natie van onse Indianen
 wonen wydt & verscheyden van malkanderen, te weten achter
 de bay Trayciaon, tot Copaoba, Cual[s]aguasu, guiranguire
 guirapesem, ucanieme, mouresitou, yarerougk & Siara, vechten
 met booge & pijl & staet te noteren dat de Tiguares & Su-
 berarou christenen sijn, die bidden connen, sommige van haer
 connen schrijven, maer de andere natien niet. Seggen oock
 datter veel swarten van guinea & angola die slaeven sijn
 geweest & vande portugesen weghgelopen, haer met me-
 nichte in de bossen houden & gelegenheijt siende de portuge-
 sen commen bespringen & syn haer groote vijanden & mejnen
 datse die datelyc souden connen bewegen ons te hulp te commen.
 Geconsidereert nu all dit voorgaende, soo behoort de Compagnie son-
 der eenige tijt te versuijmen haer van de selve plaetsen te
 versekeren, alsoo sij dan tot de marannon toe, geen portugesen achter
 haer hebben ende alle de bresiliaenen haer vrinden sullen we-

with 5 Portuguese and a few Blacks. Here there is much | cattle because of the beautiful meadows. They plant much tobacco there and much ginger, which they call *mangaratay*. 7^r

These Brazilians believe that one can conquer R. Grande with 6 or 8 ships and *jachten*, because the Portuguese do not have Brazilians further up north who are their friends. Those Brazilians could join us later on, from different quarters, to wit two sorts of Tapuyas who have many people and are tall of stature. [They] fight with hand-arrows without bows, they live in Yguasu, Guararuick, and there about. Furthermore, there are the Jandovy who also fight with arrows thrown from the hand (without bows), who live beyond the Tapuyas towards the interior and their places are called Ytayoso, Pinodua, Ariaguanrick, etc. One must note that there is blue stone to be found at Araguanuck, called *ytawick*, of which they produce beads and we believe that this is acori,⁶ which is worth its weight in gold upon the coast of Guinee.

When we were on the River Guararuick or at Carwaretame near the salt pan, it would be possible to easily reach Ariaguanuck with the aid of the Tapuyas. Beyond the Jandovy dwells the nation of Carakera at Guratinguta, Cranay, Urpug, Tatinguta, and elsewhere. Next are the Icareguas. Furthermore, the Sumbararou at Uratingeta, Opposa, and other places are 10 days from the Baye Trayciaon, but not even half that far from R. Grande.

The Tiguares are actually a nation of our Indians [and] there live in different places, to wit beyond the Bay Trayciaon, at Copaoba, Cual[s]aguasu, Guiranguire, Guirapesem, Ucanieme, Mouresitou, Yarerougk, and Siara. [They] fight with bow and arrow and it should be noted that the Tiguares and Suberarou are Christians who know how to pray and some can write but others of their nation [can]not. They also say that many blacks from Guinea and Angola who were enslaved and ran away from the Portuguese have found safety in the forests in great numbers. And when opportunity arises they attack the Portuguese for they are their great enemies and it is believed that they can easily be moved to join us.

Considering all the aforesaid things, the Company must waste no time in occupying this place because as far as the Marannon [Amazon River] it will not have any Portuguese behind it and all the Brazilians will be its friend, of whom it will

6 Perhaps these *acori* are diamonds; see *Atlas Geographus or A Compleat System of Geography, (Ancient and Modern) for Africa*, 5 vols. (London: John Nutt, 1714), Vol. IV, 490–491.

sen, van dewelcke sij niet alleen assistentie sullen hebben, om Rio grande welck dese luyden in de wegh light te winnen, maer oock veel verversingh, visch, vlees, farinha*, millie*, erweten & alle eedtbare waren om een kleijn gelt van haer becomeen; oock allerlei negotie met haer drijven van brasili peper, die sij Cugunga, cottoen die sij amonyioug, balsem olie die sij uwyraca andugh (wassende aen den boom Copaba) letterhout dat

7^v sij uquiragua tuyara, swart verwen hout dat sij uwyagugk | turcx boonen* die sij commanda, salpeter dat sij Tatacowick & silver dat sij Itaiouba noemen: voorts brasili hout*, gember, den blauwen steen tobac, geel hout, alsmede ambregis & ander verscheijde waren die sij in haer land hebben; beneffens dat dese natien seer gaerne, insonderheijt de Tiguares, die tot achter de baye Traiciaon woonen ons assisteren om de portugesen van pariba & pernambuc te lande te bevegten, daer wij haer de meeste afbreuck mede sullen doen. Sij maecken geen swaricheijt een hondert mijlen te marcheren tegen haer vijanden, hebbende die van Siara, daer onsen Caspar mede bij was tot inde Rievier Camasipe de portugesen bevochten, alwaer hij in sijn kuijt gescoten wierdt & de cogel noch daer in draeght, wel over de 50 mijlen van daer is; voorts ten tijde van Bouduwijn Hendrixz van Siara tot de bay Trayciaon, welc wel 100 mijlen is.

Dien volgende met den aldereersten alsoo het noordse saisoen aen comt, datmen van daer light te rugge can commen, 10 a 12 middelbaer schepen & iachten, gemant met 6. 8. a 900 soldaten & 3 a 400 matrosen ofte soo vele sij bequaemlijck voor een tijt missen connen derwaerts afveerdigen onder bequame hoofden, om tselve casteel aen te tasten & door Godts hulpe te veroveren & in gevalle dese plaetse sterker ofte meerder beset ware, als wij meenen, sullen tselve met approchen⁷ moeten aentasten & de bresilianen hier voren genoemt tot assistentie sien te krijgen, derwaerts mede seijndende onse bresilianen voor noemt: dit volck dient tenminsten voor 3 a 4 maenden gevirtualieert & oock eenige cargesoenen, om vorder virtualie te copen & negotie te stabilieren, mede te nemen tot een beginsel, niet twijffelende sij sullen goede quantiteijt farinha, erweten & boonen & ander virtualie vande wilde handelen om naer pernambuc te brengen.

7 From *approcher* (F.), meaning a series of attacks.

not only receive assistance to conquer Rio Grande (what is hindering these people), but there are also many refreshments, fish, meat, *farinha**, *millie**, peas, and all other edible stuffs to gain some money from it; there are also all sorts of commerce to be done with them [the locals], such as Brazil pepper, which they call *cugunga*; cotton, which they call *amonyioug*; balm oil, which they call *uwyraca andugh* (produced by the Copaba tree); letter wood, which they call *uquiragua tuyara*; black dye wood, which they call *uwyagugk*; | Turkish beans, 7^v which they call *commanda*; saltpeter, which they call *tatacowick*;⁸ and silver, which they call *itaiouba*. Furthermore, they have in their country Brazil wood, ginger, blue stones, tobacco, yellow wood, as well as ambergris⁹ and other different wares. These nations, in particular the Tiguares who live beyond the Baye Traiciaon, also help us to fight the Portuguese of Pariba and Pernambuco on land, where we will hurt them most. They do not complain about marching a hundred miles against their enemies, those from Siara, amongst whom our Caspar was also [present], and fought the Portuguese up to the River Camasipe (where he was shot in the calf and still carries the bullet in there), which is about 50 miles from there. Furthermore, during the time of Bouduwijn Hendrixz, it is about 100 miles from Siara to the Bay Trayciaon.

The next one who arrives during the northern season can come back easily from there: 10 to 12 average ships and *jachten*, equipped with 6, 8, to 900 soldiers and 3 to 400 sailors or as many as they can do without for some time, to be sent away and to be led by competent leaders in order to attack and conquer the fort with God's help. Incase this place appears to be stronger or occupied by more [people], as we believe, we should attack it from several places [at once] and to get the assistance of the aforementioned Brazilians together with our Brazilians. These people need victuals for at least 3 to 4 months as well as some cargo¹⁰ to buy victuals, and to establish commerce, [but] also to have a first start, not doubting that they have good quantities of *farinha*, peas, and beans and other victuals to be exchanged with the savages to bring to Pernambuco.

8 Here *tatacowick* is identified as saltpeter, whereas in the Rio *roteiro* it is identified as sulphur. Both are in fact ingredients used to make (black) gun powder.

9 Ambergris is a solid, waxy substance produced in the intestines of the sperm whale; it is desired for its musky perfume.

10 Usually cargo or "Indian cargo," to wit trinkets and iron tools for exchange with Indigenous peoples.

Soo haest dit werck verricht is, moeten sij sien de vier diverse
 suijcker meulens die beneden pariba liggen te bemaghtigen, die
 weijnigh maght hebben, oft met de selve sien te handelen, om
 cargesoen voor haer suijckeren te geven & alsoo een aenvangh van
 handel maecken; het brisil hout sal daer oock sonder perijkel
 met menighen kunnen gehouwen worden, principael dat van piran-
 gu dat niet ver van daer is: dese schepen dienen gelast om soo haest
 doenlijc is, haer wedervaeren naer pernambuc te adviseren; &
 haer werck tot R. grande verricht hebbende, aldaer opt fort be-
 hoorlijcke besettingh laeten, tselve sterck makende tegen gewalt
 & van alles versierende, etc. de portugesen die daer woonen van daer
 drijven ofte wegh voeren, wtgenomen die van de suijckermolens.
 Voorts indien de brasilianen lust hebben om met ons volck met
 menighen te lande naer pariba ofte pernambuc te marcheren,
 & soo sijdwegen wel kennen; comt in bedencken oftmen eenige
 gewapende soldaten haer bij voeghden om soo daer nae toe te mar-
 cheren & voorts alle degene die kunnen bewegen met ons te
 8^r trecken, medenemen & den hoop vermeederen, de plaetsen die de |
 portugesen onderweghen hebben sien te bemaghtigen, middel berae-
 mende hoe sij ons van haere comste souden connen adverteren, om
 wt pernambuc haer meerder macht toe te seijnden. Voorts 2
 iachten opwaerts van R. grande naer pernambuc toe & insgelijc
 2 iachten van R. grande naer de marannon toe seijnden, in loopende
 in alle rievieren, bayen & kreecken, om de brasilianen van onse
 victorie te adverteren; ondertusschen alliance met haer sien te
 maecken, negotie* te stabilieren, victualie* te becommen & alles
 ondersoecken, w[i]s daer te doen valt, gelijc dat hier van plaets
 tot plaets bescreven is, & wat vergeten is bij voeghen.
 Soo de 2 iachten gaende naer beneden niet weder conden op_
 commen, soo moesten dan langs de geheele wilde custe lopen
 & door Westindien thuijs commen.
 2 mijlen van R. grande light een rievierken genaemt Siara, we-
 sende een ander als daer onse wilden van sijn commen.
 1 mijl vorder light t rievierken piracabuba daer geen portugesen woo-
 nen; & staet te noteren dat van hier voorts geen portugesen meer
 woonen tot marannon toe, ten waer te Siara, als hiernaer.
 2 mijlen vorder Pecutinga, daer goede reede is, ancker grond
 & versch water aen strand.
 6 mijlen vorder een versch rievierken uguasu.
 18 mijlen ofte 3 dagreijzen vorder een reede Kaalsa.

For once this effort has been made, we need to seize the four different sugar mills which are located below Pariba, which are not very strong powerful and with whom we can negotiate to exchange cargo for their sugar and to begin trade. Brazil wood can also be cut down there in large quantities without much peril, mainly that of Pirangu, which is not far from there. These ships need to be ordered to advise their return voyage back to Pernambuco as soon as possible.¹¹ When they have done their work at R. Grande, [they must] leave a sufficient occupying force, fortifying against violence [attacks] and supplied with all that is needed, etc. to drive out the Portuguese who live there, except those from the sugar mills.

Furthermore, if the Brazilians are eager to march with our people to Pariba or Pernambuco, [they might] know of some shortcuts. One might think to gather a few armed soldiers to march there together and to take all who can move with us to enlarge the troops [and] to take over the Portuguese places they | see on the way, and in this manner considering how they could make them aware of their arrival, to send them more forces from Pernambuco.¹² Furthermore, two boats were sent upstream from R. Grande to Pernambuco as well as two boats from R. Grande to the Marannon, going up all rivers, bays, and creeks to reveal our victory to the Brazilians. Meanwhile trying to establish alliances with them, to stabilize commerce, to obtain victuals, and to investigate everything, what one can do there in the same manner as each place has been described here and to add what has been omitted.

As the two boats that went upriver could not come back downriver, they had to go all the way along the Wild Coast [the Guianas] and through the West Indies (the Antilles) to get home.¹³

2 miles away from R. Grande is a river called the Siara, being a different one from the one where our Savages come from.

1 mile further lies a river [called] Piracabuba where no Portuguese live. It has to be noted that from this point on (beyond Siara) there are no more Portuguese until the Marannon.

2 miles further is Pecutinga, where there is a good road, anchorage, and fresh water at the beach.

6 miles further is a freshwater river [called] the Uguasu.

18 miles or 3 days' travel further is a road [to] Kaalsa.

11 Probably the aforementioned 10 to 12 ships.

12 Referring here to the main Dutch forces.

13 These are the two boats that went towards the Marannon.

2 mijlen voorder guamare daer geen versch water is

1 mijl van guamare de Rievier Carwaretame daer weijnigh versch water is, aldaer is een soutpanne daer, souts genoegh is, buiten de regen tijt, welc meest valt in may & junio, alhier woont niemand, dan de portugesen commen daer somtijts.

½ mijl voorder een rievierken Barituba.

1 mijl vorder een rievier voor [j]ichten Guararakug, dese rievier met sloepen in & opvarende salmen vinden de natie vande Tapujas, die vijanden sijn vande portugesen, hierboven breeder Vermelt, waer achter wonen de Jandouy. in dese rievier als ooc te Carwaretarne cannen alle besceet* krijgen vande brasilianen, alser maer een bij is die de tael kan.

½ mijl vorder een kleijn rievierken Jandupatiba Ugeguagewaryn.

12 mijlen ofte 2 daghreijzen vorder een kleijn rivierken Jandupatiba.

½ mijl voorder de R. Wupanem, in dese twee en woont geen volck.

6 mijlen oft één daghreijis vorder Awaranne.

6 mijlen vorder de R. yugarick daer weijnigh versch water is.

½ mijl verder een kleijn rievierken pariporie.

1 mijl verder een kleijn rievier quatapugug.

In dese drij laeste plaetsen wonen brasilianen genaemt Japouatan die vijanden sijn vande portugesen & Tapuyas.

6 mijlen vorder light een kleijn rievierken (met weijnigh versch water) genaemt Wickoro, alwaer geen volck: maer wat te landwaert in de natie vande Kitariyouw wonen, die vijanden

8^v sijn vande portugesen & de Tapujas. |

Twee a 3 daghreijzen van see light een bergh genaemt de hoogte van Wickoro alwaer Tatawick (welck wij sekerlijck salpeter mejnen te wesen) gevonden wordt, welck van de bergh afdruijpt in cleijne ~~druppen~~ brocken, als erweten, soo hard als sout.

6 mijlen vorder light Uguaguasu, daer geen volck woont & geen versch <water>.

11 mijlen voorder light de baye moucouru, alwaer jehan baptista Syens is geweest, die in sijn journael daer van scrijft als volght.

Anno 1600 den 21 nov. quamen wij op de reede voor mocuru vonden daer menighte van wilden* daer van 19 overste aen ons boord quamen, mede brengende een deel hoenders & cottoene gaern; verston den van esmerau de mijne die aldaer soude sijn, met veel ambregris*, gingen te landwaert in, quamen in haer vaste stadt daer wij wel 5000 sielen vonden, die daer meest vergadert waren

2 miles further [is] Guamare but there is no fresh water.

1 mile from Guamare is the River Carwaretame with little fresh water because there is a salt pan. There is enough salt outside the rainy season, which falls mostly in May and June; nobody lives here, except for some Portuguese who come here sometimes.

½ mile further is a river, the Barituba.

1 mile further is a river for *jachten*, the Guararakug; when one goes up and down this river with sloops one will find the nation of the Tapujas, who are enemies of the Portuguese as explained above more broadly; beyond dwell the Jandovy. On this river, as well as on the Carwaretame, one can obtain all kinds of information from the Brazilians, as long as there is one who masters the language.

½ mile further is a small river, the Jandupatiba Ugeguagewaryn.

12 miles or two days' travel further is a small river, the Jandupatiba;

½ mile further is the R. Wupanem, on both rivers there are no people.

6 miles or one day's travel further is Awaranne.

6 miles further is the R. Yuguarick, where there is little fresh water.

½ mile further is a small river, the Pariporie.

1 mile further is a small river, the Quatapugug.

In the three last places live Brazilians called Japouatan who are enemies of the Portuguese and Tapuyas.

6 miles further lies a small river (with little fresh water) called Wickoro, where there are no people. A little further towards the interior, however, lives the nation of Kitariyouw, who are enemies of the Portuguese and Tapujas. |

8v

Two to 3 days' travel from the sea lies a mountain called the Height of Wickoro where *Tatawick* (which we believe is definitely saltpeter) is to be found, which drops off the mountain in small drops crumbs like peas and as hard as salt.

6 miles further lies Uguaguasu, where no people live [and] there is no fresh water.

11 miles further lies the Baye Moucouru, which Jehan Baptista Syens has visited, and who writes in his journal about this as follows.¹⁴

In the year 1600 on 21 November we arrived at the road to Mocuru, we encountered many Savages of whom 19 chiefs came on board bringing with them some poultry and spun cotton. We heard of an emerald mine there with much ambergris.¹⁵ We went towards the interior and arrived in their main city, where we found about 5,000 souls, who were mostly gathered there because of fear of

14 The journal of Jan Bauxtista Seijens from Amsterdam to Mocuru in 1600 was copied by Hessel Gerritsz in his *West Indian rutter*; B-BnRJ MS 1312882, fols. 29^r–30^r.

15 The author makes a mistake here as ambregis is evidently not mined as it is produced in the digestive system of sperm whales.

wt vrees van haer vijanden; deden ons veel vrundschap, het huijs brack in stucken door de menighte van tvolck om de onse te sien & gaven ons elc een wijff, tot een teecken van vrindschap; des avonts vertrocken wij vandaer slaepende in een dorp dicht bij de steen bij de Con. van tland; des anderen daegs quamen wij bij den steen die op een geweldigen hoogen bergh vol geboomte was; vonden een hoge klippe boven op den bergh, seer hoogh & groot int ronde van witten arduijn oft albaster; wij clommen daer naer toe op hoge afgehouden boomen, door de franse langh voor desen in manier van een ladder gemaect, die meest vergaen was; soo dat wij den steen saegen, die int hardt gelijc iaspis besloten lagh: desen steen was seer groen gelijc de esmerauden, dan alsoo wij geen instrumenten hadden om dien harden arduijn te breken, mosten hem verlaeten; soo dat nodigh is eenige steenhouwers maets met gereedschap, om dese steen wt tgebergt te houwen, mede te seijnden.

1 mijl van mocuru light de rievier Siara, heeft versch water goed om met iachten te commen, soo se niet groot en sijn, dan te groot sijnde souden best versekert liggen in de bah. ~~Trayeiaon~~ mocuru, alwaer wij ons bequamelijc connen versekeren & fortificeren. Vier uijren gaens van mocuru is gelegen haer woonplaets genaemt Tapirugh, die twee oversten heeft, den eenen genaemt Kiaba & d'ander vawassouw sijn vande natie vande Tiguares; de francoisen sijn te Tapiruck wel geweest maer niet vorder.

Te lande 3 mijlen van Siara ende een daghrejse van Tapirugk voorschr. light de bergh Boraguaba, alwaer een silver mijne soude wesen, daer Caspar & Andries tsilver van in haer handt hebben gehadt, welck sij seggen te kennen aende wittich[en] ende hardigh[en]: hier dient op gelet te worden et & etc.

De goederen die dese lieden aengenaemst souden wesen, sijn dese Aoba dat sijn mans & vrouwen kleederen van lichte stoffe naert

9^r fatsoen als ons volck draeght. Actinokug, hemden | Akanga aobatinga grauwe hoeden; Kuguaba kammen van ivoir Kisse allerhande messen. Pirania barbiers sceeren. Dabay sceermessen Bovura, allerlei coraelwerck. Tangenpenne houwers. Kisse aparre kleijn en groote houmessen. Yugk bijlen. Warouwa spiegeltiens Pinda vischhoecken. In yaesingka ysere potten. Nymbahia gaeren

their enemies. They were very kind to us and our house collapsed into pieces because of the number of people who came to see us, and [they] gave each of us a wife as a sign of friendship. At night we left this place and slept in a village close to the rock of the King of the land. The next day we arrived at the stone, which was located at a mighty, tall mountain full of trees. We found a high cliff on top of the mountain, very tall and broad, of white “arduin” [blue stone or ashlar] or alabaster. We climbed up there by means of long cut trees which, a long time ago, had been made into a ladder by the French and had mostly rotten away. Then we saw the stone, which held jasper enclosed in its heart. This stone was as green as emeralds, [and] because we did not have any tools to break the tough arduin, we had to leave it. Thus, it is necessary to send along a stonemason with tools to get this stone [cut] out of the mountain.

1 mile from Mocuru lies the river Siara, which has fresh water and is fair to receive boats as long as they are not too big; boats that are too big can be watered without risk in the Bahia Trayaia on Mocuru, where we were able to assure our position and fortification. Four hours’ travel from Mocuru is their village, called Tapirugh, which has two chiefs, one called Kiaba and the other Vawassouw; they are of the Tiguares nation. The French have been to Tapiruck but did not go any further.¹⁶

On land, 3 miles from Siara and one day’s travel from the aforesaid Tapirugk lies the Mount Boraguaba, where a silver mine is supposed to be located, of which Caspar and Andries¹⁷ have held the silver in their hand. They say they can recognize it because of the whiteness and hardness. One has to be aware of this feature, etc.

The goods these folk would find most attractive are these *aoba*, that is male and female clothes of light fabric according to the fashion of our people. *Actinokug* (shirts), | *Akanga aobatinga* (gray hats), Kuguaba (combs of ivory), *Kisse* 9^r (all sorts of knives), *Pirania* (barber’s razors), *Dabay* (razors), *Bovura* (all sorts of beadwork), *Tangepenne* (cutlasses), *Kisse aparre* (cutlasses large and small), *Yugk* (axes), *Warouwa* (mirrors), *Pinda* (fish hooks), *In yaesingka* (iron pots),

16 See for example Claude d’Abbeville, *Histoire de la Mission des Peres Capucins en l’Isle de Maragnan et terres circonvoisines* (Paris: François Huby, 1614), chapter 27.

17 Perhaps Andries Tacoe; see Document 3, below.

en naelden. Sij hebben daer tegen swart & letter hout, cottoen tabac, brasilipeper, turcxse boonen*, balsemolij & blauw steen Ytawick connen sij becommen.

5 mijlen van Siara light een kleijn rievierken van versch water genaemt Upesem.

5 mijlen van hier tot Para is goed anckergrond en goed water

1 mijl van para is een kleijn rievierken Couru.

1½ mijl van Couru light t rievierken Tareguy sonder versch water.

4 mijlen vorder Tatayougk daer versch water aen strand is.

5½ mijlen vorder een groote rievier pounahug sonder versch water.

5 mijlen vorder een groote doch ondiepe Rievier Aracatikug, geen versch water.

6 mijlen vorder een groote ondiepe Rievier Paratikug, geen versch water.

3½ mijlen verder een grote ondiepe Rievier Timokug, geen versch water.

4 mijlen vorder tot Jurociaquare, goed strand, versch water.

4 mijlen vorder een groote & diepe rievier Upeba doch brack.

9 mijlen vorder de groote rievier Camusipe, geen versch water

alhier soude een silver mijne wesen, die Caspar gesien heeft,

liggende bij een bergh genaemt guarandug (welcken bergh loopt

naer een bergh Ybouyapabe daer de Laet in sijn boeck van scrijft)

light aende oversijde van de rievire, doch 2 daghreijssen opwaerts

vande See aff gheen ueijr gaens van daer valt Cristal

welck sij guaruwa noemen & geen half mijl vandaer valt

loot genaemt Ytayuck.

Nymbahia (thread and needle). In exchange they have black and letter wood, cotton, tobacco, Brazilian pepper, Turkish beans, balm oil, and blue stone. They can get hold of *ytawick*.

5 miles from Siara lies a small river with fresh water called the Upesem.

5 miles from here to Para there is good anchorage and good water.

1 mile from Para there is a small river [called] the Couru.

1½ miles from Couru lies a river, the Tareguy, without fresh water.

4 miles further [is] Tatayougk, [where there] is fresh water on the beach.

5½ miles further is a large river, the Pounahug, without fresh water.

5 miles further is a large but shallow river, the Aracatikug, no fresh water.

6 miles further is a large but shallow river, the Paratikug, no fresh water.

3½ miles further is a large but shallow river, the Timokug, no fresh water.

4 miles further to Jurociaquare, good beach, fresh water.

4 miles further is a large and deep river, the Upeba, but [it is] brackish.

9 miles further is a large river, the Camusipe, with no fresh water, where a silver mine is supposed to be that Caspar has seen, to be located near a mountain called Guarandug (which mountain leads to the mountain Ybouyapabe of which de Laet wrote in his book),¹⁸ located on the opposite side of the river.

At 2 days' travel from the sea, about one hour's travel from there one can find crystal, which they call *guaruwa*, and less than half a mile from there, there is lead, called *Ytayuck*.

18 See Johannes de Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van de West-Indien, wt veelderhande Schriften ende Aen-teeckeninghen van verscheyden Natien by een versamelt* (Leiden: Isaack Elzevier, 1625), 427.

Interrogation of Andries Tacoe (1631)

When the Dutch occupied Recife, they were not able to occupy the surrounding area or even to extend their territory straight away. This expansion was to be prepared properly as the Portuguese occupied the region and many Tupi were still loyal to them. Under the command of Colonel Artichewski, the Dutch managed to occupy Tamarica in July 1631. About this event, Johannes de Laet noted that “the Company had made great efforts to establish an alliance with a nation of Savages called *Tapujas*, and believed it wise to ask them for help against the Portuguese.”¹ This early mention by de Laet showed that the Dutch had previous knowledge of the Tapuia and had clearly designated them as potential allies.

On 18 October 1631, Ellert Smient sent out three Indigenous men from Ceará to contact Jandovy, leader of the Tapuia. They returned to Rio Grande a month later and Jandovy was sent to Recife to get reinforcements. He was provided a ship and 40 men in order to attack Ceará. They were put ashore but the ship, the *Nieuw Nederlant*, did not return as it had sailed for the West Indies.² Nonetheless, Andries Tacoe and other Tupi were interrogated on board the Dutch vessel on 12 November 1631. They had found Jandovy, who was at war with some Tupi but had two Tupi allies called Jacaone and Jacovaije.

This document is kept at the National Archives in The Hague, the Netherlands, under signature number of the First or Old West Indian Company 1.05.01.01 49, document 80.

¹ De Laet, *Historie*, 238.

² See also Boogaart, “Infernal Allies,” 523.

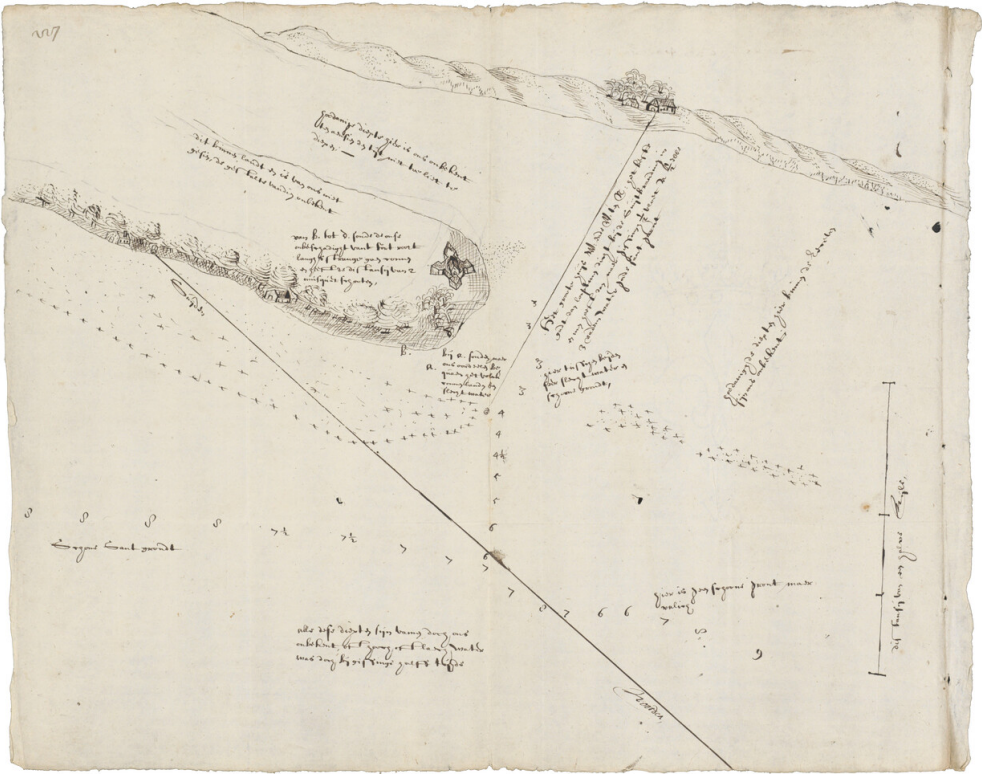


FIGURE 4 Anonymous manuscript map of Paraiba before the Dutch attack in 1631, NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 49, document 134
COURTESY OF NATIONAAL ARCHIEF, THE HAGUE

Original Handwritten Document NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 49, Document
80

Extract uijt de Examen gedaen door Andries
Tacoe, ende de andere Brasilianen, hoedat
het op haere reijse vergaen is, ende wat
bescheijt sij brengen

Den 18 october 1631 vertrocken vant schip Nieuenederlant
aen landt om haer reijse te vervorderen, soo is een
Brasiliaen die in compagnie van haer viere was, hadden een
vaetien wijn mede genomen, ende deselve die de wijn
droech genaempt Franciscus Matewie die bleeft achter
en konde niet volgen, ende de andere drie vervorderen
haere reijse nae het geberchte om bijde *Tapoues* tecomen
ende reijdsde 10 dagen lanck t landewaert in, in het
welcke sij oock grooten dorst geleden hebben, ende
geraeckt op eenen grooten wech daer sij meenden datter
een geheel leger volck gemarcheert hadden; Ende het
was op de wech van Siara, ende vonden een
hoge plaetse daersij vier gemaect hadden, soo dat
sij meende dat de *Tapoeus* naer *Siara* te getrocken
sijn, ende soo dat sij daeroock geen water en vonden,
soo hebben sij met malcanderen goetgevonden om dese wech
te vervolgen nae *Siara*, ende sij sijn 5 dagen dese wech
vervolcht, ende vonden een Portugees en quam van
Siara met 17 slaven soo vrouwen als kinderen
ende in compagnie van 8 brasilianen inwoonders van
Goijamen een dorp, het selve legt twee mijl van
Siara, ende het selve leijt mede ondert gebiet vanden
Gouverneur van Chiara Domingo dela Vogeu
ende soo haest onse 3 brasilianen bij haer quamen
vernamen sij waerde overste vande Tapoeien was
met sijn volck, ende kregen ten antwoord dat hij te *Siara*
was, ende gaven malcander ten antwoord, wat ende
van waer haer compste was, ende de andere 8 dat
verstonden wilden sij wel met haer int verbondt
treden, soo hebben sij met malcanderen goet gevonden
dat Andries Tacou, met de vrouwen en kinderen
hier nae toe gaen souden, ende de andere twee

Translation

Extract taken from the interrogation of Andries Tacoe and another Brazilian concerning their voyage and what news they bring 427

18 October 1631 they left the ship *Nieunederlant* to go ashore and continue their journey. There was a Brazilian in their company of four, and they had taken a barrel of wine, and the one who carried the barrel of wine was called Franciscus Matewie, who remained behind because he was not able to follow, and the other three continued their voyage towards the mountains to reach the Tapoues. [They] traveled 10 days towards the interior, where they suffered from great thirst, and reached a main road where they believed an entire army had marched. And it was on the way to Siara, where they found a high place where they had made a fire, that they believed that the Tapoeus had gone to *Siara*, and that they had not found water either, and thus they agreed among them to follow this road to *Siara*. They followed this road for 5 days, and found a Portuguese coming from *Siara* with 17 slaves, women and children, accompanied by 8 Brazilians, inhabitants of the village of Goijamen, located in the country under the jurisdiction of governor Chiara Domingo de la Vogeu. And as soon as our 3 Brazilians reached them, they learned where the chief of the Tapoeien was [located] with his people, and got for answer that he was in *Siara*, and [the Brazilians] told each other where they had come from, and the other 8 learnt that they would be happy to establish an alliance. In this manner they all agreed that Andries Tacou would come over with the women and children and that the other two, Marsiael and Melchior Arraroen, would continue their

marsiael ende melchior Arraroen soude haer reijs
 vervorderen, ende hadden een bespreck met malcanderen
 gemaect dat sij den portugees doot slaen souden
 & hij was genaempt Jan Perero, & hij woude trecken
 nae Mathijs Alburquerque om brieven van
 428 recommandatie te haelen, om eenich ampt te bedienen
 binnen Siara, & als sij den dach van malcander |
 verscheijden waeren, hebben sij weder een van haer
 Compagnie gesonden naer *Siara* toe, om haer geslachte³ daer
 te waerschouwen, vant verbondt dat sij met ons gemaect
 hebben, onder wegen wesende om herwaert aen te comen,
 met de Portugies ende de slaven, soo vraechde de Portugees
 Andries Tachoe, waer hij soo lanck geweest hadde,
 ende seijde dat hij sijn vrienden besocht hadde in Porto
 Calvo, waer op de Portugees antwoorde dat hij looch
 ende dat de spraeck ginck binnen *Siara* dat hij bijde
 Hollanders geweest hadden, ende meer andere <hande> woorden
 die sij onder malcanderen kregen, soo vonden sij met
 malcanderen goet dat sij hem bijde Chalijn⁴ dootslaen
 souden, het welcke sij oock gedaen hebben, want de
 Portugesen haer vijant sijn, ende onse vrienden, ende
 soo hebben wij haer gevraecht oft Marciael de
 opperste vande Tapouien haest vinden sou, ende wanneer
 sij weerkomen souden, soo gaven ten antwoord als datte
 twee Capiteijnen vande brasiliaenn waeren genaempt
 Jacaone & de ander Iacovaije die hadde oorloch
 tegen andere brasilianen int landt ende de overste
 vande Tapouie andavie met sijn volck hem adsisteerde
 ende nae haer meijninge dat hij noch wat lanck wech
 wesen soude, ende soo haest daer gedaen hebben,
 met den oorloch soo sullen sij doort landt vande Tapoien
 trecken naer *Rio Grande*, Aldus gedaen & gepasseert
 int schip Nieunederlandt, den 12 November
 1631 & was ondertekent Albert Gerritsz, J van doussz
 Samuel Cohen, Adriaen Jorisz thienpont

3 Read: *familie*, "family."

4 Unknown word, perhaps a toponym.

journey. They had agreed together that they would kill the Portuguese, who was called Jan Perero, and who wished to leave to see Mathijs Alburquerque to obtain letters of recommendation, to serve some office in *Siara*. And when they had separated from each other during the day, | they sent one of their Com- 428
pany members towards *Siara*, in order to warn their families of the alliance they had concluded with us. Once on the road to arrive thither with the Portuguese and the slaves, the Portuguese asked Andries Tachoe where he had been so long, and he said that he had visited his friends in Porto Calvo, to which the Portuguese responded that he was lying. There was hearsay in *Siara* that he had been with the Hollanders, and other similar words they told each other, so they agreed among them to slay him at “chalijn”,⁵ which they did, because the Portuguese are their enemies, and they our friends. Thus we asked them if Marciael, the chief of the Tapouien, could find them quickly. When they returned, they answered that the two captains of the Brazilians were called Jacaone and the other Iacovaije were waging war against the other Brazilians in the country and that the chief of the Tapouie Andavie, assisted him. According to their opinion, he would be away for a little longer, and once they had finished there with the battle they would trek through the country of the Tapoien towards *Rio Grande*. Thus it was done and happened on the ship *Nieunederlandt*, 12 November 1631, and was signed by Albert Gerritsz, J van Dousz, Samuel Cohen, [and] Adriaen Jorisz Thienpont.⁶

⁵ Perhaps at Cabo Halijn.

⁶ Highly remarkable name, one Joris Thienpont also commanded the *Eendracht* and delivered a small group of colonists in New Netherland in 1624, see Janny Venema, *Kiliaen van Rensselaer (1585–1643): Designing a New World* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2010), 191.

429 Op huijden den 16. November 1631 is bij de Gecommitteerden
 goet gevonden dese naer volgende articulen als confessie
 van Brasilianen int schrift gestelt hebben
 ende verder geresolveert de Brasilianen van
 van *Siara* aff te vragen, oft sij haer selven sterck
 genoeg kenden, omde Portugesen aldaer neven het
 Casteel* te vermeesteren, waerop sij rondtuijt seggen
 Jae, versoeckende nevens de hulpe van ons schip
 op dat sij int gesicht, als sij haer aenslach beginnen
 sullen, waerop wij haer reden gevraecht hebben
 hoorende op wat manieren sij haer aenslach beginnen
 souden, daerop hebben sij bijde gecommandeerde
 geantwoort, als dat wij met ons schip int ooch komen
 sullen haer dineste moeten doen aende Portugesen
 tot defentie vant Casteel ende sij brasilianen, sullen
 sij opt Casteel doot slaen, derhalven is onse resolutie
 soo genoomen, om met het schip ende een sloup daer
 heen te gaen, hoop ende dat Godt met ons wil
 wesen, ende een goede uijtcompst verlenen,
 ende en twijffelen oock niet off de heeren sullen ons met
 de eerste gelegentheijt adsistentie doen van volck
 en van cost, ende het Casteel met Godes hulpe
 vermeestert hebbende, salmen onse beste daer mede
 doen, ende met Capiteijn Colster met een partij volck
 sullen daerop gaen, om het selvige te bewaeren,
 ende hier senden wij U.E.* noch eenige brieven van
 importantie die bijden portugies gevonden is, die
 dootgeslagen is waerover wij geobligeert sijn
 haer te adsisteren, is vorders geresolveert, gelijk
 sij oock tegens ons geseijt hebben, dat sij met ons niet
 en vaeren, gelijk sij voordesen met ons inde *Baij*
Traison gevaren sijn, waerop wij haer geantwoort
 hebben, dat sij niet vresen en souden, want wij en
 sullense niet verlaten, Aldus gedaen ende
 gepasseert int schip Nieunederlant, desen
 16 November 1631 ende was onderteeckent
 Albert Gerritsz, J. Van Dousz, Samuel Cohen
 Adriaen Jorisz thienpont.

At present, 16 November 1631, it has been agreed by the Commissioners, according to the following articles at the Brazilians' confession, to act and resolve to ask the Brazilians of *Siara*, if they consider themselves strong enough to conquer the Portuguese next to the fort. They responded freely Ye, demanding also the aid of our ship, which should be in sight when they start their attack. Upon this we asked their reason and heard their plan of attack, to which they answered the commanding officer that when we come in sight with our ship, [they] will have to do their service for the Portuguese to defend the fort and they will kill the Brazilians at the fort. Hence our resolution has been made to send the ship and a sloop there, hoping that God will be on our side, to give us a good outcome, and there will be no doubt that the Lord would assist us with food and people at the first occasion. And once the fort has been conquered with God's help, we shall do our best. Together with Captain Colster, accompanied by some men, we will occupy and secure it. Here we send Your Eminence a few important letters which we found with the Portuguese who were slain, for which we are obliged to advise you. Furthermore, it has been resolved, as they have said to us, that they will not sail with us, as they have sailed with us before to the *Baij Traison*, to which we answered that they should have no fear, for we will not abandon them. Thus it was done and happened on the ship *Nie-unederlant*, this 16 November 1631 and was signed Albert Gerritsz, J. Van Dousz, Samuel Cohen, Adriaen Jorisz Thienpont 429

Memoir of Marcilliean (C. 1631)

Andries Tacoe was accompanied on this expedition by two other Indigenous men: Melchior Arraroen and Marcilliean. Johannes de Laet tells us that the latter appeared on 2 October 1631 at the Dutch fort and declared he was sent by the King of the Tapuia.¹ Marcilliean stated he was sent by Jandovy and Oquenou to see whether the Tapotingas² were still in Pernambuco because they wanted to establish an alliance with them.³ His arrival and news must have driven Ellert Smient to send him back with Tacoe, Arraroen and a few Tupi (among them was certainly Antônio Paraupaba) to meet Jandovy and to negotiate with the latter to convince them to come to Rio Grande.

So when Tacoe returned with positive news, Smient became enthused and went back to Pernambuco to get reinforcements in order to attack the Portuguese in Rio Grande and Ceará. In the meantime, Smient had instructed the members of the vessel *Nieu Nederlant*, carrying Marcilliean, Arraroen, Tacoe and the Tupi, to establish contact with the Indigenous people from Ceará.⁴ However, Smient was ignored as the *Nieu Nederlant* dropped off the Indigenous individuals and sailed towards the Antilles to load salt. Unfortunately, the messengers and educated Tupi were now lost.

This document is kept at the National Archives in The Hague, the Netherlands, under signature number of the First or Old West Indian Company (OWIC) 1.05.01.01 49, document 129.

¹ De Laet, *Historie*, 247.

² The Tapotingas were Indigenous serving the WIC, see Montanus, *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*, 423.

³ See also Meuwese, "For the Peace," 96.

⁴ Boogaart, "Infernal Allies," 523.

Original Document NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 49, Document 129

Memorie vant geene
den Indiaen* genaemt
Marcilliean.

Den voorsegde Indiaen seijt gebooren te wesen
in rio grande ende dat het wel 5 jaeren
is, dat hij vuijt sijn lant quam mede
dat hij alde tijt gewoont heeft op
gebarchte van rhepetama ende dat hij
altmael ginck ende quam van *Rio grande*
de leste mael was hij 5 maenden in *Rio*
grande geweest, int huijs van Pedro
vaes, een man die lant heeft tot
Farrinnij ende hout, ende het is ontrent
7 maenden dat hij uijt *Rio grande* quam
ende ginck wederom nae het
gebarchte van Peperetama, het welcke
een maent tijt van doen heeft, om op
sijn gemack ofte sachte tegaen, daer
te comen, altijt het landt rechte in gaende
en wanneer het volck in *baija de*
Tradison gedoot wert was hij int
begerchte van rhepetame, het welcke
altmael lant is van *Judias Tapuais*
ende Indianen die inden eersten nae
rhepetame vluchten worden gesalveert
ende die daer nae noch wech wouden
slogen de Portugiesen meest doot, ende
hij hadde veel vrinden, inde geene
die doot gesloogen werden, ende nu noch
leven in rhepetame, die van *Rio*
grande ende *bahia de Tradison* sijn een
volck ende een natie, ende worden alte-
samen genompt *pituguaris*, de naem
genomen hebbende vande voorsegde *Rio*
grande de welcke in't bresiliaens heet

p *Putieu.* |

Translation

Memoir of the Indian called *Marcilliean*

This Indian said he was born in Rio Grande and that he left his country about 5 years ago because he lived in the mountains of Rhepetama and that he went back and forth to *Rio grande*. The last time he had spent 5 months in *Rio Grande*, [staying] in the house of Pedro Vaes, a man who has land at Farrinnij and wood. It was about 7 months ago that he came from *Rio grande* and went back again to the mountains of Pepetama, which takes about one month, and to go there easily or slowly, you keep on going straight into the country. When the people were killed at *Baija de Tradison* he was in the mountains of Rhepetame, which was then the land of *Judias Tapuais*.⁵ The Indians who fled first to Rhepetame were saved and the ones who wanted to leave later were mostly killed by the Portuguese. He had a lot of friends among those who were killed and [among others] who still live in Rhepetame. Those of *Rio grande* and *Bahia de Tradison* are a people and nation and are collectively called *Pituguaris*. The name was taken from the aforesaid *Rio Grande*, which is called *Putieu* in Brazilian. |

p

⁵ Jandovy Tapuia.

Ende dat sijn comen was, om gesonden te wesen,
vanden oversten genaemt *Janduij* ende sijnen broeder
Oquenosu & seyden; gaet ende siet of het [geene] waer is
datse ons seggen, dat de Tapotingos, mequeade⁶ daer mede
Hollanders ofte haer vrinden, oft sij woonachtich sij, &
haer sterck gemaect hebben, op Reciff de *Pharnambuco*,
& dat het soo de waerheijt waer, soo sullen tegens de
Portugessen wesen op dat wij Tapuais & Tapotingos een
worden.

Sijnde onse volck, hebben al het geene wij <van> doen hebben,
alsoo van iserwerck & van cledingh & wat wij meer
van noode souden hebben, ende dit hebben wij verstaen
door volck van *Rio grande* die daer gaen capen wat wij
<van> doen hebben, die de tijdinge brocht was genaemt
Bura Canbu, mede gast tijdinge dat hier was *Pantillion*
de welcke met sijn huijsgesin bij ons wel getracteert
was, & om het selve altemael te weeten is de versegde hier
gecomen.

Ende om niet wetende den wech, door oorsaecke sij hier noijt
in 't landt geweest was, ginck naer't Reael van *Albukercken*
ende van daer quam hij tweemaal naer de salines om hier te
comen, & doordien daer staech portugesen waren dorst niet
comen, & soo quam hij nae de stadt hebbende om den
berch geloopten bij S^t. Jans kerck & voorts binnen de
stadt Olinda.

Ende meer seijde de overste van de *Tapuai* & sijn
broeder bevindende de waerheijt te wesen altesamen
dat den Indiaen *Bura Canbu* seijt, soo sullen wij comen
& de portugesen slaen, helpende de *Tapotingos* sijnde onse volck.
Mede oft den versegde *Marciael* aen [min] de tijdinghe te brengen
in 4 daegen aende *Tapoijes*, het volck seer veel volck is,
alwaer de portugesen noijt in en sijn gecomen dan in
beginne vande previntie, & daer hennen tenten & hutten van
p U.E.* Capiteijn & sijn volck soo groot als van't Reciff tot de |
stadt Olinda, ende altesaem de Capiteijn & 't volck sijn
gehouden aenden versegde Capiteijn Generael boven verhaelt.

6 Unknown word.

He arrived here on behalf of the superior called *Janduij* and his brother *Oquenosu* in order to go and see if it is true what they tell us, that the Tapotingos would also come with the Dutch or their friends, [and to know] if they are inhabiting and have reinforced them on the Recife of Pharnambuco, and because this was true, they will now be against the Portuguese and therefore the Tapuais and Tapotingos will become one [allied].

Being [now] our people, we have all things we use such as ironwork and clothes and all other things we might need, and we understood this from the people of *Rio grande* who went pillaging there for the things we needed; the one who brought the news was called *Bura Canbu*, and also hosting news that one *Pantillion* was here who together with his family was well treated by us. In order to know all this, the said person [probably Bura Canbu] had come here.

And to know the road correctly, because [they] have never been in this country, he went to the Reael of Alberkercken and from there he came twice to [through] the *salinas* to arrive here. And because there were constantly Portuguese [around], he hesitated to come [directly] and took a detour and eventually came to the city by walking around the mountain near the Saint John church and further into the city of Olinda.

And the superior of the *Tapuia* and his brother also said that the Indian *Bura Canbu* what had said was true, so we will come to fight the Portuguese, helping the *Tapotingos*, being our people.

Furthermore, the aforesaid *Marciael* agreed to bring the news within 4 days to the *Tapoijes*, that the [gathered] people are indeed many people. The Portuguese never entered [this country] but only the fringes of this province. There they erected their tents and huts of Your Eminence Captain, and his people are as large in number as the population of Recife and | the city of Olinda together. p
The Captain and his people are obliged to the aforementioned Captain general.

Ende de tijdinge die in't Reael liep was dat onse vloot de portugiesche gerencontreert hadde & datter 3 vande onse inde gront geschooten was, ende een van haer door oorsaecken het te seer gelaeden was.

Ende den Maendach diecompt sal *Durvarte Albuquerque* naer het Reael comen, naehet geene hij geschreven heeft, gecomen sijnde in een Carveel* sonder te weten van meer secours.

Ende *Matthijs Albuquerque* heeft al het volck samen soo Portugesen als Brasiliaenen, & comende zijn broeder, sal hij comen & sien wat wij gemaect hebben, & stracx sal hij de stadt bespringen, & hem daer sterck maken, meede sal hij maken een fort inde sallines & een ander int huijs van secka & ander op den wech genaemt *Passo de fidalgo*, om ons te beschieten soo veel sij can.

Duwarte Albuquerque heeft haren genomen in Allagoa & ginck ontfangen een Capiteijn van een dorp genaemt *Iuacar*.

Mede sijt den Indien *Marciael*, soo wij eenige dingen attenteerden op *Rio Granda*, dat het goet wesen sal op dat het volck siet dat het de warheijt is, dat van ons haer geseijt is.

Mede brengende bijlen, houwelen, slegte corael* of spiegel, hoeken, cammen, lint ende andere coopmanschappen die vande selve soorte sijn om de Indiaenen te animeren.

And the news reached the Reael that the Portuguese had encountered our fleet and that 3 of our ships] had been gunned down, one of which had in fact been too overloaded.

And next Monday, *Durvarte Albuquerque* will come to Reael, [and] according to his written message, he arrived in a caravella unaware [of the need] to bring more assistance.

And *Matthijs Albuquerque* put all the people together, both Portuguese and Brazilians, accompanied by his brother to come and see what we have done, and soon he will attack the city, and fortify it. He will also construct a fort in the *salinas* and another in the house of Secka and another upon the road called *Passo de fidalgo*, in order to give us as much fire as possible.

Durwarte Albuquerque took Allagoa and retrieved a Captain of a village called *Iuacar*.

The Indian *Marciael* also said, since we waited for a few things at *Rio Granda*, that it would be good to let the people know that we have told them the truth [and] bring along axes, pick-axes, cheap beads and mirrors, [fish] hooks, combs, ribbons and other commodoties of the same type to animate the Indians.



FIGURE 5 Drawing of a quartz mountain described by Jan Bautista Sijens d'Amsterdam during his voyage to Moucouru in 1600 in the *roteiro* manuscript of Hessel Gerritsz, c. 1629, B-BnRJ MS 1312882, fol. 29^v

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Letter of Pedro Potij (C. 1631)

This letter is undated but must have been written in the summer of 1631 as it reveals the interest of the Potiguara in forming an alliance with the Dutch.¹ It is a remarkable letter addressed to the directors of the WIC in Recife by one Pedro Potij, an eminent Potiguara. He wrote in Dutch as he had been among the Potiguara taken to Holland by Hendricx in 1626. Potij explained to the Board of Directors that one Maraca Patira, a Tupi, had come over to him in Pernambuco from Rio Grande to tell the Dutch that the Tapuia and the Pepetama Indigenous people had made a truce and had agreed to wage war upon the Portuguese and their allies. In other words, it was time to forge alliances but, as we have seen, these first attempts were too loosely organized and it would be another few years before the Dutch established more trusted contact and alliances with the Indigenous people in the hinterland.²

This document is kept at the National Archives in The Hague, the Netherlands, under signature number NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 49, document 118.

¹ This letter should probably have been presented before the Tacoe letter but, here, we follow the index numbers of the National Archives.

² See also Meuwese, "For the Peace," 69.

Original Handwritten Document NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 49, Document 118

138 Mijn heeren

Alsoo *Maraca Patira* geboren van *Acawijtiba*,
 Brasiliean over gecomen is op dinghstdagh verleden, ende
 verclaert als vlolcht:

Dat den Coninck van *Rio Grande* naer *Pepetema* met
 zijn bij hebbende volck vertrocken is, dat den Capitein Maijoor
 mette portugiesen van *Rio Grande* voorsegde oorsaeck van zijn
 Coninckx vertreck zijn, in voegen dat sij[segde] tegens den anderen
 geoorloght hebben, waer mede den Coninck veel volck verlooren
 heeft, sulckx dat de overgeblevene naer *Pepetama* gevlucht
 zijn, ende aldaer noch tegens den anderen oorlogh voeren, ver-
 claert mede dat de inwoonders van *baij Traison* haer
 neutrael houden.

Dat mede de inwoonders van *Tapeuia* die voordesegde met die
 van *Pepetema* geoorlooght hebben, in geaccordeert zijn, ende
 alsoo te samen oorloogen tegens de portugissen ende haren aen-
 hangh soo ist dat wij aen U.E. oitmoedelijck versoeken
 dat U.E. die van *Pepetema* geliefde te hulpe te comen
 opdat de portugiesen weder mochten uijt *Rio grande* verjaeght
 werden, twelck doende mijn heeren, twijffele niet ofte
 sal haest eenicheijt verwecken, & de Compagnie in corten
 profiteren.

Vande resterende dingen ende gelegentheijt vande plaetssen
 daer ontstaat sal den versegde *Maraca Patira* U.E. mondeling
 contentement (gevraeght sijnde) doen—onderstont—U.E.
 onderdanige dienaeren—& geteckent—, Pedro Potij.

Translation

My Lords

138

Since *Maraca Patira*, born in *Acawijtiba*, a Brazilian, has come over last Tuesday, he has declared the following:

That the King of *Rio Grande* has left for *Pepetama* with his people. That the Captain mayor with the Portuguese of *Rio Grande* [told him that] the aforementioned reason is why his King left. [He] added that they had waged war against the others, and that the King lost many of his people and that those left fled to *Pepetama*, and there they were still waging war against the others. [He] also declared that the inhabitants of the *Baij Traison* remain neutral.

The inhabitants of *Tapeuia*, who before had waged war with those of *Pepetama*, have come to an agreement and are now fighting together against the Portuguese and their allies. Therefore we ask you, Your Eminences, that Your Eminences support those of *Pepetama* so the Portuguese can be chased again from *Rio Grande*. If this is done, My Lords, there is no doubt it will quickly bring the Company unity and profit.

Concerning the remaining items and appearance of the place, the said *Maraca Patira* will bring Your Eminences satisfaction (as asked for)
—below it said—

Your Eminences' humble servant—and signed by—*Pedro Potij*.

First Journal of Joris Garstman (1634)

In February 1633, a Tapuia messenger came to the Dutch who declared that the Tapuia were ready to make an alliance with them to fight the Portuguese. According to Johannes de Laet, this Tapuia was also on board the vessel *Nieu Nederlant* and dropped off on the Ceará coast in 1631.¹ Two months later, on 17 April 1633, the Tapuia Maraca Potura (Maraca Patira) was sent to Rio Grande to announce the alliance.² However, little was heard of Maraca. In 1634, one Jan d'Escars made an expedition into the interior from Tamarica and found an old Jesuit, who provided a detailed description of Rio Grande or Rio Potigi, which was mainly inhabited by Potiguara but also by Tapuia who were commanded by Jandovy.³

Other messengers who had stayed a while among the Dutch⁴ were now sent back, but the most important was killed and another, Jansepreтин, fled towards the newly conquered Dutch fortress of Ceulen without having delivered the message to Jandovy. The latter Tupi was now integrated into the forces of George or Joris Garstman, who had taken the Portuguese Forte dos Reis Magos in December 1633. Garstman was very interested in gathering as many men as possible to defend the fortress but also to explore the surroundings, for which he used Tupi men such as Jan Seprijtinger and Antônio Paraupaba. Garstman also wanted to make contact with the infamous Tapuia, so the latter Tupi left the fortress on 8 February 1634 to find Jandovy to inform him of the Dutch occupation of the Rio Grande fortress. They came back to Rio Grande with Jandovy on 7 March 1634 accompanied by about 1,500 people who took up residence in the vicinity of the fortress of Ceulen. They exchanged gifts, and to confirm this alliance 150 Indigenous and 30 Dutch soldiers set out to plunder the surrounding area.⁵ This narrative is found in Johannes de Laet, who copied the Garstman's journals, which are represented here by documents 6 and 7.

This document is kept at the National Archives in The Hague, the Netherlands, under signature number NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 50, document 48.

1 De Laet, *Historie*, 325.

2 De Laet, *Historie*, 332–333.

3 De Laet, *Historie*, 376.

4 De Laet, *Historie*, 368.

5 De Laet, *Historie*, 377–378.

Original Handwritten Document, NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 50,
Document 48

1 ...

Translatie ofte Copie des Journaels

Den 28 Januarij 1634 is mijn Vaendrich inde nacht met 40 man wt [ge-] marcheert aen d'ander sijde der revier, van daer sij omtrent 50 stucx beesten so cleijn als groot herwaerts gedreven, den 6^{en} Februarij is een Brasiliaen van omtrent 50 jaren out aen d'ander sijde vande rivier [just] tegen het casteel overgecomen, ende stracx met een boot gehaelt ende naest casteel gebracht, alsoo hij gans naect & niet bedect was, is hem een hemt met een broeck vereert, geeft te kennen datter 4 dorpen sijn soo niet wijt vande suijckermolen, ende een dach reijs van hier leggen souden ende alle met Brasilianen bewoont sijn & voor desegde mette Portugessen gehan-

delt hebben, van dese vier sijn drie dorpen bres[iliaenen], die sin hebben souden met ons

te negotieren, maer die vant 4^e. dorp (alsoo sij met de Taponiers* in differentie wegen dier Brasilianen[]) die Jan Seprijtingers cammeraede, ende bij belegeringe des casteels* eens vande Brasilianen gevangen & dootgeslagen [.ier] dorven sich niet betrouwen, op den wech te begeven om hier her te becomen dan sij taponiers der doot des voornoemde Brasilianen aende andere te wrecken

geresolveert maer dito Brasilianen souden aende Taponiers 2 man gesonden hebben

met intentie datsij den dooden man niet wrecken souden, ende [dat sij] sich met hun Taponiers te vergelijken begeerden maer ondertusschen dat dese bootschap afgesonden was, souden voorsegde Taponiers al in aentocht geweest sijn, alsoo is desen aende Brasilianen van sich selfs tot ons gecomen, om onse intentie & gelegentheijt te vernemen, maer begeert weder tot de sijne te gaen, maer eerst een tijt lang bij ons te blijven ende sonden sij Brasilianen veel gecapt Brasilien hout* hebben, het welcke sij gesint waren te verhandelen. Den 8 ditto daer naer hebbe ick mijnen luitenant met 50 man van hier het Casteel wt met 18

- 2 bootgesellen van het jacht ouderkerck met 3 seijlboots wt gesonden | den nieuw gecomen Brasilianen alsmede Jan Seprijtinger oock Brasilianen met gegeven. Hij Jan Seprijtinger heeft eenige presentatien van ons met geno[men] om aende Brasilianen te vereeren, ende daer nevens hare meninge te verstaen & alsoo trachte wil de selve met ons te accomoderen, Maer ons volck is eerst

Translation

...

1

Translation or Copy of the Journal

On 28 January 1634 my Ensign⁶ marched into the night with 40 men from the other side of the river, from where they herded about 50 beasts, large and small. On 6 February a Brazilian of about 50 years of age appeared on the other side of the river opposite the fortress, and was fetched with a boat and brought to the fort, because he was completely naked and not covered; he was given a shirt and a pair of trousers. [He] told us that there are 4 villages in the vicinity of the sugar mill at about one day's travel from here and all are inhabited by Brazilians and that they have traded with the Portuguese, of those four villages three villages are inhabited by Brazilians, who are probably eager to trade with us; however, those of the 4th village (for they are in discredit with the Taponiers because of these Brazilians) who are Jan Seprijtinger's partners, and during the siege of the fort one of the Brazilians was captured and killed. They do not have any trust to leave from here because they fear that the Taponiers want to avenge the death of the aforementioned Brazilians upon the other, but the aforesaid Brazilians would have sent 2 men to the Taponiers with the message they would not avenge the deceased man, and that they desired to be compared with their Taponiers. In the meantime, when this message was being sent, the aforesaid Taponiers were already on the point of arriving, whereas the one for the Brazilians has voluntarily come to us in order to gauge our intentions and situation but wanted to return to their people but would stay among us for some time and send Brazilians who had cut a lot of Brazil wood, which they wished to trade. The 8th of the same month, I sent my Lieutenant with 50 men to the fortress accompanied by 18 boatsmen from the *jacht** *Ouderkerck* and three sailboats | together with the newly arrived Brazilians as well as Jan Seprijtinger's Brazilians. He, Jan Seprijtinger, took some presents from us to give to the Brazilians, but also to find out if they wanted to stay with us, but our people first arrived at

2

6 The German term *Vaandrich* or *Fähnrich* is translated here as "Ensign" (ensign-bearer).

bij voorsegde suijcker molen aen d'ander sijde der riviere aencomen, alwaer sij be-

vonden dat de voorsegde molen inde viercant gemaect, & met wilde Cocos noten

bomen omtrent 2 man hooch rontsom beset is, starc & dicht inde aerde be-graven, diesgelijcx oock het huijs met sulcke boomen rontsom beset als de molen voor met een poorte, & van binnen noch een cleijn werck om de poorten te verwaeren, inden thuijn ofte boomgaert, hebben sij oock alsoo van dese boomen, een cleijne vastricheijt gemaect, de kisten daer in den suijcker geweest alle stucken geslagen, als mede vande ander kisten de slooten afgebroocken pottijssen* & ketels desgelijcken, de molen heeft maer een gang &

wort door beesten gedreven, bij ditto molen hebben sij eenen jongen Brasiliaen met 2 vrouwen & een jongskén aengetroffen, welcke farinie gesocht hadde, hebben sich goetwillich bij ons begeven, & sijn door ons volc herwaerts gebracht, vorders sij sij tot eens papenhuijs als mede tot meer andere huijssen & plaetsen gecome, & tot inde 16 goede huijssen sonder de beracken ende hutten inde selve contraie gevonden & anders niet. Int te rugge comen is Jan Seprijtinger met sijn bij hebbende present naer de Brasilianen toe gegaen om daer van aen de selve vereeringe te doen, & haer mondelinge resolutie te vernemen, wiens rapport ick met verlange verwachtte, des anderen daechs is ons volck mede ingecomen, haer handelingē is van Brasilie hout tegens hacken, bijlen, messen, cleijne scheeren, scheermessen, coralen*, hemden & broecken.

- 3 [Na dit deel van het journaal volgt de kopie van een brief geschreven door Garstman uit Rio Grande op 14 februari 1634 die hier is weggelaten. Deze brief behandelt de aankomst van het jacht Oudekerken en salarisverhoging voor de smit, timmerman en metselaar. Noemenswaardig is hier alleen dat Jan Sprijtinger, inmiddels teruggekomen, gaat onderhandelen met de Brazilianen]

the aforesaid sugar mill on the other side of the river, where they found out that the aforesaid mill was surrounded by wild coconut trees planted in a square [barrier] about 2 men high, strong and stood tightly together in the earth. The house is protected in a similar way to the mill but also with a gate in front and, inside, another small earthwork to protect the gates. In the garden or orchard they have also made a small stronghold of these [coconut] trees; they [also] have smashed to pieces all the sugar caskets and broke off the locks of the other caskets, pots, kettles and such. The mill only has one ally and is driven by beasts. At this mill they found a young Brazilian with 2 women and a youngster who were looking for *farinha* and joined us willingly and have been taken away by our people. Furthermore, they arrived at a papist⁷ house as well as other houses and places. We found about 16 good houses without barracks and huts in the same country. I'm waiting for the report of Jan Seprijtinger who went to the Brazilians bearing the presents to thank them and to obtain their oral decision. The other day our people came back with Brazil wood for which they traded cutlasses, axes, knives, small razors, razors, beads, shirts and trousers.

[After this part of the journal, there is a copy of a letter written by Garstman from Rio Grande, dated 14 February 1634, which is omitted here. This letter shows the arrival of their ship Oudekerken and treats the demand for a salary raise for the smith, carpenter and bricklayer. It is worth mentioning that the letter reports that Jan Sprijtinger, having returned, started negotiations with the Brazilians.]

⁷ In Dutch a papist is a pejorative word for a Catholic clergyman.

Second Journal of Joris Garstman (1634)

In February 1634, Garstman received the Tapuia commanded by Jandovy at Fort Ceulen in Rio Grande. Before his arrival, Jandovy had pillaged a Portuguese sugar mill and slaughtered all its inhabitants, women and children included. The two parties exchanged many gifts before discussing a possible alliance to attack the Portuguese. Smient wanted to attack the fortress of Cunhaú and a Tapuia army was recruited and to be commanded by the son of “Jan Duij”, as the elderly Jandovy stayed at Ceulen with the women and children. The march to Cunhaú was swift, many Portuguese were killed and the fortress was captured without difficulty. Jandovy returned to his country on 15 March 1634, and took six Dutch musketeers with him. He left his son, his brother Caracara and a third Tapuia behind in Rio Grande.¹

After this success, Garstman most likely wanted to continue with further military interventions and strengthen the alliance with Jandovy, and thus immediately sent Jandovy’s son to seek his father. Jandovy sent him back to Rio Grande “together with *Copun*, stepson of *Weletya* or *Beretyawa*, his nephew and principal Captain as well as 10 more *Tapuyas* and four of our soldiers”.² He also explained to the Dutch commander that he was looking for other Tapuia to join him in his alliance with the Dutch. The messengers were sent back to Jandovy with some gifts, except for the son of Jandovy and Copun, who were invited to visit the High Council in Recife. They showed their anger at the Portuguese and the High Council decided to send Jacob Stachouwer and Colonel Artichewski to Rio Grande in order to see what advantage could be taken of this situation.³

On 23 September 1634, the two officers left Recife for Rio Grande with Captain Baut and 92 soldiers. Caracara was not very cooperative and the Dutch officers sent Antônio Parapauba to contact King Jandovy to tell him that two very important officers had arrived in Rio Grande to discuss their alliance and an attack upon the Portuguese.⁴ Awaiting the arrival of Jandovy, Artichewski and Stachouwer explored the surroundings to learn more about the country

1 See also de Laet, *Historie*, 400–401.

2 De Laet, *Historie*, 401.

3 De Laet, *Historie*, 401.

4 De Laet, *Historie*, 401. See also Meuwese, “For the Peace,” 107.

and interviewed Caracara about the Tapuia people (see documents 11–14). How exactly they did this remains rather obscure, as Antônio did not speak the language of Jandovy's people, as pointed out by Garstman: "I had heard *Antonio* and the father Caspar had been able to talk with the people but they could speak as much with them as I could, knowing I am not very skilled in said language. Nevertheless, the said Jan Seprijtinger can help us best in this matter. I would be pleased if My Lords can provide me with some ink and paper".⁵

This document contains an abstract, a journal and two complementary letters written by J. Garstman to the High Lords in Recife in spring 1634. It is kept at the National Archives in The Hague, the Netherlands, under signature number NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 50, document 52.

5 HaNA 1.05.01.01 50, document 52, p. 10. On the language problems, see also Montanus, *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*, 373–374.

Original Handwritten Document NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 50, Document
52

- 1 Edele Gebiedende Hoochgeleerde Gedelegeerde Bewinthebberen de selve sijn mijn schuldige als willige dienst opt onderdanigst te roeren, mijnen jongsten van 15 februaris neffens bijleggende, verhoope sullen mijne heeren sonder faulte* door Pieter Croon oft andere sijnent wegen, wel overlevert, & daeruijt alsmede uijt het journael mijne doenmaels verrichtinge & begeren wegen (alderhande ghoet voor de Brasilianen vernomen hebben) op welck schrijven ick niet alleen met verlangen antwoorde maer oock satisfactie verwacht; 't sedert versegde mijnen jongsten is Jan Seprettinger Brasillianen dien ick op 8. passato*, met eenige cleijne presenten naer de Taponiers & Bresillianen (dier intentie als mijn heeren uijt jongste journael aengedient) affgeveerdicht, & op deser (met omtrent 300 Taponiers & Bresillianen waeronder haer Coningh oftte oppersten *Jean Duij* genaempt sich bevint neffens haer wijff & kinderen) weder aengecomen, sij sijn int herwaerts marcheren, op de suijckermolen aengecomen, & daer ontrent eenige huijsen aengetroffen, deselve gespolieert & alle het volck soo gevonden nedergehouden (soo sij dan een brasiliaense vrouwe met 4 kinderen soo voor desen bij portugesen gewoont met noch een andere jonge Bresiliaense vrouwe soo sich voor desen oock bij de portugesen opgehouden,) gevangen met gebracht, als nu hij Jean Seprijtinger met elff man van haer, met een vliegent vaendel voor heenen in Ambassado is aengecomen, is hun met eeten & drincken naer vermogen allen goeden willen bewesen, daer naer ijder en present van alderhand fatsoen van goederen gegeven & de selve nacht int Casteel* bijde andere Bresilianen gelogeert worden, de rest heeft sich achter den Berch daer voor desen ons leger <is> geweest (geaccommodeert), die hebbe ick met cost tot nootdrust & haer begeren naer ~~oendertussen~~ <gelievent> versien laten. Haer aenbrengen is gelijkformich het mijne, als nametlijck dat zij te vreden zijn met ons te negotieren met Brasiliaenhout* & anders wat zij opbrengen mogen, mits conditie dat zij van alderhand bij ons vinden mogen dan sij sonderlingh sterck naer vraech hebben, naer ijser waer, als acxten, bijlen, cleijne

Translation

Noble Imperious and Wise Directors,

1

It is my duty and willing service to serve you humbly as I last wrote on 15 February, hoping that My Lords will receive this journal without fault through Pieter Croon,⁶ or in any other way, in order to weigh my acts and intentions (all sorts of merchandise taken for the Brazilians) to which writings I not only respond with much desire but also expect [to give] much satisfaction. Lately there has been talk of the Jan Seprettinger Brazilians whom I sent last 8 [February] with some small presents to the Taponiers and Brazilians (whose intentions are presented to My Lords in the last journal), and when the latter (with about 300 Taponiers and Brazilians among whom their King or chief called *Jean Duij* was accompanied by his wife and children) had returned [they told us that when they] arrived at the sugar mill on their way out, they found a few houses which they plundered and slayed all the people they found there (they took as prisoner a Brazilian woman with 4 children who had lived among the Portuguese together with another young Brazilian woman). Now Jean Seprettinger came back from them with eleven men waving a banner at the Embassy. They have been treated with food and drinks as they wished, and then each of them received a fair present of goods and that same night stayed over at the fort among the other Brazilians. The remainder had found themselves accommodation behind the mountain where our army had stayed before, and I provided them with food and hardship as they wished. Their approach is similar to mine, that is they are satisfied to negotiate with us on Brazil wood and other [goods] that they produce, on condition that they might have all sorts of things they find with us and ask for very often, such as iron tools, to wit hatchets, axes,

6 Pieter Croon was the skipper on the ship *Oudekerck* that bore this letter; see NL-HaNA 1.05.01.0150, document 48, fol. 4. The *Oudekerck* sailed between the Dutch forts to supply the troops.

scheeren, scheermessen, Carnasseris & cleijne messen
Coralen*, bellen linden, hemden, broecken, [hoeden]

& diergelijcken, alsmede een nieuwe geringe stoff,
 aen haer Coningh ofte oppersten te vereeren, ofte te
 verhandelen niet onbequaem zijn soude, encontra eenich
 mancquement van voornoemde van een ofte anders,

- 2 op vorder begeren zijn zoude, souden slechts lust hebben, |
 de negotie* lange met ons te continueren, dan alsoo het
 volck van cleijne consideratie sonden zij in aensien van verhaelde
 occasie souden vertouwen anders gesint worden dieswegen om
 bestandige & int voorsien van onderscheijden goederen & waren,
 dat deselve cito mochten herwaerts comen, Alsmede om mijne
 heeren alle desen verloop te adviseren, heb ick noodwendich met
 mancqueren connen uijt mancquement eens schips ofte jacht soo
 behoorlijck alhier eens daer van altijd te zijn, Een boot met 6. man
 als bij einde deses te sien, naer *Paraiba* aen Commandeur
 Smient aff te senden, met versoucken den tegenwoordigen aen
 mijn heeren sonder vertoeven te spedieren daer met in alle dese
 dingen soo veel mogelijck versien werde, ick hebbe versegde 6. man op
 mijner heeren costen & betalinge hondert guldens om deesen
 reijs te volbrengen belooft, verhoopende mijn heeren sullen
 het in aensien der saecken niet voor onaengenaem bevinden,
 niettegenstaende ick mij om versparinge deser oncosten geren ander
 middel bedocht hadde, sijn sij toch tegenwoordich niet te hebben
 alsoo het wel behoorden, alletijt met een jacht ofte schip alhier
 versien te sijn, om mij daer van dies nodich zijn te bedienen om de dagelinge
 occurenties mijne heeren, citto te adviseren, off mij nu wel sulcke middelen
 voor deesen van mijn heer belooft is, soo is het toch tot op dato
 integenwoordelijck ... verbleven (t welck mij seer bevreempt),
 maecke reeckeningh dat het bij mij heeren in vergetenheijt gecomen
 is, met hopeninge dat sij het in toecomende remedieren ende
 een jacht t'welck altoos hier leggen mach, met naesten herwaerts
 ordonneren zullen, Sonsten indien mijn heeren wegen bovenstaende
 100 fl. soo ick voornoemde personen weger dese reijs & lopende hasarts
 te geven versproocken, eenich insien ofte mishagen droegen, soo zullen
 mijn heeren believeen niet dies te min voornoemde 100 fl. a & voornoemde
 ses personen (om mijn woort genoeg te doen) volgen te laten,
 & te ordonneren dat deselve fl. 100: op mijn reeckeningh mogen
 gestelt worden, Gisteren heeft mij de Coningh vande

small razors, razors, carnasseris⁷ and small knives, beads, bells, ribbons, shirts, trousers, [hats] and such, as well as a new modest cloth to give to their King or chief or fit for trade [in general]. However, if there were any shortages of the aforementioned items or anything else they desired more, they would merely be cheerful | in continuing to trade with us, for they send people of littlecon- 2
sideration regarding the aforementioned occasion to stay with us [and they] could be inclined in this matter to present specific goods and wares, that they should directly come over.⁸ But also to brief My Lords about this situation, I felt obliged to remark the shortage of a ship or *jacht**, which should have been here already but is not. [So] a boat with 6 men was sent to *Paraiba* to Commander Smient, to verify this, and that the latter should ask My Lords, without any delay in the shipment, for supply of all possible goods. The said 6 men were promised that they would be paid by My Lords one hundred guilders to accomplish this journey, hoping that My Lords understand the situation and do not find this unsatisfactory, notwithstanding that I did not think of have any other way to avoid these expenses, if you do not have them [the supplies] today knowing that it should have been the case, to always have a *jacht** or ship here to serve me in order to inform My Lords rapidly of the daily happenings, and that these means have been promised by My Lord in advance. [But] at this moment the contrary is true ... (which supprises me), I conclude that it must have been forgotten by My Lords, and hoping that they will solve it with the upcoming [shipment] to give notice of a *jacht** to be sent which will soon water here, to ordain the latter towards here. If My Lords consider the above-mentioned 100 guilders, which I have promised the aforementioned persons for the voyage and the danger, inappropriate or unsatisfactory and My Lords should not consent to pay the aforementioned 100 guilders to the said six persons (to fulfill my word) and call for the same 100 guilders to be put upon my account.

⁷ Carniseros, knives for cutting meat.

⁸ Difficult reading but for trade but in short the Tapuia would send first a party of lesser esteem to check out the merchandise before coming over with the whole nation.

alhier aencom & Taponiers & Brasillianen te verstaen geven
 laten, dat geresolveert was, door zijn volck een tocht te doen
 laten op *Coniaou* & andere plaetsen meer, sөө <die> hun bekend zijn,
 & in duren den marsch, eenige Brasiliaense huisjen, (met
 welcke natie sij in differentie staen) onder wegen te
 visiteren daer over aen mij gesonden & versocht hun van mijn
 volck een partije met te geven, niet alleen om vernoemt mijn
 volck eeniger wegen, de gelegentheijt der selven plaetsen openbaer
 te maecken, maer oock om dies te coenelicker den vijant
 aen te grijpen, alsoo hij sonderlingh te *Caniaou* sterck van
 volck, vast van wercken, als oock met stucken soo van haere
 scheepen daer heenen gebracht versien sijn soudent, waer op mijn
 3 ick hun mijn vaendrich met mijn Sergiant Jan Blaer |
 neffens 28 man met gegeven <heb>, sij Taponiers sijn 160 coppen
 alle gewassene mannen, alsoo in allen 190 man starck marcheren,
 ende op dato ontrent den middach van hier vertrocken, sij Taponiers
 sijn oock geresolveert van *Caniaou* wijder & tot oste ontrent *Paraiba*
 ofte in die contreije te marcheren om den vijant allenthalven,
 neffens ondersoeckinge des lants gelegentheijt allen affbreuck
 te doen, als sij dan voor haer vertreck den Coninck volgens haer
 Articul belooft hebben ons trouw te zijn, & in sulcken gevalle
 haer besten te doen, wat sij nu goets verrichten wendent geve ick
 mijn heeren met gelegentheijt te verstaen, verspreure van dit
 volck passelicke affectie tegens ons, is alleen te sien de selve
 in *Amitie* & vruntschap te houden, daer toe ick alle voorsorg
 & vlijt dragen wil, alles tot proffijt te dirigeren, den rest volck
 van dese Taponiers & Brasilianen soo noch ontrent 140 koppen
 verstaet sich in wijff & kinderen heeft de Coninck soo selfsten
 hier blijft bij sich behouden, & sijnen soon die hij het Commando
 gegeven met versegde partij uijtgesonden, Hij is willens sich inde
 naest contraie met versegde rest volck te bequamen & voorsegde
 partij verhoopentlicken geluckiger arrivement verwachten, maer
 ick ben willens hem met t' samen het volck inde stadt te logeren,
 alwaer dat zij beter gelegentheijt van een en anders tot haerder
 onderhoudinge & van farinie* te become & hun tot haerder
 beschuttinge eenich van mijn volck met geven, die inde kercke
 logeren, & dito kercke weder daer toe bequamen & versien
 laten, Dato bij uij[t]verdigende, deeser partij heeft den
 Coninck van bovenstaende 140 coppen veerthien man naer
 de plaetse daer sij van daen gecomen affgesonden om haer achter

Yesterday, the King of the arriving Taponiers and Brazilians said it was decided that his people would make a trip to *Coniaou* as well as other places known to them, and that during this march, [they] would visit a few Brazilian houses (belonging to a nation they are at war with) and send them over to me and to have them joined by a party of my people, not only to show my people a few roads and the situation of these places but also to approach the enemy with greater strength because *Caniaou* is particularly strong with people, equipped with earthworks and cannons which have been put there by their ships. So I sent my Ensign accompanied by Sergeant Jan Blaer | and 28 men, the Taponiers 3
are represented by 160 heads, all adult men. Altogether 190 men strong left here marching that day about noon. The Taponiers have also resolved to march in the areas surrounding *Caniaou* and to the east in the country of *Paraiba* to hurt [plunder] the enemy, but also to explore the country. And thus before their departure the King promised us, in accordance with their Article,⁹ to do their very best in these cases. I will let My Lords know on occasion which good deeds they wanted to perform, because I have noticed that this people has reasonable affection towards us, it is only necessary to keep them in *Amitié* and friendship, for which I take all precautions and diligence. The rest of these Taponiers and Brazilians are about 140 strong, consisting of wives and children whom the King himself keeps here beside him and [he] gave his son the command to leave with the aforesaid party. He is willing, together with the rest of his people, to settle in the vicinity while they await the happy return. However, I am willing to have his people stay in the city, where they can more easily obtain things for their sustenance, *farinha*, and shelter. Together with a few of my people I will lodge them in the church, which I will make fit for this purpose.

At the moment of the departure of this party, the King sent 14 of the aforementioned 140 men to the place where they had come from to fetch the women and

9 Possibly a treaty was signed between the two parties? See also part 2 of Document 3.

latene wijff en kinderen & andere nootdrust te halen, intrim doen sij noch eene andere partij van gelijcker starckte (wiens opperste des hierigen Connigs soon & met de partij uijt gemarcheert) & van bovenstaende nation, dagelicxe verwachten, dan soo sij seggen, souden zij niet verre van hier int bosch sich verhouden *Per Adviso etc Adi 10 Martij 1634 opt Casteel Ceulen.*

Hier nae volgende personen haer namen soo met de boot naer *Paraiba* van hier aen Smient affgeveerdicht ende van daer naer Parnambuco

Adam Jacobsz Constapel* Pieter Brockman

David Loeman Hans Jansz

Pieter Jansz van Coppenhagen Bartholomeus Jansz

Dese 6. man verhoop ick mijn heeren met naeste gelegenheijt wederom senden sullen ondertijckent G. Gartsman V.W.

Translaet uijt het Journael

- 4 Adij 20 februarij 1634. is mijn Lieutenant t' smorgens |
tusschen & 8 uren, met 40 man in 2 boots uijt gemarcheert
om alderhande nootdrustich bouwhout tot behulp des Casteels
te soecken, den selven hebbe ick een Bresiliaen genaemt *Simon
Anthonis* (om sich sijnder aengegevene occasion te bedienen)
met gegeven, alsmede een Bresilliaense vrouwe met diverse
cleijne presenten, als eenich ellen linden oorhangsels ende
spiegeltjens die sij naer *Caniaou*, daer sij van daen was brengen
soude, naer dien nu de boots hare ladinge hadden zijn
die daer bij gecommandeerde soldaten, niet sonder des lieutenants
weeten, sonderen op zijn bevel met d'selve weder te rugge & naert
Casteel gevaren. Dito tusschen 8 uren des avonts
als de poorten des voornoemde Casteels geslooten werden, zijn
van ons volck weder 3 man aen d'ander zijde der revier op
des lieutenants bevel aencommen namentlijck versegde brasiliaen
met een trompetter & een soldaet, den soldaet &
Brasiliaen sijn met swemmen de reviere gepassert, maer
den tambour alsoo hij hem sulcx niet en vertroude te doen tot
den anderen morgen over de reviere int bosch gebleven, doen
nu versegde 2 man over quamen, hebben mij aengedient dat ons
volck seer vande vijant attacqueert werde, waerop ick
dadelijck mijn vaendrich* met 30 man in 2 boots met een

children and food left there. Meanwhile they formed another party of similar force (with whom the chief's son marched out) of the above-mentioned nation and to be expected within days; as they said, they are apparently not far from here staying in the forest. First Advice, 10 March 1634, at Fort Ceulen.

The names of the following persons went from here on the boat to *Paraiba* and from there with Smient to Parnambuco: Adam Jacobsz Constapel, Pieter Brockman, David Loeman, Hans Jansz, Pieter Jansz van Copenhagen, Bartholomeus Jansz. I hope that My Lords will send these 6 men back at the next opportunity. Garstman V.W.

Translation of the Journal

On 20 February 1634, my Lieutenant left in the morning | around 8 o'clock with 4
40 men and two boats in order to search for all sorts of construction wood needed for the fortress. I gave him a Brazilian called *Simon Anthonis* (in order to serve his mission) as well as a Brazilian woman with various gifts, such as a few ells of ribbons, earrings, and mirrors, that she would take to Caniaou, where she was from. When the boats were loaded, the commanding soldiers returned and headed to the fortress, but the Lieutenants were unaware of this. Same day at 8 o'clock in the evening, when the gates of the aforementioned fortress were closed, three of our men had arrived on the other side of the river at the orders of the Lieutenant, to wit the aforesaid Brazilian accompanied by a trumpeter and a soldier. The soldier and the Brazilian swam across the river but the drummer, as he had little confidence, stayed in the forest on the other side of the river until the next morning. When both aforesaid 2 men had come over, they told me that our people had suffered a heavy attack by the enemy, upon which I immediately sent my Ensign with 30 men in two boats with a small cannon to them.

cleijn stucxgen naer hun toegstuert.

Den

21 dito zijn 3 gequeste als Jan Aldeijs, Peter Brisse
& michiel wasserman van versegde lieutenant herwaerts
gestiert worden, die rapporteren dat mijn vaendrich met het
volck soo ick tot secours gesonden ten 10 uren des nachts bij
mijn lieutenant gecomen ende naer middernacht ten 3 uren
was hij lieutenant met al het volck weder op gebroken om den viant
weder aen te tasten.

Twee uren naer aencomste

der 3 gequesten is voornoemde mijn lieutenant neffens mijn vaendrich
te lande weder ingecomen & mij relatie vande heele verloop
gedaen namentlijck dat hij ontrent 2 mijl weechs van
hier aen lant geseth van daer $\frac{1}{4}$ ure gaents tot een seeckeren
papenhuijs gemarcheert, aldaer hij diversche bauhouts
gevonden & deselve met soldaten naerde boots gestuert
ende naer dien het een goeden tijt verleden was, dat die
soldaten soo het hout gedragen vande boots niet weder om
comen ware, heeft hij lieutenant jan blaer sergeant
met 10 man weder daer nae toegesonden om te sien off
al het goet inde boots was off niet, hij lieutenant
hielde sich ondertusschen met de rest vant volck in
voorsegde papenhuijs, het heeft sich ondertusschen een
Brasilliaen ~~soe~~ sonder cleeren gelooopen, sien laeten, waer
op hij lieutenant stracx vier man gecommandeert

- 5 om hem te vervolgen, ondertusschen is jan blaer met |
de 10 man vande boots weder aengecomen, intrem hebben de
4 man op voorsegde Bresilliaen vier gegeven waer op sich den vijant soo
over 100 man starck was, daer onder begrepen veel brasilianen &
negers, d'welcke met pijl & boogh als knodsen wel versien waren
met macht gepresenteert, desgelijcken d'onse[rige] mede deden, ende
alsoo met malcander starck gescharnintseert naer gedane charge
heeft hij lieutenant sich naer de boots geretireert anders niet
meijnende, als dat sij naer de water kant waren, off nu wel hun
de vijant in gedurende retirade* op allen zijden daer toe met groot
geschreeuw van Brasilianen vervolg &, heeft ons volck haer toch
altijt inde vlucht geslagen, daer van de 3 gequeste cregen,
maer van des viants volck, vande onse oock niet weijnich onder de
voeten geschooten zijn, gelijk hij lieutenant selffs als mede Jan
Blaer sergeant eenige hebben sien vallen, maer als nu hij
luijtenant op een pistool schoot bijde rivier gecomen <was>, heeft hij
drie schooten naer de boots lossen laten, daer mede d'selve tot het

The 21st of the same month, three injured men, to wit Jan Aldeijs, Peter Brisse and Michiel Wasserman, belonging to the aforesaid Lieutenant, have been sent back. They reported to me that my Ensign and the people, whom I had sent to rescue them, had reached my Lieutenant at 10 o'clock. Three hours after midnight the Lieutenant had broken camp with the people in order to attack the enemy again.

Two hours after the arrival of the 3 injured men, the aforementioned Lieutenant as well as my Ensign returned to our land and related the course of their mission, that two miles from here he was put ashore, from where he marched $\frac{1}{4}$ hour until he reached a papist house. Here, he found some construction wood that was carried to the boat by the soldiers. But after a while, when the soldiers who had carried off the wood to the boat had not returned, the Lieutenant sent Sergeant Jan Blaer with 10 men went in their direction to see whether all the wood had been loaded in the boat or not. Meanwhile, the Lieutenant remained in the aforesaid papist house with the people. Suddenly, a Brazilian without clothes appeared. The Lieutenant immediately ordered four men to follow him.

Meanwhile, Jan Blaer came back | with 10 men from the boats. Meanwhile, 5
the four men had fired upon the aforesaid Brazilian at which point the enemy presented itself more than 100 men strong, consisting of many Brazilians and negroes who were well equipped with bows and arrows as well as clubs. In contrast, our men were occupied and heavily battered after the assault, the Lieutenant drew back to the boats, assuming they were at the riverside. During the retreat, the enemy was attacking from all sides followed up with great cries from the Brazilians, but our people managed to withstand the attack, suffering 3 injured men. However, we also shot many men of the enemy and the Lieutenant and sergeant Jan Blaer saw them fall to the ground. When the Lieutenant was about a pistol shot away from the river, he fired three shots towards the boats in order to assure the reception of the injured men. [When the Lieu-

volck comen souden om de gequetste in te nemen, waren zij met versegde boots al bereijt naer het Casteel gevaren, daerop heeft hij lieutenant sich in sijn voordeel begeven, maer alsoo sich den vijant naest bij hem gehouden & sich meermaels verneemen laten, is hij lieutenant op den selven over t'voorgeleden noch 6. mael uijtgevallen ende altijd inde vlucht geslagen & intrim sijn gequeste in acht genomen, dat d'selve vansegde vijant niet mochten overvallen werden, Als het nu ondertusschen doncker geworden was, heeft den lieutenant 3 man aen mij gesonden, die mij vansegde saecke relation doen souden, waer over ick hem luijtenant met 30 man door mijnen vendrich bejegent, de welcke bij hem ten 10 uren des nachts aengecomen & den 3 uren naer midnacht sijn zij op gebroken geen viant meer vernomen, daer nae hebbe zij de gequeste inde boots gedaen & naert Casteel gesonden, maer sij zijn weder te rugge naer des papenhuijs gemarcheert & van daer op de plaets gecomen daer de viant den eersten aenval ged[ae]n maer niemant meer vernemen connen, moeten sich inde nacht <ge>retireert hebben, naerdien zijn sij weder doort lant ontrent den middach alhier gecomen, de Brasiliaaens vrouwe soo met de presenten naer *Caniaou* toegemarcheert heeft zij Lieutenant (in bij sijn) *Simon Anthoni* oock Bresiliaen inden bosch opde pas geconvoijeert & sij in namen des heeren passereren laten. Den 7 Martij is Jan Seprijtinger de welcke op 8 februarij passato met eenige cleijne presenten naer de Taponiers & bresillianen affgesonden geworden, weder aencomen bij ontrent 300 coppen versta[pt] met wijff & kinderen van voorsnoemde natie met gebracht maer gelijk hij nu in den voor trop met vliegend vaendel bij sich hebbe & 11 man t' samen in Ambassado aencomen, sœ <sijn> sij in puncto ingehaelt & met eeten & drincken naer vermogen getracteert daer naer is de Coninck datelijck daer op int Casteel arriveert, wier niet weijniger respect aengedaen werde, volgens is ijder

6 een hembd, van coral*, trompen*, carniessiers*, cleijne messen | als mede van bellen vereeringe gedaen werden, maer des Coninck hebbe, <ick> vermogen sijns staets, een van mijne clederen neffens een sabel ende deegen, alles met uijt hollant herwaerts gebracht, alsmede eenen hoet met een pluymagie vereert, hem oock ter eener alle stucken soo opt Casteel affschieten laten & den selven avont sij t'samentlick bij onse Bresillianen int Casteel gelogeert, des morgens volgendes daegs, heeft sich den Coninck uijt het Casteel tot de andere sœ <die> sich achter den berch gelogeert

tenant arrived at the river,] they were already ready to leave for the fortress with the aforesaid boats, upon which the Lieutenant had the advantage. The enemy, however, continued to attack him and the Lieutenant had charged them six times and made them flee every time and in the meantime he took care of his fallen men not allowing the enemy to attack themr.

Meanwhile, darkness had fallen and the Lieutenant sent me three men who would inform me of the situation, upon which I sent him 30 of my men accompanied by my Ensign, who reached him at 10 o'clock at night and at 3 o'clock after midnight they had broken camp as the enemy had not been sighted. Then they put the injured men in the boat and they were sent to the fortress. Now they returned to the papist house on foot and arrived at the place where the enemy had attacked them first but they could not see anybody there. They must have left during the night. Subsequently, they came back by land and arrived here. The Brazilian woman with the presents had left for *Caniaou*. She was accompanied in the forest by *Simon Anthoni*, also a Brazilian, and let them get through in the name of the Lord.

On 7 March, Jan Seprijtinger, who had been sent on 8 February with a few presents to the Taponiers and Brazilians, returned with about 300 men, to wit women and children of aforesaid nation. He arrived at first with flying banners together with 11 men at the Ambassado and [they] were welcomed at the Puncto and were served food and drinks. Then the King arrived at the fortress, to whom not little respect was paid. Thereafter, everyone was given a shirt and a few beads, trumps,¹⁰ carniseros, small knives | as well as bells to please 6 them. The King, however, according to his status, I gave one of my clothings as well as a sword and rapier,¹¹ all items straight from Holland and, in addition, a hat with feathers to honor him. We also fired all the cannons of the fortress at once and that same night they were lodged at the fortress together with our Brazilians. The next morning, the King left the fortress and took lodgings in a hut (which I had built recently to produce *farinha*) among those who

10 Jew trump or mouth harp.

11 Being a high-ranked officer, Garstman probably gave the King his officer's coat.

hadden vervolcht, & aldaer in een hut (soo <die> ick nieuclck daer hen
 <had> maken laten om farinie* te maecken) vervoecht, naer middach
 heb ick hem weder met mijn vaendrich & sergiant jan blaer
 met eenen dronck wijn besocht, om daer bij sijne intention
 ofte vermoedingh tegens ons te vernemen, hem wederom ter eeren
 2 stuck speelen, is gelijck <ende> de trompetten voor sijn logement
 hooren laten, ondertusschen heeft sich sijn volck seer hovelick
 geacomodeert & een exercitie (in 3 troupen affgedeijlt) met
 pijl & booch gehouden, naer voleijndinge desselven op haer
 manier eenen dants gedaen & daer bij gesongen, durende alles
 wel een ure lanck, intrim heeft mij de Coninck te verstaen
 geven laten, dat hij int hier hen reijsen op de suijckermolen aengecomen
 niet verre van daer eenige huijsen & volck gevonden, deselve
 gespolieert & alle het volck soo hun te gemoede gecomen neder
 gehauwen <hadden>, Als sij doen 2 Bresilliaense vrouwen daer van
 d'eene 4 kinderen bij sich hadde & alle beijde sich voor desen bijde
 portugijsen opgehouden hebben gebangen alhier gebracht, boven dat
 sij content waren (in aensien dat sij van alderhande goederen
 namentlicken & principaliter van ijser waer bij ons vinden mochten)
 met ons te negotieren, Des 3^{en} daechs hem weder
 besocht, alsoo dat hij mij onder anderen discours te verstaen <heeft> geven
 laten dat geresolveert was door sijn volck een tocht doen te
 laten, sijn aenslach & marsch naer *Caniaou* te stellen, welck
 oort het sterckst van volck <is>, vast van wercken & met stucken
 <die> soo sij van haere schepen daer hen gebracht hebben, versien sijn
 sauden, maer onder wegen & eermen op *Caniaou* toe compt
 eenige Brasiliaense plaetsen met die zij in differentie staen
 te visiteren & van *Caniaou* aff, & wijder tot op *Paraiba*
 ofte indie contreije te marcheren, om sich alsoo des lants
 gelegentheijt te ondersoecken, tot welcken intent ick hem
 op begeren, mijn vaendrich & sergiant jan blaer neffens
 noch 28 man bijgegeven <heb>, wat sij nu goets verrichten werden, sal
 den tijt leeren: Dato den 9 Martij sij de Taponiers die van
 160 coppen & ons volck van 30 coppen alsoo in als 190 coppen
 sterck marcheren opgebroocken ~~waer~~ van welck Taponiers
 de Conincx soon het Commando voert. Dato ende
 bij uijtredinge deser partije heeft den Coninck vande rest
 volck soo hij alhier by sich hout & ontrent 140 coppen sterck 14
 7 man aen d'ander sijde der revier, naer haer oude wooninge |
 toe affgesonden, om van daer haer afterlaten wijff & kinderen

had been installed behind the mountain. In the afternoon, I visited him to drink some wine accompanied by my Ensign and Sergeant Jan Blaer in order to learn something of his intentions and thoughts about us. Again, we played two other pieces in his honor and the trumpets sounded in front of his lodgings. Meanwhile, his people had settled themselves politely and exercised (divided into three troupes) with bow and arrow and to finish off they danced in their manner during which they sang, and all of this lasted about one hour. During all this, the King told me that when he was traveling here, there were a few houses and people not far from the sugar mill. His men had sacked them and slain all the people they had encountered there. They had captured 2 Brazilian women, one of whom had 4 children. Both had stayed among the Portuguese and were brought here and were pleased to negotiate with us (regarding all sorts of merchandise, mainly iron items, that they encountered with us).

On the third day we visited him again as he had given me more information about the determination of his people to make a journey, an attack and a march against *Caniaou*, a place that is most densely populated, strongly equipped with earthworks and cannons that they had brought there with their ships. However, en route and before arriving at *Caniaou*, [the King] wanted to visit a few villages of Brazilians with whom he had differences, situated near *Caniaou* as far as *Paraiba*, and [he] also wanted to explore these countries in order to reconnoitre the land. Upon these intentions, I gave him my Ensign and Sergeant Jan Blaer with 28 men. Time will tell if they accomplish any good.

On 9 March, the Taponiers, 160 strong, and our people, 30 strong, in total 190 men, marched without stopping under the command of the son of the King of the Taponiers.

That day, during the departure of this party, the King dispatched 14 men of about 140 of his people who had stayed here to the other side of the river, where their former dwellings were |, to fetch the women and children as well as victu- 7
als that had been left there. Every day another party of similar size belonging

neffen andere nootdrost hier heenen te brengen, Intrim sal dagelicx een ander partij van gelijcke starcte, en selve nation alhier commen dan <naer> haer seggen ~~naer~~ soudén sich niet wijt van hier int bosch verhouden Adij 9 Martij is den Coninck met 4 soldaten & sijne suite naer de suijckermolen vertrocken, Adij 10. ditto is de Coninck met voornoemde 4 soldaten

en sijn volck vande selve plaetse daer zij namentlijk bij de suijckermolen de portugesen neder gemaect, weder ingecomen, & seggen versegde soldaten ons dat sij bij 15 dooden gesien soo door de Taponiers dootgeslagen hebben. Dito is een ander bresiliaen met sijnder wijffen & 4 kinderen alhier overcomen, heeft te verstaen dat hij de soon is geweest vande bresiliaen die ~~soo~~ de portugesen bij belegeringe des versegde casteels ter doot geworpen <hadden>, & datter 2 dorpen brasiliaenen waren daer van zijn dorp een is, d'welck garen hier comen soudén alsoo sij alle bereijt op den wech geweest hebben om hier heen te comen, Conform rapport bresilliaense vrouwe soo ick op 20 februarij met eenige presenten naer hun toegesonden, d'welcke wel bij hun arriveert, & hare bootschap wel gedaen, maer het sijn hun 2 opperste met eenen paep & een vrouw met eenige portugesen gevoecht, die van 2 andere dorpen waren, dit hebben hen weder affvaerdich gemaect, voorgevende van versegde volck in onsen handen waren dat wij onchristelijck met hun handelen soudén, daerom dese 2 dorpen rebellich sijn & met ons niet te handelen begeren, maer deese overgecomen persoon verhoopen dat eerlangh volgen & overcomen sullen, brengen ~~ons~~ oock tijdinge dat ons volck soo op 9 dagen met de taponiers uijtgemarcheert ontrent *Paraiba* sich bevinden & het volck altemael vlucht. Adij 13 dito is mijn vaendrich met alle volck weder ingecomen geeft te verstaen dat sij 15 goede mijl weechs int lant gemarcheert hebben eerst 8 uren gaens deser sijts bij 3 portugesen huijsen gecomen, alwaer geen lieden noch anders gevonden, een weijnich verder, hebben sij beesten gevonden, waer op hij 4 man gecommandeert om eenige beesten te schieten, & indien sij vier gaven, waren 3 Bresilianen uijt een nieuwe hutte, soo int bosch gemaect was, uijtgesprongen & sich gesalveert, in welcke hutte de Taponiers eenige pijl & boogen daer naer gevonden, naer dien hebben zij een paert geschooten maer de wilden* niet daer van hebben willen eeten, van daer sijn sij weder op een mijl weechs verder gemarcheert tot een seecker huijs in een bosch staende, commende aldaer heeft den vijant verlooren schiltwacht gehouden, & als zij ons volck vernamen sijn sij achter over eenen thuijn gesprongen & de wacht verlaten off nu ons volck sij sterck naer geset hebben doch geenén daer

to the same nation has come here and installed themselves not far from here in the woods according to their desires.

On 9 March, the King went to the sugar mill with his suite and 4 soldiers. On the 10th of the same month, the King came back from that place with the aforesaid 4 soldiers and his people as they had met Portuguese at the sugar mill. The aforesaid soldiers told us that they saw 15 people who had been slain by the Taponiers. That day another Brazilian arrived here with his wife and 4 children. He explained to us that he was the son of a Brazilian who had been killed by the Portuguese during the attack on the aforesaid fortress. He added that there were 2 Brazilian villages, of which one was his own, that would like to come and stay here as they are all ready to take the road to come here. This was an agreement with the report made by the Brazilian woman whom I had sent to them on 20 February with a few gifts. She had apparently arrived there and was able to transmit her message. However, their two chiefs, a papist and a woman with a few Portuguese, who were from two other villages, had joined her. This delegation said that a few people of the aforesaid nation were in our hands and that we treated them in an unchristian manner and that is why these two villages are rebellious and do not wish to trade with us. These people who have come here, however, hope that the people will follow in a while and come over. They also brought us tidings that our people and the Taponier who marched out here 9 days ago are now near *Paraiba*, and the people are fleeing.

The 13th of the same month, my Ensign and his men returned and told me they had marched about 15 miles into the country. At first, after 8 hours of walking, they found 3 Portuguese houses which were uninhabited but a little further they found cattle and ordered 4 men to shoot a few of them. When they had shot them, 3 Brazilians appeared from a newly built hut constructed in the forest, and fled. The Taponiers found a few bows and arrows in the hut. Thereafter, they shot a horse but the Savages did not want to eat from it. From there, they continued and marched for one mile, where they found a house standing in the forest. Arriving at the house, the enemy guarded the house in vain for once they had seen our people, they jumped over the garden fence behind the house and abandoned their guard. Our people chased them but were not

van connen krijgen, dit gepasseert sijnde heeft den vaendrich wat gerust om het volck bij malcanderen te krijgen, weder vergadert zijnde sijn sij ter boschwaert $\frac{1}{4}$ [vregaents] ingemarcheert, alwaer sij het huijs gevonden daer den vijant inlach met al het volck, hij met volle macht op zij aen geseth & als de eerste charge tegen malcanderen gedaen was, is den vijants volck alle op den loop getrocken & heeft ons volck in desen aenval maer 2 negers & 3 portugesen nedergehouden de rest is alle gevluht, welck bij 240 starck waren, van dit huijs heeftse ons volck tot over een revier vervolcht, des vijants volck overde

- 8 revier sijnde, hebben sij met vliegende vaendrich bij malcanderen | gehouden, als sij nu sagen dat ons volck hun wijder vervolgen wilden, hebben sij het vendel omgeslagen & t'samen gewrickelt, & aen eenen vande harige søø <die> te paerde was, gegeven, die daarmede wech niet & doen heeft een ijder opt best hij coste, sich gesalveert, daer naer ~~de wilden~~ weder te rugge & naer verseigde huijs gekeert alwaer de wilden int bosch 10 bresilianen bij perden aengetroffen, negen vande selve nedergehouden, den 10^e heeft sich salveert, is alsoo ons volck naer verrichtinge, weder naer herwaerts gekeert, mijn vendrich geeft mij te verstaen dat de Taponiers seer getrou zijn & vertonen, & ons volck in allen dingen bijstaen, maer alle avonts groote ceremonie met den boosen viant gebruijcken, & nae haeren eijghen sin doen. Adij 13 ditto hebbe ick mijnen sergeant hans kruger & met hem noch 24 man naerde stad gesonden om de kercke wat te fortificeren & inde selve te logeren & sulcx om der bresilianen willen soo in voornoemde stad sich sullen ophouden. Adij 14 dito hebbe ick mij naer de stad vervoecht, om te sien hoe sich mijn volck met accomoderingh der kercken aenstellen, soo sijn alle Bresilianen soo wel vrouwen als mans, soo sich alrede om daer te logeren bereijt hadden voor mij commen mij clagent voor brengen laten, dat van harer nation die man en frouw soo op 10 dito alsvooren te sien, overcomen sijn met 2 kinderen van een Taponier doot geslagen zijn, & dat om seeckeren redenen & dispuijt willen soose met malcanderen gehad hebben, het welck ick stracx den Coninck te kennen geven laten daer bij begeert mij de oorsaek des verseigde dootslachs wet & te maecken, waer over hij mij in antwoord <heeft> verstaen laten, dat het zijn commando geweest & dat het door sijnen soon als capiteijn selffs geschiet is, oorsaেকে, dat verseigde gedooten Bresilliaen sijn broeder een van die geene geweest is, die Jan Seprijtingers cammeraeet heeft helpen dootslaen, daerom sij dies te ontgelden oock <heeft> sterven moeten, hij heeft

able to catch them. After these events, the Ensign rested a while to gather the people and after a meeting they marched about $\frac{1}{4}$ [mile] into the forest, where they encountered a house of the enemy with its people. He attacked full force from the side and when the first charge was executed, the people of the enemy ran away. During this attack our men were able to slay only 2 negroes and 3 Portuguese; the rest, 240 head, had run away. From this house, our people followed them until they reached the other side of the river as the enemy had crossed it. They managed to keep the people together with a flying banner. | When they 8 saw that our people persisted in following them, they wrapped up their banner and gave it to one of their horsemen, who did not leave and each of them saved himself as best he could. After that we went back to the aforesaid house, where the Savages had found 10 Brazilians on horseback in the forest, of whom they had slain 9 and the tenth had escaped. After this, our people returned. My Ensign told me that the Taponiers are very loyal and provide our people with much help in all sorts of things but every night they have great ceremonies with the evil enemy and do everything according to their own will.

[Also] the 13th of the same month, I sent my Sergeant Hans Kruger and with him 24 men to the city in order to fortify the church and to lodge in it as the Brazilians are willing to settle in the aforementioned city.

The 14th of the same month, I went to the city in order to see how my people had organized the accommodation of the church. All the Brazilians, both women and men, who were ready to stay now came to me to state that a man and woman from their nation who had come on the 10th [of the month] with 2 children had been slain by a Taponier for some reason or dispute they had amongst themselves, and I would have to relate this soon to the King, for which I need to know the cause of the aforesaid death to do justice. [The King] answered me that it had been ordered by him and executed by his son as Captain. The reason: the brother of the aforesaid murdered Brazilian was one of the men who had helped to kill Jan Seprijtinger's comrade, for which he had to pay and

hun oock hare 2 kinderen nemen laten waer van ick het eene een jongen sijnde weder vrij gemaect, dat ander hebben de Taponiers bij haer behouden, off schoon mij nu sulcke affgrijselijcke acta genoechaem oorsacke geven, hem Coninck ofte oppersten sulcx grootelijck te verwijten, soo hebbe ick toch (alsoo het volck van geen reden & tot verhoedingh meerderen ons achterdeeligen ongeval soo bij hun ervolgen mochten) daer tegens niet tenteren dorven, maer alsoo niet te t'wijffelen door continuatie sulcker onchristelicker werck sij de Bresillianen gants verdrijten soudén, hebbe ick hem tot verhoedinge desselven met curienseijdt vertweeten laten, als namentlijck dat ick sulcke dingen niet verdragen conde, & voor welcken hij sich in toekom & te verhoeden hadde, waer op hij mij in aenvangh wat stouten bescheet geven, liet maer daer naer weder aendienén laten, dat sulcx niet meer gebeuren soude, & dat daer nevens geresolveert was naer sijnen woonplaetse te vertrecken, maer mij zijnen soon die capiteijn is, neffens noch 29 man alsoo in als 30 personen tot op zijn weder comensté alhier laten wil, Ondertusschen heb ick de andere Bresilianen met goeden reeden & vertroostingé dat daer gelijcx niet meer gebeuren zal weder op goeden wech ende

9 vooriger contentement gebracht: |

Adij 15 Martij is de Coninck ofte opperste naer sijn woonplaetse met al sijn volck wijff en kind vertrocken, uijtgenomen 30 man waer onder sijnen soon, dien hij mij tot op sijn wedercomsté gelaten & hebben haer hutten aldernaest het Casteel gemaect, connen mij al te met int Casteel besoecken, op dato sijn 2 negers van Caniaou overgecomen, oorsaecke wegen cappinge bresilien hout bij haren meester & heeren, soo hart aengehouden sijn geweest sijn 17 dagen int bosch geweest eer herwaerts gecomen, geven voor dat de vijant sterck aldaer is & alle daech noch meer volck van *Paraiba* tot hem comt, hebben hare stucken naer Parijba gesonden, dat alsoo sonder stucken zijn aen dit oort soude een suijckermolen staen, de welcke noch dagelijcks gaet, alsmede veel suijcker in vooraet sijn soude, int gelijcx veel gecapt bresilie hout, soo veel dat een jacht daer met can geladen werden, hebben mede een rivier naest daer bij alwaer een jacht ofte diergelijcken schip inloopen can, 2 mijl daer van af is de plaet[s] *Goniú* genoemt alwaer verleden reijs ons volck op partij geweest is, & van daer de portugesen verdreven & over de revier vervolcht

die. He also took both their children. I liberated one of them, a boy, but the other was kept by the Taponiers. Although such a horrible act is an adequate reason to blame the King or chief for such a great thing, I did not dare to protest against it (as the people have no reason to prevent such accidents as it might find suite amongst them). But there is no doubt however that the continuation of such unchristian work would cause the Brazilians great sorrow. Therefore I reproached him firmly, letting him know that I could not condone such things for which he had to restrain himself in the future. At first, he responded with bold reactions but after another reproach, he said such things would not happen again and that it was also decided that he would leave for his dwelling place. His son, however, who is Captain, as well as 29 men and 30 persons would remain here until his return. Meanwhile, I have reassured with good reason the other Brazilians that such things would not happen again, going now in the right directen and bringing the afore-mentioned satisfaction. |

9

On 15 March, the King or chief left for his dwelling place with all his people, women and children, except for 30 men under his son whom he left with me until his return. They made their huts next to the fortress and can visit me now and then in the fortress. That day, 2 Negroes came over from Caniaou, [where they were] felling Brazil wood for their masters and lords who kept them 17 days in the forests from where they came. They told us that the enemy was gathering strength there and that every day people were coming from *Paraiba*. They have sent their cannons to Parijba so they are for the moment without cannons. At this place there is apparently a sugar mill which is still going and also has a lot of sugar in store as well as a lot of cut Brazil wood, as much as can hold a *jacht** fully loaded. This place is situated next to a river where a *jacht* or similar vessel can enter. Two miles from there is the place called *Goniu* where our people went during the last mission from where they chased off the Portuguese and

ten welck oort met verde van daer oock soo veel gekapt
Bresilienhout is dat mede een jacht daer van can beladen
werden, Adij 19 ditto ben ick van een Bresiliaen
 bericht dat hem de Coninck voor zijn vertreck op 15 dito te verstaen
 gegeven, dat hij met zijn volck naer Aijgapua woude, alwaer
 sij haer wijven (tot dien sij alreede gesonden hadden) met victualie
 & vivres* verwachten worden eenige dagen daer te blijven, van
 daer zijnen wech naer de suijckermolen te neemen & in een ledich
 huijs int welcke voordesen een portugees *Francisco Roij*
 gewoont logeren oock aldaer wat te verblijven, als dan naer haer
 woonplaetse te vertrecken, alwaer noch 2 verscheijden geslachten
 zijn, als *Baijokij* & *Bonoriu* met die soude hij sich te
 tracteren dat eenige van die tot hem brengen mocht, dit sijnde
 zijn zij geresolveert een reijs naer *Paraiba* te doen toch te
 vooren schepen uijt *Parnambuco* ofte ordre van mij verwachten willen
 zijn bericht dat inde stad onder de Taponiers den roep &
 murmuraelijck is, als van wij andere alhier int Casteel
 geresolveert waren, haer Taponiers onversiens inde stadt
 te overvallen & haer den hals breecken waer over zij gesint
 geweest alle wech te vluchten, als zij dan op 19 dito als een
 dach te vooren de gantse nacht wacht gehouden, door wien sulck
 trahis compt can ick niet weten, hebbe gelijcke met belast
 inder stilte sich daer van te informeren, om de persoon te
 hebben, maer hebbe het haest gehoord Anthonij p. tot
 hun gestiert & sij <hun> anders onderrichts laten, Op dato
 wort mij het getal der Taponiers & bresiliaenen soo inde
 stad logeren overgesonden als namentlijck

45 man

45 vrouwen in de stadt

37 kinders

5 vrouwen bij het Casteel

7 kinders

- 10 Adij 21 dito zijn 2 Bresilianen overgecomen en voorgevende dat
 4 dorpen waren daer van twee soo met ons accorderen & de 2
 andere soo niet accorderen maer rebellich blijven willen, alsoo dat
 twee opperste welcker met haer volck de eerste 2 dorpen soo tot
 accort & verstaen wouden, aengetast doot verbleven zijn. Adviseren dat

followed them on the other side of the river. Not far from this place there is also a lot of Brazil wood to cut down [enough] to fill a *jacht*.

The 19th of the same month, I received a message from a Brazilian that the King had told him before his departure on the 15th that he would like to go to Aijgapua with his people, where they would meet their wives (who had already been sent there for that reason), with victuals and refreshments in order to stay there a few days. From there he would take his way towards the sugar mill and stay for a while in an empty house where *Francisco Roij* once lived. Then he would go to their dwelling place where two other lineages are, to wit the *Bai-jokij* and *Bonoriu*, who would bring him something to entertain him. This may be [and] they decided to make a voyage to *Paraiba* but are waiting for the ships from *Parnambuco* or an order from me. However, there are rumours among the Taponiers in the city that we of the fortress had decided to attack the Taponiers in the fortress without them knowing and to break their necks. They wanted to flee for this but on the 19th they stood guard all night. Who could have said such a treasonous thing, I do not know. I straightaway occupied myself with the task of obtaining information in all discretion to find this person and I almost found out. Then I sent *Anthonij P.*¹² to them to instruct them differently. Today, the number of Taponiers and Brazilians who are staying in the city is being transmitted to me, to wit:

45 men
45 women in the city
37 children

5 women near the fortress
7 children

The 21st of the same month, two Brazilians came who told us that there were 10
4 villages of which 2 wanted to make an agreement with us and the 2 other villages not. The latter wanted to remain rebels for the two chiefs and their people had made an agreement with the first two villages [and] wanted to remain untouched. They advised us that a Captain was about to arrive with a party of

12 Most certainly Antônio Paraupaba.

een Capiteijn met een partij volck alle bresilianen in aencomptste sijn, maer derft niet overcomen verwacht te vooren van ons bescheijt waer op ick eenich volck aen hun gesonden & deselve met noch 28 persoonen wijff en kinderen ingehaelt, seggen mede als bovensta[ende] & 2 Brasiliaenen.

P.S.

Oock sullen mijn heeren gelieven de voordesen begeerde huijden ofte leer tot de blaesbalch inde smits neffen andere saecken met eerste gelegentheijt te oversenden beneffens eene copere platen die bequaem sijn tot een farinie molen te gebruijcken, Namentlijk dat rad daarmede te bedecken daer toe beslagen dan dat oude cooper soo daer op, is niet meer te gebruijcken, insgelijcx sal UE mij gelieven een paer goede pistolen met haer holsteren ofte custodo neffens neffens [*sic*] advise wat die costen te oversenden & den werten daervoor onbeswaert op mijn rekening & stellen laten. Ick hadde verhoort dat *Anthonio* & de vader Caspar met het volck wel hadde connen spreken, maer sij konnen over zoo veel met hun spreecken als ick alsoo dat ick grootelijck verlegen ben wegen ditto sprake, toch desegde Jan seprijtinger can ons ten besten te recht helpen, want het mijn heeren gelieft diende wel met wat inct & pampier versien te sijn.

Translatie uijt een Brieff van 22 Martij

Bovenstaende van 10 Martij datteert, hebbe ick op 11 hier naer door 6 man, daer onder een vansegde constapels met geweest met een geseijlde boot naer *Paraiba* toe aen commandeur Smient gespedieert met een particulier schrijvens aen hem versocht versegde brieff sonder op houden naer parnambuco verspedieren, In absentie van hem, eenich ander van onse cruysers sijnde genoemde Smients brieff te openen & den inhoud vervolgen maer sij hebben wegen quaet weder aen *Paraiba* niet comen connen, sonder op 19 ditto des snachts weder ingecomen, maer dat 10 dagen in see geweest, doen alsoo advise met een boot door tegenwoordige neger, soo sich bij mij dieswegen aengedient aen mijn heeren oversenden, wel aencomende (werden versegde mijn heeren sulcken hasart oock weten te erkennen), op dato laet ick den Coninck van de Taponieren, die op 15 Martij, luyt jourgnael met een partij sijns volck vertrocken, weder te rugge halen, in meeninge hem met sijn & 40 man mijns volcx met mijnen lieutenant uijt te senden neffens Jan Seprijtinger die sullen haren marsch naer *Caniaou* & inde contreiye van *Paraiba* nemen, den vijant soecken affbreuck te doen,

people, all Brazilians, but they do not dare come as they expect to receive a message saying that I will send them a few men. In this manner I gathered 28 more people, woman and children. They confirmed the abovementioned, as did two Brazilians.

P.S.

My Lords should not forget to send us at the first opportunity the aforementioned skin or leather for the blacksmith's bellows as well as other things such as a copper plate appropriate for use in the *farinha* mill.¹³ The wheel needs to be covered because the present copper is too old and cannot be used any more. Similarly, may Your Highness be pleased to send me a few good pistols with their holsters or custodo as well as advice on their price. There is no problem to put this on my account. I have heard *Anthonio* and father Caspar have been able to talk with the people but they could speak as much with them as I could, knowing I am not very skilled in said language. Nevertheless, the said Jan Seprijtinger can help us best in this matter. I would be pleased if My Lords could provide me with some ink and paper.

Translation of a Letter Dated 22 March

The above is dated 10 March, which I dispatched on the 11th with 6 men among whom there was one constable to take a sailing boat to *Paraiba* to visit commander Smient with a special message to send the aforementioned letter without delay to Pernambuco. In his absence, one of our other cruisers was to open Smient's letter and follow the contents. However, they were unable to reach *Paraiba* because of bad weather and returned here on the 19th at night, having been 10 days at sea. I also give advice by boat through the present negro in my service, which I will send to My Lords, hoping for its safe arrival (knowing that the aforesaid Lords understand the dangers). Today, I ordered the King of the Taponieren, who left on 15 March, according to the journal, with a party of his people, to come back. Together with his people and 40 of my men, accompanied by my Lieutenant as well as by Jan Seprijtinger, the intention is to march to *Caniaou* and to search in the area of *Paraiba* for the enemy and to harm

13 On the production and use of the *farinha* mill in Dutch Brazil, see Mariza de Carvalho Soares, "Engenho sim, de açúcar não o engenho de farinha de Frans Post," *Varia Historia* 25, no. 41 (2009): 61–83.

intrim soo die saecken wel affloop & geen verhinderinge daer ints, heel naer *Tamarica* marcheren Ter contrarij soo tegen verhoopen eenich quaet resconter hadden & zij voornoemde reijse met volbrengen sonder
 11 te rugge moste, Alsmede de negers niet op comen costen, soo sullen |
 toch mijne heeren gelijk ick verhoope van alles schrijftelijk relation, door Jan Seprijtinger becommen dan hij coppie van iegenwoordigh schrijven, alsmede vant journael, alles int corte gevoecht, Om t'selve verborgen te dragen, & naer Tamarica te leveren, gelijk hij mij verspraken, ick mochte garen sien dat mij de heeren noch ontrent 70 man met vierroer over sonde dan my veel volck wegen deser nationen om de plaetse te besetten van nooden is, & alsoo geren andere aen die plaetse hadde ick twijffele niet off mijn lieutenant sal een proffijtelijck marsch voor mijn heeren doen & sich wel & roemlick houden wiens hasart & goede affection mijn heeren oock eerlijck te recompanseren sullen weeten sonsten wat sedert 9 Martij gepasseert tot dato hebben mijn heeren hier oock bij gevoecht te ontfangen *Vale* Adij 22 Martij 1634 opt Casteel Ceulen ondertusschen G. Gartzman V.W.

Sijn 3 negers die vrouwen hebben & eenen van mijnen negers die hebbe ick gelijk de versegde fl. 100 belooft dato hebbe ick 24 man uijt gesonden om paerden in meeninge de ienige soldaten soo met mijn lieutenant uijt gaen te paerde marcheren zullen alsoo [vermeinte] sijne reijs naer *Tamarica* met sijn comen, volgen rapport van dien Capiteijn soo op dato overgecomen, sonderen moet sien dat soo naer aen Paraiba comt als mogelijk is, om alleen Jan Seprijtinger op de passage te verhelpen, Ick hebbe gants geen vuier steenen tot roeren, bidde mij wat te senden.

Mijn heeren sal ik met deesen nootwendigen adviseren dat tegenwoordich pacquet brieven tot 2 verschenden malen & verscheijden personen namentlijck op 11 & 23 dito naer *Paraiba* aen commandeur Smienth affgeveerdicht met versoucken de selve dito naer Pharnambuco te spedieren, wegen versegde reijse nootsaeckelijck fl. 100 versproocken waer over sij haer besten gedaen, maer noijt tot haer intentie gelangen connen maer altijt weder incomen, alsoo den selven constapel soo de eerste rijse uijtgesonden is geweest met de persoonen soo nu bij sich heeft voor gewis meijst op te comen, hebbe ick hem meer genoemde br[asilianen] dato crast eerster Condition der 100 fl. weder overlevert in hoopinge wel met den selven tot *Paraiba* commen sal. Gisteren is mijn lieutenant met ontrent 200 man van Taponiers Brasillianen & mijnes volck naer *Caniaou* & tegens *Paraiba* toe uijtgemarcheert, maer Jan Seprijtinger

him, hoping that these things would go well without any hindrance, and the whole troupe could march to *Tamarica*. On the contrary, as they had an unfortunate encounter and were unable to continue the journey and had to come back. In addition, the negroes did not show up. Now, | My Wise Lords, I hope to receive a written account by Jan Seprijtinger and a copy of the present words as well as one of the journal, to be put together to transport secretly to *Tamarica*. As they have promised me, I would like to see My Lords send me about 70 men with muskets because many men are needed to defend this place against these nations and wished I had other men in this place. I have no doubt that my Lieutenant will make a profitable march for My Lords and will maintain himself correctly and with honor [and] whose hazard and good affection My Lords will know how to requite honestly notwithstanding what happened 9 March. To date, My Lords have also agreed to receive its, *vale*.¹⁴ 22 March 1634, at the fortress of Ceulen, remaining [your humble servant] G. Gartzman V.W. 11

Three negroes who have women and one of my negroes to whom I directly promised the aforesaid 100 florins, were sent away the same day with 24 men to fetch horses. The intention is to dispatch a few soldiers as well as my Lieutenant on horseback in order to travel to *Tamarica* and upon his arrival to follow the report of the Captain which arrived here today, and to see that he reaches Paraiba if possible in order to help out Jan Seprijtinger on his way alone. I have no more flintlocks for the muskets, I bid you send me some.

My Lords, I must advise you that the present batch of letters is to be sent in two different times by different persons, to wit on the 11th and 23rd of this month, to *Paraiba* to Commander Smienth with the request to dispatch the same to Pharnambuco. Considering the aforesaid voyage, it was necessary to promise 100 florins, for which they did their best, but were not able to do what they intended and always had to come back. As the said constable was sent away for the first voyage together with the people who are now with him and will certainly come [back], I have given the afore-mentioned Brazilians 100 florins under the first condition, hoping that I would arrive with them in *Paraiba*. Yesterday, my Lieutenant accompanied by 200 men consisting of Taponiers, Brazilians and my men, marched out to *Caniaou* and against *Paraiba*. I have given

14 Valediction, i.e., For now, farewell.

hebbe ick schrijvens soo copie van deselve tegenwoordige brieven, (in een knodse verborgen) met gegeven niet twijffelende vermogen zij neer beloften, waar hij bij *Paraiba* zijn sal zijnen wech met noch 5 ofte 6 man sijnen wech onvermerckt naer *Tamarica* nemen zal, & deselve aen gehoorende oort leveren, den welcken dat t sijnder aencompste vande commandeur *Cucar* aen dien ick hem geadresseert sonder eenich vertreck bis tot *Parnambuco* sal gestiurt & bevonden worden daer met mijn heeren den eenen ofte anderen wech advise van all den verloop hebben mogen, mijn lieutenant hebbe ick een Cornet neffens eenige paerden op de partij met gegeven, hop & indurenden marsch noch meer daer toe becomen zullen om het volck soo daer toe bequaem te paerde te brengen & deselve in plaets *Dragonders*¹⁵ te gebruijcken, oock intrim een volcomen cornet te dreseren willens ken, bij aldien het met der heeren believen geschieden mach waer toe ick dan noch 70 goeder resoluter & bequaeme man van doen hadde, om mij der selven buijten de besettinge alleen int lant te marcheren te gedienen & daer nootwendich te gebruijcken bij aldien nu mijn heeren sulcx aengenaem & proffijtelijck bevinden soo sal hun believen eenich accomodement voorde peerden als sadel & andere toebehoorts herwaerts te senden mijn heeren sullen believen het magazijn van vivres te gedencken dan het groot affnemen compt van wegen des vreemde volcx *Vale* ondertusschen G. Gartzman V.W.

12

Copie

van twee brieven van Capiteijn
Gertsman in dato 10 & 22 Martij
mitsgaeders copie van zijn journael
gehouden int fort Ceulen op rio grande
N^o 4.

15 *Dragoniers* (F.).

Jan Seprijtinger a copy of the present letters (hidden in a club), having no doubt in his promise that when near *Paraiba* he will continue with 5 to 6 men in stealth to *Tamarica*, and deliver it to said place. Upon his arrival, he will address himself to Commander *Cucar* and will be sent to *Parnambuco* without delay. There, he will have advice [report] for you, My Lords, about the course of his voyage. I have given my Lieutenant a Cornet as well as a few horses with his troop, in order to serve the people adequately with horses during this long march instead of using the *Dragoons*.¹⁶ In addition, I also want a true Cornet to be trained and, if wished for, it will happen according to the will of the Lords, [to do so] I need 70 good, resolute and able men in order to use them outside the occupied area to serve and march the land, which is necessary. Should it please and profit My Lords, let them to send some equipment for the horses such as saddles and other items. May it please My Lords to fill the storehouse with victuals as much has been taken by the foreign peoples, *vale*, remaining, G. Gartzman V.W.

Copy of two letters from Captain Gertsman dated 10 and 22 March as well as a 12
copy of his journal kept at Fort Ceulen on the Rio Grande.
N° 4.

16 *Dragoniers* (F.), mounted soldiers.

Description by Gerrit Hulck (1635)

A Short Description of the Staponiers in Brasiel was written by Gerrit Gerbrantsz Hulck of Hoorn, who served as pilot on the vessel *Haes*. Interestingly, there is only one copy known of his book, which is kept at the University Library of Ghent in Belgium. Hulck's manuscript is bound together with another written by Johannes Megapolensis (1603–1669) that provides a description of the Mohawks of the Iroquois confederacy living in the vicinity of the Dutch colony of Nieuw Amsterdam. Unlike Hulck's account, Megapolensis's journal (c. 1644) has been transcribed and published. In fact, the Hulck manuscript is rarely used by historians, with the exception of one recent translation in Portuguese cited by Evaldo Cabral de Mello.¹ This may be due to its absolute rareness as pointed out by Waterman.² Another clue may be found in the fact that the name "Staponiers" does not resemble Tapuia and obscures the link with the Tapuia or Jandovy.

Although a pilot upon the *Haes*, it is believed that Gerrit Hulck went to Brazil as a soldier too and participated in the capture of Rio Grande, Paraíba and Natal under the command of Lichthart and Garstman in 1633 and 1634.³ He must have returned to Holland before 1635 as his book was published that year in Alkmaar. His description is very detailed and shows that he probably took part in Dutch

1 Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *O Brasil holandês* (São Paulo: Penguin-Companhia das Letras, 2010), 267 cites Gerrit Gerbrantsz Hulck, "Breve Descrição dos Tapuia no Brasil," *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano* 58 (1993): 322–323. Johannes Megapolensis, "Kort ontwerp vande Mahakuase Indianen in Nieuw-Nederlant," in *Indianenverhalen: De vroegste beschrijvingen van Indianen langs de Hudsonrivier (1609–1680)*, ed. Kees-Jan Waterman, Jaap Jacobs and Charles T. Gehring (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2009), 101–112. Britt Dams, "Comprehending the New World in the Early Modern Period: Descriptions of Dutch Brazil (1624–1654)" (PhD diss., University of Ghent, 2015); and Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms*, never mentioned the Hulck copy.

2 Kees-Jan Waterman, Jaap Jacobs and Charles T. Gehring, *Indianenverhalen*, 101.

3 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 50, document 18: "Journal of the expedition to the Rio Grande in order to conquer the fortress *Santos Tres Reijs*, held from 5 to 21 December 1633." Interestingly, it is during this attack that Paraupaba and his son are taken by the Dutch: [scan 29] "Is goet geraden gevonden de brasilianen Caspar ende zijn Soon Anthonij int fort te laten, om also deselve int vaderlant Nederlants geleert hebben als tolcken te dienen"; [scan 43]: point 21 discusses how Fort Ceulen on the Rio Grande should be ruled, notably by making alliances with the *Brasilianen* in order to defeat the Portuguese [actum 20 December 1633].

expeditions in collaboration with the Tapuia against the Portuguese. Perhaps he was one of the six soldiers Jandovy took with him after the attack on Cunhaú.⁴

Another important fact about this publication is that it was probably consulted and copied by Elias Herckmans when he wrote his account of his time in Brazil, which includes the *Short Description of the Life of the Tapujas* (Document 9, below). This possibility was pointed out by Ernst van den Boogaart about 40 years ago.⁵

4 De Laet, *Historie*, 401.

5 Boogaart, "Infernal Allies," 532.

Original Printed Document

13^r

Een korte beschrijvinge,
 Vande
 STAPONIERS in BRASIEL,
 Van haer Leven, Doop, Hou-
 welijck, ende wonder
 Wercken,
 Beschreven
 door Gerrit Gerbrantz. Hulck,
 Van Hoorn gevaren voor Stuer-
 Man / op't Schip de Haes.

Anno 1635

t' Alckmaer,
 By Ysbrant Jansz. van Houten, Boeck-
 verkooper ende Stads-Drucker / inde
 Lange-Straet / inde Druck-Pars

13^v blanco14^r *'t Leven vande Stapoenjers in Brasilien.*

De Stapoenjers is kloeck volc van Lichaem / groot ende sterck van Persoon / grof van gebeente / dickachtich van kop/ Bruyn van verwe / gaen geheel naeck / of behangen haer somtijts met eenige Ravens of Papegaeys veeren / die by haer Abondant sijn / haer mannelijckheyt halen sy het vel over ende binden dat me een bandeken toe / so dat haer Mannelijckheyt gheel in t lijf getrocken is dat men het nie sien en kan / oock hebben sy geen Baerden / so haest daer eenige hayre beginnen te komen over haer lijf plocken sy die datelijc uyt / om datse niet weer wassen sen sullen / dan uytghesondert op haer hoofd dragen sy gemeenelijck lanc hayr / dat meest swart van verwe is. Sy sijn onverstandige Menschen / geen wetenschap hebben sy van God / maer ter Contrarij bidden den Duyvel aen als sy wat van hem begeren te weten als sy op een tocht gaen

Translation

13^r

A short description,
Of the
STAPONIERS in BRAZIL,
Of their Life, Baptism, Marri-
age, and marvelous
Works,
As described
by Gerrit Gerbrantz Hulck,
of Hoorn, a helms-
man on the ship *De Haes*.

In the year 1635

At Alckmaer,
by Ysbrant Jansz van Houten, Book-
salesman and City-Printer, in
Lange-Straet, in the Druck-Pars

blank 13^v

The Life of the Stapoenjers in Brazil. 14^r

The *Stapoenjers* are a people with stout bodies, tall and strong in person [stat-
ure], rude of bones, a thick head, brown of color, they go completely naked
and adorn themselves sometimes with a few feathers of the macaw⁶ or par-
rot, which are abundant among them. They pull the skin of their manly hood
up and tie it up with a small string in such a way that their manly hood is
totally contracted into the body and one cannot see it. They do not have beards,
because when a few hairs start to grow on their body they pull them out straight
away so they will not grow back again except for the hair on their head, which
they usually wear long, and is mostly black of color. They are people without
reason, having no knowledge of God but, on the contrary, worship the Devil

6 *Raaf* or “raven” is the Dutch term for the macaw (*Ara* sp.); the word is still used in Suriname to designate this large parrot.

tegen haer Vyanden / (of als haer Vrienden van haer sijn / hoe die varen) of
 sy die Victorie sullen hebben tegen haer Vyanden of niet / dat sy van te voren
 weten wie van haer daer blijven sal / dat wort haer van den Duyvel geseyt / het
 welck van onse Hollanders wel gesien hebben die aen den Dijo granden⁷ lagen
 / dat het so gebeurt is / als sy van te voren tegen ons geseyt hadden / ende oock
 konden sy van te voren seggen wie van ons Volck gheschooten soude worden
 / het welck oock soo gebeurde / als sy met den Duyvel begeren te spreekken /
 soo doen sy den Duyvel by haer komen in wat ghedaenten dat zy willen / doch
 meest in haer Lijf-eygen gedaenten / oock so laten sy hem wel aen haer komen
 14^v in die gedaente van een Vliegh / die dan spreekt wat sy van hem | begeren te
 weten / al watter gebeuren sal / ende mede watter gebeurt is / het welck altijd
 seker gaet dat hy tegen haer seyt / daer sy haer altijd op vertrouwen / als den
 Duyvel by haer komt soo heft hij maer een voet op daer hij altijd mede in 't sant
 sstaet / anders kanmen hem uyt haer niet kennen / ende dan verdwijnt hy wech
 uyt haer ooghen datmen henniet siet / daer op dan alle vrouwen beginnen te
 huylen ende te schreyen / en meene op haer manier datse hem grooten eer
 aen doen / want sy eenighe blijchap hebben al int huylen van die Vrouwen
 sy sijn haer overheyte heel onderdanich / haren Koninck die by haer ghenaeemt
 wort Jan de Wie⁸ / voort namemijck als sy op een tocht gaen tegen haer Vyant
 / sullen luysteren na sijn gebodt scherpelijck / den Coninck moet haer voor
 gaen tegen haer Vyant andes soudens sy van hem niet houden / die Coninck of
 eenige andere Officier en kanmen kenne aen haer Nagelen / de Coninck heeft
 aen beyde duymen langhe Negelen ontrent van een Vinger langh buyten het
 Vleys / ende zy scheern haer als een Kroon op het hooft / dat die andere niet
 doen en mogen / wat aengaet van eenige andere Officiers / kan me[n] kenne[n]
 ae[n] haer vingers daer sy lange Nagels aen dragen / maer die Nagelen op den
 Duym moeten heel kort sijn om also den Coninck sijn eer niet te benemen op
 haer wijs want hoe dat haer Nagelen langer sijn ho[e] dat sij malkander meer-
 der eer aen doen / het is gequaem volck om haer Vyant quaet te doen / als sy
 die vyant op die vlucht hebben door dien sy soo in't loopen sijn dat sy een paert
 sullen verby loopen / sy sijn oock starck in armen en beenen / en hebben een
 geweer van Barsiele hout gemaect aen beyde zyde plat / ene ontrent een hant
 15^r breed / wanneer sy daer | een mede treffen slaen sy hem niet een slach doot /
 zy hebben oock geweer van pijlen en asegeyen* / daer sy oock veel quaet mede
 doen kunnen / als sy voor haren Vyant sijn / als sy noch veer van het Volck sijn
 / kunnen daer soo net mee schieten / dat sy niet en faelgeeren / als zy een int

7 Read: Rio Grande.

8 Jandovy.

when they desire something from him, namely when they set out against their enemies (or if being their friends [allies] how they do [in warfare]), that they will know in advance whether they will be victorious against their enemies and who among them should stay. This the Devil tells them, and our Dutch men stationed at *Rio Grande* have seen this, that what was actually happened. They were also able to say in advance who of our people would be shot, which also happened in fact. When they need to speak to the Devil, they make the Devil come in any form, as they wish, but mostly it appears in its own body. However, they also let him appear in front of them in the shape of a fly, which tells them what they desire | to know, all that will happen and all that has happened and what will always happen, that he tells them. They always trust him. When the Devil comes to them he has but one foot to stand on in the sand. If nobody recognizes him, he will disappear from their sight so one cannot see him. Now, all the women start to cry and scream and believe in their manner that they pay him great honor for they have some joy in their crying. They are very submissive to their authority, their King whom they called Jan de Wie.⁹ For instance, when they go out against their enemy, they listen attentively to his commands. The King must go up front against their enemy; if not, they will not respect him. The King or any other Officer is recognizable by their fingernails. The King has a long nail on both thumbs measuring about one finger long beyond the flesh [of the finger]. And they also shave him a crown upon the head, which the others are not allowed to do. Concerning the few other Officers, one can recognize them when observing their fingers for they have long nails with the exception of the thumb, which must be very short in order not to take the honor of the King. In his manner it is the length of their nails that shows how much more honor they give to each other. They are a people skilled in doing damage to their enemy. Once their enemy is in flight, they run as fast as they can, being able to surpass a horse. They are also strong in arms and legs and have fabricated a weapon of Brazil wood that is flat on both sides, about the width of a hand. When they | hit someone, they do not kill him with one hit. They also have arms including arrows and *asegeyen**,¹⁰ with which they can inflict much pain. When they face their enemy and when they are still far away from them, they are able to shoot with the latter and they will not fail. When they have one

9 Jandovy.

10 On the use of spear-throwers or *atl-atl* among the Tapuia, see for instance Harald Prins, "The Atlatl as Combat Weapon in 17th-Century Amazonia: Tapuya Indian Warriors in Dutch Colonial Brazil," *The Atlatl*, no. 2 (May 2010): 2–10.

gesicht hebben / die kan haer qualijck ontgaen / en die daer mede gheraeckt worden moeten datelijck sterven/ door dien sy al in die hoochten smijten / soo dat het die Menschen int hooft vallen / daer dan gemeenlijck geen helpen aen en is / sy gebruycken oock Bylen als sy op een tocht gaen tegen haer vyanden / daer sijn al lange stalen in¹¹ / om beter tot haren proffijt te komen / sy en houden gans niet van onze geweer dat wy gebrucken / maer seggen dat het Duyvels sijn sy houden haer al by haer eyghen gheweer / sy hebben oock geen ordre als sy tegen haren Vyant gaen / maer loopen soo in't hondert toe / of maken een Boschagie daer sy veel quaet mede doen aen haren Vyant / als het tot versheyden mael gheschiet is / sy mogen oock soo veel Vrouwen Trouwen als sy willen / als daer een Vrouwe komt een kint te halen / nemen sy datelijck weer een ander / ende ghebruycken die voorgaende tot een Slaef daer sy dan gewillich in sijn / en gebruycken haer / om haer geweer te dragen / waer sy komen moeten sy hutten maecken / als die mans op een andere plaets trecken / soo nemen sy alijt een Boom mede die ontrent 5 of 600 pont swaer weecht.

15^v Die sy dan dragen uyt playsier om niet te verstijven / maer die vrouwen willen sy niet helpen / sy seggen dat sy daer toe gheboren sijn / het is een onbekent volck / sorgen niet om wat te doen / of om wat te planten voor haren honger / of om yet in voor-raet te hebben / maer als sy op een plaets | of op een ander leggen daer beesten sijn / daer gaen die mans op die Jacht / als sy maer een Beest in't gesicht hebben dat kan haer niet ontgaen / overmits sy die kunnen belooppen / en met haer Asegye kunnen schieten (dat het vallen moet) / sy sorgen niet voor den dach van morgen / maer eeten het al te mael op dat sy hebbe[n] / sy sijn schrickelijcke groot van eeten / sy sullen wel so veel eeten als thien van ons volck doen: Alst gebeurt dat sy op een plaets leggen / daer niet veel te bekomen is / so kunnen sy wel 5 a 6 dagen vasten / sy nemen dan een bladt van een Boom en binden die om haer lijf / daer sy op teren kunnen dat sy van geen honger en weten / als dat tot versheyden mael by haer geberut is / door dien sy in't eerst so gulsich sijn in't eeten datse gemeenelijck niet langer als 2 a 3 dagen op een plaets leggen / want sy het dan al op hebben / dat daer ontrent te bekomen is / en dan genootsaeckt sijn om te vertrecken/ soo het gheheele Lant door / houden oock geen passe in haer trecken / weten oock niet van eenige huysen te maken / maer nemen maer een deel biesen / dat sy voor de regen beschut sijn / als sy vertrecken steecken zy die aen brant (daermen alit aen sien waer sy geweest hebbe of niet / want sy geen pas en houden in Marsceren / als men haer van doen hebbe / moet men soecken na die passen die sy maken / daer

11 Herckmans refers here to long axe handles.

in their sights, it is difficult to avoid them and he who is hit will die immediately because they shoot high in the air in such a manner that people are hit in the head. This leaves generally little hope for help. They also use axes when they go on an expedition against their enemies and they already have [manufactured wooden] handles in order to get better profit for themselves. They do not like our arms at all and say that they are of the Devil and stick to their own weapons. They also do not hold the line when they fight their enemy but run about in hundreds or stand behind a bush from where they inflict a lot of pain on their enemy, as has happened numerous times. They are also allowed to marry as many women as they want. When one woman is pregnant, they immediately take another and use the former as a slave, and she is subsequently obedient, and they use her to carry their arms wherever they go to make their huts. When the men trek to another place, they always take a tree with them weighing about 5 to 600 pounds.

They carry them around for pleasure order not to stiffen [the body]. But they do not want to help the women for they say that they were born to do so. This is a strange people. They do not care to do anything or to plant something for their hunger or to have something in stock. However, when they are in a place | 15^v where they will stay or another where beasts can be found, the men will go hunting immediately. When they have a beast in their sights it cannot escape as they can outrun it and shoot it with their *asegaye* (in order to make it fall). They do not think of tomorrow and eat all that they have. They eat tremendous quantities of food. They might eat as much as ten of our people. When it happens that they are in a place without many provisions, they can fast for 5 to 6 days. To do so, they take a leaf from a tree and tie it around their body so they can digest this to forget their hunger. As this happened various times among them because at first they were very greedy when eating that they usually do not stay in one place longer than 2 to 3 days, when they had finished everything they could get in the area, thus being forced to leave and so going throughout the whole country. They do not make walk in pace during their treks. Nor do they know how to build houses and just take some reed in order to be protected from the rain. And when they leave, they burn them down (so one can always see that they have been there). And because they do not walk in pace during their treks, if one wants to meet them, one has to look for the stops they make,

sy 't alsoo verbrant hebbe / en op de roock aengaen moeten / want sy in haer Quartier altyt groote vieren aen hebben / dat somtijts noch wel 8. dagen roockt na haer vertreck.

Die Vrouwen sijn kort van stature / gaen oock geheel naeckt / uytgheson-
 16^r der voor haer schamelheyt / en van achteren met wat groent behangen / soo wan-
 neer sy komen te bocken datmen haer | schaemtheyt niet sien en kan / sy sijn
 oock bruynachtich van verwe / hebben al gemeenlijck lanck swart hayr / rede-
 lijck schoon van tronijen / sijn haer mannen gheel gediensich daer sy hem
 dienen konnen / sy kennen ooc geen overspel verdragen / maer houden veel
 vanden trou / dat is als sy een mannelijc Lichaen hebben / dan wort haer een
 vrouw ghegeven / en dat met sulcken Sarmonie / dat sy moeten in yder wangh
 [e]en gadt gesteken worden / daer sy dan altyt stocken in dragen moeten /
 omtrent een vinger langh daer sy malkanderen aen kenne) dat sy op haer wijs
 getrouwt sijn / 't welck een groot eer voor haer is / die niet getrouwt sijn worden
 worden [*sic*] onder haer niet gheacht / den trou ghesiet met een groote sar-
 monie in't principaelste van haren Voninck / en dat met een groot ghehuyl van
 vrouwen en kinderen / dat op haer manier groote blijtschap is soo wanneer dat
 gheschiet is / wort onder haer groote blijtschap bedreven 4 a 5 daghen lanck /
 maer al met huylen dat haer die tranen by de wanghen neer loopen / en dan
 teghen den avot wort haer een vrou gegeven / daer een dans aenrechten en
 hebben haer dan gewellich verciert / met schilderen haer gheheele lijf / met
 ramen[t]en / dat sij te naesten by een vogel gelijk sijn / soo met veeren en kra-
 len en bellen behangen / dat men haer wel vart hooren kan als sy aen danssen
 sijn / daer na mogen sy soo veel vrouwen trouwen als sy begeren / als van te
 voren gesyt is / maer dan trouwen sy geen meer / noch gebruycken die voor-
 gaende sarmonie geen meer als van die eerstemael / als sy die eene Vrou of
 d'ander willen hebbe / van die Vader daer sy die Vrou of gehadt hebbe / die
 haer die anderen niet weygheren kan / want het soo onder haer die manier is:
 16^v Die Koninck heeft ghemeijnlijck al | Twintich of Dertich Vrtouwen dat met haer
 die manier is.

Wat aengaet van haer Doop / sy worden ghedoopt als sy ontrent 6 of 7 Jaren
 oudt sijn en dat met sulcken sarmonie dat daer een van die ouste Vrouwen het
 kint op den hals neemt / dat wort door elcken oor een gadt gesteken / en mede
 in bovenste lip / daer sy dan altyt een houtken in draghen / om dat die gaetkens
 niet sullen toe wassen / daer sy malkanderen aen kennen / datse op haer wijze
 ghedoopt sijn / daer sy oock veel of houden / want soo langh dat niet ghedaen
 is / houden sy die kinderen voor geen Menschen.

Het geschiet al-te-met blijtschap / want als dat geschiet is vergaren al die vrou-
 wen 2 of 3 dagen lanck / bedrijven groote vreucht onder malkander doch al met
 groot ghetier / geschrijven en huylen / als haer komt te sterven / het sy man

because they burnt them and one has to aim for the smoke for in their quarters they always keep large fires, leaving the place sometimes smoking for 8 days after they leave.

The women are short of stature and also go completely naked with the exception of their private parts, covering their *derrière* with some green [leaves], so when they bend over one can | not see their genitals. They are also brownish of color and all have usually long black hair. They have a rather beautiful face and are very willing to help their man when they can serve him. They do not tolerate adultery either, but have trust in faithfulness [marriage] and so, when they have a manly body, a woman is given to them during a ceremony and they must pierce a hole in each cheek in which they put sticks which should be worn forever. These [sticks] measure about one finger long and serve them to recognize each other and that they married according to their customs, which is a great honor for them. Those who are not married are not much esteemed among them. The marriage is made with an important ceremony in the principal [hut] of their King accompanied with a lot of crying of women and children, showing in this manner great joy when it has happened. It is celebrated among them for 4 to 5 days altogether with so much crying that tears run down their cheeks, and when night falls a woman is given to them. Then they start dancing having adorned her beautifully and entirely painted her body with feathers so that she resembles a bird, and when she is dressed up with feathers and beads and bells, one can easily hear her dancing. Then they are allowed to marry as many women as they like, as said before. However, [afterwards] they do not marry any of them, nor do they use the aforementioned ceremony, which is used [only] for the first time. When they want a particular woman from a father, the latter cannot refuse him when facing the others, which is the custom among them. The King secretly already has | twenty to thirty women according to this custom. 16^r

Concerning their baptism, they are baptized when they reach the age of 6 or 7 years and with such a ceremony one of the eldest women takes hold of the child by the neck in order to pierce a hole in each ear as well as in the upper lip, in which holes they will always carry a little stick. [In this manner] the little holes will not close up again, and are now a way to recognize each other and [show] that they have been baptized in their manner, because they have a lot of them [children]. When this has not been done, the children are not considered to be human.

It goes hand in hand with happiness, because when it has happened the women gather for 2 to 3 days and make merry among each other with great screaming, weeping and crying. When one comes to die, either man or woman, they (man

ofte vrou / die eten sy man ofte vrou / die eten sy weder op / zy segghen datse niet beter bewaert konnen wesen als in haer eygen Lichaem / sy schrobben het Lichaem en wasschen het met water wel te deghen schoon / en maken dan vuur op de aert / en brandent en eten't soo al met een groot gehuyl en geschrey / moghen sy het al-te-mael niet op / soo bewaren sy het dickmaels 2 a 3 Maenden tot dat daer weer een ander sterft / so sy altijd wat houden het ghebeente braden sy / ende kappen het soo kleyn als Meel / ende doen dat onder haer Taringe¹² / en eten so het ghebeente mede op; Als daer een vrou ofte een Man komt te sterven / so doen al die vrienden van haer dat hayr af-snijden dat met haer dan rou is / ende alle daghen by een vergaren / daer sy het Lichaem op ghegeten hebbe / ende maken een groot | getier van hylen / dat doen sy soo langh als haer

17^r hayr weder lanck is als van te voren gheweest is. Alst gebeurt dat den Koninck ofte eenige Officierien komen te sterven / dan moeten haer Vrouwen haer op eeten / want daer geen slechte personen by mogen komen om ofte eten / ende daer hy gestorven is / maken sy hem een gedachtenisse / daer sy alle jaren by komen moeten om haer Sacrasitie te doen aenden Duyvel / segghen als sy dat doen datse dan duyvels Knechten worden / die sy voor haren God houden / seggen mede dat die gemeneluyden niet weer en komen als sy gestorven sijn / alst gebeurt dat een Vrou een doot Kint haelt soo moet zy het selfs opeten / zegghen dat zy dat niet beter kan bewaren als in haer eyghen lijf daer het uyt gekomen is / als sy een Kint krijgen loopen sy 7 of 8 dagen out sijn / dat een verwondering is om te sien: die Kinderen loopen dan datelijck in't Water te swemmen / ende zy worden gemeenlijck 300 Jaren out / zoo langh dat zy niet meer gaen en kennen / dan worden altijd in Amacken naghedragen die ouderdom wort veel geacht hoe zy ouder zijn hoemen haer meerder eer aen doet / wel te verstaen de Mans maer de Vrouwen niet. Want zy de vrouwen niet veel en achten / als sy een kint of twee hebben / als te voren gesyt is / gebruycken die tot haer slaven / als te voren gesyt is / gebruycken die tot haer slaven / als sy in haer Lant zijn hebben zy veel perijckel te verwachten / zo datse liever hier als in haer eyghen Lant sijn / want in haer Eyghen Lant is veel perijckel van Slanghen die blind sijn / omtrent van 25. Voeten lanck / zy hebben een schilt op het hoofd / die haer dickmaels onverziens uyt de klippen op het lijf vallen ende bijten haer in armen ofte benen / dat de tanden uyt haren bek gaen / ende blijven in de wont

17^v ste- | ken het welck soo fenijnich is datse datelijck daer van sterven moeten / of op't hochst leven 4 of 5 uren / al evenwel eten zy dat Lichaem op / dat soo doorsteecken vanden fenijn is / maer ten hindert haer niet / sy hebben oock mede groote perijckel als sy deur de Revieren gaen / in haer lijf bijten grooten Vis-

12 Read: *farinha**.

or woman) will eat this person. They say that they cannot be kept better anywhere else than in their own body. They scrub and wash the body entirely clean with water and make a fire on the ground to roast it and eat it with great crying and weeping. If they cannot finish it, they will keep it, often for 2 to 3 months, until another dies. In order to keep some, the bones are roasted and cut down as fine as flour and they mix it with their *farinha* to eat the bones in this manner too. When a woman or a man dies, all his friends cut off their hair, which represents mourning among them. They gather every day to eat the body with great | screaming and crying, which they will do as long as their hair takes to 17^r grow back as long as before. When it happens that the King or an Officer dies, their wives must eat them because no evil people may approach or eat them. And because he has died, they construct a shrine for him which they will visit every year to perform their celebration for the Devil. They say that when they do that they will become servants of the Devil whom they hold to be their God. They also say that the common people do not come back when they have died. When a woman gives birth to a dead child she must eat it herself for they say that the best place to keep it is in her own body, where it came from. When they have a child, it can walk when it is 7 or 8 days old, which is marvelous to see. These children walk straight away towards the water to swim. They will usually come of age at 300 years old [and they live] as long as they cannot stand up and walk anymore. Then they are always carried around in hammocks and age is highly esteemed for the older they are, the more they are esteemed by them. The men, but not the women because they do not greatly esteem their women. When they have one or two children, as was said before, they use them as their slaves. When they are in their country, they can expect a lot of danger. They prefer to be here instead of in their own country because in their own country there is a lot of peril of snakes. These are blind, about 25 feet long and they have a shield [carapace] on their head.¹³ They often jump out suddenly from the rocks onto their bodies and bite them on the arms or legs in such manner that the teeth come out of their mouth and stick in the wound, | which is 17^v so poisonous they die immediately, having only 4 to 5 hours to live. However, when they eat the corpse, it does not bother them that it is infested with poison. They also experience a lot of danger when they cross the rivers for they are bitten on their bodies by large fish, which you can see from their scars. These

13 Certainly a reference to the Brazilian cobra.

schen / die haer dickmaels aende Lijk-teycken ghesien hebbe / desen Visschen
 zijn ghestelt als Verckens in Hollandt / uyt ghesondert die steert / die hebben
 sy niet die Vis wort genaemt by haer Karsa / wat aengaet haer Lant is ghewel-
 dich Klipachtich / wort gherekent omtrent 300. Mijlen van hier te sijn / als sy
 thuys sijn lijden zy grooten Honger / overmits dat haer Lant soo Klipachtich is
 / ende daer geen Beesten en houden / maer uytgesondert Wilde Varckens / die
 zy al-te-met een bekomen om datse die belooppen kennen / zy zijn dickmaels 3
 ofte 4 daghen datse by geen Wateren komen / anders als sy boven op de Klip-
 pen vinden leggen / dat daer vande Dauw op komt / daer valt oock honich die
 sy uyt de Boomen tappen soo dick als Melck / sy hebben oock mede kleyne
 Wortels ontrent de dichte van een stroo / en een voet lanck / die zy inde eert
 [vinden] die kouwen de Vrouwen zoo kleyn als Bry / dat spouwen de Vrouwen
 weder uyt / en ghevent haer mannen te eten / 't welck op haer sprake ghe-naemt
 wort Kou-wou / daer sy haer somtijts droncken aen drincken kennen / alssick
 tot verscheyde mael gesien hebbe / sy hebben noch veel andere Sarmonie die
 18^r veel te lanck soude westen te | Schrijven / wantmen daer wel heele Boecken of
 Schrijven zoude / daerom heb ick de Principaelste Sarmonie aangewesen / zo
 veel als ic van haer heb konnen bemercken.

EYNDE

fish are similar to the pigs in Holland with the exception of the tail, which they do not possess. The fish is called by them “Karsa.”¹⁴ Concerning their country, it is very rocky and lies about 300 miles from here.¹⁵ When they reside at home, they suffer great hunger because their land is so rocky and they do not keep beasts there, only wild pigs, which they catch because they can outrun them. They often do not go near any water during 3 to 4 days and live only on what they find in the rocks, where some dew is deposited. There is also honey, which they tap from the trees and is as thick as milk. They also have small roots about the thickness of a straw and one foot long, which they find in the ground and is chewed to a pulp by the women. They spit it out again and provide their men with food that is called “Kou-wou” in their language.¹⁶ Sometimes they drink themselves into an inebriated state with it, which I have seen various times. They have many other ceremonies what would take too long to describe | here 18^r for one could write entire books about them, and that is why I have shown the most important ceremony as much of it I was able to observe among them.

END

14 Probably a cayman or manatee.

15 According to Snellius, a Dutch astronomer and mathematician, a Dutch or German nautical mile is 7,157 m.

16 *Cauim* in Tupi, a drink made from manioc.

Description by Elias Herckmans (1639)

Elias Herckmans (1596–1644) was a merchant and respectable poet before traveling to Brazil or Nieuw Holland in the service of the WIC in 1635, at the age of 39. He fought against the Portuguese under Colonel Sigismund von Schkoppe and later became a member of the High Council seated at Recife. Only a year later, he became governor of Itamaracá, Paraíba, Goiana and Rio Grande, boosting his political career. During his stay in Brazil he was part of two important expeditions.¹ One took place in September 1641 when he led an expedition into the interior in order to find precious minerals.² During the second expedition, to Chile in 1642–1643, he was vice commander of a Dutch fleet under the command of Hendrick Brouwer. Had it succeeded, Herckmans would have taken command of this new Dutch colony near Valdivia, but Brouwer died in Chile and Herckmans had to take the fleet back, thus returning empty-handed in December 1643. Back in Recife, the Dutch officials held Herckmans responsible for the failure of the Chile expedition, but he died in January 1644.³

In his fourth year in Brazil, 1639, Herckmans finished his *Beschrijvinge van de Capitanie Paraiba* or *General Description of the Captaincy of Paraíba*. As its title indicates, it gives a description of this particular *capitania* or captaincy;

- 1 Henk den Heijer and Benjamin N. Teensma, *Nederlands-Brazilië in Kaart: Nederlanders in het Atlantisch gebied, 1600–1650. Den corte beschrijvinge inhoudende de cust van Brazil ende meer andre plaetsen* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2011), 59–60. See also Jacob A. Worp, “Elias Herckmans,” *Oud Holland* 11, no. 3 (1893): 162–178; Guilherme Gomes da Silveira D’Ávila Lins, *Governantes da Paraíba no Brasil colonial 1585–1808. Uma revisão crítica da relação nominal e cronológica*, 2nd ed. (João Pessoa: Edições Fotograf, 2007), 61–64; Britt Dams, “Elias Herckmans: A Poet at the Borders of Dutch Brazil,” in *The Dutch Trading Companies as Knowledge Networks*, ed. Siegfried Huigen, Jan L. de Jong, and Elmer Kolfin, Intersections 14 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 19–37; Noortje de Groot, “Een avontuurlijke carrièrejager. Van de Republiek naar Nederlands Brazilië. De veelzijdige loopbaan van dichter, koopman en compagniesdienaar Elias Herckmans (1596–1644)” (Master’s thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2014).
- 2 Worp, “Elias Herckmans,” 173–174. His field report and cartographic sketches can be found in Caspar Barlaeus, *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi nuper gestarum, sub praefectura illustrissimi comitis I. Mauritii, Nassoviae* (Amsterdam: Johannes Blaeu, 1647) after page 24.
- 3 Worp, “Elias Herckmans,” 176–177. For his Chile journal transcribed in Dutch, see Henk den Heijer, *Goud en Indianen: Het journaal van Hendrick Brouwers expeditie naar Chili in 1643*, Linschoten-Vereeniging CXIV (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2015); for a translation into English, see Mark Meuwese, *To the Shores of Chile: The Journal and History of the Brouwer Expedition to Valdivia in 1643*, Latin American Originals 14 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2020).

it also offers an interesting consideration of the (linguistic) origins of Paraíba toponyms. At the end it also contains the *Short Description of the Life of the Tapujas*, which appears as an appendix. As we are now able to compare the Tapuia descriptions made by Hulck and Herckmans, we can only come to the conclusion that Herckmans copied large parts of Hulck's publication, though he did also enrich his text with information he had gathered (personally?) in Brazil.⁴ Given that it is appended to the end of his *General Description*, but also that the Tapuia were mostly confined to Rio Grande (and not to Paraíba), suggests that this complementary text may have been added at a later date or was written earlier, perhaps at the same time Hulck was in Brazil. In the latter case, Hulck might have copied the manuscript from Herckmans or another unknown author. As a poet, Herckmans's version is evidently more carefully and skillfully written than the much "rawer" text of Hulck, which is often difficult to comprehend; perhaps Hulck had difficulties expressing himself in words or lacked the skills to comprehend the original text he was copying?

Considering the Tapuia of northeastern Brazil, the Herckmans manuscript is perhaps the only one that evokes explicitly the existence of different Tapuia groups by revealing their (self-)designations, such as the Cariri and Tarairyou, of whom Jandovy was considered king. Thomas Pompeu Sobrinho has already pointed out that the Portuguese made distinctions among the Tapuia in the second half of the sixteenth century and singled out the Cariri.⁵ Herckmans's Tarairyou is not the sole mention of the name of Jandovy's group as Johannes de Laet also copied a letter written by the Dutch to Jandovy addressed as "King of Tararyon," in which the Dutch evoke the attack on Paraíba and ask for his collaboration (see Document 12).⁶ This rarity or peculiarity was subsequently pointed out by Rudolf Schuller and Thomas Pompeu Sobrinho and was eventually crystallized in the *Handbook of South American Indians* by Robert

4 The resemblance between the two documents was pointed out by Boogaart, "Infernal Allies," 532.

5 Thomaz Pompeu Sobrinho, "Os Tapuia do Nordeste e a Monografia de Elias Heckman," *Revista do Instituto do Ceará* 48 (1935): 7–8. Cardim singled out 76 Tapuia tribes, of which "Nhandejú" may suggest a link with Jandovy: *Tratado*, 198–206. The editors of Cardim's *Tratado*, Baptista Caetano, Capistrano de Abreu and Rodolpho Garcia, suggested in their notes that the name Nhandejú could derive from the Tupi word *nhandu* or *ñandu*, the American ostrich, and referring to its great running speed and skills; these same skills are attributed to the Tapuia of Jandovy. Cardim, *Tratado*, 208.

6 De Laet, *Historie*, 404. Benjamin N. Teensma proposed that the name Tarairyou derives from the South American lungfish *t(a)raíra boía* or *caramurú* (*Lapidosiren paradoxa*): "The Mission of Rudolph Baro in Search of the Nhanduí in the Macaguá Mountains, 1647," in *Dutch Brazil, Vol. 1. Documents in the Leiden University Library*, ed. Cristina Ferrão and José Paulo (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Index, 1997), 361.

Lowie.⁷ This ethnic identification was subsequently taken over by Ernst van den Boogaart in his important paper “Infernal Allies.”⁸

The description of Paraíba was first published in the journal *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* in 1879.⁹ In 1886, it was translated into Portuguese by José Hygino Duarte Pereira.¹⁰ More recently, Pereira’s translation was reviewed and republished by José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello.¹¹ Herckmans’s *Short Description of the Life of the Tapujas* is kept at the National Archives in The Hague, the Netherlands, under signature number NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 46, fols. 19^v–25^r. There is a second description of Paraíba, dated 8 September 1640, also provided by Herckmans (NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 55, document 51), but this time it concerns an update of Paraíba only. He refers to the interest in this captaincy and how to extract more profit from it. The Tapuia are mentioned just once in the latter document, when Herckmans considers the fact that the cattle population has diminished in the Dutch colony because the inhabitants consumed a lot of them, just as the Tapuia did.

7 Rudolf R. Schuller, “Zur Affinität der Tapúya-Indianer des ‘Theatrum Rerum Naturalium Brasiliae,’” *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 21 (1912): 81–82; Pompeu Sobrinho, “Os Tapuia”; Robert H. Lowie, “The Tarairiu,” in *Handbook of South American Indians Vol. 1*, ed. Julian H. Steward, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 143 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office), 563–566. For the Cariri see Claudius Henricus de Goeje, “Das Kariri (Nordost-Brasilien),” *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 24 (1932): 147–178.

8 Boogaart, “Infernal Allies,” 521 n. 5.

9 Elias Herckmans, “Generale Beschrijvinge vande Capitanie Paraiba,” *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 2 (1879): 358–367.

10 Elias Herckmans, “Descrição geral da Capitania da Parahyba,” *Revista do Instituto Archeologico e Geographico Pernambucano* 5, no. 31 (1886): 239–288.

11 José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, *Fontes para a História do Brasil Holandes, Vol. 11: A Administração da Conquista* (Recife: CEPE, 2004), 53–112.

Original Handwritten Document NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 46,
Fols. 19^V–25^R

19^V

...

*Een corte beschrijvinge van't
Leven der Tapujas*

Alsoo wij hier te vooren aen geroert hebben inde beschrijvinge van Paraiba van eenige oorlogen die de Brasilianen ende naturellen des selven lants gevoert hebben tegens hare nagebuijen de *Tapuias* Soo hebbe niet ongeraden gevonden oock een weinich van het leven ende de manieren der selver te beschrijven. De Tapuias dan is een volck wonende westwaert lande-

waert in, omtrent ende over het geberchte, daer de Capitancias* (bij de blancken soo portugesen als neerlanders nu beseeten) op 't uytterste bewoont werden, ende zijn verdeelt in verscheiden natien, te weten daer sijnder die dwars van Pernambuco wonen ende genaemt *Carrirj*, hebben tot een koninck Kerioukejou, daer is noch een ander natie wat vorder gelegen genaemt ~~Caryw~~ *Carirywassu* haren Coninck is *Karapoto*, daer is noch een derde die sij noemen *Carerijou*,

20^R

Besonder kennen wij de natie ofte Tapuyas*, genaemt | Tarairyou diens Coninck is Jan Diunvy over een gedeelte ende Caracara oock over een gedeelte desen houden hant int Westen van *Rio grande* ende Cunhau, sij hebben geen seeckere steden ofte dorpen daerse woonen, maer trecken het landt door, woonen nu op d'eene dan op de andere plaetsen, comen inde casiou tijt, twelck is in November, December ende January wel afsacken nade zee kant, want hoogh int landt heeft men weynich of geen Casiou* dus reguleren sij hen na den tijt vant jaer om haer kost te soucken.

Dit geseide volck is clouck van lichaem, groot van stature grof en sterck van gebeente, dick ende groot van hooft sijn van couleur uyt de nature bruinachtich, swart van haer opt hooft, inde neck gemeenlijck neerhangende, maer voor tot over de ooren gelyck afgecort

Translation

...

19^v

A short description of the Life of the Tapujas

As we have mentioned previously in the description of Paraiba concerning various wars that the Brazilians and natives of the same country have waged war against their neighbors, the *Tapuias*. So I believe it would be reasonable to describe some of the life and manners of the latter.

The Tapuias are a people inhabiting the western parts inland, around and beyond the mountains, where the Capitánias (so-called by the white men, now occupied by both Portuguese and Dutch) were inhabited along the coast, and divided up into different nations, to wit those who live [opposite] Pernambuco and are called *Carriri*, and have as their King Kerioukejou. There is another nation dwelling a little farther called *Carirywassu* and their King is *Karapoto*. There is a third [nation] which they call *Carerijou*. We especially know the nation of the Tapuyas, called | Tarairyou, whose King is Jan Diunvy over one part and Caracara also over one part, and they rule to the west of Rio Grande and Cunhaú. They do not have cities or villages where they live but roam throughout the land, living now in one place, now in another. In the time [season] of the Casiou*,¹² which is in November, December and January, they come down to the sea because in the highlands¹³ there are very little or no Casiou, so they regulate themselves by the time of the year to find their food.

20^r

Said people are stout of body, large of stature, coarse and strong in bones, [with a] thick and large head, being naturally brownish of color, with black hair on their head, usually hanging down at the neck, but cut short at the front straight over the ears as if they had a bonnet on their head. However, a few have their

¹² Cashew fruit and seeds (*Anacardium occidentale*).

¹³ Further up in the lands translated as "highlands" here.

als offe een bonnet¹⁴ opt hooft hadden, doch laten sommige het hooft over al afscheeren, na de wijze van onse natie, sij hebben het haer alle seer groff en wreet.

sij gaen geheel moeder naect uytgesondert op sommige tijden als sij feest houden, ofte ten oorloge gaen als dan behangen sij gemeenlijck hun lichaem met vederen van Araras dat sijn Westindische raven, item van Marganaus, Papegaeyen & Parquiten die bij haer seer schoon sijn, haer manlicheit halen sij het vel over ende binden het met een bandeken toe, soo dat het heel int lijf sit, dit snoertgen is het het [*sic*] vijgen blat waer mede hare schaemte bedect is, twelck los gaende & breec-kende bij haerlieden soo groote schande is, als of yemant onser natie sijne schaemte ontbloote,

sij dragen gantsch geene baerden noch haer op enige gedeelten des lichaems, maer soo haest haer eenich haer begint uyt te wassen, pluckent terstont

20^v uyt ende beneemment also den vorderen wasdom. | Het sijn onweetende ende ongeleerde menschen, geen kennisse hebbende vanden waren God ofte sijne geboden, maer integendeel dienen den Duyvell ofte eenigerhande boose geesten, gelyck wij uyt hare ommegangen dickwils gespeurt hebben. Tot dien einde hebben sij onder haer fetisseros ofte Duyvel jaegers, die bij haer in groote achtinge seijn (wanneer sij op tochten gaen tegen hare vijanden om te weten hoe het haer vergaen sal, wanneer sij verre van haere vrienden sijn, om te weten hoe die varen, item wie dootgeslagen sal worden & wie niet) weten op verscheyden wijsen den Geest bij haer te doen comen, in sodanige gestalte als sij begeren doch meest in haer eijgen gedaenten als waert mede een Tapoyer.

Laten hem oock wel in haer lijf vaeren inde gedaente van een vliege, ofte ander klein gedierte om door haer te spreekken toecomende dingen

14 *Bonnet* (F.), cap.

hair shaven all over the head, according to the manner of our nation. They all have very coarse and rough hair. They go stark naked except during when they feast, or go to war, for then they usually hang [adorn] their bodies with feathers of Araras, which are West Indian ravens, also with [those of] marganaus, parrots and parakeets, which are very beautiful there. The skin of the male genitals is pulled over and tied up with a small band, in such a way that it is totally confined to the body. This small string is the figleaf with which they cover their shame. The loosening or breaking of it is such a great disgrace among them, as though someone of our nation showed his private parts. They do not have beards nor [hair] on any other parts of their body, for when hair starts to grow, they will pluck it out immediately in order to prevent it growing to maturity. | 20^v

They are ignorant and uneducated people, not having knowledge of the true God or his commandments but, on the contrary, serve the Devil or any other evil spirits, which we have often experienced when we met each other. For this purpose they have *fetisseros*¹⁵ or Devil hunters among them, who are highly esteemed (when they go on expeditions against their enemies, in order to know [in advance] how they shall fare, when they are far away from their friends, to know how they are doing, and who will be beaten to death and who will not) and know of various ways to invite the Spirit to come, in any form they desire; however, most often [he appears] in their own shape as if it were a fellow Tapoyer. They also let him enter their body in the appearance of a fly, or some other small animal, in order to speak through them of future

15 *Feitiçeiros* (P.), “wizards”. See for example Cardim, *Tratado*, 162.

die sij begeeren te weten, hun seecker betrouwende op de dingen die hij tegen haer seit.

Doen de soldaten onder den Oversten Artichos-kij tot dienst der West Indische Compagnie der vereenichde Nederlanden trocken nae de veroveringe van Barra Canhou in Rio grande waren geassisteert met de Tapuyas van den Coninc Jandu wij hebben gesien ende getuygen verscheiden nederlandtsche bevelhebberen, dat sij den Duvel bij haer dede komen in gedaente ale een Tapoyer hadde maer een been en sprack een fijne stemme gelijk een vrouwe, conde anders uyt haer niet gekent worden, doen hij nu voor haren oogen verdween begonden alle de vrouwen te huylen & te

21^r schreeuwen, waer mede sij hem schenen te vereeren | want als sij eenige teecken en van vreuchden of blijtschap willen betoonen bestaet in het gehuil ende gekrijch der vrouwen.

Dese natie is haer Overheit seer onderdanich ende haren beveelen gants geboorsaem, bijzonder als sij met haren Coninck te velde gaen, ofte ten strijde tegens hare vijanden, daer hij dan voor aen moet gaen, ende heeft groot gesach, maer sijnde bij huis ofte verre vanden vijant wort soo veel niet geacht.

Ende alsoo dit volck (gelijck geseit is) gantsch naect gaet, soo en kan men den Coninck noch sijn grootste Heeren niet kennen door uytmuntende clederen, dan alleenich aen 't haer ende naegelen aen haer vingeren, den Coninck ist haer opt hooft geschooren gelijk een kroon, draegt aen bejide de duijmen lange en ongecorte naegelen, 't welck neffens hem nijemant en mach doen, Daerentegen sijn vrienden ende bevelhebberen dragen lange nagelen aen alle de vingeren uijtgesondert aende duijmen, die sij cort af snijden mochten, om den Coninck in sijn eer niet te vercorten, voorts wert onder haer meest geeert die de langste nagelen aende vingeren heeft.

things they wish to know, giving them confidence concerning things he said to them.

When the soldiers, commanded by Superior Artichoskij in the service of the West Indian Company of the United Netherlands, went to Rio Grande after the capture of Barra Canhou, [they] were assisted by Tapuia of King Jandovy. We saw, and it was witnessed by various Dutch officers, that they invited the Devil to visit them in the form of a Tapoyer, but with only one leg, and he spoke in a fine voice just like a woman, otherwise he could not have been recognized, but when he disappeared before their eyes all the women started to wail and weep, apparently somehow honoring him in this manner, | for if they want to show signs of joy or happiness, they show it in the wailing and weeping of the women. 21^r

This nation is very submissive to their authorities and obedient to their commands, in particular when they go away with their King, or to wage war against their enemies, in which he has to go up front, and has great authority, but when at home or far from the enemy [he is] not much esteemed. And as this people (as said before) go entirely naked, one cannot recognize the King nor the most important Gentlemen by their splendid clothes, but only by their hair and the nails of their fingers, for the hair of the King is shaven like a crown, and he has long and uncut nails on both thumbs, and no one is allowed to do likewise but him; however, his friends and officers do have long nails on all the fingers except the thumbs, which they have to cut short in order not to deprive the King of his honor. Furthermore, they honor most the person among them with the longest nails on their fingers.

Dit volck is seer bequaem om de voortvluchtende
 vijant te vervolgen, want sij door den banck seer
 sterck sijn int loopen, souden een paert verduijren, &
 sijn in occsaie van verwinninge seer geneijgt om
 doot te slaen sonder onderscheijt. Sij dragen ge-
 weer van brasilienhout gemaect, aen wedersij-
 de plat, ende scharp int midden wat dickachtich
 ende verheven voor aen een groote hant breed, &
 swaer doordringende, met dewelcke sij ijemant raec-
 kende salt op staen wel vergeeten. Sij dragen mede
 pijl end booch doch meest asegaeyen daer sij veel
 21^v quaets mede kunnen doen onder hare vijanden |
 kunnen die seer net uijtwerpen, daer toe sij lichte
 houten hebben half soo langh als hare asegaeyen*, sijn-
 de met een gootje uijtgehooft, daer sij d'selve in
 leggen, ende soo snel van haer schieten dat het
 een naect menssche (geen been raeckende) doort
 lijf sal vliegen. Sij gebruijcken oock cleine
 hantbijlen daer sij lange steelen in maecken tot
 haer geweer tegen hare vianden, vant geweer onser
 soldaten maecken sij gants geen werck, seggen 't sel-
 ve duijvels consten te sijn. Zij marcheren oock in geen
 ordre, maer loopen int hondert door malcanderen,
 edoch soo weeten sij ~~int~~ te embuscaden te leggen,
 daer uijt sij veel quaets doen aen hare vijanden,
 twelck onse soldaten getuijgen tot verscheiden
 malen bij haer gesien te hebben.
 Voorts leggen sij een gants beestich leven
 en sorgeloos, sij en saeyen noch en planten niet,
 noch en trachten na geen voorraet om van te
 leven, komen sij ergens inde beneedenste quar-
 tieren buijten haer lant, daer vee of bestiael
 is, dat alhoewel wilt, & sich niet laet vangen
 inde bosschen, wij weten sijt te beloop, &
 met haer asegaeyen te schieten, dat sijt onder
 de voet krijgen ende haer over den tegenwoor-
 digen tijt een spijs daer van bereiden. Eetten alles
 op sonder iet te bewaeren voor den dach van morgen
 wanneer sij sijn ter plaetse daer overvloed is

These people are very capable in pursuing the fleeing enemy, because they are generally very good runners [and] can outrun a horse, but when victory is near they tend to kill without making a difference [between men, women, children]. They carry arms made of Brazil wood, flat on both sides and sharp, somewhat thick at the middle and more pronounced up front about one hand in width, and a powerful penetration, that when hitting someone one can forget to get up straightaway. They also carry bows and arrows but mostly spear-throwers,¹⁶ with which they can inflict a lot of damage upon their enemies | and which they 21^v can throw with precision for which they have light wooden sticks half as long as their spear-throwers. These [latter] are hollowed out in the form of small channel in which they put the stick and they can shoot it so quickly that it will fly through the body of a naked human (unless it hits bone). They also use small hand axes to which they attach long handles to their arms against their enemies. They pay no attention to the arms of our soldiers, saying that these are devilish tricks. They also do not march in any order, but run about all together in a frenzy; however, they know how to make an ambush with which they inflict a lot of damage upon their enemies, which our soldiers have witnessed several times among them.

Furthermore, they lead an entirely bestial and careless life, they do not sow or plant, nor do they try to maintain a stock to live off. When they arrive in the lower regions [the coastal zone] outside their country, where one can find cattle or [other] beasts, although wild and difficult to catch in the forest, they manage to outrun them and shoot them with their spear-throwers, get hold of them and then prepare them that same day. They eat everything without keeping anything for the day after tomorrow, when they are in a place of abundance

¹⁶ Herckmans mentions spear-throwers and bows and arrows together but it is probably the only mention of bows and arrows among the Tapuia.

soo kan een man van haer soo veel eeten als 5 a 6
 vœ van d'onse, Daer benefens oock wan-
 neer sij sijn daer niet veel te becormen is, soo
 connen sij oock wel 4 a 5 dagen vasten gor-
 dende haren buijck telckens in met seeckere
 basten van boomen, dat haer den honger wat
 doet vergeeten,¹⁷ tot dat sij weer connen daer eeten
 22^r is, ende dan den bant des hongers afdoen. |
 De gulsicheit int eeten van dit volck, doet dat sij trec-
 kende doort lant niet langer als 2 a 3 dagen op
 eene plaets kunnen blijven, dat overmits sij het al
 opgegeten hebben, andere moeten gaen soecken. Over-
 sulcx maecken sij oock geen huizen dan alleen van een
 weynich rijs een beschutsel voor den regen, of voor
 de heette sonne, maeckende bij nacht groote vijeren
 daer sij haere hangmacken langs spannen om haer
 te verwarmen. Wanneer wij vertrecken soo steec-
 ken sij dese leger plaetsen in brant, waer aen
 men sien kan waer sij geweest sijn, 't welck dient
 tot een baecke, Wanneer men haerder begeert of
 bij haer begeert te wesen, dat men dan opde vijeren
 aengaet.
 De vrouwen sijn, door den banck, klein ende corter van statu-
 re dan de mannen, sijn mede bruijnachtich van couleu-
 re, dragen lanck ende swart haer, redelijck schoon van
 tronien, gaen oock gants naect, uijtgesondert
 voor hare schamelheit ende achter behangen met
 groenne bladeren, sij sijn haere mannen gantsch
 gedienslich ende onderdanich in alles wat sij begee-
 ren dat redelijck is, sij en connen geen overspel verdragen
 maer houden veel van trouwen.
 De mannen die een wijff begeren te trouwen, moeten
 aleer sij daer toe comen betoonen dat sij een recht
 manlijck hert hebben, het sij aen haere vijanden
 door cloeckmoedicheijt van wapenen, ofte bij huijs
 door het dragen van eenige swaere boomen, en daer
 toe verordineert een stuck weegs, tot een prouf

¹⁷ In margin: bant des hongers.

one of them can eat as much as 5 or 6 of ours, but when there is not much to get, they are able to fast about 4 to 5 days strapping up their stomach each time with a particular tree bark, that will make them forget the hunger, until they again reach [a place] where there is food, and take off the hunger band. |

22^r

The gluttonous eating of this people is caused by their trekking throughout the country, for they cannot stay in one place longer than 2 to 3 days: when they have already eaten everything [there], others have to go look for food. Similarly they do not build houses either, they only make a protection of some reeds against the rain or the sun, [and] at night they make large fires next to which they hang their hammocks to warm themselves. When we leave they set these sites on fire, which shows that they have been there, and serves as a beacon when one needs to meet them as one [can] track the fires.

The women are in general small and shorter of stature than the men. They are also brownish of color, have long black hair, a rather beautiful face, and go entirely naked, except for their private parts and behind [which are] covered with leaves. They are very servile to their men and submissive in all they need that is reasonable, and they cannot tolerate adultery but prefer to marry.

The men who desire to marry must first show that they have a honest, manly heart, either before their enemies through bravery of arms or at home by carrying a few heavy trees [logs] which have to be dispatched in a test of strength,

harer starckheit, welcke manhaftige qualiteiten voor ijder gebleecken soo wort haer een wijff gegeven, ende dat met volgende Ceremonien.

22^v Men steeckt haer in elcke wange een gat | daer sij stockjens of witte beentgens in dragen in fatsoen al waren 't stuckjens afgebroocken van taback pijpen, sommige 3, 4 a 5 duijmen lanck, 't welck een recht teecken is, dat sij op haere wijze getrouwt zijn. Die dese teeckens niet en dragen, en nochtans tot hare mannelijcke jaren gecomen sijn, worden in klein respect en achtinge gehouden, dese gaetgens inde wangen worden oock wel gegeven aen die, die twee koppen van hare vijanden gebracht, tot teecken van datse die gedoot hebben.

Wanneer eenich houwelijk gecelebreert wort dat geschiet in presentie van haren koninck, met groot gehuil ende gecrijsch van vrouwen ende kinderen, dat op hare maniere (gelijck vooren oock geseijt wert) een teecken van groote eer en blijdschap is, Dese feeste 4 a 5 dagen geduirt hebbende met huijlen en schreeuwen soo wort hem de bruijt toegebracht tegens den avont in een toebereijden dans daer sij op haer maniere seer luidje onder singen, hebbende haer lijff ende aensichten opt alder costelijcxste beschildert met verwen *karamentijn*, *ururu* en *jeni-paba* daerenboven behangen met alderhande soorten van schoone veederen, datse beeter een voogel ofte eenich monster, dan een mensch gelijcken. Ontbreeck ter aen dit cieraet dan noch ijet dat wort met Coralen* ende bellen geholpen, dat men hare dansen soo verre hoort clincken alls eenigen bellard ofte gildes opt uijtgaen vande vasten.

Na dese feesten van het eerste trouwen vermogen sij soo veel vrouwen te nemen als sij begeeren, Maer en trouwen niet meer op soodanige Ceremonien als dese want indien sij dan noch een andere dochter tot haer vrouwen begeerden, soo en can de vader de dochter vol-
23^r gens hare manieren, hun die niet weijgeren, | doch hoe grooter persoonagie, hoe meerder vrouwen

[and] when their manly qualities have been demonstrated to all, then a wife is given in the following ceremonies. They make a hole in each cheek | through 22^v which they put small sticks or small white bones according to the fashion, resembling pieces of broken tobacco pipes, some measuring 3, 4 to 5 thumbs long, a true sign that they married according to their custom. Those who do not wear these signs but have reached their manly years are not respected or esteemed much. These holes are also given to those who have brought two heads of their enemies, as a sign that they have killed them. When a marriage is being celebrated, it happens in the presence of their King, with great crying and screaming of the women and children, which according to their custom (as is indeed being said) is a sign of great honor and joy. Once this feast has gone on for 4 to 5 days with crying and screaming, the bride is brought to him at nightfall during a special dance during which they sing aloud according to their custom, having painted their bodies and faces beautifully with *karamentijn*,¹⁸ *ururu* [annotto] and *jenipaba* [genipa] as well as adorning themselves with all sorts of beautiful feathers, so that they rather resemble a bird or monster instead of a human. If something is still missing from this adornment, it is completed with beads and bells, so that one can hear their dancing as far away as the bell ringer and guilds when fasting. After these feasts of the first marriage, they are allowed to take as many women as they wish, but do not marry any more in such a ceremony as this one because if they wish to have another daughter as their wife, the father cannot refuse the daughter according to their customs |; however, the more important the person, the more women he can 23^r

18 *Karamentijn* is a shade of red made from the dried bodies of the female cochineal insect.

dat hij heeft want den Coninck heefter wel vyff en twintich.

Als een vrouwe van haerlieden comt te baren, soo nemen sy gemeenlijck een andre ende houden de voorgaende bij nae als haer slavinne die haer dan moet gehoorsamen om waer sij gaen oft vertrecken hunne bagagie ende haken nae te dragen, Item waer sij comen te leggen rijst te haelen, een hutte te maecken, sonder dat sij de vrouwen ergens in behulpsaem willen sijn, Maer hebben liever om niet te verstijven een grooten boom van 2 a 300 lb een stuck weegs te dragen, latende de vrouwen ondertusschen hare arbeit doen daer se (seggen sij) toe gebooren sijn.

Ende alsoo sij noch God noch Godsdienst en kennen soo en weten zij oock noch van doop noch van besnijdenisse niettemin hebben eene ceremonie met hare kinderen wanneer sij seven of acht jaeren out sijn dan maecken sij die soose seggen Menschen, Ende geschiet aldus de vrouwen komen met haer ordinare getijer bij malcanderen, daer de outste van dese vrouwen het kint op neemt ende hout het dat sij in ijder oor int onderste lelleken een gat steecken als mede een boven de kinne inde benedenste lip, daer sij gemeenlijck groene, witte, swarte ofte coleurde steentjes in setten, Ende steecken door de gaten inde ooren houtjes ofte visbeentjens daer toe gemaect dit sijn de teecken en sijnder Mensheit, Hier overhouden de geseide vrouwen feeste met haer ordinare geschreeuw ende gehuil als voor verhaelt soo ijemand van haer luijden comt te sterven het zij Man of Vrou die eeten sij doot sijnde op, seggende dat die niet beter bewaert noch begraven | kan werden als in haer lichaemen, & geschiet aldus, sij nemen het doode lichaam, wasschen ende schrobben het schoon, Maecken een groot vier op d'aerde, leggen 't lichaam daer op en bradent, wel geroost sijnde, ende gaer wesende eeten op, met groot gehuil ende geraes, somwijlen en mogen sijt niet tegelijck op dan bewaren sij het overschot tot gelegener tijt, bijsonder het gebeente dat

23^v

have, for the King has at least 25. When a woman among them gives birth, they usually take another [wife] and keep the previous one as a slave who must obey them wherever they go or leave in order to carry their luggage and hammocks. Likewise, for the men who stay, they fetch reeds, build huts, without [the men] helping the women in any way. [They] prefer not to get stiff by carrying away a large tree weighing 2 to 300 pounds, leaving the women to do their work, which (as they say) they were born to do.

And because they do not know God or Religion, they do not know about baptism or circumcision. Despite this they have a ceremony with their children when they are seven or eight years old in order to make them human, as they say, and it happens in the following manner: the women gather with their ordinary screaming, and the oldest of these women lifts the child up and holds it so she can pierce a hole in each lower earlobe as well as one in the lower lip above the chin in which they commonly put small green, white, black or colored stones, and stick through the holes of the ears small wooden sticks or fish bones which have been shaped for that purpose. These are the signs of their humanity, and for this the said women hold feasts with their ordinary screaming and crying as said before. When someone of this people dies, a man or a woman, they will eat them up once they are dead, saying that this person cannot be better kept or buried | than in their bodies and it happens as follows: they 23^v take the dead body, wash and scrub it clean, make a large fire upon the ground, put the body on top of it to burn. Once well roasted and cooked, they will eat it with great crying and making loud noises. Sometimes, when they cannot eat it all at once, they will keep the rest until a more appropriate moment, especially

sij branden & stampent dan tot pulpher doet onder de farinha* en eettent daer mede op. De naeste vrienden ondertusschen vande overledenen het sij man ofte vrouw laten hun 't haer afscheren 'twelck een teecken is datse over hare doode vrienden treuren, Het huilen ende krijten der vrienden en duirt niet langer als tot het doode lichaem schoon opgegeten is.

Soo een koninck ofte Comatijn dat is des Coninckx soon, die naest den Coninck gebijet, ofte eenich ander groot heer sterft, soo worden sij van haere vrouwen alleen opgegeten want daer geen slechte persoonen om mede te eeten bij te pas en comen. Op de plaetse waer sulcken eenen sterft, word een gedachtenisse gestelt, daer sij alle jaren eens bij comen om den duijvel een offerhande te doen, Op dat sij zijne knechten mogen worden, want sij hem voor haer Godt houden, dit en mach de slechte lijeden niet gebeuren.

Wanneer het gebeurt dat een vrouwe baren[de] een doot kint ter werelt brengt, soo eeten sijt selve weeder op, seggende het niet beeter kan bewaert worden als in haer eijgen lichaem |
24^r van waer het gecomen is.

De jonge kinderen beginnen daer om de negen ofte tien weecken te gaen 'twelck het meeste is om te verwonderen,¹⁹ ende loopen dan int water om te leren swemmen, want men vint niemand onder haer hij zij vrouw ofte man of konnen meesterlijck swemmen, Sij worden oock int gemeen heel out, de sommige hondert vijftich, hondert sestig, tot twee hondert jaeren, soo datse niet meer gaen en komen, maer moeten in hamacken gedraegen worden, sijn niettemin in groote achtinge, Want hoe ouder datse sijn, hoe meerder eere dat haer wort aengedaen, te weeten onder de manspersonen, maer niet onder de vrouwen, want een vrouwe (als

19 In margin: kinderen in 9 weken gaen [lopen].

the bones, which they burn and grind down to powder to mix with the *farinha* and eat it altogether. In the meantime the closest friends of the deceased, be they a man or a woman, have their hair cut off as a sign that they mourn their dead friend. The crying and lamenting of the friends takes no longer than the consumption of the dead body. When a King or Comatijn²⁰ (that is the King's son, who obeys the King) or any other important lord dies, they will all be consumed by their women because no evil persons are allowed to eat with them. In the place where such a person dies, a memorial shrine is placed, which they come to every year, to make offerings to the Devil, so they will be his vassals, because they take him to be their God. This cannot happen to the evil persons. When it happens that a woman gives birth to a dead child, she will eat it herself straight away, saying that there is no better way to keep it than in her own body |, where it came from.

24^r

The young children start walking at about nine or ten weeks, which is very marvelous, and then walk into the water to learn how to swim, for one finds nobody amongst them, woman or man, who [does not] masters swimming. They also live to be very old, some one hundred and fifty, one hundred and sixty, up to two hundred years, so that they cannot come and go anymore, but must be carried in hammocks; however, they are highly esteemed, because the older they are, the more honor is accounted to them, amongst men, but not amongst the

20 *Comantijn*, perhaps an African word? See also Schuller, "Zur Affinität der Tapúya-Indianer," 91. Benjamin Teensma suggested Comati, the son of Jandovy. However, de Laet suggests it is rather the son of the brother of Jandovy. See Benjamin N. Teensma, "Roelof Baro's Tarairiú-monument," *Yumtzilob, Tijdschrift over de America's* 11, no. 3 (1999): 364; de Laet, *Historie*, 403.

vooren verhaelt) maer een kint of twee gehadt hebbende, wort gehouden als een slavinne. De Tapuyas comen dickmael uijt haer lant naer de beneedenste frontieren ende grensen van brasil, voornamentlijck wanneer het drooge somers zijn, datse in haer lant niet veel te eeten en hebben, want sij zelve houden de benedenste quartieren van Brasil voor beeter, gesonder, ende vruchtbaerer, dan haer eygen lant, twelc sij seggen dat klipachtich, & van weynich leeftocht versien, ende daerenboven vol ongediert, insonderheit sijn daer groote venijnige slangen die wel 24 voeten lanck sijn, hebbende een schilt opt lijf, dese vallen haer dickwils onversiens uijt de klippen aen en bijten haer in armmen ende beenen, dat de tanden inde wonden steecken blijven, welke beet

24^v soo venijnnich is, datse terstont binnen 4 a 5 uiren | daer van sterven, Evenwel het doode lichaem vande soodanige (schoon al met het fenijn vandien beet onsteeken zijnde) eeten sijt nochtans op, en 't en schadet haerlieden niet, sij seggen oock groote rivieren in haer lant te hebben, waerin een sorte van visschen is die sij noemen Carsva de gedaente van lijff hebbende als een varcken uijtgesondert de steert die als een vis is, dese visschen sijn haer zeer sorgelijck wanneer sij de rijvieren passeren bijten haer stuck uijt het lijff jaa somwijlen arm ende beenen aff.

In haer landt seggense geen vee ofte bestiael te sijn tot lijftocht dienende anders als wilde varckens daerse altemet eenige van becomen, sij zeggen mede datse somwijlen wel 2 a 3 dagen reijsen sonder bij wel water te komen, anders dan 'tgeene dat vanden dauw smorgens op de klippen inde houckjens ende winckeltjens bij een geloopen is, daer valt oock hoonich die sij vande boomen krijgen, valt soo dick en wilt wit als melc die sij eetten om haer lijff t'onderhouden.

Sij weeten oock een seecker worteltjs te vinden dat ontrent een stroo dick ende een voet lanck is, 'twelck sij de vrouwen geven om klein te knauwen diet bij

women, because a woman (as said before) who has had one or two children is kept as a slave.

The Tapuyas often come down from their country towards the lower frontiers and limits of Brazil, notably when there are dry summers, since there is not much for them to eat, because they consider the lower quarters of Brazil to be better, healthier, and more fertile than their own country, which they say is rocky and provides little food, and also full of vermin, especially large venomous snakes, measuring 24 feet in length, with a shield [carapace] on their body, which often come out of the rocks suddenly and bite them on the arms and legs, in such manner that the teeth remain planted in the wounds. Their bite is so venomous that one dies instantly within 4 to 5 hours. | Despite this, they also eat the body [of those who die of snake bite] (being cleaned of the venom that was injected by the bite), and it does not harm these people. They also tell us that they have great rivers in their country, in which swims a species of fish that they call Carsva,²¹ having the bodily appearance of a pig, with the exception of the tail which is like [that of] a fish. These fish cause a lot of sorrow when they cross the rivers, [for they] bite a piece off out of their body, yes, sometimes arms and legs.

24^v

They say there are no cattle or beasts in their country to serve as food other than wild pigs, of which they catch a few. They also say that they sometimes travel for 2 to 3 days without finding water, except for the dew that has gathered on the rocks in the little corners and angles in the morning. There is also honey, which they get from the trees, very thick and white as milk, which they eat to maintain their body. They also know there is a certain tuber to be found, about one straw thick and one foot long, which they give to the women, who chew it

21 Perhaps a *piranha*, see Santos, "Cariri e Tarairiú?," Appendix F, 740.

malcanderen vergaderen, gekauwt sijnde, ende eenen
dranck daer uijt maecken die sij in haere tael *Cauwa*[u]
noemen waeraen, sij haer bescheidenlijck droncken
connen drincken.

Wanneer dese Tapoeysers in dese benedenste
quartieren van Brasil comen, daer toe gelast
van sConinx wegen soo brengense tot een teec-
ken des Coninx bardesaen mede, die den oversten
25^r *Artichoski* van wegen de Geoctroijeerde West Indische |
Compagnie haer gegeven heeft, sij komen gemeenlijck
als vrienden in rio grande ofte dese quartieren, maer
wech gaende connen niet scheiden sonder de inwoonde-
ren quaet te doen, Oversulcx moet men haer altijd
een convoy mede geven, diese tot op de grenssen van ge-
leijt op datse niemant overlast en doen.

Lager stont
Hiermede sal besluyten 'tgeene tot noch toe schrijf-
waardichs ondervonden hebben, Bidde den leser
wil de quade distinctien ende misspellingen
(niet den beschrijver maer) den uijtschrijver te
goede houden, Ick wensch u dan, wijde dat
ghij sijt, dat ghij langh wel moet varen
Actum reciffe de Parnambuco den lesten
dach hoijmaent des jaers 1639 Was
onderteijckent *Elias Herckmans*

then gather it, being chewed, and prepare a drink out of it that they call in their language *Cauwa*[u] with which they can drink themselves modestly drunk. When these Tapoeys come down to the lower quarters of Brazil, being ordered by the King, they bring with them an European battle axe as a sign of the King, which the superior *Artichoski* of the WIC | gave them. They generally 25^r come to Rio Grande or these quarters as friends, but when leaving they cannot part without hurting the inhabitants. Therefore one must always send out a convoy to accompany them to the border so that they are not a nuisance.

Written below

With this I shall conclude what was considered hitherto noteworthy, [and] pray the reader to consider the bad handwriting and misspellings [to be] of the editor (and not the writer), I wish you, that thou mayest be seated, that thou mayest sail long

Actum Reciffe at Parnambuco the last day of the haymonth [July] of the year 1639, Was signed *Elias Herckmans*

Description by Zacharias Wagener (1641)

In 1633, 20-year-old Zacharias Wagener (1614–1668) left Dresden, Germany, to look for work in Amsterdam and found an opportunity in the atelier of Dutch cartographer Johannes Blaeu. A year later, he enlisted as a soldier in the service of the WIC to go to Brazil. When Johan Maurits became governor of Dutch Brazil in 1637, Wagener became the scribe of Count Maurits in Recife.¹ During his time in the capital of Dutch Brazil, Wagener compiled a book, perhaps a diary, filled with drawings, notably of animals and descriptions, that would become the famous *Thierbuch*.² It is believed he copied his drawings from a reference work now lost that was used by all painters in Brazil under the command of Johan Maurits, such as Frans Post and Albert Eckhout.³ Wagener left Brazil in April 1641 and enlisted a year later with the Dutch East Indian Company to continue his adventures in the East Indies.⁴ He worked as a copyist in Batavia, Japan and South Africa and went back to Amsterdam in 1688. His health was poor after serving 20 years in Asia and in his will he left the *Thierbuch* to Johannes Blaeu, who sent it after Blaeu's death to Wagener's family in Dresden.⁵

The *Thierbuch* contains drawings of four couples corresponding to four different “types” of peoples dwelling in Brazil: Africans, Brazilians/Tupi, Tapuia and people of mixed background, often called “mulattos”—for those of mixed African and European descent—or “mamelucas”—for mixed Indigenous and White descent—corresponding to the people described in the *Sommier Dis-*

1 Kees Zandvliet, 'Joan Blaeu's Boeck vol kaerten en beschrijvingen van de Oostindische Compagnie', in *Het Kunstbedrijf van de familie Vingboons: schilders, architecten en kaartmakers in de Gouden Eeuw*, ed. J. Huiskens and F. Lammertse (The Hague: SDU, 1989), 60–68.

2 *Thier Buch darinnen viel unterschiedener Arter der Fische vögel vierfüssigen Thiere Gewürm, Erd- und Baumfrüchte, so hin undt wieder in Brasilischen bezirck, und gebiethe, Der Westindischen Compagnie zu schauwen undt anzutreffen [...]* Alles selbst [...] bezeuget In Brasilien Unter hochlöblicher Regierung des hochgebornen Herren Johand Moritz Graffen von Nassau Gubernator Capitain, und Admiral General von Zacharias Wagenern von Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett Ms Ca. 226a, Dresden, Germany.

3 Michiel Roscam Abbing, *Brazilië zien zonder de Oceaen over te steken. De Wandtapijten van Johan Maurits* (Amsterdam: Lias, 2021), 100–101.

4 *Kurze Beschreibung der 35-jährigen Reisen und Verrichtungen, welche Weyland Herr Zacharias Wagener in Europa, Asia, Africa und America, meistens zu Dienst der Ost- und West-Indianischen Compagnie in Holland, rühmlichst gethan und abgeleget, gezogen aus des seelig gehaltenen eigenhändigen Journal* Kupferstich-Kabinett Ms Ca 226b, Dresden (Germany).

5 Abbing, *Brazilië*, 103–104.

cours by Johan Maurits in 1638.⁶ Wagener's description or abstract of the Tapuia bears many textual similarities with Herckmans's and Hulcks's manuscripts, which he probably consulted. His description of the Tapuia men and women is illustrated by two drawings he made of a Tapuia man and woman. His drawings strongly resemble Eckhout's oil paintings and it is now believed that they used the same example for their works, instead of Wagener copying Eckhout.⁷ Today, the manuscript is held by the Kupferstich-Kabinett in Dresden, Germany, and was published in facsimile by Dante Luiz Martins Texeira in 1997 with transcriptions by Álvaro Alfredo Bragança Júnior and English translations by David H. Treece and Richard Trewinnard.⁸ Our translation, being more literal, has some minor differences with that proposed by Texeira.

6 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 53, document 22 (1638). Also see Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, "Sommier discours over den staet vande vier geconquesteerde capitánias Parnambuco, Itamarica, Paraíba ende Rio Grande, inde noorderdeelen van Brasil," *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 2 (1879): 257–317 and Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, "Sommier discours over den staet vande vier geconquesteerde capitánias Parnambuco, Itamarica, Paraíba ende Rio Grande, inde noorderdeelen van Brasil," translated to Portuguese by José Hygino Duarte Pereira, *Revista do Instituto Archeologico e Geographico Pernambucano* 6, no. 34 (1887): 139–196.

7 Abbing, *Brazilië zien zonder de Oceaan*, 102–103.

8 Dante Martins Teixeira, *Dutch Brazil: Documents in the Leiden University Library, the Thierbuch and Autobiography of Zacharias Wagener and the pictures in the Hoflössnitz Weinbergschlösschen*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Editoria Index, 1997).

Original Handwritten Document



FIGURE 6 Drawing of a Tapuia man by Zacharias Wagener
KUPFERSTICH-KABINETT, STAATLICHE KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN DRESDEN,
FOTO: HERBERT BOSWANK

- 95 Über die maßen groß, starck, undt vollwachßen, sindt diese wilde Menschen, überzogen mit einer bräunlichen harten haut, undt langen schwartzen haaren, sie lauffen unter einander gantz nacket, wissen ihre mänliche scham gantz einwerths, oder nach sich zu ziehen, binden daß übrige, mit einen kleinen stricklin zu, ihre haupter undt gewehr, muß befor allen andern, mit allerley schönen Vogelfedern geziehret, undt auffgeschickt werden. Es sindt rechte, blinde unverständige, arme Menschen, die von Gott noch seinem gödtlichen wordt nichts wissen; Sie ehren, dienen undt anbidten den Teuffel, mit welchen sie große gemeinschaft halten, befragen, undt erkundigen sich alles was vor dießen geschehen ist, wo ihre alten freunde hinkommen, oder was noch geschehen wirdt ob sie *Victory* von ihren feinden zu gewarten haben, oder nicht, ja das noch mehr, undt für glaubwürdig erzehlet ist, das derer etzliche sindt die fledermäuse in ihren ohren haben hencken, undt Teuffelsbanner genant werden, die sich gantz willig, undt frewdig von den bößen Geist besitzen, undt einnehmen laßen, außwelchen die andern tummen Menschen, so ümbher stehen, weißagungen, undt Gotteslästerung, auch liegen, undt betriegen, hören, undt dannoch solchen greuwl, undt übel glauben geben.

Translation

These wild people are extremely tall, strong and well-built and have a hard, 95
brownish skin and long black hair. They walk around entirely naked and know
how to withdraw their manhood or keep it against them by tying it up. In the
presence of others, they adorn their heads and weaponry with beautiful embel-
lished [like prepared] feathers. They are quite blind, ignorant and poor people,
having no knowledge of God or of his Divine Word. They worship, serve and
adore⁹ the Devil, with whom they keep company. They ask him and inquire
about everything that has happened for him, where their old friends have gone
and what is going to happen, and whether they will gain *Victory* over their ene-
mies or not. Yes, and furthermore, which is believed to be credible, there are a
few who have bats hanging from their ears and are called Devil-caster.¹⁰ They
voluntarily and happily¹¹ let themselves be possessed and taken over by the evil
spirit. The other ignorant people who stand around believe their prophecies
and blasphemy, their lies and deceit, even such horrors and evil.

9 Following Teixeira, *Dutch Brazil*, 2.168 n. 91.

10 Teixeira translated these words as “exorcist”: *Dutch Brazil*, 2.168. See also his note 302 on page 218.

11 Perhaps one can read also “peacefully.”

Im 7 oder 8 Jahre ihres alters werden ihnen großen löcher inde ohren geschnitten, undt stecken danein, eines fingers dicke große hülzerne knöbel, damit sie anzeigen wollen, bequem zu seyn, nach den streit zu gehen.

Wen sich einer unter ihnen in den Ehestandt begeben hat, so muß ihm sein nächster freundt in einen ieden backen ein loch bohren, undt in ein iedes ein weiß hölzlin thuen, also auch unter den Maul inde Lip eines darein ein blauwer stein gesteckt wirdt. Ihr Gesätz bringet mit sich, so viel weiber zu nehmen, alß sie wollen, wirdt aber eine unter denselben kranck, machtloß, oder gar zu alt, so verstoßen sie die jüngern, undt achten ihrer gantz nicht mehr, wollen auch von keiner hurrerey nichts wissen.

Ihren könig Jan de Wy genant, sindt sie sehr unterthänig, undt achten mit furcht, undt zittern auff seine wordt, der könig aber muß in den Streidt für ihnen her gehen oder halten nichts von ihm. Ihre Spitzige, schwere, Pfeiler, wissen sie sehr künstlich auß den kleinen krizogen zu schießen nach ihren begehren, wohin sie wollen, fliehet der feindt, so gebrauchen sie der spitzigen Pfeiler nicht mehr, sondern, nehmen schware von schwartzen holtz gemachte schwerdter zu sich, lauffen über die maßen schnell, springen, mit nacketen Leibe über Dornen, undt Tisteln, führen ein furchtsames geschrey, kommen in solchen getümmel, den feindt bespringen, undt schlagen dieselben mit singen undt Tantzen zu boden, lassen sie liegen, lauffen wiederumb, auff vorgedachte weise mit großen ruffen zu den ihren, undt lassen geschwindt den Teuffel für sich kommen, welchen sie zur stundt alles verkündigen, wie diese schlacht zwischen ihnen abgelauffen ist.

When they are seven or eight years old, large holes are cut in their ears and finger-thick wooden nodule¹² are stuck into it, to show in this manner that they are ready for battle. When one got married among them, then his closest friend must make a hole in each cheek and put in each of them a white, small wooden stick. And below the mouth, in the lip, they insert a blue stone. Their laws allow them to take as many wives as they wish, but if any one of them becomes sick, feeble¹³ or simply too old, the young men reject her and no longer pay attention to her. In the same way they abhor all whoring.¹⁴

They are very submissive to their King, called Jan de Wy,¹⁵ and regard him with fear and tremble at his words. However, the King must lead them in battle or they will not respect him. In a skillful manner, they shoot their sharp and heavy arrows using a small device to shoot as they wish and in whatever direction they desire.¹⁶ When the enemy is fleeing, they do not use the sharp arrows anymore, they rather use heavy swords [clubs] made out of blackwood. They run extremely fast and jump, completely naked, over thorns and thistles, uttering a fearful cry and attacking the enemy, beating them while chanting and dancing. They leave them lying on the ground and run around them and then, with premeditation and screaming, they rush towards their people, demanding straight away the presence of a Devil whom they immediately tell how their crazy battle has finished between them.

12 Wooden nodules or wooden cylinders. See also Texeira, *Dutch Brazil*, 2.218 n. 303.

13 Texeira translated *machtloß* as “barren”: *Dutch Brazil*, 2.168.

14 This part can be misleading since it is not clear what the “they” stands for. The whole paragraph could also mean that if a woman gets sick “the men reject the younger ones and won’t notice them any longer”, i.e. they would take care of only one woman.

15 Jandovy.

16 We tend to follow Texeira to confirm the use of a spear-thrower or *atl-atl* among the Tapuia. See Prins, “The Atlatl.” Wagener used the word arrow but in reality these arrows are rather javelins or darts.



FIGURE 7 Drawing of a Tapuia woman by Zacharias Wagener
KUPFERSTICH-KABINETT, STAATLICHE KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN DRESDEN,
FOTO: HERBERT BOSWANK

- 96 Der Tapuyer weiben seyndt dick, undt fett, kurtz von haren, lauffen wie die Manner gantz nakedt ümbher, doch sindt etwaß schamhaftiger undt eingezogener, in betrachtung der schönen, grünen, von *Eva* verworffenen undt von ihnen wieder auffgerafften, schürtzen, mit welchen sie sich gar auff eine sonderliche weise, hinten, undt vornen bedecken, achten auff die ziehr undt wohlstandt, dießer grünen blätter mehr, dan auff die schande, dadurch nicht etwa die blinden zur bösen ärgernuß gereizet werden möchten, Im übrigen leben sie, (wie hiebevör gedacht) [wie vorher beschrieben]
- unter einander schlimmer alß das unbendige Viehe, Ihre wohnungen sindt wüst undt wildt, bleiben nicht lange auff einen orth stille liegen, sondern ziehen inder nähe hin undt wieder, suchen vor ihre hungerige mägen, allerley fremdt gewürtzel, große Schlangen, undt viel wilde Vögel zu ihrer Speise.
- Kompt etwa iemants unter ihnen zu sterben, es sey nun man oder weib, so begraben sie den Leib nicht, sondern zerhauwen undt zertheilen den selben in viel kleine stücken, freßen eins theils roh, daß andre gebraten auff undt sagen das ihr dieser Leib freundt beßer in Leibe, alß in der schwartzen Erden verwahret sey, die übergebliebenen knochen aber, brennen sie erstlich weich, stoßen dieselben hernach zu Pulver, vermischen es mit ander speise, undt, schlucken es mit der zeit auch hienein. Es werden schäd-

The Tapuijer women are corpulent and fat, [and] have short hair. They go stark naked like the men but are a bit more shy and secluded. When considering the beautiful green apron which was rejected by *Eve*, but is used by them again, with which they cover themselves in a most peculiar way in front and from behind, they pay more attention to tidiness and nicety of these green leaves¹⁷ than of their pubic area, to avoid arousing anger with the blind. The rest of their life (as stated above) is worse than a cattle herd. Their dwellings are rough and wild, [they] do not stay in one place for long, and only search the surroundings for strange tubers, big snakes and many wild birds as food for their hungry bellies. 96

When someone has died among them, man or woman, they do not bury the body, but chop it up and divide it into many small pieces. They eat some parts it raw while the other parts are roasted to assure that their friend has a better life in their bodies rather than in the black earth, as they say. The remaining bones, however, are burnt until soft and then pounded to powder and mixed with their food and eaten from time to time.

17 Texeira translated these words as “greenery belts”: *Dutch Brazil*, 2.169.

liche schlangen *Cobra verde* genant, unter diesen Menschenfreßern gefunden welche von denselben gebissen werden, müssen alßbaldt des todes sterben, Die Portugiesen die ümb dieße Schlangen wissen, halten für gewiß, daß der gantze leib hernach von solchen giftigen schlangen stich vergiftet sey, Die andern aber deßen ungeacht fahren wie oben gedacht damit fort theilen den toden Leib untereinander auß verzehren ihn mit frewden, undt schadet ihnen nichts. Das ist aber schröcklich, undt für vieler Menschen ohren grewlich, daß nemblich ein weib, wan sie ein todes Kindt zur weldt gebohren hat, daßelbe von stunden an zerreist, undt auff so viel mahl ihr [zu thun] müglich, wiederumb hienein frist, vorgebende, es sey ihr Kindt, auß ihren Leibe gekommen, undt wehre nirgents besser, alß wieder in den selben verwahrt; der man unterdeßen stellet sich gantz wehemütigk, undt sehr schwach an, leget sich nieder, läst sich von der frauwen warten undt pflegen, undt stehen also die sechs wochen, sieben, oder acht wochen, (oder wie viel sie derer haben mögen) für sein weib auß.

The dangerous snakes called *Cobra verde* live among these human flesh-eaters and whoever is bitten by one dies immediately. The Portuguese, who know about this snake, hold for true that the entire human body is poisoned once bitten by such a poisonous snake. However, the others let it have its way and share the body among them, as stated above, and consume it with joy, which does not hurt them at all.

It is no doubt horrible and for many people gruesome to hear that a woman, when she has given birth to a stillborn child, will start right away to tear it apart and eat parts of it as often as possible, saying that since it is her child, which came from her body, it also would not find any better place than returning to that same place. The husband is lamentable and very weak and lies down. The women now serve and take care of him, and he remains like this for six, seven or eight weeks (or as long as he wishes) for his wife [during which she is in childbed].

Description by Gerardus Vossius (1641)

Gerardus Johannes Vos or Vossius (1577–1649) was a Dutch philosopher who taught history and languages at the University of Leiden. He was among the first to discuss non-Christian religions from a historical point of view and for that matter the observations of Christophe Artichewski may have ended up in the *Addenda* of his *De Theologia Gentili, Physiologia Christiana*, published in 1641 in Amsterdam. In the first book therein, Vossius discussed Japanese demons and stated that similar cults were present in the West Indies, among the Mexicans for example, referring to the fifth book of Acosta's *Rerum Americana*, before preceding in Latin to the description of Tapuia cults provided by Christophe Artichewski.¹

Christopher Artichewski (1592–1656) was a Polish commander who spent several years in the service of the WIC in Dutch Brazil.² His military accomplishments were highly praised by the WIC and he would have become governor of the colony in 1637, had the Lords XIX not decided to appoint Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen instead. During his expeditions in Brazil, Artichewski observed the country and its inhabitants closely, and he wrote about it all in various letters and reports. Concerning his encounters with the Tapuia, evoked by Johannes de Laet when Artichewski interviewed Caracara (see Document 12), there is little handwritten material known.³ Besides quotations in Barlaeus and the passages copied in De Laet, there are the *Addenda* in Vossius.⁴ The Dutch theologian Arnoldus Montanus (1625–1683) produced a Dutch translation of the *Addenda*.⁵

The translation presented here was made by C.L. Vermeulen of Noctua Text & Translation, for which we would like to thank em.

1 Gerardus Johannes Vossius, *De Theologia Gentili, Physiologia Christiana; sive de origine ac progressu idololatriæ, ad veterum gesta, ac rerum naturam, reductæ; de que naturæ mirandis, quibus homo adducitur ad Deum, Liber I, et II* (Amsterdam: Johannes Blaeu, 1641), i–ii.

2 His Polish name is Hirszel Henryk Krzysztof Arciszewski. For a detailed description of his life see Warnsinck in De Laet, *Iaerlijck Verhael*, 4.xxv–lxxiii; Dams, “Comprehending the New World,” chapter 2.10.

3 In his *Memorie* of 1637, Artichewski wrote “Tapulliers” for Tapuia when discussing the attack upon Rebellin in April 1636; see Arciszewski, “Memorie,” 279.

4 See also Dams, “Comprehending the New World,” 132.

5 See Montanus, *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*, 373–375.

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i ADDENDA LIBRO PRIMO

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ii

Possum idem de aliis quibusdam ejusce Indiae⁶ gentibus dicere: sed omnium instar fuerint, quae de religione Tapuiarum perscripsit nobis Christophorus Arcissewski, Polonus, genere quidem praenobili apud suos; sed nobilior tamen rebus iis, quas, pro faederatae Belgicae terris, in Brasilia fortiter adeò, ac feliciter, gessit, ut aeternum ei debiturae sint terrae nostrae, nec ejus memoria sine animi mirè ingrati crimine apud nos possit intercidere. Paucis exsequar; non paullo tamen fusiùs, quàm in similibus opere hoc facere est animus. Nimirum historia omnis delectat, praesertim novitate.

Est verò Tapuiarum, seu Tapuionum gens, inter Siaram, et Maranthon sita; vagabunda locis incultis, et desertis, fera, ἀνθρωποφάγος,⁷ nullâ parte corporis velata, vel non aliâ saltem, quàm verendis. Imò cum Hollandi aliquammultis vestes donassent, priùs quidem rei novitas eos delectavit: sed intra biduum illas, vel restituerunt, vel aliis largiebantur, vel abjecerunt. Eadem gens praeputium obligabat ligulâ bombycinâ, vimineâ, vel aliùs materiae, ne caput penis faedè assurgeret; quod unum sedulo cavent. Labiis, genis, naribus, et auribus, fuit perforata, ac è foraminibus ornamenta gestabat è ligno, osse, lapide, pluma, vel aliunde. Pro armis habuit clavam è durissimo ligno, arcum ejusdem materiei, sagittas ex arundine, ex eadem jacula longitudine hastae. Nullum iis est auri, vel argenti pretium; sic ut cum scrinia aureis et argenteis referta armis, quae humo condiderant Lusitani, effodissent, facilè ab Hollandis pecuniâ emungerentur, nunc secures emitantes, nunc canes venatui idoneos, cui admodum student, nunc vulgares etiam ac vilissimos; quorum pro unico vel viginti annumerabant daleros imperiales. Longum esset omnes ejus gentis mores referre, quos ab nobilissimo Arcisseuskio accepimus. Aliàs fortasse commodior erit iis memorandis locus. Illud praeterire non possumus, humanis vesci carnibus: sed

⁶ i.e. *Indiae Occidentalis*.

⁷ Marginal gloss: *hominivora*.

Translation by C.L. Vermeulen

I can say the same of some other peoples of the West Indies, but let the universal example be what was written to me concerning the religion of the Tapuia by Christopher Archissevsky,⁸ a Polish gentleman of pre-eminently noble descent among his people, but nobler still because of the things he did for the lands of the Dutch federation⁹ in Brazil with such courage and success that our lands owe an eternal debt to him, and if we forget him we may be accused of incredible ingratitude. I will write a little more about this, but quite a bit more elaborately than I intend to do in this book in similar cases. Without doubt the whole story is delightful, especially because of its novelty.

The Tapuia people is located between Siara and Maranthon, roaming uncultivated and deserted places. They are a wild and cannibal people and do not cover any part of their bodies, at least none but the genitals. Indeed when the Dutch presented some of them with clothes, they took pleasure in the novelty at first, but within two days they returned them, gave them to others or threw them away. They also tie up the prepuce with a little strap made of silk, twigs or other materials, to prevent the head of the penis standing up in an unseemly way—the one thing they diligently guard against. They have pierced lips, cheeks, nostrils and ears, and from the holes they wear ornaments made of wood, bone, stone, feathers or other materials. For weapons they have a club of very hard wood, a bow made of the same material, arrows made of reed and throwing spears also made of reed. They do not value gold or silver at all. When they had dug up coffers filled with gold and silver weapons that the Portuguese had buried in the ground, they were easily cheated out of their money by the Dutch, as the Tapuia kept buying axes and dogs suitable for the hunt—on which they are quite keen—but also ordinary and very cheap dogs, for a single one of which they would pay up to twenty *rijksdaalders*.

It would take too long to describe all the customs of this people that I learned from the noble Archissevsky. Perhaps there will be a better occasion elsewhere to recount them. I cannot, however, pass over the fact that they eat human flesh,

8 Translator's note: Usually referred to as Artichofsky, but Vossius consistently calls him "Arcissevskius" and this is probably how he signed his letter to Vossius. The praise that Vossius heaps on Archissevsky—an exiled Polish count who had migrated to the Dutch Republic and with conspicuous bravery led the Dutch w1c troops in Brazil from 1635—throughout this text should be seen against the background of the latter's conflict with Johan Maurits, governor of Brazil from 1637, which forced Archissevsky to return to the republic in 1639. See also note 9.

9 Translator's note: Vossius uses terms like "faederata Belgica" throughout the text to refer to the Dutch Republic.

eo se meliores putare aliis ἀνθρωποφάγοις,¹⁰ quod hi carnes edant hostiles: ipsi manducent cadavera amicorum, proelio, vel morte extinctorum; idque ad testandum suam erga eos pietatem ac amorem: ut quos non patiantur vermium escam fieri, vel faetidâ putredine absumi; sed in propria recondant viscera, inque succum sanguinemque suum, et ipsam quodammodo animam, quibus
 iii nihil carius, con- | vertant. Memorabile hujus rei exemplum ab eodem generoso viro accepimus. Evênit, ut Tapuis in Hollandorum territorio ad arcem, ut vocant, *Rio Grande* consistentibus, quidam ejus gentis vitâ excederet. Hujus cadaver consanguinei laverunt, exenterarunt, viscera à ciborum retrimentis repurgarunt, caeteras etiam sordes undique abluère: crines et ungues rese- cuere, resectas servarunt. Tum corpus dissecuere in partes varias, quarum nul- las, ne genitales quidem, fuere aspernati: universas enim assarunt, sedulò etiam adipem, humoremque in assando destillantem, exceperunt: haec universa pro epulis fuere inter sanguine conjunctos: nam caeteri à convivio hoc arcentur. Quae comedi nequeunt, ut crines, ungues, dentes, ossa, in cinerem rediguntur: ejus cineris portio aliqua poculis inditur, et bibitur, donec longiori compota- tione absumentus sit universus. Haec de moribus barbarae gentis praemisimus: licet ad religionem non pertineant; de qua nunc dicam.

Duplex agnoscunt numen, bonum, malumque: sed bonum, quia sponte faciat bene, affligat neminem, nullo prosequuntur honore: malum contrà veneran- tur, et invocant, quia iracundum sit, et cultum sui negligentes malè perdat. Nec vel iter instituunt, vel adversus hostem tendunt, nisi malo hoc numine, quem daemonem dicimus, certis priùs ritibus consulto. Hinc divinandi sibi scientiam arrogant. Et fatendum, varia saepe praedicere, quae prospicere mens nequeat humana. Quale illud, quod cùm Sapo Amama Frisius, turmae equitum praefec- tus, ad Coniahu hostiles observaret excursions, ac fortè illi tum afforet volun- tarios ex Tapuis¹¹ militum manus: praedictum ab iis fuit, postridie praefecti optionem, ac praeterea ex equitibus unum in velitando periturum globis è bombarda missis. Id risum eo tempore, quo dicebatur; sed eventu postea est comprobatum. Ac hujusmodi alia etiam ferebantur. Quomodo daemonem evo- carent, eumque ad prodenda arcanò acta, vel futura praedicenda, orare, quan- doque etiam objurgare, consueverint, non aliàs luculentiùs apparuit, quàm cùm nobilissimus Christoph. Arcissewskius (cui Hollandi, quae in Brasilia pos-

10 Marginal gloss: *humana carne victitantibus*.

11 1641: Topuis. Probably a typographical error.

but consider themselves superior to other cannibals because the latter eat the flesh of enemies, while the Tapuia feed on the corpses of friends who have died in battle or otherwise. They do this to prove their sense of duty and their love for them, by not allowing them to become the food of worms or to be consumed by filthy decay, but burying their precious loved ones in their own innards and converting them into their own juices and blood and their very soul, in a way. I was given a memorable example of this by the same courageous gentleman. When the Tapuia were staying in Dutch territory, at the fortress called Rio Grande, it so happened that one of them passed away. His kinsfolk washed his corpse, cut it open, cleansed the bowels of food remains and washed away all other dirt everywhere. They cut his hair and nails and set aside the cuttings. Then they cut up the corpse into its various parts, of which none were despised, not even the genitals, for they roasted them all, carefully collecting the fat and the fluid that dripped off during the roasting. All this served as a meal for his kinsfolk; no others are welcome at this feast. What cannot be eaten—hair, nails, teeth, bones—is reduced to ashes. A portion of the ashes is put into cups and imbibed until, after a rather long drinking session, all of it has been consumed. I have written these things regarding this uncivilized people's customs first, although they do not pertain to religion, of which I will speak now.

They acknowledge a double deity, a good and an evil one. The good one, however, since he does what is good of his own accord and harms no one, they do not honor in any way. The bad one, on the other hand, they worship and invoke, because he is irascible and destroys those who neglect to worship him. They do not even undertake a journey or move against an enemy without first consulting this evil deity (that we call a demon) with certain rituals. From this they claim that they can see the future. One has to admit that they often predict various events that the human mind cannot foresee. When for instance the Frisian Sapo Amama, commander of a troop of cavalry, observed hostile excursions at Coniahu¹² while he happened to have a group of Tapuia volunteer soldiers at hand, they predicted that the next day his adjutant and one of the cavalymen would die from cannon fire during a skirmish. It was laughed at when it was said, but it was proved right by the outcome. And there were more stories like this.

How they evoke the demon and how they are accustomed to praying to him, and sometimes scolding him, to get him to reveal things done in secret or to predict the future has never appeared more clearly than when the most noble Christopher Archissevsky (it is to him first and foremost that the Dutch

12 Probably Cunhaú.

sident, imprimis debent) istic locorum praeesset faederatorum Belgarum copiis. Fortissimus is vir adduxerat ex Arce *Rio Grande* praesidiariorum partem; cui se sponte addiderunt Tapuiarum circiter quinquageni. Quia exigua haec manus erat ad Barra-Canium, munimentum Hispanicum, occupandum: cardo rei in eo potissimum versabatur, ut oppugnationem ejus subito, occultéque, aggredierentur. Metus interim erat, ne consilium hoc à Tapuis proderetur indigenis infidelibus: eoque non aliâ conditione in societatem admissi sunt, quàm ut nec unguem transversum ab agmine discederent: in quo ipso fidem exsolverunt. Quia verò non esset po- | testas recedendi; triduo itinere, quo peravia sunt circumducti, diebus singulis in omnium conspectu sacros suos ritus peregerunt. Poposcerat à Tapuis Arcissewskius, ut se commonerent, quando daemonem essent evocaturi: conditionéque eâ promissum, ut ne ille sacra eorum¹³ violari, vel turbari sineret. Tertiâ igitur die, cùm corporibus jam curatis inciperet agmen moveri, arcessitus ab iis fuit: ac comperit eos prope viam in formam semicirculi, seu lunae corniculatae, considentes cruribus divaricatis. Ex adverso itidem humi sedebat sacrificulus. Hic caeteros varia interrogabat, de variis item rogabatur: utrimque dabantur responsa. Sed qualia ista forent, quae dicerentur, non satis cognosci quitum, vitio interpretum. Nam quibus Hollandi utebantur, solum duas callebant linguas; unam maritimis Brasiliae gentibus communem, qua interpretes illi affati sunt Tapuias; alteram Lusitanicam, qua ex illis audita exponerent Hollandis. Illa verò Tapuiarum ab communi istac multum abiit. Incolunt enim mediterranea Brasiliae; quae ut in varias dissecta sunt gentes, ita linguis multum distant; uti animis etiam sunt inter se hostilibus. Interpretes itaque multa à Tapuis responsa assequi non satis valuerunt: nec raro è nutu potius, et gestibus, quam auditis, iudicium ferre cogebantur. Quâ de causâ etiam pauca adeò de Tapuiarum religione cognita habemus. Ad historiam coeptam redeo. Ubi sermocinandi pausam concio fecerat, consurrexit sacrificulus, et extra conspectum omnium abiit in sylvam, vocéque sat

13 1641: earum. Probably a typographical error.

owe their possessions in Brazil) was the commander of the Dutch federation's troops there. This very brave man had taken part of the garrison from the Rio Grande fortress, and about fifty Tapuia had spontaneously joined them. Because this tiny troop was to take Barra-Canium, a Spanish stronghold, the most important thing was for them to go about attacking it suddenly and stealthily. Meanwhile, it was feared that the Tapuia would betray this plan to the faithless natives, and therefore they were admitted to the party on the absolute condition that they not stray from the line by as much as a nail's width; and they kept their word in this. Since now they were unable to withdraw, they conducted their sacred rites for all to see on every day of the three-day journey during which they were led around through the wilderness. Archissevsky had asked the Tapuia to warn him when they were going to call forth the demon, and this was promised to him on the condition that he would not allow their rites to be violated or disturbed.

So on the third day, when they had already refreshed their bodies and the army train was beginning to move, they summoned him and he found them near the road in a semicircular or moon-sickle formation, sitting with their legs wide. Opposite them was the priest, sitting on the ground in the same way. He asked the others various questions and likewise was asked questions on various things, and answers were given by both sides. What kinds of things were said, however, remained unclear through the interpreters' fault. The interpreters used by the Dutch knew two languages only: one that is common to the coastal peoples of Brazil, in which these interpreters talked to the Tapuia, the other Portuguese, in which they explained to the Dutch what they had heard from the Tapuia.¹⁴ Their language, however, is very different from the common one, for they live in Brazil's inland; and as it is divided into various peoples, so the languages are very different, just as they are hostile to one another as well. Therefore the interpreters were insufficiently able to follow many of the Tapuia's replies, and they often had to base their judgment on nodding and gestures rather than what they heard. Because of this, our knowledge of the Tapuia religion also is rather meager.

Let me go back to the story I had started. When the congregation had paused speaking, the priest stood up and went into the forest, out of everyone's sight.

14 The language used by the different groups and Europeans along the coast of Brazil is also known as the *Lingua Geral da Costa*, a language close to Tupi. See notably the works written by Aryon Rodrigues, for example Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues, "As Outras Línguas da Colonização do Brasil. 500 anos de História Linguística do Brasil," in *Quinhentos anos de história lingüística do Brasil*, ed. Suzana Cardoso, Jacyra Mattos Mota and Rosa Virginia Silva (Salvador: Secretaria da Cultura e Turismo do Estado da Bahia, 2006), 143–161.

sonorâ daemonem tertiò etiam inclamavit. Eo non reddente responsum, rediit ad suos: novique inde inter eos sermones: sed quos nec interpretes caperent. Hinc sacrificulus (jussus à consessu, ut videtur) iterum petiit sylvam. Verùm neque tum ad iteratum, tertiatumque sermonem, à daemone dabatur responsum. Reversus igitur, ut antè, ad suos. Post tertiò ingressus sylvam: ac tum demum eo inclamante, audita est è remotiori sylva vox sonora, sed gracilis, et velut fistulâ emissa. Hinc Tapuiae collegêre, rem bellè habere, ac daemonem mox affuturum. Sacrificulo ad coetum suum reverso, verba iterum utrimque sunt commutata. Hinc denuo recessit sacrificulus. Tum varia erat acclamatio, ac sermocinatio frequens. Interim è sylva magis, et magis, appropinquabat gracilis vox daemonis, donec hic tandem consisteret proximè sacrificulum; qui eum ad Tapuarum coetum deduxit. Ac ipse quidem priorem locum occupavit; daemonem item ex adverso coetus juxta se considère jussit. Hinc jam sermones varii, nunc coetu aliqua dicente, nunc sacrificulo, vel daemone: quorum illi vox erat, qualis solet semper; huic gracilis illa, de qua dictum. Ac nunc sacrificulus, nunc complures ex coetu, jactare verba animosi ac masculi pectoris; aliquando v etiam intentare minas, imò videri jam | arma velle arripere adversus daemonem. Quid mirum? quando si immorigerus esse pergat, quandoque verberibus etiam malè mulcare dicantur. Ultima interrogantis verba excipiebat inconditus quidam multitudinis sonus, longo tractu ab imo productus pectore; qui mirè adstantes afficiebat Belgas. Nisi homines coram vidissent, dixissent, conclusos in cavea leones rugire, vel caurire pantheras. Dimidiam sic horam spectarat ista Arcissewskius, cùm sacrificulus daemonem reducit in sylvam, eoque redit relicto. Caeterùm dum sic histrioniam suam agunt Tapuiae, animadversum à Belgis fuit, militem Germanum proripuisse se ab agmine, atque inter frondes reptâsse eo loci, ubi optimè occuleretur. Hinc igitur ab iis, quibus istoc incumbet, ut observarent, nequis se subduceret, retractus mox fuit. Iterum tamen se subduxit, et quia propterea transfugii suspectus foret, ad Arcissewskium est deductus. Caussam istorum rogatus, priùs quidem frivola quaedam praetexuit; verùm ubi sensit non haberi iis fidem, atque adeò vinctus traheretur ad arbores torturae destinatas, conceptis promisit verbis, dicturum se, quod res erat: hoc verò esse hujusmodi: non intra decennium se preces Deo fudisse: ac propterea, cùm daemonem inter Tapuias versantem conspiceret, malè sibi metuisse, ne ipse homo tam nefarius ab eo facile agnitus auferretur eò loci, quò sui similes mererentur. Et haec quidem tum sic fuere.

There in a rather loud voice he invoked the demon three times. When the demon did not reply, the priest went back to his people and they had a fresh discussion, but the interpreters did not understand this either. Then the priest—ordered by the seated congregation, it seemed—went into the forest once more, but again there was no answer from the demon to the invocation that he made three times. So he went back to his people as before. Then he went into the forest a third time; and then, finally, as he was calling upon the demon a voice was heard from deeper inside the forest. It was loud but thin and sounded as if it came from a shepherd's flute. From this the Tapuia concluded that all was well and the demon would be present soon. When the priest had returned to his congregation, more talk was exchanged between both sides. Then the priest withdrew again, and there were various shouts of approbation and much talk. Meanwhile the thin voice of the demon drew nearer and nearer from the forest until at last he was standing quite near the priest, who then led him to the Tapuia congregation. The priest took the place of honor and ordered the demon to sit next to him facing the congregation. Then there was talk from all sides, now with the congregation saying something, then the priest or the demon. The priest had the same voice as always, the demon the thin one mentioned above. And now the priest, then several people in the congregation started talking heatedly and fiercely, sometimes even making threats, indeed appearing ready to attack the demon with their weapons. This should be no surprise, since it is said that they sometimes beat him badly if he keeps refusing to comply. The interrogator's last words were followed by an uncouth, long-drawn sound from the crowd that was brought forth from deep in the chest, which really affected the Dutch who stood by. If they hadn't seen the men with their own eyes, they would have said that lions enclosed in a cage were roaring, or panthers growling. Archissevsky had been watching this for half an hour when the priest took the demon back into the forest and returned having left him there.

Incidentally, while the Tapuia were staging their performance, the Dutch had noticed that a German soldier had sneaked out of the army train and crept between the foliage into an excellent hiding place. So he was soon brought back from there by the men who had been appointed to ensure that no one stole away. He stole away once more, though, and was then brought before Archissevsky because he was suspected of desertion. When asked the reason for his actions, he first came up with some silly excuse, but when he realized that it was not believed and that he would therefore be put in chains and dragged to the tree that was meant for torture, he formally promised that he would say what it was, and that it was this: he had not prayed to God for ten years, and therefore when he saw the demon among the Tapuia he had become very scared for himself, that being such a sinful man he would easily be spotted by the demon and taken away to the place where the likes of him deserved to be taken.

Quaerat autem aliquis, utrùm verè hunc daemonem fuisse credamus, quem diximus. Mihi videtur, in toto hoc negotio intercurrisse fraudem, non daemoniacam modò, sed etiam humanam. Siquidem commodiori pòst tempore rogavit Arcissewskius Tapuias, cur eum finxissent daemonem, qui homo foret, sibi ipsi saepius visus. Negare id continuò Tapuia, qui verè fuisse daemonem per-tenderunt. Sed saepius jam ante viderat hominem Arcissewskius: illa verò vocis gracilitas erat à gramine, vel alio, quod ori indiderat. Nec quia fraus aderat humana, eò nullae erant daemonis partes. Nam aliud longè ostendit, quòd tam audacter responderunt de futuris nonnullis, quae praesciri ab homine nequirent. Ut quòd dicerent, munimentum venturum in faederatorum potestatem, tribus tantum militum amissis. Sic enim contigit. Quia verò nec daemonia-cae est potestatis praevidere omnia, fuere in quibus eos fefellerit divinatio. Ajebant, nostros pro ponte usuros assere, atque ita fossam transituros, hoste ignaro. Sanè sic decretum nostris: quod nihil mirum scisse spiritum malignum. Sed hostis excitatus praesensit: ac diutiùs se defendit globis bombardarum emissis. Quo insolito fragore, tonitruum non absimili, usque adeò exterriti fuere Tapuia, ut non redirent, nisi diluculo, capto munimento, atque ubi jam rebus omnibus compositis silentium intus esset. Post ista etiam, cùm Arcissewskius vi petiisset flumen Mon- | guoape, atque ibi ex navibus hostium subductis vacuas quidem incendisset, saccaro verò onustas abducere vellet, et ad hoc Tapuiarum operâ egeret, quos brevior anfractu in tutiora vellet loca remittere: planè navem ingredi recusarunt, caussam hanc adferentes, quòd mali aliquid portenderetur. Exitus respondit; quia navis ea, praedae plena, cui imposita erant decem majora tormenta bellica, nec exigua copia vini Hispanici, saccari ac mercium aliarum, in exitu portus angusti illisa saxo dissiliit, cunctaque naufragio sunt absunta. Atque ex his de caeteris etiam non difficilis erat conjectura. Nihil enim ullius momenti aggrediuntur, nisi daemone priùs consulto: ubi licet, ut dixi, fraus etiam sit humana, concurrat tamen vis daemoniaca; nec sanè aliud multitudo propositum habet, quàm cultum unius daemonis. Cui quantum tribuat, argumento erit, quòd alià contigit expeditione. Arcissewskius à sacrificulo petierat, ut ejus rogatu daemon, se inspectante, indusium, quod manu teneret, in sublimem aëra raperet: ac promittebat, indusium id mercedis loco cessurum sacrificio. Solùm id stipulatus fuit, ut liceret sibi daemona

That was what happened then. Someone may ask whether I believe that the figure I have spoken of was really a demon. It seems to me that there was deceit in this whole business—not just demonic, but human deceit too. For afterwards, at a more convenient moment, Archissevsky asked the Tapuia why they had pretended that it was a demon when in fact it was a man whom he himself had seen often enough. The Tapuia immediately denied this, insisting that it had really been the demon. Archissevsky, however, had repeatedly seen the man before; the thinness of his voice came from a herb or something else that he had put in his mouth. But the fact that there was human fraud involved does not mean that the demon did not play any part at all. Something else entirely is shown by the fact that they replied so boldly when asked about some future events that no man could foretell; that they said, for instance, that the fort would fall into the hands of the federation with the loss of just three soldiers. For that is what happened.

Because, however, not even a demon has the power to foresee everything, there were cases in which their divination deceived them. They said that our side would use a pole for a bridge and in that way would cross the moat without the enemy noticing. Yes, our side did decide to do this, and no wonder the evil spirit knew. But the alert enemy had a presentiment of it and defended himself with cannon fire for a rather long time. This unusual noise, rather like thunder, frightened the Tapuia so badly that they did not return until dawn, when the fort had been taken and, all things settled, there was silence inside.

After that there was another example, when Archissevsky had gone to the river Monguoaope. Of the ships taken from the enemy he had set fire to the empty ones and wanted to sail away those laden with sugar; he needed Tapuia labor to do it and he wanted to send them to a safer place by a short detour. They flatly refused to board the ship, giving for a reason that something bad was portended. The outcome proved them right, because that ship, which was full of booty and on which ten big cannons had been placed as well as a large quantity of Spanish wine, sugar and other goods, split open on a rock while leaving a narrow harbor, and everything was lost in the shipwreck. From this the rest was an easy guess. For they do not undertake anything of any importance without first consulting the demon; and although, as I said, there is human fraud in this as well, the demon's power nonetheless also comes into it; and of course the crowd has no other objective than the worship of the demon alone.

How much store they set by him is made clear by something that happened on another expedition. Archissevsky had requested of the priest that in his presence, the demon at the priest's bidding would snatch high into the air a shirt that Archissevsky would be holding in his hand, and he promised that he would give the shirt to the priest by way of reward. But he set the condition that as

accedentem ferire baculo, quem manu teneret alterâ. Placuit conditio credulae multitudini, quae nullo id negotio daemona facturum ajebat. Sed non potuit adduci sacrificulus, ut acciperet conditionem. Vnde risus est ortus ingens: quo desinente, Arcissewskius sic jocabundus affatus est sacrificulum. At ego me majorem te artificem praestabo. Die enim crastini faxo, ut capite cornua gestes cervina, ejus magnitudinis, quae non sinat te exire ex hoc conclavi. Hoc sermone ita hominem exterruit, ut postea, dilapsis aliò caeteris, cum interprete rediret, atque Arcissewskium rogaret, ut ne tantâ se afficeret contumeliâ. Haec de Tapuis ab nobilissimo, et constantissimae fidei Arcissewskio, accepta, eò fusiùs sum hoc loco persecutus, quia necdum essent consignata publicis literarum monumentis; nec obscurè docerent, quàm arctis limitibus Deus eorum quoque potestatem constrinxerit, qui nostris etiam temporibus totos se cultui daemonis manciparunt.

the demon approached, he would be allowed to hit him with a stick that he would be holding in his other hand. The crowd of believers readily agreed to the condition, saying that there was no way the demon would do that. The priest, however, could not be persuaded to accept the condition, and this gave rise to enormous laughter. When it stopped, Archissevsky jokingly said to the priest: "Well, I will prove that I am more skillful than you. Tomorrow I will make you wear a deer's antlers on your head, and they will be so big as to prevent you from leaving this enclosure." With these words he so terrified the man that later, when the others had dispersed, he came back with an interpreter and asked Archissevsky not to inflict such an insult on him.

This is the information I received from the most noble Archissevsky, a man of the staunchest faith;¹⁵ I have pursued it more at length here because it had not yet been published, and because it makes very clear how tightly God has restricted the power also of those who even in our times have enslaved themselves completely to the worship of a demon.

15 Translator's note: Since Archissevsky had been banished from Poland because he was a Socinian (a member of a Protestant sect that was highly suspect even in the tolerant Dutch Republic), there is more to this comment than meets the eye.

Description by Johannes de Laet (1644)

Johannes de Laet (1581–1649) was a Dutch geographer from Antwerp who settled in Leiden in 1608. He was one of the founding fathers of the WIC, of which he also became director. Being a true collector of art, books and manuscripts, he published a description of the New World that was probably based on items in his private collection, called the *Nieuwe Wereldt ofte beschrijvinghe van West-Indien*, published in Leiden in 1625, with maps provided by Hessel Gerritsz. Latin and French translations would follow in the decades to come, as would a second Dutch edition.

As director of the WIC, de Laet had easy access to information concerning the activities of this mercantile company, which allowed him to publish an Annual Report in thirteen books, *Historie ofte iaerlijck verhael*, in 1644. This eminent work describes the conquests and defeats of the WIC from 1621 to 1636, among them the conquest of Brazil itself, and represents an important source for its history, showing the collaboration with the Potiguara and Tapuia and their actions during this Brazilian conquest. De Laet had access to many documents relating to Brazil, some of which have certainly disappeared since. Luckily, he incorporated a few of them into his *Historie*, notably Artichewski's interview of Caracara, the report of Antônio Paraupaba and the letter sent to Jandovy in 1634.

In 1637, when Johan Maurits took office in Recife, de Laet was asked to provide an overview of the “state of affairs” in northeastern Brazil better known as the handwritten “Brazilian Rutter or Handbook” of de Laet (See Document 2). Besides this handbook, de Laet was also the editor of a book commissioned by Maurits describing the natural history of Brazil. Eventually this work, entitled *Historia naturalis Brasiliae*, was published in Latin in 1648, featuring the studies and notes made by Willem Piso and Georg Marcgraf, who had died by that time. It likewise contains the description of the Tapuia by Jacob Rabbi (see Document 13).

Original Printed Document

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In 't begin van dit jaer [1634] hebben wij verhaelt hoe dat den Oversten *Jandovi* met sijne *Tapuyas* bij de onse was gekomen aen *Rio Grande*, ende hoe den *Commandeur Garstman* hare komste ende verrichtinghe in 't laeste van *Martio* de Heeren Ghedelegeerde hadde verwitticht / doch dat sijnen brief eerst in April op 't *Reciff* was ghekommen: de antwoorde vande voorseijde Heeren quam oock seer traeghe te rugghe: ende wiert den *Commandeur* eerst behandicht den ses-en-twintighsten *Junij*, De *Tapuyas* hadden daer-en-tuschen noch twee tochten met de onse in 't Landt ghedaen naer *Coniahu* ende *Barra-Conaiu*. Inde eerste sloegen sij in 't gaen seven-en-dertich koppen doot / ende in 't weder-keeren een-en-dertich: op de tweede / als haer de Portugesen versterckt hadden / ende op de onse | aen-vielen / leyden de Wilde in embuscade / ende onversiens op-rijsende / sloegen sij hondert ende tsestich man soo Portugesen als Brasilianen. Daer naer vertrock *Jandovi* met alle vriendschap weder naer sijn Landt / nam mede ses van onse musquettiers / ende liet in der selver Plaetse sijn Soone / ende sijn Broeder *Caracara*, ende noch een derde. De *Commandeur Garstman* de antwoorde vande Heeren nu bekomen hebbende / sondt den jonhgen *Jandovi*, met twee andere Brasilianen / naer sijn Vader / om de selve te boodtschappen / datter een Schip met de antwoorde was gekomen / versoeckende dat hij hem weder naer *Rio Grande* wilde verwoegen / om met den anderen breeder te spreken: maer de Vader sondt sijnen Soone / nevens *Copun*, Stief-Soone van *Weletya* ofte *Beretyawa* sijnen Neve / ende principaelste Capiteijn / ende noch thien *Tapuyas*, als mede vier onse Soldaten / te rugghe / ende liet aen de *Commandeur* seggen / dat hij besich was / ende in onderhandelinghe met eenighe andere *Tapuyas*, om de selve mede te trecken in onse alliantie / ende dat hij 't selve te weghe ghebracht hebbende / met meerder macht wilde kommen om de Portugesen / nevens ons / te bestrijden. De *Tapuyas* werden met eenige kleijne gheschencken / ende ses van ons volck / weder ghesonden naer den Oversten / maer den jonghen *Jandovi* ende *Copun* bleven op het Casteel van *Rio Grande*: ende werden korts daer naer bij de *Commandeur* ghesonden naer 't *Reciff*, ten deele / op dat sij ons Volck ende Forten / daer sy seer begeerich naer waren / mochten sien; doch meest / om te dooden de quade raporten die eenighe andere *Tapuyas* hadden ghestroijt / ende haer in 't hooft ghesteken / als dat ons volck meest verslaghen was / ende dat de weijnighe / die noch overich waren / haer gereedt maeckten om te verrecken / ende haer-lieden te verlaten / als voordesen ghedaen hadden. Dese Jonghelinghen quamen op 't *Reciff* in *September* (als voren gheseght) naer dat de Heeren Ghedelegeerde Bewinthebberen vertrocken waren; men liet haer

401

Translation

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400

At the beginning of this year [1634] we told how the Chief *Jandovi* and his *Tapuyas* had arrived at *Rio Grande*, and how *Commander Garstman* had notified the Delegated Lords of their activities in the last days of *March*. However, his letter had arrived in *Recife* on the first of April. The answer of the aforesaid Lords also came too late and was given to the *Commander* on 26 *June*. In the meantime, the *Tapuyas* had participated in two joint expeditions into the interior to *Coniahu* and *Barra-Conaiu*. During the first, they killed 37 people on the way and on the way back they killed 31. During the second, when the Portuguese had been reinforced and attacked | us, the Savages organized an ambush and when they suddenly rose up, they killed 160 people, both Portuguese and Brazilians. Afterwards, *Jandovi* returned to his country in all friendship and took six of our musketeers with him, leaving his son behind as well as his brother *Caracara* and another third man. The *Commander Garstman*, who had now received the answer of the Lords, sent the young *Jandovi* to his father with two other Brazilians to transmit the message that a ship had arrived with the answer. He asked him whether he wanted to come back to *Rio Grande* in order to have a broader discussion with the others. However, the father sent back his son together with *Copun*, stepson of *Weletya* or *Beretyawa*, his nephew and principal Captain, as well as 10 more *Tapuyas* and four of our soldiers. He told the *Commander* that he was trying to negotiate with a few other *Tapuyas* in order to incorporate them into our alliance, and that when this had been concluded he would come to fight the Portuguese at our side. The *Tapuyas* were sent back to the Chief with a few gifts and six of our people. However, the young *Jandovi* and *Copun* stayed at the *Rio Grande* fortress. Shortly afterwards they were sent to *Recife* by the *Commander* because they were eager to see our people and our forts but mostly to put an end to the evil reports that had been spread by some other *Tapuyas* since this hurt him deeply when [he heard] that most of our people had been defeated and that the few who remained were preparing to leave and to abandon their people as they had done before. These youngsters reached *Recife* in *September* (as said before), when the Delegated Lord Directors had already left. They visited the forts and met the people, which

401

't Volck ende Forten besichtighe / waer aen sij een goet ghenoeghen namen / ende dreijghden haer te wrecken over de wilde die haer hadden gesocht met valscheijt te bedriegen. / Den Raedt hier op dese saecke vande *Tapuyas* wat naerder ter harten nemende / ghelijck dan meer-mael uijt het Vaderlandt / weghe 't employeren van dese Wilden / was gheschreven / heeft goet ghevonden den Politiquen Raedt *Jacob Stachouwer*, nevens de *Colonel Artichofski*, naer *Rio Grande* te seijnden / om te sien wat voordeel men uijt des Wilde trecken konde / ende hoe men hare hulpe tot meesten dienste vande Compagnie / ende af-breuck vande vijandt soude konnen gebruijcken. Dese twee Heeren dan vertrocken van 't *Reciff* den drij-en-twintighsten *September*, met haer nemende de Compagnie van Capiteijn *Baut*, sterck twee-en-tneghentich koppen / ende arriveerden aen *Rio Grande* den vijf-en-twintighsten der selver maendt. Sij spraken stracx met *Caracara*, Broeder van *Jandovi*, doch de selve en wilde hem / sonder kennis ende bevel van sijn Broeder / nergens in-laten: wesweghe sij dan den tweeden *October* den Tolck *Antonio Parapoava* hebben af-ghesonnen / hem schriftelijck belastende / den Oversten ofte Koningh *Jandovi* te segghen; dat aen *Rio Grande* gekomen waren twee vande principaelste Heeren van 't *Reciff*, om met hem van twee dinghen te handelen: eerstelijck / van een accoordt met hem te maecken / op dat hij voort-aen weten mochte / wat hij voor sijne moeite sal hebben te verwachten / soo wanneer hij tot hulpe soudent werden gheroepen: ten anderen / om met hem te spreekken van eenen aenslagh teghende de Portugesen / die men van meijninghe is op 't spoedighste in 't werck te stellen; wesweghe hij wel haest diende te kommen / want quallijck langher als twintigh daghen soudent konnen vertoeven; versochten mede / dat hij ijemandt voor-uijt wilde seijnden / om haer van sijne komste te verwittighen; op dat men mede ghereedt | mochte zijn / om 't werck / t'sijnder aenkomste / datelijck te beginnen. Desen Boode aldus af-gheveerdicht hebbende / om den tijdt wel te orberen¹ / soo ginghen de voornoemde Heeren somtijds / met twintich ofte dertich man / acht ofte thien mijlen in 't Landt / ende vernachten inde verlaten Huijsen / die hier ende daer inde Bosschen stonden / ende besagen de ghelegentheijt van 't Landt ende de Revieren. 't Landt (naer het verhael vande *Colonel*, welcken hier in volge) is soo schoon ende vruchtbaer / dat men 't niet beter soude konnen wenschen / doch sagen daer niet een mensche / soo was alle 't volck verlopen / soo uijt vreesse voor de onse / doch meest / als wel te vermoeden was / vande *Tapuyas*; de welcke sij / weghe hare wreetheijt / meer vreesen als den Duijvel / wetende datse niemant quartier en geven / ende niet de Menschen alleen / maer oock de Beesten doot-slaen ende

1 Read: *consumeren*.

gave them much pleasure, and they threatened vengeance on the Savages who wanted to deceive them in trickery. The Council was now taking more interest in the case of the *Tapuyas*, and they wrote from the home country many times about employing these Savages. The Political Council now agreed to send *Jacob Stachouwer* and *Colonel Artichowski* to *Rio Grande* in order to see what advantage could be gained from these Savages and how their help could be useful for the Company to damage the enemy. These two gentlemen left *Reciff* on 23 *September* taking with them the company of Captain *Baut*, 92 heads strong, and they arrived in *Rio Grande* on the 25th of that month. They immediately spoke to *Caracara*, brother of *Jandovi*, but the latter did not want to let him [Caracara] in without knowledge and order of his brother. Therefore, the second of *October* they sent the interpreter *Antonio Parapoava* to carry a letter to the Chief or King *Jandovi* to say that two leading Lords from *Reciff* had arrived at the *Rio Grande* to discuss two things with him: firstly, to establish an agreement with him so that he would know from now on what he could expect for his efforts if he was asked to help. Secondly, to discuss with him an attack upon the Portuguese, which was to be executed as soon as possible. This is why he had to come quickly because he would barely stay more than 20 days. We also requested that he send someone ahead to announce his arrival so that we would be ready | to start immediately at his arrival. Once the messenger had been dispatched, to pass the time the aforementioned gentlemen went with 20 or 30 men 8 or 10 miles into the country, where they stayed overnight in abandoned houses which are scattered in the forests to observe the situation of the land and the rivers. The country (according to the Colonel's account, which follows here)² is beautiful and fertile, one could not have wished for better; however, we did not see anyone there, for everyone had left because of fear of our men but mostly, as was to be suspected, because of the *Tapuyas*, whom they fear more than the Devil due to their brutality. They know that they give no mercy to anyone, killing not only all the people but also the ani-

402

2 Here, de Laet reproduced a description of the country made by Artichewski.

vernielen; ghelijck daer in Huijs te sien was daer 't ghebeente lagh van meer als twee hondert Beesten / bij haer in een Hecken doot gheslaghen. De Rievriere van *Rio Grande* bevonden sich selfs doot te lopen ontrent vier mijlen boven het Casteel / niet tegenstaende inde mondt wel soo breedt is als de *Maze*, soo dat sij haer verwonderden waer van sij de naem van *Grande* eertijds bekomen hadde. De Inwoonders verklaerden dat wel eer grooter was gheweest / niet wetende waer de vloet hem gekeert hadde, thoonden mede een diepe drooge dellingh / door de welcke sy verklaerden dese Rievriere eertijds haren loop ghadt te hebben; ende de *Tapuyas* seijden / datse door dese dellinghe drij heele weken eens te landt-waert in waren ghetrocken / levende bij de jachte / *Cayous*, ende voorts allerhande wortelen: waer onder oock is quantiteit van *Salsaparilla*: men vindt in dit gheweste tamelijck goed *Brasilie*-hout in overvloed / Beesten maer in redelijck ghetale / ende niet soo vele als elders. De *Colonel Artichofski* onder-vraeghe mede neerstelijck de ghelegentheijt van dese *Tapuyas*, daer nu mede te handelen hadde / ende hoewel slechtelijck van Tolck versien was / (onse Brazilianen de andere niet half verstaende) soo vernam uijt *Caracara*, des Koninghs Broeder / 't ghene wij dienstich hebben ghevonden hier in te voeghen / te meer / om dat de selve Heere ons versekert / bevonden te hebben dat de verklaeringhe van *Caracara*, met de ghetuijghenisse van vele andere over een quam. De *Tapuyas*, daer *Jandovi* het Hooft van was / is een Natie welcke gheen vaste wooninghe heeft / maer van tijdt tot tijdt verandert; de Wijven de Hutten ende Hamacken haer Mans naer dragende / worden bij de andere Natie van Brazilianen / ende haer naeburighe *Tapuyas*, ghenaemt, *Tarayuck*: rekenen voor haer eijghen Landt een groot gheweste / begrepen tusschen vijf Rievieren; de eerste kommende van *Rio Grande* naer het landt toe / noemen de andere Brazilianen *Wararugi* ende de *Tapujen Oçionon*, door dien sij haer op de mijlen niet en verstaen / en konde men uijt hun niet leeren hoe verre dese eijghentlijck gheleghe was van *Rio Grande*, maer seijden / dat sij desen wegh met Vrouwen ende Kinderen marcherende deden in thien dagen / anders alleen in vijf. De tweede noemen beijde de Natien *Quoaough*, ende is een dagh reijse voorder gheleghe. De derde *Oçioro*, noch twee dagh reijsen voorder. De vierde *Upanema*, wat minder als twee dagh reijse. De vijfde *Woroiguh*, een halve dagh reijse voorder: dit souden al groote Rivieren zijn / naer haer segghen / ende hoogh uijt het Landt kommen. Hij verhaelde voorder twee Saut-pannen in haer Landt te wesen / die sij noemen *Carawaretama*; de eene dicht bij de Zee; de andere hoogh in 't Landt; welcke laeste een van onse Soldaten / die met haer in 't Landt was geweest / verklaerde ghesien te hebben / d'een in haer tale *Cowouyzy*, ende bij de andere Brazilianen *Moytyapoa* ghenaemt / daer men

mals, as seen in a house where there remained only bones of more than 200 beasts that had been hacked to death. The river of the *Rio Grande* comes to an end about 4 miles above the fort. Although the width of its mouth is the same size as the *Maze*,³ what made us wonder was how it had obtained the name *Grande* in former times. The inhabitants declared that it used to be bigger, not knowing where the flood had stopped, showing at the same time a deep and dry dune valley through which the river had previously run. And the *Tapuyas* said that they had traveled along this valley for three whole weeks towards the interior living off the hunt and [collecting] *Cayous** and all sorts of tubers. There is also a good quantity of *Salsaparilla*.⁴ Throughout the whole province is a rather good quantity of *Brasilie*-wood* in abundance. There are animals in sufficient quantities but less than elsewhere. The *Colonel Artichofski* also investigated the country of these *Tapuyas* for he now had to deal with them. Although he was badly served by an interpreter (our Brazilian was not able to understand half of what was said), he learnt from *Caracara*, the King's brother, what I thought useful to insert here. In particular because the same gentleman assured us that the statement of *Caracara* was in agreement with many other ones. The *Tapuyas*, of whom *Jandovi* is Chief, is a nation that does not have fixed houses; they change from time to time. The women carry the huts and hammocks of their husbands towards another Brazilian nation, the neighboring *Tapuyas* called *Tarayuck*.⁵ They consider their own country to be a large province, situated between 5 rivers. The first comes from the *Rio Grande* and flows towards the interior, which the other Brazilians call *Wararugi* and the *Tapujen Oçiunon*. They were not able to learn the distances in miles, neither how far this country was situated from the *Rio Grande*, but they said that they could walk this road with women and children in 10 days, otherwise in 5. The second is called *Quoaough* by both nations and is situated about one day's travel away. The third, *Oçioro*, is two more days away. The fourth, *Upanema*, a little less than two days' travel away. The fifth, *Woroiguh*, about half a day's travel away. These are apparently all the great rivers which, according to their sayings, come down from the high country. He continued and told us that there were two salt pans in their country, which they call *Carawaretama*. One is close to the sea and the other higher up in the country. The latter has been seen by one of our soldiers who had been with them in that country. There is one called *Cowouzy* in their language and the other is called *Moytyapoa* by the Brazilians

3 The River Meuse. See also Barlaeus, *Rerum per octennium*, 250 (Document 14, below).

4 *Salsaparilla* (*Smilax* sp.) is a perennial vine exploited for its tubers.

5 Perhaps for *Tairairu*.

403 voor-bij moet eer men te *Oçiunon* komt / 't ander bij haer *Pookiciabo*, ende bij de andere *Pepetema*; ghe- | legghen tusschen *Guoacugh* ende *Oçioro*. Soo dat haer landt al verre moet strecken / ende apparent tot Siara toe / 't welck sij rekenen haer mede toe te behoren / ende gaerne de Portugesen wederom wilden ontnemen. Dese Natie is in ghetale / met Vrouwen ende Kinderen / ontrent seshien hondert sterck / naer gissinge van de onse / die in haer Landt zijn gheweest; ende om beter de kost te krijghen / soo slaen haer ghemeenelijck neder in twee partijen; de eene met *Jandovi*, ende de andere met *Wesetyawa* ofte *Bereetyawa*, die meest het jongh volck onder hem heeft. *Caracara* noemde vijf Natien / welcker alliantie bij *Jandovi* werdt aen-gesocht. De *Arykeuma* op Brasiliaens / ende *Aciki* op *Tapuyas* genaemt / welcker Koningh ofte Overste was *Coctaulou*, heel swack van volck / ende bij *Jandovi* bij-naer t'onder ghebracht. De tweede is in beijde de Talen *Juckeryjou*, ende haren Koningh *Marakaou*, de welcke voor desen de Portugesen in 't *Arrayal* tegen de onse dienst hebben gedaen / nevens die van *Syara*. De derde op Brasilaens *Kereryjou*, ende op *Tapuyas*, *Ocioneciou*, ende haren Koningh *Nonhu*. De vierde op beijde Talen *Pajoke*, ende haren Koningh *Kidoa*. De vijfde op beijde Talen *Aponoryjou*, ende haren Koningh *Jarepo*. De twee laeste Natien soo machtich als *Jandovi*, de drij eerste niet: woonen al om her de palen⁶ van *Jandovi*, soo bij de Zee als binnens Landts: ende moeten al met *Jandovi* den drooghen wegh passeren door 't gheberghte *Moytyapao*, om aen *Rio Grande* bij ons te kommen / soo dat niet wel bij ons konnen geraecken dan inde regen-maenden / of als 't inde Soomer seer gheregent heeft. Onder hare vijanden noemden hij vier Gheslachten. Het eerste in beijde Talen ghenaemt *Jemho*, ende haren Koningh *Kischonon*, soo verre af ghelegen / dat noijt eenighe kennis ofte onder-handelingh met de Christenen hebben ghehadt. Het tweede Gheslachte in beijde spraken *Woyana*, ende haren Koningh *Waracapawassu*. Het derde in bijde spraken *Caryry*, ende haren Koningh *Kinioonkoiou*, die verre achter het *Arrayal* van *Parnambuco* woonen / ende met de Portugesen vriendschap houden. Het vierde *Caryrywassu*, ende haren Koningh *Carapoto*, die oock ontrent 't selve geweste woonen / dicht bij de andere. De

6 Read: *gebied, territorium*. See also Johan Nieuwhof, *Gedenkweerdige Brasiliaense Zee- en Lant-reize, behelzende al het geen op dezelve is voorgevallen. Beneffens een bondige beschrijving van gantsch Neerlants Brasil, zoo van lantschappen, steden, dieren, gewassen, als draghten, zeden en godsdienst der inwoonders: en inzonderheit een wijtloopig verhael der maerkwaardigste voorvallen en geschiedenissen, die zich, geduurende zijn negenjarigh verblif in Brasil, in doorlogen en opstant der Portugesen tegen d'onzen, zich sedert het jaer 1640. tot 1649. hebben toegedragen. Doorgaens verciert met verscheide afbeeldingen, na 't leven aldaer getekent* (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1682), 225.

which one must cross in order to reach *Oçiunon*; the other [is called] *Pooki-ciabo* by them and by the others *Pepetema*, situated | between *Guoacugh* and *Oçioro*. So, their land apparently stretches further, up to Siara, a region they consider to belong to them and wish to retake from the Portuguese. In numbers this nation represents 1,600 people, women and children included, according to the estimations of our men who have been in their country. In order to get better provisions, they divide themselves into two groups: one group with *Jandovi* and the other with *Wesetyawa* or *Beretyawa*, who takes most of the young folk under his command. *Caracara* mentioned five nations who asked for an alliance with *Jandovi*: the *Arykeuma*, in Brazilian, or *Aciki* in *Tapuyas*, whose King or Chief was *Coctaouly*, are rather weak in people and integrated among the people of *Jandovi*. The second [people] is called *Juckeryjou* in both languages and their King is *Marakaou*, who has fought in the service of the Portuguese at *Arrayal* against our men and those of *Syara*. The third is called *Kereryjou* in Brazilian and in *Tapuyas*, *Ocioneciou*, and their King is *Nonhu*. The fourth is called *Pajoke* in both languages and their King *Kidoa*. The fifth [is called] *Aponoryjou* in both languages and their King *Jarepo*. The last two nations are as powerful as *Jandovi* and the first three are not. They all live around the territory of *Jandovi*, near the sea but also in the interior. They need to take the dry road with *Jandovi* and go through the mountains of *Moytyapao* to reach *Rio Grande* with us, so that they can come to us only in the rainy months or if it has rained much during the summer. Among their enemies, he mentioned four groups. The first is called *Jemho* in both languages, and their King *Kischonon*. They live so far away that they have never had contact or negotiations with the Christians. The second group is called *Woyana* in both languages and their King *Waracapawassu*. The third is called *Caryry* in both languages, and their King *Kinioonkoio*, and they live far beyond the *Arrayal* of *Parnambuco* and maintain friendship with the Portuguese. The fourth is the *Caryrywassu* and their King is *Carapoto*; they also dwell in the same region, close to the others. The latter three have served the

403

drij laeste hebben de Portugesen teghen de onse ghedient / ende hebben hare Dorpen ende Wooninghen daerse in verblijven. Hij kende mede de *Waymores*, die niet verder ghewoon zijn te kommen dan van de *Bahia* af tot *Rio S^t Francisco*. Keeren nu tot de verrichtinghe van den Tolck *Antonio*, den tweeden *October* naer *Jandovi* af-gesonden: dese ghemoette bij de wegh een troupe *Tapuyas*, die gheleijt wierden bij *Commendaoura*, de Soone van *Jandovis* Suster: dese Suster was in alsoo grooten aensien bij de *Tapuyas*, als *Jandovi* selfs / ende naer het segghen van alle de Wilde / soo hadde haer Soon *Commendaoura*, naer de aflijvigheijt van *Jandovi*, inde regeringhe te succederen; gheen ghebruijck bij haer wesende dat de Soonen den Vader volghden: dese hadde bij hem noch een ander Capiteijn / ghenoeemt *Comathy*, Soone van *Jandovis* Broeder / voorts vier-en-veertich mannen. *Commendaoura* behielt den Tolck bij sich / ende liet hem niet voort trecken / segghende dat hij van *Jandovi* volle last mede brochte: sondt twee Brazilianen af tot de onse / om dit te boodtschappen / die den thienden *October* bij de onse quamen; ende 's anderdaeghs 's middaghs quam *Commendaoura* met de sijne aen *Rio Grande*, ende werdt den twaelfden verhoort. Sijn aen-brengen was / dat *Jandovi* met alle zijn macht niet en hadde konnen af-kommen / door dien drij dagh reijzens van *Ocyonon* af in 't gheberghte *Moytiapa* des Soomers gheen versch water en is te bekomen / als alleen weijnich dat hier ende daer inde klippen niet uijt-ghedroogt en is / ende het water dat inde leeghten wert ghevonden / is seer brack: dat oock niet en wiste ofte *Conayou* noch inde Portugesen handen was: ende offer | macht ghe-
404 noegh bij de onse was om 't selve aen te tasten / ende alsoo mede verhindert werd door den rouw over de doot van zijn Vrouwe ende eenighe Vrienden / soo hadde hij *Commendaoura* af-gesonden / om sich van alles breeder te informeren / ende op 't spoedighste weder te keeren. Hier op is des anderendaeghs bij de onse gheantwoordt / ende zijn verscheijden onder-spraecken met dese ghehouden / die wij hier voor-bij gaen / om dat 't voornaemste ghenoegh te sien is bij den in-houdt vanden brief die door den Tolck aen *Jandovi*, nevens dese Wilde / wierdt af-ghesonden / luidende in onse Tale als volgt: De Hollandtsche Heeren laten *Jandovi*, Koningh van *Tararyon*, vriendelijck groeten / ende laten weten / dat se gaerne hem selfs ghesproken hadden / wegen twee oorsaecken; de eerste / dat wij met hem besluijten willen wat wij hem geven soudon / elcke reijse als hij met zijn volck bij ons sal kommen / om teghen de Portugesen te oorloghen / want 't is ons niet lief ghehoort te hebben / dat hij en zijn volck qualijck te vreden waren / alse van *Rio Grande* wegh ginghen, maer wij en hebben geene schult / om dat hij ons 't selve niet te voren heeft laten weten; want wij van sijne komste niet wetende / hadden alreede andere dingen begonnen / daer wij niet af en konden scheijden, oock en hadden gheen goede windt / om bij hem te kommen. Als hij op een ander-mael kommen wil /

Portuguese against us and live in villages and houses. He also knew the *Way-mores*, who usually do not come up from *Bahia* farther than *Rio S^t Francisco*. We shall now return to the endeavors of the interpreter *Antonio* [Paraupaba], who was sent to *Jandovi* on the second of October. On his way, he met a troop of *Tapuyas* who were led by *Commendaoura*, the son of *Jandovi*'s sister. This sister was also in high esteem among the *Tapuyas*, as much as *Jandovi* himself and according to the sayings of all the Savages, her son *Commendaoura* was positioned to succeed *Jandovi* in his government, as it is not the custom among them that the son succeed his father. They also had another Captain, called *Comathy*, the son of *Jandovi*'s brother, and 44 men. *Commendaoura* kept the interpreter with him and did not allow him to leave, saying that he was sending a full request to *Jandovi*. He sent two Brazilians to our people to transmit this message, and they reached us on the tenth of *October*. The day after, *Commendaoura* reached *Rio Grande* with his men and was questioned on the twelfth. According to his account, *Jandovi* was not able to come with all his forces because at three days' travel from *Ocyonon*, in the mountains of *Moyti-apa*, there is no fresh water available in the summer. There is only very little water that has not dried up among the rocks and the water in the pools is brackish. He also stated that he [Jandovi] did not know whether *Conayou* was still in the possession of the Portuguese or whether our forces were sufficient | to attack the latter. He said that he was also hindered by his mourning of his deaths of his wife and a few friends and that is why he had sent *Commendaoura* to us to inform us properly and to return as quickly as possible. The next day the Dutch replied and he was interrogated several times, which we will not discuss here, because the principal elements can be found in the contents of a letter that was to be delivered by the interpreter to *Jandovi* as well as this Savage, reading in our language: The Dutch Lords offer kindly greetings to *Jandovi*, King of *Tararyon*, and let him know that we would have liked to speak to him in person for two reasons: the first is that we want to decide with him what to give him every time he comes to us with his people in order to wage war against the Portuguese, because we were not pleased when we heard that he and his people were unsatisfied when they left *Rio Grande*; however, we are not to blame, because he had not told us in advance [that he was coming in order to prepare the gifts]. As we were unaware of his arrival, we had started other things which we could not interrupt and we did not have fair winds to come to him. When he wants to come again, he should immediately sent someone ahead so we can

404

soo moet hij altoos ijemandt voor-uijt seijnden / die de tijdinghe van sijne komste in tijdts brenghet / soo kunnen wij mede over-slagh maecken / om met hem ghelijck te beginnen: soo hij ons niet bij tijdts van sijn komste waerschouwt / soo en kan sijn kommen ons niet nut wesen. De andere oorsaecke is / dat wij voor-ghenomen hebben *Pariba* in te nemen / ende ondertusschen dat wij voor *Pariba* besich zijn / een goede partije van ons volck bij de sijne te voegen, op dat hij der Portugesen Landt bederve; want alsse uijt het Landt geen proviande krijghen / moeten sij 't selve ende alle hare Forten verlaten / want / langhs de Zee en kan haer uijt Portugael niet meer toe kommen / alle Havens bij onse Schepen wel beset zijnde: welcken tocht voor hem ende sijn volck seer profijtelijck soude vallen / want het Landt / dat wij bederven willen / is vol goets in alle *Ingenios*, soo datter meer buijts sal vallen als sijn ende ons volck sullen kunnen wegh-draghen. Sijn volck / welck hij met *Commendaoura* tot ons ghesonden heeft / om *Canajou* in te nemen / is ons niet noodich gheweest / want wij die Plaetse niet begeren / om datter gheen goede Haven is voor de Schepen / ende niet weerdich de onkosten van besettinghe: als wij eens met den anderen naer *Pariba* gaen / soo sullen wij onsen wegh daer over nemen / ende alles tot de grond slechten; wij seijnden sijn volck te rugghe / ende nemen een partije daer van nevens *Commendaoura* met ons naer 't *Reciff*, daerse ons Volck ende Forten moghen sien / ende hem van alles raport brenghen / wij bedancken hem even-wel van sijne goede gunste / ende is ons soo lief als of wijse ghebruijckt hadden: hij ghelieve sich volkomentlijck ghereet te houden / ende effen-wel niet eer te kommen / voor dat *Commendaoura* tot hem sal weder-kommen; de welcke wij sullen af-veerdigen soo haest als wij den tijdt van de belegeringhe sullen besloten hebben in onsen Raedt / ende sullen hem dan van alles breeder onder-richten: mach daer-en-tusschen met de andere Koninghen handelen / op dat soo vele volcx met brenghen als immers kunnen / want hier sal buijts genoegh voor alle vallen. Wij seijden aen hem gheschencken / en hadden gaerne meer ghesonden / hebben niet meer Brasilianen kunnen bekommen / die dien dorren wegh / daer soo weijnich waer is / wilden aen-nemen; ende aen sijn volck en dorsten het niet betrouwen / wetende dat sij onse packen / die wij te voren aen hem ghesonden hadden / op-ghesneden ende ghevioleert hadden. Sijn volck / d'welck hier met *Commendaoura* ghekommen is / hebben wij
 405 oock alle gheschencken ghegheven. De gheschencken die aen | hem wierden gesonden / waren dese: een Ongerlingh⁷ van Fellepe Carmosijn couleur / een ander van Isabelle couleur / ettelijcke pacxkens met slechte kleetjens / twee

7 Read: *kap* or *keep*. See also Willem R. Menkman, "Nederland in Brazilië en de Carraïbische Zee," *De West-Indische Gids* 20 (1938): 213.

also prepare ourselves in order to start right away with him. If he does not warn us of his arrival in time, it cannot be useful to us. The second cause is that we intend to take over *Pariba* and while we are busy with *Pariba*, a good number of our men will be added to his in order to spoil the land of the Portuguese. For if they do not receive provisions from the land, they will leave the place and their fortresses for they can no longer be supplied from Portugal by the sea as all harbors have been occupied by our ships. This expedition should be very profitable for him and his people because in the land we want to spoil there are *Ingenios* filled with goods, meaning there is more loot than his and our people can carry away. His people, whom you have sent to us with *Commendaoura* in order to take *Canajou*, were not needed because we do not desire to occupy that place as here is no good harbor for the ships and it is not worth the investment to maintain the occupation. If we go with the others to *Pariba*, for instance, then we will cross roads and raze everything to the ground. We sent his people back but take one part of them, with *Commendaoura*, to *Reciff*, so that they can see the people and the fortresses in order to bring him report of everything. Nonetheless, we thank him for his favors and being so good to us, as we would have used them. He is kindly asked to be ready at any time but not to arrive before *Commendaoura* has returned to him. We will send him as soon as we have decided the date of the siege in our Council and will subsequently explain the details to him. In the meantime he can negotiate with the other Kings in order to bring as many people with him as possible for there will be enough booty for everyone. We gave him gifts and would have liked to send more but we did not have more Brazilians who were willing to take the barren road where one can find so little [to eat]. And [Commendoura] did not want to give it to his people for he did not trust them, knowing that the packages we had sent previously had been cut open and violated. To his people, who arrived here with *Commendaoura*, we have also given gifts. The gifts | sent to him were the following items: a scarlet Philip cape and another in Isabella color, a few packages with simple dresses,

405

dosijn Hemden; drij kleijne vergulde Hellebaerdeken / drij versilverde Houwers / een dosijn Bijlen / twee hondert Messen / ende menichte van Coralen ende dierghelijcke snuijsterije. Elck *Tapuya*, die ghekommen was / gaven sij oock een Hemde / ende ettelijcken Messen / ende tot twee reijssen den buijck vol Wijns. Aldus met dese Wilde ghedaen hebbende / ende de selve meijnende wegh te seijnden / isser wat voor-gevallen / welck haer van resolutie heeft doen veranderen / want twee van onse Boots-ghesellen / de welcke nevens ses anderre / inde maendt van *Julio* voorleden bij de Portugesen waren ghevangen gheweest / ende naer *Pariba*, ende daer naer tot *Barra de Conayou* ghebracht / alwaer sij veerthien daghen aen 't Fortjen hadden ghearbeijt / ende waren eijndelijck ghestelt op een Caravelle / gheladen met twee hondert ende twintich kisten Suijckeren / zeijl-reedt legghende om naer Portugael te varen. Dese den derthienden *October* voorleden uyt de Caravelle ghespronghen / ende aen de Noordt-strandt aen-gheswommen zijnde / quamen den vijfthienden *October* in *Rio Grande*. Hare komste gaf onse Heeren aen-leydinghe om sich vande ghelegentheyte van *Pariba*, van *Conayou*, ende andere Plaetsen wat naerder te informeren.

[Hierop volgt de beschrijving van de voorbereidingen en van de Nederlandse aanval onder leiding van kolonel Artichewski op Barra de Conayou—onder leiding van Alvares Fragoso d'Albuquerque—, met de compagnie van kapitein Bauts en de luitenant van de commandeur Garstman, 50 ruiters (zonder paarden) en 46 *Tapuia* of een totaal van 128 koppen]

two dozen shirts and three small gilded halberds, three silvered hacks [bill-hooks], a dozen axes, two hundred knives and a batch of glass beads and such trinkets. Each *Tapuya* who came also received a shirt and a few knives and wine for two voyages to fill their belly. Once finished with this Savage who was ready to leave, something happened what made him change his mind. Two of our sailors had been captured in the month of *July* by the Portuguese with six others, and had been transferred to *Pariba* and from there to *Barra de Conayou*, where they worked about fourteen days on the fortress before embarking a caravel loaded with two hundred barrels of sugar, ready to sail for Portugal. On the thirteenth of *October* they jumped off the caravel and swam to the northern beach and arrived in *Rio Grande* on the fifteenth of *October*. Their arrival provided our Lords an opportunity to obtain information about the situation of *Pariba*, of *Conayou*, and of a few other places.

[A description of these places is given by de Laet, followed by the Dutch attack, under the command of Colonel Artichewski, on Barra de Conayou (where the Portuguese were led by Alvares Fragoso d'Albuquerque) together with the company of Captain Baut and the Lieutenant of Commandeur Garstman, as well as 50 horsemen (without their horses) and 46 Tapuia, a total of 128 men]

Journal of Jacob Rabbi (1648)

The original document with Jacob Rabbi's narrative has been lost, but Georg Marcgraf (1610–1644) apparently had access to it when he made the notes that would eventually form part of his book *Historia naturalis Brasiliae*. The last part or book 8 of this work, titled “Qui agit de ipsa Regione & Indigenis,” is dedicated to the geography and inhabitants of Brazil.¹ For this chapter Marcgraf—or possibly Johannes de Laet, his editor—certainly copied from existing memoirs (see the word *carsa*, which can be found in Herckmans and Hulck); though mainly presenting information on the Tupi, he also used the journal of Jacob Rabbi to present an image of the *Tapuiyarum* in Chapter 12, including some illustrations. He also made a short summary of Herckmans's description of the Tapuia in Chapter 13 called “Alia quædam de Tapuyis ab Elia Herckmanno descripta,” which we do not include here as Herckmans manuscript is presented as well (see Document 9).

According to Boogaart, the Tapuia were no longer seen as essential allies after the truce with the Portuguese in 1641. In fact, the Dutch believed they were a burden or nuisance as their seasonal migrations from the interior to the coast and their killing sprees evidently upset the Portuguese colonists. Instead of attacking and chasing them off, the Dutch wanted the latter to stay and continue to produce sugar. Of course, the Tapuia took no interest in European politics if there was no advantage for them and thus continued their migrations to the great annoyance of the Dutch. In 1642, the latter decided that more information was needed about the whereabouts of the Tapuia and employed one Jacob Rabe or Rabbi to make and maintain permanent contact with them. Little is known about Rabbi, but he was already well acquainted with the Tapuia before being employed by the WIC. It was believed, notably by Garstman, that Rabbi incited the Tapuia to plunder and had gone “native” and out of control.²

1 Willem Piso and Georg Marcgraf, *Historia naturalis Brasiliae: in qua non tantum plantae et animalia, sed et indigenarum morbi, ingenia et mores describuntur et iconibus supra quingentas illustrantur* (Leiden and Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1648), 279–282. On this book, see—among others—Mireia Alcantara-Rodríguez, Mariana Françoze and Tinde van Andel, “Looking into the Flora of Dutch Brazil: Botanical Identifications of Seventeenth Century Plant Illustrations in the *Libri Picturati*,” *Scientific Reports* 11 (2021): article 19736, <https://www.nature.com/articles/s41598-021-99226-8>.

2 Boogaart, “Infernal Allies,” 528.

In 1643, the Dutch colony's territory and power began to decline with the loss of Maranhão and Ceará, which inspired the Portuguese to attempt an uprising of *moradores* in 1645, led by João Fernandes Vieira and aided by many Indigenous peoples, to confront the Dutch.³ This crisis was worsened by the arrival of Jandovy with people who had come down from the mountains because of severe food shortages, causing much damage to gardens and cattle. The Dutch asked Jandovy to leave Rio Grande with his people but he argued that many Indigenous people had made an alliance against him and he could not return to the interior. In 1645, Jandovy went to Cunhaú, where he slaughtered many *moradores*. This provoked much anger among the latter and the Dutch sent out the Reverend Jodocus à Stetten and Captain Willem Lambrechtsen to ask Rabbi to restrain the Tapuia. But the Dutch messengers were not welcome and Garstman decided to take care of Rabbi himself. On 4 April 1646, Rabbi was ambushed at his plantation near Fort Ceulen, on Garstman's orders.⁴ The interrogations regarding Rabbi's murder conducted by Hendrick de Moucheron and Jochem Deniger on 30 April 1646 are available at the Dutch National Archives.⁵

Their reports show that Rabbi was having dinner one evening at the house of one Dirck Muller with three others: Denijs Baltesen, Garstman's former secretary Willem Becx, an inhabitant of Rio Grande, and Jacop de Bolan, Garstman's ensign. He was shot as he was leaving. Baro stated that he was in Recife at the time of the murder, discussing the situation at Garstman's house with Pieter Bas. According to Baro, Rabbi had kept part of the goods to be exchanged with the Tapuia for himself. He also stated that it was common knowledge that Garstman had an "old hatred" for Rabbi.

It remains unknown who commanded Rabbi to be killed but the interrogations revealed that Baro was asked to do it and refused. According to Abraham de Rouff, Garstman's secretary, it was one Bollan who had to kill Rabbi.

3 See José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, *O Tempo dos Flamengos*, 3rd ed. ext. (Recife: Massangana, 1978), 209; Meuwese, "For the Peace," 171–183.

4 Nieuhof, *Gedenkweerdige*, 164; Menkman, "Nederland in Brazilië," 208; Boogaart, "Infernal Allies," 529; Teensma, "The Mission of Rudolph Baro," 10.

5 "Informatien genomen in Rijo grande wegen de doot van Jacop Rabij, A° 1646," NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 62, document 11A. See also Boogaart, "Infernal Allies," 530 n. 34; Mark Meuwese, "The Murder of Jacob Rabe: Contesting Dutch Colonial Authority in the Borerlands of Northeastern Brazil," in *New World Orders: Violence, Sanction, and Authority in the Colonial Americas*, ed. John Smolenski and Thomas J. Humphrey (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 133–156. On Hendrik Moucheron, see also Barlaeus, *Nederlandsch Brazilië*, 322.

Original Published Document

279 ...

CAP. XII.

*De Tapuiyarum moribus, & consuetudinibus, è Relatione Iacobi Rabbi,
Qui aliquot annos inter illos vixerat.*

Incetis plerumque sedibus vagantur instar Nomadum, inter certo[s] [...] amen
limites, inter quos castra mutant secundum Anni tempestatum mutationem:
itaque Regulus eorum, qui *Otschicayanæ* dicuntur, à maximo fluminc quod
fines eorum permeat, ut supra diximus, cujus gentile nomen est *Iandhui*, vespe-
ri & mane per castra proclamari curat pro arbitrio suo, & con- | sultis ante
divinatoribus suis & hariolis, quo proximo mane promaturi sint, & ubi con-
sessuri, atque quid interdiu acturi. Manc antequam iter aggrediantur, fluvium
ingrediuntur, & se abluunt, & nitidissima arena corpora sua fricant, & rursus
abluunt: atque inde egressi artus suos ita extendunt & contorquen, ut articuli
ipsis crepitent. Hinc ad focum accedunt, & calefacti, denticulis querumdā
piscium ita se scabunt, ut sanguinem multis locis eliciant, quod ad lassitudi-
nem in itinerando demendam plurimum putant prodesse. Scribit Rabbi sese
sæpe esse expertum utile esse.

Translation

...

279

Chapter 12.

About the customs and habits of the Tapuia, according to the narrative by Jacob Rabbi, who lived some years amongst them

Similar to nomads, they roam through uncertain places; however [they roam] within certain limits wherein they move their camp according to the variations of the seasons; and so the King of these people who are called *Otshicayaynae*, from the largest river that crosses their lands, as we said above, whose gentile name is Iandui. In the afternoon and in the morning he makes sure | that his will is proclaimed through the camp, having previously consulted his diviners and soothsayers,⁶ [about] where they must go in the morning and where they must gather, and what they must do during the day. In the morning, before the journey begins, they enter the river, bathe and rub their bodies with the finest sand,⁷ and then wash themselves again; and when they get out, their limbs stretch and turn in such a way that their joints crack on their own. From this place they approach the fire and warm up, scraping themselves with the small teeth of certain kinds of fish in such a way that they draw blood in many places, which they consider to be very useful against fatigue when traveling.⁸ Rabbi himself writes that he often experienced this to be useful.

280

6 Soothsayers or *feiticeiros* in Portuguese. See also Herckmans, NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 46, fol. 20^v (Document 9, above).

7 See also Barlaeus, *Rerum per octennium*, 250 (Document 14, below).

8 On laceration of the body to forestall fatigue on a journey, see Lowie, "The Tarairiu," 566.



FIGURE 8 Drawing of Tapuia man and woman, Piso and Marcgraf 1648, p. 280
COURTESY OF PETER H. RAVEN LIBRARY/MISSOURI BOTANICAL GARDEN

Ad lapidis lactum à Reguli tabernaculo, duo trunci arborum humi jacent unius passus intervallo à se invicem dissiti, populus autem universus in duas turmas divisus ex adverso consistit; hinc unaquæ que turma eligit unum è robustissimis, qui truncos illos succollant & quam possunt celerrime portant, succedunt dein alii aliis ex eadem turma; qui autem primi ad locum castris destinatum pervenerint, tardioribus insultant, atque illos exsibilant. Operiuntur hîc juniores qui arme illorum, & secures afferunt, hinc arbores certatim cædunt & pergulas construunt, sub quibus æstum solis vitare possint, inter ipsos rivulos. Inter ea adveniunt & feminæ cum reliquis impedimentis: & viri egrediuntur, pro locorum conditione aut ad pisces, aut ad feras capiendum; atque itidem mel silvestre colligendum: vetulæ vero ad radices cruendas, è quibus farina* confici ossit, & panes coqui: domi autem aliæ aliis auxiliantur & parant manibus cibum & potum, qui deinceps tempus terunt hastilibus certando, luctando, currendo; quibus certaminibus duæ feminæ ad id select[.]ræsident, & judicant de singulorum virtute & victoribus.

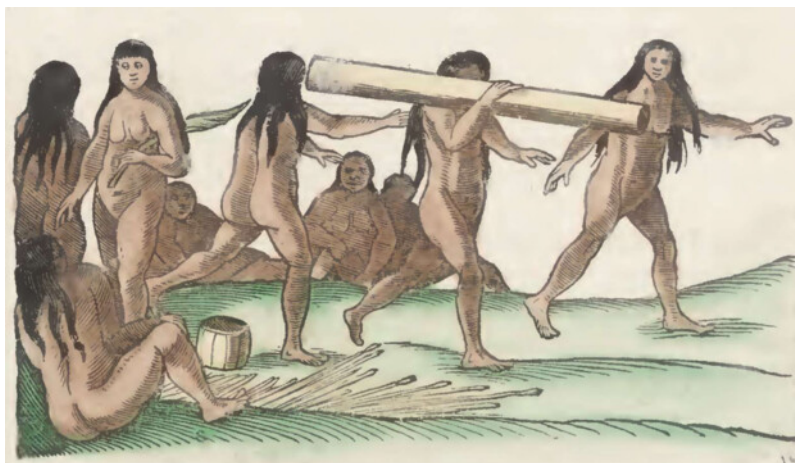


FIGURE 9 Drawing of tree trunk running among the Tapuia, Piso and Marcgraf 1648, p. 280
COURTESY OF PETER H. RAVEN LIBRARY/MISSOURI BOTANICAL GARDEN

A stone's throw away from the King's tent, two tree trunks lie on the ground, separated by an interval of one step.⁹ All the people, however, are divided in two crowds, are standing in front of them. From this place each crowd chooses one of the strongest amongst them to carry these trunks on their backs, they carry as much as they can as quickly as they can, then others follow them from the same crowd; however, those who had arrived first at the place designated for the camp insult and boo at the slowest ones. Here are hidden the youngest ones who bring the weapons and the axes, from this place they cut down trees continuously and build huts under which they avoid the great heat of the sun, between their own streams. In the meantime the women also arrive with the remaining military luggage. The men go out either to catch fish or to hunt animals depending on the condition of the place, and likewise to collect wild honey. The old ladies, however, [go out] to pull out the roots¹⁰ from which flour is to be made and bread to be baked. At home they help each other and prepare food and drink with their hands, and then spend their time fighting with spears, fighting, running. Two women are chosen to preside over these contests and judge the value of each and the winners.

9 It is not clear here whether *passus* is a Roman measure (a pass equals to 5 feet) or simply one step.

10 Probably a reference to manioc tubers.

Ubi vespera adv[.] coëunt adolescentes in varias cohortes, & castra perambulantes cantillant ante tuguria, adolescentulæ autem quæ juvenibus delectantur, proeunt, & cantillantes atque tripudiantes sequuntur adolescentes, & à tergo consistunt eorum quos amant, id enim ipsis amo[.]estimonium est. Cum porro
 281 juvenes jam ad nuptias aspirant, venantur | feras & colligunt mel silvestre, aliaque, at que ad Patres dilectarum conferunt: qui si plures filias nobiles habeant, advocant prophetas & sortilegos suos, medicosque, illi autem adeunt Regulum ad deliberandum. Regulus porro convocat per præconem Adolescentes procos in proximum extra castra, ubi plurimi, tam adolescentes quam puellæ, conveniunt, & conjunctim per sylvas vagantur, donec ad locum venationi destinatum pervenerint; atque hic consilio capto pauci illorum progrediuntur, ut ferarum latibula indagent, qui, ubi illa offenderint, ocysime ad reliquos regrediuntur, & indicant quo loco ferarum fit copia: deinceps omnes cum armis & canibus feras indagine cingunt, atque ita propere in illas ruunt, ut nonnumquam ducetas feras simul capiant & mactent, atque postquam lateribus apertis intestina canibus objecerint, illas inferunt castris. Accurrunt dein foeminae, & foco facto, viscera primum torrent viris in cibum: dein pilis ablati, ferarum corpora concidunt in plures partes: postilla fovea intra terram facta, prunas illis indunt, atque eisdem carnes percoquantui, haud secus quam in furno. Quidam & mella colligunt & potum conficiunt; atque ita commessando diem exigunt. Dein iterum accedunt ad Reguli tabernaculum ad deliberandum ubi proximo die venatio sit instituenda; quo constituto, discedunt in cohortis ad cantillandum, è cantionum enim modo augurantur an venatio bene processura sit necne. Venatione absoluta, rursus commessantur ad eundem modum, & ii qui domi manserunt, conferunt farinam è radicibus factam.

Diximus jam ante Barbaros hosce labia, auriculas & genas perforare: hic actus ab ipsis instituitur ad hunc modum. Adolescentes ad hoc parati educuntur ad locum in quem populus convenit ad cantillandum & saltandum. Sortilegi autem eorum atque dæmonum incantatores duplici ordine ex adverso consistunt, atque eorum unus arripit puerum aliquem, & ma[nu]s illius atque pedes arcte constringit, & ita tenet, ut se movere non possit, accurrit alter qui puero inferius labium acuto ligno perforat uti & auriculas, matre pueri interea ejulante. Adolescentibus porro foramina terebrant in genis, atque hæc sunt veluti sponsalia; neque enim ante adolescentes hæc subeunt, quam ad nup-

When night comes, the young men gather in various cohorts and wander around the camp singing in front of the huts, but the young women who have fun with the young men go, and singing and jumping, they follow the boys and place themselves behind those they love. For this is how they attest their love. However, when young men already aspire to a wedding, they hunt | animals and gather wild honey and other things and take them to the parents of their beloved. Those who have many daughters to marry call on their prophets, priests and doctors, but they go to the King to make the decision. With a herald, the King immediately summons the young men who intend to marry to a place close to the camp, where many gather, as many young men as girls, and together they walk through the forests until they reach the place set for the hunt. And here, having taken advice, a few of them go forth to seek the hiding places of the beasts which, as soon as they find them, return very quickly to the others and indicate in which place there are quantity of beasts. Then everyone surrounds the animals with weapons and dogs, and swiftly rush upon them, so that sometimes they catch and kill two hundred beasts at the same time and afterwards, having opened their flanks, they throw the intestines to the dogs and take them to the camp. Then the women arrive, and having made a fire, they roast the organs first for the men to eat. Having removed the fur, they cut the beasts' bodies into many pieces, [and] after that, having dug a pit in the ground, having dug a pit in the ground, they place embers over them and the meat cooks perfectly in there, just as in an oven. Some also collect honey and make a drink. And so they spend the day eating. Afterwards they return to the King's tent because it has to be decided where the hunt will be held the next day. Once this is established, they go in cohorts to sing, for by the measure of their songs is foretold whether the hunt will be successful or not. Having finished the hunt, they again eat in the same way and those who stayed at home collect the flour made from roots.

281

We have already said that these Barbarians pierce their lips, ears and cheeks; this act is established in this way. The teenagers prepared for this are brought to the place where the people gather to sing and jump. But their diviners and demon-charmers¹¹ stand in two rows facing each other and one of them snatches a boy, and tightly binds his hands and feet, and in this way holds him so that he cannot move, another one pierces the boy's lower lip and ears with sharp wood while the boy's mother wails. Next, holes are pierced in the adolescents' cheeks, and these are like tokens of betrothal, for adolescents do not

11 Often translated as devil-charmers but the Latin text clearly give *daemonum*; perhaps to distinguish from THE Devil?

tias aspirent: dein per triduum aut quadriduum commessantur: in isto autem nuptiali convivio Regulus ipse suas cuique partes destribuit de cibis qui parati suerunt.

Matres imprimis hoc curant ne filiæ ipsarum ante conjuges accedant, quam menses eorum fluxerint, quod sortilegis suis & medicis indi[...], atque illi Regulo, & ita demum sponsa ad sponsi sui cubiculum adducitur: celebratur porro cantilenis matre quod filiæ pudicitiam tam bene custodiverit.

Quod si matris sit filia aliqua matura viro, quæ tamen non petatur; tunc mater [...] iam suam sub oculis rubro colore pingit, ubi menses suos semel passa fuerit, & adducit illam ad Regulum, & exponit quid desideret, tum Regulus juvenculam ad se vocat, & in storea juxta se considerare mandat, & fingens se medici partibus fungi, manus ad focum calefacit atque iis se demulcet; dein & se, & juvenculam Tobacci fumo afflat; denique pene juvenculæ pudenda ferit, si autem sanguinem eliciat, hunc delingit, atque hoc imprimis honorificum putant.

Feminæ prægnantes factæ deinceps à virorum consortio abstinent. Ubi autem pepererunt, secedunt in silvam, & infanti umbilicum concha præcidunt, & una cum secundinis coctum devorant: puerpera autem atque infans mane & vesperi frigida abluitur: neq; foemina quamdiu infantem suum lactat cum viro suo consuescit, nisi forte ille unicam tantum conjugem habeat.

Si foemina cum altero consuescat, & viro id innotuerit, abigit illam à se: sin autem in ipso actu forte deprehenderit, utrumque occidere licet, si possit. Narrat Rabbi Regulum Ianduy aliquot suarum conjugum ita trucidasse, mæchis dilapsis.

Regulus Ianduy habet in medio tabernaculi sui ingentem cucurbitam, super stoream ita dispositam, ut ab altera storeæ parte cooperiatur, ad quam sine mandato Reguli nemini accedere fas est aut cucurbitam introspicere, sed cum Tabacum sumunt, licet fumum in illam exspirare: feras autem & mella quæ inferuntur juxta illam deponunt donec Regulus imperet illa auferre: singulari autem superstitione & timore percellit suos hac cucurbita. In illa sunt lapides quidam, quos illi appellant *Kehnturah*, & fructus quidam, ipsis *Titzsheynos*, quos majores faciunt quam aurum.

Habent quosdam medicos vel potius præstigiatores, qui miris artibus populo imponunt, & persuadent miseris, se ex eorum corporibus, animantia, lapides aliaque exsugere, quæ ipsis videntibus evomunt. Reguli quoque sibi medendi facultatem arrogat: itaque matres infante, suos ægros ad Regulum suum addu-

undergo these things until they aspire to marriage. Then they feast for three or four days, but at the wedding banquet it is the custom that the King himself distributes to each person the pieces of food that have been prepared.

The mothers mainly take care at this point that their daughters do not approach their spouses before their menses flow, which they show to their diviners and doctors and to the King himself, and only then is the bride led to her husband's bedchamber. Then this is celebrated by the mother with songs, because she has guarded her daughter's purity so well.

If any mother's daughter is of the proper age for a husband, but is not sought, then the mother paints her daughter with red under the eyes as soon as she has had her first menses, she takes her to the King and sets out her demands. Then the King calls the young lady to him and orders her to sit beside him on a rush mat, and busies himself like a doctor handling his own parts, he warms his hands over the fire and caresses himself; then he blows Tobacco smoke upon both himself and the girl. Then he thrusts with his penis into the girl's private parts: if he draws blood, he licks it up, and this they consider to be especially honorable.

After becoming pregnant, women abstain from the company of men. As soon as they give birth, they leave for the forest, and cut the child's umbilical cord with a shell and devour it, cooked together with the afterbirth. Mother and child are washed in the morning and in the cold of the evening. Nor does a woman live with her husband while breastfeeding her child, unless by chance he only has one wife.

If a woman has intercourse with another man, and this becomes known to her husband, he drives her away, but if she is caught in the act itself, the husband is permitted to kill the other man, if he can. Rabbi recounts that King Ianduy slaughtered some of his wives, the fornicators cut down.

In the middle of his tent, King Jandovy has a large pumpkin on a reed mat placed in such a way that it is covered by part of the mat, and none, without the King's order, is allowed to approach it or look at the pumpkin. When they smoke tobacco, however, it is permitted to exhale smoke on it, but the beasts and honey that they bring they leave next to [the pumpkin] until the King orders them to be removed; through strange superstition and fear he beats down his people with this pumpkin. Inside it are certain stones that they call *Kehnturah*, and certain fruits, for them *Titzsheynos*, that they consider more precious than gold.

They have certain doctors—or rather impostors—who deceive the people with admirable skills and convince the unfortunate that they can suck living things, stones and other things out of their own bodies, which they vomit as they watch. The Kings also claim for themselves the ability to heal, and so mothers

cunt, qui illos fricat, & Tabaco consputat: si interea infans nihilominus moriatur, à matre & consanguineis commeditur.

282 Martio & Aprili mensibus maxima aquarum vis de montibus descendit, ita ut fluvius *Otschunogh* se inflet & ripas suas egrediatur atque in vicinum lacum *Bayatag* exundet, [quo] tempore tantam piscium multitudinem cipunt, quantum fœminæ castra vix re[tere] possunt: eodem | præcipui illorum fructus maturantur. Ubi autem fluvius intra alveum suum coëretur, ad consuetas sedes redeunt, & sementi dant operam: serunt autem imprimis grandius milium seu Maizium, phaseolos varios & cucurbitas lagenæformes, aliasque.

Antequam semina terræ committant, solum à sortilegis & prophetis illorum ab ortu ad occasum lustratur, & semina vaporantur fumo Tabaci, hoc ad fecunditatem proficere autumant. Nec minus anxie & superstitiose divinatores suos consulunt de anni fertilitate, qui vario plumarum ornatu atque aliis monilibus insignes credulum vulgus miris præstigiis effatuant: quod interea cantillando tempus terit.

Ubi sementis eorum ad maturitatem pervenerit, & fruges collectæ fuerint, tantum seponunt quantum ad proximam sementem sufficere putant, reliquum abliguriunt.

Imprimis venerantur Pleiadum exortum, & stellas illas numinis loco colunt, canendo & choreas ducendo; præsertim in loco ad id destinato, quinque supra quadraginta horarum itinere ab *Otschunoch*, quo tendunt cum fructus silvarum & camporum maximam partem jam maturi sunt. Hic autem Adolescentes omnes qui hastis lusingunt, post triduum cantando & saltando exactum, se partant ad certamen: & quidem primo suras vinciunt lento quodam vimine, è quo & calceos confectos induunt: deinde melle capita inungunt, & capillos postica parte subligant, & longioris avis penna erecta insigniunt: mox rubro pulvere capillitium ad occiput aspergunt, fronti autem albas applicant plumas; denique faciem variis pingunt coloribus, uti & reliquum corpus; dorso autem alligant fasciam è frondibus confectam instar caudæ, brachiisque alas volucris, quam vocant *Kosetug*, & cervici itidem circumdant pennas rubras. Ita ornati certant per triduum, & victores ovantes saltant.

take their sick children to their King, who rubs them down and spits tobacco on them. If the child nevertheless dies, it is eaten by its mother and relatives. In the months of March and April a very great abundance of water flows down from the hills so that the *Otschunogh* River swells and overflows its banks as far the nearby lake *Bayatag*. At such times they catch so many fish that the women can scarcely carry them to the camp | *in the same place their principal fruits are ripened*. When the river returns to its bed, they also return to their usual dwellings, and they devote themselves to the activity of sowing: they mostly plant the biggest corn or "Maizium," various beans, and pumpkins in the shape of a flask.

282

Before they commit the seeds to the ground, the soil is crossed from East to West by their diviners and prophets. The seeds are warmed with tobacco smoke, which they affirm to be good for fertility. No less anxiously and superstitiously they consult their diviners about the fertility of the year, who are adorned with various feather ornaments, and other with necklaces and with admirable illusions they convince the credulous masses who meanwhile spend their time singing.

When their crops reach maturity, and the fruits are harvested, they set aside as much as they think is sufficient for the next sowing, and the rest they squander. They mainly venerate the rise of the Pleiadum as well as those stars they worship as divinities, singing and leading dances, especially in the place destined for this purpose, more than forty-five hours' journey from *Otschunoch*, where they go to camp when the fruits of the forests and fields are already almost ripe. Here, however, all the adolescents who are to be trained with spears, once the *triduum* of singing and jumping is over, prepare for the contest. They first bind their calves with a certain flexible branch and put on shoes made from the same. Then they anoint their heads with honey, tie their hair back, and decorate it with a feather form a large bird standing upright. Then they sprinkle their hair with red powder, but on the forehead they apply white feathers. Finally they paint their faces with various colors as well as the rest of their body, but to their back they tie a band made of leafy branches like a tail and on their arms the wings of a bird they call *Kosetug*, and likewise they tie red feathers around their head. Dressed in this manner, they take part in combats for three days and the winners jump as they rejoice.

Ubi quis illorum moritur (nisi forte à venenato aliquo animali exstinguatur) portatur cadaver extra castra, atque ibidem ab illorum medicis & sortilegis extenteratur & dividitur in partes: quæ deinceps à vertulis¹² torrentur, & ab eisdem & consanguineis devorantur, cum planctu; summi enim amoris indicium judicant amicos intra viscera sua seperlire. Atque hæc quidem inter plebeios obtinent: Optimatum vero cadavera ab aliis optimatibus comeduntur: præter ossa quæ à proximis consanguineis servantur ad nuptialia convivia; & tunc in minutissimas particulas contunduntur & bellariorum loco devorantur: quandiu autem omnia ossa non ita consumpta fuerint, proximi consanguinei sibi capillos capitis evellunt in signum luctus.

12 Probably *veteribus*.

When one of them dies (unless by chance he is killed by some poisonous animal) the corpse is carried out of the camp, and in there it is cut open by their doctors and diviners and divided into parts which are later roasted by the old women, and are devoured by them and the relatives as they lament, for they judge it a sign of greatest love to entomb loved ones inside their own entrails. In fact, these things obtain among the humble. The corpses of their aristocrats, however, are eaten by the other aristocrats, except for the bones, which are preserved by close relatives for wedding banquets. Then they are ground into tiny particles, and are devoured in place of desserts. Until all the bones are consumed, their kin tear out their hair in mourning.

Description by Caspar van Baerle (1647)

Caspar van Baerle (1584–1648) or Casparus Barlaeus was born in Antwerp. He was a poet and translator and became a renowned Latinist in the Netherlands and beyond. His contribution to the historiography of Brazil concerns the writing in Latin of the *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi nuper gestarum, sub praefectura illustrissimi comitis I. Mauritii, Nassoviae* or *History of the Recent Activities in Brazil and Elsewhere over a Period of Eight Years under the Governorship of Count Johan Maurits*, published in Amsterdam in 1647, covering the period 1636 to 1644. When Johan Maurits returned to the Netherlands, he ordered a book about his governorship in Recife to show his endeavors in the Brazilian colony to the directors of the WIC and the States General. He chose the scholar Van Baerle and provided him many reports and other documents to serve as a basis for the book. It is believed that these original documents have been lost.¹

Concerning the Tapuia, Van Baerle was given reports written by Jacob Rabbi from Waldeck and those of Roeloff or Roulox Baro concerning his first expeditions into the interior of Rio Grande. Van Baerle did not transcribe them but rather described them. In this presentation he added comparisons with classical Mediterranean astronomy and other cultural elements he deemed relevant in order to explain Tapuia customs.

After the death of Rabbi in 1646, the relationship between the Dutch and the Tapuia deteriorated and the Dutch feared the Tapuia would turn against them.² In order to prevent this, they sent out one Roeloff or Roulox Baro to find Jandovy and to persuade him to stay on the Dutch side.³ His first expedition in June 1646 was unsuccessful because Jandovy was at war with the Pajúcús and unable to meet him.⁴ Jandovy requested Dutch military aid and Baro went back to ask the

1 Caspar van Baerle, *The History of Brazil under the Governorship of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau, 1636–1644*. Translated, with notes and an introduction by Blanche T. van Berckel-Ebeling Koning (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), ix–x.

2 Moreau, *Klare*, 58.

3 According to Teensma, Moreau was responsible for corrupting the Dutch name Roelof as Roulox; “Roelof” 361.

4 “It was Roeloff Baro who had been sent to the Tapuia of Janduwij in order to assist to the council [scan 529], who showed us the journal of his journey as well as a letter by the said Janduwij dated the first of July in which he thanked us for the presents sent and demanded assistance of some iron work and other things as he was at war with the nation of the Pajú-

High Council for soldiers, which he eventually obtained; nonetheless, Jandovy was beaten by his foes. The High Council sent more soldiers but Jandovy was defeated again and finally sought safe haven in Rio Grande. This was actually a fortunate situation, as the High Council was awaiting the grand fleet of Witte de With in order to attack the hinterland of Pernambuco. Many of Jandovy's people were gathered and sent to Recife in April 1648 to fight the first battle of the Guararapes. The remaining Tapuia no longer wanted to help as most were infected with dysentery or bloody flux. Despite their sickness, they returned to their plundering habits once back in their lands.

The section on the Tapuia can be found in chapter 12 of Van Baerle's *Rerum per octennium*, which was translated into Dutch by Samuel Pierre L'Honoré Naber in 1923 and more recently into English by Blanche T. van Berckel-Ebeling Koning.⁵ A Portuguese translation was published by Mário Brandão in 1940.⁶ We present here the translation made by van Berckel-Ebeling Koning (1928–2011), courtesy of University Florida Press. We have made a few adjustments to better fit in the style of this Tapuia anthology.

cús, whom he had vanquished, and now presented himself to us in order to join us with his army against the Portuguese" ("Is Roeloff Baro, die voordesen aen Janduwij komme der tapoyers gesonden was, ter verga [scan 529] deringe gecompareert, ons benevens het journael van reise exhiberende een missive van den selve Janduwij in dato primo Julij, waer bij ons bedancet voor de geonden presenten, versoect assistentie van eenich ijsenwerck als anders, alsoo in oorlogh is, met de natie Pajúcús, welcke overwonnen hebbende bij presenteert ons met alle zijn macht tegen de portugesen te sullen te hulpe comen.") NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 71 (16460813). In the daily minutes of the High Council, Jandovy was most often called "Janduwij." See also Nieuhof, *Gedenkweerdige*, 168, 179.

5 Caspar Barlaeus, *Nederlandsch Brazilië*, 322–332; Van Baerle, *History of Brazil*, 241–250.

6 Gaspar Barléu, *História dos feitos recentemente praticados durante oito anos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1974 [1940]).

Original Published Document

249 ...

Hic conspicuum se præbuit egregiis ausibus quidam Rudolphus Baro, qui Tapujarum ope, detegendis terris Waripebarum & Caripatorum, iter suscepit in Occidentem, tribus Tapujis comitantibus. Egressus pago Careri, nullo victu instructus, quem soliti in diem vivere Tapujæ venatu sibi conquirebant, relicto ad latus dextrum monte Cupaova, apud flumen Paraybam, secaginta vel septuaginta millarium itinere in interiora penetravit, nullis repertis populis. Solùm in montem inciderunt, ubi talcum sive vitrum Moscoviticum. Hinc reversi, directo in Austrum itinere, in vicos pervenerunt Waripebarum & Caripatorum. qui postquam humaniter illos exceperant, ex singulis vicis selectos singulos comites esse voluerunt, qui Comitem adirent & salutarent. eos pari humanitate Nassovius acceptos non sine donariis ad suos remisit. Pagis habitabant quatuordecim, in montanis, quæ Brasiliam à terris Occidentalibus dirimunt, venatu & piscatu victitantes & melle agresti, aliisque sui soli fructibus. Ulterius Occidentem versus terras potentioribus & bellicosis gentibus habitari acceperunt, quibus cum bella essent his populis. illas plana & valles montium incolere, fluminibus abundare & annonâ. Baronem hunc stipendio sibi annuo alligavit Comes, ut aperiendis terris scrutator inquietus vacaret.

Verùm ne scribenti de Brasilianis, elabantur Tapujæ, horum memoranda quoque historia est. Tapujarum nomen celebre est inter Brasilienses Belgas, ob odia in Lusitanos, cum vicinis bella & præbita nobis non semel auxilia. Interiora Brasiliæ incolunt, remotiores à littore, ubi Lusitani vel Belgæ rerum potiuntur. Nominibus, dialectis, moribus, sinibus discernuntur. Illi notiores nobis, qui proxima sluminis Grandis & Siaræ ac Maragnanam accolunt, ubi Iandovius, sive Ioannes Wy imperat. Spatiis ingentibus diffunduntur, quæ | quinque fluminibus includunt, Flumine Grandi, Quoauguho, Ocioro, Upamema, Woiroguo. hæc in mediterranea plurimis milliaribus penetrant, licet Grandis iste non

250

Translation by Blanche T. van Berckel-Ebeling Koning

...

249

A certain Roulof Baro had gained fame with his bold expeditions, for with the help of the Tapuia he had undertaken a journey to the west, accompanied by three of them, to explore the land of the Waripebas and Caripatos tribes. They set out from the village of Careri without taking any provisions, because the Tapuia, who are accustomed to live day to day, obtain their food by hunting. Leaving Mount Cupaova to their right, they penetrated into the interior some sixty or seventy miles along the Paraíba River without encountering any people. They discovered a mountain where they found talcum or Muscovy glass.⁷ Here they turned, now going in a southerly direction, until they arrived at the settlements of the Waripebas and Caripatos. After having received Roulox Baro and his companions courteously, the Indians selected one person from each of their villages to go with them to Count Johan Maurits and bring him their greetings. The Count received them with equal courtesy and gave them many gifts when they returned to their own people. These tribes inhabit fourteen villages in the mountains that separate Brazil from the west. They subsist on hunting and fishing, wild honey and whatever else the land produces. The travelers had heard that farther west lived more powerful and bellicose tribes who waged war with the Waripebas and Caripatos. The former live in the flatlands and valleys between the mountains, where there are many rivers and an abundance of produce. Count Johan Maurits paid Roulox Baro an annual fee to be available when needed for the exploration of new territories.

While I am writing about the Brazilians, I must not forget the Tapuia and will include a description of their history. The name of the Tapuia is famous among the Dutch in Brazil because of their hatred of the Portuguese, their wars with their neighbors and the support they have given us on several occasions. They live deep in the Brazilian wilderness [known as the *sertão*],⁸ far removed from the coastal areas ruled by the Portuguese and the Dutch. They are distinguished by their names, dialects, customs and boundaries. We are best acquainted with the tribes that live near the Rio Grande and that inhabit Ceará and Maranhão, where Jandovy or Jan de Wy is their ruler or king. They are spread out over a large territory that | includes five rivers: the Rio Grande, Quoauguho, Ocioro, Upanema and Woiroguo. These rivers penetrate many miles into the interior, although the Rio Grande is no more than six miles long. It is strange that it is

250

⁷ Muscovite or common mica, a cheaper alternative to glass used for windows in the sixteenth century.

⁸ Van Berckel inserted this note here.

nisi sex. ut mirum sit, unde Grandis appellationes habeat. nisi forte ab ostio patentiore, quale in his nostris terris est Mosæ. Creditum accolis, majorem fuisse fluvii longitudinem. ignaris quò diverterit alveus. Amicis partim & inimicis inguntur. cum his interdum quies, interdum bella. Nomadum more vagantur, nex fixis pagis municipiisque hærent semper, verùm pro anni tempestate & victus oportunitate sedes mutant. Corporum habitus robustus satis, & in tanto numero ferè idem omnibus. minaces vultu, truces oculis, capillitio nigri, cursus pernecitate vix feris cedunt. anthropophagi omnes & ob crudelitatis famam Barbarorum aliis & Lusitanis terribiles. Terra alibi silvis horrida, alibi montibus aspera, alibi humilis & paludosa, pecorum, fructuum, mellisque non unius generis fecunda est. Astu conficiunt, quicquid non possunt robore, & fallere hostem malunt, quàm aperto Marte experiri. nec ab hoc abhorrent, necessitate adacti. Arcubus præliantur & spiculis, pilis saxeis & clavis ligneis. mira naturæ diversitate & inertiam amant, quoties bella non ineunt; & otium ode-runt, cum ultioni locus & gloriæ. Inimicitias inter se exercent supra fas humanitatis aut odii sævas. nihil turpe fœdumque sananti oculos hostium malis. Relicta rei familiaris cura feminis senibusque, reliqua, in quibus honos & utilitas, curant viri vegetioresque. Sub Iandovio Rege hac disciplinâ, his moribus vivitur. Mane & vesperi edicto rex promulgat facienda per diem quò eundum, ubi figenda, quando movenda iterum statio. abituri lavantur, tum pandiculantur omnes, veluti excussuri & proscripturi ignaviam, crepitantibus ex valida tensione membrorum omnium articulis & condylis. Igne calefacti, quo gaudent, pectine è piscium dentibus veluti strigili extrema corporis radunt & scalpunt, usque dum apertis poris sanguinem eliciant. sic ad iter habiles se reddi autumant, nec frangli lassitudine. Non longè Regis tentorio positus stativis in
251 duos se hinc inde exercitus & cohortes dispes- | cunt. tum arborum gestatione cursuque delecti ex utraque cohorte singuli ludicrum faciunt. victorem cohortes sequuntur. quas in occursu offendunt silvas reserant, & concædes ramaliaque in ripis fluminum defigunt ad captandam umbram. hæc merid-

known as such, unless it is due to its wide estuary, like the Maas River in our country.⁹ The native inhabitants believe that the river used to be longer but they do not know where it changed its stream bed. The Tapuia are surrounded by both friendly and hostile tribes, with whom they are intermittently at peace or at war. They wander like nomads and never settle in a permanent village or territory, but change place according to the seasons and the opportunity to find food. They are well built, with strong bodies, and when there are a large number of them they look very much alike, with threatening faces, angry eyes and black hair. They are as swift and can run as fast as any wild animal. They are all cannibals and terrify other barbarian tribes and the Portuguese with their reputation for cruelty. Their territory alternates between deep forests, wild mountains and low marshes, which can produce several kinds of cattle, fruits and wild honey. They use cunning to get what they cannot obtain by force, and would rather deceive their enemy than engage in open warfare, but if necessary they do not shy away from it. They fight with bows and arrows, with stone-tipped spears and with wooden clubs. Due to a strange twist of nature, they prefer to be idle whenever they are not engaged in warfare, but their desire for leisure is ignored when there is a chance to wreak vengeance or win glory. Hatred among them is expressed with attacks of such savagery that it surpasses all degrees of humanity or hostility. Nothing is considered shameful or dishonorable if it offers delight in the miseries of one's enemies. Family and household tasks are left to the women and the elderly, while the men occupy themselves with whatever is useful to them, brings them honor or excites them. Under the rule of their King Jandovy, their life is regulated according to the following customs. In the morning and evening, the King issues a public statement outlining what must be done that day, where they must go, where they must make camp and when they must move. Those who are about to leave are washed, then they all stretch as they were throwing off and banishing listlessness, until the joints in their limbs creak with the force of their movements. When they have warmed themselves at the fire, in which they rejoice, they scratch and prick their skin with a scraper made of fish teeth until they draw blood. They say that in this way they are prepared for the journey and they will not weaken because of fatigue. Not far from the King's pavilion there are two poles where the men separate into two groups. | Then one man is selected from each group and they play a game that involves carrying a tree trunk and running. The two groups follow the victor. They cut their way through the undergrowth in the woods and use branches they have intertwined to create shade on the banks of the rivers.

251

⁹ See de Laet, *Historie*, 402 (Document 12, above).

iani æstus suffigium unicum est & senum juvenumque receptaculum. Subeunt cum rhedis & plaustris, quibus impedimenta sarcinasque vectant, feminæ, famuli, liberique. cibi simplices, fructus agrestes, fera recens, pisces & mella, absque blandimentis & condimentis. mulieres annosæ & steriles radices apportant, ex quîs panes. juvenculæ quæque viris consuescunt, nuces terrestres in commune conferunt cibosque curant. viris piscatio, mellis collectio & venatus diurnus labor sunt. luctâ & hastarum concursu decertare gloriosum. finis spectantium voluptas est, præsertim amantium. feminæ de cujusque fortitudine & victoriâ pronunciant. sic in proximo pignora, pugnandi irritamenta sunt, fortitudinis præcones, ciborum administræ. Licet ea à castris removerint Romani, quod pacem luxu, bellum formidine morentur. Ubi vespera ingruit, amoribus oportuna, juvenus ætate florida & conjugia animo agitans, per castra & stationes ambulat, cui se virgines jungunt pari studio & affectu. tunc cantus inchoant & tripudia, stantibus à tergo amasiorum puellis. hoc procantium indicium est. Quoties poscitur in thori leges virgo, patri munera amator offert, non ad delicias muliebres quæsita, aut quibus nupturæ ornantur, sed feram & mella. Regi conferunt ultrò & viritim, quantum satis est armentorum & frugum, quod pro honore acceptum. Ignes effossa tellure struunt. illis carnes imponunt, has arenis integunt, arenas rursus prunis, ut supernè & infernè tostis carnibus proba sit coctio. potus humor melleus est. cantu saltationibusque siniunt epulas, quas si lætiore peregerint vultu, felicitis capturæ, sin tristiore, infelicitis præsagium putant. Maxima Sacerdotum veneratio est, quos Exorcistas & prophetas vocant. nihil publicæ rei absque his agunt, sive ut robur addant sententiæ bonæ, sive ut in pejorem ruentis coërceant. Dæmonem consulturi in silvam secedunt, secum murmurant. reversi inclamant alta voce *Ga,*

This is their only shelter from the heat at midday and a refuge for both old and young. The women, slaves and children follow with carts that transport their baggage and bundles.¹⁰ Their food is simple, consisting of wild fruit, fresh[ly hunted] animals, fish, and wild honey, without any seasoning or condiments. Older women and women without children look for roots which they use to make bread, while the childless [barren] women¹¹ who cohabit with men bring nuts that grow on the ground for all and prepare the food.¹² The daily tasks for men are fishing, collecting honey and hunting. For them there is glory in fighting and spear-throwing, and their goal is to please their audience, particularly their lovers. The women determine who is the most courageous and who is victorious; they are the prize that encourages the contestants and are close at hand, as they judge the men's courage and prepare their food. The Romans banned women from their camps, however, for they were a luxury that prolonged peace and their fear hampered war. After dark is an opportune time for lovers. The young men who are already thinking of marriage walk around the encampment and the huts and are joined by the girls who have the same thought and aim in mind. Then the men begin to sing and dance, and the girls line up behind their chosen lovers, indicating their preference.¹³ Every time a girl is sought in marriage the lover offers gifts to her father, although these are not the delights a girl would want, or which could adorn a bride, but consist of a piece of wild meat and honey. In addition, each one offers the King an appropriate amount of cattle and fruits, which he receives as a token of honor. They build a fire in a pit in the ground and place the meat on top, cover it with sand and place burning embers on top of that, so that the meat is fully cooked both inside and out. They make a drink from honey. They end their meal with singing and dancing, and if they enjoy this it means the hunt will be successful, but if they feel sad it means bad luck. They have great respect for their priests, whom they consider exorcists and prophets. They take no action that concerns their tribe without consulting them, whether they add their support to good decisions or prevent the tribe from making bad ones. Those who are about to consult the Devil withdraw into the woods, mumbling to themselves.

10 According to Van Berckel, the women, servants and children follow the men, hacking their way through the woods, by means of carts. Van Berckel (Van Baerle, *History of Brazil*, 355 n. 9) already noted the contradiction between Van Baerle's description and Rabbi's, which does not mention any servants, slaves or carts, presumably on wheels.

11 The Latin uses the term "virgins" but "younger women" is probably more appropriate as translated by Van Berckel.

12 Perhaps a reference to peanuts?

13 Naber added here that this was a "weapon dance" and that one had to stomp three times with one's feet; Barlaeus, *Nederlandsch Brazilië*, 325.

252 *Ga, Ga & Annes, Annes, Annes, Iedas, | Iedas, Iedas, Hade, Congdeg.* quibus vocibus acclamat populus *Houh*. Adducitur cum sacerdote Dæmon aliquis, aut dæmonis specie, qui de expeditionis eventu, populorum, ad quos abeunt, erga ipsos æquiore vel iniquiore affectu, ferarum captura & mellis abundantia pronunciat. Quod si ingrata infausta que edat, verberibus prophetam & Dæmonem contundunt. Cum ad res novas se parant, auspicia ex avium vocibus petunt. clamantibus acclamant, rogitantque, num quid novi apportant. Etiam prophetarum somnia admirationi sunt. qui Regi illa exponunt, & prosperos exitus affingunt. hinc manifestum, NULLA re magis multitudinem quàm superstitione regi. ab hac captam, etiam si vanissima sit, magis vatibus, quàm ducibus suis parère. id *arcanum imperii & dominationis* vocat prudentissimus scriptor Aristoteles in politicis *Sophismata* imperiorum. En Minoem, Lycurgum, Midam Phrygum regem, Numam Pompilium, Drusum, aliosque, idem factitant, in alio orbe Barbari. ad quos ne tenuis quidem Græcorum & Romanorum perlapsa fuit aura. rediguntur quippe in ofcindm homindx dl dñi numinix metu, vel falsi, vel seriâ vel fatua imaginatione attonti. Fingit sibi Egeriam aut Velledam aut Auriniam non una gens. etiam dæmonum responsa audit orbis Americanus, & ipsius quoque cogitationibus intervenit aliquid homine majus sanctiusque, ut de falsa quoque Religione verum sit, super eam posse constiui Rempubl. & conservari. licet verum Deum religiosi vereantur, falsos superstitiosi timeant. Eunt in lucos Tapujarum sacerdotes, ut secreto loci & formidine tenebrarum percellantur creduli. præsertim animis falsi numinis opione præoccupatis. Se ministros dæmonum, illos futurorum conscios putant. In usu apud illos est, non circuncisio sed incisio infantum, hanc adhibitis solennibus peragunt. Stant

When they return they call out in a loud voice, “Ga Ga Ga, Annes Annes, Iedas | Iedas, Hade, Congdeg,” to which the people respond with “Houh.”¹⁴ A demon or some similar creature comes in with the priest and gives his pronouncement about the results of an expedition, about the sentiments, whether favorable or hostile, shown by the people they will encounter on their journey, about the abundance of animals and honey they will get hold of. If the pronouncements are unwelcome or unfavorable, the people attack and beat the prophet and the Devil. When they prepare for a new undertaking, they interpret the future based on the song of birds, and they call out in response to the birds’ songs, asking them if they bring any news. The dreams of their prophets are treated with great respect. They explain them to the king, and invent favorable predictions. This makes it clear that the multitude is ruled above all by superstition and no matter how absurd the predictions, people would rather obey their soothsayers than their rulers. Aristotle, who was a very wise man, refers to this in his *Politics*, calling this the secret of the state and the ruler, or the art of governing. Behold Minos, Lycurgus, Midas the Phrygian king, Numa Pompilius, Drusus and others—the Barbarians act the same way, in their other world. Indeed the subtle air of the Greeks and Romans did not flow over them. The fear of a true or false god makes men respect order, while they are restrained by the reason or unreason of their imagination. More than one nation has created for itself an Egeria, Velleda or Aurinia.¹⁵ The inhabitants of the American world¹⁶ also hear the pronouncements of the devil, and are conscious of something that is larger and more sacred than man. No matter how false the religion, a state can be based and maintained upon it; the true God is venerated by those who are religious, while superstitious citizens fear false gods.¹⁷ The soothsayers of the Tapuia go into a sacred grove to frighten the gullible with its secret location and their fear of the dark, particularly when their mind is dominated by their belief in the false deity. They consider themselves ministers of the demons, and therefore think that they can foresee the future. The Tapuia do not practice circumcision, but small children are subjected to incision, which is carried out as

252

14 *Houh, Houcha* or “the Devil”; see Baro, “Relation,” 238 (Document 15, below).

15 “These are figures from the classical world used to make the author’s point; the female prophetess Egeria was a water nymph said to be an adviser to Numa Pompilius, the legendary second king of Rome. Velleda was a prophetess of the Bructeri, who played an important role in the revolt of Civilis, AD 69–70. Tacitus, *Ger.* 83, says that in ancient times German tribes also consulted Aurinia and many other priestesses.” Van Berckel in Van Baerle, *History of Brazil*, 355 n. 10.

16 Van Berckel translated the Latin here as “South American continent.”

17 The references to Aristotle and the Romans were probably added by Van Baerle and not by the original author.

longo ordine Exorcistæ, canunt & saliunt, Saliarium sacerdotum more. Pueru-
 lum sacrificulorum unus manu sublatum librat, populo spectante, dein post
 cursitationes genibus imponit. Accedens sarcri ordinis alius acrutiore ligno
 auriculas illi & labia pertundit, & ossicula ingerit, plorante matre. his sacris ipse
 rex interest, quibus peractis cantus suos & saltus iterant. Virgines quotquot ex
 253 honore | suo & parentum nubere volunt, domi sub parentum cura habentur,
 usque dum pubertatis se sigua uterino fluxu prodiderint. hoc arcanum matres
 prophetis, hi Regi relevant. qui honestè illam elocari posse censet, virginem-
 que & matrem ob virginitatis custodiam laudat. Ergò, ut Germanis ait Tacitus,
 septa quoque pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum illecebris aut conviviorum
 corrupta. Nupturam mater rubro colore pingit Regique sistit. qui se juxtà super
 storea considerare jussam manu mulcet & molliter habet, fumoque mox Tabaci
 & se & Virginem involvit. Mox lancea sertum capiti Sponsæ impositum erudito
 jactu petit. quod si verticem ictu lædat vulneretque, abluit linctu sanguinem
 Rex. unde longioris sibi vitæ spem facit. Quotquot lucta, hastarum concursu
 ac venatu præcellunt, Eminentiores habentur & in Heroum numero. quin ob
 virtutis fortitudinisque excellentiam ab ipsis Virginibus ambiri merentur, cum
 meliores ex melioribus nasci opinentur, nec vanum esse Nobilitatis nomen, sed
 cum sanguine transfundi. Matrimonia severa satis, nisi quod polygami sint. at
 una uxore gravida, abstinent à contactu, cumque alia consuescunt. parituræ
 in silvas & latebras secedunt, si serenius cælum. edito in lucem infanti acu-
 tiore testa umbilicalem ductum resecant. secundinas, en barbariem, coquunt
 & vorant ipsæ matres, convivæ sui & alimentum. Puerperam & infantem bis de
 die ablui mos est. à puerperæ amplexu cavet sibi maritus toto lactationis tem-
 pore, nisi unius fortè sit conjugis vir. Etiam eam puerperis gratiam faciunt, ut
 ab infantis gestatione absolvant, cum mutandæ stationes. rara adulteria, quo-

a solemn rite. The exorcists are lined up in a long row and sing and dance like the priests of the Salii.¹⁸ One of the sacrificers holds the child in one hand and lifts it up so that the people can see, and walks around with it several times and puts it on his knee. Another from this sacred order comes forward and pierces the ears and lips with a sharpened piece of wood and inserts small pieces of bone, while the mother cries. The King himself is present at these rites, and when these have been carried out, they resume their song and dance. Girls who wish to marry, | reflecting honor upon themselves and upon their parents, are kept and guarded at home until the menses manifest the signs of puberty. The mothers reveal this secret to the prophets, who pass it on to the King, who in turn determines that the girl can be honorably married, and praises mother and daughter as guardians of the girl's virginity. This is also what Tacitus says of the Germans, where chastity is like a wall surrounding girls, corrupted by no seductions of spectacles or festivities.¹⁹ The mother paints the bride with red and presents her to the King, who orders her to sit next to him on a mat and caresses her with his hand and gently holds her, and then envelops himself and the virgin in a cloud of tobacco smoke. Then, with skillful throw, he aims a lance at the wreath on the bride's head. If he wounds her head and hurts her with this blow, the King licks up the blood, for this gives him hope of a longer life.²⁰ Whoever excels in wrestling, in combat with spears or the hunt is looked upon as noble and heroic. Indeed for their superior valor and fortitude, they deserve to be sought out by the girls, for they believe that superior children are born to superior men. Nobility is not an empty name, but is passed on by blood. Although they are polygamous, marriage is rather strict. When a wife is pregnant, [their husband] abstains from contact and cohabits with another woman. The women withdraw into the woods to give birth or some hiding place if the weather is clement. When the child has been born, they cut the umbilical cord with a sharp tile: Behold the barbarian! The mothers themselves cook and eat the afterbirth of their guest as food. It is customary that the new mother and newborn child are washed twice a day. The husband avoids her embrace as long as she is breastfeeding, unless he has only the one wife. They [the men] help new mothers by carrying the infant when they move to a new encampment. Adultery is rare, and the husband is permitted to punish it. The husband

253

18 "The Salii, whose name derives from the verb *s/t/io*, to jump, or dance, were a college of priests at Rome, dedicated to Mars, who made solemn processions every year with song and dance"; Van Berckel in Van Baerle, *History of Brazil*, 355 n. 11.

19 The girls are kept in isolation.

20 This description of the ceremony clearly differs from the one by Rabbi, see Document 13, p. 281.

rum pœna viris permissa. ream violati thori verberatam maritus domo expel-
 lit. in ipso scelere deprehensam obtruncat. quod pluribus fecisse Iandovium
 Regem perhibent. In Regii tentorii medio suspensa Calabassa est, sive sacrorum
 pyxis. quam accedere absque Regis permissu nefas. quisquis impetrat, tabaci
 illam fumo velut sacro sussitu adolet. Continentur illa, quæ non nisi reverentia
 vident, lapides *Cehuterab* dicti & fructus *Tuscheyouh*, quos plus auro pendunt.
 iis inesse sanctum aliquid & providum existimant. iis gravium bellorum &
 254 facinorum eventus explorant. Ægrotantibus | puerulis Tabaci suffumigio Rex
 medetur. id creditum. mortui cadaver ipsa mater cum propin quarum aliqua
 comedit. Nos immanitatem hoc, ipsi pietatem & amorem vocant. Hæc qui
 vidit scriptisque mandavit, refert, Regi tibi arum & lateris ventrisque doloribus
 querulo, advolutum ilicet tibiis medicum, illis pando ore inhæsisse, devorantis
 specie, suctione tam valida & continua, ut, post editum mugitum, sputa copio-
 sius egeret & cum sputis anguillam. quam Rex mali sui causam satebatur.
 Alter eodem oris habitu in ventre Regio hæsit, & post editum quoque mugi-
 tum lapidem candidum exspuebat, dein admotus lateribus Regis, post fortem
 suctionem, radicem vel quid simile reddidit. hæc ipsa à Rege & populo, firma
 fide accipiebantur. Suctum illum ad medicinam spectare novit Homerus, qui de
 Machaone Menelaum vulneratum curante, *sanguinem*, inquit, *exsugens* lenia
 medicamenta adsparsit. Tonante cœlo & flante vehementius Æolo copiosis-
 sima est piscium in palude Bajatach captura, quorum tanta est pinguedo, ut
 obsonari eos butyro necessum non sit. Nec serunt nec inserunt absque sacer-
 dotum ministeriis & consecrationibus. qui agris tabaci fumum adspirant, &
 fecunditatis imaginatione implent credulos. Peracta semente & plantatione
 edicto Rex prophetas convocat & populum. illi lectissimis se coloribus distin-
 guunt & plumis elegantioribus ornant. hic se viridantibus coronis redimit. sic
 una speciosè considunt, de arborum fructibus ad ignem exsiccant, exsiccatos
 contundunt, & contritos aquis premiscent. has bibunt, donec revomant. ordine
 dein suo surgunt sacerdotes cantillantes, sublatisque cœlum versus fistulis,
 eo stant corporis situ ac si spectri alicujus cœlestis & in aëre visi contempla-
 tione tenerentur. Est cui fasciculus è Strutionum plumis à tergo dependet. qui

expels the woman guilty of violating the marriage bed, beaten, from the house. If she is caught *in flagrante delicto*, he can kill her. They say that King Jandovy has done this many times. A gourd, or a box of sacred items, is suspended from the middle of the king's tent, and it is forbidden to approach this without his permission. Whoever obtains [this permission] offers tobacco smoke as a form of sacred smoke [incense]. The gourd contains stones called *Cehuterah*, which the Tapuia regard with reverence, and fruits known as *Tuscheyouh*, which they value more than gold. They believe that in these there is something holy and prophetic, and examine them for the outcome of hard wars and actions. | The King cures sick children with tobacco smoke. This is believed [to be a cure]. The mother and some relatives eat the body of a dead [child]. We call this monstrous, but they call it piety and love. He [Jacob Rabbi], who saw this wrote it down and consigned it, tells that once when the King complained of pain in his legs, sides and stomach, a physician immediately threw himself at his leg and took hold of it with his mouth as though to devour it. He sucked so vigorously and continuously that, after producing a sound like the bellowing of cattle, he spat out a great deal of spittle and with it a worm.²¹ The King declared this to be the cause of his sickness. Another seized the King's stomach with his mouth in the same way and, having also let out a bellow, spat out a white stone. Then having moved to the King's side, after sucking vigorously, he brought out a root or something like it. All this was accepted in good faith by the King and the people. Homer knew that sucking was considered a cure and says of Machaon treating the wounded Menelaus that "in *sucking blood* he sprinkled a healing balm on the wound." When there is a storm and strong winds, large quantities of fish can be caught in the marshes of Bajatach; these are so fat that they can be cooked without butter. They [Tapuia] do not sow or plant without the attendance and consecration of their priests, who blow tobacco smoke across the fields and fill the minds of the credulous with dreams of fertility. When the sowing and planting are finished, the King issues an edict, calling together the priests and the people. The former paint themselves with brilliant colors and adorn themselves with very elegant feathers, while the latter put on wreaths of green [leaves]. They sit together splendidly, dry fruits from the trees on a fire, crush them and when they are pulverized mix them with water, and drink this until they vomit. Then the priests get up singing and stand in a row, according to rank, and hold stalks of reeds up to the sky standing immobile as though held spellbound in that posture by some heavenly vision. Some have a bundle of ostrich feathers hanging on their back arranged in the form of a cart wheel,

254

21 Naber refers to an eel; Barlaeus, *Nederlandsch Brazilië*, 328.

255

distractis plumis ampliatus in rotæ curulis ambitum patet. Est, qui plumulas leviores vento obvertit, ut, unde spiret, exploret. In illum plumarum fasciculum delabi cœlitus panem omnium opinio est. qui si copiosior fuerit, opimam messem, sin parcior, parcam pollicetur. Cum Anno C I D I D C X L I mense Aprili intumuissent in fluminibus aquæ, maximis agricolarum damnis, consulti fuere super tanta cala- | mitate Prophetæ. allati ex adytis & regia Calabassa lapides omen facturi. Nec enim ulli sacro major fides, non solum apud plebem sed & proceres & Regem. hæc consulta à potibus, cantu & saltationibus ordiebantur. Stabant prophetæ vaticinaturi sex. Primus prolato lapide vaticinium auspicatus, Belgas cum Bahiensibus prælio commissos perhibebat, & jam de conciliatione agi. Secundas florem milii ostentans de hujus uberate vaticinium edebat. Tertius lapidem lacteum monstrans lactis copiam recitabat. Quartus ad lapidem, qui panis figuram habebat, alterius proventus felicitatem loquebatur. Quintus arcum telumque plumis circumdatum proferens, hæc Angelorum dona asseverabat, & plumarum numerum totidem ferarum cpturam interpretabatur. Sextus ostenso lapide cereo uberioris mellisicii præsagia aperiebat. atque hoc omni apparatu opus esse, ut placato Numine, subsiderent aquæ, & dicti proventus agris redderentur. Numinis loco Ursam majorem venerantur sive Septemtriones, quos à figura Plaustrum cum vulgo vocamus. hoc sidus cum mane adspectant, gestiunt læti. illi cantus suos & saltus aliaque nuncupant. Corpora quoties purgare volunt, longiorem thyrsus, quem ex frondibus asperis torquent, gulæ ingerunt, ventriculum usque, donec sanguinem foliorum asperitate prolectent. Quotannis per æstatem, distinctis catervis & exercitiis, ad tripudia, hastilium concursus aliosque ludos Septem-trionibus sacros conveniunt. festum tridui est. plumis diversicoloribus insignes prodeunt antagonistæ, velut ad Olympica certamina. pedes arborum corticibus vinciunt & circumligant, quæ ligaturæ pro ocreis sunt. melle caput illinunt, crine super verticem in nodum, instar Sicambrorum, torto. cui plumam oblongam elegantemque insignunt novi mirmillones. caput rubro pulvere adpersi & corporis reliqua picti. Brachiis nectunt alas avis *Kohituh*, pendente à tergo thyrsos

while others turn small feathers that are like down in the air to determine the direction of the wind. They all believe that bread from heaven will descend on this bundle of feathers, and depending on whether there is a great deal or little, the harvest will be accordingly abundant or poor. In April 1641 the rivers were swollen with [rain]water, causing great losses to the farmers, and the prophets were consulted about this great calamity. | Brought out of their holy places and the royal Gourd, were to make an omen, for the people, the magistrates and the King had no greater faith in any other sacred [object]. They began this consultation with drinking, singing and dancing. There were six soothsayers, all prepared to prophesy. Having removed a stone, the first prophet declared that the Dutch had engaged the inhabitants of Bahia in warfare, but were now seeking reconciliation. The second soothsayer showed a flower from the millet plant and predicted an abundant harvest. The third, who held a milk-white stone, proclaimed that there would be a great deal of milk. The fourth held a stone in the shape of a loaf of bread and predicted that there would be a large quantity of flour. The fifth showed a bow and arrow decorated with feathers and declared that these were a gift from the Angels, and that the number of feathers indicated the number of animals that would be captured in the hunt. The sixth showed a stone as yellow as wax, which presaged great quantities of honey. He said that these ceremonies were necessary to placate the Divinity, so that the waters would recede and the fields would once more render their crops. They [Tapuia] venerate the Great Bear, or Septentriones, which we commonly know as the Plough because of its shape, as a divinity. When they see this constellation in the morning they are filled with joy, and greet it with their singing and dancing and so on. When they want to purge their bodies, they insert a long stalk twined around with rough leaves through the gullet into the stomach until they draw blood because of the sharp leaves. Every year in summer they convene in separate groups or armed units to perform their dances, during which they beat the ground with their feet. They also engage in spear-throwing and other games sacred to the Great Bear. The festival lasts three days. The antagonists present themselves adorned with many-colored feathers, as in the Olympic contests. They wrap their feet in tree bark that is securely tied, so that it serves as a protective cover. Each one rubs his head with honey, ties his hair in a knot on top of his head, like the Sicambri, and new gladiators decorate it with a long and beautiful feather. They sprinkle their head with a red powder and paint the rest of their body.²² They fasten the wings of a bird called the *Kohituh* to their arms, hang a leafy stalk down their back, and place a collar of

255

22 Naber states their bodies were tattooed; Barlaeus, *Nederlandsch Brazilië*, 330.

256

frondeo; collum redimiti pulcherrimarum plumarum corona. Tales congregiuntur & certamina incœptant. Victor victo inusitatis & non æmulandis saltibus exprobrat. Quod si occultas inimicitias inter se foveant, ludos in ferias cædes & mutuas lanienas vertunt. uxores liberique spolia & pugnae | præmia fiunt. Non abhorrent ab anguium pastu, illorum nempe, quos *Manuah* vocant. his anguibus in cauda cornu est, quod ipsum, hominem vel feram nacti, inserunt corpori validissimo verbere, & spiris arborem proximam circumvoluti, sunt enim longi ulnas quatuor, exsugunt cum vita quicquid illis inest sanguinis. Sunt & venerati serpentes, adversus quorum morsus ne quidem ipsi sacerdotes tuti sunt. Necant, nisi pars læsa ocyus ense recidatur. Defunctorum cadauera sacerdotes membratim dissecant. Vetulae assandis artubus ignes struunt, lachrymisque & ejulatu exequias celebrant. illas citò, dolorem tardius deponunt. feminae ossa tenus carnem dentibus abradunt, non sævitiae signo, sed affectus & fidei. Magnatum cadauera à magnatibus devorantur, caput puta, manus, pedesque. ossa sollicitè asservant, usque in festi solennis celebritatem. tunc illa in pulverem redacta & aquis diluta deglutiunt. idem fit corporis pilis, quos consanguinei bibunt. nec ad saltus suos cantusque redeunt, nisi absumtis omnibus, quæ à cadavere reliqua fuere. Regem inauguraturi adsunt examina prophetarum & sacerdotum, plumisque & coloribus fulgida balsamo exquisiitorem Regem inungunt ac coronam ex pulcherrimis plumis contextam augusto capiti imponunt. Dein ad cantus & hymnos redeunt, interque ipsa publicae lætitiæ signa, si fortè memoria defuncti subeat, in lachrymas & ululatus tragicos effunduntur. Ipse Rex suadendi magis autoritate, quam jubendi imperat, nisi quis vim illi moliatur, quod auctori funestum. Animas immortales putant, eorum nempe, quos sua mors exstinxit, non serpens, non venenum, aut alia hostilis vis. fabulantur & nugantur de Vulpe, quæ in odium ipsos apud Deum suum Ursam majorem adduxerit, tantique Numinis favorem à gente sua averterit. Olim optimam se facillimamque vitam vixisse, cum pascerentur ultrò. jam aliud vitæ genus per laborem agendæ ipsis subnatum, offensa & indignatione Septem-trionum. Animas mortuorum in regnum dæmonis transire

very beautiful feathers around their neck. In this way they confront each other and begin the contests. The victor mocks the vanquished combatant by leaping around in a strange and inimitable manner. If they nurture secret hatreds amongst themselves, the games can turn into ferocious slaughter and mutual butchery. The women and children become the spoils and prizes | of the fight. 256 They [Tapuia] do not find the meat of snakes repugnant, particularly not the kind they call *Manuah*. This kind of snake has a sharp-tipped point at the end of its tail with which it can stab a human being or an animal and insert this with great force into its prey, while it winds its body, which is four ells long, around the nearest tree and sucks out the lifeblood of the victim.²³ There are poisonous snakes from whose bites not even the priests are safe. Their bite kills, unless the affected part is quickly cut off with a sword. The priests cut the bodies of the deceased into pieces. Old women stoke the fire to roast the limbs, crying and lamenting as they celebrate the funeral rites. They conclude these quickly but take longer to recover from their grief. The women chew any remaining meat off the bones, not as a sign of savagery but out of affection and fidelity. The bodies of highly placed members of the tribe are devoured by those in high positions, especially the head, hands and feet. The bones are carefully preserved until they can be used for a solemn celebration, when they are pulverized, mixed with water and swallowed. They do the same with the hair of the deceased, which the relatives also drink, and they do not return to their dancing and singing until they have consumed every part of the body. Numerous soothsayers and priests assemble when a new King is to be installed. They anoint him with an exquisite balm and with brilliant feathers and beautiful colors, and place a crown woven from the most beautiful plumage on his august head. Then they turn again to singing and chanting, and if by chance during their demonstrations of public joy they remember the deceased ruler, they shed tears and wail loudly. The King exerts his power more by persuasion than command, unless someone attempts to use force against him, which means death for the perpetrator. They believe that the soul of those who die a natural death, not caused by a snakebite, poison or some other hostile force, is immortal. They tell fables and nonsensical stories of Fox, who caused them to hate their God, the Great Bear, and so denied their nation the favors of the great Divinity. Once upon a time, the story goes, they had a better and easier life, when food was always at hand without labor. Now their way of life is different and they must work to survive because of the offense done the Great Bear and his subsequent anger. They believe that the souls of the dead go to the realm of the devils, located in

23 Probably a South American viper or crotalus.

257 perhibent. quod ad Occidentem est. ubi ad paludem, qualia de inferno fabulantur poëtæ, illas convenire & à dæmonio in ulteriorem ripam transvectari, narrant. postquam sciscitatus fuit de mortis genere an fato suo an violentiâ perierint. translatas in locum deliciarum, velut Elysios campos, deduci, ubi mellis, ubi piscium abunde fit. sic animaru immortalitati consuli. In desertis per æstatem ob altissimos montes & profundissimas valles, ex Solarium radiorum re percussu, omnia torrent & arent. At mense Ianuario, labente copiosius pluviâ, revirescit germinatque solum, amœnissimo campestrum adspectu. In montium voraginibus collectæ aquæ in æstivas peregrinationes & mansiones conducunt. In planis ad petras & faxa obvia litant, ne ab ipsis (sic opiantur) lapidibus mordeantur. Panes ex radice *Attouh* conficiunt. illam faxo impostam fuste comminuunt, succumque manibus expressum fictilibus colligunt. altera mox vice contundunt & comminuunt, ac in pilas coactam massam succo prius expresso immergunt. è polline, qui subsidit, liba pinsunt. pilas cineribus coctas pro panibus habent. sunt radices, quibus crudis, sunt quibus tostis vescuntur. Ita concorditer vitam agunt & era æquitate, ut cui plus est, lubens impartiat minus habenti, pari dandi & poscendi invicem facilitate. Nudi ac sordidi in ea corpora & artus excrescunt, quæ Belgæ mirantur. Feminæ muliebria hemicinctio è frondibus velant, aliquo pudoris sensu, cetera intectæ. illud in singulos dies novum recensque habent. Viri contortis ex arborum corticibus corollis abdunt virilia depiles sunt quavis corporis partes, etiam superciliis. solo vertice capillum alunt promissiore, non sine fastu & jactantiâ. Nocturnis peregrinationibus abstinent, anguium & serpentum metu, è latebris tunc prodeuntium. nec iter capessunt, nisi postquam Sol rorem campis abluerit. Amicos gaudio excipiunt, mox fletu. quod si in inimicum incidant, obtruncant. Amabat hac tempestate Rex Tapujarum Iandovius, Iuckerii magnatis cujusdam finitimi filiam, nubilem formaque speciosam. quam cum uxorem rogasset per Sacerdo-

the West. There they gather at a marsh, and then they are transported by the devils to the other side, just as in the poets' stories about Hell. When it has been determined how they died |, whether a natural or a violent death, they are conducted to a land of many delights, like the Elysian Fields, where they can find abundant riches of honey and fish. This is how they conceive of the immortality of the soul. During the summer months, all vegetation in the wilderness burns and dries out with the heat, because of the high mountains and deepest valleys which reflect the rays of the sun. But in January when there is a great deal of rainfall, the soil revives, sending forth new shoots and the view across the fields is beautiful. The waters that have collected in the mountain hollows lead the Tapuia to begin their summer wanderings and find a place to make camp. In the plains they sacrifice to stones and rock formations because (as they believe) then the stones will not bite them.²⁴ They make a kind of bread from a root called *Attouh*.²⁵ It is put on a stone and pounded with a club; then they wring out the juice with their hands and collect it in clay pots. Then they beat and knead it once more, and when it has been shaped into the form of a ball they dip it into the juice they collected earlier. The powdery substance²⁶ that remains at the bottom is formed into balls which are cooked in ashes and served as bread.²⁷ Some roots can be eaten raw, other kinds are cooked. They live in such harmony and equality that whoever has more willingly shares with those who possess less, alternately giving and asking with equal ease. They grow up naked and dirty of body and limbs, at which the Dutch wonder. The women cover their female parts, perhaps out of a sense of shame, with a girdle made of leaves that is renewed every day; otherwise they are naked. The men cover their genitals, which are stripped of hair, like the rest of the body including the eyebrows, with a small wreath made of twisted tree bark. Only the hair on top of the head is left to grow long, and displayed with pride and ostentation. They do not undertake any expeditions at night, for fear of the snakes and vipers that come out of their hiding places then, and they do not go out until the sun has burned off the dew. They receive their friends with great joy, soon followed by tears, but if they encounter an enemy they kill him. At one time Jandovy, the King of the Tapuia, loved the beautiful nubile daughter of Jucker, a neighboring magnate. When Jandovy sent priests to ask for her in marriage, Jucker refused.

257

24 Such rocks are often excellent hiding places for snakes.

25 Probably manioc tubers.

26 Starch or *tapioca*.

27 Naber states that they made cakes (flat bread) from the flower and that the balls were served as bread once they had been cooked in the ashes; Barlaeus, *Nederlandsch Brazilië*, 331.

tes, abnuit Iuckerius. Quare impatiens repulsæ Iandovius, ex prophetarum & populi consilio, in caput Iuckerii subditorumque ejus perniciem juravit. tegitur dolor & quæ parabatur fraus. simulata amicitia ad certamina ludicra invitatur cum gente omni Iuckerius, qui fraudem non suspicatus, in arenam ad
 258 palæstram descendit. | Cumque lucta certaturi alter alterum amplexus esset, feminæ Iandoviani exercitus, in aliorum crines, furibundæ involaverunt, & capillis apprehensos detentosque crudelitate suorum & Iandovii incautos objecerunt. Ità quam non poterat prece, vi & scelere puellam abstulit. Erant tum Iandovio uxores quatuordecim. fuerant quinquaginta. ex quibus liberos suscepit non nisi sexaginta. ipse seculum excesserat. Hæc ex chartis constant Iohannis Rabii, Germani Waldecensis, qui rogatu Regis Iandovii, & Cimitis Nasouii permissu in Tapujarum terras abierat, ut interpretis officio Belgas inter & istam gentem fungeretur. Vixit ipsorum moribus annos quatuor, Regi gratus, omnium spectator & admissus testis. Mauritio Comite abitum parante, ab eodem revocatus, dimissusque à Iandovio fuit, adductis una negotiorum publicorum causa Tapuijs xxv.

Jandovy was angered by this refusal, and after deliberating with the prophets and his people, he swore that he would kill Jucker and destroy his subjects. He hid his chagrin and the treachery he was planning. In feigned friendship, Jandovy invited Jucker and his entire tribe to sporting contests. Not suspecting foul play, he went down to the sand in the palaestra. | When those who were about 258 to compete in the wrestling embraced each other, a group of Jandovy's women rushed furiously at the other's hair. They turned over those they seized by the hair to the cruelty of their men and the incautious to butchery. Thus, as he had not been able to get the girl by asking, he carried her off by force and treachery. At that time Jandovy was said to have fourteen wives, but at one time they were fifty, by whom he had only sixty children. He was said to be more than one hundred years old. All this is found in the writings of Johan Rabbi, a German from Waldeck who, at the request of King Jandovy and with the permission of the Count of Nassau had gone to the land of the Tapuia to be an official interpreter between the Dutch and that nation. He lived there as one of them for four years, enjoyed the King's favor and was accepted as a spectator and witness of all that happened. He was recalled when Count Maurits was preparing to leave. When he was dismissed by Jandovy, he took twenty-five Tapuia with him to negotiate on behalf of the interests of their tribe.

The Journal of Roulox Baro (1651)

Roulox Baro's journal about meeting the "old man" Jandovy in the *sertão* of Rio Grande is highly informative about his role as a mediator and ambassador for the Dutch, but also reveals his rich knowledge of the Tapuia and the Indigenous way of life in this land more generally.¹ Furthermore, it also shows the diplomacy, cunning and intelligence of King Jandovy, who is aware of every alliance and remains physically fit, running the logs at a great age. Baro's journal was lost but a certain Jean-Pierre Moreau, a French Protestant in the service of the WIC in Brazil in 1646, somehow got hold of it, translated it and published it in 1651 along with his own memoir, *Histoire des derniers troubles du Brésil entre les Hollandais et les Portugais*, which was translated into Dutch a year later. According to Ben Teensma, Moreau's translation of Baro's journal into French is unreliable as many toponyms and common words have been altered.²

We do not know much about Baro's life, but according to Morisot—who commented on his translation in Moreau—he came to Brazil as a child in 1617 and quickly "mastered the language of the land, frequented the Indigenous people and lived like them."³ According to Teensma, Baro arrived in Brazil on the vessel called the *Blauwe Zee* with Captain Dierick Ruiters. At Ilha Grande they were attacked by Indigenous men under Portuguese command who captured the boat and killed most of the crew. Among the survivors was Rodolfo Baro, seven years old, who was subsequently sent into the interior to be trained as a *truchement* or local guide.⁴

The 86 "Remarks of Lord Morisot considering the Voyage of Roulox Baro in the country of the Tapuia," pages 247 to 307 of Moreau's publication, are not

1 The journal of Roulox Baro was translated into Portuguese by Lêda Boechat Rodrigues in 1979 and used, amongst others, by Teensma, "The Mission"; Teensma, *Roteiro*; and James Emanuel Albuquerque, "Roulox Baro e o 'país dos Tapuia'. Representações acerca do gentio no Brasil do século XVII" (Master's thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2006). For the diary, see Pierre Moreau and Roulox Baro, *História das Últimas Lutas Entre Holandeses e Portugueses e Relação da viagem ao País dos Tapuia* (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia; São Paulo: Edusp, 1979 [1651]).

2 See also Teensma, "Roelof," 362–363.

3 Morisot in Baro, "Relation," 247.

4 Teensma, "The Mission," 8; Teensma, "Roelof," 352; Benjamin N. Teensma, "O diário de Rodolfo Baro (1647) como monumento aos índios Tarairiú do Rio Grande do Norte," in *Índios do Nordeste: temas e problemas: 500 anos*, ed. L. Savio de Almeida, M. Galindo and J. Lopes Elias, Vol. 2 (Maceió: EDUFAL, 2000), 81.

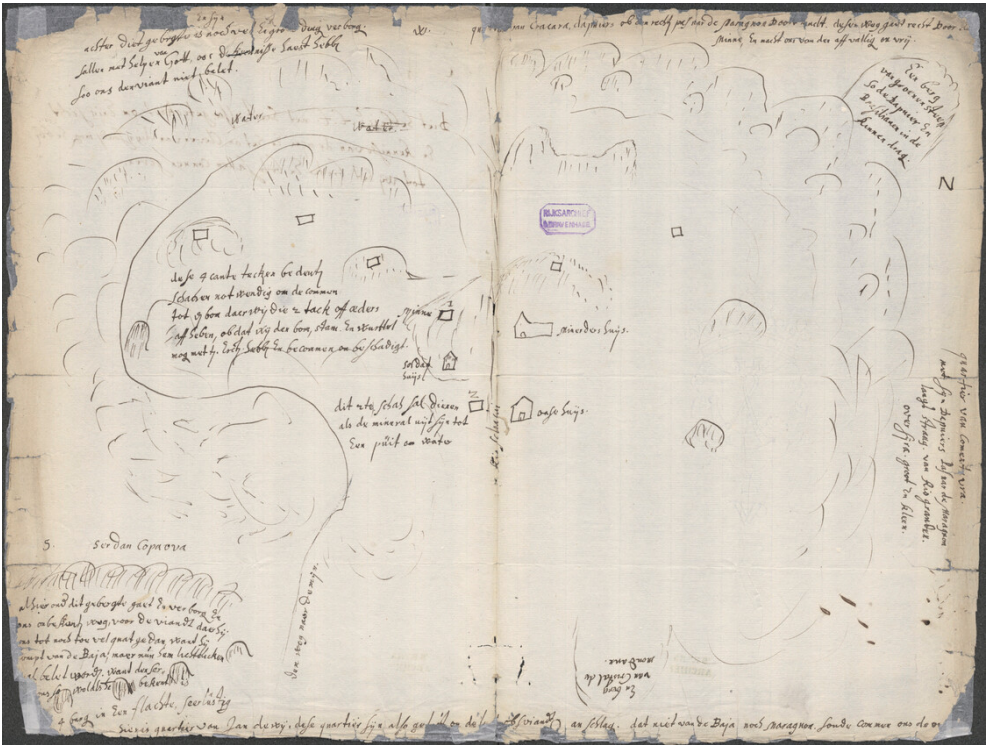


FIGURE 10 Manuscript map made by vicar Justus alias Jodocus à Stetten showing the quarters of Jan-deweij, Caracara, and Comert[i]vra, 1645, NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 60, document 76
COURTESY OF NATIONAAL ARCHIEF, THE HAGUE

translated here. The majority concern references to general works written by de Laet, De Léry and others; we have kept only a few footnotes as they provide additional information. Claude-Barthélemy Morisot (1592–1661) was a French writer and lawyer in Dijon. His notes on the translation of Baro are a notable deviation from the focus of his work, which is mainly dedicated to Peru in the two decades before his death. For this translation from French to English we kept the original names as printed in Moreau. The smattering of Dutch words indicate that the journal was originally written in Dutch.

Original Printed Document

197

Relation

du

voyage

de

Roulox Baro,

interprete et ambassadeur

Ordinaire de la Compagnie des Indes d'Occident, de la part des Illustrissimes Seigneurs des Provinces Unies au pays des Tapuies dans la terre ferme du Brasil.

Commencé le troisiemesme Avril 1647. & finy le quatorziesme Juillet de la mesme année.

198

Le troisiemesme Avril 1647. je receus le commandement de la part des nobles puissans Messieurs les President & Conseillers, representants le haut & souverain gouvernement du Brasil, pour tres-hauts | & tres-puissans les Estats generaux des Provinces Unies des Pays-bas, son Altesse le Prince d'Oranges, & de la noble Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, afin de m'acheminer vers les Tapuies, voisins de ce gouvernement de Rio Grandé, pour traicter avec eux, suivant l'ordre contenu en ma commission. A l'instant je me disposay de partir, & pris pour m'accompagner Jean Strassi Brasilien, trois Tapuies, & quatre chiens pour chasser en chemin faisant, & nous nourrir.

Nous sortismes le jour suivant deu lieu appelé Incareningi, qui est en ladite province de Rio Grandé, où estoit ma demeure, & passasmes devant la maison du Lieutenant Colonel Garsman⁵ assise proche de la riviere Cammararibi, laquelle ne pouvant guayer, ny passer à nage pour estre trop large, nous primes le chemin des Campinos à main droicte, où nous couchasmes.

Le lendemain cinquiesme Avril audit an 1647. nous fusmes contrains de retourner coucher en ma maison, empeschez de passer outre par le débordement des eaux.

Les sixiesme j'envoiay descouvert si on pourroit passer par mes *rosses**, pour aller à l'Aldée* des Brasiliens, il me fut rapporté que je le pourrois faire à la nage.

⁵ See documents 6 and 7 above for Garstman's accounts.

Translation

Account of the voyage by Roulox Baro, interpreter and Ordinary Ambassador of the West India Company, for the High Lords of the United Provinces in the land of the Tapuia in the *terra firma* of Brazil. 197

Begun the third of April 1647 and finished the fourteenth of July that same year.

The third of April 1647 I received command from the Noble and Powerful Lords, the Presidents and Councilors, representatives of the High and Sovereign Government of Brazil, for the Very High | and Very Powerful States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, his Highness the Prince of Orange and the Noble West India Company, to visit the Tapuia, neighbors of this government of Rio Grande,⁶ and to trade with them, following the order stated in my commission. I immediately prepared to leave, and took Jean Strassi,⁷ a Brazilian, three Tapuia⁸ and four dogs to hunt *en route* and feed us. 198

The following day we left the place called Incareningi, which is situated in the said province of Rio Grande, where my dwelling is, and we passed in front of the house of Lieutenant Colonel Garsman, situated close to the river Cammararibi, which we could neither ford nor swim across because it is too wide. We took the road on our right hand towards the Campinos, where we slept.

The day after, the fifth of April in said year of 1647, we were obliged to return and slept at my house, prevented from going further by flooding.⁹

On the sixth, I sent out to discover whether we could pass through my gardens to go to the Brazilian *aldeia**.¹⁰ It was reported to me that I could swim across.

6 According to Morisot (Baro, "Relation," 248), the Portuguese chased the French from Rio Grande in 1601, killing many French and many of their allies the Potguara. The Rio Grande was locally called the Potingi or Pottegie, as recorded by Baro.

7 Jan Strass, his Polish companion; see Boogaart, "Infernal Allies," 538.

8 The translation by Pierre Moreau reads "Tapuies," apparently a French derivation; we have used "Tapuia" instead. Morisot (Baro, "Relation," 247) refers to de Laet, *L'Histoire du Nouveau Monde*, book 15, chapter 3, which should probably be chapter 13 of the 1625 edition page 416.

9 It is the rainy season.

10 *Aldeias* were Indigenous villages founded by missionaries. According to Pompa, they are not traditional villages but projects of integration and conversion to the Catholic faith developed by the Jesuits. See Cristina Pompa, *Religião como Tradução: missionários, Tupi e "Tapuia" no Brasil colonial* (Bauru: Edusc, 2003), 57–84.

199 Les septiesme nous fusmes à ladite Aldée, | mais personne ne nous voulut passer la riviere, l'eau estant si haute, qu'elle inondoit tous le pays bas, qui estoit de soy desert, ayant peu d'herbes & arbres, on l'appelle communement, d'un mot Espagnol, Campinos.

Le huitiesme & neuf-viesme nous tirasme vers la riviere Pottegie, & couchasmes dans un marest, d'où les pluyes nous chasserent.

Au matin du dixiesme les eaux s'estant retirées nous prismes dans les fosses où le poisson s'estoit arresté, quelques petits poissons que les sauvages nomment, Paramiri, Acaramiri, & des Tamoatas; Et sur le soir nos chiens ayant rencontré un troupeau de bestes sauvages nous en prismes une, & ne pouvant passer outre, la riviere de Pottegie estant trop large, nous retournasmes à Rio Grandé, où estoit ma demeure.

D'où nous sortismes le seiziesme dudit mois d'Avril, les eaux s'estant abaissées pour aller coucher aux Campinos.

Le lendemain nous arrivasmes sur les bords de Camararibi, qui ressembloit à une mer, & estoit tellement rapide qu'il estoit impossible de passer, ce qui nous contraignit de rebrousser chemin, & retourner encore une fois en ma maison,
200 où nous fismes bonne chere de deux chevreuils que nous avions pris ce jour là. | Le vingt-uniesme outre ce que j'avois d'hommes, j'en pris deux dans l'Aldée des Brasiliens*, pour nous conduire de-là la riviere, à laquelle estant arrivez sur le midy, dix Tapuies* vindrent à nous qui avoient traversé celle de Pottegie à nage, entre lesquels estoit Muroti, fils du viellard Ianduy leur Roy, qui me dit, que son pere m'avoit mandé de le venir trouver assi-tost que l'ennemy luy avoit demandé son assistance. Je luy repartis, qu'il y avoit trois semaines que j'avois quitté ma maison pour aller trouver le Roy son pere, mais que la creuë des eaux m'en avoit empesché; il me respondit, qu'il m'enseigneroit un lieu par lequel je pourrois facilement passer avec les miens.

Le jour suivant, je presentay audit Muroti les presens que Messieurs les nobles & puissans Seigneurs, representans Messieurs les Estats, envoioyent au Roy Iandui son pere, le priant de les faire porter par ceux qui estoient avec luy.

Le vingt-troisiesme ayant passé le chasteau du sieur de Keule[n], & la riviere Pottegie, j'envoiaiy deux Brasiliens devant moy, pour reconnoistre les passages, & avertir Iandui, ou ses gens, de mon arrivée. Cependant en chemin faisant,
201 nous fusmes le vingt-quatriesme dudit mois receus courtoisement dans | la maison de Scholten, receveur des droicts de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, qui nous ayant fait boire de l'eau de vie, nous fit conduire par delà

On the seventh, we were at the said *aldeia*, | but nobody wanted to cross the river, the water being so high that it inundated all the low land, which was naturally empty, having few grasses and bushes, what we commonly call, using a Spanish word, “Campinos.”¹¹ 199

On the eighth and ninth, we headed for the river Pottegie, and slept in a swamp from where we were chased by the rain.¹²

On the morning of the tenth, the waters having drawn back, in the ditches where they were trapped, we caught some little fish that the savages call “Paramiri,” “Acaramiri” and “Tamoatas.” And in the evening our dogs had encountered a troop of wild animals and we caught one. Unable to go further, the river Pottegie being too wide, we returned to Rio Grandé and my house.

We left there the sixteenth of that month of April, the waters having gone down, to go sleep in the Campinos.

The next day, we reached the banks of the Camararibi, which resembled a sea and was so fast-flowing it was impossible to cross, which forced us to retrace our steps and return once again to my house, where we prepared a good meal of two roe deer that we had taken that day. | 200

On the twenty-first, in addition to my men I took two Brazilians from the *aldeia* to take us beyond the river, which we reached at noon. Ten Tapuia came to us who had swum across the Pottegie and among them was Muroti, son of old Ianduy, their King. He told me that his father had immediately summoned me to come and meet him when the enemy had asked him for assistance. I replied that I had left my home three weeks ago to find his father the King, but that the flood waters had stopped me. He answered that he would show me a place where I could easily cross [the river] with my men.¹³

The next day, I showed Muroti the gifts that the Noble and Powerful Lords, representatives of the States General, were sending to King Jandui, his father, asking him to have them transported by the people who were with him.

On the twenty-third, having passed the fortress of Lord van Keulen and the River Pottegie, I sent two Brazilians ahead to reconnoiter the crossings and to inform Jandui, or his people, of my arrival. *En route* we were courteously received on the twenty-fourth of the aforesaid month at | the house of Scholten,¹⁴ tax collector of the WIC, who served us brandy [and] had us led beyond 201

11 They are locally referred to as *caatingas* or *caotinas* as Morisot says (Baro, “Relation,” 251).

12 Here Morisot (Baro, “Relation,” 252) refers to the rainy season again and the journal by Jacob Rabbi (cited by Marcgraf in book 8, chapter 4, “De Incolis Brasiliæ”; Piso and Marcgraf, *Historia*, 268), who gives a fine description of the Rio Grande area.

13 Morisot cites Rabbi (Piso and Marcgraf, *Historia*, 269 nn. 11 and 12).

14 Officer Scholten.

Pittimboa, où estant arrivez, & pris un porc sauvage, nous l'allasmes manger dans les Campinos esquels nous reposasmes la nuict.

Au point du jour, quoy que nos chiens eussent esté blessez par les sangliers, nous ne laissasmes de prendre un chevreuil, qui fut bocané peu apres sur les bords de la riviere Pirausie, où nous nous rendismes assez tard.

Le jour suivant nous traversasmes à nage la riviere de Monpabu, de laquelle le cours est extremement violent. Ayant fait du feu à l'autre bord pour secher nos hardes, les gens de Muroti me demandere[n]t permission d'aller chasser, & prendre quelques bestes au Coral d'André Claesen,¹⁵ ce que je leur refusay, disant, qu'il y en avoit assez és bois & campagnes sans entrer dans les parcs des particuliers: menaçant de faire attacher à un arbre le premier qui l'entreprendroit. Ils me repartirent que lors qu'ils m'auroient quitté, qu'ils tueroient dans ledit Coral tout ce qu'ils pourroient attraper. Leur ayant dit, que s'ils l'entreprenoient, je sçauois bien comme les traiter. Et que nous feras-tu, dirent-ils, il
 202 t'appartient bien, ny à toy, ny aux Hollandois de | vous eslever contre nous? Car quand mesme nous auro[n]s commis toute sorte de maux, comme ceux de Siara ont n'agueres fait, vous viendriez tousjours nous rechercher pour avoir la paix. Je leur repondis, que je chastierois si bien ceux de Siara de leur trahison, que vous y prendrez exemple, & si par le passé, je me suis fié en vous, je m'en defieray desormais. Alors pour monstrier qu'ils faisoient peu d'estat de ce que je leur disois, ils entrèrent audit Coral, & se saisirent de deux vaches qu'ils vouloient égorger. Lors m'adressant à Murotti, je luy dis, que je m'en plaindrois à son pere, qui ne l'avoit point envoyé vers moy pour mal faire. Jurant, que quiconque d'eux descendroit desormais dans Rio Grandé sans la marque que je donnois moy-mesme à Iandhui, que je le ferois mettre prisonnier dans le chasteau, & le chastierois à ma descretion. Murotti ne repartit rien, & la nuict venuë, nous allasmes nous reposer.

Le vingt-septiesme nous tinsmes le chemin dit de Gartsman, lieu où s'estoient retirez naguere nos ennemis ayant esté repoussez par les habitans de l'Aldée des
 203 sauvages nos amis, sise en nostre Capitainie, où le Ministre Astette fut blessé retournant de la mine d'or,¹⁶ qui est du costé du Couchant de- | là nostre chasteau de Rio Grandé, & parvinsmes au lieu où Iandhuy avoit campé avec ses gens, lors que le peuple de Conhahu fut massacré par les habitans leurs voisins, joints

15 Cattle farm of Claesen.

16 See Figure 4 for this gold mine and Indigenous villages, but also Benjamin N. Teensma, "Het directoraat van Dominee Jodocus van Stetten, anno 1645, over een veronderstelde zilvermijn aan de Rio Sucurú in Paraíba," in *Brazilië in de Nederlandse archieven (1624–1654)*, ed. Marianne L. Wiesebron. *Mauritiana* 4 (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011), 24–47.

Pittimboa. Once we arrived there, we caught a wild pig which we ate in the Campinos where we rested for the night.

At dawn, although our dogs had been hurt by the boars, we still caught a roe deer, which was dry-smoked¹⁷ shortly afterwards on the banks of the River Pirausie, which we reached rather late.

The next day, we swam across the River Monpabu, whose current is extremely strong. Having made a fire on the opposite bank to dry our clothes, Muroti's people asked my permission to go hunting, and to take a few beasts from the corral of André Claesen, which I refused, saying that there was enough [game] in the woods and open country without entering private parks. I threatened to tie the first person who did so to a tree. They responded that once they left me, they would kill everything they could catch in said corral. I told them that if they did so, I would know how to deal with them. "And what will you do to us?" they said. "It is not for you, nor for the Dutch, to | criticize us. For even if we had committed every sort of evil, as the people of Siara did not long ago, you would always come looking to make peace with us."¹⁸ I responded that "I will punish those of Siara for their treason so harshly that you will take it as an example, and if in the past I have trusted you, I rid myself of you now." Then, to show they cared little what I said, they entered said corral and caught themselves two cows that they wanted to kill. So I went to see Murotti, and I told him that I would complain about it to his father, who certainly had sent him to me to do harm. I swore that from that moment anyone among them who came down to Rio Grandé without the [letter of] mark that I myself would give to Jandhui would be imprisoned in the fortress, and I would punish him at my discretion. Murotti did not reply, and when the night fell, we went to rest.

On the twenty-seventh, we took the road known as "of Garstman,"¹⁹ where our enemies had recently withdrawn, chased off by the inhabitants of the *aldeia* of the savages, our friends, situated in our Captaincy where Minister Astette²⁰ was hurt returning from the goldmine, which is situated to the West of | our fortress at Rio Grandé. We reached the place where Jandhui had camped with his people when the people of Conhahu had been massacred by their neighbors,

17 Dry-smoking is done on a *boucan*, derived from an Arawakan word used in the Antilles.

18 The treason is the killing of Jacob Rabbi and his troops in 1646. See Morisot's note (Baro, "Relation," 255–256 n. 15). A few caciques did not follow the majority of the Indigenous people in the territory of the victorious Dutch and plotted against them. When the Tapuia of Rio Grande went to Siara with some Dutchmen and Rabbi, they were killed on sight.

19 The so-called Garstman road was taken by the latter during his voyages in the interior.

20 "Astette" is probably "à Stetten."

aux Portugais. Le plus grand soin qu'eut Murotti & ceux qui l'accompagnoient fut de ramasser les os de ceux qui avoient esté tuez en ce combat de Conhahu, & les garder soigneusement pour l'occasion que nous dirons cy apres.

Nous employasmes le jour suivant à la chasse sur le chemin de Corra de la mina, à la faveur de la boussole, le vent ayant le Midy entre les deux Couchans, nous prismes deux chevreuils, huicts grand-porcs sauvages, & trois petits, puis encore cinq, apres avoir donnée curée à mes chiens, les Tapuies se mirent en besogne, parans, vuidans, coupans en pieces, les bocanans, icelles d'un costé, & les intestins d'autre. Ils n'attendoient pas que les viandes fussent achevées de rostir, ains les mangeoient encore sanglantes, se foulans avidement jusques à ce qu'ils n'en peurent plus, & passerent ainsi la nuict.

204 Ils continuerent leur festin le jour suivant, les plus gaillards furent chercher du miel sauvage & des fruicts, desquels ils firent un breuvage qu'on nomme de la grappe, duquel quiconque beuvoit degobilloit aussi-tost | puis recommançoient à manger comme devant, les autres dormoient d'un long & profond sommeil.

Le trentiesme nous visitasmes l'Aldée de Warremeii, tirans du Couchant au Nort vers une haute montagne, où nous passasmes la nuict parmy de grans bois la pluye sur le dos.

LE PREMIER DE MAY

Ayans traversé plusieurs buissons espineux & des roches pointuës, cheminans tantost vers les Septentrion, tantost vers le Couchant, nous nous trouvâmes sur le bord de la riviere Mompabu, que nous traversâmes à nage: elle avoit de largeur plus d'une lieuë, & à l'autre rive une petite isle, où nous prismes nostre repos, jusques au lendemain deuxieme jour dudit mois, qui nous donna fort à souffrir estans tombez dans des bois pleins de ronces, qu'il fallut ouvrir à coups de serpes & à belles mains, pour y passer: la fin nous parvismes au sommet d'une montagne d'où nous découvrismes celle des Mine. Là nous vuïdasmes deux grands arbres pleins de miel sauvage, & chassans nous soupâmes sur un petit tertre, d'un gros serpent nommé Cascabilla, d'un jeune oiseau, appelé

who had joined the Portuguese. Murotti and those accompanying him spent much time and care collecting the bones of those who had been killed in that battle at Conhahu,²¹ and carefully kept them for the occasion I will recount later on.

We spent the following day hunting on the road to Corra de la Mina, with the direction in our favour, the wind being southerly between West and East, we caught two roe deer, eight large wild pigs and three small ones, then five more. After having given the entrails to my dogs, the Tapuia pitched in, preparing, gutting, cutting up and dry-smoking the pieces, the latter to one side and the intestines to the other. They did not wait until the meats finished roasting but ate them still bloody, they greedily overexerted themselves until they could eat no more and so slept through the night.

They continued their feast the next day. The burliest went out to look for wild honey and fruit, with which they make a drink called *grappe*,²² which makes anyone who drinks it throw up immediately | and then [they can] start eating again as before. The others slept long and deep. 204

On the thirtieth, we visited the *aldeia* of Warremei²³ and turned from the West to the North towards a high mountain where we spent the night among the tall trees with the rain on our backs.

THE FIRST OF MAY

Having passed through many thorny bushes and pointed rocks, sometimes heading to the North, sometimes to the West, we found ourselves on the banks of the River Mompabu, which we swam across. It is more than a league wide and at the other bank is a small island where we took a rest until the next day, the second day of said month, which offered us much pain for we came upon forests full of thorn bushes which we had to open up with machete blows aplenty to get through. Finally, we reached the summit of a mountain from where we discovered [the mountain] with the mines. There we emptied two large trees full of wild honey, and having hunted, on a small hill we had a dinner of a large snake called Cascabilla,²⁴ a young bird called Strus²⁵ | and two 205

21 This hamlet is situated in the Bahia da Traição and inhabited by Tiguares, who dwell in Taboussouram, four hours from Cunhaú, where in 1646 the inhabitants and the Dutch present were killed, according to Morisot (Baro, "Relation," 257).

22 *Garapa* is a beverage produced by boiling sugar without fermentation, considered to be at the origin of *cachaça*; see for example Piso and Marcgraf, *Historia*, 51.

23 According to Morisot (Baro, "Relation," 260), the villages bear the names of their leaders.

24 *Cascavel* in Portuguese or rattlesnake.

25 Probably *struisvogel* in Dutch or the greater rhea (*Rhea americana*).

205 Strus, & | de deux Tatous* que nous avions tué avec l'aide de mes chiens, & les fleches des Tapuies, qui estoient avec moy, & Murotti, sans avoir aucune chose à boire.

Le troisieme tirans d'Occident au Nort nous passasmes des campagnes pierreuses & espineuses jusques à la source de ladite riviere de Mompabu, où nous sejourناسmes, pendant qu'un de nos Tapuies s'advança dans la montagne voisine, pour y chercher un sien compaignon qui venoit souvent en icielle.

Dés le point de l'Aube suivante nous marchasmes jusques au Midy permy des roches, où nous prismes au Midy des rats appelez Yperie,²⁶ que nous fismes rostir, & lesquels nous mangeasmes avec du miel sauvage.

Le cinquiesme du courant ayans trouvé la piste d'un homme, & icelle suivie, nous retournasmes à ladite source de Momabu, delà à celle d'une petite riviere sans nom, où nostre souper fut d'un peu de miel sauvage.

Le sixiesme & septiesme passez avec langueur & peu de chasse, nous vismes la montagne, où il nous faillot aller pour trouver les Brasiliens, & peu de temps apres nous arrivasmes dans l'Aldée Terapissima, le chef de laquelle estoit Iean

206 Wioauin, qui nous re- | ceut amiablement, & nous donna à manger du Mays, qu'on appelle en France bled de Turquie, des pois & feves, & nous fit boire du miel sauvage. Nous trouvassmes avec luy les Tapuies, la piste desquels nous avions suivis depuis la source de la riviere de Mompabu.

Le huitiesme Wioauin me vient trouver, auquel ayant demandé ce qu'il faisoit dans ces bois si estloigné de nous, & de ses compatriotes, il me dit, que c'estoit à cause de la guerre, entretenant la paix avec ses voisins les Tapuies, leur donnant librement de ce qu'il avoit lors qu'ils le venoient visiter. Que les ennemis avoient pourtant esté deux fois chez luy, pour [t]ascher à le tirer à leur party. Ce qu'ils avoient faict aussi à Iandhuy, depuis un mois, & ne sçavoit ce que'ils avoient resolu ensemble, ne sçachant autre chose sur ce subject que ce qu'il en avoit oüy dire à des Tapuies, qui ne demeuroient qu'à deux journées de luy: je le priay de me dire où estoit le bon viellard Iandhuy. Il me repliqua, qu'il estoit dans les bois avec ses gens pour chercher à vivre, qu'il n'y avoit pas longtemps qu'il estoit venu en son aldée pour visiter ses rosses, qu'il y retourneroit lors quelles seroient meures. Que sans me mettre en peine que je l'envoyasse cher-

26 Many species of small rodents roam the *sertão* of northeastern Brazil.

tatous,²⁷ which we had killed with the help of my dogs and the arrows of the Tapuia²⁸ who were with me and Murotti, but we had nothing to drink.

On the third, turning from the West towards the North, we crossed rocky and thorny country until we came to the source of the aforementioned River Mompabu, where we stayed while one of the Tapuia went on to the next mountain to seek a friend of his who often went there.

From the break of dawn, we marched until midday among the rocks where we caught a few rats called Yperie, which we roasted and ate with some wild honey. During the fifth day, we found the trail of a man which we followed and returned to the aforementioned source of the Momabu, and from there to that of a small river without a name, where we had some wild honey for supper.

The sixth and seventh passed in idleness and a little hunting. We watched the mountain where we had to go to meet the Brazilians, and shortly afterwards we reached the *aldeia* Terapissima, whose leader was Jean Wioauin. He received us | in a friendly manner, and gave us some maize to eat,²⁹ what we call “Turkish wheat” in France, as well as some peas and beans,³⁰ and gave us wild honey to drink. We found with him the Tapuia whose trail we had been following since the source of the River Mompabu.

206

On the eighth, Wioauin came to find me. When I asked him what he was doing in the forest so far away us and his countrymen, he told me that it was because of the war, upholding the peace with his neighbors the Tapuia and freely giving them what he had when they came to visit him. That his enemies had nevertheless come to him at least twice trying to draw him to join their side. They had done the same with Jandhuy a month before, but he did not know what they had decided together, knowing nothing more on this matter than what he had heard from the Tapuia, who were only two days away from him. I asked him to tell me where old Jandhuy was. He replied that he was in the forest with his people searching for a place to live, that not long ago he had gone to his *aldeia* to visit his gardens, that he would return there when they were ripe [to harvest]. [He said that] I should not trouble myself but send someone to look

27 Armadillos, or *tatu* in Tupi.

28 According to Morisot (Baro, “Relation,” 263–264), the Tapuia used hard wood called *guirapara* and *urapa* to make bows, and reed or *vuba* to make arrows. Various types of arrows are described by Piso and Marcgraf, *Historia*, book 8, chapter 6.

29 Many varieties of maize or *avati* in Tupi and *milho* in Portuguese are known to the Brazilians.

30 Turkish wheat is maize. It was a term used in many European languages as the cultivation of wheat spread from Turkey to Europe and was somehow transferred to a cultivated plant in the West Indies. Next to maize, there is also a great variety of beans and peas, which Morisot had sent to Leiden (Baro, “Relation,” 265–266).

207 cher, & | qu'aussi-tost il me viendrait trouver, sçachant bien qu'il m'aymoit, luy ayant souvent oüy parler de moy.

J'envoiai de bon matin chercher le veillard, & environ midy, un de ceux que je luy avoir envoyé, nommé Mandubi, retournant me dit, qu'il amenoit une grande troupe de Brasiliens, qui venoient pour habiter auprès de l'Aldée de Wioaui, si je leur voulois donner un billet d'assurance. Je leur demanday comme ils sçavoient ce billet, s'ils avoient fait tort à quelqu'un puis qu'ils vouloient changer de demeure. Ils me repartirent, qu'ils sçavoient tres-bien mon arrivée, que les officiers des Brasiliens qui demouroie[n]t plus bas, les menaçoient à tous momens de les chasser, c'est pourquoy ils s'estoient resolus de chercher une autres demeure que la leur, & se joindre aux Tapuies, pour recouvrer facilement des vivres dans les bois, pour eux, leurs femmes, & enfans, qui souffroyent beaucoup au lieu qu'ils vouloient quitter, qu'ils pouvoient resister à leur ennemys, & servir à leurs amis, estant dans les bois, où ils avoient dessein de bastir une grande Aldée, & se maintenir en paix par leur nombre sans rien

208 craindre, & soustenir l'effort de la guerre s'ils y estoient necessitez. |

Je proposay à tous ces Brasiliens, que s'ils me vouloient promettre de re rien attenter contre les Hollandois, & leurs alliez, au contraire, de suivre leur party, & interests envers & contre tous, estre amis de leurs amis, ennemis de leurs ennemis, & me donner advis de tout ce qui se brasseroit contr'eux, dans Rio Grandé, où estoit ma demeure, que je les reçevrois en ma protection & sauvegarde. Ils me le jurerent ainsi, me promettant de m'amener incontinent tous ceux de leur brigade pour faire le semblable, en leur donnant le billet d'assurance qu'ils me demandoient, attendant l'approbation des Nobles puissans, & l'adveu de Messieurs de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales.

Le Soleil à peine estoit levé, que le principal de l'Aldée Iean Wioaui, envoya ses gens à la chasse, & à la quête du miel sauvage, nous vescumes de ce qu'ils apportèrent.

Le onziesme sur les dix heures du matin les Brasiliens du bas arriverent en l'Aldée où nous estions, les habitans de laquelle les recevrent avec grands cris de ioye, & propos d'allegresse. Cela faict, ils me demanderent tous un billet d'assurance afin qu'aucun officier Brasilien n'eust à les contraindre de sortir de leurs
209 demeures, desirant s'establir en ce lieu |, où j'estois, s'il n'y estoient point moles-
tez, par les officiers Brasiliens, la domination desquels ils ne peuvent souffrir, sinon qu'ils s'en iroient si loing, que personne ne les pourroit trouver, aymans mieux obeyr aux estrangers qu'à ceux de leur nation. Je leur dis qu'encore que je leur donnasse un billet de ma main que cela leur serviroit de peu, sans l'approbation des Nobles puissans mes maistres, ausquels je parlerois aussi-tost que je serois au Reciffe, & que je leur enverrois ce qu'ils me demandoient incontinent que je le'aurois receu. Ils repartirent, que j'eusse à leur donner le billet

for him [Jandhuy] and | he would come to find me immediately, knowing that he liked me, having heard him talking about me often. 207

Early in the morning, I sent out people to find the old man, and around noon one of the messengers that I had sent him, called Mandubi, came back and told me that he brought with him a large band of Brazilians who would come and live near the *aldeia* of Wioaui if I would give them a letter of guarantee. I asked them how they knew about this letter, if they wanted to change their abode because they had done wrong to someone. They responded that they were well-informed of my arrival, that the officers of the Brazilians who live downcountry threatened to drive them off at any moment, and that is why they had decided to look for another home, and to join the Tapuia so that they could easily get provisions in the woods for themselves, their women and children, who suffered greatly in the place they wanted to leave. That they could resist their enemies and help their friends if they lived in the forest, where they intended to build a large *aldeia*, and to live in peace thanks to their numbers without fear, and to support the war effort if necessary. | 208

I proposed to all these Brazilians that if they promised me that they would do no harm to the Dutch, and their allies, and on the contrary that they would take their side and follow their interests against all comers, being friends of their friends, enemies of their enemies, and to advise me of all that is brewing against them in Rio Grandé, where lies my home, then I would take them under my protection and safeguard. This they swore me, promising to bring me all the members of their group immediately to do the same, in exchange for the letter of guarantee they asked me for, awaiting the approval of the Powerful Nobles, and the accord of the Lords of the WIC.

The sun had scarcely risen when the leader of the *aldeia* Jean Wioaouin sent his people hunting and in search of wild honey. We lived on what they brought us.

On the eleventh, at about ten o'clock in the morning, the Brazilians from downcountry arrived in the *aldeia* where we were. The inhabitants received them with great cries of joy and happy words. This being done, they all asked me for a letter of guarantee so that no Brazilian officer could constrain them to leave their homes, wishing to settle in this place, | where I was, if they would not be molested there by the Brazilian officers whose domination they could not endure, otherwise they would go so far away that no one could find them, preferring to obey strangers than those of their nation. I told them that even if I gave them a letter by my hand it would do them little good without the approval of the Powerful Nobles, my masters, to whom I would talk as soon as I got to Recife, and that I would send them what they asked for as soon as I received it. They replied that I had to give them the letter of guarantee, that they 209

d'assurance ce qu'ils requeroient par provision, attendant la confirmation de Messieurs, parce que dans le Certan,³¹ il y avoit, & des Tapuies, & des Brasi-
liens, qui emmenaient tous ceux qu'ils trouvoient, ce qui [con]soit une grande
rumeur entr'eux: mais que quand je leur aurois donnée une sauve-garde, qu'ils
ne s'estonneroient plus d'aucune chose, & diroient à tous ceux qui les vien-
droient chercher, qu'ils n'avoient plus de pouvoir sur eux, estans à ceux de ma
nation, & non à autres, me promettans de luy demeurer fidelles, & decouvrir
les trahisons qui se trameroient contre elle moyennant salaire. Ils me le jurèrent
210 tous ainsi, & leurs chefs aussi, qui | estoient jusques au nombre de vingt six. Ce
fait je leur donnay mon billet, la teneur duquel estoit.

Que personne ne soit si hardy d'emmener de ces lieux des Brasiiliens, ny de
les outrager par paroles, ou autrement. Qu'ils avoient pouvoir d'y bastir une
nouvelle Aldée, & y faire des plantages, & y resider tant & si longuement qu'ils
persevereroient en leur fidelité, s'obligans iceux de notifier incessamment par
messenger expres à ceux des nostres qui seroient à Rio Grandé des attentats, &
trahisons qui se feroient contre nous. Fait par provision, & sous l'approbation
des Nobles puissans, ce unziesme May mil six cent quarante sept.

Cela fait, j'escrivis les noms de tous comme si je les eusse enrollez, dequoy ils
furent fort satisfaits & contens. Le douziesme deux Brasiiliens & une femme
vindrent dans l'Aldée dire que j'estois venu expres vers eux pour les emme-
ner hors du Certau, par tromperie, ainsi que ceux de Pottegie les en avoient
assuré. J'eux beaucoup de peine d'appaier ce bruit, leur ayant demandé, d'où
ils avoient appris ce mensonge, ils me respondire[n]t, que c'estoit d'un Louis
Caravata Portugai,³² & d'un nommé Vitapitanga, Tapuie, qui tenoit son party. Je
211 leur | dis, que si je les tenois je leur apprendrois bien à parler, & à ne plus faire
courir de mauvais bruits contre moy, cependant qu'ils eussent à se preparer à
sortir le lendemain pour aller chercher le bon viellard Iandhuy.

Sur les neuf heures du matin suivant, nous nous trouvasmes au pied d'une
montagne, proche le rivage de Pottegie, dans une belle place sablonneuse, où
autrefois nostre armée avoit défait quarante-huit chefs Portugais avec les
Brasiiliens leurs alliez. Nos gens se reposerent en partie, le reste alla au vivre,
plusieurs desquels nous rapporterent de la farine de Suasu, avec du miel sau-
vage, & des rats.

31 *Sertão*.

32 According to Teensma, this person concerns in reality Martím Soares or "Capitão-Geral Português"; *O diário*, 91.

needed it as a provisional measure while they awaited the confirmation of the Lords, because in the *sertão* there were Tapuia and Brazilians who took everybody they came across, which caused a great rumor among them. But [they said] once I had have given them a guarantee, they would no longer be surprised by anything, and would tell everyone who came looking for them that they no longer had any power over them, being part of my nation, and not that of the others. They promised me to remain loyal [to my nation], and to uncover betrayals that were being plotted against it for a salary. This they all swore to me, and their leaders too, who | numbered about twenty-six. This done, I gave them 210 my letter, which said:

Let none be so bold as to take any Brazilians from these places or to offend them with words or otherwise. They have the power to build a new *aldeia*, and to plant their crops there, and to reside there as long as they remain loyal, obliging themselves to constantly warn our people who are in Rio Grandé, by means of an express messenger, of attacks and betrayals against us. Made provisionally, until the approval of the Powerful Nobles, this eleventh of May 1647.

Once this was done, I wrote down the names of everybody as if I had recruited them. This made them very satisfied and happy. On the twelfth, two Brazilians and a woman came to the *aldeia* saying that the people of Pottegie had assured them that I had come specially to take them out of the *sertão* by deceit. I had great difficulty calming them, asking them where they had heard this lie. They answered that it was from one Louis Caravata, Portuguese, and a Tapuia named Vitapitanga, who was of his party.³³ I told | them that if I held these men, I would 211 teach them to speak well, and to stop spreading falsehoods against me, [and I told them] that they had to prepare to leave the next day to look for the old Jandhuy.

At about nine o'clock the next morning, we found ourselves at the foot of a mountain close to the banks of the Pottegie in a beautiful sandy place, where our army had once battled forty-eight chiefs with their Brazilian allies. Some of our men got some rest, the rest went out for provisions and several brought back *suasu* flour,³⁴ wild honey and some rats.

33 These names are corruptions of Capitão Geral Português and Vice-Capitão, according to Teensma, "Roelof," 364.

34 *Suasu* or wild manioc flour. According to Morisot (Baro, "Relation," 267), the *suasu* is a root which naturally grows in the forest but is collected and planted in the gardens to enhance its properties and is then called manioc. Many products are made from manioc tubers, which are dried, cleaned, and pounded to make flour and stew also known as *mingau*. The flour is molded into balls and either hardened and dried by roasting them or soaked in water.

Le quatorziesme quelques-uns des Tapuies m'ayans dit, qu'ils avoient oublié dans l'Aldée d'où nous estions partis le jour auparavant, une partie des presens que j'avois destiné pour Iandhuy, avec du bois de plusieurs couleurs, retournerent sur leurs pas, & le soir me vindrent trouver avec deux Brasiliens chargez de mil*, qu'ils apportoiert en mon nom, comme ayant commandement de ce faire de ma part. Je demanday aux Tapuies qui avoient amené ces Brasiliens, qui leur avoit donné charge d'aller querir du mil en mon nom, ils me dirent, qu'ils
 212 vouloient parachever le dueil [*sic*] d'un de leur gens mort, | & qu'il leur falloit avoir du mil, afin d'en melanger la farine, avec les os du mort pulverisez pour les manger. Je me fachay à eux de ce qu'ils m'avoie[n]t fait à croire qu'ils avoient oublié des presens que je leur avois laissé pour Iandhuy. Ils me respondirent, que c'estoit parce que s'ils eussent déclaré leur intention, ils craignoient d'estre esconduis, & que les Brasiliens ne leur en eussent voulu donner qu'en mon nom. Puisque vous vous servez de mon nom à faux, disie, je veux que ces deux Brasiliens qui l'ont apporté le remportent, je ne suis pas venu pour leur oster leur bien mais pour leur conserver, & le defendre, puis qu'ils me sont amis aussi bien que vous. Les deux Brasiliens ne voulurent, ou n'oserent reprendre le mil, disans qu'il suffisoit qu'ils sçeussent que les Tapuies les avoient abusez, qu'ils s'en prendroient garde, & s'en retournerent en leur Aldée. Cependant ceux qui estoient allez à la chasse, pendant ce temps de repos, rapporterent du mil & des rats, & aussi-tost se mirent avec leurs compagno[n]s à piller les os du mort, qu'ils meslerent avec la farine de ce mil, & mangerent le tout meslé ensemble. Le quinziesme apres avoir passé la riviere, je pris trois hommes avec moy, laissant
 213 le reste de la troupe à la chasse des rats, & | m'advançay, ne voulant pas attendre les autres qui marchoiert trop lentement, prenant mon chemin entre les deux Couchans, que je continuay jusques au dix-huict, auquel jour j'envoia y un de mes hommes à ceux que j'avois laissé derrere nous. Ce jour je perdis deux de mes chiens, que les sangliers me tuerent.

Le dix-neufviesme je vins à la montagne Montagina, habitée n'agueres des Brasiliens, mais pour lors je ne trouvay dans leur Aldée qu'un viellard & deux vieilles femmes, qui me dirent, que leur chef, ou principal, dit Diego, n'y estoit pas, je l'envoia y chercher par un petit garçon, qui me l'amena sur le soir. Il me dit, que Iandhuy luy avoit donné cette place pour y habiter avec les siens, mais qu'elle n'estoit assurée contre leurs ennemis, ce qui estoit cause, qu'ils estoient contrains au premier bruit de guerre de la quiter & s'enfuyr dans les bois. Je luy repartis qu'ils estoient de coquins de nous abandonner ainsi, & leur propre nation. Il me respondit, qu'ils estoient point des coquins, n'ayant eu recours

On the fourteenth, a few Tapuia told me that they had forgotten some of the gifts destined for Jandhuy and some wood of different colors in the *aldeia* we had left the day before. They retraced their steps and came to find that evening with two Brazilians loaded with maize that they brought in my name as if I had ordered them to do so. I asked the Tapuia who had brought these Brazilians who had ordered them to get maize in my name. They told me they wanted to complete their mourning of one of their dead, | and that they needed maize to do so. The flour had to be mixed with the pulverized bones of the deceased in order to eat them. I was angry with them because they had told me they had forgotten the presents I had given them for Jandhuy. They replied that it was because if they had declared their intention, they feared it would be refused, and that the Brazilians would not have wanted to give them maize unless it was in my name. I said, "Because you used my name falsely, I want the two Brazilians who brought it here, to take it back. I did not come here to take their belongings but to safeguard and defend them, as they are my friends just as much as you." The two Brazilians did not want or did not dare to take back the maize, saying that it was enough that they knew that the Tapuia had taken advantage of them, that they would be on their guard, and they went back to their *aldeia*. Meanwhile those who had gneo hunting during this rest time brought back some maize and rats and with their companions immediately set to grinding down the bones of the dead man, which they mixed with the maize flour and eating the admixture.

212

On the fifteenth, having crossed the river, I took three men with me, leaving the rest of the troop hunting for rats. | I went ahead, not wanting to wait for the others, who walked too slowly, heading between East and West.³⁵ I continued until the eighteenth, when I sent one of my men back to those I had left behind us. This day I lost two of my dogs, killed by wild pigs.

213

On the nineteenth, I came to Mount Montagina, not long ago inhabited by Brazilians, but now I found in their *aldeia* only an old man and two old women who told me that their leader or head man, called Diego, was not there.³⁶ I sent a young boy to look for him and he brought him to me that evening. He told me that Jandhuy had given him this place to live with his people, but it was not safe against their enemies so they were constrained, at the first signs of war, to leave it and hide in the woods. I answered him that they were rogues to abandon us and their own nation like that. He replied that they were not at

35 The French text does not give a clear indication of the direction with the phrase "entre les deux ouchants"; they were heading either North or South.

36 Probably Dom Diogo Pinheiro Camarão, who wrote multiple letters in Tupi to Pedro Potij and Antônio Paraupaba; see NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 62, documents 52–55.

à leurs ennemis, auxquels ne pouvant resister, c'estoit prudence de fuyr, que la famine les pressant dans leur Aldée, ils avoient esté contraints de se revirer vers
 214 leurs amis, pour avoir des vivres, lors qu'ils | en ont besoin. Que sans cela ils se
 trouveroient heureux vivant paisiblement, n'estant que rarement attaquez de
 leurs ennemis, à cause de leur pauvreté, & en sevrété contr'eux, ayans les bois
 tout autour pour une assurée retraite. Que Iandhuy leur ayant laissé la liberté
 de cultiver ces lieux, ils y plantoient des racines, y sermoient des pois & des
 feves sans ce qu'ils trouvoient dans les forests. Qu'ils n'estoient ingrats envers
 Iandhuy, auquel ils faisoient part liberalement de ce qu'ils avoient planté &
 semé; qu'à l'heure qu'il parloit, ses gens estoient aux rosses*, pour y semer du
 mil, qu'ils n'avoient point encore de Maviras, ou bastons de racines à faire de la
 farine, mais que Iandhuy leur en avoit promis lors qu'au beau temps ils descen-
 droient en bas. Je leur dis, que lors qu'ils viendroient du costé de Rio Grandé,
 que je les recevrois courtoisement, & qu'ils se donnassent garde de n'offencer
 personne.

Le vingt-deuxiesme deux Tapuies vindrent à moy, disant, que Iandhuy se dispo-
 soit à s'acheminer contre l'ennemy. Je me resolut aussi-tost de le joindre. Diego
 me pria de l'attendre, jusques à ce qu'il est amassé ses gens. Sur le tard arriverent
 215 trois garçons du viel Harhara,³⁷ qui me firent present de miel sauvage. |

Diego m'ayant montré avec le doigt le lieu, où il croyoit que je pourrois trouver
 Iandhuy tirant du Midy au Couchant, nous prismes nostre chemin à l'hasard,
 il estoit couvert de grosses fourmis appellées Capiaira, que nous mangions en
 marchant avec un peu de mil, jusques à ce que nous eussions trouvée une
 riviere ditte Turracoa, qui coule de la montagne Warhavaa, descendant en mer
 du costé du Midy.

Le vingt-deuxième May arrivant, nous marchasmes entre le Midy & le Cou-
 chant parmy des marests, bois, roches, & espines, sans trouver aucun sentier
 jusques à la riviere Itaquerra. Là je rencontray quatre hommes à cheval que
 Iandhuy envoyoit à ma rencontre,³⁸ j'n renvoyai un aussi-tost, pour l'advertir de
 ma venuë. Nous arrivasmes au quartier de Iandhuy sur les trois heures du soir,
 mouillez extraordinairement. On nous dit, qu'il estoit party depuis dix jours,
 n'ayant laissé que des femmes & des enfans, lesquels il avoit commandé de
 me donner à manger si je venois, & me dire, que j'eusse à l'attendre en ce lieu,
 jusques à son retour.

37 According to Teensma, this is a corruption of Caracarà, the brother of Jandovy; *O diario*, 91.

38 The use of horses among the Indigenous populations of Brazil increased during this century; see Felipe Ferreira Vander Velden, "A Tapuya 'Equestrian Nation'? Horses and Native Peoples in the Backlands of Colonial Brazil," in *The Materiality of the Horse*, ed. Miriam A. Bibby and Brian G. Scott (Budapest: Trivent, 2020), 71–106.

all naughty, not having turned to their enemies, who they could not resist—it was prudent to flee; famine weighed down upon them in their *aldeia* so they had been forced to turn to their friends to obtain provisions when they | were 214 in need of them. Otherwise, they considered themselves happy to live in peace, being only rarely attacked by their enemies because of their poverty, and safe from them, having the forest all around them for a secure retreat. Jandhuy had given them the liberty to cultivate this place. They had planted tubers there, and sown peas and beans, not to mention what they found in the forest. [He said] they were not ungrateful to Jandhuy, with whom they freely shared a part of what they had planted and sown; that at the very moment he was talking, his people were in the gardens sowing maize, that they did not yet have any *maviras*,³⁹ or sticks of root to make flour, but Jandhuy had promised them that they could go downcountry when the good weather [dry season] arrived. I told them that when they were in the vicinity of Rio Grandé I would receive them kindly, and that they should be careful not to offend anybody.

On the twenty-second, two Tapuia came to me saying that Jandhuy was preparing to set out against the enemy. I immediately decided to join him. Diego asked me to wait for him to gather his people. Late in the day, three boys arrived from mold Harhara,⁴⁰ who gave me some wild honey as a gift. | 215

Diego had showed me with his finger the place where he thought I could find Jandhuy, going from the North to the West. We took our path at random and it was covered with very fat ants called Capiaira that we ate as we walked with a little maize until we came upon a river called Turracoa, which runs from Mount Warhavaa, going to the sea in the South.

On the twenty-second of May we walked Southwest through swamps, woods, rocks, and thorns, without finding a single path until the River Itaquerra.⁴¹ There, I encountered four horsemen whom Jandhuy had sent to meet me, and I sent one back straight away to inform him about my arrival. We arrived at Jandhuy's quarters at three o'clock in the afternoon, extraordinarily wet. We were told that he had gone ten days ago, having left behind only the women and children, whom he had ordered to give me food if I came, and to tell that I had to wait for him in that place until his return.

39 *Maviras* are manioc stems ready to be planted; see Morisot note 34 (Baro, "Relation," 268–269).

40 According to Ben Teensma (*O diario*, 91), this is a lexical corruption of the name Caracará, the brother of Jandovy. However, Claude Prevo, commander of Fort Ceulen, received information from Rabbi that "Craquara" did not want to fight on the side of the Dutch any longer. See NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 60, document 111 (16450704).

41 According to Morisot (Baro, "Relation," 272), this river is a tributary of the great Ostohunogh River where Jandovy lived.

Je mangeay ce qu'ils me donnerent, les enfans employerent le lendemain & jours suivans à me chercher du miel sauvage, & les femmes des racines de Mandioque* pour | me faire de la farine.

Les vingt-sixiesme sur le Midy arriva avec tous ses gens le bon vieillard Iandhuy, qui s'entrembrasserent, cryans, pleurans, saultans, par l'espace de plus de deux heures. Cela finy, je me presentay à Iandhuy, & l'ayant salué, je luy dis que j'ésois fort joyeux de son heureux retour. Il m'en remercia, me disant, que j'ésois le bien venu, s'il y avoit quelque chose parmy nous autres Hollandois, qui eust causé mon voyage. Je luy respondis, que par la grace de Dieu, nous n'avions aucune disette, ayant eu du secours d'Hollande, avec du rafraichissement, depuis lequel nostre camp volant s'esoit rendu maistre de Rio Francisco, & depuis que nostre armée avoit conquis sur les Portugais l'isle de Taparipa, & trois lieües de terre devant la Baie de tous les Saints. Il me repartit, qu'il avoit ouy tout le contraire par les gens de Camarron, qui l'asseurerent que nous estions en si grande misere, qu'il nous faudroit bien-tost rendre à leur mercy. Je luy dis où estoient ces menteurs, il me repliqua qu'il n'en sçavoit rien, quoy qu'il s'en fust informé, & couru luy-mesme apres eux, pour les tailler en pieces. Puis se faisant apporter des haches, coignées, serpes, & autres choses. Il adiousta.

Voicy, dit-il, les presens qu'ils m'ont envoyé depuis peu, pour m'inviter à | suivre leur party contre vous autres Hollandois, me promettant de m'en envoyer beaucoup d'autres, si je voulois estre des leurs. Regarde, ces haches, ces coignées, ces serpens, ces cousteaux, & autres instrumens de fer, la moindre piece vaut mieux, que tout ce que vos seigneurs Hollandois m'ont jamais envoyé. Je ne sçeu que luy respondre, estant contrainct de luy demander, si à cause seulement que les Portugais luy avoient faict ces beaux presens, il vouloit rompre avec nous, contre sa promesse. Tu l'eusse bien connu, dit-il, si j'eusse pû les attendre, je n'en aurois laissé un seul de reste. Et c'est le subject pour lequel je t'ay envoyé mon fils Murotti, qui t'a deu dire, que je les avois poursuivy jusques à la riviere de Parayba, & contraints de la passer à nage. Alors je luy donnay la lettre que Messieurs les Nobles puissans luy adressoient, luy disant, que les presens qu'ils luy envoioient estoient [en] mains de son fils, & de ses gens ausquels je les avois donnez. Il repartit, qu'il les auroit agreables, & qu'il les verroit le jour suivant.

I ate what they gave me. The children spent the next day and those following seeking wild honey for me and the women [gathering] manioc tubers in order to | make me some flour.

216

On the twenty-sixth at noon, old Jandhuy arrived with all his people, who were kissing each other, crying, weeping and jumping around for more than two hours. Once this was finished, I presented myself to Jandhuy, and having greeted him, I told him that I was very pleased at his happy return. He thanked me, saying that I was welcome. [He asked me] if there was something going on among the Dutch that had motivated my voyage. I replied that, by the grace of God, there was no famine, for we had received help from Holland with supplies. And since then, our mobile camp had conquered Rio Francisco, and our army had also taken the island of Taparipa⁴² from the Portuguese as well as three leagues of ground before the Bay of All Saints. He replied that he had heard conflicting reports from the people from Camarron,⁴³ who assured him that we were in such great misery that we would soon be obliged to give ourselves to their [the Portuguese's] mercy. I asked him where these liars were. He responded that he did not know, although he had looked into it, and personally pursued them to cut them to pieces. Then, having axes, adzes, machetes and other things brought to him, he added: "Here are the gifts that have been sent to me recently to invite me to | follow them against you Dutchmen. They promised to send much more, if I wanted to join them. Look at these axes, these adzes, these machetes, these knives and other ironware, the smallest of them is worth more than everything your Dutch Lords have ever sent me." I did not know what to answer him. I had to ask him if he wanted to break with us, go against his promise, just because the Portuguese had sent him these nice gifts. "You would have known," he said, "if I could have waited for them, for I would not have left a single one [alive]. And that is why I sent you my son Murotti, who was supposed to tell you that I had tracked them to the River Parayba, and forced them to swim across."⁴⁴ Then I gave him the letter that the Noble Powerful Lords had addressed him, saying that the gifts they sent him were in the hands of his son and his people to whom I had given them. He replied that he would pleased to receive them and that he would see them the following day. That

217

⁴² Taparica, in the Bay of All Saints.

⁴³ According to Morisot (Baro, "Relation," 281 n. 60), a Portuguese captain from the Bay of All Saints in Siara; according to Teensma (*O diário*, 91), this was Martim Soares Moreno, leader of the Paycu.

⁴⁴ Parayba was also called Port François and situated near Cabo Branco, according to Morisot (Baro, "Relation," 282), where the French had installed themselves and from which they were chased by the Portuguese in 1584.

Qu'il avoit esté, & estoit encore amy des Hollandois, lesquels n'avoient jamais eu subject de se plaindre de sa fidelité. Je luy dis qu'ils n'en doutoient point, & qu'ou il auroit besoin de leur secours qu'il le trouve- | roit prest. On me l'a tous-
 218 jours ainsi promis, dit-il, je le connoistray au besoing, il y a vingt-cinq ans que je n'ay eu guerre que pour eux, il me seroit tres-facile de m'accorder avec mes voisins, & reünir ceux qui se sont revoltez contre moy. Ils me haïssent, parce que je ne les ay pas suivy, & que je n'ay fait en mes terres comme ils ont fait à Siara, ayans coupé la gorge à vos gens. Il estoit las, & se voulut aller coucher là dessus, apres que je l'eus exhorté de perseverer en sa fidelité, de laquelle je l'asseuray qu'il seroit largement recompensé.

Le vingt-septiesme Iandhuy me fit dire, si je voulois estre des siens, je me joignis à luy, les femmes se chargerent de ce que je luy apportois; lors que nous fusmes à une lieuë delà la riviere Itaquerra, on luy dressa un cabinet de branchages avec leurs fueilles, où il reposa fort peu, m'ayant faict incontinent appeler, pour luy faire voir les presens que je luy apportois. Les ayant veu, il secoüa la teste, & me dit: Ces choses ne valent pas la peine de m'estre apportées de si loing. Les Portugais ont raison de dire, que le fer des Hollandois ne vaut rien, & moins encore leurs miroirs, ny leurs peignes, je n'ay jamais rien veu de plus chetif. J'avois
 219 accoustumé de recevoir autrefois des vostres | de belles trompettes, grandes pertuisanes, beaux miroirs, beaux gobelets, & belles tasses bien façonnées, que je garde en mon cabinet, pour les faire voir aux autres Tapuies qui me viennent visiter, leur disant, un tel seigneur Hollandois m'a envoyé cecy, un autre cela. Je conserve encore ce que Schop, l'Artichau, son Excellence, & vos Generaux m'ont envoyé, il n'y rien encore d'alteré par le temps & l'usage, sinon quelques trompettes brisées, desquelles j'ai fay faire des flutes. Je luy repartis, que ce que je luy presentois venoit fraîchement d'Hollande, & que nous n'aviions rien de meilleur, qu'il ne faloit pas qu'il s'arrestast à ce que luy disoient les Portugais, puis qu'ils n'estoient nos amis. Non non, dit-il, je vois bien que les haches qu'ils m'ont données sont plus belles, & de meilleure trempe que les vostres, je ne m'arreste point pourtant à leur presens sçachant bien qu'ils sont des trompeurs. Qu'il ne laissoit pas d'accepter ce que les Nobles puissans me maistres luy envoyoient, sous l'esperance qu'à l'advenir on luy envoyeroit de plus belles

he had been, and still was, a friend of the Dutch, who had never had reason to complain of his loyalty. I told him that they had no doubt at all of that, and that if he were be in need of help, he would find it | ready. "That has always been the promise," he said. "I will know [its worth] if I need it. For about twenty-five years, I waged war only for them; it would be very easy for me to reach an accord with my neighbors, and to unite those who have revolted against me. They hate me because I did not join them and I have not done the same in my country as they did in Siara, slitting your people's throats." He was weary and wanted to go to sleep then, after I had urged him to persevere in his loyalty for which, I assured him, he would be well compensated. 218

On the twenty-seventh, Jandhuy told me that if I wanted to be his friend, I had to join him. The women would take care of what I was bringing him. When we were a league beyond the River Itaqueria, a hut was built for him of branches and leaves, where he took a very short rest.⁴⁵ He then sent for me immediately to show him the gifts that I had brought him. When he saw them, he shook his head, and said to me: "These things are not worth the trouble of bringing them so far. The Portuguese are right to say that Dutch ironware is worthless, and their mirrors and combs even worse. I have never seen anything so wretched. I was once accustomed to receiving from your people | the most beautiful trumpets, great partisans,⁴⁶ beautiful mirrors, beautiful goblets and beautiful well-made cups that I keep in my hut to show to the other Tapuia who come to visit me and tell them that such and such a Dutch Lord sent me this, and another that. I still have what Schop, Artichau, his Excellence,⁴⁷ and your Generals sent me. None of it has been altered by time or by usage, except for a few broken trumpets from which I have had flutes made."⁴⁸ I replied that what I was presenting to him came straight from Holland, and that we had nothing better, that he should not dwell on what the Portuguese told him, because they were not our friends. "No, no," he said, "I can see that the axes they gave me are certainly more beautiful, and of better quality than yours. However, I do not focus on their gifts, I know full well that they are deceitful." [He told me that] he did not accept what the powerful Nobles, my masters, sent him, in the hope that in the future they would send him more beautiful and better things. Then, having 219

45 Also called *ajoupa*.

46 A partisan consists of a spearhead mounted on a long (wooden) shaft with protrusions on the sides which aided in parrying sword thrusts. It quickly became obsolete and a ceremonial weapon, as seen today used by the Yeomen of the Guard, for example.

47 Sigmund van Schoppen, Christophe Artichewsky and Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen.

48 Before the introduction of iron flutes, they were made out of human tibia or *canguaca* according to Marcgraf, book 8, chapter 10 in Morisot (Baro, "Relation," 274).

220 & meilleures choses. Puis ayant commandé à ses gens de serrer ce que je luy avois offert, il me mena joyeusement disner avec luy. Le repas finy, il fit assembler des jeunes hommes, qu'il fit luitier l'un contre | l'autre sur le sable, & me dit, que c'estoit ma bien-venuë qu'il faisoit cela. Et que le lendemain ils porteroient l'arbre, ce qu'ils n'avoient pas encore fait de toute l'année, parce qu'il attendoit ma venuë, & que desormais il feroit continuer cet exercice jusques au jour de leur feste. Je remerciay le Roy & la compagnie de l'honneur qu'ils me faisoient. La nuict survient laquelle nous passasmes estendus sur le sable, la pluye sur le dos.

Au lever du Soleil le viellard commanda aux femmes de faire de la farine, & aux hommes d'aller chercher des rats, leur ordonnant de retourner incontinent apres midy pour courir l'arbre. Ils obeyrent, cependant deux Tapuies apporterent sur leurs espauls deux troncs d'arbres de Corraearas, de la longueur de plus de vingt pieds. Ils en leverent l'escorce à la flame du feu, & polirent le bois tout alentour sans y laisser aucun nœud. Et quand le peuple fut de retour, chacun se peignit le corps de diverses couleurs. Ce fait, ceux qui avoient pris des rats les lascherent dans la plaine, puis partie d'iceux chargerent promptement des troncs, courans d'une vitesse nompareille apres ces rats; quand un d'eux
221 paroissoit las, un autre en prenoit la place sans retarder la course, | laquelle dura plus d'une heure. Apres laquelle chacun estant de retour racontoit, comme & de quelle façon il avoit poursuivy, atteint, blessé, & tué ces rats. Le vieillard Iandhuy avoit couru avec eux, chose merveillable de voir un homme aagé de plus de cent ans, voire suivant l'opinion des siens de plus de cent soixante courir si habilement. Ce qui estonna tellement Jean Strasi, qui estoit un de ceux que j'avois amené avec moy de Rio Grandé, qu'il croyoit que ce fut plustost un diable qu'un homme. Iandhuy de retour, me dit, Qu'en dis, tu mon fils, ce jeu ne te semble-il pas plaisant? Je luy respondis, qu'oüy, & que j'estois bien aise de le voir ainsi robuste & gaillard. Il se mit à rire, & me dit, pourquoy je ne luy avois point apporté de Tobac, & si je ne sçavois pas que celui qu'il avoit planté avoit esté perdu par les pluyes, avec une bonne partie de son mil. Je repartis, que son fils Murotti avoit pû voir comme le débord des eaux avoit ruyné mes rosses, qu'autrement je luy aurois apporté & du Tobac, & du Mil en abondance, que ce qui se trouveroit dans icelles au temps de recolte, seroit à son service, & aux siens, pourveue qu'il n'y envoyast gens armez pour demander ce secours
222 de vivres, car ceux qui venoient de sa part dans la Capitanie de | Rio Grandé, ne se contentoient pas de ce qu'on leur donnoit liberalement, mais vouloient tout emporter, menassant de tuer, l'un disant, je suis un tel Capitaine, l'autre

ordered his people to put away what I had offered them, he invited me to dine with him. Our meal finished, he gathered some young men whom he had fight | 220 each other in the sand, and told me that he welcomed me in this way. And that the next day they would carry the tree [trunk],⁴⁹ which they had not yet done this year because he had been waiting for my arrival, and from now on he would have this exercise continue until the day of their feast. I thanked the King and his company for the honor they did me. Night fell and we passed it stretched out on the sand, the rain on our backs.

At sunrise, the old man commanded the women to make some flour, and the men to hunt for rats, ordering them to come back in the afternoon to run the tree. They obeyed and meanwhile two Tapuia brought on their shoulders two Corravearas trunks over twenty feet long. They removed the bark by means of fire, and polished the wood all around without leaving a single knot. And when the people were back, every man painted his body with different colors.⁵⁰ That done, those who had taken the rats, let them loose on the plain, and then some promptly picked up the trunks, running t incomparable speed after the rats. When one of them appeared to tire, another took his place without delaying the race, | 221 which would last more than an hour. Afterwards, having returned, every man told how and in what manner he had tracked, reached, wounded and killed these rats. Old Jandhuy had run with them, a marvelous thing to see a man of more than hundred years, or according to the opinion of his people, more than one hundred and sixty, run so well. This amazed Jean Strasi, who was one of the men I had brought with me from Rio Grandé, who believed he was more a devil than a man. When Jandhuy came back, he said to me: "What do you say my son? Does this game not seem fun to you?" I replied, "Oh yes," and that I was very pleased to see him so robust and strong. He started to laugh, and asked me why I had not brought him any tobacco, and if I did not know that [the tobacco] he had planted had been lost in the rains, together with a good part of his maize. I answered him that his son Murotti had seen how the floodwaters had ruined my gardens, that otherwise I would have brought him tobacco & maize in abundance, that what would be found there at harvest time was at his disposal and of his people on condition that he did not send armed men to ask for provisions, because those who came on his behalf to the Captaincy of | 222 Rio Grandé were not content with what we gave them freely and wanted to take it all, threatening to kill. One saying, "I'm Captain uch and such,"

49 Apparently a Tapuia game, see Curt Nimuendaju, "A Corrida de Toras Timbira," *MANA* 7, no. 2 (2001):151–194.

50 Rabbi states similar modes of body painting used in running the trees in Piso and Marcgraf, *Historia*, book 8, chapter 12.

fils de Iandhuy, un tiers, je suis maistre d'un tel lieu, & ainsi des autres, & ce disant emportoient les meubles & le betail des habitans. C'est bien chanté me dit Iandhuy, mes gens se sont tousjours contentez des instrumens de fer qu'ils ont pû attraper, que pour un peu de chair qu'ils avoient pris & mangé avec luy, il n'en falloit vivoit, il se joignoit à ses Tapuies avec lesquels il descendoit dans ma Capitaine de Rio Grandé, & disoit à celuy-cy, & à celuy-là, donnez moy une beste pour mes gens, autrement je la feray tuer moy-mesme. Que ce Jacob avoit eu plus de pouvoir sur les siens que moy, puis qu'il se faisoit craindre des habitans, au lieu que je les craignois. Je luy repliquay, que Jacob Rabbi n'avoit jamais eû l'ordre ny le commandement que j'avois, qu'il estoit homme de mauvaise vie, hay des siens & de tous ceux qui le connoissoient, que je n'avois garde de l'imiter crainte de finir comme luy. Jacob Rabbi, reprit-il, avoit plus de pouvoir que toy, il estoit tousjours pourveu d'un bon ordre, & accompagné de plusieurs soldats, | au lieu que tu viens icy sans ordre, & sans aucun soldat. Je ne desire pas, luy dis-je, d'estre accompagné de voleurs, comme il estoit, qui espargnoient les ennemis, pour saccager leurs voisins & leurs amis. Tu croy donc, me dit-il, que les Tapuies qu'on a tué en Rio Grandé, & Connahu, ont estré justement tuez? Non pas cela, luy respondis-je, mais je veux dire, que Jacob Rabbi estoit bienheureux d'estre mort, que s'il vivoit, on luy feroit rendre conte des extorsions & pillages qu'il avoit faict avec les siens, lesquels ne pouvoient estre advoüez de qui que ce fust. Non, repartit-il, mais si tu parloit plus doucement à moy & à mes gens, que tu ne fais, tu en recevrais plus de contentement que tu n'espere, ne pouvans souffrir d'estre rudoyez. S'ils s'abstiennent, luy dis-je, de mal traiter mes gens, & qui sont en ma protection, je leur feray des presens de l'Europe. Ils le feront ainsi, repliqua-il, & me prenant par la main, me mena souper avec luy du fruct de Ianipape, & du boüillon faict de farine de manioque sauvage, avec du mil.

Le vingt-neufviesme le vieillard fit sçavoir qu'un chacun eust à marcher, luy, Jean Strassi, & moy allions devant; nous avons faict une heure de chemin, quand les jeunes hommes qui couroient avec les arbres, des | quels nous avons parlé cy-dessus, nous passerent, courans si viste, que la terre sembloit trembler sous eux, & ne cessèrent de courir jusques à ce qu'ils fussent venus à la riviere, qui estoit le lieu où ils devoient prendre haleine, pour aussi-totst aller à la chasse des rats, & au miel sauvage. Retournans, ils me demanderent du Tobac, disans, qu'ils ne pouvoient faire aucun sacrificesans iceluy, & que trois Lunes estoient revoluës depuis le dernier qu'ils avoient faict. Je leur dis, que j'avois desia dit à Iandhuy, que les eaux avoient gasté les plantes que j'en avois. Iand-

another, "I am the son of Jandhuy," a third, "I'm the master of such and such a place," and so on, and so saying they carried off the property and cattle of the inhabitants. "It's a pretty song you sing," Jandhuy said to me. "My people have always contented themselves with the ironware they could get hold of, that for a little meat they have taken and eaten with him, one should not make such a fuss".⁵¹ He joined his Tapuia with whom he went down to my Captaincy of Rio Grandé, and asked here and there: "Give me a beast for my people, if not I will have it killed myself". That Jacob [Rabbi] had more power over his people than I do, since he was feared by the inhabitants, while I feared them. I replied that Jacob Rabbi never received the order or the command I have. He had lived a bad life, hated by his people and everybody who knew him. I had been careful not to imitate him, for fear of ending up like him. "Jacob Rabbi," he replied, "had more power than you. He always had good order, and was accompanied by numerous soldiers, | unlike you, who come here without order and without a single soldier." "I do not desire," I told him, "to be accompanied by thieves as he was, who spared enemies in order to spoil their neighbors and their friends." "So you believe that the Tapuia who were killed in Rio Grandé and Connahu were killed justly?" he asked me. "No, that [is not what I mean]," I answered. "What I mean is that Jacob Rabbi is very lucky to be dead, because if he were alive, he would be tried for the extortion and pillaging he carried out with his men, who cannot be admitted by anyone." "No," he replied. "But if you spoke more gently to me and my people, you would have more satisfaction than you hope for, unable to tolerate mistreatment." "If they abstain," I told him, "from mistreating my people and those under my protection, I will bring them gifts from Europe." "They will do as you say," he replied and took my hand, taking me to sup with him on the janipape fruit, and a stew made of wild manioc flour with maize.⁵²

223

On the twenty-ninth, the old man made it known that everyone had to walk, him, Jean Strassi and I going in front. We had marched for about one hour when the young men who had run with the trees, of | whom I have spoken above, overtook us, running so fast that the earth seemed to tremble under them. They did not atop running until they had reached the river, this being the place to catch their breath only to set off immediately on the hunt for rats and wild honey. On their return, they asked me for tobacco, saying they could not make any sacrifice without it and that three moons had passed since the last they had made. I told them what I had already told Jandhuy, that the waters had ruined my

224

51 Jandovy refers here to the cattle of André Claesen to be killed by his son Muroti (p. 202).

52 Janipape or *Genipa americana*.

huy repartit, qu'il y avoit long temps qu'il m'avoit faict advertir de luy apporter tout ce qui leur estoit necessaire, que sur cette esperance, & plus encore pour la curiosité que les Tapuies avoient eu de me voir, ils s'estoient asesmblez en grand nombre il y avoit long temps, pendant lequel ils avoient mangé leurs provisions; Que la jeunesse de Waiupu, Iacaruiu, Wariju, & Preciava⁵³ s'ennuyant de mon retard luy avoient demandé congé de se retirer en leurs demeures, & qu'en suite la plus grande partie l'avoit quitté. Qu'avec eux & autres, il avoit poursuivy ses ennemis. Je le priay de ne plus se fier aux Brasiiliens, autrement
 225 qu'ils luy feroient quelque supercherie, & qu'il n'y avoit point de rais | son de se fier en ceux qui avoient abandonné leur propre nation, à laquelle ils retourneroient toutes les fois que l'occasion leur paroistroit favorable. Il me repartit, qu'il y prendroit garde, & là dessus nous nous separasmes pour aller dormir. Le trentiesme la jeunesse continua de courir l'arbre, & les femmes nous apporterent des boules de farine, du mandioque sauvage, du poisson appelé Pia-pahu, du mil, des rats pris dans leurs rosses, & de la bouillie. Quelqu'un ayant apporté du tabac, tous sauterent d'aise, puis qu'ils avoient de quoy sacrifier au Diable, le faire venir à eux, & le consulter sur leurs affaires. Le dernier jour de May fut employé à la luitte, & à la chasse.

LE PREMIER DE JUIN

On courut l'arbre; Un capitaine des Tapuies dit Wariju, vint visiter Iandhuy, qui avec ses gens conduits par trente quatre chefs, fut traicté de farine, & rats, & du mil qu'ils avoient apportez. Iandhuy s'enquit d luy du subject de son voyage, Wariju luy dit, qu'il venoit de la chasse des ennemis, & que pensant aller joindre Paycu, qui l'avoit invité de ce faire, il n'avoit pû trouver le chemin. Tu me devois,
 226 dit Iandhuy, amener ceux | qu'il t'avoit envoyé. J'ay creu, repartit Wariju, qu'il n'en estoit besoin sur ce qu'ils m'assurèrent venir de devers toy, & t'avoir donné advis de sa part de son dessein. Cela est faux, dit le vieillard, il est vray qu'ils m'ont envoyé quelques presens par des Brasiiliens, lesquels je leur ay renvoyez afin de me venir trouver & m'apporter le reste de ce qui m'appartenoit. Mais ces marauts ont pris un autre chemin, & s'en sont enfuis avec les gens de Paycu. T'ont-ils donné quelques choses? Oüy dit Wariju, des coignées & des cousteaux. Ils en ont autant faict à Paycu. Iandhuy s'escria, ah les traistres, si j'estois maintenant vers la riviere de Wariju, je les mettrois à mort, avec leurs femmes & enfans. Puis se tournant vers moy. Ce peuple me dit-il, ne tasche qu'à m'attirer du costé des Portugais, ce ne leur est pas assez d'avoir massacré ceux de Siara,

53 According to Teensma, a corruption of Carcará, the brother of Jandhuy; *O diario*, 91.

plants. Jandhuy added that he had already told me a long time ago to bring all that was necessary to them, that in this hope and even more out of the Tapuia's curiosity to see me, they had come together in great numbers a long time ago, and in this time they had eaten their provisions. That the young Waiupu, Iacaruiu, Wariju and Preciava⁵⁴ grew bored waiting for me and had asked for leave to withdraw to their homes and that then the majority had left him. That with them [who had left] and others, he had chased his enemies. I asked him not to trust the Brazilians any more, for they would deceive him, and that there was no rea- | son to trust those who had abandoned their own nation, returning 225 to it whenever the circumstances seemed favorable to them. He answered that he would be wary. At that we separated and went to sleep.

On the thirtieth, the youth continued to run the tree and the women brought us flour balls, wild manioc, fish called Piapahu,⁵⁵ maize, rats caught in their gardens and stew. Someone brought some tobacco and everybody was jumping for joy. Finally, they had what they needed to make their sacrifice to the Devil, to make him come to them and consult him on their affairs. The last day of May was devoted to wrestling and to hunting.

THE FIRST OF JUNE

They ran the tree. A Captain of the Tapuia called Wariju came to visit Jandhuy, who with his people led by thirty-four chiefs, was offered flour, rats and maize they had brought with them. Jandhuy inquired about his journey. Wariju told him that he had came from hunting down enemies and was thinking about joining Paycu, who had invited him to do so, but he had not been able to find the path. Jandhuy said, "You should have brought me those [men] | he sent you." 226 "I thought," replied Wariju, "that was not necessary as they charged me to come to you and to give you his advice about his plans." "That is false," said the old man. "It is true that they have sent me a few gifts through the Brazilians, whom I sent back in order to come and find me and bring me the rest of what belonged to me. But these scoundrels have taken another path, and have fled with the people of Paycu. Did they give you anything?" "Yes," said Wariju, "a few adzes and knives. They gave the same to Paycu." Jandhuy cried aloud: "Ah, the traitors! If I was close to the river of Wariju, I would kill them all, and their wives and children too." Then he turned to me. "This people," he said, "do nothing but try to draw me to the Portuguese side. It is not enough for them to have massacred

54 According to Teensma (*O diario*, 91), this is a corruption of Caracará, the brother of Jandovy.

55 Perhaps *piabucu* according to Morisot (Baro, "Relation," 279).

ils veulent achever tous les Hollandois, c'est pourquoy il te faut resoudre à revenir icy avec le plus de soldats que tu pourras, te joindre aux Brasiliens tes alliez, & me venir trouver, pour tous ensemble les attaquer, & les destruire. Je luy dis, que je le ferois ainsi.

227 Le troisieme Juin, il donna à Wariju une partie des presens que je luy avois apporté, sous promesse de suivre son party, qui est le | nostre, & le renvoya. Puis me dit, Vois tu, mon fils, comme il faut que je fasse part aux Tapuies de ce que tu m'as donné, autrement je demeurerois seul, je n'en ay pas assez pour en distribuer aux autres chefs; je luy promis que desormais je me fournirois suffisamment de presens pour tous.

Le quatrieme je fus suivy de quelques Tapuies, entre autres de deux qui estoient malades, & qui ne pouvant marcher, estoient portez dans des Hammaques*, ou lits de cotton en façon de rets. Nous allasmes jusques à la riviere de Pottegie, où j'avois laissé une partie de ma suite, qui me festina avec du Tapiocha fait de farine de racines de Suasu, du Mantua, du miel, & des rats.

La pluye nous surprit le cinquiesme, pendant lequel temps les femmes battant de la terre en firent des pots à cuire, apres les avoir fait secher.

228 Le sixiesme les Brasiliens ausquels j'avois parlé aigrement le dix-neufviesme de May passé, apporterent du mil & du fizao à Iandhuy, auquel ils se plainquirent de ce que je les avois appellez coquins, parce qu'ils s'estoient mis sous sa protection. Le vieillard se fascha à moy de ce que je gourmandois ceux qui s'estoient mis sous sa protection, me disant, qu'ils estoient gens à me faire un | mauvais party, s'ils me trouvoient à leur advantage. Je luy dis, qu'ils estoient tels que je les avois nommez, se tenant les bras croisez pendant que tout le pays estoit en confusion, ayans delaisé ceux de leur nation, leurs parens, & leurs amis. Ne trouvant aucune raison pourquoy une telle canaille habitoit en paix dans son pays, veu la ligue offensive, & deffensive qui estoit entre luy & les Hollandois, lesquels elle haysoit. Que si nous voulions recevoir ceux qui quittoient son party, qu'il y auroit long-temps qu'il seroit sans troupes. Non, non, repartit Iandhuy, je n'entretiens point des canailles, ny des coquins, que si je le sçavois, je les ferois tous massacrer. Je luy dis qu'il prit garde à eux, & qu'indubitablement ils le trahiroient. Cela les irrita, & me regardant de travers, ils tesmoignoient estre en colere, & que s'ils me pouvoient attraper, ils se vengeroient de moy. Et sur le champ ils demanderent leur congé à Iandhuy pour s'en retourner le lendemain.

the people of Siara, they want to kill all the Dutch. Therefore you must find a way to come back here with as many soldiers as you can, join the Brazilians, your allies, and to come and find me so that we can attack and destroy them together." I told him I would do so.

On the third of June, he gave Wariju some of the gifts that I had brought him, on the promise to follow his party, which is | ours, and sent him back. Then he said to me: "You see, my son, how I have to share with the Tapuia what you have given to me. Otherwise, I would be alone. I do not have enough to distribute among the other chiefs." I promised him that, from now on, I would get enough gifts for everybody.

227

On the fourth, I was followed by a few Tapuia. Two among them were sick and unable to walk. They were carried in a hammocks, or cotton beds, like nets.⁵⁶ We went to the River Pottegie, where I had left a part of my group, who feasted my return with tapiocha made of *suasu* tubers,⁵⁷ *mantua*, honey and rats. The rain surprised us on the fifth. The women were beating earth to make pots for cooking after they had dried them.

On the sixth, the Brazilians to whom I had spoken in a nasty manner on the nineteenth of May, brought maize and *fzao*⁵⁸ to Jandhuy, to whom they complained about the fact that I had called them rogues, because they were under his protection.⁵⁹ The old man got angry with me for rebuking those who were under his protection, telling me that they were people who would give me | trouble, if ever they had the advantage over me. I told him that they were indeed what I had called them, standing with their arms crossed while the whole country was in chaos, having abandoned those of their nation, their parents and their friends. I did not find any reason why such scoundrels should live in peace in his country, considering the offensive and defensive alliance between him and the Dutch, whom they hated. [I told him] that if we wanted to receive those who left his party, he would long since have been without any troops. "No, no," replied Jandhuy, "I do not entertain scoundrels or rascals. If I had known, I would have had them all killed." I told him that he should watch out for them and that they would undoubtedly betray him. This annoyed them and they gave me dirty looks, said that they were angry and if they managed to catch me, they would take revenge upon me. And they immediately asked Jandui permission to leave to return the next day.

228

56 Moreau uses the word *rets* in French, which is rather a net or fillet for fishing or hunting. According to Morisot (Baro, "Relation," 279), the hammock was called *ini* "by the Savages."

57 Tapioca or manioc starch.

58 *Feijão* (P.), "beans."

59 See page 213 for the rogues.

Ce qu'ils firent, pendant que les gens du Roy couroient l'arbre comme auparavant. Sur le midy deux Tapuies de Preciava nous vindrent trouver, assurons que que Paycu, & ses gens s'estoient accordez avec les ennemis, resolu de venir
 229 ensemble faire la guerre à | Iandhuy. Cela le mit en peine, puis s'estant assis à terre, apres un long silence? Tu vois, me dit-il, mon fils, ce qui se passe, ne veux-tu pas me secourir contre tes ennemis & les miens? Tu m'asseurois ces jours passez que tu avois autant de pouvoir & de commandement sur les tiens qu'avoit eu Jacob Rabbi, & que tu peux lever autant d'Hollandois & de Brasi-
 liens que tu voudras. C'est à cette heure qu'il me le faut tesmoigner, nos ennemis estans beaucoup plus forts que je ne suis. Je luy respondis en ces mots. Il faut
 230 premierement, mon pere, t'informer, si le rapport qu'on te vient de faire est veritable, & s'il est tel, assembler tant que tu pourras de troupes, pour moy j'iray en ma demeure & t'ameneray des miens tout ce que je pourray amasser pour ton secours, mais je croy que ce qu'on t'a dit est controuvé, le temps te l'apprendra. Le huitiesme on continua de courir l'arbre, pendant ce passe-temps vindrent des Brasi-
 liens, de ceux qui habitent sur les bords de la riviere Pottegie, conduits par deux de leurs chefs Wiawug, & Hipahu, qui presenterent au vieillard du mil, des pois, & des feves, puis accuserent un nommé Diego Brasilien du meurtre par
 luy commis en la personne d'un autre Brasilien, dit Caraja, en | demandant justice, laquelle leur fut refusée par Iandhuy, leur disant, qu'il faloit vivre en paix les uns avec les autres, & ne battre que les ennemis. Qu'il n'estoit à propos de faire mourir des siens, pendant qu'il estoit en peril, comme plus foible que ceux qui le venoient attaquer, desquels celuy qu'on accusoit en pourroit tuer deux ou trois fois. Puis se tournant vers moy, il me fit promettre d'envoyer le lendemain à Rio Grandé Jan Strassi pour luy amener de mes gens à son secours.
 Le neufviesme on fut à la chasse pour traiter les nouveaux venus, lesquels me demanderent un billet de sauve-garde pour un de leurs chefs Brasilien nommé Balthazar Tamaris, qui desiroit demeurer avec eux, ce que je fis, sauf l'approbation des Nobles puissans, plustost pour complaire aux Tapuies, que pour autre raison. Toute la nuit ce peuple ne fit autre chose que de discourir de quelle façon ils iroient contre l'ennemy, & comment ils l'attaqueroient, ne voulant souffrir d'estre prevenus.
 J'envoyai dès le matin suivant à Rio Grandé dé Jan Strassi, pour assembler mes gens, continuans à marcher entre la haute montagne, où nous trouvâmes du miel & des rats en abondance, les Tapuies mangerent un des leurs qui mourut
 231 ce jour-là. |
 Le onziesme la jeunesse se mit à denser pour achever le dueil [*sic*] d'un de leurs principaux decédé.
 Le jour suivant les sorciers arriverent vers nous, qui reduisirent en poudre une certaine graine de Corpamba, qu'ils avoient faict secher dans un pot, puis

Which they did while the people of the King were running the tree as before. At noon, two Tapuia from Preciava came to us, assuring us that Paycu and his people had reached an agreement with the enemy, intent on coming to wage war together on | Jandhuy. This pained him. He sat down to the ground and said after a long silencem he said to me: "You see what is happening, my son? Don't you want to help me against your and my enemies? You assured me these past days that you have as much power and command over your men as Jacob Rabbi had, and that you can raise as many Dutch and Brazilians as you wish. This is the moment for you to show it. Our enemies are far stronger than me." I answered him with these words: "First of all, father, you must find out whether the report we just heard is true. If it is, gather all the troops you can. As for me, I will go home and bring you as many of my people as I can gather to help you, but I believe that what you have been told is a lie. Time will tell."

On the eighth they continued to run the tree. During this pastime came some Brazilians who live along the banks of the River Pottegie, led by two of their leaders, Wiawug and Hipahu, who gave the old man some maize, peas and beans. Then they accused someone called Diego, a Brazilian, of the murder of another Brazilian, called Caraja, | asking for justice. This Jandhuy refused them, saying that they had to live in peace with each other and to fight only the enemy, that it was not the moment to kill his own people while he was in danger, weaker than those who were coming to attack him, and the one they accused could kill two or three of the enemy. Then, turning to me, he made me promise to send Jan Strassi to Rio Grandé the next day to fetch my men to help him.

On the ninth, we went hunting to please the new arrivals, who asked me for a letter of guarantee for one of their Brazilian leaders called Balthazar Tamaris, who wished to live with them. This I did, but without the approval of the Powerful Nobles, to please the Tapuia more than any other reason. All night these people did nothing but discuss how they would wage war on their enemy and how they would attack them without them being forewarned.

Early the next morning, I sent Jan Strassi to Rio Grandé in order to gather my men. We continued to march along the high mountains where we found honey and rats in abundance. The Tapuia ate one of theirs who had died that day. |

On the eleventh, the youth danced to end the mourning of one of their deceased leaders.

The next day, the sorcerers came to us. They reduced to powder a certain seed of Corpamba,⁶⁰ which they had dried in a pot. Then, they mixed it with some

60 Perhaps *copiiba*, according to Morisot (Baro, "Relation," 280 n. 57), but probably the famous *copaiba*.

l'ayant meslée avec de l'eau l'avallerent. Aussi-tost ce breuvage leur sortit par le nez & par la bouche, se demenans à la façon des possédez. On me dit qu'ils faisoient cette ceremonie, afin que leur mil, pois, & feves peussent bien tost mourir. Ceux qui estoient allez à la chasse rapporterent un porc de la petite race, nommé Tayetetou. La pluye dura tout le jour.

Le treiziesme dudit mois pendant que les Tapuiés estoient à la chasse, Iandhuy m'entretenant, me dit qu'il avoit tousjours servy les Hollandois à leur besoin, qu'il demandoit la pareille contre ceux-là mesme qui avoient tué ceux de ma nation à Salmes, & à Upamene, lesquels indignez de ce qu'il n'avoit suivy leur party, ayans esté amis auparavant, recherchoient sa perte, ayans faict alliance avec les gens de Camarron, & grossi leur armée de grandes & redoutables troupes, lesquelles estoient campées au dessus de Parayba avec Wajapeba,⁶¹ qui avoit tousjours esté de leur costé, & demeuré long-temps | parmy eux dans la Verge, & que c'estoient les mesmes qui luy avoient envoyé les presens qu'il m'avoit faict voir de la part dudit Camarron. Qu'ils s'estoient tous joints à Pajucu, de sorte que ne leur pouvant resister, il estoit resolu, s'il n'estoit secouru par moy & par mes gens, de se retirer à Rio Grandé proche de nostre fort. Ce discours m'estonna n'ayant aucune envie de le voir si proche de moy, c'est pourquoy je luy dis, qu'il ne devoit pas quitter son pays, & qu'il y devoit attendre l'ennemy, si tant estoit qu'il fust prest à l'attaquer.

Nous arrivasmes le jour suivant proche l'Aldée des Brasiéliens, qui estoit sur le bord du fleuve Pottegie, & le quinziesme on leur envoya demander du mil, des feves, & citrouilles: Iandhuy me fit assoir proche de luy, m'interrogeant, pourquoy luy ayant promis autrefois deux chiens je ne les avois pas donné à Murotti, lors qu'il fut vers moy à Rio Grandé. Je luy dis, que je ne m'en estois point souvenu, & que Murotti ne m'en avoit point parlé, que j'eusse escrit aux Nobles puissans de me permettre de prendre ceux que j'avis presté à Jacob Rabbi, qui estoient dans le chasteau de Parayba. Il me repartit qu'il n'y avoit point de mal à cela, & que je luy laissasse les deux chiens que j'avois, jusques | à ce que je luy renvoyasse les deux autres, car il ne pouvoit s'en passer. Je luy dis que j'y adviserois avant que partir.⁶²

Le seiziesme nous couchasmes vers la rivere Pottegie, tous moüillez ayans pris un serpent nommé par les Portugais Cobre Viado, long de trois brasses, lequel

61 According to Teensma, this person is in reality Martím Soares; *O diario*, 91.

62 Dogs were a novelty in northeastern Brazil and highly prized for hunting; see Felipe Ferreira Vander Velden, "A Mulher Tapuya e seu cão—Notas sobre as relações entre indígenas e cachorros no Brasil holandês," *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos, Imagens, memórias e sons* (October 2019), <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.77800>.

water and swallowed it. Immediately this beverage came out of their nose and mouth, they shook all over like the possessed. They told me that they performed this ceremony so that their maize, peas and beans may ripen soon. Those who had gone to hunt brought back a pig of the small race, called Tayetetu.⁶³ It rained all day.

On the thirteenth of the said month, while the Tapuia were out hunting, Jandhuy talked with me. He told me that he had always served the Dutch as they needed, that he asked the same in return against those who had killed the people of my nation in Salmes and Upamene,⁶⁴ who were outraged that he had not followed their party. Having been friends before, they sought his downfall, having made an alliance with the people of Camarron and enlarged their army with large and formidable troops, which were camped above Parayba with Wajapeba,⁶⁵ who had always been at their side and lived among them a long time | on [the plain of] La Verge,⁶⁶ that it was they who had sent him the gifts he had shown me from the said Camarron. They were all allied to Pajucu so that one could not resist, and if he was not aided by me and by my people, he was determined to withdraw to Rio Grandé, close to our fortress. This speech shocked me, since I did not wish to see him so close to me. Which is why I told him that he should not leave his country, and that he must wait for the enemy if indeed they were ready to attack him.

232

The next day we came close to the Brazilian *aldeia* that was situated on the bank of the River Pottegie. On the fifteenth, we asked them for maize, peas and pumpkins. Jandhuy had me sit beside him, asked me why I had once promised him two dogs but never given them to Murotti when he came to me in Rio Grandé. I told him that I had completely forgotten and that Murotti had not mentioned it. That I would write to the Powerful Nobles for permission to take [the dogs] I had lent Jacob Rabbi, which were in the fortress of Parayba. He replied that there was no harm done, and that I should leave him the two dogs I had with me until | I could send the two others, because he could not do without them. I told him I would decide before I left.

233

On the sixteenth we slept near the River Pottegie, completely soaked having caught a snake called “Cobre Viado”⁶⁷ in Portuguese, measuring three arms in

63 *Tayasu* or peccary.

64 Salmes could be Rio de Salinas or Cauarama, which they also called Carwaretame according to Morisot (Baro, “Relation,” 281).

65 According to Teensma, “Roelof Baro’s Tarairiú-monument,” 364, Wajapeba was the Portuguese commander Martim Soares.

66 This great plain is situated above Recife where the Tapuia of Wajapeba lived, according to Morisot (Baro, “Relation,” 282).

67 *Cobra de veado* or *boiguaçu* in Tupi. Marcgraf discussed similar habits in book 8, chapter 8.

fut mis par les sauvages dans une fosse, où ils avoient faict du feu auparavant pour l'eschauffer, puis la couvrent de terre, & la terre de fascines esuelles ils mirent le feu pour rostir ledit serpent. Les sorciers s'assemblerent sur la montagne voisine, & nous avec eux, il plut abondamment tout autour d'eux & de nous, mais non pas sur eux, ny sur nous.

Le matin du six-sept on osta le serpent de la fosse, & tous les principaux en mangerent, excepté Iandhuy & les sorciers; ils trouverent autant à manger en ce serpent, qu'ils eussent faict en un grand porc sauvage. On ne beut rien pendant le repas, suiva[n]t leur coustume, il falut aller dans l'Aldée voisine pour y boire du breuvage de mil fraîchement faict. Là les Tapuies avec leurs femmes & enfans se chargerent de mil, qu'il y trouverent en abondance, pendant lequel temps on nous vint advertir de la part de Wajupu qu'il s'avançoit vers nous, à
 234 cause que le bruit estoit que Pajucu battoit la campa- | gne avec ses troupes pour nous attaquer. Ce que Iandhuy ayant oüy, il fit commandement à tous les Brasiiliens de l'Aldée de preparer leurs fleches, javelots, & arcs en attendant le secours des Hollandois, pour combattre aussi-tost qu'il feroit arrivé. Je demeuray dans l'Aldée toute la nuict, laquelle nonobstant ces nouvelles, fut passée en dansant par les Tapuies.

Comme il pleuvoit le dix-huictiesme de Juin, je m'amusay à considerer ma loge qui estoit couverte de palmites, là je vis une pierre noire transparente, approchant de celles qui se trouvent dans la mine du Ministre Astette: je priay mes hostes de m'en chercher de pareilles, ils m'en apporterent incontinent lesquelles je garde pour presenter aux Nobles puissans, & comme ils reconnurent qu'elles me plaisoient, ils m'en apporterent le soir plus grande quantité qu'ils n'avoient faict, m'enseignant le lieu où ils les prenoient dans la grande montagne.

Le dix-neufviesme je partis de l'Aldée pour attraper les Tapuies qui alloient devant moy chargez de mil & de rats, lesquels en ma presence percerent la levre de dessous, & les oreilles à un petit enfant, & mirent des chevilles de bois dans
 235 les trous. C'est une forme de baptesme parmy eux, donnant en | cette rencontre le nom à l'enfant, puis se mirent tous à danser.

Il nous fallut sejourner en ce lieu le jour suivant, Iandhuy estant las, auquel le Diable apparut la nuict, cela fut sçeu incontinent par tout le quartier, aussitost tous les feux furent esteins. Le viellard n'aprit autre chose du Diable, sinon qu'un enfant fort malade des leurs retourneroit en santé.

On courut l'arbre le lendemain, & le jour d'apres nous visitasmes les rosses, dans lesquelles le mil & le Tobac ne se trouverent encore meurs. Cependant l'enfant mourut, duquel le Diable avoit assuré la santé. Les Tapuies faschez contre luy,

length, which the savages put in a pit in which they had lit a fire so that it was already hot. Next, they covered it with sand and some branches which they set on fire in order to roast said snake. The sorcerers gathered upon the neighboring mountain and we joined them. It rained heavily all around them and us, but not on them and not on us.

On the morning of the seventeenth, they removed the snake from the pit and all the leaders ate some, except for Jandhuy and the sorcerers. They found as much to eat in this snake as in a big wild pig. We did not drink during the meal, following their custom. We had to go to the next *aldeia* to drink a freshly made maize beverage. There, the Tapuia with their women and children were loading up on maize, which they found in abundance. Meanwhile, we were informed on behalf of Wajupu that he was coming to us because of the rumor that Pajucu was scouring the countryside | with his troops to attack us. Hearing this, Jand-
huy ordered all the Brazilians of the *aldeia* to prepare their arrows, spears and
bows while they waited for Dutch assistance, so they could fight as soon as it
arrived. I stayed in the *aldeia* all night which, regardless of this news, the Tapuia
passed in dancing.

234

As it rained on the eighteenth of June, I amused myself by looking around my hut, which was covered with palm leaves. I saw a transparent black stone much like those that can be found in the mine of Minister Astette.⁶⁸ I asked my hosts to find me others and they brought me some straight away, which I have kept to show the Powerful Nobles. As they saw that I was pleased with them, they brought me even more then before that evening, and told me where they got them from on the great mountain.

On the nineteenth, I left the *aldeia* to catch up with the Tapuia who had gone ahead of me loaded with maize and rats. In my presence, they pierced the bottom lip and ears of a small child and put small wooden sticks into the holes. This is a sort of baptism amongst them, on | which occasion they name the
child. Then they all started to dance.⁶⁹

235

We had to stay in this place the next day, as Jandhuy was tired. The Devil had come to him during the night, which was quickly made known to everybody in the area and all fires were immediately extinguished. The old man had learned from the Devil only that a very ill child among them would be healthy again. They ran the tree the next day. The day after we went to the gardens and we saw that the maize and tobacco were not yet ripe. However, the child whose health the Devil had promised, died. Angry with him, the Tapuia chased him

68 See n. 199 and 251 on Jodocus à Stetten.

69 According to Morisot in Baro, "Relation," 288–289 n. 67. See also Rabbi in Piso and Margraf, *Historia*, book 8, chapter 6.

le chasserent, mais il demeura faisant semblant d'estre extremement fasché de la mort de l'enfant, auquel les Tapuies couperent la teste, & acherent le corps en pieces; qu'ils firent curie en un pot, puis vindrent les plus proches parens au festin, qui le mangerent, ensemble tous les os tendrelets. Et quand il n'y eut plus rien de reste, ils se prirent tous à lamenter, crier, & se battre des bras. Voyla les ceremonies qu'ils observerent en cette occasion.

Le vingt-troisiesme ayans marché jusques à la nuict, un vieillard presenta aux Tapuies les os de plusieurs de leurs morts, qu'il portoit-il y avoit long-temps. Les
 236 femmes les | pillerent, & couperent fort menu les cheveux, qui estoient encore attachez aux testes, verserent du miel sauvage dessus, & les mangerent avec du Tapioha. Je demanday, pouquoy les hommes n'estoient de ce festin, elles me dirent qu'il ne leur appartenoit pas. Lors que tout fut avallé, elles se mirent à crier & pleurer, marchant jusques à ce qu'elles fussent arrivées en un lieu, où personne des leurs n'estoit mort.

Le vingt-quatriesme ceux qui estoient allez visiter leur mil, retournerent en apportant de gros espics meurs. Iandhuy me dit, mon fils, quand les soldats esquels tu as escrit viendront, ils auront dequoy manger. Je luy repartis, qu'eje ne croyois pas qu'ils vinssent avant que j'eusse esté vers les Nobles Puissans, & qu'auparavant de les faire venir, qu'il falloit sçavoir si ce qu'on luy avoit raporté de ses ennemis estoit vray.

Le matin du vingt-cinquesme nous arrivasmes à la montagne Matiapoa, à la source de la riviere Wuwug, où pendant que nous nous reposions, les Tapuies furent couper & enlever les courges, citrouilles, pois & feves des Brasiiliens qui demeuroient là

Le vingt-sixiesme nous allasmes aux rosses de Iandhuy où on trouva quantité
 237 de mil prest à recueillir, il donna permission à tous | d'enmasser, & en reserver pour les soldats qui luy arriveroient.

Chacun se mit apres dés le matin du jour suivant, & comme ils faisoient leur recolte, ceux ausquels ils avoient desrobé les citrouilles, & les feves, vindrent leur en demander, ce qu'ils obtindrent, mais escharsement. Sur le soir arriva le Principal Wanjupu, si las, qu'il ne pouvoit plus se soustenir, ayant laissé ses gens derriere luy.

Le vingt-huict les Tapuies s'aplanirent une place pour y danser, le peuple assemblé, Wanjupu raconta, que Pajucu s'estoit mis aux champs contre Iandhuy, ayant levé des soldats de tous costez. Iandhuy repartit, qu'il le chastieroit s'il

away, but he stayed, pretending to be extremely angry at the death of the child, whose head the Tapuia cut off and whose body they chopped up into pieces. They cooked it in a pot, then the closest relatives came to the feast and they ate him, soft bones and all. When there was nothing left, they started to lament, cry and beat their arms. These are the ceremonies they carry out at such occasions. On the twenty-third we had marched until nightfall, and an old man presented the Tapuia the bones of several of their dead that he had carried around for a long time. The women | ground them and cut the hair still attached to the head into very small pieces, and poured wild honey on it and ate it with some tapioha.⁷⁰ I asked why the men were not present at this feast. They told me that it was not the men's responsibility. When everything had been swallowed, they started to cry and weep and walked until they reached a place where none of theirs had died. 236

On the twenty-fourth, those who had visited their gardens to see their maize came back with fat ripe corn cobs. Jandhuy said to me: "My son, when the soldiers you wrote to come, they will have a good meal." I replied that I believed they would not come before I had visited the Powerful Nobles, and before having them come, we first had to know whether what had been reported about his enemies was true.

On the morning of the twenty-fifth, we arrived at Mount Matiapoia, at the source of the River Wuwug, where we rested.⁷¹ The Tapuia went out to cut and collect the gourds, pumpkins, peas and beans of the Brazilians who lived there. On the twenty-sixth, we went to the gardens of Jandhuy, where we found much maize ready to be harvested. He gave permission to everybody | to collect some and to put some aside for the soldiers who were to come to him. 237

The next morning everybody set to it, and as they were busy with their harvests those from whom they had stolen the pumpkins and beans came to demand their return, which they obtained, but not in their entirety. In the evening, the leader Wanjupu arrived so tired he could not hold himself up, having left his people behind.

On the twenty-eighth, the Tapuia leveled out a space to dance. When the people had gathered, Wanjupu said that Pajucu had taken to the field against Jandhuy having gathered soldiers from all sides. Jandhuy replied that he would punish

⁷⁰ *Tapioha* is probably tapioca, the starchy sediment of grated and strained manioc tubers. According to Morisot (Baro, "Relation," 290), this was a stew made of fat, wild honey and finely cut hair of the deceased. However, Morisot asserts that it should be *papijoia* or *tipiaca*, which is rather curdled milk to make cakes in Brazil.

⁷¹ Matiapoia, Montagina, Turracoia and Warhauaa are misinterpreted and refer to the Serra Macaguá, which is called today Serra Santana, according to Teensma, "Roelof," 361, 363.

entreprenoit de luy faire la guerre, & aussi-totst il fit venir tous les sorciers & devins leur ordonnant de se mettre en estat d'invoquer le Diable, afin qu'il leur annonçast quelque chose de bon. Les sorciers se retirerent dans le bois, & Iandhuy avec eux, où apres avoir demeuré deux heures, il retourna si espouvanté qu'il ne pouvoit parler, puis s'estant reposé, nous dit d'une vois languissante, Qu'est-ce que nous pouvons esperer, je ne puis avoir response, l'esprit & les sorciers m'ont remis à demain.

238 Lequel arrivé, Iandhuy fit sçavoir à ceux qui se vouloient marier, qu'ils se tinsent | prest & comparussent le soir à sa hutte, où Houcha, c'est à dire le Diable, & le grand Sacrificateur se devoient trouver, pour leur donner la benediction. Sur midy la jeunesse luitta, on ordonna de planter les rosses de nouveau. Puis dans l'obscurité de la nuict Houcha vint à la hutte du vieillard, auquel, & au Sacrificateur, les Tapuies presenterent une grosse pipe faicte de noix de Cocos, pleine de Tobac. Les jeunes hommes se tenoient debout, sur lesquels le Sacrificateur, & le Diable soufloient la fumée du Tobac, s'estoit-là sa benediction. Cela faict, chacun se retira, fors [hors] les plus aagez, qui demanderent à Houcha, comme ils se comporteroient en cette guerre. Il se teut longtemps, puis leur dit, d'une voix horrible. Vous fuyrez. Le vieillard repartit, & pourquoy fuyrons nous? N'ay-je pas tousjours esté maistre de mes ennemis? N'importe, repliqua le Diable? Vous fuyrez: mais je reviendray, & te feray sçavoir quand. Cela dit il disparut, laissant un grand estonnement, & tristesse aux Tapuies.

239 Le trentiesme Wanjupu s'en retourna chez soy, & les Tapuies dresserent un ombrage au vieillard contre l'ardeur du Soleil. Là vindrent des femmes pleurant la mort de leurs maris, on leur fit commandement | de cesser leurs lamentations à cause de la feste qui approchoit. Apres midy parurent dix jeunes filles couvertes de feuillages differens. Suivoit le Diable, qui se faisoit porter dans une calebasse par d'autres filles & femmes, lequel pourtant estoit invisible, il leur commanda de se couronner de feuilles & de fleurs de pois, & de feves, pendantes par devant, & par derriere: ce qu'elles firent, puis se mirent à danser, & chanter toute la nuict.

them if they tried to start a war with him and he immediately asked for the sorcerers and soothsayers to come to him and to prepare to invoke the Devil, so that he could give him some good news. The sorcerers withdrew into the woods and Jandhuy with them. Having spent two hours there, he came back so terror-stricken he could not speak. Then, having rested, he said in a failing voice: "What can we hope for, I cannot give an answer. The spirit and the sorcerers will start again with me tomorrow."

The next day, Jandhuy told those who wanted to get married that they should be | ready and appear in front of his hut that evening, where Houcha, that is 238 to say the Devil, and the great Sacrifier were supposed to be to give them their blessings.⁷² At noon, the youth wrestled and the order was given to plant the gardens again. Then, in the obscurity of the night, Houcha came to the old man's hut. The Tapuia presented him and the Sacrifier with a fat pipe made of coconut, full of tobacco.⁷³ The young men stood upright and the Sacrifier and the Devil blew tobacco smoke on them, which was his blessing. Once this was done, each withdrew, except for the eldest who asked Houcha how they would behave in this war. He was silent for a long time, then he told them in a terrible voice: "You will flee." The old man replied: "Why shall we flee? Haven't I always overcome my enemies?" "It does not matter," responded the Devil. "You will flee, but I will come back and will let you know when." Having said this, he disappeared, leaving all the Tapuia greatly shocked and sad.

On the thirtieth Wanjupu went back to his home and the Tapuia erected a shade for the old man against the sun's heat.⁷⁴ Some women came bewailing the death of their husbands. They were asked to | stop their lamenting because 239 of the feast that was coming up soon. In the afternoon, ten young girls appeared covered in different kinds of leaves. They were followed by the Devil who was carried in a gourd by other girls and women but was invisible. He ordered them to crown themselves with leaves, and the flowers of peas and beans, hanging at the front and the back [of their bodies]. This they did and then proceeded to dance and sing all night long.

72 *Houcha* or *Uxá* is a misinterpretation of *Taúba*, the spirit of Evil in Tupi, according to Teensma, "Roelof," 363, 369. The Sacrifier is perhaps the devil-caster described by Zacharias Wagerer; see Document 10, above.

73 See also Rabbi in Piso and Marcgraf, Document 13, above.

74 These are makeshift shelters to keep out of the sun.

LE PREMIER DE JUILLET

Les Tapuies firent secher de la semence de Corpamba, qu'ils pillerent, & la meslerent avec de l'eau, qu'ils firent boire aux sorciers, qui aussi-tost se prirent à courir & hurler comme enragez, disant, que Houcha leur avoit dit de se resjouyr, & qu'il retourneroit bien-tost vers eux. Peu de temps apres vindrent huit garçons ajolivez de differens fueillages, comme les filles, suivis de huit jeunes hommes robustes, qui estant arrivez devant l'ombrage faict à Iandhuy de feuilles de Papay, Iampapée, & Baïoue, s'y assirent, & receurent chacun un de ces garçons à leur col, qui s'y jettoient volontairement. Incontinent un sorcier
 240 ayant une broche de bois pointue, perça la levre de dessous & les oreil- | les à ces enfans, mettant dans les trous des pierres blanches, puis les prit & les porta sous l'ombrage, où ils receurent la benediction du Diable, qui estoit dans la calebasse; c'estoit là leur baptesme. Le soir arriverent trois Tapuies de Preciava, qui assurerent encore que Paycu s'advançoit avec ses gens. Le vieillard dit, que cela n'estoit rien, & ordonna qu'on donnast à manger à ces Tapuies, qu'Houcha avoit dit, qu'on se tinst joyeux. Que tous ceux qui se vouloient marier se preparassent au lendemain matin, pour chasser tout ennuy.

Cela fut faict; ils attacherent çà leur corps tant hommes, que femmes, avec des gommés de feuilles de diverses couleurs, il estoit plus de trois heures apres midy avant que les futurs espoux & espousées fussent prests, trente hommes, & femmes d'Hollande seroient plustost habillez qu'un de ces sauvages. On avoit preparé un ombrage pour cet[t]e ceremonie devant la hute du sacrifice, d'où sortirent deux sorciers tenans à la main une broche de bois pointuë, de laquelle ils percerent les leures du dessous, & les joües de ceux qu'on vouloit espouser, mettant dans chaque trou une pierre blanche aigüe, & delà entrèrent sous
 241 ledit ombrage, ou cabinet couvert de feuilles, où le sacrifice se | devoit faire du sang qui leur couloit du visage. Avant que sortir apres ce Sacrifice faict, un sorcier prit une pipe de tabac, & en ayant tiré la fumée en parfuma les nouveaux mariez, c'estoit leur benediction nuptiale. Ce faict les Tapuies s'assemblerent en trois rangs. Au premier estoit Iandhuy & ses sorciers tous peints sur la chair de diverses couleurs, & chargez de plusieurs fueillages. Au second rang estoient les hommes & femmes. Au troisieme les espoux & les espousées, qui se mirent à chanter & dancier toute la nuit. En cette feste il y avoit de la joye & à manger, sinon du mil & de l'eau de salpêtre bracqué. Ce jour-là nous eusmes eclipse de Soleil, qui commença à sept heures du matin, & dura une heure.

THE FIRST OF JULY

The Tapuia dried Corpamba seed which they ground and mixed with water and gave to the sorcerers to drink.⁷⁵ The latter started to run and scream, as if enraged, saying that Houcha had told them to rejoice and that he would soon come back to them. Not long after that, came eight boys dressed in different sorts of leaves, like the girls, followed by eight robust young men who, having arrived in front of Jandhuy's hut made of papaya, jampapée and baioue leaves, they sat down and each took one of the boys about their neck, who threw themselves upon them willingly. Immediately, a sorcerer holding a sharp wooden pin pierced the lower lip and the ears | of these children, put white stones in the holes and then took them to the shade, where they received the blessings of the Devil who was in the gourd. This was their baptism. In the evening, three Tapuia arrived from Preciava who again said that Paycu was advancing with his people. The old man said that it was nothing and ordered that food be given to these Tapuia, that Houcha had said to stay joyful, [and] that everybody who wanted to get married should prepare themselves for the next morning to dispel all troubles.

240

This was done. Men and women both attached different colored leaves to their bodies with gums. It was more than three hours after midday before the future husbands and wives were ready. Thirty Dutch men and women would have dressed more quickly than one of these savages. They had prepared a shade for this ceremony in front of the hut of sacrifice, whence came out two sorcerers holding in their hand a pointed wooden pin with which they pierced the bottom lips and cheeks of those they wanted to marry, putting in each hole a sharp white stone. They went under said sunscreen, or hut covered with leaves, where the sacrifice | was to be made with blood running down their faces. Before they came out, the sacrifice having been made, a sorcerer took a tobacco pipe, and having inhaled, perfumed the newlyweds with the smoke. This was their bridal blessing. That done, the Tapuia gathered in three rows. In the first row were Jandhuy and his sorcerers, their bodies all painted in different colors and dressed with multiple leaves. In the second row were the men and women. In the third were the husbands and wives, who sang and danced all night long. During this feast, there was joy and to eat [nothing] but maize and brackish saltpeter water. That day we saw a solar eclipse, which started at seven in the morning and lasted about an hour.

241

75 *Corpamba* is acutally the drug (*ipe*)*cacuanha* (*Carapichea ipecacuanha*), according to Teensma, "Roelof," 363.

Le troisieme le vieillard Iandhuy fit dire qu'apres la chaleur du jour on recommenceroit à danser. Les Brasiliens s'en retournerent en leur Aldée le ventre creus, parce que Iandhuy avoit commandé qu'on gardast le mil pour Wajupu & ses gens, quand ils viendroient, & à quatre heures apres midy ils se mirent tous à danser. Et comme ils dansoient, un sorcier vint dire, qu'Houcha arrive-
 242 roit la nuit avec cinq autres. Ils cesserent à l'instant, & allerent dresser dans la | hutte du sacrifice une couche de feuilles, proche laquelle ils mirent du tobac. La nuit venuë, les Tapuies recommencerent leurs danses, & Iandhuy & ses sorciers vindrent à la hutte du sacrifice, s'enquerant d'Houcha de ce qui leur arriveroit. Trois voix enrouées respondirent à la fois, vous fuyrez. Comment? dit Iandhuy, j'ay plus de gens que mes ennemis, sans le secours que j'etens des Hollandois. Une voix seule luy repartit, tu l'attends, mais il n'est pas encore icy. Cela oüy partout, le vieillard, ses sorciers, les hommes & les femmes se mirent tous à pleurer & lamenter l'espace d'une demie heure. Lors une cinquieme voix parla à Iandhuy, & dit, ne combats point avec tes ennemis sans les Hollandois, recule, & lors dissention se mettra parmy eux, ils s'entretueront. Le peuple ayant entendu ce que dessus, se resjouyt, & dansa comme devant le reste de la nuit, sur le declin de laquelle le Diable se retira.

Le vieillard m'appella le matin suivant, & me raconta tout ce qui c'estoit passé le jour precedant, il fit assembler tous les principaux de ses gens avec les sorciers, pour contraincts de fuyr. Ils estoient d'avis de passer la riviere, & venir
 243 à Rio Grandé, je m'opposay à cette resolution, disant, que les en- | nemis les poursuivroient plus viveme[n]t qu'en autre pays, trouvant dequoy subsister, & qu'il estoit plus à propos de se retirer en lieu, où les ennemis les poursuivant ne pourroient trouver à manger, qui seroit cause de les faire retourner: que j'avois oüy dire qu'au dessus de la montagne estoit un chetif pays, qu'il seroit bon de s'y retirer, & que là je les viendrois trever [trouver] avec mes soldats. Comme nous estions sur la resolution de la tenuë du Conseil, deux Brasiliens arriverent, nous disant, que Warriware⁷⁶ & ses gens avoient traitté avec Pajucu contre nous. Iandhuy leur dit, qu'ils demeuraissent vers luy jusques à ce qu'il sceust la verité de ce qu'ils assuroient, ordonnant qu'on leur donnast à manger. Sur le soir deux de mes Negres m'apporterent du tobac & quelques bagatelles de Rio Grandé. Les Tapuies furent fort resjouys les voyant, s'imaginans qu'ils m'amenoient le secours que je leur avois promis. Je leur dis, qu'il falloit que je les allasse querir moy-mesme, dont le vieillard ne fut pas content, me disant, que si je n'allois viste & retournois encore plus diligemment; que ses ennemis & les miens, perdroient les siens, & les miens, mesme dans Rio Grandé. Je promis de le faire,

76 According to Teensma, this person is in reality Martím Soares; *O diário*, 91.

On the third, old man Jandhuy had it announced that we would start dancing again after the heat of the day. The Brazilians returned to their *aldeia* with empty bellies because Jandhuy had ordered that the maize be given to Wajupu and his people when they came. At four in the afternoon, they all started dancing. And because they were dancing, a sorcerer came and said that Houcha would arrive that night with five others. They stopped at once, and went to prepare | a bed of leaves in the hut of sacrifice, near which they put some tobacco. When night came, the Tapuia started their dances again. Jandhuy and his sorcerers went to the hut of sacrifice asking Houcha what would happen to them. Three husky voices replied simultaneously: "You will flee!" "How?" Jandhuy asked. "I have more people than my enemies, [even] without the help I'm awaiting from the Dutch." A single voice answered him: "You await it, but it is not here yet." This had been heard by all. The old man, his sorcerers, the men and women all set to weeping and lamenting for half an hour. Then a fifth voice spoke to Jandhuy: "Do not fight your enemies without the Dutch. Draw back and when dissent breaks out among them, they will kill each other." When the people heard this, they rejoiced and danced as before, for the whole night, at the end of which the Devil withdrew.

242

The old man called for me the next morning and told me all that had happened the day before. He gathered all the leaders of his people with the sorcerers, to compel them to flee. They decided to cross the river and go to Rio Grandé. I opposed this resolution, saying that their en- | emies would pursue them more vigorously than in other areas, finding means of subsistence. It would be more appropriate to withdraw to a place where the enemy following them could not find anything to eat, which would be a reason for them to turn around. I had heard said that on the mountain the land there was poor land that would be a good place to withdraw to. There I would meet them with my soldiers. As we were on the point of bring the council to a close, two Brazilians arrived, telling us that Warriware⁷⁷ and his people had made a treaty with Pajucu against us. Jandhuy told them that they would stay near him until he knew the truth of what they claimed, ordering that they be fed. That evening, two of my Negroes brought me tobacco and some trifles from Rio Grandé. The Tapuia were very happy when they saw them, supposing that they were bringing the reinforcements that I had promised them. I told them that I had to do that myself, which did not please the old man, who told me that if I did not go quickly and come back even more diligently, his enemies and mine would kill his [people] and mine, even in Rio Grandé. I promised to do so, while in the meantime he

243

77 According to Teensma, this person is in reality Martím Soares; *O diário*, 91.

244 & cependant qu'il retireroit ses troupes delà la montagne Wahu, & ne laissast rien à man- | ger derriere luy, couvrant aussi les sources des fontaines qu'il ren-contreroit. A ces mots ils se coucherent tous à terre un sorcier les assurant que je disois vray, & que Houcha avoit assuré, qu'il y auroit dissention parmy les ennemis, ce qui arriveroit si on leur ostoit le boire & le manger. Cela resjouyt les Tapuies, qui se mirent à danser comme devant.

Environ les neuf heures du matin du cinqviesme Juillet, Iandhuy m'appella, me demandant si je retournerois bien-tost, je l'en assuray, adjosutant, qu'en m'attendant, il envoyast quelqu'un sur le chemin pour prendre des prisonniers des ennemis, pour sçavoir leur dessein & leurs forces, qu'il les attendit le plus long-temps qu'il pourroit, & s'il croyoit ne leur pouvoir resister, qu'il se retirast à Wahu, & en ce cas qu'il m'envoyast deux ou trois hommes à Rio Grandé pour m'advertir de ce qui se passeroit. Il me le promit ainsi, lors je pris congé d eluy, refusant la compagnie des Tapuies qu'il m'offroit pour me conduire, leur laissant tout le tabac, & les autres choses que les Negres m'avoient apportées, dont ils me remercièrent, les priant en reconnoissance de ce bien fait, de me donner du mil pour vivre par le chemin.

245 Comme je voulois sortir le jour suivant, | Iandhuy me demanda mes chiens, je luy dis, que c'estoient mes peres nourriciers, n'esperant qu'en eux, pour me nourrir pendant mon retour. Prens, me reaprtit-il, tant de mil que tes Negres en pourront porter, & me les laisse, & lors que tu me rameneras ceux qui sont au chasteau de Paraïba, je te les rendray, n'ayant intention de les faire chasser pendant ton séjour, ains[i] de te les conserver entiers. Cette courtoisie m'obligea à les luy laisser.

Le septiesme m'estant mis en chemin je rencontray Wajupu avec ses gens qui alloient trouver le vieillard: nous mangeasmes ensemble du mil & des rats, qu'il avoit apporté, il me pria de retourner bien-tost avec les meilleures troupes que je pourrois, me prestant son cheval pour aller plus viste. Sur lequel ayant un peu de temps chevauché, je le trouvay evanoiï de dessous moy, sans sçavoir ce qu'il estoit devenu.

Je les fis chercher tout le jour suivant sans le pouvoir trouver, & comme nous ne laissions de marcher, nous arrivasmes le soir en l'Aldée qui estoit sur la riviere de Pottegie, où je passay le lendemain pour me faire monstrier le lieu où estoient ces belles pierres noires desquelles j'ay parlé cy-dessus. Deux habi-
246 tans m'y conduiserent & m'en firent voir | grande quantité. Estant de retour je fis piller un peu de mil pour manger en chemin faisant.

Le dixiesme je voulus partir, on m'apporta du breuvage faict avec du mil & miel sauvage, ayant tout bû, je marchay par le bas, & le haut de la montagne, jusques à la riviere.

Les Brasiliens de l'Aldée cy-dessus m'ayans accompagné, je les renvoiay sur le soir du unziesme ayant trouvé du mil & poisson pour souper.

withdrew his toops beyond Mount Wahu, leaving nothing to eat | behind him, 244
and covering the water sources he encountered. At these words they all slept on
the ground, a sorcerer assuring them that I had spoken truly and that Houcha
had confirmed that there would be dissent among the enemy if we deprived
them of water and food. This filled the Tapuia with joy and they started to dance
as before.

On the fifth of July, at about nine in the morning, Jandhuy called me, asking if
I would return soon. I assured him of this, adding that while he waited for me,
he should send someone out on the road to take prisoners among the enemy
in order to know their plans and force. That he should wait for them as long
as possible and if he thought he could not resist them, he would withdraw to
Wahu. In which case, he would send two or three men to Rio Grandé to notify
me of what was happening. He promised me. Then I took my leave, refusing the
Tapuia company he offered to show me the way. I left them all the tobacco, and
other things that the Negroes had brought to me, for which they thanked me. I
asked them recognize this good deed [and] to give me some maize as food on
the way back.

As I wished to leave the next day, | Jandhuy asked for my dogs. I told him that 245
they were my “father feeders,” that I was depending completely on them for
food during my voyage. He answered me, “Take as much maize as your Negroes
can carry and leave them to me and when you bring me those [dogs] that are at
the fortress of Paraiba, I will give them back to you. I do not intend to let them
hunt during your trip, keeping them safe in this manner.” This courtesy obliged
me to leave them to him.

On the seventh, I left and came across Wajupu and his people, who were going
to see the old man. We ate together, some maize and rats that he had brought
along. He asked me to return as soon as possible with the best troops I could
find, giving me his horse to speed me along. Having ridden it for a while, I found
it fading away under me, and did not know what had happened.

The next day I looked for them [Wajupu and his people] all day but did not find
them and because we did not cease walking we arrived at night in the *aldeia*
upon the River Pottegie. I spent the next day there, so they could show me
where these beautiful black stones were of which I have spoken before. Two
inhabitants took me there and showed me | great quantities of them. Once 246
back, I had some maize ground to eat on the road.

On the tenth, I wanted to leave. They brought me a beverage made of maize
and wild honey. Once I had drunk it all, I marched down and up the mountain
to the river.

The Brazilians of the aforementioned *aldeia* kept me company. I sent them
back on the eleventh at night, after we found maize and fish for supper.

Je passay la riviere le douziesme dans laquelle nous peschames assez pour nous nourrir.
Et le jour d'apres ayant trouvé des Brasiiliens qui peschoient, nous nous joignismes à eux meslans à leur pesche des rats que mes Negres avoient pris.
Je me rendis le quatorziesme Juillet sur le midy à Cammeru, & le soir à Incarenigi en ma maison au gouvernement de Rio Grandé, apres avoir supporté la faim & fatigues que vous avez leuës.

••

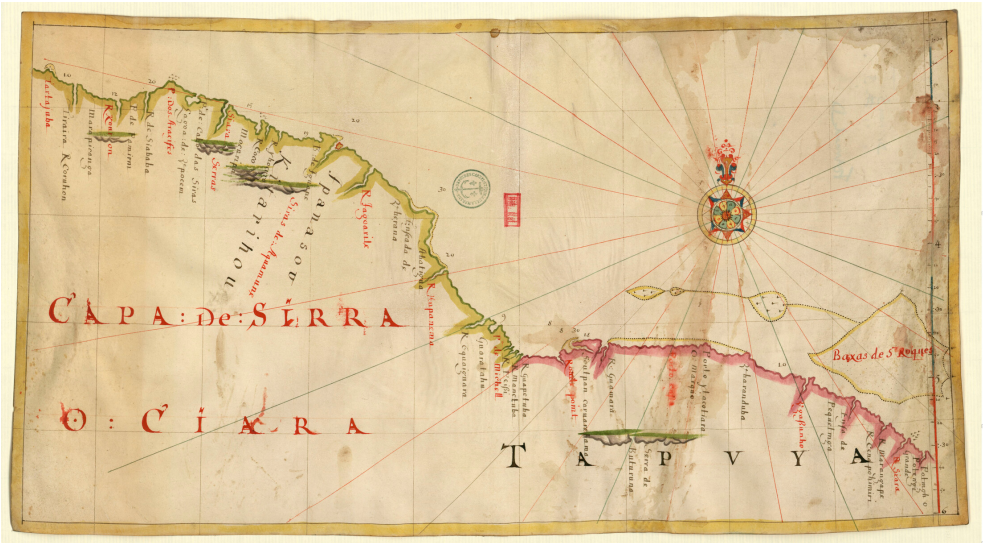


FIGURE 11 Anonymous English map of northeastern Brazil, c. 1640, FR-BnP DCP CPL GE SH 18E PF 165 DIV 3 P 3 RES
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS

On the twelfth, I crossed the river in which we caught enough fish to feed ourselves.

And the next day, we found the Brazilians fishing. We joined them with the rats that my Negroes had taken.

On the fourteenth, I reached Cammeru⁷⁸ at noon, and that evening I was in Incarenigi and at my house in the Captaincy of Rio Grandé, having endured hunger and fatigue as you have read.



FIGURE 12 The cutting of purple wood, Thévet Singularitez 1558, p. 114

COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE
NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS

78 Cammeru. According to Teensma, this is the local name for Natal; "Roelof," 368.

Epilogue

When Johan Maurits returned to the Dutch Republic in the summer of 1644, he took with him a delegation of Jandovy's men but also the Potiguara Antônio Paraupaba.¹ The latter had made a career in Brazil starting as captain of an *aldeia* in Goiana, according to the report of Adriaen van der Dussen, and in 1645, after his return from Holland, he would become captain and *regidor* of Rio Grande.² Why the Tapuia came to Holland remains unclear: perhaps, against their will, for royal entertainment? Or, like the Potiguara, in order to enlist with the WIC and go back to Brazil? There is too little information to provide a satisfying answer. However, according to the minutes of the Chamber of Zeeland, Johan Maurits and the Indigenous people embarked the vessel *Graeff Hendrick* in Brazil, which belonged to the Chamber of Groningen, and that the vessel arrived in Vlissingen in July 1664.³ They stayed about two months in Zeeland before being sent to Amsterdam to return to Brazil. Johan Maurits stayed at the house of his nephew Hendrick van Nassau.⁴

Interestingly, when Johan Maurits arrived in Vlissingen, the wife of Adriaen Bullestrate, member of the High Council in Recife, presented herself to the Board of Directors of the Zeeland Chamber. She asked the board whether she could retrieve from the storehouses all sorts of items that her husband has sent over to her, namely “two tiger skins, two Tapuia clubs, two swords of [sword] fish, some cashew nuts and other trinkets as well as some violet wood, and the skin of an animal of which she did not know the name, as well as a small casket with orange apples or coconuts.”⁵ Johan Maurits himself had probably also shipped some animals from Brazil or commissioned them from Holland as the Zeeland Chamber had trouble with an American ostrich (*ñandú*) and a tiger

1 Boogaart, “Infernal Allies,” 529 and 535; Lodewijk Hulsman, “Índios do Brasil na República dos Países Baixos: As representações de Antônio Paraupaba para os Estados Gerais em 1654 e 1656,” *Revista de História* 154, no. 1 (June 2006): 43.

2 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 46, scan 240 (1640); Hulsman, “Índios do Brasil,” 44–45. Pieter Potij was Captain in Paraíba.

3 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 26, fol. 12^r (16440727).

4 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 26, fols. 35–36 (16441006).

5 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 26, fol. 14^v (16440803). Interestingly, about a year later, the wife of Bullestrate, Maria Verpoorte, again received many exotic items from her husband, which were transported in the *Walcheren*: “a small casket containing two *tagoes* [*tatous*?, i.e. armadillos], a caiman, four monkey skins, a tiger skin, three snake skins, two swordfish and some other animal trinkets as well as two caskets of sugar, marked WB ...”; NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 26, fol. 108^v (16450907).

(!), according to the minutes.⁶ The members of the Zealand Chamber decided to have these animals escorted to Rijswijk, for which Johan Maurits thanked them.⁷

After Maurits's departure and when the uprising of the *moradores* in 1645 had calmed down in Rio Grande, the situation appeared better for Jandovy's people and they decided to return to the interior of Rio Grande. Despite the persistent brutal descents by the Tapuia, the Dutch maintained a good relationship with them. They exchanged gifts and the new ambassador Pieter Persijn, who had replaced Baro,⁸ visited them frequently in the *sertão* until at least the capitulation of the Dutch army in January 1654. An amnesty clause for the Indigenous people who were on the Dutch side, including the people of Jandovy, was added to the terms of the capitulation, but it was not respected by the Portuguese in Rio Grande.⁹ Apparently all Indigenous people allied to the Dutch fled to Ceará and cursed the Dutch for having abandoned the war against the Portuguese.¹⁰ The former Dutch allies clung together, founded a new territory and sent Antônio Paraupaba to Holland in 1654, who presented their complaint before the States General. The Potiguara supplicant made another appearance in 1656 as nothing had been done in favor of the Indigenous people who had supported the Dutch so faithfully.¹¹ What happened to Jandovy is unknown.¹²

6 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 26, fol. 81^v (16450522). The ostrich had probably been shipped in the *Regenbooge* from Arguin in Africa, because the wife of Neefen Pieters had presented herself to the Board of Directors to collect the bird. She told the board that her husband had promised 2,700 guilders for the ostrich of which 1,600 were already paid; NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 26, fol. 74^v (16450316).

7 NL-HaNA 1.05.01.01 26, fol. 88^r (16450615).

8 Boogaart, "Infernal Allies," 530.

9 Boogaart, "Infernal Allies," 531.

10 Mark Meuwese, "From Dutch Allies to Portuguese Vassals: Indigenous Peoples in the Aftermath of Dutch Brazil," in *The Legacy of Dutch Brazil*, ed. Michiel van Groesen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 62.

11 Hemming, *Red Gold*, 310–311; Hulsman, "Brazilian Indians in the Dutch Republic"; Hulsman, "Índios do Brasil."

12 Much later, in 1685, the Janduy group of Cariri Tapuia is said to have attacked the Portuguese in Rio Grande and fought the famous *bandeirante* Domingos Jorge Velho; see Hemming, *Red Gold*, 355–357; Meuwese, "From Dutch Allies," 73–75.

Glossary

Aldeia Indigenous village founded by missionaries

Amacken hammocks

Ambegris ambergris, a hard substance produced by the intestines of the sperm whale

Asegaijen, sagaie (F.) arrow-throwers or *atl-atl* in North America. The word *asegai* is originally from North Africa

Bacove, figue (F.) or sugar banana

Besceet message

Brasili or **Brasilien hout** Brazil wood or red wood (*Caesalpinia echinata*)

Brasiliaan Tupi Indigenous person

C., cabo (P.) cape

Cajou cashew fruit

Capitanias (P.) captaincies

Carniseers, carniseros (P.) butchers knife

Casteel fort

Cayous see Cajou

Constapel underofficer for artillery

Coraal, coralen (glass) beads

Engenho de açúcar (P.) sugar mill

Farinha (P.) manioc flour

Farinie see *Farinha*

Faulte, faute (F.) mistake

Goteling iron casted cannon

Hamack see Amack

Indiaen inhabitant of America

Ingenhos, engenho (P.) see *Engenho de açúcar*

Jacht vessel with one mast most often used by the Dutch to catch whales but also used to explore coastlines and attack ships for its agility and one can easily sail upon rivers

Jeitoor, feitor (P.) slave driver

Karveel, caravela (P.) fast sailing ship

Letterhout letter or speckle wood (*Bronsimum guianensis* or *Piratinera guianensis*)

Lijwaet, lijnwaad linen ware or textile made of flax

Mandioca manioc tubers

Meulen or molen sugar mill

Millie, milho (P.) maize; but sometimes *millie* is used for millet in seventeenth-century sources

Negotie trade

Passato recently

Pindova (T.) popular name of a palm tree

Pottijssen (ceramic) pots

R., rio (P.) river

Ree port or natural harbor

Regidores municipal council members

Retirade, retirer (F.) retreat

Rossen, roças (P.) gardens

Schepenen Dutch civic magistrate

Steenstuk cannon to shoot stone shot

Stuck see *steenstuk*

Taponiers same as Tapuia, Tapuyas, Tapuijas, etc,

Tatou armadillo

Trompen mouth harp

Turcxe boonen Turkish beans or maize

UE, Uwe Edele Your Honor

Vaendrich vaandrig, Ensign-bearer or a certain rank in the Dutch army

Virtualie, victuailles (F.) refreshments

Vivres (F.) food

Wambuis quilted vest made of linnen

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Index of Persons

English text only

- Adriaen Bullestraten 274
 Adriaen van der Dussen 274
 Albert Eckhout 148–149
 Andries Tacoe xii, 9, 51117, 54, 57, 59, 63, 7111
 Antônio and/ or Gaspar Paraupaba xii, 6111, 10–12, 14–15, 18, 20, 29112, 35, 63, 75, 103112, 110113, 173, 177, 183, 241136, 274–275
 Arnoldus Montanus 18, 159
 Beretyawa, stepfather of Copun 80, 175, 181
 Boudewijn Hendricx, Captain 20, 23, 45
 Brazilians (*Brasilianen*)/ Tupi 2113, 4, 14, 25, 37, 43, 45, 47, 49, 57, 59, 61, 69, 77, 79, 83, 87, 91, 93, 95, 99, 101, 103, 105, 109, 129, 148, 175, 179, 183, 185, 205, 229, 235, 237, 239, 241, 253, 255, 257, 261, 263, 269, 271, 273
 Baut, Captain 80, 177, 187
 Dierick Ruiters, Captain 224
 Joost Colster, Captain 61
 Willem Lambrechtsen, Captain 189
 Caracará, Jandovy's brother 11, 31, 33, 80–81, 129, 159, 173, 175, 177, 179, 181, 2431140
 Cariri Amerindians 126, 127117, 129, 249, 275112
 Casper van Baerle or Barlaeus xi–xii, 16, 18, 149, 202–203, 211117
 Christophe Artichewski 54, 80, 133, 147, 159, 177, 179, 161, 163, 165, 167, 169, 171, 173, 177112, 187, 247
 Claude Barthelemy Morisot 224–225
 Comathy, son of Jandovy's brother 1431120, 193
 Commendaoura, son of Jandovy's sister 11, 183, 185
 Copun, stepson of Beretyawa 80, 175
 Cucar 109
 Duarte Albuquerque 69
 Elias Herckmans xi–xiii, 16, 20, 111, 125–127, 135116, 147, 149, 188
 Ellert Smient, Captain 9, 54, 63, 80, 85, 89, 105, 107
 Georg Marcgraf 18, 173, 188
 Gerardus Vossius xi–xii, 15, 18, 159, 161118 and 9
 Gerrit Hulck xi, 11, 16, 18, 110, 113, 126, 149, 188
 Hendrick Brouwer 125
 Hessel Gerritsz, cartographer 7, 21, 49114, 173
 Jacob Rabbi xi–xii, 16, 18, 173, 188–189, 191, 197, 202, 209110, 2131120, 215, 223, 229112, 231118, 2431140, 251, 257, 259
 Jacob Stachouwer, Captain 11, 80, 177
 Jan Blaer 87, 91, 95
 Jan Seprijtinger 101127, 75, 77, 79, 81, 83, 93, 105, 107, 109
 Jandovy xii, 7–12, 15–18, 31, 33, 43, 49, 54, 59, 63, 65115, 67, 75, 80, 110–111, 115119, 126, 133, 1431120, 1531115, 173, 175, 177, 179, 181, 183, 189, 197, 202–203, 245, 207, 215, 221, 223–224, 229, 231, 235, 237, 241, 2431140 and 41, 2511151, 2531154, 255, 275
 Jean Wioauin 235
 Jean-Pierre Moreau 224–225
 Jehan Baptista Syens 49
 João Fernandes Vieira 189
 Jodocus à Stetten 189, 231120, 2611168
 Johan Lichthart 110
 Johan Maurits von Siegen-Nassau 12, 151147, 148–149, 159, 161118, 173, 202, 205, 223, 2471147, 274–275
 Johan Nieuuhof 18
 Johannes Blaue 148
 Johannes de Laet xi–xii, 9, 16, 18, 53–54, 75, 126, 1431120, 159, 173, 177112, 187–188, 225

- Joris Garstman, Captain xi–xii, 10, 11739, 75,
79–81, 89, 93711, 110, 175, 187–189, 227,
231
- Jucker, daughter of a King 181, 221, 223
- Maraca Patira 9, 71, 73, 75
- Marcilliean xii, 59, 63, 65, 67, 69
- Mattheus Albuquerque 69
- Melchior Arraroen 57, 63
- Muroti, son of Jandovy 229, 231, 233, 235,
245, 249, 251751, 259
- Oqueno, brother of Jandovy 9, 63, 67
- Pajúcús Amerindians 202, 253, 257, 267
- Pedro or Pieter Poti xii, 9, 11736, 14–15, 23,
37, 71, 73, 241736, 27472
- Pieter Croon 83
- Pieter Persijn 275
- Potiguara Amerindians xii, 4, 6–7, 9, 20, 31,
71, 75, 173, 22776, 274–275
- Tiguares Amerindians 23, 33, 37, 39, 43,
45, 51, 233721
- Roeloff Baro xii, 15–18, 189, 202, 205, 224–
225, 275
- Sapo Amama 163
- Scholten, officer 229
- Sigmund von Schoppen 12, 247747
- Simon Anthonis 89, 93
- Tabajares Amerindians 20, 31, 37
- Tapotingas Amerindians 9, 6372, 67
- Tapuia Amerindians x–xiii, 2–19, 31, 33,
39, 43, 49, 54, 63, 6575, 67, 71, 75, 80–
81, 8578, 110–111, 115710, 126–129, 133,
145, 148–149, 159, 161, 163, 165, 167,
173, 175, 177, 179, 181, 183, 187–189, 191,
202–203, 205, 207, 211, 215, 217, 219,
221, 223–224, 227, 229, 233, 235, 237,
239, 241, 243, 247, 251, 253, 255, 257,
259, 261, 263, 265, 267, 269, 271, 274–
275
- Tarairiú Amerindians 126, 129
- Willem Piso 18, 173
- Zacharias Wagener xi, 16, 18, 148–149,
153716

Index of Places

English text only

- Alagoas 69
 Alkmaar 110
 Amazon River ix, 2, 6, 20, 43
 Marannon 43, 47
 Amsterdam 12, 22, 39, 148, 159, 202, 274
 Angola 43
 Arraial 181
- Bahia da Traição 611, 9, 22, 23, 31, 39, 61, 65,
 138, 233ⁿ²¹
- Camucipe River 53
 Ceará ix, xiii, 9, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 37, 43,
 45, 47, 51, 53, 54, 63, 57, 59, 61, 75, 161,
 181, 189, 205, 231, 246ⁿ⁴³, 247, 255, 275
 Cupaova Mountain 205
 Cunhiau 10, 11ⁿ³⁹, 80, 87, 89, 93, 95, 101, 105,
 109, 111, 129, 163ⁿ¹², 175, 183, 187, 189,
 231, 233, 251
- Fortress Ceulen 10, 75, 80, 89, 107, 109,
 110ⁿ³, 189, 243ⁿ⁴⁰
- Guinea 43
- Hoorn 110, 113
- Itamaracá 15, 23, 31, 37, 125
- Monguagape River 20, 169
 Moucouru Bay 49, 69
- Natal 110, 273ⁿ⁷⁸
 Nieuw Amsterdam (New York) 110
- Olinda 37, 67
- Paraíba ix, xii, 6–7, 11–12, 15, 20, 55, 85,
 87, 89, 95, 97, 101, 103, 105, 107, 109–
 110, 125–127, 129, 205, 245, 259, 271,
 274ⁿ²
 Pepetama 9, 65, 71, 73, 181
 Pernambuco ix, 7, 9, 20, 23, 25, 35, 37, 41, 45,
 47, 63, 67, 71, 105, 107, 129, 203
 Porto Calvo 59
 Porto dos Busios 41
- Recife 14, 54, 67, 71, 80–81, 125, 148, 173, 175,
 189, 202–203, 259ⁿ⁶⁶, 274
 Rio Grande xii–xiii, 8ⁿ¹⁸, 9–10, 12, 15, 20, 25,
 31, 45, 54, 59, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 75,
 79–80, 109–110, 115, 125–126, 129, 133,
 147, 163, 165, 175, 177, 179, 181, 183, 187,
 189, 202–203, 205, 224, 227, 229, 231,
 237, 239, 243, 249, 251, 257, 259, 269,
 271, 273–275
 Potegi River (Rio Grande) 15, 25, 75,
 227ⁿ⁶, 229, 239, 255, 257, 259, 271
- São Francisco River 7, 37, note 4, 244–245
- West Indies 47, 54, 159, 161, 235ⁿ³⁰
 Wild Coast/ Guianas 6, 47

This book presents the transcriptions and annotated translations of fifteen key historical documents concerning the Tapuia indigenous people written just before and during the Dutch occupation of northeastern Brazil. The selected documents vary widely in type, including letters, descriptions, reports, first-person declarations, diaries, and transcripts of interrogations, thereby showcasing different perspectives and audiences. Some of the documents were authored by European writers, while others register indigenous voices somewhat more directly in the form of interviews or declarations.

These texts provide important first-hand information about the Tapuia and other indigenous peoples during the Dutch conquest, revealing their cultural practices and knowledge while also detailing their strategic engagements with each other and with different European colonizers.

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