

Índios do Nordeste: temas e problemas 2



Luiz Sávio de Almeida
Marcos Galindo
Juliana Lopes Elias

Infernal Allies

The Dutch West India Company and the Tarairiu – 1631-1654

Ernst van den Boogaart (*)

The title-page of the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae*, the compendium of what was known about Brazil in 17th-century Holland, sets out the book's claim to contain a description of the flora and fauna as well as a treatise on the original inhabitants. It does indeed include a number of chapters on the Tupi and the 'Tapuyas', though few in comparison with those devoted to the plant and animal kingdoms. The descriptions of the Indians' way of life is based on reports by the more literate officials of the Dutch West India Company, in contrast to the sections on biology, tropical diseases and astronomy which were written by university-trained specialists sent to Brazil specifically to carry out research. Professional anthropologists or ethnographers were in fact unknown in the 16th and 17th century; the description of exotic peoples was left to travellers, missionaries, colonial administrators and, back home, to geographers and chroniclers. Their reports gave rise, throughout the 16th century, to more and more specialized publications dealing with the external appearance, means of subsistence, religion, customs and habits of European and non-European peoples.¹ These works provided the educated employees of the Dutch West India Company with the main concepts they could use in trying to understand the Brazilian Indians; they also served as models for their own descriptions.

Early ethnographic studies of non-European peoples have often been described as a literature of misunderstanding, sometimes wilful misunderstanding. Europeans, unable to go beyond their own concepts and fearing or harbouring exaggerated expectations of the unknown, could hardly avoid forming, or rather deforming, the alien world according to their own image. Contact with strange peoples was often confined to a small number of aspects of their behaviour and this quickly led to the formation of stereotyped ideas. Europeans were not interested in genuinely endeavouring to understand 'native'

(*) Professor de História no Hogeschool van Amsterdam.

ways of life, particularly when they were establishing and maintaining their colonies. Descriptions of 'native' customs were used to justify conquest and domination and, were a means to devise a hierarchy of contempt between rulers and subjects. On the other hand there were idealized views of certain non-European peoples, such as the Japanese and Chinese, but this was due less to a regard for the realities of their way of life than to a desire to use these artificial ideals as a means of criticising European culture.² At the same time it cannot be denied that Europeans had to find out about the essentials of life in foreign parts. A few simple and mainly false ideas of the local population were hardly the best guides to exploration, trade, conquest and domination.³ The picture of non-Europeans was not based on a few stereotypes to the extent that the many studies of noble and ignoble savages and of the projection of traditional ideas of the Earthly Paradise and the Golden Age onto the reality of the New World would have us believe. Benjamin Keen's analysis of the portrayal of the Aztecs shows how ideas on them were richly variegated and how authors with different intellectual backgrounds and with different positions' in the colony or the metropolis each made his own concoction of reality and fiction. Even Giuliano Gliozzi, who stresses so strongly the ideological component, has to recognize that the pursuit of economic interests sometimes actually encouraged the formulation of theories on Amerindian origins and lifestyles which could fairly well stand the test of rational criticism and empirical verification.⁴

The intention of this essay is first to investigate the relations between the employees of the Dutch West India Company who were by no means all Dutchmen or Calvinists-and the 'Tapuyas' from the hinterland of the Rio Grande, who called themselves Tarairiu, and second to study the way in which these relations were reflected in colonists' reports.⁵ To a greater extent than the Tupi Indians who had already been integrated into the colonial community, the independent Tarairiu, who led a nomadic life beyond the boundaries of the colony, confronted the Company's employees with the problem of how to deal with these 'savage' folk and, what significance to attach to their 'savagery'. The Tupi Indians who lived in *aldeias* (villages) within the colony could be incorporated in their plans as recruits to a civil and Christian way of life and as subordinate figures in their social order.⁶ The Tarairiu remained outsiders with whom they wished to have as little contact as possible, but they could not ignore them; they

did not really want to know about them, but they had to acquaint themselves to some extent with this people whose adherence to its independence and 'savagery' formed a permanent challenge to the civilizatory self-consciousness of the European colonizers.⁷ This essay is not concerned with reconstructing the Tarairiu way of life. It is an ethno-historical investigation of a culture trait of the 17th-century colonizers in the service of the West India Company, of those savages who were our ancestors.

I

A majority of the Governors of the Dutch West India Company who took the decision to try to conquer Brazil reckoned on Indian support for their undertaking. They may have been somewhat carried away by the propaganda accompanying the creation of the Company. A notable example was a Dutch translation of Las Casas' *Brevissima Relación*, which appeared in 1620, together with a supplement examining the parallels between Spanish tyranny in the Low Countries and in the West Indies.⁸ The message was clear: the Indians under Spanish rule - and after 1580 this also included the Indians in Brazil - were companions in adversity and possibly allies. Few people in Holland had even a faint notion of what had happened to the Indians after the Conquista and of their subsequent position in the established colonial communities.⁹ For some people, what they knew about the colonized Indians led them to harbour few illusions about Indian support in any attack on Spanish possessions in America, but their warnings were disregarded when the West India Company's first military campaigns were discussed.¹⁰ The starting-point of the Company's plan to overrun Bahia in 1624 was a rising by Indians in the surrounding country. But things turned out differently: it was to no small measure thanks to Indian auxiliaries that the Portuguese were able to contain the Dutch in the town, forcing them to abandon it after a year, when reinforcements from Holland failed to arrive. Nevertheless plans for conquering 'the sugar country' Brazil and hopes of an alliance with the Indians were not shelved altogether. On his way back from Bahia, Boudewijn, Hendricksz took on board a number of Indians from the coast of Paraiba with the intention of obtaining useful military information and of training them as interpreters who could be of use in any further attempts at conquest.¹¹

Six of these Indians were interrogated in March 1628 by Kiliaen van Renselaer, one of the directors of the Amsterdam

Chamber. They gave him information about the various communities of Tupi Indians in Pernambuco, Paraíba, Rio Grande and Ceará and mentioned the 'Tapuyas' who lived further inland, between Rio Grande and Ceará. They described these Indians as hefty, with long hair. The men did not cover their genitals and the women wore simply a piece of cord. They had no permanent dwelling places. They fought with javelins and were hostile towards the Portuguese, but not very steadfast in combat. There were some Tupi communities on the coast who were more civilized, wearing clothes and following Christian receipts. Amongst them were enemies of the Portuguese too.¹² These Indians on the coast appeared more suitable as allies than the complete savages inland.

The conquest of Pernambuco in 1630 seemed at first to be following the same course as that of Bahia. The Portuguese and their Indian auxiliaries were able to prevent the Company's forces from penetrating into the hinterland. The attackers were cut off on the barren spit-of land, the reef or 'Recife' where they had to devote all their energy to the construction of defence works and where they were highly dependent on supplies of food and reinforcements from Holland. In contrast to 1624, these arrived just in time to enable the Company's army to consolidate its position. Diederick van Waerdenburgh and the other commanders were now able to look for ways of breaching the Portuguese lines.

Sorties from Recife had been repelled by the Portuguese and even attempts to drive the enemy out of the Varzêa - the nearest plantation district - with a large force seemed to offer little hope of success. After consultation with the Governors of the Company it was decided that attempts should be made to capture bases in the more sparsely populated Rio Grande area; to recruit Indian auxiliaries there where possible and then to launch an attack by land from the north to break Portuguese resistance in Paraíba, Itamaracá and Pernambuco.

In 1631 the Political Council in Recife began to look into the possibility of an attack on the small Portuguese fort of Reis Magos on the Rio Grande and of trying to find Indian allies in neighbouring Ceará. From intercepted enemy correspondence they had learned that the 'Tapuyas' in particular were very hostile towards the Portuguese. In July they sent an Indian, possibly one of those trained as an interpreter in the Netherlands, to Rio Grande, and whether due to his agency or not an emissary of the Tarairiu appeared at Recife in

October. He declared that Nhandui, his chief, and Nhandui's brother were prepared to cooperate with the Dutch. He advised them to attack Rio Grande and to make gifts to his chief. The Political Council decided to send Elbert Smient to reconnoitre, who set off on 13 October 1631 with the emissary, some of the Indian interpreters trained in the Netherlands, Samuel Cohen a Portuguese Jew and some Indians from Ceará who had come over to their side earlier. His instructions were to refuse courteously to bring Indians to Recife, but to promise support for an Indian invasion of Itamaracá and Pernambuco.

On 18 October Smient put the Tarairiu emissary and three Indians from Ceará ashore at Rio Grande. The emissary went on to Nhandui, whilst the others were to seek to make contact with people from villages in Ceará. One of them, 'Andries Tacoe' reappeared at the coast on 10 November with eight Indians whom he had saved from a Portuguese slaver in the interior. Smient agreed with this group that a fast vessel, the *Nieuw Nederlant*, would take them to Ceará. He returned to Recife in a sloop where the Political Council gave him a ship and forty men for the attack on Ceará. They also equipped fourteen ships for an attack on Rio Grande. However, the commander of this squadron was unwilling to attack the Reis Magos fort without the Indian auxiliaries. Smient also met with a setback in Ceará, being unable to locate the *Nieutv Nederlant*. It transpired later that the ship had put the Indians ashore and had sailed on to the West Indies without waiting for further news.¹³ Contact was broken off between Recife, the Tarairiu and the Ceará Indians.

For more than a year attempts to find Indian allies in Rio Grande and Ceará were suspended. Nor did the Indians make any contacts until a Tarairiu emissary again came to Recife in March 1633 with a fresh offer of an alliance.¹⁴ Meanwhile the Company took the island of Itamaracá and, at last, in December 1633, Fort Reis Magos. Attempts to coordinate the attack in advance with the Tarairiu had come to nought. Only a few months after the conquest 'Jansenpretin', the Indian sent by the Dutch to renew the alliance, brought 300 fighting men from Nhandui to the fort. Commander George Garstman did what he could to gain their friendship. He gave each of them a shirt, beads, small knives and other iron goods and from his own wardrobe, he sent articles of clothing, a sabre, a sword, and a plumed hat to 'King' Nhandui. He also had an artillery salute fired in honour

of his allies. The Tarairiu acquitted themselves well when Garstman visited their encampment. After the Dutch commander had ordered a fanfare and cannon-fire the Indians 'were most courteous and conducted a display (in three troops) with bows and arrows, after which they performed some of their own dances with singing, the whole lasting a good hour'.¹⁵

After these expressions of respect Nhandui declared his readiness to negotiate with the Dutch, and allowed himself to be persuaded to undertake a joint expedition with his new friends to Cunhau where some Portuguese were still holding out. Together with 160 Tarairiu led by the chief's son, Sergeant Jan Blaer and 28 European soldiers moved southwards for four days, driving the Portuguese and their Indian allies before them. The initial reactions of the Dutch after this joint action were mixed. The strength and courage of the Tarairiu compared favourably with those of other Indians on the Dutch side and they had demonstrated their loyalty during the expedition. Their cruelty towards defeated Indians and Portuguese had almost provoked conflicts however. 'They asked to be allowed to kill women and children too. But they were told that the women were unarmed and that the children were still harmless and that they should be spared', wrote Servaes Carpentier a member of the Political Council to the *Heren XIX*, the governing body of the West India Company.¹⁶ In fact Commander Garstman, as he noted in his journal, had swallowed his indignation and simply expressed his disapproval. The 'strange ceremonies' that the Tarairiu held every evening had aroused suspicion; the Dutch immediately thought of contacts with the devil. All kinds of practical problems had arisen: the Tapuyas had not taken any *farinha* (manioc flour) with them so that they had to be supplied from the scanty provisions of the Europeans; Antonio Paraupaba, the interpreter, had hardly been able to understand them and all consultations had to be conducted through 'Jansenpretin'.¹⁷

A few days after the joint expedition Nhandui took most of his people and returned into the interior accompanied by six Dutch soldiers. A son and a brother stayed behind with some members of his tribe at the Rio Grande fort. In September 1634 Nhandui's son and the son of another Tarairiu chief were taken to Recife to be shown the strength of the Dutch troops and to banish their fear of being abandoned by their allies. To seal the alliance and to make as precise agreements as possible for a new joint expedition Jacob Stachouwer,

a Political Councillor, and Colonel Krystof Arciszewski, the second highest-ranking officer in the colony, journeyed to Rio Grande. Nhandui did not appear in person, but sent Commendaoura, his sister's son and his designated successor. In consultation with him Stachouwer and Arciszewski sent Nhandui a letter urging him in future to send news in time for campaigns against the Portuguese to be coordinated and they invited him to take part in an attack on Paraíba. Commendaoura was to stay with the Dutch and tell him when the time was right. They sent Nhandui a generous gift and offered him the prospect of a rich booty. In addition the Dutch persuaded Commendaoura and his men to undertake a brief expedition to Cunhau.¹⁸

The attack on Paraíba was only partially successful as a joint venture with the Tarairiu. During the siege news was received from Rio Grande that 300 Tapuyas' together with 130 Dutch soldiers were marching south. Halfway there, however, the Indians turned back because, according to de Laet, they were dissatisfied with the booty. The Political Council wrote to the *Heren XIX* that the Dutch had made a great effort to keep the Tarairiu out of the inhabited areas for as long as the Tapuyas were there the Portuguese who wanted to make peace were not willing to return. There was no point in contemplating giving these Indians a place within the frontiers of the pacified colony. 'They are not a people who can be encouraged to civility, to live in a country side-by-side with other peoples, to settle down and earn a livelihood from their work. They do not like work, preferring to live from other people's industry and ruin what other people have cultivated, as they have destroyed uncountable animals and all the *rossas* or manioc fields throughout the captaincy.'¹⁹ Experience of them as fellers of dyewood in Rio Grande had also been bad. A few brief contacts had come to convince colonial administrators that these Indians were savages, incapable of being civilized, of use, if at all, only as occasional allies to give the Portuguese a severe fright, but otherwise to be maintained as friends outside the colony.

The Tarairiu did not play any significant role in capturing the hinterland of the captaincies of Paraíba, Itamaracá and Pernambuco, nor in the fight against Portuguese guerillas. As the Dutch took control of a more extensive area they were able to attract more of the Tupi Indians, who were accustomed to serving under Europeans, as auxiliaries. After the fall of Fort Cabedello in Paraíba the Jesuit

Manuel de Moraes placed himself under Dutch authority together with 1600 Potiguares from the aldeias. In Itamaracá too, Indian villages defected to the Company, while in Pernambuco many Indians left for Bahia with the Portuguese refugees. It was Indians from the Tupi aldeias who took part in the protracted struggle for Porto Calvo, and, under the command of Johan Maurits, in the siege of Bahia, the capture of Ceará and the island of Maranhão and even in the Angola and São Tomé campaigns. Tarairiu auxiliaries were used only in the attack on Una, in Pernambuco, in 1636.²⁰

Certainly relations with the Tarairiu were of only secondary importance to the Dutch after a truce was concluded with the Portuguese in 1641. The Dutch tried to win over the Portuguese *moradores* by a policy of accommodation and relied on the loyalty of the colonized Indians for help when needed. They did not require the Tapuyas for the revival of sugar production, the cultivation of food crops or animal husbandry—indeed they did not consider them suitable for such tasks. African slaves were supplemented by the inhabitants of the *aldeias* of Pernambuco, Itamaracá and Paraíba. Only in Rio Grande did European colonists apparently disobey express orders from Recife and occasionally take Tapuyas as slaves.²¹

The Dutch colonial authorities did not fully succeed in keeping the Tarairiu out of the settled areas. It seems to have been customary for Nhandui's people to migrate each autumn to the coastal regions of the Rio Grande, where they picked cashew nuts from which they brewed a strong drink, but they also devastated colonists' manioc fields as they passed and stole their livestock. It is impossible to discern from the available sources whether the Tapuyas really descended on these areas every autumn during the time the Dutch held Rio Grande. The resolutions of the Political Council report such 'insolences' in 1639 and from 1641 to 1644.²² In the first of these years the colonial authorities made a virtue of necessity by employing the Tarairiu in patrolling the coast against the threatened sea-borne invasion by the troops of the Conde da Torre.²³ In the years of peace the Tapuya incursions were simply a nuisance.

The colonial authorities could do little against these recurrent expeditions however. Like his predecessors Johan Maurits tried to stay on friendly terms with Nhandui and his people. Resolutions of the Political Council in April 1638, March 1639 and March 1643 mention that they had been sent gifts of axes, knives, long nails,

fishhooks, all kinds of beads and some hats and shirts. It is possible that similar gifts were also made in other years.²⁴ From June 1642 it was clearly considered necessary to maintain a more direct and permanent line of contact with the Tarairiu. Jacob (or Johan) Rabe was employed by the Company to keep them in order. In later years his post came to be described as 'director' or 'supervisor' of the Tapuyas, by analogy with the 'director of the Brazilians' the officer who was in charge of the colony's *aldeias*.

We know little about Rabe and the information we have stems mainly from his enemies. He was probably not a Jew, as he is usually presumed to have been, but a German from Waldeck.²⁵ According to Barlaeus he had come to Brazil with Johan Maurits in 1637. He is said to have had close links with the Tarairiu as early as 1639.²⁶ At the time he possessed a piece of land in Rio Grande and was married to an Indian woman, although she was not a Tapuya. Garstman and other inhabitants of Rio Grande accused him of inciting the Tarairiu to plunder, and of acting more like the leader of a band of robbers than a servant of the Company. He was dismissed by the Political Council in February 1642 following complaints about his misconduct, but a few months later they had to reemploy him to persuade the Tarairiu to leave Rio Grande.²⁷ At the same time they authorized Sheriff Hoeck and Commander Garstman to form a citizen's militia which could drive the Indians out of the captaincy by force if necessary.

The Political Council's resolutions during these years give the impression that the administration had lost control of the situation as regards the 'Tapuyas' in Rio Grande. Garstman arrested Rabe but he managed to escape.²⁸ The Political Council dismissed him once again, but reinstated him later. In April-May 1644 relations between the colonial administration in the capital and the Tarairiu seem to have returned to normal to the extent that Rabe accompanied a number of them to Recife from where the Indians went to the Netherlands with Johan Maurits, together with a Tupi delegation.²⁹ In Rio Grande, however, the opposition between the colonists and the intractable 'Tapuyas' on the frontier remained unresolved.

The position of the Dutch in Brazil deteriorated rapidly after Johan Maurits had left. Even before this, however, the Company's power was beginning to crumble. Ceará and Maranhão had been lost in 1643-1644; the capture of Angola and São Tomé had not been completed. Nevertheless, the *Heren XIX* decided to reduce the

number of troops in Brazil drastically. Some of the leading *senhores de engenho* who had long nursed all manner of grievances against the Dutch, now saw their chance. At the end of 1644 André Vidal de Negreiros and João Fernandes Vieira, one of Johan Maurits' trusted friends, who was even more machiavellian than he was, laid the basis of the plot which in June of the following year led to an uprising by a considerable number of the Portuguese in Pernambuco, who quickly gained the support of *moradores* in the other captaincies. Within six months the Company's troops, the colonists who had chosen the Dutch side and a few thousand Indians from the *aideias* had been driven out of the hinterland to the forts on the coast, Recife and the small island of Itamaracá. In these precarious circumstances any ally, even the Tarairiu, was welcome.

The crisis afflicting the Dutch authorities seems to have coincided with serious difficulties for Nhandui's people. In September 1644 a few thousand of them, mainly women and children, had moved into Rio Grande. They caused considerable damage to manioc plantations and livestock. A gift from the colonial administration was not enough to persuade Nhandui to return to the *sertão*. The Tapuya king claimed that a great drought and an overwhelming alliance of hostile Indians made it impossible, and he asked permission to settle in Rio Grande.³⁰ He and his people spent the first months of 1645 there, mainly in the vicinity of Cunhau. When the *moradores'* uprising spread like wildfire the Political Council decided to call on the Tarairiu for help, to allow them to settle in the captaincy and to appoint a Dutchman to join them and learn their language 'so that they might be taught the precepts of the Christian religion'.³¹ However, the intervention of the Tapuyas aggravated the position of the Dutch. In July 1645 Nhandui and his men slaughtered most of the population of Cunhau in church one Sunday. A second massacre took place in Uruaçu in October.³² Both tragedies strengthened the *moradores* in their opposition. The Political Council sent the Rev. Jodocus à Stetten and Captain Willern Lamberts to urge Rabe to restrain the Tarairiu. Rabe received the former at pistol-point and sent him straight back to Paraffia.³³ Commander Garstman now decided to take it upon himself to settle his long-standing quarrel with Rabe. He waited until the Tarairiu had left for the *sertão* and Rabe was staying at his plantation near Fort Ceulen. On the night of 4 April 1646 he had him ambushed and shot

by hired killers after a drinking party at the house of the colonist Dirck Mulder in Potegi.³⁴

Rabe's murder seriously disrupted relations between the Tarairiu and the Company; according to Moreau some of them defected to the Portuguese.³⁵ The Political Council did not want to have still more enemies to contend with and sent Roelof Baro, who was an experienced traveller in the interior, to Nhandui to try to keep him on the Dutch side. Baro's first expedition, in June 1646, bore little fruit. Nhandui claimed that he could not provide any military support as he was at war with the Pajucu.³⁶ Nor was the chief at all appeased when the second visit was made (3 April-14 July 1647), to judge by Baro's very authentic records of his tirades in his report on the journey. During his stay in the *sertão* he was able to ascertain that the Tarairiu were really at war with various tribes. When he returned to Recife he supported Nhandui's request for soldiers. The Political Council initially rejected the idea, but then decided to give Baro a few dozen men and a large gift consisting of 100 pounds of gunpowder, 50 pounds of lead (presumably for the European soldiers as the Tarairiu do not appear to have used firearms, and were even very much afraid of them), 24 pairs of shoes, 500 fish hooks, 12 chisels, a trumpet and a book of psalms. Despite this help Nhandui was defeated by the Pajucu, Hurrejueca and Jawariwaris. The Political Council sent him a further reinforcement of 20 men who, together with Indian allies from Ceará, were to avenge this defeat. After a second defeat the Tarairiu and the Indians from Ceará withdrew to Fort Ceulen.³⁷

This helped the Political Council in that following the arrival of Witte de With's fleet they were engaged in preparing an attack on the hinterland of Pernambuco. Some 300 Tarairiu were brought over to Recife and on 19 April 1648 took part in the first battle of Guararapes. Subsequently they were used for a time in reconnaissance expeditions outside the town. In May 1648 they no longer wished to help; many of them were suffering from 'bloody flux' (dysentery). They were transferred by boat to Itamaracá and went on from there to Rio Grande. In June 1648 Sheriff Hoeck wrote from Fort Ceulen that the 'Tapuyas' were again wreaking considerable havoc on the *rossas* and killing a large number of animals. Roelof Baro had, obviously had his fill of 'supervising' this ungovernable horde. He resigned and was succeeded by the 24 year-old Pieter Persijn.³⁸

After 1648 the Tarairiu's situation in the sertão seems to have improved.³⁹ They again spent most of the year there, although their regular forays to the coast continued as did their 'insolences' towards the inhabitants of Rio Grande, both European and Indian. Nevertheless the links between the Tarairiu and the Company and even with the colonists seem to have become closer during these years. The Political Council in Recife regularly sent gifts and accepted a Tapuya sword as a token of friendship. Once a year Pieter Persijn visited them in the *sertão* until 1652 and perhaps also after that date (there is a gap of 1 1/2 years in the daily records of the Political Council). Together with them he went in search of minerals; he traded with them and was able to put an end for a time to their hostility against the Wypeba and the Cariri.⁴⁰ The Rio Grande colonists also traded with the Tarairiu; in 1649 they purchased a number of negro slaves from them. In later years the Tarairiu captured stray horses and sold them to Company employees such as Persijn and Samuel Engelaer, 'schoolmaster to the Brazilians'.⁴¹ The goods exchanged in these transactions were mainly mirrors and various iron implements such as axes, knives, scissors etc., which had also made up the bulk of the gifts to Nhandui.⁴² There seem to have been no further attempts at conversion during this period. Although they retained their independence and made no radical changes to their way of life, the Tarairiu seem to have turned increasingly towards contacts with the colonists and the Company for trade.

As late as December 1653, one month before the capitulation of the Company's troops in Brazil, the Tarairiu demonstrated their loyalty to the Dutch. They promised to stop plundering the *rossas* and even offered to supply manioc. Johannes Listry, the commander of the Indians in the *aldeias* sent them a last gift valued at 53 florins and 19 stuivers.⁴³ The capitulation terms incorporated an amnesty clause for the Indians who had been on the Dutch side. This also applied to the Tarairiu, but as was to be expected it failed to bring an end to hostilities between them and the new colonists in Rio Grande. In 1661 a few hundred Tarairiu settled in an *aldeia* in Pernambuco. The fate of the others is not clear.⁴⁴

II

A large number of the Company's employees in Brazil had the opportunity to observe the Tarairiu, but only for brief periods and then mainly as 'ferocious' allies or plundering marauders in the Rio

Grande captaincy. For them the 'Tapuyas' remained a strange, somewhat frightening phenomenon, with whom little communication was possible; a people who spurred the imagination and gave rise to speculation and tall stories. Only the few who were in contact with them for a long period, such as Rabe, Baro and Persijn, were able to detect any logic in their behaviour and to evolve any understanding of them. Descriptions of the Tarairiu are therefore neither numerous nor extensive, but nevertheless they do give an impression of the range of opinions prevailing amongst Company employees about the 'Tapuyas', the importance of the various situations in which contact was made for the formation of these views and how the information about these intractable allies was received back in the Netherlands. They can also help us to interpret Albert Eckhout's paintings and drawings of these Indians.

The authors of the first group of documents on the Tarairiu attempted to describe their way of life. On the whole they went by impressions gained during the earliest contacts: the negotiations with Arciszewski at Fort Ceulen in 1634, the expedition to Cunhau with Garstman and the sporadic visits of small groups of Tarairiu to Recife - but most of the information seems to be second-hand. The most extensive description is that by Elias Herckmans, which was appended to his report on the Paraíba captaincy, dated June 1639.⁴⁵ It is not certain whether this is an original work. The *Korte beschryvinge van de Staponiers in Brasiel* by Gerrit Gerbrantsz Hulck, a mate from Hoorn, which appeared, according to the title page, in Alkmaar in 1635, is an excerpt from the same text.⁴⁶ Nothing is known about Hulck; de Laet refers to the ship *De Haes* which was sent to Brazil in July 1634 by the North-Quarter Chamber, and on which Hulck allegedly sailed.⁴⁷ Herckmans was in Brazil from the end of 1635. The document itself reveals that one of the sources of information was the men who took part in the 1634 expedition to Cunhau. As a member of the Political Council in Recife, Herckmans was certainly in a position to acquaint himself with Garstman's journal of the first joint expedition with the Tarairiu and with Arciszewski's report on the talks at Fort Ceulen which was later reproduced in part in Joannes de Laet's *Iaerlijck Verhael*.⁴⁸ He may also have talked to eye-witnesses. Neither of the two versions contains information which can be dated with certainty as later than 1635. De Laet incorporated, under the name of Herckmans, a very abridged version of the document in the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae*

by Markgraf and Pies (Piso) which he prepared for printing.⁴⁹ I see this as a good reason to consider for the time being that Herckmans was the original author of the document and to leave the question of its relationship to Hulck's version unresolved.

The second group of documents must also be regarded as examples of the genre which deals with descriptions of customs and habits of exotic peoples. They are concerned with contacts with the Tarairiu during the governorship of Johan Maurits and are based on personal observations. Here the most important text is the one by Jacob Rabe. The original manuscript is not extant, so that our knowledge of the work comes from the version included by Barlaeus in his *Rerum in Brasilia Gestarum Historia* (1648) and in a version probably edited by de Laet in *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae* (1647).⁵⁰ Both versions give the original document in an abridged form, although that of Barlaeus is more extensive, partly because of his own additions and comments, but he also reproduces passages from the original text which are omitted from the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae*. However, the other version included passages which are not in Barlaeus, and it is moreover quite possible that the extensive description of the Tarairiu's feather decorations and weapons included in the section of the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae* devoted to the Tupi Indians was taken from Rabe's original document. Johan Nieuhof copied Barlaeus and the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae* in his *Gedenkweerdige Brasiliaense Zee- en Lantreise* (completed in 1671 and published posthumously in 1682). His own original addition is the anecdote about the bull-fight in which Johan Maurits allowed some 'Tapuyas' to take part.⁵¹ The passages in the *Cort ende Sonderlingh Verhael* (1639) by Vincent Joachim Soler, the former Augustine monk from Valencia who became a Calvinist minister, and the notes on the drawings in the *Thierbuch* by Zacharias Wagner (compiled during his stay in Brazil between 1634 and 1641) are original texts.⁵² In contrast to Rabe, the knowledge they had gained of the Tarairiu was no more than superficial.

The *Relation du voyage de Roulox Baro au pays des Tapuies*, published in 1651 in a translation by Pierre Moreau, with a commentary by Claude-Barthélemy Morisot (1592-1661), an erudite lawyer from Dijon who corresponded with Joannes de Laet, is not an 'ethnographic' description but rather a diary of Baro's second journey to Nhandui in 1647.⁵³ Although it contains a wealth of detail about the

life of the Tarairiu, it does not attempt, as do other texts, to give a picture of their society which fits into a defined scheme. One has the impression that Baro accepted them for what they were, and he seldom, if ever, described them as savages.

The report on the Tarairiu by the Political Councillor Elias Herckmans (ca. 1596-1644) is dearly modelled on the description of Indians which he, as a sailor with literary ambitions, may have read in de Laet's *Nieuwe Werelt* (1624) and in the Dutch translations of Jean de Léry and Hans Staden.⁵⁴ He mentioned the size of their territory, described their external appearance, summed up their means of livelihood and gave an extremely summary account of their material culture in order to deal at greater length with what were for cultured Europeans of that time the main reference points of human society: the family, the organization of authority, the religious views and the customs with regard to the major events of life: birth, marriage and death. The various sections of his description illustrated the main characteristics of 'savagery'. The Tarairiu were 'ignorant and untutored people' who led a 'quite brutish and improvident life'. For Herckmans the fact that they lived from hunting, fishing and simple horticulture, went virtually naked and lacked wealth or any marked social hierarchy were signs not of the innocence of paradise but of 'brutishness' and 'ignorance'. He noted that the Tarairiu were not totally unaware of what he considered to be the basic rules of a human society. They had a government, a king and leaders who were distinguished not by the excellence of their dress but simply by the length of their nails. They had a sense of shame and despite their polygamy, respected virginity and faithfulness in marriage. In their respect for authority and control of their passions Herckmans detected a glimmer of rational thinking which was one of the hallmarks of true humanity. The other hallmark, the ability to share in divine grace, was less in evidence among the Tarairiu. They appeared to be almost completely in the power of Satan. They were not particularly licentious or uninhibitedly destructive, but their custom of roasting and eating their dead and worse still the eating of dead children by their mothers and other relatives, demonstrated their extremely sinful natures. Herckmans still conceived of savagery in mainly religious terms, as an error and a state of damnation.

Nevertheless the tone of Herckman's description is markedly neutral. There is not much hint antipathy, moral indignation or fear of

the Tarairiu's way of life. Huick's version makes mo of the fantastic elements and the feelings of fear for which these were an outlet. Among this people from beyond the borders of the colony the 'frontiers of orderly and rational existence were blurred and the normal pattern could not be expected. The Tarairiu ate dead and lived for 150 to 200 years; age was not a dear indication of their abilities: eight- or nine-day-old babies could already walk; in their extremely inhospitable territory miraculous hybrids were to be found, such as an aquatic animal with the body of a pig and the tail of a fish. He regarded the Tarairiu as human beings that had been led astray and stunted in their develment by Satan, and viewed them in the same light as monsters and apparitions with superhuman powers. Neither Herckmans nor Hulck spoke in so many words of the possibilities of civilizing the 'Tapuyas'. However, the fantastic elements in the descriptions indicate that they did not consider them human beings like themselves, or even capable of becoming such, but rather a different kind of creature altogether. They may have shared the conviction of those who took part in the expedition to Cunhau in 1634 that the Tarairiu were not a people 'who can be converted to civility and to living in a country side-by-side with other peoples'.

For the most part Rabe describes the same subjects as Herckmans and as far as can be ascertained from the available versions he followed the same plan. His report does not however contain the more fantastic elements and his greater knowledge enabled him to describe the Tarairiu as a society with its own rules. This comes out most clearly in the version in the *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae*. After describing their territory and external appearance he goes on to give an account of how Nhanjui's people spent a normal day and the major festivals which marked the passage of the year. As he was one of the few to have succeeded in learning anything of the Tarairiu's language at all, he was also able to tell us something about their ideas of super natural powers and the hereafter. Much of his account confirmed, for those who thought in religious terms, the picture of a way of life perverted by devils. Details such as the account of Nhandui's role in the initiation of marriageable women strengthened this view, although some believers probably judged them less harshly after reading about the Tapuyas' belief in an immortal soul. We can only surmise as to what this independent adventurer, who had almost gone native himself, thought about the desirability and possibility of civilizing the Tarairiu.

In contrast there is something of a strictly religious and metropolitan slant to the contemporary observations of Vincent Joaquim Soler and Zacharias Wagner. Both the Augustine monk turned a and the soldier of fortune from Dresden, who was to end his career as a commander of the colony at the Cape, were deeply shocked at the moral degeneracy, especially regarding sexual relations, in Brazil. In their eyes Recife was little better than Sodom and Gomorrah. Wagner saw the Dutch successes as God's punishment for the corruption of Luso-Brazilian society. The Portuguese, the Tupi, the 'Tapuyas' and mestizos, negroes and mulattos, lived together with each other 'like uninhibited animals'. None of the ethnic groups lagged behind the others in this respect. But despite their perversion, all of them, apart from the 'Tapuyas', had some contribution to make to the life of the colony. Soler was full of praise for the physical strength of the Tarairiu, their dexterity in making feather head-dresses, and their skill with the javelin. Wagner also commented favourably on this latter quality. However, both regarded them as distinctly the most sinful group. Soler repeatedly wrote in his letters to the theologian André Rivet about his hopes for the conversion of the Tupi Indians; after his attempts to bring the word of God to some Tarairiu in Recife had been thwarted by their 'devilish priests', he seems have written off further action as wasted effort.⁵⁵ Wagner found that the way of life of the negro slaves was 'almost comparable to that of the Tapuyas', dearly on the lowest rung of humanity. He condemned the exclusive interest of the blacks in earthly pleasures, but showed some understanding; the brutal treatment of the slaves aroused his aversion.⁵⁶ The Tarairiu on the other hand were beyond his sympathy and understanding for human error, particularly on account of their paedophagy. His description lacks the fantastic elements contained in the accounts by Herckmans and Hulck but nevertheless he considered the Tarairiu to be definitely 'wilde Menschen' completely in Satan's power.

Barlaeus' adaption of Rabe's report shows how a learned humanist in Europe judged savagery and civility with a more secular cast of mind. He added comments to the account by the 'director of the Tapuyas' in which he pointed to the fact that some of the Tarairiu customs could be compared with those of the Homeric Greeks, the Romans and the Teutonic ancestors of the Dutch. The Tapuya soothsayers sang and leaped like the priests of Mars. Nhandui had his wounds sucked by a medicine man just as the wounded Menelaos had

been treated by Machaon. These analogies should perhaps be taken as a reference rudimentary of cultural evolution, such as that set out in José de Acosta's *Historia Natural y Moral*, a work that Barlaeus may have known either in its original edition or in the translation by Jan Huyglien van Lincine.⁵⁷ He considerably modified the significance of Satanism and satanic ceremonies by pointing to the part played by religious ideas, 'good' and 'bad' alike, in the evolution of the state. 'Order is induced in the people by respect for the 'true' or 'false' God and they are kept under restraint by their rational or irrational conceits. More than one nation has created for itself a Velleda, Egeria or Auriana; the American world also heeds the word of the devils and through its reasoning there radiates something which is better and holier than man; and however wrong the religion may be, a state may be founded and maintained on it, although the devout will honour the true God and the superstitious fear the wrong gods'.⁵⁸ Even more remarkable was the fact that he removed the Tarairiu's custom of eating their dead from the sphere of satanic excesses and classified it as an example of the arbitrariness of many human customs: 'the mother together with another close blood relative eats the corpse of a dead child; we call this frenzy, they call it devout solicitude and love'.⁵⁹

Barlaeus was certainly not a cultural relativist in the sense of regarding all cultures as equal. It was in fact his defence of Dutch imperialism and his belief in the superiority of European civilization which determined his relatively mild attitude towards the 'savagery' of the Tarairiu. In his *Rerum in Brasilia gestarum historia* for all his *melancholia*, he repeatedly and not simply out of a sense of duty - expressed his great enthusiasm for Dutch empire - building in the Atlantic area. The fighting between the Dutch and Indians at Bahia in 1624 led him to comment that his compatriots had done better than the Ancients in that they had fought against wilder opponents and further away from home.⁶⁰ In a paean to colonial expansion he stressed that the acquisition of overseas territories would not only guarantee peace at home, but that it would bring 'religion, wealth, laws, morals and civility to far-flung peoples'.⁶¹ A defence of imperialism on the grounds of its civilizing mission assumes a widespread potential for civilization among the colonized peoples and may lead to the view that 'savagery' is a step on the road to civility. This is also borne out by an aside to his description of the Brazilian Indians. There he noted how knowledge of the various customs could

be useful for those who had to deal with foreign peoples and that *prudencia* prescribed no race should be written off as totally degenerate or any other (i.e. one's own) be ascribed a monopoly of good qualities. 'It is appropriate to subject the morals of these peoples to a very fruitful study and to admire the wisdom of Nature which has clad in the same externals so many customs and instincts; this edifies the mind so that we behave differently with different people, so that we know good is to be expected from which people and what evil is to be feared. For though some people are so orderly and so strict in their morals that we could not wish to make an improvement, we do not find a people so uncivilized that there is no good in them'.⁶²

The fact that Johan Maurits took a delegation of Tarairiu back to the Netherlands with him, where their rights were to be confirmed by the States-General, may perhaps lead us to deduce that that he presumed that they could in time be incorporated into the colonial community as had earlier been the case with other Tapuyas from the south of Pernambuco. The available material offers no certainty on this point, however, nor can it be established whether his faith in the spread of civility in any way corresponded with the views of his historiographer although we may assume that Barlaeus would not have made any statements which would be unwelcome to his patron.

Roelof Baro's account of his journey contains many references to aspects of the Tarairiu way of life dealt with in greater detail earlier by Rabe. Briefly and impartially he tells how the 'Tapuya' supported themselves, what contacts they maintained with the other Indians in the *sertão* and what ceremonies they conducted on a given day. The extent to which the daily life of the Tarairiu, was pervaded by rituals invoking protection or ceremonies marking the status of sex and age groups emerges even more clearly from his account than from Rabe's. In June 1647 hardly a day passed without some important ceremony for Baro to note: the piercing of children's lips and ears to enable ornaments to be attached, the invocation of spirits to make a prediction, the eating of a dead child by its relatives, rites for marriageable girls and boys, and on several occasions races in which the men carried heavy tree-trunks. Baro noted all this '*sine ira et studio*', on a single occasion he notes that the speed of the ageing Nhandui in the relay with tree-trunks prompted Jan Strass, his Polish companion, to suggest that the chief was endowed with his strength by the devil.⁶³ Even more remarkable than this detachment is

the attempt to grasp the position of the Tarairiu and especially that of Nhandui. Baro reproduces at length Nhandui's tirades on the miserly quality of the gifts from the Dutch.⁶⁴ Nhandui emerges as an astute negotiator, well-briefed on the ever-shifting alliances of friends and foes and determined, by alternately, issuing threats and promising to cooperate, to induce the Dutch to do as much for him as possible. From the passages on the diplomacy conducted in the *sertão* we detect a realization that although much of the Tarairiu's actions may have been unfathomable, they did at least share with the Dutch their sense of preservation. Other European colonists besides Baro may perhaps have found some similarities between themselves and the Tarairiu in their reactions to critical situations. In descriptions of the Tarairiu which have come down to us these allies are almost always presented however as 'others' and 'outsiders'.

Albert Eckhout's 'Tapuya' Dance and his life-size figures of a 'Tapuya' man and woman were recently singled out by Hugh Honour as the most remarkable example of an objective and analytical view of the original inhabitants of America and as an expression of the realization that Indians were really human beings.⁶⁵ [Pls. 201-206] The carefully observed detail of hair, ornaments and weapons supports this view insofar as it is undoubtedly human to pay attention to one's looks and to master skills necessary for making tools and decorations. But although it is clear that Eckhout considered the Tarairiu to be true men as opposed to manlike animals or spirits in human form, this does not imply that he judged them to be fully human. A comparison of his portraits with those depicting the Tupi Indians will show that the humanity of the 'Tapuyas' was believed to be stunted or incomplete. The landscape in which the 'Tapuya' figures are placed is uncultivated. They go practically naked; the man's face is deformed by ornaments. The animals at their feet are wild ones. The woman is carrying pieces of a human body, the man, the dub that was used to crush the skulls of prisoners destined for their cannibal feasts. In contrast, the Tupi woman is set against the background of a plantation, the man against a river with ships and at his foot is a manioc root, the main food plant of the colony. The Tupi cover their private parts, show no body painting or deforming facial ornaments. The woman is carrying household goods and is protecting the young life of her child. The man is holding weapons for hunting rather than for war. The contrast is between wilderness and savagery on the one hand and a cultivated habitat and elementary civility on the

other. This whole series of Eckhout's paintings can be interpreted as showing the different grades of civility ranging from the Tarairiu via the Tupi and blacks to the mulattos and mestizos. There is no indication in the paintings whether or not the 'Tapuyas' may reach a higher stage. It has been argued above that Dutch attempts to 'civilize' the Tarairiu were thwarted from the start and that consequently many colonial officials thought that the 'Tapuya' would remain as they were. This may well have been Eckhout's opinion. The message behind his series of paintings would then be: These are our Tupi, blacks, mulattos and mestizos, recruits to civility who show some promise; and those are the Tapuyas, our irredeemable, infernal allies.

Acknowledgment

I should like to express my gratitude to the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.) for its financial assistance to the staff of the General State Archives for its help with archival research.

Abbreviations

ARA General State Archives, The Hague

OWIC First West India Company

SG States General

DN Daily Minutes of the Political Council in Recife

NOTAS

1. M. T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Philadelphia 1964, chapters 4 and 5. J. H. Rowe, 'Ethnology and Ethnography in the Sixteenth Century', in *The Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* N° 30 (1964) 1-19. U. Bitterli, *Die 'Wilden' und die 'Zivilisierten'*. *Die europäisch-siberseeische Begegnung*, Munich 1976.
2. J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650*, Cambridge 1970, 16-17, 23-53. Many authors claim that the European view of non-Europeans is determined almost exclusively by the interest of the observer in acquiring colonies. See for example R. H. Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization. A study of the Indian and the American Mind*,

Baltimore, Maryland 1965², 1-49. G. B. Nash, *Red, White and Black. The Peoples of Early America*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1974, 34-43. F. Jennings, *The Invasion of America. Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest*, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 1975. G. Gliozzi, *Adamo e il Novo Mondo. La Nascita dell' Antropologia come Ideologia Coloniale: dalle genealogie bibliche alle teorie razziali (1500-1700)*, Florence 1977. For a criticism of a number of studies in which views about the non-European world are seen almost exclusively in the context of the development of a colonial ideology see Furio Diaz, 'Filosofi e i selvaggi', in *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 86 (1974) 557-570. Other authors stress the distortion of the alien world through the application of frames of reference based on their own society and of traditional literary representations of desirable or non-desirable forms of human society based on classical or Christian standards. In this kind of study there is hardly any discussion of the range of interests affecting the author-see for example H. Baudet, *Paradise on Earth*, New Haven London 1955. S. Buarque de Holanda, *Visão do Paraíso. Os motivos edênicos do descobrimento e coloniza do Brasil*, São Paulo 1969, PL. F. Berkhofer jr., *The White Man's Indian. Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, New York 1979. G. Chinard, *L'Exotisme Américain dans la littérature Française au XV le Siècle*, Paris 1911. G. Atkinson, *Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance Française*, Paris 1935. For idealizing studies of the Japanese and Chinese see E. Garin, 'Alla Scoperta del 'Diverso': i selvaggi americani e i saggi cinesi', in *idem, Rinascenze e Rivoluzioni: movimenti culturali dal XIV al XVII secolo*, Bari 1976, 329-362. D. F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2, book 2, Chicago 1977.

3. One of the few studies I know which attempts to deal with the conditions in which contacts with alien cultures led to a collective learning process is V. Rittner, *Kulturkontakt und soziales Lernen im Mittelalter. Krcuzzage im Licht einer mittelalterlichen Biographic*, Cologne/Vienna 1973. See however the critical remarks on his use of system theory in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 226 (1978) 381-396.
4. B. Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1971. G. Glicizzi, *Adamo e il Novo Mondo*, 474 (note 119) and 625-626. For a typology of the various forms of cultural contact see U. Bitterli, *Die 'Wilden' und die 'Zivilisierten'*.
5. For a summary of the information of interest to modern anthropology contained in 17th-century sources see R. H. Lowie in J. H. Steward ed., *Handbook of South American Indians*, 6 vols., Washington D. C. 1946-1963, vol. 1, 553-556, 563-566. The identification of the Tapuya with the 'Gê' is discussed critically by D. Maybury-Lewis, 'Some Crucial Distinctions in Central Brazilian Ethnology', in *Anthropos*, 60 (1965) 340-358.

6. J. A. Gonsalves de Mello, *Tempo dos Flamengos, Influência da Ocupação Holandesa na Vida e na Cultura do Norte do Brasil*, Recife 1978², 197-225. John Hemming, *Red Gold. The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians*, London 1978, chapter 14.
7. The genesis and spread of the opposition between the Europeans and non-Europeans in terms of civility and savagery, a secularized version of the opposition between Christians and heathens, and the changes in content of this dichotomy deserves further study. See C. Vivanti, 'Alle origini dell' idea di civiltà. Le scoperte geografiche e gli scritti de Henri de la Popelinière', in *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 84 (1962) 225-249. George Huppert, 'The Idea of Civilization in the 16th century', in Anthony Molho and John Tedeschi eds., *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron*. Dekalb, Illinois 1971, 759-769. A. Römheld, *Ursprung und Entwicklung des Begriffes Civiltä in Italien*, Cologne 1940. J. H. Rowe, *Ethnography and Ethnology in the 16th Century*, 6-7. C. Curcio, *Europa. Storia di un'idea*, Florence 1958, part 1, 195, 301-306. F. Chabod, *Storia dell'Idea d'Europa*, Bari 1970 (first edition 1961), 61-64. J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New*, 41-42. W. R. Jones, 'The Image of the Barbarian in Medieval Europe', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 13 (1971) 376-407. H. White, 'Forms of Wildness. Archeology of an Idea', in E. Dudley and M. E. Novak eds., *The Wild Man Within. An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, Pittsburgh 1972. F. Tinland, *L'Homme Sauvage. Homo Ferus et Homo Silvestris*. Paris 1968, chapter I.
8. *Spiegel der Spaenscher Tyrannyegheschiet in West Indien/Spaensche Tyrannyegheschiet in Nederlant*, Amsterdam 1620. K. W. Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War', in *Britain and the Netherlands*, vol. 5, The Hague 1975, 36-57.
9. For the colonized Indians in Portuguese Brazil, see D. Ruiters, *Toortse der Zeevaert*, ed., S. P. Naber, The Hague 1913, 15-16.
10. For arguments for and against the conquest of an American colony see C. Barlaeus, *Nederlandsch Brazilië onder het bewind van Johan Maurits, Grave van Nassau, 1637-1644*, trans. S. P. Naber, The Hague 1923, 13-15.
11. C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil 1624-1654*, Oxford 1954, 21-27. A. G. de Boer, 'De Val van Bahia', in *Tiidschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 58 (1943) 38-49.
12. E. J. Bondam ed. and trans., 'Journaux et nouvelles tirées de la bouche des marins hollandais et portugais de la navigation aux Antilles et sur les côtes du Brésil', in *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro*, 29 (1907) 171-177.
13. Joannes de Laet, *Iaerlijcke Verhael van de Verrichtingen der Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie*, ed. S. P. Naber, The Hague

- 1934, vol. 3, 12, 25-27, 37-41. ARA, OWIC 49, Generale Missiven 7 October and 6 November 1631 and the undated hearings of Andries Tacoe (Cachou) and Mardhaen; the instructions for Elbert Smient and Joost Colster; the hearing of Andries Tacoe on board the *Nieuw Nederlant*, 12 November 1631.
14. J. de Laet, *Iaerlycke Verhael*, vol. 3, 143.
 15. J. de Laet, *Iaerlycke Verhael*, vol. 3, 143, 213, 215 and 6-9. ARA, OWIC 50, *Journael van de tocht ofte expeditiegedaen naer Rio Grande*, 5-21 December 1633; *ibid.*, the letters of Garstman to the Political Council, is February and 22 March 1634 and the accompanying journal. The quotation is from the entry for 7 March in this journal.
 16. ARA, OWIC 50, letter of S. Carpentier to the *Heren XIX*, 18 April 1634. Compare the letter of M. van Ceulen to the *Heren XIX*, 18 April 1634.
 17. ARA, OWIC 50, Garstman's Journal, 13 and 14 March 1634.
 18. J. de Laet, *Iaerlycke Verhael*, vol 4, 46-53.
 19. J. de Laet, *Iaerlycke Verhael*, vol . 4, 78. AR A, OWIC 50. Generale Missive, 15 June 1635. Quotation from this letter.
 20. ARA, OWIC, 51, letter from W. Schott to the *Heren XIX*, 8 June 1636.
 21. ARA, OWIC 70, DN 6 March 1645, information from Hoeck in Rio Grande. During the short period off Dutch rule on the island of Maranhão, Indian slavery was permitted on a large scale in contrast to the policy in the four main captaincies.
 22. ARA, OWIC 68, DN 26 November 1639; *ibid.* 69, DN, 19 February, 25 June, 11 July 1642; 8 and 14 January, 12 February 1643; OWIC 70, DN 16 September, 12, 14, 19 and 31 October, 14 and 18 November, 2 and 28 December 1644; OWIC 60, Generale Missive, 13 February 1645.
 23. ARA, OWIC 68, DN 20 January 1640. 'Kort en Waarachtig Verhaal van de kornst en het vertrek van de Spaarische vloot in Brazilië, in *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap*, Utrecht 1869, 526-527.
 24. ARA, OWIC 68, DN 1 April 1638, 24 March 1639; OWIC 70, DN 17 March 1643.
 25. It has been generally assumed that Jacob Rabbi was the same as Johan Rab van Waldeck, whose description of the Tapuyas was used by Barlaeus. De Mello (*Tempo dos Flamengos* 1947, 291) takes Rabbi for a jew, as does Boxer (*Dutch in Brazil*, 168). In the second edition of *Tempo dos Flamengos*, P. 247, Rabbi is omitted from the list of identifiable Ashkenazim. For the argument that he was not Jewish see Arnold Wiznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil*, New York 1960, 104. According to Boxer (*Dutch in Brazil*, 168) he was married to a Tarairiu woman. See, however, OWIC 71, DN 25 April 1646.
 26. ARA, OWIC 69, DN 19 February 1642.
 27. ARA, OWIC 69, DN 25 June and 11 July 1642.

28. ARA, OWIC 69, DN 12 February 1643.
29. C. Barlaeus, *Nederlandsch Brazilië*, 332.
30. ARA, OWIC 70, DN 24 February 1645.
31. Ibid., 23 January 1645. A day earlier the Political Council had registered Nhandui's request that some Tapuya children should be allowed to attend a school for Indians. This request was looked upon favourably. For Indian schools see de Mello, *Tempo dos Flamengos*, 211-215, 218-225.
32. Joh. Nieuhof, *Gedenkwaardige Brasiliaense Zee en Lantreise*, Amsterdam 1682, 153.
33. ARA, OWIC 60, letter from Jodocus à Stetten to the Political Council, 1 September 1645; letters from J. Rabe to the Political Council, 28 June and 4 July 1645.
34. ARA, Aanwinsten Iste afdeling 1906, no. XLI, the interrogations in connection with this murder. This material has been translated into Portuguese and supplied with an introduction in Alfredo de Carvalho, *Aventuras e Aventureiros no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro 1930, 165-204. See also OWIC 76, Secrete Notulen 19, 21 and 23 April 1646; OWIC 71, DN 25 April, 12, 19, 26 May, 27 August, 19 December 1646. Garstman's motives were not absolutely clear. Some witnesses said that he had wanted to avenge the killing of his father-in-law by the Tarairiu. Others stated that he had merely wanted to lay hands on the spoils of Rabe's forays.
35. ARA, OWIC 71, DN 11 June 1646. Pierre Moreau, *Histoire des derniers troubles du Brasil*, Paris 1651, 129 and 138.
36. ARA, OWIC 71, DN 13 August 1646. For biographical information on Baro see de Mello, *Tempo dos Flamengos*, 202 note 15.
37. R. Baro, *Relation du voyage au pays des Tapuies*, Paris 1651, 217-220, 222-223, 237-239, 243. ARA, OWIC 72, DN 29 August, 5, 10 and 21 September, 5 and 27 October, 19 December 1647; 22 January, 3 and 21 February, 4, 18 and 31 March 1648. For the fear of firearms see ARA, OWIC 76, Secrete Notulen 19 August 1645.
38. ARA, OWIC 72, DN 3, 6, 14 and 24 April, 7, 9 and 11 May, 7 June, 19 August, 3 September 1648. Pieter Persijn, born at Antwerpen, had been a Company employee for 11 years. He was married to a daughter of a Portuguese settler in Rio Grande, see ARA, SG 12564.29, Secrete Resoluties, 14 December 1649.
39. According to J. Hemming, *Red Cold*, P. 356, four hundred Tarairiu changed sides after the second battle of Guararapes, 19 February 1649. There is no confirmation of this in the extant Dutch sources. See however: E. Cabral de Mello, *Olinda Restaurada. Guerra Açucar no Nordeste 1630-1654*. São Paulo, 1975, 180.

40. ARA, OWIC 72, DN 3 and 28 September, 26 October. 7, 10 and 23 November, 7 December 1648. OWIC 73, DN 73, 19, 28 and 29 January, 10 February, 16 and 17 March, 1 and 23 April, 6 May, 14 and 18 October, 15 November, 6, 21, 22 and 23 December 1649. OWIC 74, DN 4 and 12 March, 14 June 1650. OWIC 75, 12 June, 11 September, 12 and 22 October, 2, 8, 16, 20 and 21 November, 6, 8, 14, 18-20, and 25 December 1651; 3 April, 6 May 1652. OWIC 76, Secrete Notulen 12 October and 14 December 1649.
41. ARA, OWIC 73, DN 9 January, 10 February and 25 September 1649. OWIC 75, DN 17 March, 12 June, 17 October, 9 November and 25 December 1651; 6 May 1652. The possibility that barter had previously existed between the colonists and the Tarairiu cannot be excluded. This sort of data does not usually appear in Company material. The references in Company papers to the relationship between the colonists and the Tarairiu before 1648 testify unfailingly to inimical relations however.
42. ARA, OWIC 68, DN 1 April 1638, 24 March 1639. OWIC 70, DN 17 March 1643.
43. ARA, Hof van Holland 5252, DN 9, 15 and 18 December 1653. Pieter Persijn had then been replaced by Sigismundus van Waldauwen. It seems that Nhandui was still alive, although old by then. In the DN of 12 June 1651 (OWIC 75) a new 'king' of the Tapuyas was mentioned. This may have been Carracara, who in December 1653 was referred to as the designated successor.
44. See the postscript of J. A. Gonsalves de Mello in Francisco de Brito Freyre, *Nova Lusitânia. Historia da Guerra Brasilica*, Recife 1977 (reprint of the 1675 Lisbon edition). The career of 'Jandui' in Rio Grande and Ceará before 1692 is described in J. Hemming, *Red Cold*, 356-363. I am not absolutely convinced those are the same as the Tarairiu, as Hemming takes for granted.
45. E. Herckmans, 'Generale Beschrijvinge van de Capitanie Paraiba', in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 2 (1879) 318-367; for the description of the Tapuyas see pp. 358-367. Biographical information on the author is taken from J. A. Worp, 'Elias Herckmans', in *Oud Holland*, 11 (1893) 162-177.
46. The copy in the University Library, Gent has been bound together with Johannes Megalopolensis, *Een kort Ontwerp vande Mahakuase Indianen*, Alkmaar (1644-1645).
47. J. de Laet, *Iaerlycke Verhael*, ed. S. P. Naber, part 4, 3.
48. See notes 15-18.
49. I have used the Portuguese translation Jorge Marcgrave, *Historia Natural do Brasil*, São Paulo 1942, 282-283.

50. C. Barlaeus, *Nederlandsch Brazilië*, 323-332. J. Marcgrave, *Historia Natural*, 279-282.
51. J. Nieuhof, *Gedenkwaardige Brasiliaense Zee - en Lantreise*, Amsterdam 1682, 222-226. For Nieuhof's sources see Francisco José Moonen, *Gaspar van der Ley no Brasil*, Recife 1968, 85-113.
52. *Cort ende Sonderlingh Verhael van eenen brief van Monsieur Soler*, Amsterdam 1639, 5-6. For biographical information on Soler see the essay by J. A. Gonsalves de Mello in this volume. Zacharias Wagner, *Zoobiblion, Livro de Animais do Brasil*, São Paulo 1964, ed. Edgard de Cerqueira Falcão, 214-217.
53. See note 37. The correspondence between de Laet and Morisot is mentioned in F. Secret, 'Claude Barthélemy Morisot, chantre de Rubens et romancier chymique', in *Studi Francesi*, 40 (1970) 78 note 10. Secret gives the most complete listing of biographical references for Morisot. See also Jean-François Maillard, 'Littérature et alchimie dans le Peruviana de Claude Barthélemy Morisot', in *Dixseptième Siècle*, 30(1978)171-185.
54. H. Staen, *Waerachtige Historie ende Beschrijvinge eens Landts in Americagheleghen*, Amsterdam 1595. J. de Léry, *Historie van een reysegedaen in de lande van Bresillien*, Amsterdam 1597.
55. Letters from Soler to Rivet, Leiden University Library, Department of Western Manuscripts, BPL 302, f. 254 (6 March 1638), f. 256 (2 April 1639), f. 257 (12 February 1640), f. 258v (6 May 1640).
56. Z. Wagener, *Zoobiblion*, 217-219 and his description of the slave market in Recife, 224-225.
57. Joseph d'Acosta, *Historie Naturael ende Morael van de Westersche Indien* (Enkhuizen?) 1598, 283, 309-312; B. Keen *Aztec Image*, 122. In his *De Germania Antiqua* (1616) Philippus Cluverius had stressed the primitiveness of the early ancestors of the Dutch. In its illustrations the parallels between the ancient Teutons and the contemporary savages were obvious. See H. de Waal, *Drie Eeuwen Vaderlandsche Geschieduitbeelding 1500-1800. Een iconologische studie*, The Hague 1952, part 1, 191-192, 197-199 and the comments on pp. 92-93. 1. Schöffler ('The Batavian Myth during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Britain and the Netherlands*, vol. 5, 91-92) unjustly minimizes the primitive features of the Teutons in these illustrations. For the historicizing of the hierarchy within Creation see M. T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology*. chap. 11.
58. C. Barlaeus, *Nederlandsch Brazilië*, 326.
59. *Ibid.* 328. Such radical relativism was rare at this time. Donald F. Lach (*Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2, book 2, 300) cites a very similar remark on the customs of American Indians from Pierre Charron, *De la Sagesse Livre Trois*, Bordeaux 1601.

60. C. Barlaeus, *Nederlandsch Brazilië*, 24.
61. Ibid. 6 and 7.
62. Ibid. 30.
63. R. Baro, *Relation*, 221.
64. Ibid. 216-220.
65. H. Honour, *The New, Golden Land. European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time*, New York 1976, 80.