

Dutch Colonial fortifications in Brazil (1600-1654)
Preliminary inventory

Historical research in Spain
Contributions to the Atlas of Dutch Brazil

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N E W H O L L A N D
F O U N D A T I O N



Foreword

This “Preliminary inventory” is the product of a research carried out in the months of September and October, 2015, in Spanish archives. It is important to remark that our analysis of the sources in the Spanish archives for the Dutch presence in Brazil and the fortifications they built is very much determined by the Portuguese independence of 1640. We can see that New Holland was a Spanish matter only until that date. The number and the quality of the sources decreased after that date, and that is one of the reasons for us to focus on the period of the “Iberian Union”, the Union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns from 1580 to 1640. It is also necessary to point out that this report is not an individual work. It complements others in the series “Contributions to the Atlas of Dutch Brazil”, especially the one by Lodewijk Hulsman¹. Third: we have already written and published (in part) three reports about Dutch Fortifications in Brazil for the New Holland Foundation, whose information is or will be available in the web site of this organization. Therefore we only use here a small part of the sources used for these other works about the captaincies of Paraíba, Maranhão and Pará².

This report has been made to answer the question: which are the sources in the Spanish Archives for the study of the Dutch presence in Brazil in the seventeenth century? Of these sources, which ones are relevant for the study of the Dutch fortifications? Our methodology has been to study the different guides to the sources for the different archives in Spain, visiting some of them, and trying to be as comprehensive as possible. That is why we have included in this report all the references concerning the Dutch in Brazil. Some of them may be important for the study of the fortifications, others may not. But we have decided to be more general in order to have a “preliminary inventory” that is intended as a guide to initiate more in-depth research in the future. It is necessary to say that I have been constrained both by the time given and the tight budget. But, as a historical researcher working mainly in Spanish archives, I have decided to include some of the sources that I have found over the last years, mainly in Simancas and Seville, and consequently beyond the scope of this project. Anyhow, it is important to cross this information with the other reports made for the New Holland Foundation to get a more accurate picture. We have not used any Dutch sources for comparison or to illustrate the description and analysis of the forts, because these have been largely used in the report by Hulsman. The organization of the work is: first of all we have included the main archives in Spain and the sources that we have found concerning the Dutch presence in Brazil. We have given precedence to the most important archives such as Archivo Histórico Nacional, Archivo General de Simancas or Archivo General de Indias. Most of the information comes from the guide

¹ L.A.H.C. Hulsman, *Colonial fortifications in Brazil preliminary inventory part 1 Historical research in the Netherlands*, Amsterdam: New Holland Foundation, 2015.

² Cabral, G. F. C. de and Sants Pérez, José Manuel, *Colonial fortifications in the State of Paraíba: Historical research in Spain and Portugal, Contributions to the Atlas of Dutch Brazil*, Amsterdam: New Holland Foundation, 2009; Santos Pérez, José Manuel, *Colonial fortifications in the State of Maranhão: historical research in Spain and Portugal. Contributions to the Atlas of Dutch Brazil*, Amsterdam: New Holland Foundation, 2009; Santos Pérez, José Manuel, *Colonial fortifications in the State of Maranhão: historical research in Spain and Portugal. Contributions to the Atlas of Dutch Brazil*, (forthcoming).

to these archives published in recent years, but Simancas or Seville have more detail because we have made extensive use of our own database. In the second part of the report we offer the information found in the Maps and Plans sections of some archives. It is in this part that the work about the fortifications is more extensive, including views and analysis of the forts.

Much more research must be done. We have only started. We hope that this report is going to make a contribution to the important objectives of the New Holland Foundation, a leading institution in the research of the Dutch presence in Brazil in the seventeenth century.

Historical context: the Dutch presence in Brazil and the Hispanic Monarchy's reaction to it

What follows is not, and cannot be, another “resumé of Dutch presence in Brazil in the seventeenth century”. In a question that had narratives already in 1637, we cannot pretend to tell the same story again and again. We are very much conscious of the excess of information of all kinds that is accessible online to everyone nowadays, with regard to this question of Dutch presence in Brazil as to any other. Despite the thousand books, articles, reviews and multiple sites on the internet, the subject of the Dutch invasions of the Northeast of Brazil is still lacking a view from the “centre”, at least from the political centre of the time, that is, the Hispanic Monarchy or the “Catholic and Universal Monarchy” as the ensemble of territories under the Spanish Habsburgs was known at the time. As we have pointed out in another text, the Dutch presence in Brazil was an encounter of three very different ways of understanding the conquest and colonization of territories overseas: “a trade company from the North of Europe attacks a territory that belongs to a private “capitán donatario”, under the government of the imperial structure of the Habsburg Monarchy based in Madrid. In other words: over the late feudal conception of the Portuguese donees, we see the imposition of the Renaissance state structure of the Habsburgs, and over both of them, the brand new stock trade company of the Dutch”³. What we have, then, is a conflict between three main actors. We can see that, in general, most of the works written about the conflict have focused on two of these actors, the Luso-Brazilians and the Dutch, with little if any references to the third leading figure: the Spanish Monarchy. In this report, dedicated to the sources for the Dutch presence in Brazil, especially the fortifications, in Spanish Archives, we cannot but try to understand the problem from Madrid, from the agents and political structure of the Monarchy, because that is the reason why there are so many documents about this question in the Spanish deposits. Recently, we have published an article with this approach that only covers the reign of Philip III⁴. Some of the classical works on the Dutch presence in Brazil, like the books of Boxer and Cabral de Mello, made important contributions to this way of understanding the question,

³ Santos Pérez, José Manuel, “Estado, capitanías donatarias y compañías comerciales. Una visión comparativa del Brasil holandés”, en Santos Pérez, José Manuel y Souza, George F. C. de, *El desafío holandés al dominio ibérico en Brasil en el siglo XVII*, Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2006.

⁴ Santos Pérez, José Manuel, “Filipe III e a ameaça neerlandesa no Brasil: medos globais, estratégia real e respostas locais”, in Wiesebron, M. (org.), *Brazilië in de Nederlandse archieven / O Brasil em arquivos neerlandeses (1624-1654)*, Serie Mauritaniana, vol. 5, Leiden : Leiden U.P., 2013, pp. 41-71.

although none of them concentrated on the view from Madrid⁵. Maybe the most interesting text was written by the Spanish scholar Juan Pérez de Tudela y Bueso in a little known text in 1974⁶. Although sometimes influenced by the nationalist tendency of the times, the author wrote a text based on Spanish sources, where he could demonstrate that the decisions in Madrid were also fundamental to understanding the whole picture. We do not agree, however, with the main thesis of this article: according to Pérez de Tudela, what finally provoked the Dutch defeat in Brazil was the Spanish decision to recover Salvador de Bahia in 1625 and the fierce defence of this town, the political and economic capital of the State of Brazil. Although it is an interesting interpretation, the historiography about the Dutch invasions has demonstrated in the last years that a very complex bunch of processes, including WIC economic problems, the end of the Spanish-Dutch conflict in Europe, the ascendance of England as new super-power, the Portuguese independence in 1640, and last but not least, the action of the locals, were all determinant in the Dutch surrender of 1654.

Taking all of this into account, let us put this “preliminary inventory” of sources for the history of the Dutch presence in Brazil into its historical context.

The Union of the Iberian crowns, between 1580 and 1640 was an important chapter in the history of both kingdoms, Portugal and Spain and its overseas possessions. This period has been called “Iberian Union”, our “Dynastic Union” or in Brazil and Portugal “Philippine Period” because in these 60 years three “Felipes” succeeded to the throne of Spain: Philip II of Spain (I of Portugal), Philip III (II of Portugal) and Philip IV (III of Portugal). During this period, Portugal and its overseas conquests were united to the territories of the Hispanic Monarchy, constituting an enormous and “global” ensemble where “a catholic mass could be heard every half an hour in any point of the world⁷”. Although in 1580 Brazil was no more than a marginal and distant part of the Portuguese empire, we cannot neglect the importance of the facts that took place in the 60 years of Spanish supremacy. During these years we attend to what one scholar has termed as “the crucial years” of Brazil⁸. The population growth (of Europeans and Africans) was very important in the period, mostly in central areas like Pernambuco or Bahia, but also in marginal regions at the time, like São Paulo or Rio de Janeiro. It is in these years that Brazil confirmed its economic and strategic potential in the South Atlantic. Brazil had excellent conditions for the culture of sugar cane, and prices of sugar in Europe were rising constantly since the end of the sixteenth century. Brazil needed a heavy investment in equipment and labour force, but the benefits were

⁵ Boxer, Charles R. (1957), *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, and specially BOXER, Charles, *Salvador Correia de Sa and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola (1602-1686)*, Londres, 1952; MELLO, E. Cabral de, *Olinda Restaurada. Guerra e Açúcar no Nordeste, 1630-1654*, São Paulo: Ed. da Universidade de São Paulo, 1975; SCHWARTZ, Stuart, "Luso-Spanish Relations in Habsburg Brazil", *The Americas*, 25, 1968; SCHWARTZ, Stuart, "The Voyage of the Vassals: Royal Power, Noble Obligations, and Merchant Capital before the Portuguese Restoration of Independence, 1624-1640", *The American Historical Review*, 96, 1991, pp. 735-762.

⁶ Pérez de Tudela, Juan, *Sobre la defensa hispana de Brasil frente a los holandeses (1624-1640)*, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1974.

⁷ GRUZINSKI, Serge, *Les quatre parties du monde. Histoire d'une mondialisation*, Paris: Éditions de la Martinière, 2004.

⁸ GONZALO RIVERO, Diego, *Brazil: The Crucial Years (1570-1612)*, Athens: Georgia, 1981.

high and the sugar industry rose tremendously in these years. In 1612 Brazil had 192 sugar mills and in 1630 exported some 22,000 tons of sugar⁹.

In the last ten years we have seen an important historiographical renewal and we now have a better picture of what the incorporation to the Spanish crown signified for the “Estado do Brasil”¹⁰. These new approaches begin to answer the following important, but still unresolved question: what historical significance can we give to the entry of Brazil into the Spanish empire in America in 1580? It has been suggested that Brazil represented a good asset both as regards its economic riches and its strategic importance¹¹. The geographic location of Brazil constituted a huge shield that could act as a defence of the most valuable territories of Spanish America. Moreover, its privileged location could also be used as the doorway towards the same territories or as a point of departure for mining production, using the ports of Santa Catarina or Rio de Janeiro as export points for silver¹². It was at the same time the “door” and the “back” of Perú. As Diogo Campos Moreno pointed out in the “Livro da Razão do estado do Brasil...” in 1612, “Brasil é a parte oriental do Perú” (Brazil is the eastern part of Perú)¹³. That is why the Spanish crown was very worried about the defence of the Brazilian territory. Shortly after coming to the throne of Portugal, Philip II sent an important fleet (23 ships and 5,000 men) under the orders of Captain Flores Valdés to populate the Magellanic strait and clear the area of English ships. Some years before 1624, the year of the Dutch attack against Salvador de Bahía, the Batavians began to arouse the interest of the authorities in Madrid. In 1613, in the times of the Twelve-Year Truce, Philip III wrote to the Portuguese Viceroy informing him that the Dutch were

⁹ Stuart Schwartz, “The economy of the Portuguese Empire”, in Bethencourt y Ramada Couto, *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007.

¹⁰ Ana Paula Megiani, Kalina Vanderley Silva y José Manuel Santos Pérez (orgs.), *O Brasil na Monarquia Hispânica (1580-1668) Novas interpretações*. Editora Humanitas. São Paulo: 2014; SANTOS PÉREZ, J. M., “Brasil durante la Unión Ibérica. Algunas notas sobre el intercambio cultural entre las dos orillas del Atlántico”, in *Diálogos Culturais, Brasil-Espanha*. Madrid, São Paulo: Fundación Cultural Hispano-Brasileña, 2006; SILVA, Kalina Vanderley, “Fidalgos, capitães e senhores de engenho: o Humanismo, o Barroco e o diálogo cultural entre Castela e a sociedade açucareira (Pernambuco, séculos XVI e XVII)”, *Varia História*, vol. 28, nº 47, Belo Horizonte, Jan./June 2012; Alirio Cardoso, “A conquista do Maranhão e as disputas atlânticas na geopolítica da União Ibérica (1596-1626)”, *Revista Brasileira de História*. São Paulo, v. 31, nº 61, p. 317-338, 2011; Guida Marques, “L’invention du Brésil entre deux monarchies. Gouvernement et pratiques politiques de l’Amérique portugaise dans l’Union Ibérique (1580-1640) ”, Phd. Thesis, Paris, École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2009; Rafael Ruiz, “The Spanish-Dutch War and the Policy of the Spanish Crown Toward the Town of São Paulo”, *Itinerario*, 26, 1/2002; Vilar daga, José Carlos, “Manhas e redes: Francisco de Souza e a governança em São Paulo de Piratininga em tempos de União Ibérica”, *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, vol XI, 2010.

¹¹ Santos Pérez, J. M., “Brazil and the Politics of the Spanish Hapsburgs in the South Atlantic (1580-1640) », in Luiz Felipe Alencastro, (ed.), *The South Atlantic, Past and Present. Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies* 27. University of Massachusetts, 2015.

¹² Santos Pérez, J.M., “Brazil and the Politics...”

¹³ MORENO, Diogo de Campos: *Livro que dá razão do Estado do Brasil-1612. Edição crítica, com introdução e notas de Hélio Vianna*, Recife, Arquivo Público Estadual, 1955.

preparing a fleet to attack Pernambuco¹⁴. Also, during the same period, the Crown approved the launching of several relief fleets to stop the French from becoming definitively entrenched in Maranhão¹⁵. Another consultation from the Council of Portugal directed to the Duke of Lerma in 1615 warned of the danger to the Spanish Empire of the constant presence of the English and the Dutch in the “Río de las Amazonas”. In his words, foreign presence was “the most important issue of the times, since this river (the Amazon) marks the limit with Peru... and at the same time... (we must) castigate the French at Maranhão”¹⁶.

Consequently, during the last years of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, there was an important activity in the construction of defensive works on the coasts of Brazil. It is not an exaggeration to say that this line of fortresses was the origin of some of the cities on the coast of Brazil today. It is this defensive structure that the Dutch studied and attacked when they led several raids at the beginning of the century and the two major attacks against Salvador in 1624 and Pernambuco in 1630. It is also this structure that in some cases they used, but mostly they reformed or rebuilt entirely when they began the occupation of the territory. Some of the forts built at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century were: Forte Presepio in Belén (1616); São José in Macapá; São Felipe (1615) in São Luis de Maranhão; São Sebastião (origin of Fortaleza) built in 1611, plus three additional forts in Ceará; Forte dos Reis Magos in the mouth of the Potengi river in 1598; the “Forte Velho” (1584) and Forte Cabedelo (1617), in Paraíba; São Jorge and Forte do Mar in Pernambuco; Monte Serrate, Santo Antonio da Barra, Santa Maria, São Diogo and three other forts in Bahía; the three forts of Espírito Santo; 5 forts in Rio de Janeiro and Santo Amaro da Barra Grande in São Paulo of 1584¹⁷. Most of these buildings were made with local resources, above all the sugar tax. But in the first decades of the seventeenth century the engineer of the Crown, Francisco de Frias Mesquita was very active in the region, participating in the reform and construction of forts like Reis Magos in Natal and Cabedelo in Paraíba. Moreover, the Sargento Mor Diogo de Campos Moreno wrote two important works for the Crown informing about the state of the defence and the economy of the Brazilian captaincies: the “Relação das praças fortes e coisas de importancia que Sua Magestade tem na Costa do Brasil” (1609)¹⁸ a study of the fortresses of the coastline of Brazil, and the “Livro da Razão do estado do Brasil” (1612), a document that gave precious information on several aspects of the territory like defence, economy and demography.

As is known, the Spanish Crown started an important legal and administrative reform of the imperial institutions in the Portuguese empire, creating new governing bodies like the Conselho da Índia, in Lisbon, or the “Relação da Bahia” in Brazil. The most important measure taken in Portuguese America was the division of the territory in 1621 into two administrative units: the *Estado do Brasil*, with the capital in Salvador, and the *Estado do Maranhão*, to the north, which first had São Luiz as its capital and

14 General Archives of Simancas, (AGS), “Secretarías Provinciales”, Libro 1506.

15 AGS, “Secretarías Provinciales”, Libro 1596.

16 AGS, “Estado”, 260.

¹⁷ RUIZ, Rafael, “The Spanish-Dutch War and the Policy of the Spanish Crown Toward the Town of São Paulo”, *Itinerario*, 26, 1/2002.

¹⁸ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, ANTT, “Relação das praças fortes e coisas de importancia que Sua Magestade tem na Costa do Brasil, por Diogo Campos Moreno” (1609), PT/TT/MR/1/68.

later Belém do Pará. This administrative configuration survived the Portuguese Independence in 1640 and was in practice until 1772.

From this point of view we see more clearly that the Dutch were not attacking Brazil because it was part of the Catholic Monarchy, as the old Portuguese nationalist historiography has always considered it to be. Brazil was, at the time of the Dutch attacks, an attractive territory, from which the Batavians could get important benefits, from the economic as well as strategic point of view.

The Dutch were not newcomers in the Brazil of 1630, the moment of the invasion of Pernambuco. In the preceding 50 years they had developed an important presence on the coasts of Portuguese America that was expressed in many ways. First, there was an active presence of merchants that legally or illegally participated in the trade routes of the Atlantic. Second, there were Dutch colonists already in the Amazon region. Third, the Dutch were building forts in several places claimed by the Portuguese or the Hispanic Monarchy. Fourth, there was a presence more difficult to trace in the form of spies and informers that searched for information about the region. Fifth, there was a presence of sailors, voyagers and persons of different social backgrounds that went to Brazil for different reasons and wrote accounts on what they had seen or experienced. Finally, there was an increasing military presence of fleets that sailed along the coast and sometimes attacked the ports, mainly Salvador, apart from a number of privateers in search of booty¹⁹. Although the threat was global, the Spanish monarchy improvised her reactions against it.

The trade relation of the Dutch with Brazil before the conquest was quite intensive. According to Stols, between 1550 and 1630 there were some 587 merchants from the Low Countries participating in the trade with the Iberian Peninsula and some 175 families of traders lived in Portugal or in the Portuguese Atlantic colonies²⁰. There were traders that depended on the licences issued by the authorities, paying taxes and calling at the ports demanded by the Portuguese. It was a “legal” trade. There was also an “illegal” trade, that made the route directly from Brazil to Holland, but it also took the form of privateer actions, sometimes supported by the traders other against them. For the Spanish crown, both ways were combined, because the attacks of the pirates were frequently followed by the foundation of trade factories²¹. According to Stols, the foundation of the WIC in 1621 was not a reaction against the embargos of the Hispanic Monarchy, but a way for the traders and the General States to protect trade in the Atlantic against the presence of pirates and privateers on the commercial routes²².

The principal action of the Habsburgs to stop this foreign presence in Brazil was the implementation of several embargos against the trade networks and the prohibition of residence for foreigners (especially Dutch), in the Portuguese territories. There were

¹⁹ Santos Pérez, “« Filipe III e a ameaça neerlandesa no Brasil: medos globais, estratégia real e respostas locais », in Wiesebron, Marianne (org.), *Brazilië in de Nederlandse archieven / O Brasil em arquivos neerlandeses (1624-1654)*, Serie Mauritaniana, vol. 5, Leiden : Leiden U.P., 2013.

²⁰ Ebert, Christopher, *Between Empires: Brazilian Sugar in the Early Atlantic Economy, 1550-1630*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2008.

²¹ Madrid, 22 de março de 1607, “ El Consejo de Portugal al Rey”, AGS, Secretarías Provinciales, libro 1476, fol 253 y ss.

²² Stols, Eddy, “Os Mercadores flamengos em Portugal e no Brasil antes das conquistas holandesas”, *Anais de História*, Assis, 5, p. 9-54.

two legislature measures at the time of Philip II (1585 and 1591), one at the time of Philip III (1598) and the prohibition of residence in 1605.

Dutch military presence in Brazil was quite important before 1630. A sizeable fleet (75 vessels and 8,000 men) was sent from Holland already in 1599. Its mission was probably to conquer some port on the Brazilian coast. In 1604 another big fleet under General Paulus van Caerde attacked the city of Salvador. In 1606 the Portugal Council in Madrid tried to organize an expedition to avoid an invasion of Bahia or Pernambuco that was being prepared in Holland, according to some informants, but the chests were empty. The authorities in Madrid and Portugal clamoured for a reaction against these threats, because, as we have said, Brazil was indeed very important for the Monarchy.

Apart from the coastline, the Dutch were also present in the territory of the Amazon river, considered strategical by the Spanish Monarchy: it could be the door towards the mines of Peru. The Dutch, specifically the Zealanders from Vlissingen, had built at least three ports in the region of Grao Pará-Maranhão, on the margins of the Xingu and Amazon rivers: Fort Corupá, Fort Orange and Fort Nassau.

It is in this context that the Dutch attacked Salvador de Bahia in 1624. The reaction of the Luso-Spanish authorities was immediate and in 1625 they gathered an enormous fleet of 85 ships and 12,500 men that reconquered the city in 1625. Some of the fortification works built by the Dutch are commented on in this report. As we can see in the sources, much of the information we find in Spanish archives is related to this attack. It constituted one of the most famous events in the seventeenth century and was followed by an array of Portuguese and Spanish accounts. Most of them are today in the National Library in Madrid.

The situation was not the same in 1630. When the Dutch attacked Pernambuco, the Spanish Monarchy could not be so efficient, among other things because it had lost an entire silver fleet in 1628 in Cuba, taken by a Dutch expedition led by Peter Heyn. But this was not the only reason. The Portuguese collaboration was not at all enthusiastic at that point. The king constituted a so-called “Junta de Pernambuco”, a select group of notorious presided over by the Duke of Villahermosa. It gave the order to all the Portuguese “cámaras” and the Treasury of Portugal to contribute to the new common venture. But they refused, saying that it was impossible given the weak financial situation²³. The only relief that could be sent was the fleet commanded by admiral Antonio de Oquendo that, after an important victory in the “Battle of the Abrolhos” on the northern coast of Bahia, could disembark 700 men that reinforced the contingent of the Luso-Brazilian resistance, gathered in the fort of Arraial. It was not until 1635 that an important fleet with 2,500 men sailed from Lisbon to Pernambuco, led by Luis de Rojas y Borja. After reconquering Porto Calvo, in Alagoas, the Luso-Spanish contingent was stopped by colonel Arciszevski in the battle of Mata Redonda, where Luis de Rojas y Borjas died, probably shot by a member of his army²⁴. The count of Bagnuolo remained as commander of the troops, but was defeated by the new Dutch army led by Johan Maurits van Nassau in 1637. Nassau was convinced that it was necessary to conquer Salvador, and launched an attack in 1638 that would be a complete failure. In 1639, the most expected fleet commanded by Fernão de Mascarenhas, count of la Torre, finally arrived. To the group of 46 ships that he brought from Lisbon, he could add some 40 more vessels gathered in Salvador. The Dutch naval defence and the

²³ Many documents about this Junta are in the Archives of Simancas: AGS, Secretarías Provinciales, 1477.

²⁴ Mello, Evaldo Cabral de, *Olinda Restaurada...*

disastrous command made the fleet disperse and lose its enormous power. In 1640 the Marquis of Montalvão, Jorge Mascarenhas, arrived in Salvador with 2,500 men and the title of “viceroy”. He would be the one to communicate to the Luso-Brazilians that, João, Duke of Bragança, had proclaimed himself king of Portugal and that all inhabitants in Brazil should remain loyal to him, as the legitimate king.

This is the period that we can study in the Spanish sources. From 1640, the question of Dutch Brazil was no more a concern of Philip IV, who would offer the territories in Brazil to the Dutch in the negotiations for the peace of Münster.

All of these scenarios have left an imprint on the landscape, in the documents and above all in the cartography. In all the cities conquered there were already important defensive works built by the Luso-Brasilians, in some cases with the technical or economic support of the imperial authorities. In most of the cases the Dutch adapted these forts or built new ones. The most important transformation took place in Recife and Olinda, the capital of Dutch Brazil, the city that would be “Mauritiopolis” had the grandiloquent plans of Johan Maurits van Nassau been completed. Recife was such an impressive ensemble of forts, strongholds, trenches and redoubts that, when the news that it had been conquered by the Portuguese in 1654 reached Batavia, another formidable Dutch city, people there could not believe it. Other cities with important defensive works, different from Recife, were Vila Velha and the island of Itamaracá, Nossa Senhora das Neves, or Frederickstad (Paraíba), Natal, with the fort Ceulen, Fortaleza or Salvador de Bahia, that suffered several attacks in 1624, 1638 and 1647.

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We start the inventory with one of the most important archives in Spain. The origin of these archives is the documentation taken to the religious orders after the confiscation of ecclesial properties in the nineteenth century. The most important documents for the Ancien Regime are in the Inquisition section of the archive. Although it is not the most important archive for the study of Hispanic America or colonial Brazil, there are some interesting documents about the Dutch attack in Salvador in 1624 and the negotiations between the Netherlands and the Spanish Monarchy before 1648, with some information about Pernambuco. Some of the documents for the study of Dutch Brazil are the following:

Consejo de Estado²⁵.

AHN, Estado, Legajo 2865, n° 27. s/f. C. 1630. Points that are incorporated in the truce with the United Provinces of Holland that had conquered Pernambuco. Proposals to obtain the restitution of the city.

AHN, Estado, Legajo 2880. 16. 1643, July, 31st. Saragossa. About a proposal in relation to the truce with the Dutch, in which would be requested the restitution of Brazil, if Portugal were recovered.

Collection: "Documents from the Indies".

AHN, Diversos-Colecciones, 26.

N° 40) 1625, May 8th. Account of the Voyage to Brazil written to Juan de Castro.

N° 41) 1625, May 1st., The Armada in Brazil.

N° 42) 1625, May, Account of the Voyage and success of the Armada in Brazil.

N° 43) 1625, May. Account of success in the city of Salvador of the Brazil Armada.

N° 44) 1625, Account of the victory that the Armada of Castile and Portugal had against the Dutch.

N° 60) 1631, December, Account of the Armada Relief in the cities of Brazil.

N° 69) 1636, Account of the relief that gave the Armada in Brazil.

N° 75) 1638, July. Victories achieved against the Dutch in Todos los Santos (Salvador).

N° 76) 1638, August. Victory in the Bay of All Saints against the Dutch.

N° 80) 1638, December, 3th. Victories of the Catholic armies in the siege of Brazil.

N° 82) 1640, March 29th. Encounters of the Armada with the Dutch.

N° 83) 1640. Victories of the Catholic armies against the Dutch in Brazil.

²⁵ González Martínez, Elda, *Guía de Fuentes Manuscritas para la Historia de Brasil Conservadas en España*, Madrid: Fundación Mapfre Tavera, Ministerio da Cultura do Brasil, 2002, p. 63, p. 83.

ARCHIVO GENERAL DE SIMANCAS (AGS).

C/ Miravete, 8 – 47130 Simancas (Valladolid).

This archive is the most important for the History of the Hispanic Monarchy in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. It is one of the most important for this period in the world. Its origin takes us to the very beginnings of the Modern State. The archive was created by Charles V (I of Spain) to achieve more efficiency in the royal administration. In the sixteenth century the King decided to create a deposit of documents in the castle of Simancas, in the vicinity of the city of Valladolid where the royal court was sometimes located. The Archive of Simancas has documents from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, although most of them are from the Habsburg period.

The documents about Brazil in these archives are mainly from the period of the “Dynastic Union” of Portugal and Spain. They are above all in the section “Secretarias Provinciales. Portugal”. There is rich documentation on the Dutch presence in Brazil and the strategy of the court (under Philip III and Philip IV) to resist the progress of the enemy. Other sections like “Guerra Antigua” or “Estado” have interesting documents about the Dutch in Brazil.

AGS, Guerra y Marina o Guerra Antigua (Documents related to the conquest of Pernambuco)²⁶.

Legajo	Date	Place	Contains
1036,	1631.05.15	Madrid	Query to the Armada Gathering.
1039,	1631.01.29	Madrid	Philip IV to Bagnuolo.
1048,	1631.02.16	Lisboa	Bagnuolo to Philip IV.
1048,	1631.02.24,	Santarém	Bagnuolo to Philip IV.
1070,	1632.08.01	Cabo de Santo Agostinho	Bagnuolo to Philip IV.
1070,	1632.07.21	Cabo de Santo Agostinho	Bagnuolo to Philip IV.
1071,	1632.01.29	...	Memorias Diarias.
1071,	1632.01.29	Headquarters in Pernambuco	Bagnuolo to Philip IV.
1073,	1633.08.03	Madrid	Court Martial.
1073,	1633.05.21	Headquarters in Pernambuco	Matias de Albuquerque to Philip IV.
1079,	1633.08.13	Madrid	Philip IV to Matias de Albuquerque.
1091,	1633.06.03	Headquarters in Pernambuco	Bagnuolo to Philip IV.
1091,	1633.01.08	Headquarters in Pernambuco	Bagnuolo to Philip IV.
1091,	1633.03.15	Headquarters in Pernambuco	Bagnuolo to Philip IV.
1091,	1633.06.30	Headquarters in Pernambuco	Bagnuolo to Philip IV.
1111,	1634.12.20	...	Rojas y Borja's Account.
1113,	1634.05.08	Cabo de Santo Agostinho	Matias de Albuquerque to Philip IV.
1147,	1635.07.22	Porto	Matias de Albuquerque to Philip IV.
1152,	1636.02.03	Porto	Bagnuolo to the Duchess of Mantua.

²⁶ González Martínez, Elda, *Guía de Fuentes Manuscritas...* p. 93-94.

1173,	1635.12.31	Jaraguá	Rojas y Borja to Philip IV.
1214,	1637.11.06	Sergipe	Bagnuolo to the Duchess of Mantua.
1325,	1631.09.24	Madrid Board of Portugal	about the Dutch in Pernambuco.
3156,	1631.05.03	São José Galleon	Bagnuolo to Philip IV.
3156	1631.10.25	Barra Grande	Bagnuolo to Philip IV.
3162	1634.07.17	Cabo de Santo Agostinho	Bagnuolo to Philip IV.
1325, 1326		Organization of the Conde da Torre's fleet.	

Other documents in the Section Guerra or Guerra Antigua²⁷.

AGS, Consejo de Guerra, leg. 1011, 1630. Notice of 60 Dutch vessels that had been in San Vicente, and were bound to the undertakings against Pernambuco. Letter of D. Fernando de Toledo about the Dutch invasion in Pernambuco. Letter of D. Fadrique de Toledo from La Habana (April, 25th), informing that he received a warning about the conquest of Recife and Olinda, and about not assisting those places, a decision taken by the Council of War.

AGS, Consejo de Guerra, leg. 1015, 1630. Letter of D. Antonio de Oquendo giving news of the Armadas that were being prepared in Holland.

AGS, Consejo de Guerra, leg. 3.167, 1636. Board of Armadas about the debts of the Navy that went to Brazil under the command of General D. Lope de Hoces. Letters of Princess Margarita and Lope de Hoces, about what happened on the voyage of this Armada. Query about the "socorro" of Pernambuco, the quantity of vessels and what was necessary for them to carry. News about the battles in Brazil against the Dutch D. Lope de Hoces and D. Rojas y Borja. Letter of Princess Margarita about the provision of the Companies of the Armada of D. Lope de Hoces. Letter of D. Lope de Hoces, giving an account of the procedure of the Portuguese in Brazil in relation to the voyage of his Navy. Information about the vessels that were to sail to Cádiz, bound for the "socorro" of Brazil.

AGS, Consejo de Guerra, leg. 3168, 1637. The Board of Armadas, about what was convenient to send to Brazil, how many vessels and in what time.

AGS, Hacienda²⁸.

AGS, Hacienda, leg. 3176, 1624-1625. The paymaster Juan de Aguilar, about what was paid to the mariners and soldiers in the vessels of Juan Fajardo on the voyage of "socorro" of Brazil.

AGS, Hacienda, leg. 3193, nº 3, 1630. Pedro de Baeza, about some quantity that was requested to be provided in Lisbon for the armada of Pernambuco.

²⁷ López Gómez, Pedro, "Fuentes archivísticas para la historia del Brasil en España (siglos XV-XVII), *Revista de Indias*, 2000, vol. LX, núm. 218.

²⁸ López Gómez, Pedro, "Fuentes archivísticas para la historia del Brasil en España..."

AGS, Secretaria de Estado.

AGS, Estado, Inglaterra, legajo 842, fol... 4.10. 1604. About the Dutch attack against Salvador in 1604.

AGS, Estado, Inglaterra, leg. 842, s/f , The Marquis of St German in a letter to H M. (About the Dutch attack in Salvador in 1604).

Consejo de Estado, Negotiations of Flanders, Holland and Brussels²⁹:

AGS, Estado, leg. 2038, 1624. “Socorro” of Holland for Brazil. Levies that were made in England and France for the Dutch.

AGS, Estado, leg. 2042, 1628. Plans of Dutch ships that came from Brazil and bad orders of the Portuguese. Dutch attempts in Pernambuco.

AGS, Estado, leg. 2042, 1628. Plans of Dutch ships that went to Brazil. Armament in Holland for undertakings in the West Indies. Dutch attempts in Pernambuco.

AGS, Estado, leg. 2043, 1629. Measures taken by the Dutch in relation to the Indies.

AGS, Estado, leg. 2044, 1630. Recovery of Pernambuco.

AGS, Estado, leg. 2045, 1631. Disembark of the Armada that sailed to Pernambuco. Request to Flandes of engineers for the coast of Brazil.

AGS, Estado, leg. 2050, 1635, Levies of people in Flanders for Brazil.

AGS, Estado, leg. 2051, 1636. Dutch and French attempts in the coasts of Brazil.

AGS, Estado, leg. 2054, 1639. About fire in the flagship, and caravels of Portugal that came from Todos los Santos loaded with sugar by the Dutch navy.

AGS, Estado, leg. 2055, 1640. Request for Dutch and French to leave the places they occupied in the Indies, since the last truce.

AGS, Estado, leg. 2056, 1641. Traffic of Dutch vessels in Brazil.

AGS, Estado, leg. 2056, 1641. Truce or peace with His Majesty that the Dutch would do.

AGS, Estado, leg. 2066, 1646. Letter of the India Company in Brazil to the States of Holland.

AGS, Estado, leg. 2070, 1649. The way the treaty between the tyrant of Portugal and the Dutch was hindered.

²⁹ ídem.

AGS, Consejo de Estado, Negotiations with France³⁰.

AGS, Estado, K 1460, 1606. Plans made by Portuguese Jews of Rouen and other ports in order to make the King of France send troops with the Dutch to set foot in Brazil.

AGS, Secretarías Provinciales. (SSPP).

AGS, SSPP, libro 1506, 15.05.1613. About the warning that the Dutch tried to conquer Pernambuco.

AGS, SSPP, libro 1506, 10.05.1613, About what was written by the ministers of the Council of India, that they were not informed of the warnings that the Dutch went to Pernambuco.

AGS, SSPP., Libro 1476, fols. 317-319 v. 4. 07. 1607, Council of Portugal to the king. About the warning of Alexandre de Moura, Captain of Pernambuco in Brazil, about the Dutch ships that appeared there, (with description of ships, soldiers and personnel on them).

AGS, SSPP, libro 1516, fol. 52. 9.05. 1618, about the construction of a Dutch fortress in Boure (Mina District in Africa).

AGS, SSPP, libro 1516, fol. 108 v. 15.08.1618, André Lopez Pinto, ships that will leave from the States of Holland bound to Brazil to load Brazil wood.

AGS, Secretarías Provinciales, 1477, fs. 1-55, Junta de Pernambuco³¹.

AGS, AGS, SSPP, 1478, f. 38, Query to the Council of Portugal, 31-V-1635.

AGS, SSPP, lib. 1469, fol. 6, about the conquest of the Arraial de Bom Jesús, headquarters of Luso Resistance in Pernambuco.

AGS. SSPP, lib. 1469, fs. 655-59, letters of Bagnuolo from Porto Calvo.

AGS, SS PP, 1471, Query of Council of Portugal, 26.06.1640. About the Conde da Torre's fleet.

AGS, SSPP, 1471, 8.02.1640, query about the expedition of Jorge Mascarenhas, Marquis of Montalvão.

AGS, SSPP, 1478, fs. 8-11 and 61, queries of 26.05 and 5.07. 1635.

AGS, SS PP, 1477, Board of Pernambuco.

AGS, SSPP, libro 1469, query of 18.06.1636.

³⁰ Ídem.

³¹ Pérez de Tudela, Juan, Sobre la defensa hispana de Brasil frente a los holandeses (1624-1640), Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1974.

AGS, SS PP, 1469, fol. 334, 3.02.1636, letter of Bagnuolo.

AGS, SSPP, 1471, 3.09.1639, Governor Princess Margarita from Lisbon.

AGS, SSPP, 1477, 1631, Queries of the Board of the Count-Duke about Brazil³².

AGS, SSPP, 1524, 1631, Dispatches about the “socorro” of Brazil.

AGS, SSPP, 1478, 1635-1636. Book of copies of queries about Brazil.

AGS, Varios, Casa de Medina Sidonia³³.

AGS, Casa de Medina Sidonia, Sig. 81, 1º, 1628. Infantry that was embarked for the Bahía de Todos los Santos, in Brazil, for Spain.

AGS, Casa de Medina Sidonia, Sig. 78, 1º, 1638, “Letters of Kings and their secretaries to the Dukes of the House of Medina Sidonia and copies of some answers in the year 1638”, containing: Levies for Brazil. Request to the Duke to provide mariners for the Brazil army of Francisco Díaz Pimienta.

³² López Gómez, Fuentes archivísticas...

³³ ídem.

ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS (AGI)

Edificio de la Lonja
Av. de la Constitución, 3
Edificio de La Cilla
C/ Santo Tomás, 5
41071 Sevilla
(34) 95 450 05 28
Fax:
(34) 95 421 94 85
16.09, 15.06, 8:00 am, 3 pm.
16.06, 15.09, 8:00 am, 2:30 pm.

The “Archivo General de Indias” in Seville is the most important centre for the historical research of Colonial America. It was created by king Carlos III in the eighteenth century, with the intention of concentrating all the documents about the American empire in one place and to help write a new history of the Indies. In 1785 some 275 chests, loaded in 24 charts, departed from the Archive of Simancas to Seville, where they were installed in the building of the “Lonja de Comercio”, or Consulate of Traders. This is part of the 10 kms of shelves that today constitute the documentation of this archive. It is organized in 16 sections corresponding to the institutions that produced the documents at the time. Most of the information about Dutch Brazil is in the “Gobierno” section of the archives and in “Indiferente General”.

Patronato.

AGI, Patronato, 272, 4.04, 24.05, 1615, “Warnings about the presence of Dutch, French and English in the lands of Amazon and Marañón Rivers”³⁴.

Contaduría.

AGI, Contaduría, 1121, 1637-38, “Royal treasury of La Habana and Treasury bills from May, 16th 1637, until March, 4th, 1638; including lists of Garrisons in La Habana and Pernambuco”.

Indiferente General.

AGI, Indiferente General, 428, 1602-1618, Legislation about foreign presence in the Spanish Territories in America.

AGI, Indiferente General, 429, 1621, 1.04, Royal Decree with the precautions that must be taken in the fight against the Dutch.

³⁴ González Martínez, Elda, *Guía de Fuentes Manuscritas...* pp. 130 and ff.

AGI, Indiferente General, 429, 12.11.1629, Royal Decree ordering the freedom of the Dutch taken prisoner in the Indies.

Gobierno.

AGI, Buenos Aires, 2, 26.08.1654, Royal Decree of governor in Rio de la Plata informing about the expulsion of the Dutch in Pernambuco and warning about possible attacks.

AGI, Charcas, 2, 12.05.1630, Letter of father Simón Masseta to the procurador of the Indies in Madrid, informing about the conquest of Pernambuco by the Dutch and the attacks of the Portuguese of São Paulo on the indigenous population of Paraguay.

AGI, Charcas, 20, 30.01.1631. Letter to H.M. of the Real Audiencia de la Plata informing about the conquest of Pernambuco by the Dutch and the dangers they were confronting in the harbours of its jurisdiction.

AGI, Charcas, 21, 04.1625. Account on the conquest of Bahia by the Dutch and danger in other ports of Brazil. 05. 1626, Account about the arrival of a vessel in Buenos Aires with news from Matias de Albuquerque, Governor of Pernambuco, informing about the defeat and the expulsion of the invaders³⁵.

AGI, Charcas, 27, 2.03.1620, Letter to H.M. of the governor of Rio de la Plata about the presence of Dutch and privateers that threatened the coast.

AGI, Charcas, 28, 30.08. 1631, Letter to H. M. of the governor of Rio de La Plata with precautions that must be taken about a possible attack by the Dutch.

AGI, Charcas, 86, 1601. Information about the services given by Diego de Zárate in his fight against Dutch and English privateers.

AGI, México, 34, 5.05.1639. Royal Decree and other documents about a fleet of war that sailed from Holland bound for Pernambuco.

AGI, Santo Domingo, 870, 1.07.1638, Answer to a letter of the governor and Captain General of the Española Island, informing about the departure of a vessel, with munitions, bound for Pernambuco.

³⁵ López Gómez, “Fuentes archivísticas...”

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE MADRID (BN)

Paseo de Recoletos, 20. 28071 Madrid.

Teléf: 915 80 78 00.

Monday to Friday: 9-21.

Saturday: 9-14.

The National Library in Madrid has its origin in the Palace Library, founded by Philip V in 1712, gathering libraries from noblemen that had left Spain after the War of Spanish Succession. From 1716 it is mandatory to leave a copy of any printed work in Spain. From 1836 it was called the National Library and from 1896 took its definitive location in the place where it is now. The Library contains an important collection of more than 30,000 manuscripts, more than 3,000 incunabulae and 500,000 works printed earlier than 1831.

The National Library is perhaps the deposit with more documents related to Brazil and New Holland. It holds the most documents for the Dutch fortifications: the “Atlas de las posesiones portuguesas” that provides fundamental information about the Dutch defensive works in Brazil³⁶. Some of the documents are:

Manuscripts:

BN, Manuscritos (MS.) 2355, 51-56, 18th century, “Before treating the entry of the Dutch in Brazil in the year of 1624, when they conquered the Bay of All Saints, it is necessary to describe that state which is as follows...³⁷”

BN, Ms. 2356, 289-291, 17th century, “Historical account of the Jornada del Brasil and success of it... in the year of 1625... “ By D. Juan de Valencia y Guzmán, natural of Salamanca, who was serving H. M. in it as a private soldier and he found himself in everything that happened”.

BN, Ms. 2356, 414-415, 1625, “Brief account of the success in Brazil against the Dutch”.

BN, Ms. 2357, 130-152, 1623, “Speech and account about the venture in the Bay of San Salvador in Brazil, by Governor Juan Vivencio San Feliche³⁸”.

BN, Ms. 2357, 154 bis. 1625, “Voyage of the Vassals of the Crown of Portugal, to recover the city of Salvador, in Bahia de Todos los Santos, taken by the Dutch in May, 8th 1624, and recovered on May 1st, 1625. By Father Bartolomeu Guerreiro of the Jesuits”.

BN, Ms. 2362, 87-89. 1630, Account of the conquest of Pernambuco by the Dutch.

³⁶ See the section Maps and Plans in this report.

³⁷ González Martínez, Elda, *Guía de Fuentes Manuscritas...* p. 595 e ss.

³⁸ Later on Conde de Bagnuolo, commander in chief of the Luso-Spanish troops in Pernambuco.

BN, Ms. 2362, 94-104. 17th century. "Disillusions of the people of Brazil and other parts in the Indies to remove the doubts and false imaginations that they could have about the statements of the ... States General and the Administrators for the Company. Made by Daniel Bredan, notary in Amsterdam."

BN, Ms. 2362, 261-265. Madrid, 12.10.1630, "Advices for the conservation of trade in Pernambuco and destruction of the Dutch, with answers to each of them."

BN, Ms. 2362, 269-272, "Advices for the recovery of Pernambuco, occupied by the Dutch."

BN, Ms. 2363, fol. 269, s. d. "Warning about the recovery of the place of Pernambuco occupied by the Dutch"³⁹.

BN, Ms. 2364, 363-364, 1633, "Progress of the Dutch in Brazil. The mulatto Calabar joins them and they cause great damage to that state's industry. They win, finally, the harbour of Nazareth".

BN Ms. 2365, 9-12, 1634. "Account to verify how the Dutch could conquer Parayba and the fort of Nazareth".

BN, Ms. 2366, 41-44, 1635. "Account about the entry of D. Luis de Roxas in the war of Brazil, and his encounter with the Dutch, his death and other events".

BN, Ms. 2367, 105-106, 1636. "Account about the siege against Bahia de Todos los Santos, commanded by the count Mauricio de Nassau".

BN, Ms. 2369, 5-6, 1638. "Account of the events in Brazil under the government of count de la Torre".

BN, Ms. 2369, 302-307, 1638. "Account of the victory that reached the Catholic armies in Bahia de Todos los Santos, against the Dutch that besieged that place on June 14th 1638, being Governor of the State of Brazil Pedro de Silva. Impreso en Madrid, by Francisco Martínez.

BN, Ms. 2369, 308-310, June, 3rd, 1638. Account that came from Bahia de Todos los Santos.

BN, Ms. 2370, f. 265, "About what happened in Brazil with the Dutch in 1639" Account on request of the Junta Grande"...⁴⁰

BN, Ms. 3015, 1639, "Description of the East Indies, its government and events in the year 1639. Contains:

³⁹ SANTOS, R. E. dos, *El Brasil Filipino. 60 años de presencia española en Brasil (1580-1640)*, Madrid, 1993, p. 242...

⁴⁰ ídem.

“Description of the Province of Brazil, dedicated to D. Carlos de Aragón y Borja, Duke of Villahermosa, president of the Council of Portugal”, (f. 1.).

Madrid, 27.08.1639, “Notes to a paper of warnings about the socorro of the state of Brazil by the Dr. Bartolomé Ferreira Lagarto, who was administrator of that District”, (f. 9).

“Description of the city and port of Paraíba by Antonio Gonçalves Paschoa, pilot, natural of Peniche, who resides in the said city for the last 20 years, (f. 131)”⁴¹.

“Articles settled between the General States of Holland and proposed by them, concerning Brazil, and Mr. Francisco Barrero, General Field Master and governor, by which are delivered the places of Morice, Recife and other forts nearby and the ones they had in the Northern parts, such as the island of Fernando de Noronha, Siará, Rio Grande, Parayba and the island of Itamaracá” (f. 215).

“Reasons why the West India Company should justify taking to the King of Hispaña the land of Brazil, translated from a paper printed in Amsterdam made by Juan Andrea Moerbeceq”, (f. 217).

BN, Ms. 3207. Curious Papers about matters of State, War and Government. Account of the expedition of the Armada of H.M. To recover the places in that province and the battles that took place between it and the General States of Holland on 12th September of that year of 1631, (f. 501).

BN, Ms. 17533, 18th century, ff. 21-31. About the conquest of the city of Bahia and what happened until the death of the Bishop, by father Francisco de São João, priest of the Order of San Francisco.

BN, Ms. 18192, 1623, ff. 11-13. Pedro de Toledo about the events in Brazil.

BN, Ms. 18719, 36, 17th century. Account of the services that made in Brazil Diego Luis de Oliveira in nine and a half years that governed that State, fortifying the places as was ordered by D. Fadrique de Toledo and some others that he found convenient... with few costs and much was saved to the Royal treasury.

⁴¹ Published in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geographico Paraibano Cidade da Parahyba, IHGP*, n. 3, 1911, p. 367-371.

MUSEO NAVAL (MN)

Paseo del Prado, 5, 28014. Madrid
915 23 85 16
10 am- 7 pm.

Most of the collections of the Museo Naval come from the Hydrographic Deposit that received the navigation logs, the geographical studies and the navigation charts of the Navy. There are also documents related to maritime questions that were dispersed in different archives. Some donations from private individuals have enriched the deposit. The archive has three main sections: Manuscripts, printed works and cartography. The documents concerning Brazil are found in the Vargas Ponce, Mazarredo, Fernández Navarrete and Malaspina collections. We have found some references about Dutch Brazil:

MN, Ms. 142, 1615. Statement of Gaspar Hernández, who was sailing in a vessel from Rio de Janeiro to San Vicente and was taken prisoner by a Dutch fleet⁴².

MN, Ms. 193, 1639. Notes about a paper whose warnings related to the relief of the State of Brazil by Bartolomé Ferreira Lagarto, administrator of that district.

Vargas Ponce Collection.

MN, Ms. 72, 15.12.1621 (?) Order to maintain the vessels of the fleet of Brazil, given by Fadrique de Toledo Osorio, Marquis of Villanueva de Valdueza, Captain General of the “Armada del Mar Océano”.

MN, Ms. 87. Several documents related to the fleet of Antonio de Oquendo of 1631.

Navarrete Collection.

MN, 13, 1625. “Historical Account of the Expedition to Brazil and Events of it”.

MN, 13, 1629. “Conquest of Pernambuco by the Dutch”.

MN, 14, 1638, “Entrance of the Governor of the arms of Brazil, Count of la Torre, relating the events of its time”.

MN, 16, 1630, “Advices for the conservation of Trade in Pernanmbuco and destruction of the Dutch with answers to the advices”.

MN, 38, 1624, “Letter of Dn. García Giron Governor of Caragena written to the King with date of August, 4th 1624 giving account of the news that he had from Brazil that a

⁴² González Martínez, Elda, *Guia de las fuentes...* p. 562 and ff.

Dutch Navy with 36 vessels had taken the port and city of Bahia de Todos los Santos and its forts”.

ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO DE LA PROVINCIA DE TOLEDO DE LA COMPAÑÍA DE JESÚS.

Colegio Complutense de San Ignacio. Apartado 10. Campo del Angel.
28800 Alcalá de Henares. Madrid.
Monday to Friday, 9 am, 1 pm.

This deposit of documents has its origin in the “Procura general de Indias”, institution that handled the questions of the Jesuits overseas. We have found only one reference about Dutch Brazil:

1625, Anonymus Account of the Expedition to Brazil of 1625, written probably by someone in the fleet of D. Fadrique de Toledo. Estante 2, Box, 88, leg. 868.⁴³

REAL ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA (RAH)

Calle León, 21, 28014 Madrid
914 29 06 11.
Monday to Friday, 8:30 am, 3:30 pm.

The creation of this illustrious institution goes back to the year 1738, by Order of Philip V. The funds have grown with several donations. It has manuscripts and a number of collections and there are some references about the Dutch presence in Brazil:

Jesuits Collection⁴⁴.

RAH, Tomo LXXV, f. 106, 1625. Account of the letter sent to H. M. D. Fadrique de Toledo, general of the Navies, and powerful army that went to Brazil, and the very happy success that they had on the day of the Apostles S. Filipe and Santiago, first of May of this year 1625.

RAH, Tomo LXXVI, f. 525, 1631, Account of the journey that the Armada of H. M. made for the relief of Brazil and the battle between him and the States of Holland on 12 of September 1631, in the place of Los Abrojos.

RAH, Tomo XCIV, f. 53, sd, Account of the success of the navy and army that went for the relief of Brazil since it entered in the bay of All Saints until they entered in the city

⁴³ Ídem, p. 586.

⁴⁴ Ídem, p. 633.

of Salvador that was in the hands of the rebels of Holland, taken from a letter that D. Fadrique de Toledo sent to H. M.

RAH, Tomo XCVIII, f. 6. (Second Half of the 17th century). Account of the success in Pernambuco.

RAH, Tomo CIV, f. 54, 1626, 10.03. Speech of the victory of Spanish arms in the expedition to Brazil, from its exit from Spain until the conquest of Salvador that was in the hands of the Dutch.

RAH, Tomo, CIX, f. 71, 1631. Account of the events in Marañón and Pará, in the peace and war against the Dutch, French, English and others. In Lisbon, by Mathias Rodrigues.

RAH, CXVIII, f. 107, 25.06.1631. Account sent by a soldier to the Fathers in Lisbon about the events in Pernambuco when the enemy was in that place.

RAH, Tomo CCXVI, f. 65r. News of Pernambuco about the war against the Dutch copied from a royal letter.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BARCELONA (BUB).

Gran Vía, 585, 08007, Barcelona.
Monday to Friday, 9 am. to 8 pm.

BUB, Miscelánea Político eclesiástica 1008-10, vol. II, ff. 9-13, San Salvador, 1624. Speech about the success of the arms of H. M. in the jornada of Brazil, since they left Spain until the restoration of the city of S.Salvador that was taken by the Dutch on May 10th 1624.

MAPS AND PLANS

REAL ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA (RAH)

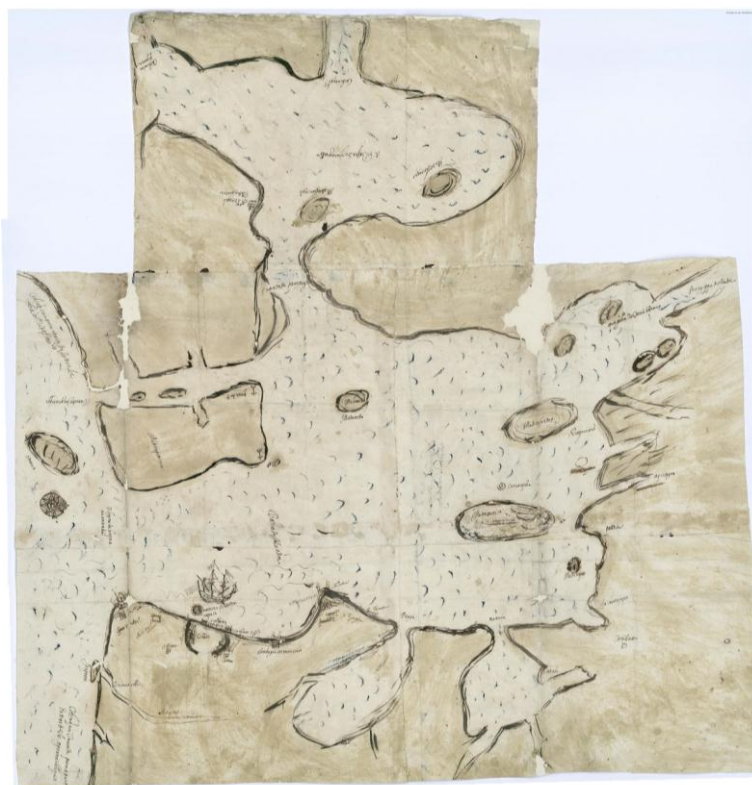
RAH, C/I c 79:

BAHÍA DE TODOS LOS SANTOS (Capitanía). Cartas náuticas. 166?-⁴⁵.

Port of Bahia de Todos os Santos.

Map manuscript, col.; 75,5 x 78 cm.

Title at the back of the map “Las del Atlas de Brasil de João Teixeira Albernaz II llevan el título "Bahía de Todos os Santos".



The map presents a nautical chart of the Royal Captaincy of “Baía de Todos os Santos», in the Northeast of Brazil, with the capital in Salvador de Bahía, founded in 1549. In the west part, we can read: “Costa que vai para a parte do Sudueste para o Rio de Janeiro” [Coast that runs to the Southwest to Rio de Janeiro]. To the East, the text says: “Costa q . uai correndo pera a parte do nordeste a Paranabuquo”, [Coast that runs to the northeastern part to Pernambuco]. In the entrance of the Bay close to the island of Itaparica, says: “3 legoas de boqua na entrada”, [3 leagues wide at the entrance]. To the East we can see the plans or elevations of the main fortresses: “S. Antonio, S. Pedro, S. Bento, forte Novo do Mar na praia, S. Alberto, outro forte, outro forte, S. Frco, the one of “Carmo”, the “portas do Carmo”, and S. Bento, which give access to the fortified enclosure of the city of Salvador , the fort “dagoa dos Meninos”

⁴⁵ Bachiller Cabria, Juan Vicente, *Cartografía Manuscrita de Brasil en las colecciones españolas (1500-1822)*, Salamanca, Centro de Estudios Brasileños, 2008.

and the fortresses of “Tapagipe” and Tapoagiga”. In other parts of the map there are other places identified: “Pirayá, Matuin, O Atún, Cornibussu, Jararacangua, Passée, Apitingua, Boqueiras, Quagaba de Denis Brauo, Seregippe do Conde, Enbada de Paraguasu, a Bahia do Paraguassu, Cachoeira piquena, B.ar d.Aragão e Pedro Garçia”, and the islands of “Santiago, dos Francezes, do Medo, de Mairé, Cururupeba, do Topette y dos Frades”⁴⁶.

There is a ship not far from the city of Salvador, which reflects the Dutch attack on Bahia in 1624 and the recovery by the Spanish and Portuguese. On this map there are many forts that take part in the reconquest of Bahia, and also the “Forte de S. Pedro”, built at the South of Salvador in 1638, for the defence of the city against the attacks of the Dutch⁴⁷.

⁴⁶ MANSO PORTO, Carmen, *Cartografía histórica portuguesa. Catálogo de manuscritos (siglos XVII-XVIII)*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 1999.

⁴⁷ Ídem, p. 22.

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE MADRID (BN)

BN. 7121, Atlas de las Costas y de los puertos de las posesiones portuguesas en América y Africa. Siglo XVII⁴⁸.

This is perhaps the most important document in the Spanish Archives for the study of the Dutch fortifications in Brazil. It is a collection, with no cover and no title, of 35 maps of unknown author, probably Portuguese⁴⁹. The maps are made in brilliant colours and contain valuable information. There are maps of cities on the coasts of Brazil, Africa and Asia, all of them Portuguese. There is no date on the maps. In the Catalogue of the exhibition “Cartografía en la época de los descubrimientos”⁵⁰, the date given for this collection of maps is 1601. This is clearly wrong, because in the captaincies of the northeast of Brazil we can see a Dutch flag, meaning that this is a map of the time of the Dutch conquest. A more accurate date could be c. 1640. The most valuable information is the design of forts in the coast of Brazil. In the book we can see a general map of Brazil and maps of Rio de Janeiro, São Vicente, Bahia de Todos los Santos, Ilheus, Espírito Santo, Recife, Paraíba, Itamaracá, Natal and Maranhão. It is possible that the author, someone with some knowledge of the coast of Brazil, or with access to the sources, tried to give information about the military situation of the Dutch, intended for a possible attack to recover the territories. He hardly gives any information about the cities (urbanization, buildings, official and particular), but divulges important details about the fortresses and all that is important from the military point of view. The author must have worked with the “Relação das Praças fortes ...” written by the Sargento Mor of Brazil, Diogo de Campos Moreno in 1609, the “Livro da Razão do Brasil” of the same author, with maps designed by João Teixeira Albernaz the Elder, and the Atlas made by the same Teixeira in 1640, if the author is not Teixeira himself. The general plan of the designs, the orientation and other details are very reminiscent of these other works. We have considered this fact in order to compare the various works and have a better idea of the intention of the author and the work itself.

What follows is an account of the most important maps related to the main object of this report, that is, the fortifications built by the Dutch in the coast of Brazil. That is why we have not included the captaincy of São Vicente, Rio de Janeiro, and none of the maps concerning Africa or Asia, which cover most of the book. But we have included the captaincy of Espírito Santo, which was not conquered by the Dutch but where there was an intensive Dutch presence in relation to the trade of Brazil wood. We have also included San Salvador de Bahia de Todos los Santos, conquered by the Dutch in 1624 and recovered by a Luso-Spanish fleet in 1625.

BN, Ms. 7121, Coasts of Brazil, (around 1640).

No scale.

1 map manuscript, col.; 30,1 x 40 cms.

Atlas de las costas y de los puertos de las posesiones portuguesas en América y Asia”, 16—

⁴⁸ Santos, Ricardo Evaristo dos, *El Brasil Filipino*, ... Bachiller Cabria, *Cartografía Manuscrita de Brasil en la Colecciones españolas...*

⁴⁹ Francisco de Solano (ed.), *Estudios sobre la ciudad Iberoamericana*, p. 891.

⁵⁰ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 1974.

Atlas of the coasts and ports in the Portuguese possessions in America and Africa.



Map showing the coast of Brazil with Portuguese and Dutch possessions.

Places shown in the map (North to South):

Estado do Brasil:

- Maranhão.
- Costa aparsellada.
- R. Siará.
- R. Jaguaribi.
- Baxos de S. Roque.
- R. Grande.
- Porto dos Buzios ou R. Perangi.
- Capitania da Parayba.
- B. da traiçao.
- Paraiba.
- C. Branco.
- Pedra furada.
- Capitania de Itamaracá.
- Porto dos Franceses.
- Ilha Itamaracá.
- Capitania de Pernambuco.
- Olinda de Pernambuco.
- P. de Marim.
- Pojuca.

- Tamandaré.
- Porto Calvo.
- R. de S. Francisco.
- Baxos do ...
- Sergipe del Rey.
- Capitania da BAhia.
- S. Salvador.
- CAmamú.
- Capitania dos Ilheos.
- Ilheos.
- Capitania de Porto Seguro.
- Aymores.
- Porto Seguro.
- Capitania do Spiritu Santo.
- Spiritu Santo.
- P. do Tubarão.
- Capitania do Rio de Janeiro.
- B. Ferosa.
- De Santa Anna.
- S. Sebastiao.
- Angra dos Reis.
- Capitania de S. Vicente.
- Vila dos Santos.
- S. Vicente.

BN, Mss, 7121 (c. 1640).

O Maranhão.

Marañón, River, 16-

Marañón, San Luis, 16—

1 map manuscript, col.; 29,5 x 40,5 cms.

Atlas de las costas y de los puertos de las posesiones portuguesas en América y Asia”,
16—

Atlas of the coasts and ports in the Portuguese possessions in America and Africa, 16-

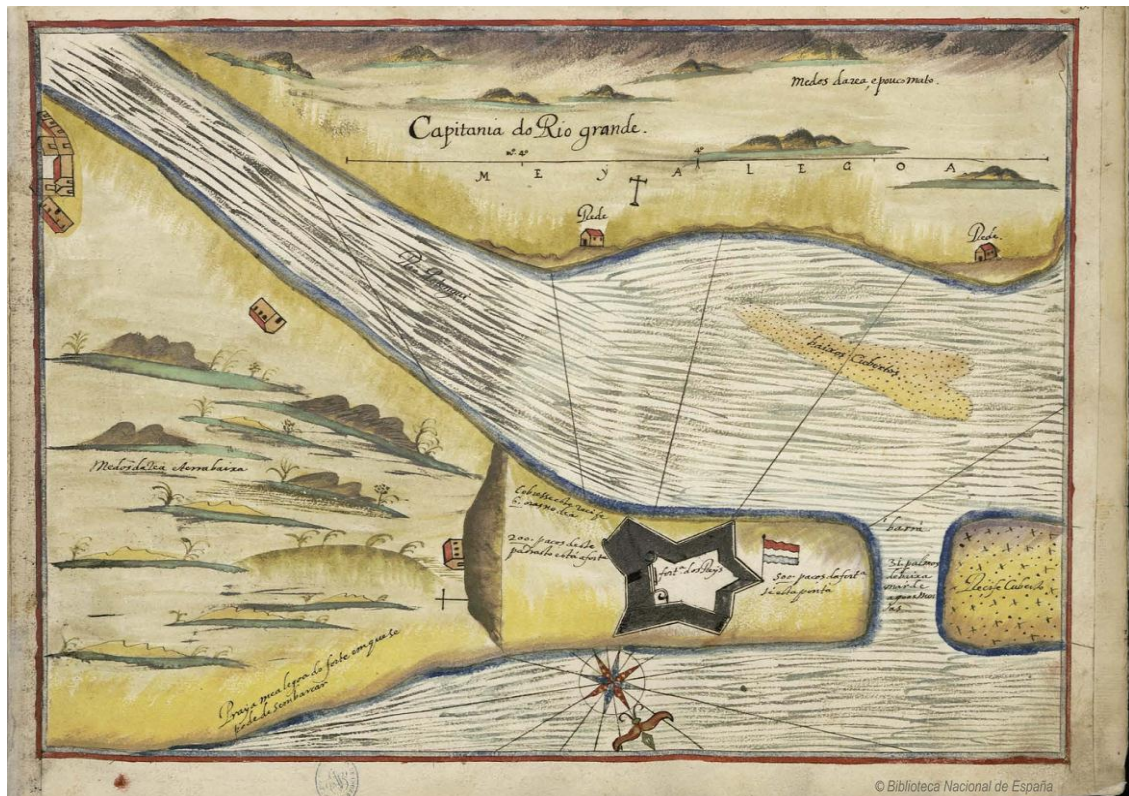


Map showing the territory of Maranhão.

On the map two interesting questions are: 1: in contrast to the other maps in the book the territory is not named as “captaincy”. In reality, by the time the map was made Maranhão was not technically a captaincy, but another “State”, separated from the “State of Brazil” with its capital in Salvador. This is clearly shown on the map. Another important question that helps to date the map is that there is no Dutch flag meaning that it was made before the conquest in 1641. As we have said, this region has been the object of another report made by me for the New Holland Foundation and available on the internet. The main defensive units shown in the map are the “Forte de Santa Maria” and “Forte Grande de S. Luiz”.

The fort of Sao Luis was the most important defensive work in the State of Maranhão when the Dutch conquered it in 1641. According to some sources, and that is the popular version, it was built by the French in 1612, but there are documents in the

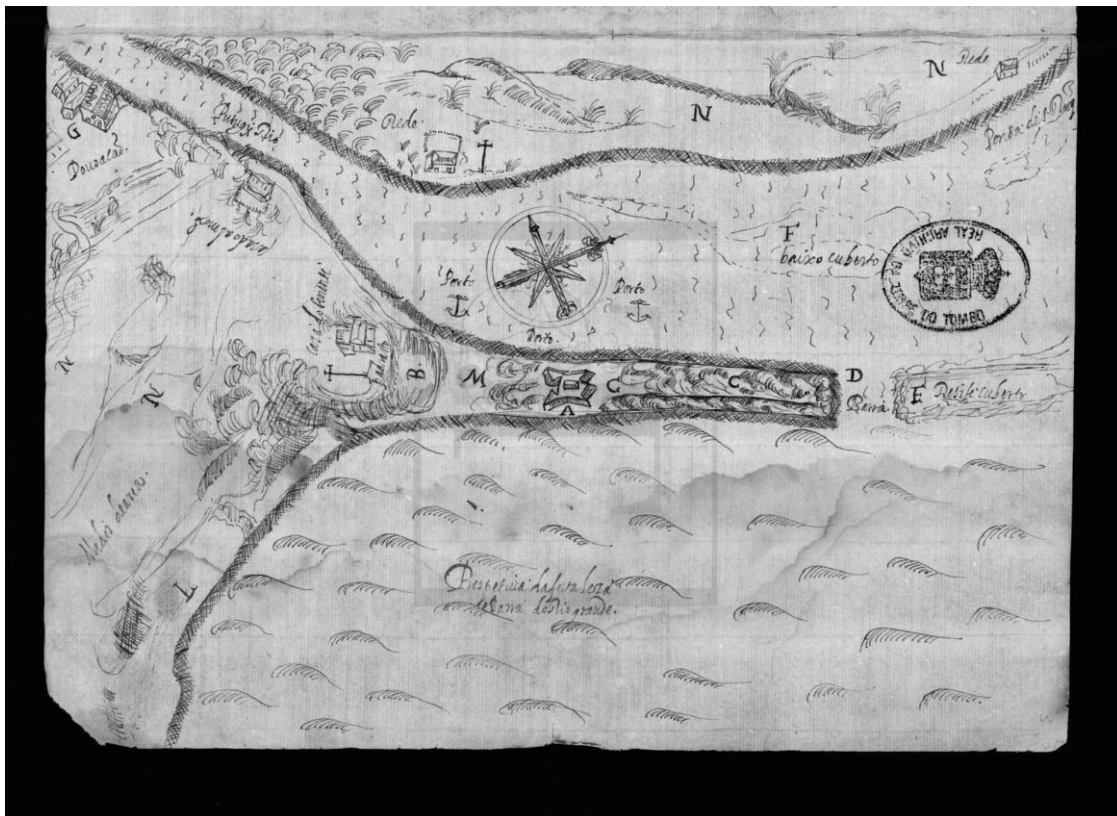
Atlas de las costas y de los puertos de las posesiones en América y África, 16-
Atlas of the coasts and ports in the Portuguese possessions in America and Africa, 16-



- “Capitania do Rio Grande”: (Captaincy of Rio Grande).
- Escala: “Meya Legoa”: (Scale: half a league).
- “Baixos cubertos”: (covered shallows).

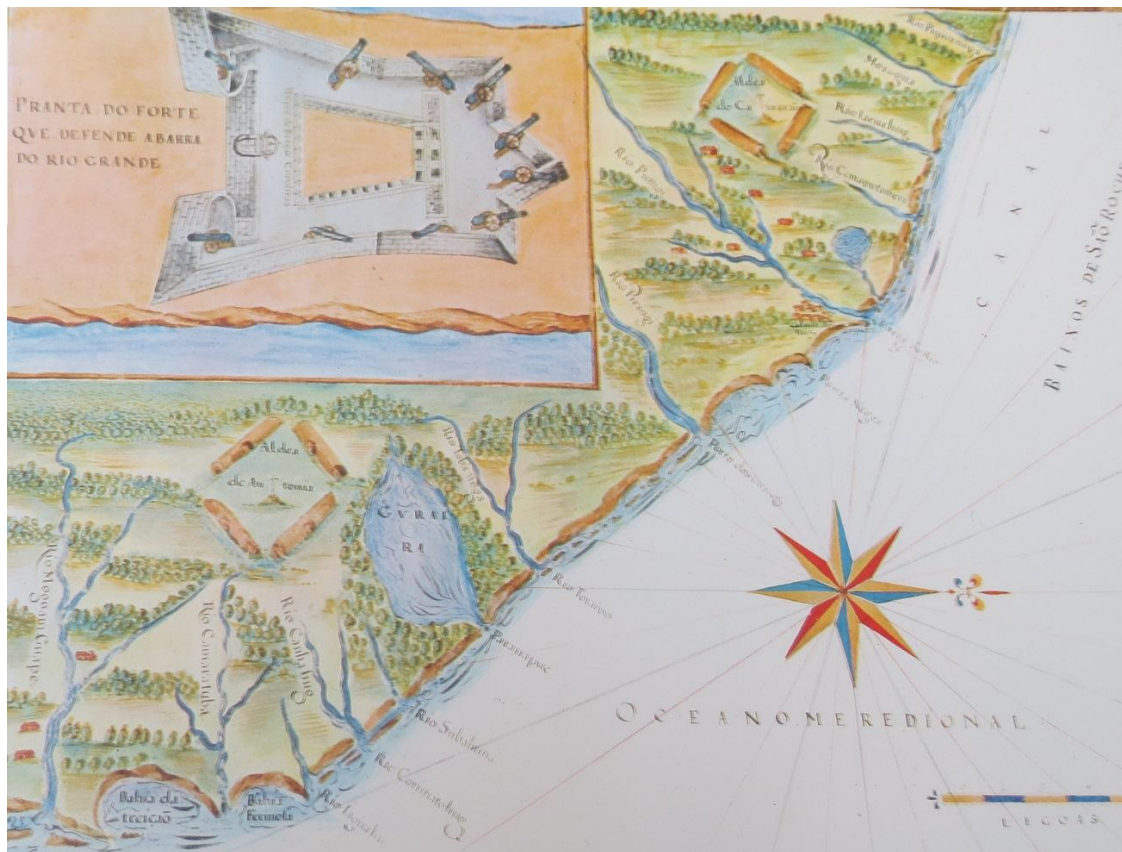
- “Praia meia legua do forte em que se pode desembarcar”: (Beach half a league from the fort suitable for disembarkment).
- “Cobresse este recife 6 oras no dia”: (Reef submerged 6 hours per day).
- “200 pasos deste padrao está a fortaleza”: (200 steps away from this hill is the fortress).
- “Fort^a dos Reis”: (Fortress of the Kings).
- “500 passos da fort^a hé esta ponta”: (500 steps away from this point is the fortress).
- “31 palmos de baixa mar de aguas mornas”: (31 palms of tidewater).
- “Recife coberto”: (covered reef).

It is interesting to compare this map with the one in the “Relação das Praças Fortes...” de Diogo Campos Moreno made in 1609. We see the same location of the main geographical features, much the same plan of the fort. Although the engineer Francisco Dias Mesquita made some reforms in 1614, the fort had its shape already in 1609, when Campos Moreno wrote this account.



Map of Rio Grande in the “Relação das Praças fortes...” by Diogo de Campos Moreno, 1609⁵¹.

⁵¹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), PT/TT/MR/1/68, 1609.



Map of the Fort of Reis Magos in the “Livro da Razão...” in the edition of 1627 by Joao Teixeira Albernaz II.

BN, Ms, 7121

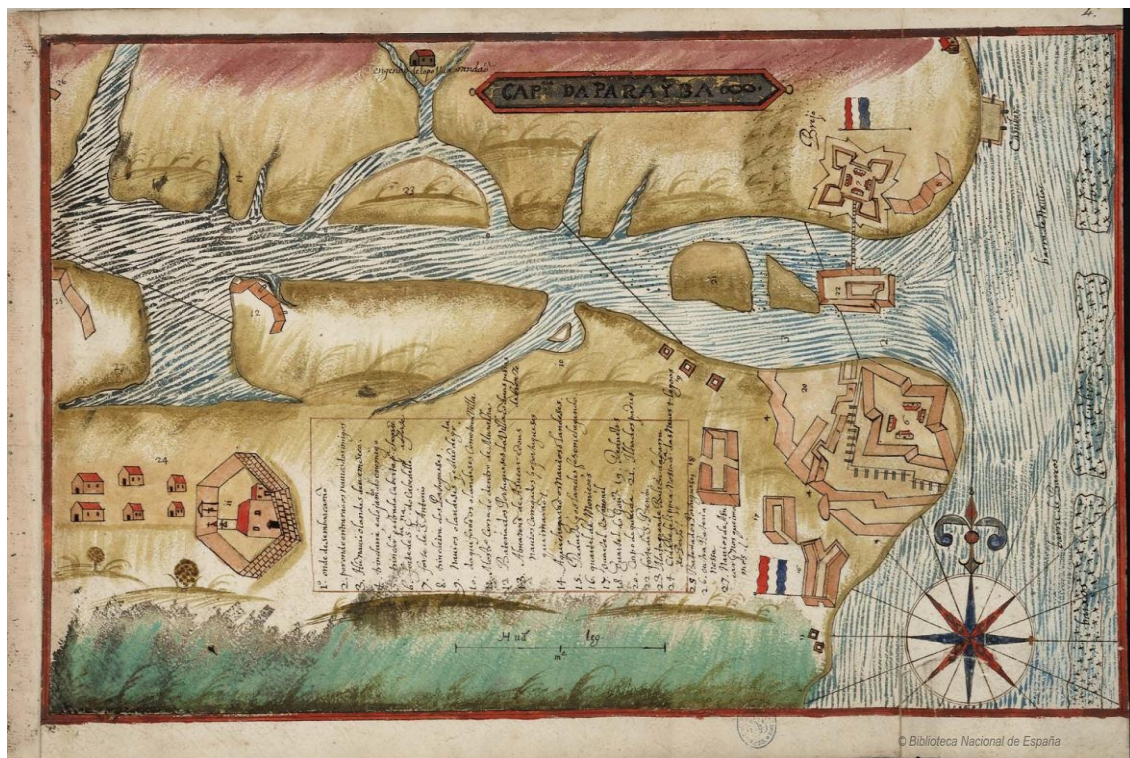
Parayba, Mapas generales, 16-

1 map, col., 29,5 x 46,8 cms.

With representations of the fortresses of Santa Catalina do Cabedelo, San Antonio and San Benito.

Atlas de las costas y de los puertos de las posesiones en América y África, 16-

Atlas of the coasts and ports in the Portuguese possessions in America and Africa, 16-



Map showing the Captaincy of Paraíba, with the mouth of the river Paraíba, the city of Filipeia, Nossa Senhora das Neves, Paraíba or Frederickstaat as it was known at different moments of its history. For more details of the fortifications in the Paraíba see the Pilot Project of the Atlas of Dutch Brazil and our text “Colonial fortifications in the State of Paraíba, Historical research in Spain and Portugal”⁵² with detailed information about the forts in the Captaincy of Paraíba. The first construction, called “Forte de São Felipe e São Tiago” was constructed under the command of Diego Flores Valdés, general of the fleet that was sent by Philip II of Spain to the coasts of Brazil in 1583-1584. The fort was ready in the year 1584 when Diego Flores Valdés departed and left some men, arms and material to build the fort. The building was later abandoned and

⁵² Cabral, G. and Santos Perez, J.M., *Colonial fortifications in the State of Paraíba, Historical research in Spain and Portugal*, New Holland Foundation. Contributions to the Atlas of Dutch Brazil, 2009.

some authors refer to it as the “Forte Velho da Paraíba”, although there are doubts that this is the same fort.

On the map of the National Library in Madrid we can see some of the main constructions and defence works of the Captaincy of Paraíba. The construction of the city of “Nossa Senhora das Neves”, Paraíba or “Frederickstaat”, started on August, 1585 and was conquered by the Dutch in 1634. According to Joffily, at that moment the city was “quite small, with hardly three streets with a few buildings, two in the upper part of the city and one in the lower part”. The same source speaks of six main religious buildings, including the “Convento de S. Francisco, fortified by the Dutch”⁵³.

The main fortresses of the city were, as is shown on the map, the Fort of Cabedelo, also known as Santa Catarina or Margareth by the Dutch, the Fort of S. Bento and the Fort of Santo Antonio, with the already mentioned Cloister of S. Francisco. Some other constructions, like batteries, trenches, guard houses and arsenals can be seen on the map.

The fort of Santa Catarina do Cabedello was constructed in 1589 at the time of the first governor of Paraíba, Frutuoso Barbosa. Destroyed in 1591, it took its famous and impressive shape in 1618 with the reforms of the architect and “engenheiro mor” of Brazil, Francisco de Frias Mesquita. After several attacks, the fort was conquered by Dutch troops commanded by general van Schkope in December, 1634. Several sources of the period, like Van der Dussen or Frei Paulo do Rosário give an account of the battles⁵⁴.

The fort of Santo Antonio, or Northern Fort, was first built in the year 1589 but destroyed ten years later. The Portuguese rebuilt it in 1631. Together with the Restinga Fort (shown in the map as “Forte de São Bento” and connected to it by a gangway) it formed an impressive triangle of defences at the mouth of the Paraíba river.

The Church and Monastery of Santo Antonio of the Franciscan order was the administrative centre of the Dutch in Paraíba (1636-1646). It was reinforced with a wall and a trench.

Legend on the map (in Portuguese).

Capitania da Parayba.

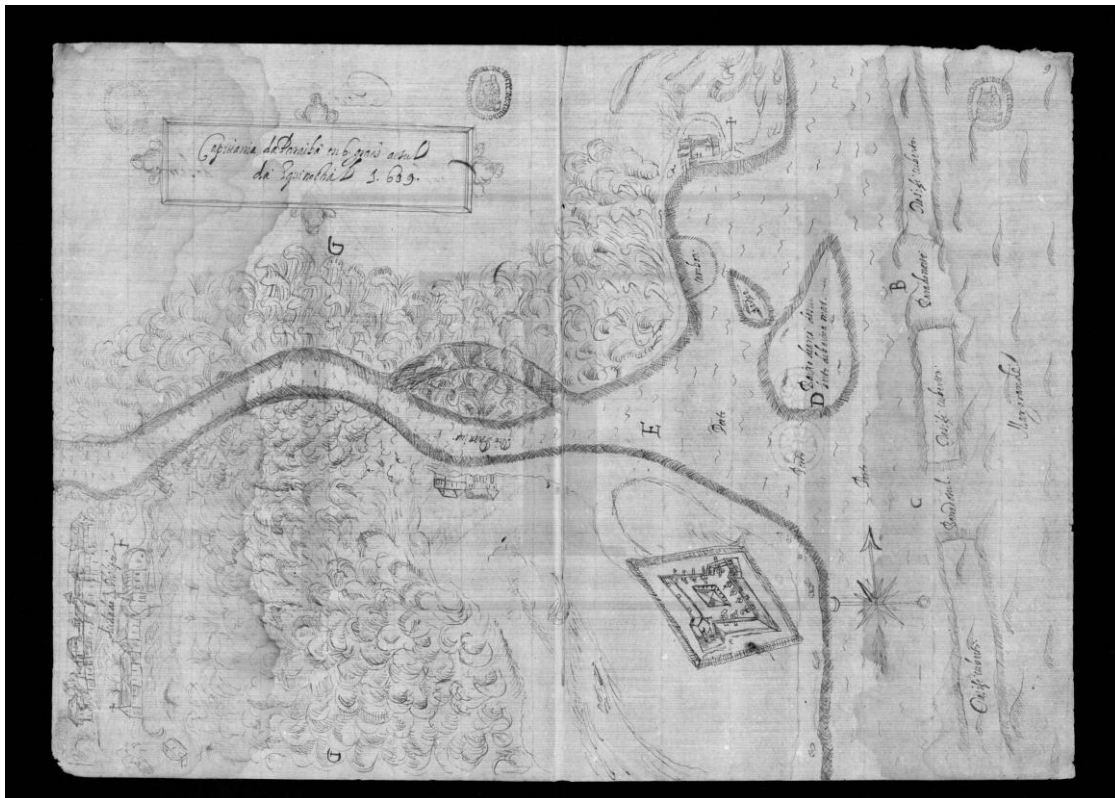
- 1 Onde desembarcarão: (where they disembarked).
- 2 Por onde entrarão os navios dos inimigos: (place where the enemies' vessels came in).
- 3 Hum navio olandes deu em seco: (a Dutch ship run aground).
4. Trincheira e alojanto do inimigo: (trench and lodgement of the enemy).
5. Trincheira y entrada cubierta para chegarem ao forte: (trench and covered entry to arrive at the fort).
6. Forte de Sta. Cna. De Cabedello: (fort of Santa Catarina de Cabedello).

⁵³ JOFFILY, I. – Notas sobre a Parahyba, ., pp. 171-172, apud Cabral, G. and Santos Perez, J.M., *Colonial fortifications in the State of Paraíba, Historical research in Spain and Portugal*, New Holland Foundation. Contributions to the Atlas of Dutch Brazil, 2009.

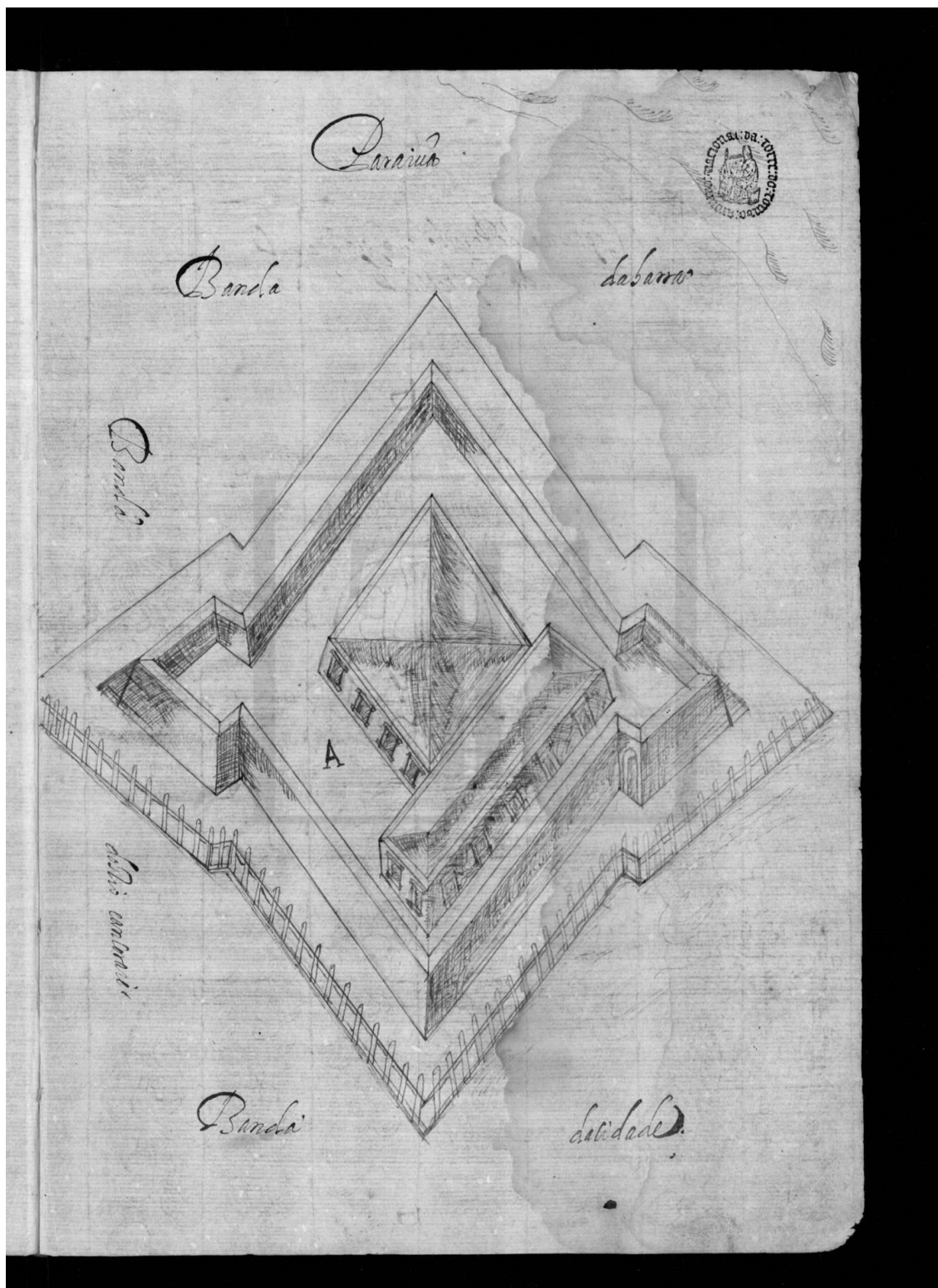
⁵⁴ FREI PAULO DO ROSÁRIO – *Relação breve e verdadeira da memorável victoria que ouve o Capitão-mor da Paraíba Antônio de Albuquerque dos rebeldes de Olanda...*; VAN DER DUSSEN, A. – *Relatório sobre as capitanias conquistadas no Brasil pelos holandeses (1639)*.

7. Forte de S. Antonio: (fort of S. Antonio).
8. Trincheira dos portugueses: (trench of the Portuguese).
9. Navios olandeses que estão de guarda: (Dutch ships on watch).
10. Daqui forão os olandeses cometer a villa: (from this place the Dutch attacked the city).
11. Mosteiro cerrado dentro de muralla: (a monastery closed inside a wall).
12. Batenados portugueses da villa. Duas pessas de bronze: (Portuguese defences of the city with two pieces in bronze).
13. Almazens de Asucar e dous navios carregados que os portugueses queimarão: (sugar warehouses and two vessels loaded that the Portuguese burned).
14. Aquí chegarão os navios olandeses: (here arrived the Dutch ships).
15. Reducto que o olandes fez em chegando: (stronghold that the Dutch made at the arrival).
16. Cuartel de monições: (arsenal).
17. Cuartel do coronel: (colonel's headquarters).
18. Quartel do governador: (governor's headquarters).
19. Reductos: (strongholds).
20. Corpo de Guardia: (Guard Room).
21. Ilha dos padres: (Island of the priests).
22. Forte de S. Bento: (fort of S. Bento).
23. Mata grande, balisa da barra: (Big forest, beacon of the barrier).
24. Cidade de Filippeia, Nossa Sra. Das Neves, 4 legoas do porto: (City of Filippeia, Nossa Sra. Das Neves, 4 leagues from the port).
25. Bateria dos portugueses: (Battery of the Portuguese).
26. Outra bateria nossa: (another battery of ours).
27. Navios de açúcar que nos queimamos: (sugar vessels that we burned).

It is interesting to compare this map with that of Diogo Campos Moreno in the “Relação das praças fortes...” that shows an earlier stage of the constructions in and around the city of Filipeia and the Paraíba River. The Sargento Mor included in his account a detailed plan of the Fort of Santa Catarina do Cabedello.



Map of the Captaincy of Paraíba in Diogo de Campos Moreno, “Relação das praças fortes... em 1609”. ANTT, PT/TT/MR/1/68.



Map of the fort of Santa Catarina do Cabedelo in Diogo de Campos Moreno, "Relação das prazas fortes..." 1609. ANTT, PT/TT/MR/1/68.

BN, Mss, 7121 (c. 1640).

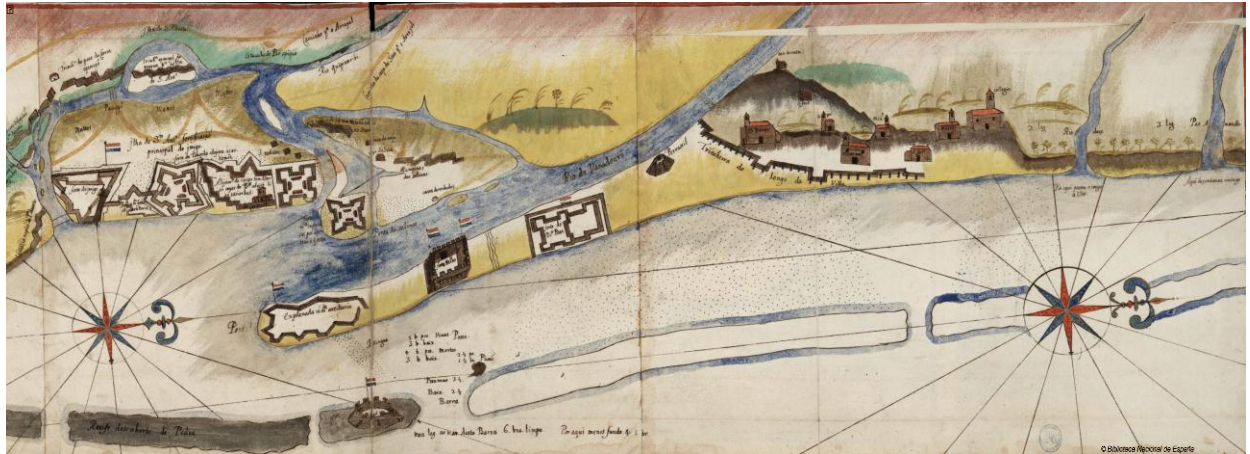
Recife, Costas de Recife, 16-

1 map in 2 sheets, manuscript, col.: 35,5 x 137 cms.

With representation of fortifications, churches and other buildings.

Atlas de las costas y de los puertos de las posesiones en América y África, 16-

Atlas of the coasts and ports in the Portuguese possessions in America and Africa, 16-



This map shows the cities of Recife and Olinda with the whole complex of fortresses. Dutch flags appear in most of the buildings, not only in the constructions made by the invaders. We can see on the left the island of Antonio Vaz, the port of Recife, the strip of land connecting Recife to Olinda, the city of Olinda with churches and ramparts, and the northern coast. In the forefront there is a detailed representation of the reefs that run along the coast. This is another important reference to date the maps and the book. Considering the development of the defensive works, forts and constructions, the map must be slightly later or around 1640 when the war fronts had stabilized. As in the rest of the maps we observe a strong similarity with the map of Recife in the “Relação das praças fortes...” by Diogo Campos Moreno, shown below, and, in this case, especially with the map by Teixeira de Albernaz in his Atlas of Brazil of 1640.

The city of Olinda was founded by the Captain “Donatario” Gonçalo de Albuquerque Coelho in 1535. Located at the top of a hill, suitable for defence against the Indian tribes of the interior, Olinda was the capital of the Captaincy of Pernambuco. The small settlement was occupied gradually over the following years and was filled with administrative, residential and ecclesiastical buildings. As a Portuguese “vila” it had a “pelourinho” and a “câmara” (township) and in its squares and streets the “senhores de engenho” (local elites that owned sugar plantations) strolled around boasting of their clothes and recently won riches. The city was a political and administrative centre but not an economic or commercial centre. This meant that in a territory like Pernambuco, which depended for 90 % of its resources on the exportation of sugar, Olinda needed a place for the embarkment and disembarkment of merchandise and the running of businesses. This place was the small settlement of Recife, some 8 kms away from Olinda, located at the extreme south of a strip of land stretching from Olinda to the south. In reality the two unities formed a complex of “cidade alta” (upper

city) and “cidade baja” (lower city) as it was common in the Portuguese of Brazilian cities.

The production of sugar had increased in such a way in the Captaincy that, at the moment of the Dutch conquest in 1630 Pernambuco was, together with the Captaincy of Bahia de Todos los Santos, the most valuable Portuguese possession in South America.

As is well known, both cities were attacked and conquered by a Dutch fleet under the command of De Lonq in 1630. Although the system of defences had been reinforced in the years 12-18, by the time of the attack it was in a poor condition. The brother of the “donatario”, Matias de Albuquerque, who governed Pernambuco on his behalf, could do little to resist the combined attack of land and sea forces⁵⁵.

After the invasion the Dutch burned and abandoned Olinda and concentrated in the area of Recife, the strip of land and the island of Antonio Vaz, located in the south west. Most of the buildings we see in this map are located in these areas.

Places shown in the map, from left to right:

- Cammaragibi.
- Porto Calvo.
- Rio Unna (between the two rivers appears a Dutch flag in the coast).
- Rio Feroso.
- Serra Cellada 2 leg. Do Mar.
- Mto. Arvoredo (a big grove).
- Ponta de Marehaipe.
- Pojuca.
- Cabo de Santo Agostinho.
- Forte que perdemos (Fort we lost, with a Dutch Flag).
- N. S. de Nazaré (church of N. S. de Nazaré).

The Cabo de Santo Agostinho was the most important port used by the Portuguese resistance after the Dutch invasion in 1630. It was the main entrance for supplies and munition and was the place where some of the Spanish-Portuguese relief troops landed in 1631 and 1635. According to Marcos Albuquerque the area had been the object of dispute among French, Portuguese and Indian tribes, and could only be occupied since 1571. After this date the colonists received pieces of land (“sesmarias”) and started to build “engenhos”, the sugar mills. At the beginning of the 17th century the small city of Nazaré do Cabo started to grow and was one of the most prosperous populations in the southern part of Pernambuco. The village profited from the vicinity of Cabo de Santo Agostinho, the only entrance through the reefs in this part of the Captaincy. During the years before the invasion the Portuguese had made several defence works that were completed later by the Dutch. The most important of these constructions was de “Forte de Nazaré”, also known as “Forte de Nossa Senhora de Nazaré” or “Forte Velho”. Since the Dutch conquest of Recife, most of the port activities of the Portuguese were located in this port of Cabo de Santo Agostinho or port of Nazaré. There was a Dutch tentative of conquering the fort in 1632 but this was rejected by the Portuguese. The original fort

⁵⁵ For details about the Dutch attack see the classical works of Boxer, Jose Antonio Gonçalves de Mello, Evaldo Cabral de Mello, Herman Wätjen, and our book *El desafío holandés al dominio ibérico en Brasil en el siglo XVII*, especially the article by Marcos Albuquerque, “Holandeses en Pernambuco. Rescate material de la Historia“ cited in the bibliography.

played an important role in this victory of the Luso-Brazilian forces, commanded by Bento Maciel. The strategic importance of the place made it necessary to reinforce the building and the Commander General of the Spanish-Portuguese troops, the count of Bagnuolo, ordered the construction of a new fort also known as “Forte de Nazaré”. It was built after 1632 probably in wood and earth. The fort was conquered by the Dutch in July 1635.

Cabo de Pº (Pero) Cabarigo.

Forte Duvidoso neste lugar (A dubious fort in this place).

This place is mentioned in several works under different names: it is the cape of Pero Cabrigo, according to De Laet, Pero Cabaru or Cabo Preto in the map of Marcgrave, and is named Pero Gavarim by Gabriel Soares de Sousa. The author of the maps in the 1627 edition of “Livro da Razão do Brasil...”, João Teixeira, names it Pero Cabarigo, much as it is called in the map we are commenting. It is possible that the author of the map knew the work of João Teixeira and the “Livro da Razão...”⁵⁶

We have doubts about the fort. In the vicinity of Cabo Santo Agostinho there were some defensive works like strongholds and two forts: “Castrum Dussen” and “Castrum Gisellini”. According to Hulsman:

“The design of a fortification on the northern point of the island was made on 15 March 1634. (...) The newly built fort was called Fort Ghijseling. It was a battery with two bulwarks on the sea side (Laet 1937: 26-27). The place of its construction was probably badly chosen because it had already been severely damaged in January 1635 by the sea and had to be repaired with the assistance of engineer Drewisch (Laet 1937: 92). Dussen described it in 1639 as a battery that could not be closed from behind and was susceptible to attack from the high hills behind it (Barlaeus 1923: 183). It was probably already falling into decay as a report from January 1638 stated that it had been damaged so badly by the sea that it was decided to let it be⁵⁷.”

It is possible that the word “duvidoso” refers to this state of the fort described by the Dutch sources.

There is another fort in the area that could match the one on the map: according to Albuquerque, on the northern side of Cabo de Santo Agostinho there was a fort called “Forte de São Francisco Xavier” built by the Portuguese in 1630 in order to defend the Cabo. It was of an irregular plan and the batteries were installed in two different levels...⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Apud Câmara Cascudo, Luis da, *Geografia do Brasil holandês*, Livraria José Olímpio Editora, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil, 1ª Edição, 1956, p. 183.

⁵⁷ L.A.H.C. Hulsman, *Colonial fortifications in Brazil preliminary inventory part I Historical research in the Netherlands*, Amsterdam: New Holland Foundation, 2015, p. 40.

⁵⁸ Albuquerque, M., Lucena, V., Walmsley, D., *Fortes de Pernambuco: imagens do passado e do presente*, Recife: Graftorre, 1999, p. 135.

The next remarkable landmark in the map is the “Estancia na ponta de Pº Duarte”, which seems to be a breastwork on the southern margin of the Afogados river. Upstream on the same river we can see the “trincheira do capitão Frco. Duarte” (trench of the captain Francisco Duarte), defending the western part of the Island of Antonio Vaz whose main and impressive buildings are shown in the map. As a continuation of this construction there are two more “trincheiras”: the “trincheira do passo do Correa e passagem” [trench of the Correa passage] and the “trincheira e passagem do pragua pª a ilha de S. Antonio”, trench and passage ... ? to the island of S. Antonio] in the Island of S. Alberto, which we can also see in the map of the “Descrição de todo o Maritimo da terra de Sta Crus chamado vulgarmente o Brazil” of 1640 by João Teixeira Albernaz. All of these structures closed the island of Santo Antonio from the west, protected the fords in the river and served as the first defensive work against the Luso-Brazilian enemies who attacked normally from the west.

On the map the island of Antonio Vaz is presented as: “Ilha de Sto Antonio, fortificação principal do inimigo” (Santo Antonio Island, main fortification of the enemy).

When the Dutch arrived, the Island of Antonio Vaz, also called Santo Antônio, was only occupied by a Monastery of Franciscans built in 1612/13. Dutch troops conquered the place in 1630 and the priests left it abandoned. Soon afterwards began the works of fortification that were the beginning of what Johan Maurits van Nassau would later call “Mauritsstadt”, the project of a new city with Dutch features.

On the island we can see 5 important buildings and three small strongholds.

The first structure is named “Forte do inimigo” (enemy’s fort). By the position it takes in the extreme southern point of the island, close to the River Afogados, this building must be the “Forte Emilia” or “Reduto Emilia”, well known to the contemporaries. It was built by the Dutch since August 1631, following the design of the engineer Commersteijn, who left Recife before its conclusion but warned about the importance of defending this place. It complemented the defence of this part of the island together with the Fort Frederick Hendrik or “Cinco Pontas”. Some authors point out that the “Emilia rebound” was built to help defend the works of the important Frederik Hendrik fort after some attacks of the Brazilian forces. However, the Fort Emilia was a square redoubt⁵⁹ and not a triangle as is shown in the map, another proof of the inaccurate knowledge that the author had of the places he was drawing, probably caused by the use of indirect sources, like the “Livro da Razão” or the “Descrição de todo o Maritimo da terra de Sta Crus chamado vulgarmente o Brazil” of João Teixeira Albernaz, or both.

Next to Fort Emilia, to the north, we find the enormous structure of the Fort Frederik Hendrik, or “Forte das Cinco Pontas”. On the map we see close to this building the text: “Forte do Taborda alojara 1500 homens” (Fort of Taborda, lodging of 1500 men). In fact the name “Fort of Taborda” was given to Fort Emilia mentioned above, another confusion in the map of the National Library.

According to Albuquerque, in the first years of the Dutch conquest it was dangerous to live in the Island of Santo Antonio, because of the attacks of the Luso-

⁵⁹ L.A.H.C. Hulsman, *Colonial fortifications...* p. 36.

Brazilian resistance. The main defence work there was the Forte Ernesto, but it proved to be insufficient to protect the population against the raids of the enemy. The strategic island needed a better defence because of its location, but also because it guaranteed the supply of drinking water for the soldiers. The supply of water was quite difficult in the marshy environs of a city where there were only a few deposits (cacimbas) of fresh water, and they were located on this island. In October 1630 the general of the Dutch ground forces in the region, general Waerdenburch, ordered the construction of a fort on the southernmost point of the island of Antonio Vaz to defend the river Afogados and the “cacimbas” of the island. When Count Johan Maurits van Nassau arrived in Recife the fort was in poor condition and the governor ordered its entire rebuilding, deepening the pits and adding a counterscarp. It is at this time that the fort took its characteristic shape with the five bulwarks, still visible in present-day Recife, in the middle of a jungle of highways and skyscrapers in this highly urbanized part of the city. The terms of capitulation of the last Dutch troops in Pernambuco were elaborated in this fort in 1654⁶⁰.

The next fort we see on the Island of Santo Antonio is the complex known as “Fort Ernesto”. The text inside the construction says: “Alojamiento do inimigo tem dentro as casas de B^os almrs e as cacimbas do coronel” [lodging of the enemy, has inside the houses of (several admirals?) and the deposits of the colonel].

In the first moments of the Dutch invasion, the priests of the monastery of São Francisco on the island of Santo Antonio left the building. The convent was occupied by the Batavians and transformed into a big headquarter. It was surrounded by a wall and together with the new Forte Ernesto constituted a big complex of administrative, military and defensive structures⁶¹. The project of Mauritsstad would encircle this complex. The two palaces of Johan Maurits were constructed nearby. In 1654 the fort had 19 pieces of bronze and iron, with the coat of arms of Portugal and Spain.

“Tres redutos”

Close to the Fort Ernesto, three small constructions named “redutos” that is, redoubts, appear on the map. These were in fact four redoubts that guarded the west of the island. Little is known about them and probably one of them developed into redoubt Boa Vista⁶².

On the extension of land in the north of Antonio Vaz we can see a representation of several defensive structures that protected the “Groot Quartier” in this part. The most remarkable is a fort which is accompanied by the text: “forte de mta impotancia por o terreno en que esta” [fort of much importance because of the terrain where it lays]. Taking into account the position, we can identify this unity as Fort Waerdenburgh or “Forte das Três Pontas” as it was known by the Portuguese. This building is a Dutch construction of 1631, occupying an island of sand in the confluence of the rivers Beberibe and Capibaribe. In the same place there was a Portuguese small fort called “Casa d’Asseca” taking the name of the island. The Dutch named it Fort Waerdenburch, in honour of Coronel Diederik van Waerdenburch who led the Dutch assault in 1630⁶³.

⁶⁰ Albuquerque, *Fortes de Pernambuco*... p. 87-88.

⁶¹ Idem, p. 49.

⁶² Hulsman, p. 34.

⁶³ Albuquerque, *Fortes de Pernambuco*, p. 97, Hulsman, p. 31.

On the island of sand that encircles the island d'Asseca and Santo Antonio Island we see several buildings, identified by the author of the map: the “*estancia do Cap. Mor Martin Soares no Siara*” [estate of Captain Major Martin Soares of Ceará]; “*casa do anjo*” [angel's house]; “*casa da Seca*”: [da Seca house, as we have said this is the name of the fort built by the Portuguese before the Fort Waerdenburch, the author is probably mistaking the two buildings]; “*campinas das salinas*”: [ground of salinas; in the Hulsman report there is a reference to one “Fort de Salines” of unknown location, but situated in the vicinity of Fort Waerdenburch⁶⁴]; “*casas derrubadas*”: [demolished houses].

The second most important area of defensive structures in Recife was the strip of land of some 6 kms. that united the port with the city of Olinda. On the southern point lay the port of Recife, a conglomerate of dwellings and warehouses surrounded by a palisade at the moment of the Dutch invasion. Feeling that the resistance was untenable, Matias de Albuquerque decided to burn the warehouses with the last “*safra*” or harvest of sugar.

The isthmus was the connection between the “*vila*” of Olinda and the port. The necessity of a good defence in this place was a concern of Portuguese and Dutch alike. At the time of the invasion the city was encircled by a palisade. The Laboratory of Archaeology of the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, under the direction of professor Marcos Albuquerque, found some of the trunks in the centre of the city during an excavation⁶⁵. After the arrival of Johan Maurits van Nassau, heavy defence works started to protect the houses of the quarter. The first construction was the “*Porta da Terra*”, a structure of two bulwarks that cut the city from the isthmus in the northern part. In the years 1637-1644 all the city was surrounded by walls with several bulwarks and three doors: *landpoort*, *waterpoort* and *pontpoort*. It was quite an impressive rampart made of earth and masonry, covered with blockstones of 2.10 metres wide. In the “*Atlas de las costas y puertos de las posesiones*” we see something striking: in the maritime quarter we see the ramparts, but there is nothing inside. The text says: “*explanada com muita artilheria*”, that is “*esplanade with much artillery*”. It must be another inaccuracy of the author.

The next construction we see on the map is the “*Forte Velho*”, decorated with two Dutch flags. In the schematic representation on the map we can see the main features of this building: a square castle topped with battlements much as in the old medieval fashion. In fact this is the Forte de São Jorge, which had been constructed since 1580 and reinforced with some batteries in 1595 and 1629. The fort surrendered to the Dutch in March 1630 and remained in their hands until 1654. It was known by the Dutch as “*Land Castle*” because it formed a whole defensive structure with the “*Sea Castle*” or Forte de São Francisco on the western side of the entrance to the port. It was a fort with tall towers, something that was no longer fashionable at the time of the Dutch invasion and was much damaged in the bombardments.

The next building, up to the north in the isthmus is the “*Forte de Diogo Paes*”. At the end of 1629 or the beginning of 1630, the construction of another fort started. It was a building of masonry with four bulwarks, and was financed by Diogo Pais Barreto, one of the wealthiest men in the colony⁶⁶. However, when the Dutch arrived the

⁶⁴ Hulsman, p. 31.

⁶⁵ Albuquerque, “*Holandeses en Pernambuco...*”, p. 135.

⁶⁶ Albuquerque, “*Holandeses en Pernambuco...*”, p. 113.

construction had reached but a few feet above the ground. It seems that it was in this place where the Dutch finally decided to build a new fort, once they abandoned the use of the old Forte de S. Jorge. Colonel Diederik van Waerdenburch ordered the Dutch engineer Commersteyn to design a new fort that would be known as Fort Brum or Bruyne, after the political Councillor Johan de Bruyne. It was a building with two whole and two half bulwarks in 1646⁶⁷. Despite the confusion with the names, this must be the fort represented in the Atlas.

In the vicinity of Olinda, the “Atlas de las costas y puertos de las posesiones portuguesas” shows a curious construction with the name “Perraxil”. The only similar reference we have found is on the map of Recife in the “Descrição de todo o Maritimo da terra de Sta Crus chamado vulgarmente o Brazil” de João Teixeira Albernaz de 1640. In this plan we see a round construction very similar to the one in the Atlas de las costas..., more or less in the same area with the text: “Baluarte Cavaleiro no districto do Perexil” [“Cavaleiro” Stronghold in the Perexil district]. If we compare this building and its situation to the Dutch sources we can see a correspondence with a construction called “Jodenwatch” by the Dutch invaders. This was a fort named by the Portuguese “Forte de Santa Cruz” that had been constructed by Governor Matias de Albuquerque and finished in 1622. In the vicinity there was another fort, the “Forte de S. Francisco” or “Forte do Queijo”, joined to the other structure by a palisade. Both buildings were easily conquered by the Dutch in 1630. In the “Restoration campaign” the Fort fell into the hands of the Luso-Brasilian resistance in 1645 and again in 1648⁶⁸.

On the map we also see a very schematic representation of the capital of Pernambuco, Olinda. The cartographer presents the city upon a hill, with several churches in it: N. S. do Monte, S. João, S. Bento, S. Paulo, O Carmo, S. Francisco, Matris [where the Dutch installed a Calvinist temple] and “Collegio” [of the Jesuits]. The two rivers north of Olinda shown on the map have a text: in the Rio doce: “Por aqui passou o imigo a vao”: “Here is the place where the enemy forded the river”, and in the River “Pau Amarelo”: “In this place disembarked the enemy”. According to Albuquerque it was in this place that Matias de Albuquerque built a small battery that was disarmed and abandoned at the moment of the invasion in 1630. No traces of it are shown on the map.

There is a representation of the defences of Olinda with the text: “trincheiras ao longo da villa” [trenches surrounding the city]. The defences were weak and the Dutch conquered Olinda easily in 1630. After an occupation of one and a half years, in November 1631 they decided to quit the city and to burn it, taken into account the difficulties to defend it, but also because of the unfamiliar shape of a Portuguese city in an “acropolis” on the top of a hill, so very different from the urban experience of the Dutch in the Netherlands⁶⁹.

The iconography of Olinda is much the same as the Map of Olinda and Recife in the Livro da Razão, both in the edition of 1616 and 1627.

The last fort represented on the map is the “Forte de S. Francisco” or “Forte do Mar”, situated in the reef at the entrance of the harbour. Together with “Forte S. Jorge” this is one of the oldest defensive works in the city of Recife, dating from the beginning

⁶⁷ Hulsman, p. 29.

⁶⁸ Albuquerque, *Fortes de Pernambuco...*, p. 54, Hulsman, p. 26.

⁶⁹ Santos Pérez, J. Manuel, “Estado, compañías comerciales y capitanes donatarios. Una visión comparativa del Brasil Holandés”, en Santos Pérez, José Manuel y Souza, G. F. (eds.), *El desafío holandés al dominio ibérico en Brasil, 1624-1654*, Salamanca, Servicio de Publicaciones, Universidad de Salamanca, 2006.

of the seventeenth century. It formed a unity with the other fort, being S. Francisco the “sea castle” and S. Jorge the “land castle”. The works of construction started in 1612, under the direction of the chief engineer, Francisco de Frias, following a design of Tibúrcio Espanhóchi. The fort had a central plan, with a diagonal of 16.9 metres. The Dutch conquered it in 1630. In 1636 it had 7 pieces of artillery, of Spanish origin⁷⁰. Finally, this map of Recife gives information about the tides in the harbour.

As a point of comparison we include here two maps with evident similarities to this one. We find that it is possible to consider that the three of them have a relation, or that they served as a basis for the others. The oldest one is the map in the *Relação das Praças Fortes de Diogo Campos Moreno*, dated 1609. João Teixeira Albernaz included a view of Recife in the maps accompanying the 1616 and 1627 editions of the *Livro da Razão* by the same author, Campos Moreno. Finally the same João Teixeira Albernaz included another view of the town in his “*Descrição de todo o Marítimo da terra de Sta Crus chamado vulgarmente o Brazil*” of the year 1640. The map in the “*Atlas de las costas y de los Puertos de las Posesiones...*” seems to take features from all of them. It is more similar to the last one (the representation of the forts is almost the same) but it takes the image of Olinda from the map of 1616. Some features are new, like the Fort of Diogo Paes or some of the trenches, but in general it is clear that the author knew perfectly the maps produced by the Albernaz cartographers.

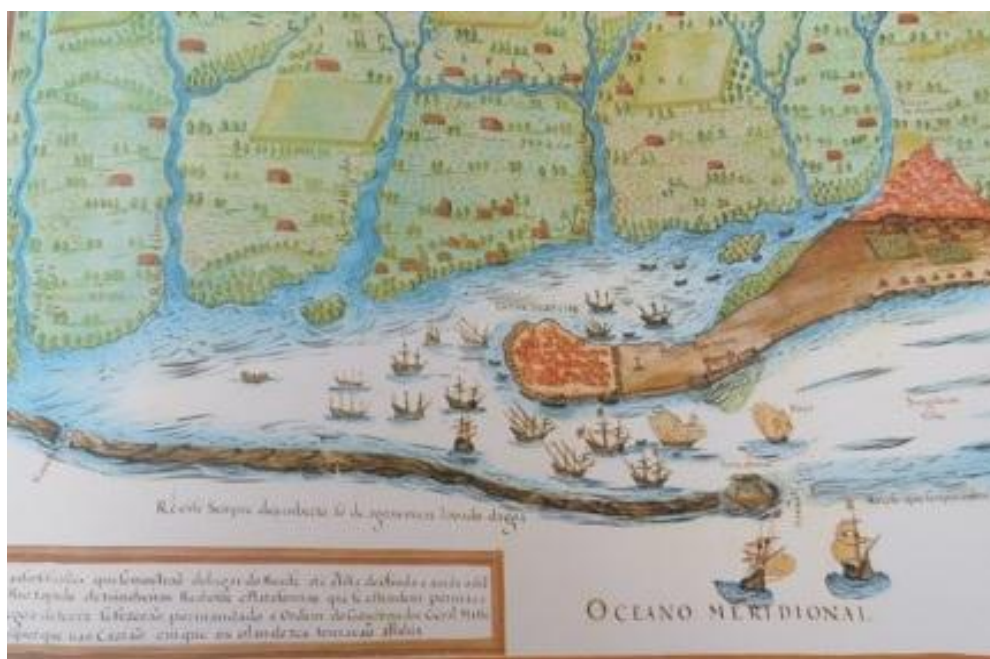


Plan of Recife in the “*Relação das Praças Fortes*” by Diogo Campos Moreno, 1609. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo...

⁷⁰ Albuquerque, *Fortes de Pernambuco...* p. 33.



Map of Recife in the 1616 edition of Livro da Razão do Brasil.



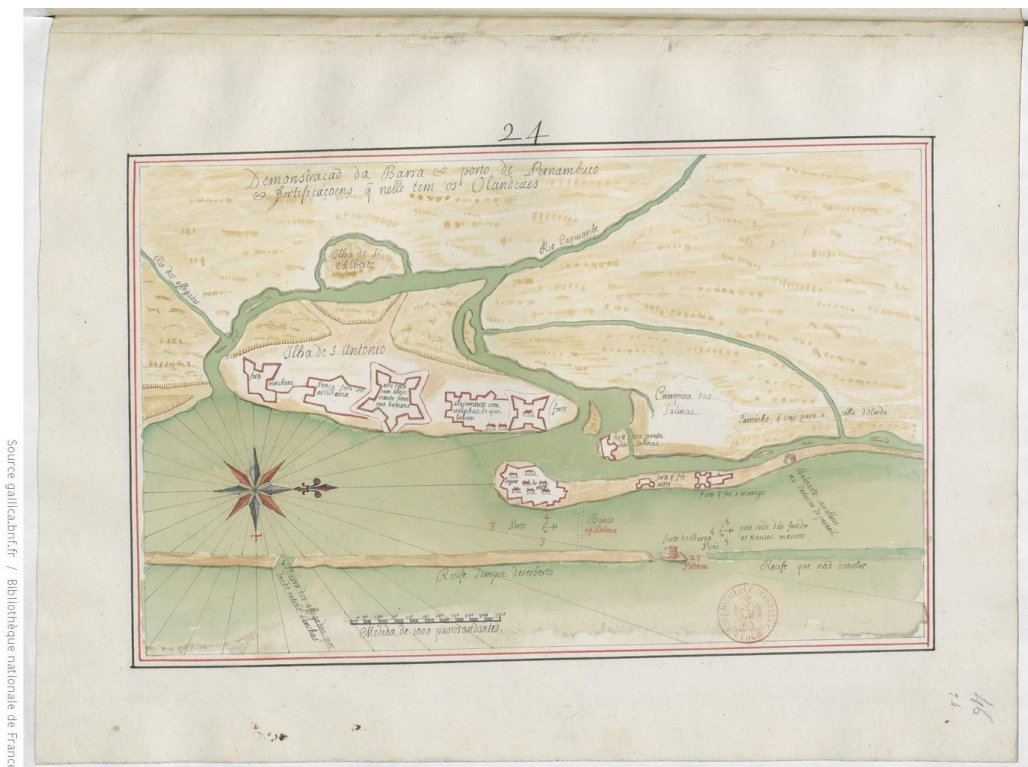
Plan of Recife in the 1627 edition of Livro da Razão, Joao Teixeira Albernaz. (Copy of the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro do Rio de Janeiro). In the Legend: "Todas as fortificações que se mostram do lugar do Recife até a Villa de Olinda e ainda adiante, até o Rio Tapado, de trincheiras Redutos e plataformas que se estendem por mas de huma legoa de terra se fizeram por mandado e ordem do Governador Geral Mathias de Albuquerque na occasiao em que os olandeses tomarao a Bahia" All the fortifications shown in the map of Recife and the village of Olinda and beyond, until the Tapado River, of trenches,

redoubts and platforms stretching for one league of land were made by orders of Governor General Mathias de Albuquerque on the occasion of the Dutch conquest of Bahia”.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Map of Recife in the “Livro em que se mostra a Descrição de toda a Costa do Estado do Brasil e seus portos, barras e sondas delas”, João Teixeira Albernaz, 1627. BNF, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Map of Recife in the “Descripção de todo o Maritimo da terra de Sta Crus chamado vulgarmente o Brazil, por João Teixeira Cosmographo de Sua Magestade, anno 1642”. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, [B.N : rés. Ge. Dd. 2020].



Map of Recife in the “Descripção de todo o Maritimo da terra de Sta Crus chamado vulgarmente o Brazil”, por João Teixeira Albernaz I, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa, 1640.

BN, Mss, 7121 (c. 1640).

Itamaracá -16-

1 map, manuscript, col., 30 x 41,1 cm.

Atlas de las costas y de los puertos de las posesiones en América y África, 16-.

Atlas of the coasts and ports in the Portuguese possessions in America and Africa, 16-.



The island of Itamaracá constituted one of the first Captaincies donated by king João III to several knights and noblemen in the year 1534. Itamaracá was given to Pero Lopes de Sousa, brother of Martim Afonso de Souza, who led an expedition to Brazil in 1530 and founded the first Portuguese city in this territory: São Vicente. Although the successor of the original “donatario” did not pay much attention to his estate, after the Dutch conquest and the subsequent expulsion of the Dutch in 1654, the Marquises of Cascais, the then donatarios, claimed the Captaincy as part of their patrimony. The Portuguese king approved the demand and ordered in 1692 that the Captaincy should be given back to the donatarios. The question was still open in the eighteenth century, when the Portuguese crown decided to extinguish the rights of the remaining captains and to make all the Captaincies royal⁷¹.

As is well known, the Captaincy of Itamaracá played an important role in the war to conquer the Northeast of Brazil. After the conquest of Recife and Olinda, the

⁷¹ Saldanha, António Vancoscelos de, *As capitánias do Brasil. Antecedentes, desenvolvimento e extinção de um fenómeno atlântico*, Lisboa: CNCDP, 1992, p. 404.

Dutch remained isolated for almost a year in these two cities, harassed by the Luso-Brazilian resistance. It was with the intention of breaking the siege that General van Schopp, commander of the Dutch troops, decided to build a small fort in Itamaracá, later known as Fort Orange. From this fort the Dutch launched the “hit and run” campaign in the year 1632 that would change the sign of the war and turn the opinion of most of the Portuguese “moradores” to accept the invader. In 1633 the small settlement of “Nossa Senhora da Conceição” surrendered to the Dutch siege and was conquered.

The map of the “Atlas de las costas y puertos de las posesiones...” shows in detail the main works of defence that were made by the Dutch on the island. The Legend of the map identifies several of these works. It says:

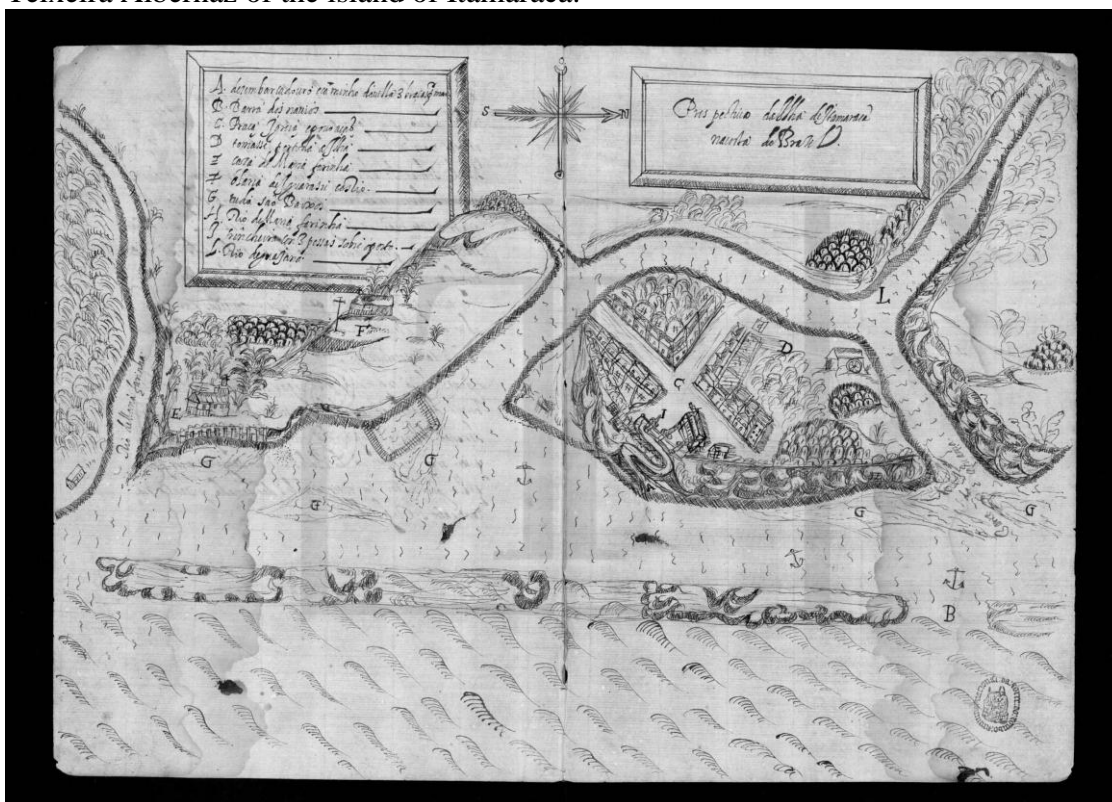
1. Sittio da Villa de Nossa S^a da Conceição (Village of Nossa S^a da Conceição).
2. Forte que o inimigo fez qdo. se retirou. (Fort built by the enemy when he retired).
3. Fortificação que fez o inimigo nas casas de huns Pescadores donde foi lançado pellos nossos. (Fortress made by the enemy in the houses of some fishermen from where they were removed by ours).
4. Reduto que fez o inimigo. [Redoubt built by enemy].
5. Estancia donde os nossos lançaraon o inimigo das Casas dos Pescadores. [Estancia where ours expelled the enemy from the Houses of the Fishermen].
6. Trincheiras ao redor da Villa. [Trenches around the village].
7. Redes dos Pescadores. [Fishing nets].
8. Sitio onde o inimigo alojou contra a Villa que se rendeo. [Place where the enemy stayed against the village that surrendered].
9. Forte.
10. Ponte que o Capm Mor Salvador Pinheiro mandou cortar junto da villa. [Bridge that the Captain Major Salvador Pinheiro ordered to be cut in the vicinity of the village].
11. Paço que de baixa mar de aguas vivas se passava a vao com agua pella sentura. [Passage waded through waist-deep water at low tide].
12. Baixos de dentro (...) qe tem de fora. [Lower sand banks...].

The main unities are Vila de Nossa Senhora da Conceição and the Forte Orange. The village was conquered by the Dutch in 1633 and received the name of Schoppestad in honour of Lieutenant-General Sigismund van Schoppe. There were two main attacks on the village, in 1631 and 1633. The defences of the city are shown on the map by number 6. Numbers 5, 8 and 9 correspond to the batteries and redoubts built by the Dutch in the period of siege.

The main construction in Itamaracá was Fort Orange. In 1631 the official Steyn Callefels started building a wooden fort on a small island in the south of Itamaracá. It was from this fort that the Dutch launched the attacks against Igarapé and Conceição. To defend the construction of this fort they built a redoubt, probably number 3 on the map. It was not until 1638, under the government of Nassau, that Fort Orange started to show its configuration as a regular fort with four bulwarks, a construction led by Tobias Commersteyn and Cristovão Alvares, a Portuguese engineer. It remained Dutch until 1648⁷².

⁷² Albuquerque, “Holandeses en Pernambuco”, p. 123.

We show here for comparison the maps of Diogo Campos Moreno and João Teixeira Albernaz of the island of Itamaracá.



Map of Itamaracá in the “Relação das praças Fortes...” by Diogo de Campos Moreno, 1609. In the Legend, with letter “P”, we can see the only defensive work at the time when Diogo Campos Moreno visited de place around 1608. It is a trench with three pieces of artillery. ANTT. PT/TT/MR/1/68.



Map of Itamaracá in the “Descrição de todo o Maritimo da terra de Sta Crus chamado vulgarmente o Brazil”, por João Teixeira Albernaz I, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa, 1640.

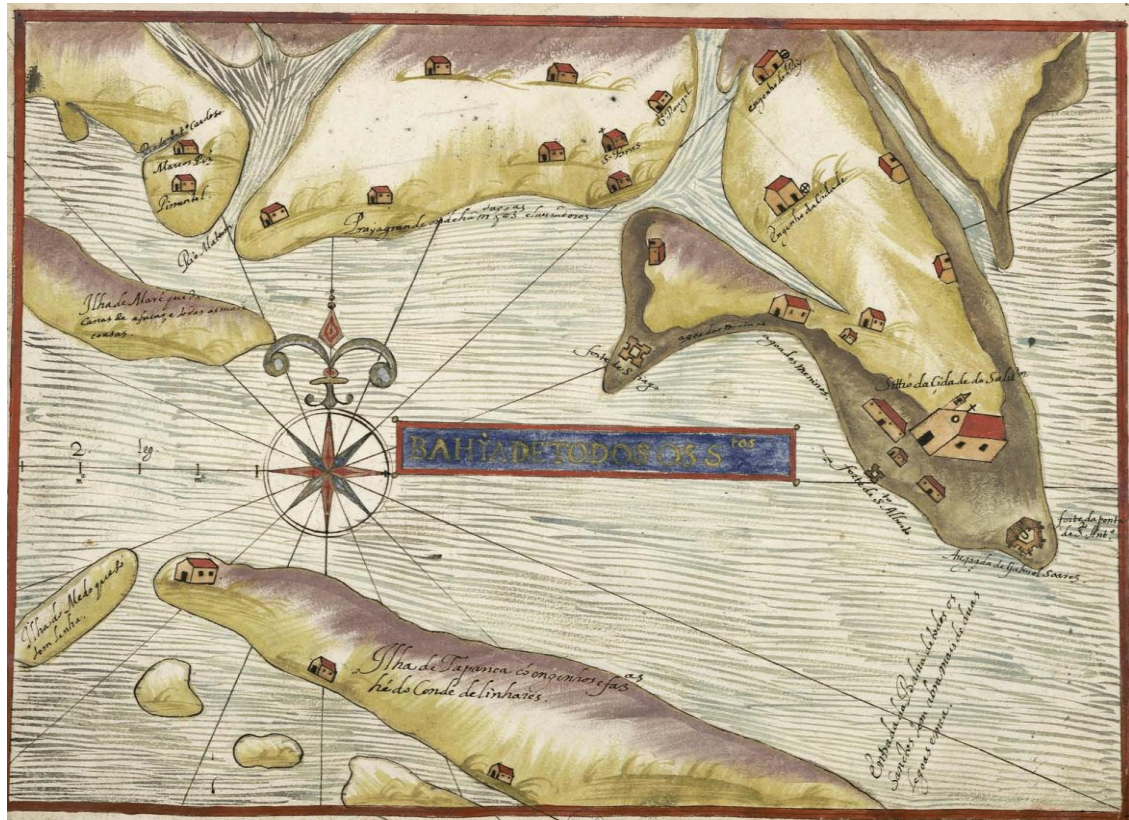
BN, Mss, 7121 (c. 1640).

Bahya de Todos os Santos. Costas, 16-

1 map, manuscript, col., 29,4 x 41,1 cm.

Atlas de las costas y de los puertos de las posesiones en América y África, 16-

Atlas of the coasts and ports in the Portuguese possessions in America and Africa, 16-



The city of Salvador de Bahia was founded in 1549 when the first Governor General, Tomé de Sousa, arrived to create the permanent official structure in Brazil. The city grew considerably until the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth. It was not only the religious and political centre but also the capital of an important economic region, one of the richest areas of sugar production. Such an important place could not escape from the ambitions of privateers and the enemies of the Catholic Monarchy. Salvador was thus involved in the 80 years' war and the Dutch attacked it on several occasions. The first major attack was in 1604. The second and most important took place in 1624-25. During the Dutch invasion of Pernambuco, Johan Maurits van Nassau launched an important attack in 1638, and finally, Dutch official van Schoppe led a war of destruction in the "Recôncavo" area, the land around the bay in 1647. Although there was not a long occupation of the territory as in the case of Pernambuco, the Dutch remained a whole year in 1624-25, and made a number of fortifications in this and the other occasions. For the purpose of an Atlas of Dutch fortifications in Brazil, we cannot neglect the works of defence that the Dutch used and

built during their stay in Salvador. There is not much information about it and we need more research to know better the impact of Dutch presence in Bahia.

Despite its importance, the city of Salvador had a precarious system of defence. Diogo Campos Moreno, Sargento Mor of Brazil said in his “Livro da Razão” of 1612 that Bahia was “fortified in very backward principles”⁷³.

A cidade had three main forts: Santo Antonio da Barra, Agua dos Meninos and Monserrate. In 1605, Leonardo Turriano and Tiburcio Spanochi made a plan of fortification of the city, following Italian principles of defence. The plan was not accomplished in full, but in addition to the first three forts more constructions were made: several forts in the “Ribeira”, the fort of São Francisco and the doors of the city. However, the forts did not constitute a system, lacking support from one to the other in case of attack. The Governor Francisco de Sousa had built a wall around the city in the last years of the sixteenth century, but it was in poor condition twenty years later. All of this is fundamental to understand the facility of the Dutch to conquer the port in 1624.

The Dutch made a line of breastworks, reinforced with palisades, pits, and towers around the city. It seems that a fort was built in the entrance of the city, the “Forte de São Pedro”, that guarded the southwest access by land. During the attack of 1638, some batteries and rebounds were built, and Nassau stayed in a “fortified house”⁷⁴.

One of the main constructions was the so-called “Dutch dike” which protected the rear of Salvador. Some strongholds and batteries also appeared in different parts of the city. According to some sources, the fort that was being constructed by the Portuguese in the entrance of the harbour, later known as Forte São Marcelo, was finished by the Dutch. In fact the fort was ready by 1623 and mounted 19 pieces of artillery. It was probably another work of Portuguese engineer Francisco Frias Mesquita. On the map of Joao Massé of 1715 it is possible to see some of these constructions, as well as on the map by João Teixeira Albernaz of the reconquest of Bahia shown below. Some more details are provided in the report of Lodewijk Hulsman in this series⁷⁵.

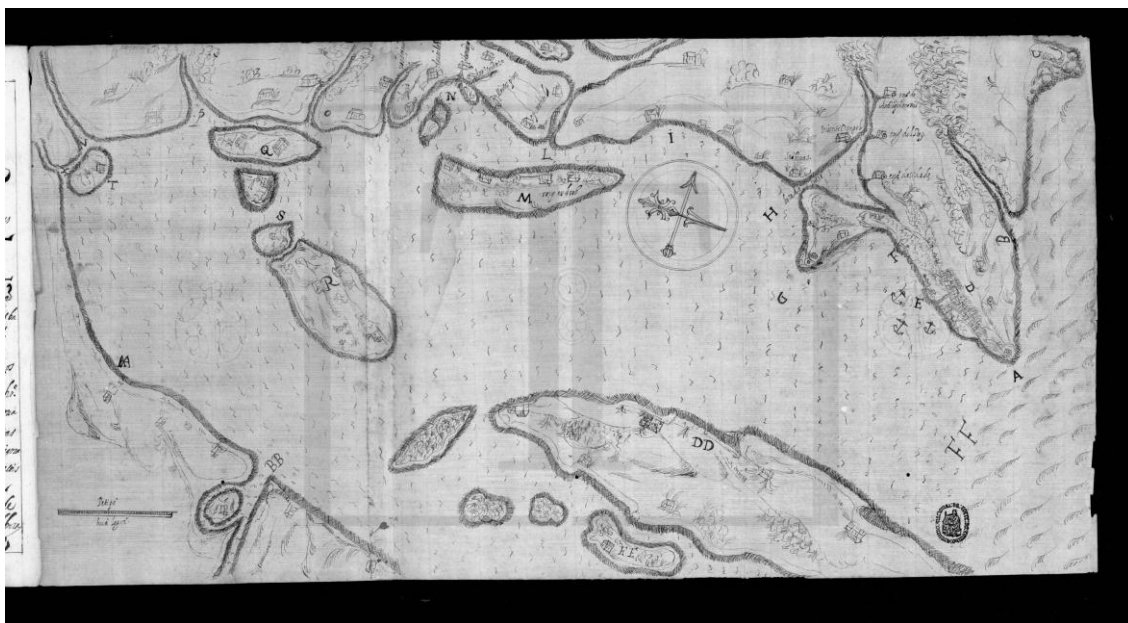
On the map of the “Atlas de las costas y puertos de las posesiones...” we only see three forts: São Tiago, Santo Alberto and Santo Antonio. It is only a small part of the whole system of defences that had been built before, during and after the Dutch invasion of 1624-25. By 1640, the estimated date of the map, the system must have been quite developed. We can clearly see that the main source in this case has been the map of All Saints Bay and city of Salvador, by Diogo de Campos Moreno in the “Relação das praças fortes...” Apart from some small details like colour, the lay out is the same and the forts depicted are exactly those in the map of 1609.

The Fort of Santo Antonio, or Forte da Barra, was one of the main defensive works in Salvador. It was occupied by the Dutch in 1624 and reconquered by the Portuguese several months later, before the arrival of the fleet of Fadrique de Toledo in 1625. It was from this fort that the Portuguese covered, with intense fire, the disembarkment of the soldiers of the Luso-Hispanic fleet. Diogo Campos Moreno included an individual representation of this fort in the Relação... that we include below.

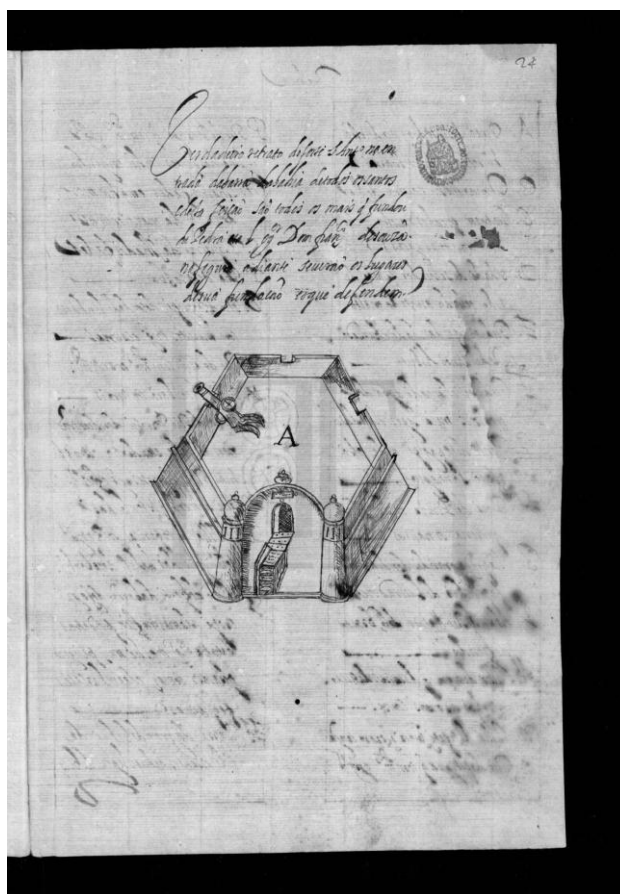
⁷³ Apud Menezes, José Luiz Mota and Rodrigues, Maria do Rosário Rosa, *Fortificações Portuguesas no Nordeste do Brasil, séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII*, Recife: Pool Editorial, 1986, p. 31.

⁷⁴ Hulsman, p. 53.

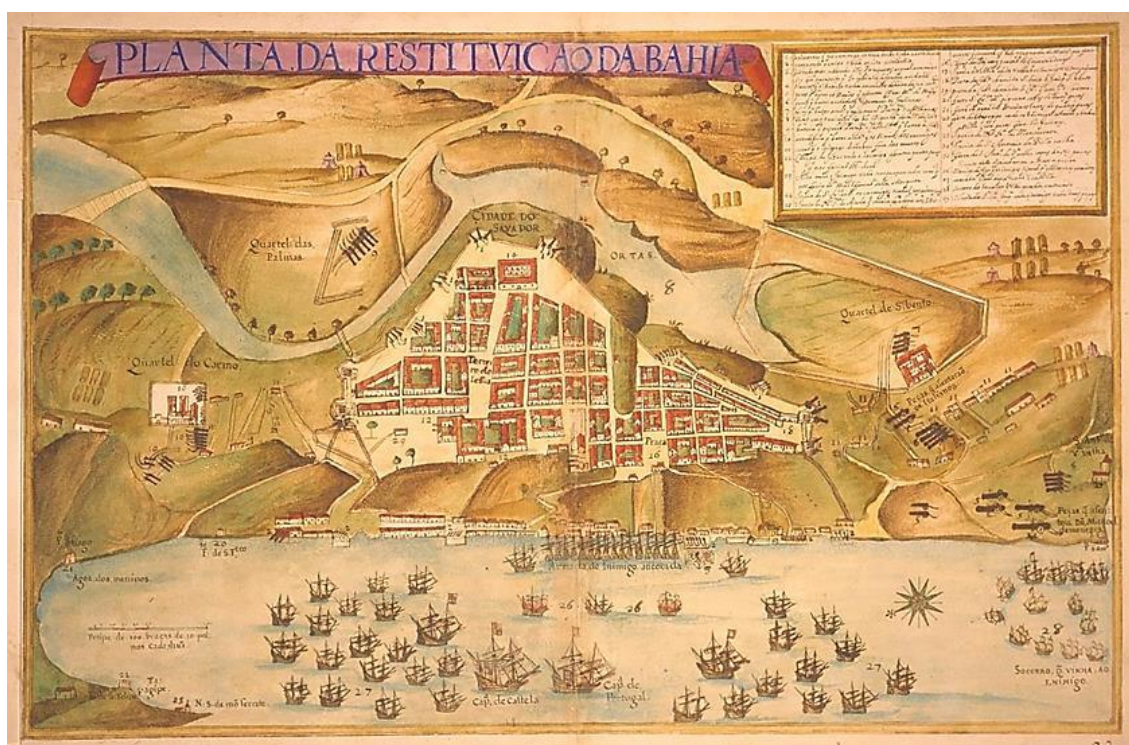
⁷⁵ Ídem.



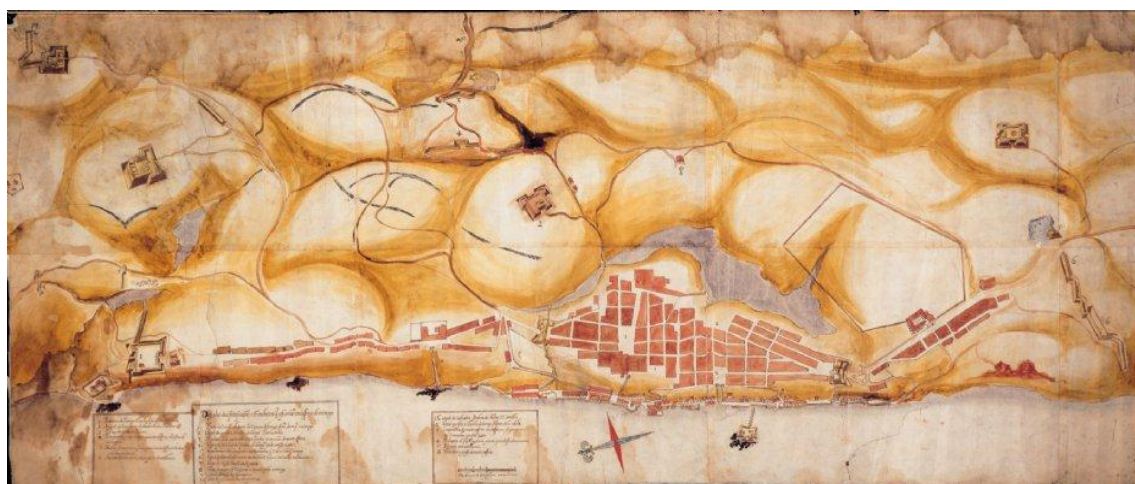
Map of All Saints Bay and city of Salvador in the “Relação das praças fortes...” by Diogo Campos Moreno, 1609. ANTT, PT/TT/MR/1/68.



Fort of Santo Antonio in the Relação das praças fortes... by Diogo Campos Moreno, 1609. ANTT, PT/TT/MR/1/68.



'PLANTA DA RESTITVIÇÃO DA BAHIA', João Teixeira Albernaz I. Original manuscript from the codex 'Estado do Brasil coligido das mais certas noticias q pode aivntar dõ Ieronimo, de Ataíde. Por João Teixeira Albernaz, Cosmographo de Sva Magde. Anno: 1631', Mapoteca do Itamarati (Ministério das Relações Exteriores), Rio de Janeiro.



Map of Salvador "Desenho das fortificações e trincheiras q se fizeraõ em deffença do inimigo", author unknown, probably Joao TeixeiraAlbernaz, 1638.



Map of Bahia by Joao Massé, 1715, showing the main defensive constructions in Salvador, some of them with origin in the Dutch invasion of 1625.

BN, Ms, 7121, c. 1640.

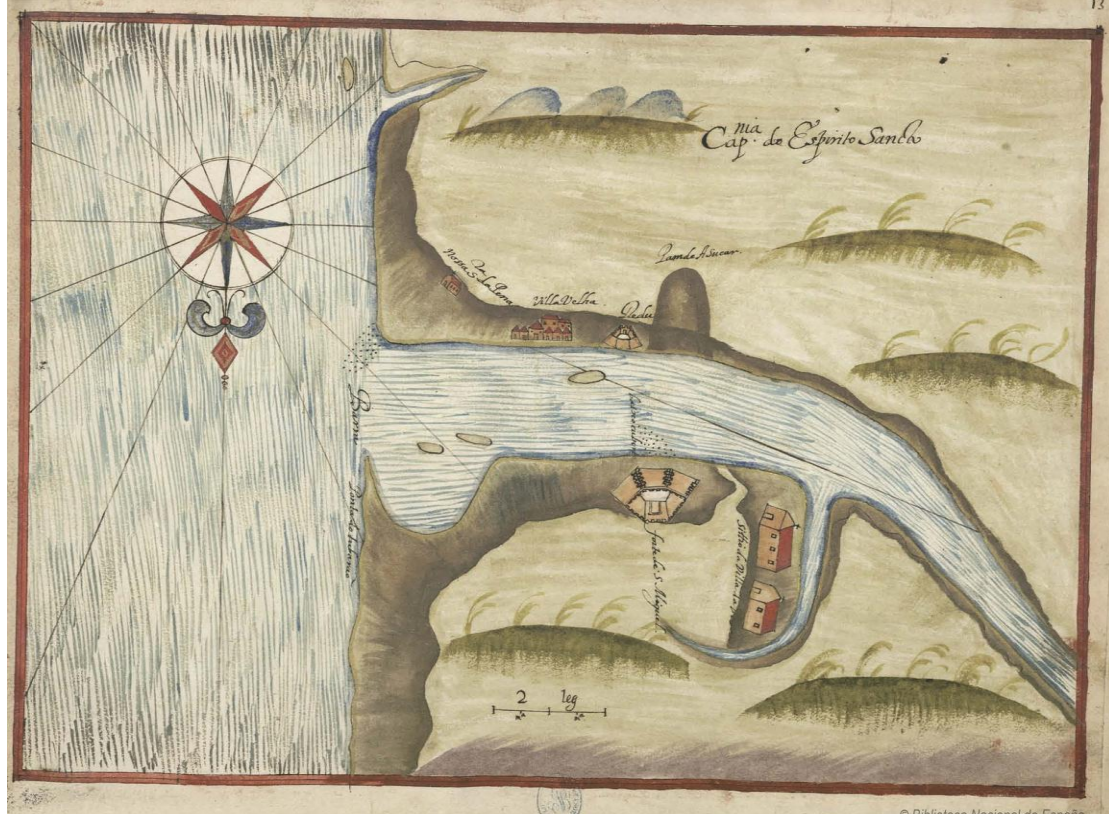
Capnia de Espirito Santo.

1 map, manuscript, col., 29,5 x 40, 5 cm.

With representation of buildings and the fort of San Miguel.

Atlas de las costas y de los puertos de las posesiones en América y África, 16-

Atlas of the coasts and ports in the Portuguese possessions in America and Africa, 16-



Map of the Captaincy of Espiritu Santo, representing the fort of São Miguel. Although this captaincy was not occupied by the Dutch, they launched three attacks against the city of Vitória between 1625 and 1653. Before the conquest, Espirito Santo was one of the main points where Brazilian wood was loaded by the Dutch merchants.

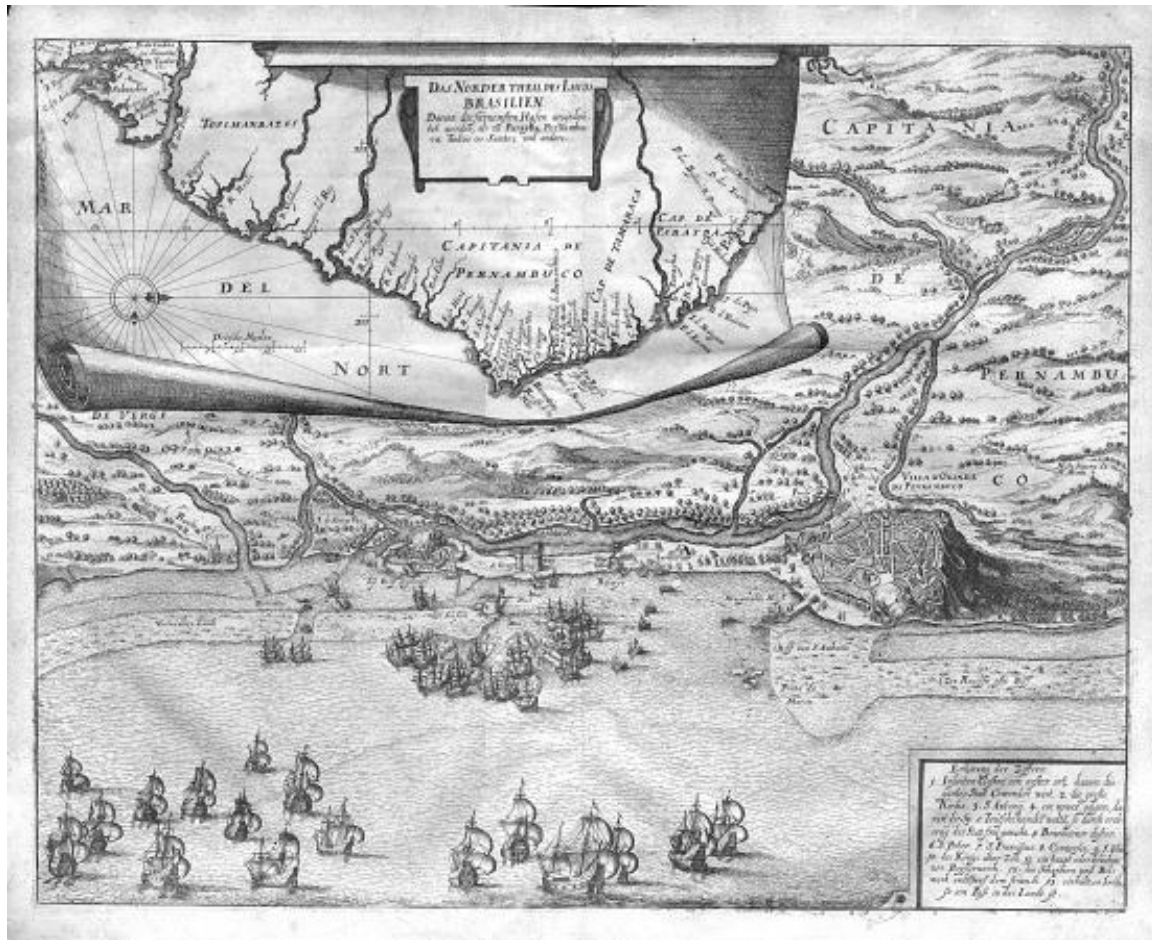
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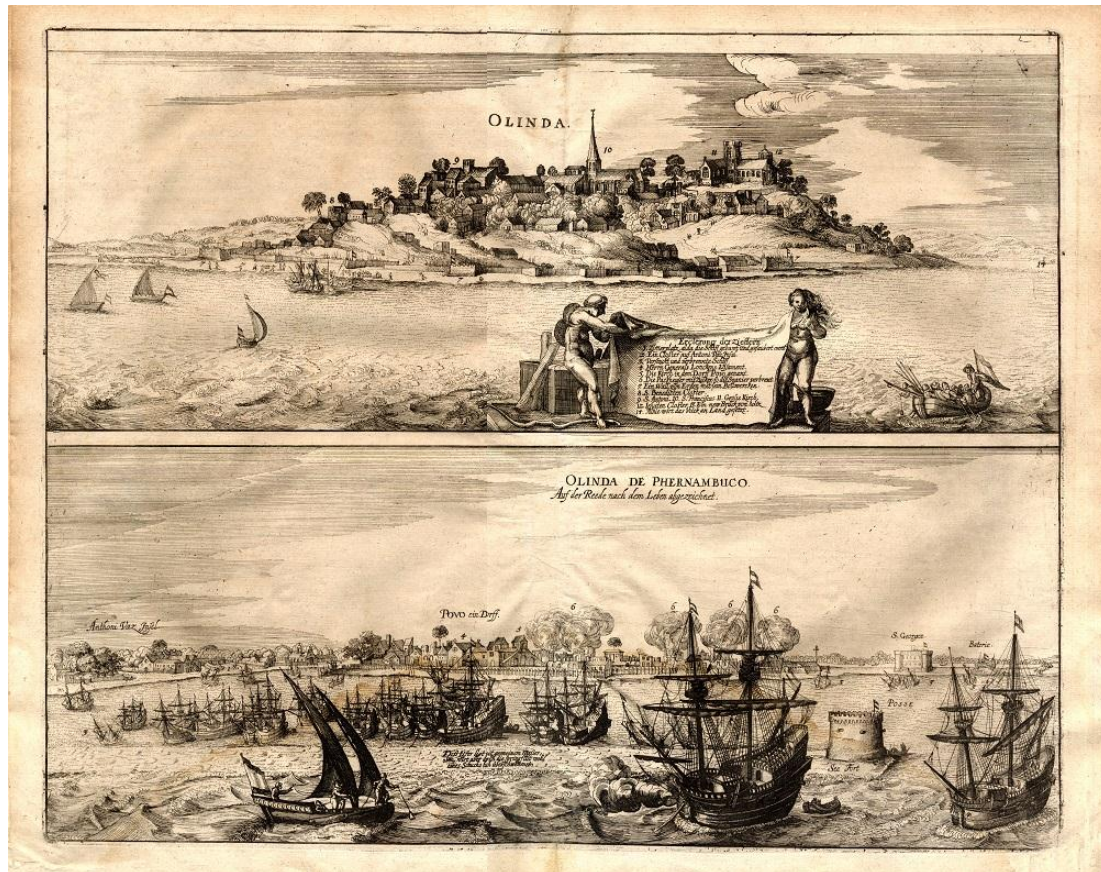
The University of Salamanca, the oldest in Spain, has a very important Ancient Library, with a remarkable collection of sources and ancient books. The one we can visit today is the third in a history of more than 600 years. It is not strange that some precious books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with narrations of the Dutch attacks against Brazil have reached the shelves. The most important is the series about America by engravers de Bry and Merian. It has beautiful gravures of both Pernambuco and Bahia.

BG/85695, 1634.

Bry, Theodor and Merian, Matthäus, *Decima tertia pars Historiae Americanae : Quae continet exactam et accuratam descriptionem I. Novae Angliae, Virginiae, Brasiliae, Guianae, & insulae Bermudae, quarum hactenus exigua & imperfecta notitia habita fuit. II. Terrae Australis incognitae, cuius chorographia antehac in nullo itineralio aut nauigatione litteris tradita. III. Expugnationis vrbs S. Salvatoris & Sinus Omnium Sanctorum ab hollandis factae, & quomodo hispani vrbe & sinu illo rursus potiti sint. IV. Novi Mexici, Cibolae, Cinaloae, Quivirae, rerumque memorabilium, quae in Iucatan, Guatimala, Fonduris & Panama observatae sunt, nec non aliquot anglicarum iis locis coloniarum. V. Navigationis Hollandorum per universum orbem, duce Iacobo Eremita. VI. Classis Hispanicae praedivitis ab hollandis, duce Petro Heinio, in portu insulae, qui Matanza dicitur, interceptae. VII. Vrbis Olindae de Fernambucco in Brasilia ab hollandis, duce Henrico Cornelio Lonckio, occupatae ; Additis passim tabulis aeri incisis, quibus jam memoratae descriptiones illustrantur*
Publicac Francofurti ad Moenum : sumptibus Matthaei Meriani, ciuis & chalcographi Francofurtensis, 1634.



Bry, Theodor and Merian, Matthäus, Decima tertia pars Historiae Americanae :Quae continet exactam et accuratam descriptionem “Das Norden Theil des Landes Brasilien”, engraving based on “DE STADT OLINDA DE PHARNAMBUCO, VEROVERT BY DEN E. GENERAEL HENDRICK C. LONCK, Anno 1630/OLINDA DE PHERNAMBUCO/Aldus na't Leven op de Rede afgeteyckent anno 1630”, by Claes Jansz Visscher. University of Salamanca, General Library, BG/85695, 1634.



Bry, Theodor and Merian, Matthäus, *Decima tertia pars Historiae Americanae* :Quae continet exactam et accuratam descriptionem, “View of Olinda and Olinda de Pernambuco, Auf der Reede nach dem Leben abgezeichnet.”, 1634. University of Salamanca, General Library, BG/85695, 1634.

In the Old Library of the University of Salamanca there is a princeps edition of the work of de Bry and Merian, “*Decima tertia pars Historiae Americanae...*” of 1634, published in Frankfurt. The book contains these two famous illustrations. A map of Recife and Olinda, entitled “*Norden Theil des Landes Brasilien*” clearly based on the engravings by Claes Jansz Visscher, and the view of Olinda and Recife, although in the last one the name is mistaken. We can clearly see the wall of defence of Olinda, and a small fort in the southern part of the city. In the view of Recife at the moment of the Dutch attack in 1630, the “*Forte do Mar*” appears in the foreground, the “*Forte S. Jorge*” at the back and there is also a depiction of the palisade that surrounded the “*Dorf*” of Recife.



Bry, Theodor and Merian, Matthäus, *Decima tertia pars Historiae Americanae* :Quae continet exactam et accuratam descriptionem, “View of Salvador”, 1634. University of Salamanca, General Library, BG/85695, 1634.

In this view of Salvador de Bahia in the same work, we can see the Dutch Attack against Salvador in 1624. Some of the fortifications appear on the map, like the Forte de Santo Antonio to the right and the Forte de São Tiago to the left. In the middle of the bay we can see the Forte de São Marcelo, that had been completed, according to some sources in 1623. The rebound of Santo Alberto is shown close to the fort of São Marcelo.

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