

TORTURED MEMORIES. JACOB ROSALES ALIAS IMANUEL
BOCARRO FRANCÊS. A LIFE FROM THE FILES
OF THE INQUISITION*

Michael Studemund-Halévy
Sandra Neves Silva
Hamburg and Lisbon

“Practicing Jews who believe in the Law of Moses are the physician Rosales, resident of Your Christian Majesty in Hamburg, and Ana Rosales, his wife.”¹ The informer Semuel Aboab alias Francisco Domingo de Guzmán, who gave detailed information to the Inquisition in Madrid between 1661 and 1662, was not the only informer providing us with data concerning the Lisbon Judaizer and later Hamburg New Jew² Dr. Jacob Rosales alias Imanuel Bocarro Francês.³ Between 1624

* A portion of the research for the present study was done at the National Library of Lisbon, the Institute for the History of the Jews in Germany, Hamburg, and at the National and University Library in Jerusalem. We wish to express our appreciation for the courtesy extended to us there and to thank our friends and colleagues for various helpful comments and suggestions. Finally, we benefited greatly from various contributions to the workshop “Elements of a New Approach to Writing (Jewish) Biographies” held on 9–12 July 2001 at the *Leopold-Zunz-Zentrum* in Lutherstadt Wittenberg. See the report in the biannual Newsletter of the European Association for Jewish Studies (*EAJS Newsletter*) 11 (October 2001), 31–36.

¹ “[...] que son Iudios Iudaicantes obserutes y creientes de la ley de Moyses el Dor Rosales, Residente por su Magd del rey nró señor en Amburgo = Ana Rosales su muger” (*Archivo Historico Nacional* [Madrid], Inq., lib. 1127, fol. 97–97^v), hereafter AHN.

² We borrow the term “New Jew” for an ex-Marrano who has converted to Judaism from Yosef Kaplan, *Les Nouveaux-Juifs d’Amsterdam. Essais sur l’histoire sociale et intellectuelle du judaïsme séfarade du XVIIe siècle*, Paris 1999.

³ Semuel Aboab (alias Francisco Domingo de Guzmán), born around 1630 in Palestine, travelled after 1650 in northern Europe, where he made the acquaintance of more than 5,000 Sefardic Jews, perhaps in the shameful intention to denounce them to the Inquisition at some future time. Commenting on Aboab, Markus Schreiber notes that he had intended since the early 1650s to be baptized, lived in various Jewish communities and kept a careful written account on the members (Markus Schreiber, *Marranen in Madrid 1600–1670*, Wiesbaden 1994, 355). On his denunciation report, see also Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon der Hamburger Sefarden*, Hamburg 2000, 80–83; Michael Studemund-Halévy/Jorun Poettering, “Étrangers Universels. Les Sépharades du Nord”, international conference “La Diaspora des Nouveaux Chrétiens d’Ori-

and 1662, this to date little known and highly gifted individual—who played an active role in the history of the Portuguese community in Hamburg as a physician, mathematician, astronomer, astrologer,⁴ resident of the Spanish crown and exponent of political messianism—was repeatedly denounced before the Inquisition courts in Goa, Lisbon and Madrid, especially by relatives and members of the Hamburg Marrano community.⁵ During this period, many members of the ramified family

gine Portugaise” held on 30–31 October 2003 at the *Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian* in Paris (forthcoming).

⁴ Jacob Rosales accepted the possibility of transmutation and argued that the Philosopher’s Stone, “is a great medicine which can cure the severest diseases . . . better than Avicenna and Galen”, see Michael Nevins, *Our Sephardic Medical Roots* (MS). On astrology in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Eugenio Garin, *O Zodíaco da Vida. A Polémica sobre a Astrologia do Século XIV ao Século XVI*, Lisbon 1997; on astrology and alchemy in Portugal, see Yvette Centeno (ed.), *Enmoa ou a Aplicação do Entendimento sobre a Pedra Filosofal*, Lisbon 1987; on Jewish astrologists and alchemists, see Raphael Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists*, Princeton 1994; on Jewish alchemists and astrologists in Hamburg, see Michael Studemund-Halévy, “Es residiren in Hamburg Minister fremder Mächte—Sefardische Residenten in Hamburg,” in Rotraud Ries/J. Friedrich Battenberg (eds.), *Hofjuden—Ökonomie und Interkulturalität. Die jüdische Wirtschaftselite im 18. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg 2002, 154–176; Francisco Moreno-Carvalho, *Binjamin Mussaphia* [MS].

⁵ At present three studies are in preparation that deal exclusively with the life and the work of Jacob Rosales. The Brazilian physician and historian Francisco Moreno Carvalho is writing extensive dissertations on Rosales, and the Portuguese historian Sandra Neves Silva is examining the messianic aspects in the life and work of Rosales in her M. A. thesis. Though leaving much to be desired, the most successful effort to reconstruct the intricate life of Jacob Rosales was until recently the highly informative study by Hermann Kellenbenz, “Dr. Jakob Rosales”, *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 8, 1956, 345–354. On Rosales, see Kayserling, *Sephardim*, 209–211; Sousa Viterbo, “Medicos Poetas”, *Archivos de Historia da Medicina Portuguesa* 2 (n. s.), 1911, 5–29; Israel S. Révah, “Une famille de ‘Nouveaux-Chrétiens’: Les Bocarro-Francês”, *Revue des Études Juives* 116, 1957, 73–87; Pinharanda Gomes, *História da Filosofia Portuguesa, I., A Filosofia Hebraico-Portuguesa*, Porto 1981, 255; Herman Prins Salomon, *Saul Levi Mortera, Tratado da Lei de Moisés*, Braga 1988, LXXV–LXXIX; António José Saraiva, “Bocarro-Rosales and the Messianism of the Sixteenth Century”, in Yosef Kaplan et al. (eds.), *Menasseh ben Israel*, Leiden 1989, 240–243. An essential starting point are the pioneering studies of Francisco Moreno Carvalho: “Yaacob Rosales: Medicine, Astrology, and Political Thought in the Works of a Seventeenth-Century Jewish-Portuguese Physician”, *Korot* 10, 1993–1994, 143–156; idem, *Ya’aqov Rosales: Peraqim be-biografiah intelequ’alit shel rofe yehudi mi-mosa*, Jerusalem 1996 (mimeo); idem, “On the Boundaries of our Understanding: Manoel Bocarro Francês-Jacob Rosales and Sebastianism”, in Charles Meyers/Norman Simms (eds.), *Troubled Souls, Conversos, Crypto-Jews, and Other Confused Jewish Intellectuals from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, Hamilton, New Zealand 2001, 65–75; idem, “A Newly Discovered Letter by Galileo Galilei: Contacts Between Galileo and Jacob Rosales, a Seventeenth-Century Jewish Scientist and Sebastianist”, *Aleph* 2, 2001, 59–91; idem, *Manoel Bocarro Francês, “Jacob Rosales”. Médico judeu-português: 1593–1662* (MS); Michael Stude-

Bocarro Francês lived as pious Catholics, Judaizers or New Jews in Lisbon, Madrid, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Leghorn, Turkey, Brazil and Portuguese India.⁶ We know very little about the Jewish background and the religious beliefs of Jacob Rosales and his widely ramified family, so that we depend completely on the information hidden in the Inquisitorial files.⁷

At least nine Inquisition reports (*denúncias*) furnish us with valuable details about the dramatic and adventurous life of Dr. Jacob Rosales and also open a small window onto the Jewish life of the community of ex-Marranos in Hamburg during the early period of this community, about which today little is known. Supplemented by data from the files of the Hamburg Senate and the Hamburg Lutheran community⁸ as well

mund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon der Hamburger Sefarden*, Hamburg 2000, 232–236; idem, “Jacob Rosales”, in Franklin Kopitzsch/Dirk Brietzke (eds.), *Hamburgische Biografie*, vol. 2, Hamburg 2003, 347–348; Reyes Bertolin, *Greek Influence in Jewish Spain* [Jacob Rosales, MS]; Sandra Neves Silva, “Criptojudaísmo e Profetismo no Portugal de Seiscentos: O caso de Manoel Bocarro Francês alias Jacob Rosales (1588/93?–1662/68?)”, *Estudos Orientais* 8, Lisbon 2003, 169–183; eadem, *Cripto-judaísmo e Messianismo em Portugal no Século XVII: Vida e Obra de Manoel Bocarro Francês* (forthcoming).

⁶ The community of New Christians attached great importance to family ties, kinship relations and commercial enterprises under family protection. The “clan spirit” and the endogamous practice established networks of solidarity. Kinship bonds dominated political relations, and all pertinent obligations were derived from it. On this matter, see Daniel M. Swetschinski, “Kinship and Commerce: The Foundations of Portuguese Jewish Life in Seventeenth-Century Holland”, *Studia Rosenthaliana* 15, 1981, 58–74; Révah, “Une famille”, 73–87; Jaime Contreras, “Family and Patronage: The Judeo-Convertos Minority in Spain”, Mary Elizabeth Perry/Anne J. Cruz, *Cultural Encounters. The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World*, Berkeley 1991, 127–145; Miriam Bodian, *The Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation. Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam*, Bloomington 1997, 5; Jorun Poettering, *Hamburger Sefarden im atlantischen Zuckerhandel des 17. Jahrhunderts* (MS, Hamburg 2003); Studemund-Halévy/Poettering, “La mémoire retrouvée: Les Sépharades du Nord”.

⁷ The history of the religious background and the religious beliefs of those New Christians has yet to be written (see David Gitlitz, *The Religion of the Crypto-Jews*, Philadelphia 1996 [a Spanish translation appeared in Salamanca under the title *Secreto y Engaño. La religión de los criptojudíos*). Contrary to the view of scholars dealing with Marranos and New Christians, who assert the continuity of a fundamental “Jewishness” among the so-called “Judaizers”, others have tried to argue that it was a fiction fabricated by the inquisitors in their persecution of the New Christians. A summary illustrative of this problem can be found in António José Saraiva, *The Marrano Factory. The Portuguese Inquisition and Its New Christians 1536–1765*, Leiden 2001. “Nearly all of the New Christians Inquisitorial victims (some 40.000 so labeled between 1540 and 1765) were devout or run-of-the-mill Catholics whose Jewish ancestry, often partial, if not fictional, was their sole crime”, Herman Prins Salomon in Saraiva, *The Marrano Factory*, IX.

⁸ Jutta Braden, *Hamburger Judenpolitik im Zeitalter lutherischer Orthodoxie 1590–1710*, Hamburg 2001, has made these invaluable documents for the early history of the

as a small number of autobiographical documents, a portrait emerges of the life of a remarkable man: in Lisbon he came to be plagued with doubts about Catholicism, he left Portugal and relocated to Hamburg, where for over 20 years he played an important role in the Hamburg Portuguese *Gemeinde* as physician, resident and prolific writer:

1. António Bocarro denounces his brother before the Inquisition Court in Goa in 1624.⁹
2. António Nunes denounces him before the Inquisition Court in Lisbon in 1626.¹⁰
3. In 1641, his brother Gaspar Bocarro denounces him to the Inquisition Court in Lisbon.¹¹

Portuguese *Gemeinde* in Hamburg accessible to a broader public; eadem, “Luthertum, Sefardim und Handelsinteressen. Zur Judenpolitik des Hamburger Senats in der Zeit Glikls”, in Monika Richarz (ed.), *Die Hamburger Kauffrau Glikl. Jüdische Existenz in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Hamburg 2001, 159–194.

⁹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (hereafter ANTT), Caderno 9 do Promotor da Inquisição de Lisboa, Culpas contra muitas pessoas tiradas do processo de Antonio bocarro christão nouo, fls. 436–446^v. The files were published by Pedro de Azevedo, “O Bocarro Francês e os Judeus de Cochim e Hamburgo”, *Arquivo Histórico Portuguez* 8, 1910–1912, 15–20, 185–198, 186–187. António Bocarro, whom C. R. Boxer mentions in the same breath with de Barros and Couto (“*proves Bocarro to have been a worthy successor to Barros and Couto*”), was born in 1594 in Abrantes, Boxer, “António Bocarro and the ‘Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental’”, in *Garcia de Orta, Revista da Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações do Ultramar*, 1956, 203–219. From 1631 to 1643, he served as director of the State Archives in Goa and made a name for himself as an skilled explorer. Thus, for example, his description of the wells in the grotto city Elephanta in India are still worth reading today. He is also the author of an informative description of Portuguese India, *Decada 13 da historia da India*: (ed. Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, Lisbon 1876). See also João Ribeiro, *History of Ceilao, with a summary of de Barros, de Couto, Antonio Bocarro ...*, translated from the original Portuguese and Sinhales by P. E. Pieris, Colombo 1909, and A. B. de Bragança Pereira, Arquivo português oriental, Bastorá 1936 (containing: António Bocarro, *Livro das plantas de tôdas das fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da India Oriental*). Commenting on Bocarro, Révah quotes from the testimony of the “Old Christian” Diogo de Noronha that “*o ditto Antonio Bocarro era muito estragado e de maa consciencia, e que, por pouco mais de nada, acusaria falsamente a todo o mundo, e que té a mae que o parira accusara*,” “Le retour au catholicisme d’Antonio Bocarro”, *Coloquio*, Lisbon 1960, 58–60 [60].

¹⁰ ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 9454. See on this Azevedo, O Bocarro Francês, 18–19.

¹¹ ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 3020 (Gaspar Bocarro), fls. 3–3^v. Gaspar Bocarro Francês fled from Madrid to St. Jean de Luz, and later lived as an observant Jew in Hamburg, Amsterdam, Leiden, Padua, Leghorn and Florence. He lived in Hamburg under the name of Uziau Rosales (“por seu irmão Manuel Bocarro querer se chamasse assim”) [ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 3020, f. 32^r, 5 de Novem-

4. In 1644, Diogo de Lima denounces him before the Inquisition Court in Lisbon.¹²
5. In 1645, Manoel de Motta denounces him before the Inquisition Court in Lisbon.¹³
6. In 1646, his cousin Miguel Francês denounces him before the Inquisition Court in Lisbon.¹⁴
7. In 1650, he is denounced by João de Aguila before the Inquisition Court in Lisbon.¹⁵
8. In 1658, Gregório de Pina denounces him before the Inquisition Court in Lisbon.¹⁶
9. In 1661, he is named by Semuel Aboab in his extensive denunciation of members of Marrano communities in northern Europe before the Inquisition Court in Madrid.¹⁷

bro de 1641]. See on this Herman Prins Salomon, *Saul Levi Mortera, Tratado da Lei de Moisés*, Braga 1988, LXXV–LXXXIX. Gaspar Rosales alias “YZYAV ROSALES Portuguese” was the author of a poetical *encomium* (which appears to have been lost) in honor of the Portuguese ambassador in Amsterdam, Tristão de Mendonço Furtado (“Gaspar Bocarro tinha feito hum panegírico que depois sahio impreso debaixo de hum nome de judeu, lhe parece era Esau ou Isac Rozalles, de que o ditto Gaspar Bocarro se sintio”), declaration of António Tavares de Sousa on October 19, 1641 [ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 3020], apud Herman Prins Salomon, *Saul Levi Mortera, Tratado da Lei de Moisés*, Braga 1988, LXXXIX, ft. 23; see also Alfonso Cassuto, “Seltene Bücher aus meiner Bibliothek”, *Studia Rosenthaliana* 6, 2, 1972, 215–223 [here: 218]. He went back to Portugal in 1641, where he revealed himself to the *Sanctum Officium* and returned to Christianity. See Révah, “Une famille”, 78–86, 87; Elias Lipiner, *Os Baptizados em Pé. Estudos acerca da origem e da luta dos Cristãos-Novos em Portugal*, Lisbon 1998, 73; Prins Salomon, *Saul Levi Mortera*, LXXVIII–LXXXIX.

¹² The files were published by Azevedo, “O Bocarro Francês”.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 7276, 15. 12. 1647: “Miguel Francês, filho de Paulo Francês e Beatriz Soares, ambos naturais de Abrantes e residentes em Hamburgo, de 35 anos de idade em 1646”, apud José António Gonsalves de Mello, *Gente da Nação. Cristãos-novos e judeus em Pernambuco 1542–1654*, Recife 1996, 487. See Egon Wolff/Frieda Wolff, *Dicionário Biográfico VII. Processos de Inquisição de Lisboa referentes a pessoas nascidas ou residentes no Brasil e outros estudos*, Rio de Janeiro 1991–1992, 45; Alberto Dines et al. (eds.), *A fênix, ou, O eterno retorno: 460 anos da presença judaica em Pernambuco*, Brasília, 2001; Anita Novinsky, *Inquisição: prisioneiros do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 2002, 162.

¹⁵ ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 7938 (João de Aguila).

¹⁶ “tinha sido neste reino [Portugal] Judeo e o fora sempre”, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Caderno 35 do Promotor da Inquisição de Lisboa, Denúncia do Conego Gregório de Pina, fls. 351–354. The files were published in part by Pedro de Azevedo, “A Inquisição e alguns seiscentistas”, *Arquivo Historico Portuguez* 3, 1905, 460–465 [here: 463].

¹⁷ AHN (Madrid), Inq., lib. 1127, fols. 97–97^v. See also Schreiber, *Marranen; Studemund-Halévy, Lexikon*.

Despite our extensive knowledge regarding the affluence and magnificence in which the Hamburg “Portuguese” lived in the first half of the seventeenth century,¹⁸ we know but little about their actual arrival in Hamburg, their decision to join the fold of the covenant of Abraham, the nature and practice of their Judaism. The Jewish religion not being allowed, the new immigrants from the Iberian peninsula were nominally Christians, or rather Catholics. Around 1600 or shortly afterwards, some of them started to practice their own religion again. Since the protocol books (*livros da nação*) and other *Gemeinde* archival materials (written before 1652) were destroyed in the Great Hamburg Fire of 1842, we must rely in many cases on the files of the Portuguese and Spanish Inquisition authorities. The *denúncias*, meticulously collected and evaluated by the Inquisition Courts in Lisbon and Madrid, contain valuable data on the initial period of the Hamburg community, its synagogues (*esnogas*), communal leaders (*senhores do Ma’amad, parnasim*), rabbis and teachers (*hahamim*) and (*rubissim*), schools, its role within the dominant Christian society and the religious rites of the ex-Marranos. The informers, whose motives frequently can only be a matter of speculation (but which were most probably not always religious), had as a rule been members of the communities for years. At the time of their denunciations, there were still relatives of the denounced

¹⁸ Abundant source and archival material for the first half of the seventeenth century is available, primarily due to the constant efforts and activities of historically-minded Isaac and Afonso Cassuto. For historical surveys of the Sefardi community of Hamburg during the seventeenth century, see especially Alfred Feilchenfeld, “Anfang und Blütezeit der Portugiesengemeinde in Hamburg”, *Zeitschrift für Hamburgische Geschichte* 10, 1899, 199–240; Cecil Roth, “Neue Kunde von der Marranen-Gemeinde in Hamburg”, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 2, 3, 1930, 228–236; Hermann Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe*, Wiesbaden 1958; Michael Studemund-Halévy (ed.), *Die Sefarden in Hamburg. Zur Geschichte einer Minderheit*, vols. 1–2, Hamburg 1994–1997; idem, *Lexikon*; idem, “Die Hamburger Sefarden zur Zeit der Glikl”, in Monika Richarz (ed.), *Die Hamburger Kauffrau Glikl. Jüdische Existenz in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Hamburg 2001, 195–222; idem, “Es residiren in Hamburg Minister fremder Mächte—Sefardische Residenten in Hamburg”, in Rotraud Ries/J. Friedrich Battenberg (eds.), *Hoffjuden—Ökonomie und Interkulturalität. Die jüdische Wirtschaftselite im 18. Jahrhundert*, Hamburg 2002, 154–176; idem, “Hamburgo torna-se judeu e português”, *Estudos Orientais* 8, 2003, 185–197; Hiltrud Wallenborn, *Bekehrungseifer, Judenangst und Handelsinteresse: Amsterdam, Hamburg und London als Ziele sefardischer Migration im 17. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim 2003. On the relationship between the Sefardi and the Ashkenazi communities in Hamburg with the municipal government and the Christian surroundings, valuable informations can be found in Joachim Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change in Hamburg 1529–1819*, Cambridge 1985, 70 ff. (a German translation appeared in Hamburg in 1992 under the title *Religiöse Toleranz und sozialer Wandel in Hamburg 1529–1819*). See esp. Braden, *Judenpolitik*.

individuals living in these communities. Though their detailed reports did not endanger these kin directly, they did pose a threat to their families in Iberia living there as Judaizers or pious Catholics.

In their reports for the Inquisition, the informers repeatedly point to the circumstance that these former New Christians had renounced the true faith and, as “New Jews” had also identified themselves in public as Jews:

And in the synagogues mentioned they follow the rites and customs of the Jews. They appear openly as Jews. They enjoy respect and are known as Jews. They live in great freedom, as in Amsterdam, though less so, because they have no public synagogue. Their four synagogues are private, maintained in their homes.¹⁹

The number of forcibly baptized Jews of Portuguese or Spanish origin who began to arrive in Hamburg from the end of the sixteenth century as Catholics—and who a short time later began to live once again openly as Jews—increased steadily in the seventeenth century, so that Hamburg came to compete with Amsterdam for the honor of being known as the “Jerusalem of the North.” In 1646, the Hamburg Portuguese community counted some 800 members. According to the report of the infamous informer Semuel Aboab, at the end of 1652 the unitary Congregation *Kahal Kados Bet Israel*—formed on 3 September 1652 from the merger of the congregations *Talmud Tora*, *Keter Tora* and *Neve Salom*, and called in the protocols a “free general *Gemeinde*”—had a total of 1,212 persons.²⁰ This surprisingly large num-

¹⁹ “Y en las dhas Synagogas haçian los ritos y çeremonias de Iudios y publicam[ente] se portaban y trataban como tales, y eran estimados, y reputados por Iudios, y viuen con tanta liuertad, como en Amsterdam, menos, el que no tienen synagoga publica, y las quatro, son particulares, que las tienen los sussodichos en su casas”, AHN (Madrid), Inq., lib. 1127, f. 100^r.

²⁰ According to the testimony of Count Galeazzo Guadaldo Priorato, chamberlain of Queen Christina of Sweden, in 1663 approximately 120 Sefardi families lived in Hamburg, “Beschreibung von Hamburg im Jahre 1663”, in Henning Berkefeld (ed.), *Hamburg in alten und neuen Reisebeschreibungen*, Düsseldorf 1990, 40–53, see also Yosef Kaplan, “The Place of the Herem”, 169. On the number of Sefardi Jews in Amsterdam during the seventeenth century, see Yosef Kaplan, “The Portuguese community in 17th-century Amsterdam and the Ashkenazi world”, in J. Michman (ed.), *Dutch Jewish History* 2, Assen-Maastricht 1989, 23–45 [here: 29, 35]; Jonathan I. Israel, “Sephardic Immigration into the Dutch Republic”, *Studia Rosenthaliana* 23, 1989, 45–53; idem, “Demografie en economische activiteit”, in J.C.H. Blom et al. (eds.), *Geschiedenis van de Joden in Nederland*, Amsterdam 1995, 111; Hubert P.H. Nustelling, “The Jews in the Republic of the United Provinces: Origin, numbers and dispersion”, in Jonathan I. Israel/Reinier Salvedra (eds.), *Dutch Jewry. Its History and Secular Culture, 1500–2000*, Leiden 2002, 43–62; Poettering, “Hamburger Sefarden”.

ber, whose accuracy historians still have to corroborate, points up the extent to which Hamburg (in competition with the prosperous community in Amsterdam, at the time twice its size) had developed into an important Portuguese center, in part as a result of migration by numerous Portuguese from Glückstadt to Hamburg. In 1656, there were 116 tax-paying Jews; in 1663, over 120 families. By comparison, there were ca. 500 Portuguese in Amsterdam in 1610, a figure which had surged to some 3,000 by the end of that century; in 1680, the Portuguese community in London consisted of precisely 414 persons.

These “Portuguese” consciously played their “Iberian” card. They not only benefited from the circumstance that they were still always regarded as Portuguese and Spanish, which frequently made it easier for them to move in Christian circles, but made intentional use of that.²¹ They were the very first who succeeded in establishing Jewish communities in Hamburg and other towns between the Elbe River and the Baltic, i.e. in the Protestant lands of the North where permanent Jewish settlement had previously appeared impossible. The sense of solidarity and cohesion among Iberian Jews, who defined themselves less by religion and more in terms of ethnic and social criteria, was strengthened by an array of factors: trade with the Portuguese colonies in America and Asia, frequent travels to the “Lands of Idolatry” as Portugal and Spain were called, a pronounced endogamy oriented to economic interests, a high degree of social mobility and, quite significantly, their maintenance of Portuguese (and Spanish) as a common linguistic and cultural bond. In the age of mercantilism, Portuguese merchants active in international trade played an important role, by dint of their education, capital assets and extensive international commercial contacts, in the economic upswing in Hamburg, Amsterdam and later London—a part far greater than their modest numbers might suggest.

Among these Portuguese, one occupational group—along with the wholesale merchants, bankers and maritime insurers—had a special significance, consciously shaping the image and self-esteem of Portuguese Jewry in Hamburg: the physicians. In the seventeenth century, there were numerous Portuguese-Jewish doctors in Amsterdam, Hamburg and Italy who had been born in Portugal or Spain and had later studied there, in Holland or Italy. Their biography was that of the *cristãos novos* (New Christians) who had grown up within a fictitious

²¹ Studemund-Halévy, “Es residiren”.

external Catholicism and, far removed from Iberia, had then found the path back into the fold of normative Judaism. As a result of their training in medicine and the natural sciences, they later had a strong impact on the Jewish thinking of their time.²² In the 1620s, there must have been so many Portuguese-Jewish distinguished physicians and medical greats already practicing in Hamburg that the physician, mathematician, astronomer and constant wanderer Yoseph Shlomo Delmedigo found it necessary to serve the community as *Ab Bet Din* (the head of the rabbinical court of the Sefardi Jews at Hamburg and in the environs of Amsterdam) and *Mashbir Bar* (“provider”, the spiritual leader of the Sefardi Jews of Hamburg and Amsterdam) rather than to continue his medical practice.²³ Among the best-known and most influential Portuguese-Jewish physicians—who also played an important role in Hamburg as community leaders, merchants, dignitaries, residents, writers and *Avisenschreiber* (scribes distributing copies of the latest political news to a list of paid subscribers)—were, for example, Rodrigo de Castro alias David Namias (1546–1627),²⁴ his oldest son

²² Harry Friedenwald, *The Jews and Medicine*, Baltimore 1944–1945, 2 vols.

²³ “Mashbir” can only refer to Joseph, as it is said, “And Joseph was the Governor over the land, and it was he ha-mashbir [that sold] to all the people of the land” (Gen. XLII, 6). Yoseph Shlomo Delmedigo, “Haqdamath ha-Magilah”, *Masref*, 5, apud Isaac Barzilay, *Yoseph Shlomo Delmedigo (Yashar of Candia)*, Leiden 1974, 76–77. According to the epitaph of his gravestone, Delmedigo was the head of the rabbinical court at Hamburg, Koppelman Lieben, *Gal-Ed, Grabinschriften des Prager israelitischen Friedhofs*, Prague 1856, 33–34.

²⁴ Rodrigo de Castro, born in Lisbon in 1550, acquired considerable fame as a physician in Lisbon before settling in Hamburg 1594, where he later returned to the Jewish faith. In 1596 he took an important part in dealing with the plague, he published a tractate on this epidemic (*Tractatus brevis de natura et causis pestis*, Hamburg 1596). His reputation grew and he was called upon to treat kings, dukes and other persons of distinction. De Castro was schooled in Judaeo-Arabic medicine, which was far in advance of its time. He argued that plagues were communicated by extremely small organisms. He also won fame as a gynaecologist, practising Caesarean section with success rare indeed in those times. Among his patients were such personages as King Christian 5th of Denmark, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Archbishop of Bremen and many others of the high nobility. He died highly esteemed by Jews and Christians in 1627. On Rodrigo de Castro, see Meyer Kayserling, “Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Ärzte: Die Familie de Castro”, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 7, 1858, 393–396; 8, 1859, 161–170; 9, 1860, 92–98; 10, 1861, 38–40; Meyer Isler, “Zur ältesten Geschichte der Juden in Hamburg”, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 6, 1895, 461–479 [here: 467–476]; Feilchenfeld, “Anfang und Blüthezeit”, 212–214; Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, 325–330; Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 448–459 [“The Doctors de Castro”]; Yvonne David-Peyre, *Le Medicus Politicus de Rodrigo de Castro et la Musicothérapie*, *Revue d’Histoire de la Médecine Hébraïque* 103, 1973, 69–74; 105, 133–137; David Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern*

Benedictus de Castro alias Baruch Namias (1597–1684)²⁵ and Benjamin Mussaphia (c. 1600/1606–1674),²⁶ whose repute spread far beyond the confines of Hamburg.²⁷

Also worthy examining in this context is Dr. Jacob Rosales, a many-sided, exceptionally gifted and controversial personality, a prolific author interested in astronomy, mathematics, medicine, alchemy, literature, politics, political astrology and Jewish apologetics and one of the best-known exponents of political messianism, whose alchemy and astronomy studies led him into prognostication. He was also an accomplished poet writing in at least three languages, Portuguese, Spanish and Latin.²⁸ Rosales was apparently better known abroad than in

Europe, New Haven 1995, 294–299; Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 678–684; idem, “Rodrigo de Castro”, Kopitzsch/Brietzke, *Hamburgische Biografie*, vol. 1, 71–72.

²⁵ Benedictus de Castro, born in Hamburg in 1597, attended the gymnasium and studied at several universities; in 1621 he received a medical degree in Leiden with his dissertation *Disputatio medica de apoplexia* (Lugduni Batavorum: Ex officina Z. Smetii), a manuscript which appears to have been lost, see however Manfred Komorowski, *Bibliographisches Verzeichnis jüdischer Doktoren im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, München-London 1991, 33, no 1: Dr. med, 3. September 1624, Franeker! In 1622 Castro began to practice medicine in Hamburg, his reputation grew, and soon he achieved considerable success, assuming the position of physician to Queen Christina of Sweden in 1645. Baruch de Castro was the first Jew undisputedly known by name to set foot upon Swedish soil. Reduced to poverty in his old age, he died in 1684 in Hamburg. His tombstone is located next to the tombstones of his wife Jael and his father Rodrigo. On Benedictus de Castro, see Kayserling, “Zur Geschichte”; Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, 448–459 [“The Doctors de Castro”]; David Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe*, New Haven 1995, 299–308; Susanna Åkerman, “Johan Adler Salvius’ Questions to Baruch de Castro concerning ‘De tribus impostoribus’”, in Silvia Berti et al. (eds.), *Heterodoxy, Spinozism, and Free Thought in Early Eighteenth-Century Europe*, Dordrecht 1996, 397–423; Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 673–675; idem, “Baruch de Castro”, Kopitzsch/Brietzke, *Hamburgische Biografie*, vol. 1, 70–71; idem, “Biographisches Lexikon. Addenda et Corrigenenda”, *Maajan* 67, 2003, 2191–2192.

²⁶ On Benjamin Mussaphia, see Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 660–662; idem, “Benjamin Mussaphia”, Kopitzsch/Brietzke, *Hamburgische Biografie*, vol. 1, 215–216; Francisco Moreno-Carvalho, *Benjamin Mussaphia* (MS).

²⁷ Rodrigo and Benedictus de Castro died in Hamburg. Their graves are located in the Portuguese cemetery at Königstrasse, see Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 673–675 (Baruch de Castro), 678–684 (David de Castro); idem, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, 134–135 (Baruch de Castro), 135–136 (David de Castro). Benjamin Mussaphia died in Amsterdam. His grave is in the Portuguese cemetery Ouderkerk near Amsterdam, see Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 660–662.

²⁸ Kenneth Brown (Calgary) is currently preparing an anthology of Sefardi poems in Latin, Portuguese and Spanish. See also Kenneth Brown, “El Parnaso sefardí y sus cancioneros, siglos 17–18”, in Jules Whicker (ed.), *Actas del XII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, Birmingham 1998, 60–69; idem, “Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin Written and/or Published by Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century

Portugal (*bem conhecido na nossa terra, e mais nas estranhas*),²⁹ was esteemed by Galileo Galilei as an astrologer (*Virum Admirandum, & doctissimum Astrologorum Principem*)³⁰ and, in his capacity as a royal Spanish resident in Hamburg, was many years in the service of the Habsburgs³¹—which for some members of the Hamburg Portuguese community was a matter of controversy. His name appears in the histories of the Sefardi communities in northern Europe, especially in Hamburg,³² and in chronicles of Leghorn.³³ He was a member of the Hamburg Portuguese community between 1631 and 1652, and one of its most striking figures. Shortly before his departure for Italy (after 1652), Rosales, who had isolated himself within the Portuguese community as a result of his pro-Spanish leanings and militant ideas, put his signature to the document establishing the Hamburg unitary congregation *Kahal Kados Bet Israel*.³⁴ In the domain of printing and literary production by Hamburg Sefardi Jews in the first half of the seventeenth century, Rosales earned a name particularly as the author of certain Latin *encomia* he contributed to the works by Sefardi authors from Hamburg and Amsterdam.³⁵

Sephardim from Hamburg and Frankfurt”, *Sefarad* 59, 1, 1999: 3–42; 60, 2, 2000, 227–254; 61, 1, 2001, 227–253; idem, “Genio y figura de seis poetas sefardíes de Amsterdam, Hamburgo y Livorno de los siglos XVII–XVIII”, in Judit Taragona Borrás/Angel Sáenz-Badillos (eds.), *Jewish Studies in the Turn of the 20th Century*, vol. 2, Leiden-Cologne 1999, 469–477; idem, *The Sephardi Parnassus: 17th and 18th Century Spanish and Portuguese Language Poetic Chapbooks (Unitary and Fictitious) Compiled in Amsterdam and Hamburg by the Sephardim* [MS].

²⁹ Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, Coimbra 1741–1752 (4 vols), vol. 3, 197.

³⁰ On the relationship between Rosales and Galilei, see Moreno-Carvalho, “A Newly Discovered Letter”.

³¹ On Rosales as resident, see Kellenbenz, “Rosales”; idem, *Sephardim*; Studemund-Halévy, “Es residiren”, 20.

³² Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, 33–35, 48, 43, 45 f., 56, 76, 133, 156 f., 177, 328, 338 ff., 347 f., 360, 470; Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 38, 159, 232–235.

³³ Renzo Toaff, *La Nazione Ebraica a Livorno e a Pisa, 1591–1700*, Florence 1990, 316, 384–385, 465.

³⁴ Ben-Zvi Ornan-Pinkus, “The Portuguese Community of Hamburg in the XVIIIth Century”, *East and Maghreb: Studies on the History of the Jews in the Orient and North Africa* 5, 1986, 91–17 (Hebrew). A German translation of this article may be found in Studemund-Halévy (ed.), *Sefarden*, vol. 1, 3–36. See also Michael Studemund-Halévy, “Dokumentation Kahal Kadosh Bet Israel”, idem, *Sefarden*, vol. 1, 37–62.

³⁵ The works by these authors have been intensively investigated in recent years by the Canadian Hispanist Kenneth Brown (Brown 1999–2001).

From New Christian to New Jew

Jacob Rosales was born in 1588³⁶ or 1593³⁷ in Lisbon³⁸ as Imanuel Bocarro Francês, son of the medical doctor Fernando/Fernão Bocarro³⁹ and Guiomar Nunes Francês.⁴⁰ This highly respected New Christian

³⁶ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. 3, 196; Meyer Kayserling, *Bibliotheca Española-Portuguesa-Judaica*, Straßburg 1890, 96 (reprint New York 1971 [with a bibliography by the author, and by J. S. Silva Rosa with a bibliography of Kayserling's publications by M. Weisz]; Madrid 2000); idem, in *Jewish Encyclopedia* 10, 470; Toaff, *La Nazione Ebraica*, 384; Lionel Levy, *La Nation Juive Portugaise: Livourne, Amsterdam, Tunis, 1591–1951*, Paris 1999, 236.

³⁷ Kayserling, in *Jewish Encyclopedia* 10, 470.

³⁸ The biographical data follow the studies by Kellenbenz, “Rosales” and Moreno Carvalho, “Yaacov Rosales”.

³⁹ The physician Fernão Bocarro, son of João Bocarro and Maria Fernandes, who was born in Estremoz and died before 1641 in Madrid, is in all likelihood the author of a “*Memorial de muita importancia para ver S. Magestade o Senhor Rey D. Filippe III, rey de Portugal em como se hão-de remediar as necessidades de Portugal e como se ha-de haver contra seus inimigos que molestão aquella coroa e os mais seus Reynos*,” qtd. in Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. 2, 19; Maximiano Lemos, *Zacuto Lusitano. A sua vida e a sua obra*, Porto 1909; Révah, “Une famille”, 74. Siblings of Fernão Bocarro: (a) Afonso Bocarro, was married to (1) Jerónima Maria and (2) Mecia Pinel. His daughter Brites Pinel married his cousin Jacob Rosales; (b) Andre Bocarro, died before 1641; (c) Gaspar Bocarro, lived 1641 in Madrid, he was the husband of Leonor Brandão; (d) Manuel Bocarro, husband of Margarida Brandão (sister of Leonor Brandão); (e) Maria Bocarro, died in Estremoz before 1641, wife of Rui Gonçalves Zagalo. See Révah, “Une famille”, 75.

⁴⁰ Guiomar Nunes, born in Abrantes and died 1641 in Madrid, was the daughter of Manuel Francês and sister of Miguel Francês and Gracia Dias, apud Révah, “Une famille”, 74. A nephew of Miguel Francês, Diogo Ribeiro, was arrested by the Inquisition in 1704 (ANTT, Processo no. 2096). On January 24, 1626, António Nunes declares the following before the Lisbon Inquisition Court: “disse que hoje por mandado desta meza fora com outros familiares a prender por culpas contra nossa sancta fee a Gracia dias de Sauzedo molher de Gomez dias Castanha e a Mor Franceza e a Brites Soares molheres de Miguel Frances e de Pero Frances christans nouas desta cidade e dando se lhe nas cazas a hum tempo não nas acharão se não nouas de serem fugidas de sabado proximo passado a noite e fazendo dilligencia pella ditta Gracia Dias que particularmente elle denunciante buscaua como lhe foi ordenado achou que ella se fora no dito sabado com Miguel Frances seu irmão pera casa de huas christans nouas moradoras a Sancta Justa hua das quaes se chama Maria de Crasto e dando lhe na caza, lhe disserão as dittas christans que he mai e duas filhas e hua moça pequena christã velha que a ditta Gracia Dias se recolhera na ditta caza no ditto sabbado a noite dizendo que seu marido matara hum homem que a recolhessem ali e que hai estiuera até o outro dia a noite” (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 9454, qtd. in Azevedo, “Bocarro-Francês”, 18–19; Beatriz Soares, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 14775; see also Silva, “Crip-tojudaísmo”, 179). The siblings of Guiomar Nunes: (a) Pero Francês (alias Isaac Francês), husband of Brites Soares, they lived in Hamburg where they returned to Judaism. Children: Manuel Francês (alias Mordechai Francês), husband of Ester Brandão, born in Hamburg, daughter of João Francês Brandão, born in Abrantes; Henrique Francês, died

family, originally from Castalvi de Rosanes in Catalonia,⁴¹ boasted numerous physicians and court Jews since the fifteenth century.⁴² Among his siblings were João,⁴³ António,⁴⁴ Francisco,⁴⁵ Brites,⁴⁶ Maria,⁴⁷

in Hamburg; the merchant Miguel Francês (alias David Francês), lived in France, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Hamburg and in Pernambuco in 1641 (Anita Novinsky, *Inquisição: prisioneiros do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 2002, 162; Révah, “Une famille”, 73–87); Catarina Álvares (alias Ester Pimentel), wife of Afonso Dias Pimentel (alias Isaac Pimentel), they lived in Hamburg; (b) Miguel Francês (alias Daniel Francês), died before 1641 in Turkey, husband of Môr Francês, he lived in Lisbon, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Hamburg and Turkey [see Révah, “Une famille”, 76]. Children: Henrique Francês (alias Jacob Francês), born in Abrantes, husband of Brites Lopes, he lived in Hamburg and Leghorn; Pero Francês (alias Mose Francês), husband of his cousin Brites Lopes (alias Debora-Francês), born in Abrantes. He lived in Hamburg and later in Turkey [see Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, 137, Anm. 93; Révah, “Une famille”, 76]; João Francês (alias Isaac Francês), lived in Hamburg and later in Turkey [see Révah, “Une famille”, 76]; Brites Lopes, wife of Manuel Henriques (son of Brites Nunes and João Francês), lived in Hamburg [see Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, 176, ft. 188]; (c) Brites Nunes, died in Hamburg before 1641, wife of João Francês; (d) Gracias Dias de Salzedo, wife of Gomes Dias Castanho; (e) João Francês. On the family Bocarro-Francês see Révah, “Une famille”, 74–77. See also Isaías Rosa Pereira, *A Inquisição em Portugal. Séculos XVI–XVII—Período Filipino*, Lisbon 1993, 127 [documento 141]: “a herdade da Vinagreira [...] esta vaga para o fisco porquanto a nomeação que Dona Luisa Fez na mulher de Fernão Bocarro foi bula por ela depois ser sentenciada à morte e a sua fazenda confiscada”.

⁴¹ Levy, *La Nation Juive*, 236.

⁴² On his life and work, see Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 232–235.

⁴³ Révah, “Une famille”, 77, 87. João Bocarro lived in Estremoz where he read in the Old Testament and professed openly the salmes: “hu Simão Mendez surgião christão nouo que se dizia ter o antreforro de hua casa cheo de liuros por onde ensinava e conuertia a lei de Moisés a todos os da nação que podia”, Azevedo, “O Bocarro Francês”, 188; Silva, “Criptojudáísmo”, 173.

⁴⁴ See fns. 9, 52.

⁴⁵ The soldier Francisco Bocarro died in the Indies, see Révah, “Une famille”, 77, 87.

⁴⁶ Brites Bocarro alias Rahel Rosales, born 1599 [?] in Estremoz, was married to the merchant António Gomes, son of Aires Gomes, in Estremoz; António Gomes was 1660 arrested by the Inquisition in Evora (ANTT, Processo no. 2405). Brites Bocarro spent two years in Hamburg (1628–1629), she went later to Leghorn, see also Azevedo, “Bocarro-Francês”, 18, fn. 2; Kellenbenz, “Rosales”, 347; Révah, “Une famille”, 77–78, 87.

⁴⁷ Maria (alias Abigail?) Bocarro was the wife of the merchant and occasional poet Custódio Lobo da Costa, born in Lisbon and died in Leghorn before 1666 (?), see Révah, “Une famille”, 78, 87: “Custódio Lobo da Costa ... marié à une fulana Bocarro, marchand et poète, qui quitta le Portugal vers 1646 pour rejoindre la communauté juive de Hambourg”. Kayserling mentions the Portuguese conceptual poet Custódio Lobo alias Mose Jesurun Ribero alias Mose Jessurun Lobo who contributed a Spanish funerary poem for the martyr Abraham Nuñez Bernal, who died for his religious beliefs, to a collection of poems with the self-explanatory title: *Elogios, / que zelosos dedicaron / A LA, / Felice memoria de ABRAHM / NUNEZ BERNAL, / Que fue quemado vivo santifi- / cando el Nombre de su / Criador em Cordova a / 3 de Mayo 5415. / Pro meritis carcer. / Prolaude vincuila dantur. / Virtus crimen habet / Gloria supplicium*, Amsterdam [1655,] 108–114 (Elegies dedicated by pious men to the happy memory of Abraham Nuñez

Francisca,⁴⁸ Isabel⁴⁹ and Gaspar.⁵⁰ Of his brothers, António and Gaspar and other family members were denounced a number of times to the Inquisition authorities.⁵¹

We have a rich lode of detailed information on the crypto-Jewish tradition in the family Bocarro Francês as a result of the denunciation in 1624 of his brother António, a report which Israel S. Révah called one of the most disgusting in the history of the Portuguese Inquisition.⁵² On 28 February 1624, the learned and infamous António Bocarro denounced his brothers Gaspar and Imanuel before the Inquisition Tribunal in Goa accusing them of Judaizing practices.⁵³ From these char-

Bernal, who was burned alive [a martyr], sanctifying the name of his Creator, in Cordova on 3 May 5415). Among other contributors from Hamburg we find Joseph Francês, Hamburg's Camões ["Del Señor Joseph Francês de Hamburgo Soneto" (17)], about whom Miguel/Daniel (Levi) de Barrios would write: "Joseph Francês, armado de conceptos, / guardó de Pindo harmónicos preceptos", see Brown, "Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin Poetry", 1999, 13, 33; Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 442–444; idem, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht*, 138–139] and in Eliakim Castiel ["Del Señor Eliachim Castiel In honorem & gloriam Abrahami Nuñes Bernal (15)], see Brown, "Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo Latin Poetry", 1999, 32; Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 354, other contributors see Kayserling, *Sephardim*, 260, 354; idem, *Biblioteca*, 28, 43, 64; Harm den Boer, *La literatura hispano-portuguesa de los sefardíes de Amsterdam en su contexto histórico-social, siglos XVII y XVIII*, Amsterdam 1992, 397–398, Nr. 41. The martyrdom of three members of the Bernal family rocked the Portuguese communities in Amsterdam and Hamburg. The title of the collection does not indicate the material in honor of Isaac d'Almeida Bernal, who was only 17 years old when seized by the Inquisition and 22 when burned at the stake. See Kayserling, *Sephardim*, 262–263; idem, *Biblioteca*, 64; Miguel Levi de Barrios, *Relacion de los poetas y escritores de la nación judayca amstelodama*, Amsterdam 1682, reprinted in *Revue des Études Juives* 18, 1889, 281–289: "Custodio Lobo (alias Moseh Yesurun Ribero) hizo conceptuosas Poesias, y glosó admirablemente esta Redondilla: 'Si es hija de Dios, porque / La Ley al Hombre da, quando / Sin Ley á la Ley fallando, / Niega la de vida fé.'" A Moise Jesurun Ribero died before 1666 in Leghorn, husband of Abigail (*Archivio della Comunità Israelitica di Livorno* [ACIL]), Testamenti, n. 139 (testamento di Abigail, vedova di Mose Iesurun Ribero), apud Cristina Galasso, *Alle Origine di una Comunità. Ebrei ed ebrei a Livorno nel Seicento*, Florence 2003, 129, ft. 29. A Abigal Ribeiro is listed in 1671 as a member of the *Hevra di Mohar ha-Betulot* (Toaff, *La Nazione Ebraica*, 465). See ft. 186.

⁴⁸ Francisca Bocarro was the wife of Andre de Oliveira, "letrado em leis", see Révah, "Une famille", 78, 87.

⁴⁹ Révah, "Une famille", 78, 87.

⁵⁰ See fns. 11, 51, 53 and 128.

⁵¹ On the commercial activities of the Bocarro family, see J. Gentil da Silva, *Stratégie des Affaires à Lisbonne entre 1595 et 1607*, Paris 1956, 215 (Andre Bocarro), 185, 273, 352, 354 (Gaspar Bocarro), 299 (Manuel Bocarro). See also Révah, "Une famille", 86.

⁵² "Ce document est certainement un des plus ignobles qu'enregistrent les sinistres annales de l'Inquisition portugaise", Révah, "Le retour", 59.

⁵³ Azevedo, "Bocarro-Francês", 15.

ges he chose to exclude his brother Francisco, a soldier, since in António's eyes he was *muito bom christão* (a good Christian). He also recounted that several members of the family behaved openly as Jews, would read the Jewish Bible at home, awaited the imminent coming of the Messiah and believed in God's promise to his people.⁵⁴ He reported that his brother João was likewise a Jew, kept the commandments, would recite the psalms every morning, had a collection of Jewish books at home and instructed the members of the *Nação* in the Law of Moses.⁵⁵ He added that they not only openly identified as Jews but also mocked Catholicism and blasphemed the blessed saints.⁵⁶

Immanuel, who attended the Colégio de Santo Antão—the first Jesuite College in Portugal—in Lisbon together with António, must have begun to have doubts about Christianity already at this juncture, because once when he showed his brother a Bible, he commented on the prophets with critical references to Christianity. The report also states that Immanuel used to meet with other members of the *Nação*, i. e. with New Christians. He also notes that his brother Immanuel had gone to Olivais in Lisbon with the declared intention of keeping Yom Kippur,

⁵⁴ “auera onze ou doze annos em Lisboa segundo sua lembrança por hua ou duas vezes fora a casa de Miguel e Pero frances irmãos da maj delle confitente Guiomar Nunes que morauão na rua Noua e em hua casa daquellas explicara algus lugares da Biblia que fallão da vinda do Messias e das promessas feitas aos iudeus e ouvião Gracia Dias irmã dos sobreditos Miguel Francês e Pero Francês e Mór Francesa molher do dito Miguel Francês e Britis Soares molher do dito Pero Francês e com esta occasião se declararão com elle confitente por iudias as sobreditas Graçia Dias, Mór Francesa e Britis Soares” (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Caderno 9 do Promotor da Inquisição de Lisboa, Culpas contra muitas pessoas tiradas do processo de Antonio bocarro christão nouo, fls. 436–446^v; Azevedo, “Bocarro-Francês”, 189).

⁵⁵ “e tambem lhe parece que seu irmão João Bocarro mais velho era iudeu e andaua na Lei de Moisés [...] que o dito João Bocarro quando se leuantaua pella menhã resaua hus psalmos [...] que se dizia ter o antreforro de hua casa cheo de liuros por onde ensinaua e conuertia a lei de Moisés a todos os da nação que podia” (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Caderno 9 do Promotor da Inquisição de Lisboa, Culpas contra muitas pessoas tiradas do processo de Antonio bocarro christão nouo, fls. 436–446^v; Azevedo, “Bocarro-Francês”, 188).

⁵⁶ “e ambos dahi em diante se declarauão por iudeus e fallauão nas cousas da lei de Moises desdenhando das cousas da igreja catholica, zombando do vso das santas imagens, dizendo e repetindo por ellas o da escretura pedes habent et non ambulat, aures habent et non audiunt, e outras semelhantes blasfemias que tirauão de hu liuro de Lactantio Firmiano na parte onde reprooua os idolos dos gentios acomodando o que contra elles dis ao uso das Santas imagens da igreja, e quando em quinta feira de endoenças, e pella Somana Santa se fazião os officios diuinos dizião ambos hu com outro do chelo morto, e do chelo viuo” (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Caderno 9 do Promotor da Inquisição de Lisboa, Culpas contra muitas pessoas tiradas do processo de Antonio bocarro christão nouo, fls. 436–446^v); Azevedo, “Bocarro-Francês”, 186.

accompanied by Fernão Gomes Pimentel (who later went to Flanders where his trail vanishes) and an apothecary from Coimbra named Custódio Gomez. During their journey they reportedly read passages from the Bible and discussed the imminent advent of the Messiah.⁵⁷

After successfully completing the Jesuit school, Imanuel Bocarro Francês followed family tradition and studied medicine. A document dated 1620 that officially identifies him as a physician states that he studied philosophy and medicine in Spain.⁵⁸ He completed his Bachelor's degree in Alcalá de Henares and his licentiate in Sigüenza, but it does not say where he completed his medical studies. The document also notes that its holder Rosales has sufficient knowledge to practice as a physician and that he has been in practice for more than 12 years.⁵⁹ By a rough calculation, he must therefore have passed his medical examination around 1608. But there is a possibility, too, that he received his doctorate in medicine in Montpellier.⁶⁰ He was examined in Coimbra in philosophy and medicine and certified there as a medical doctor.⁶¹ During his study in Spain, Rosales made the acquaintance of important crypto-Jews such as Isaac Cardoso, who called him a friend and astronomer,⁶² and the famous physician Zacutus Lusitanos.⁶³ In

⁵⁷ “auera doze ou treze anos que por hua ou duas vezes elle confitente, e o dito Manuel Bocarro seu irmão e o sobredito Fernão Gomez Pimentel filho de Diogo Gomes, e segundo sua lembrança mais um Custodio Gomez christão nouo boticario natural de Coimbra que moraua em Lisboa ao Corpo Santo na botica das duas portas, forão todos os sobreditos em Lisboa aos olivaeas pera a parte do Grilo pera jejuarem aquelle dia que era o que chamão o jejum grande da saida do egipto que uem pello tempo da paschoa e levavão consigo hua biblia com que passauão o dia explicando alguas profecias que tratauão da vinda do Messias que esperavão” (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Caderno 9 do Promotor da Inquisição de Lisboa, Culpas contra muitas pessoas tiradas do processo de Antonio bocarro christão nouo, fls. 436–446^v); Azevedo, “Bocarro-Francês”, 188; Silva, “Crip-tojudismo”, 174.

⁵⁸ ANTT, Ementas, Livro 11 ; ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Filipe II, Doações, I, 43, f. 251. See also Lemos, *Zacuto Lusitano*, 96; Sousa Viterbo, “Médicos Poetas”, 21–22; Kellenbenz, “Rosales”, 347; Moreno-Carvalho, “Yaacov Rosales”, 146.

⁵⁹ Viterbo, “Médicos Poetas”, 21–22.

⁶⁰ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. 3, 196; Meyer Kayserling, *Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa-Judaica*, Straßburg 1890, 117. However, Kellenbenz's supposition (“Rosales”, 347) that the second family name was selected on the basis of his years of study in France is incorrect, because his mother was a Nunes Francês. See also the Inquisition report of Miguel Francês (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 7276).

⁶¹ Viterbo, “Médicos Poetas”, 21–22.

⁶² “*Duo erant nobis amici praestantissimi Astrologi. Unus erat Sylveira [...] Alter erat Bocarro*”, Isaac Cardoso, *Philosophia libera*, Venice 1673, 181. See also Moreno-Carvalho, “Yaacov Rosales”, 147.

⁶³ Lemos, *Zacuto Lusitano*, 96–103.

1616, he took part in a literary competition in Spain; these poems were published a year later by Pedro de Herrera in his *Descripción de la Capilla*.⁶⁴ Rosales opened a medical practice in Lisbon and thanks to his excellence as a doctor, he soon could boast many patients, among them the duke Dom Teodosio of Bragança, the archbishop Dom Pedro Aleixo of Braga and the master of the Order of Santiago.⁶⁵

Rosales must have returned a year later to Portugal, because in 1619 he brought out his first book, a tractate on a comet that had blazed across the skies on November 9 and 16, 1618, entitled *Tratado dos Cometas que apareceram em Novembro passado de 1618* and dedicated to the Grand Inquisitor D. Fernão Martins de Mascarenhas.⁶⁶ This book was extensively refuted by Mendo Pacheco de Brito in his *Discurso em Dous Phaenomenos do Ano 1618*. Later he was in Spain once again, where in 1622 he treated Dom Bathazar de Zuñiga⁶⁷ and presumably likewise made the acquaintance of Isaac Cardoso. Cardoso recalled that meeting years later: “Duo erant nobis amici praestantissimi Astrologi. Uno erat Sylveira . . . Alter erat Bocarro.”⁶⁸ In Zuñiga’s presence, he had discussions with an unidentified man from Naples about one of his favorite subjects: astrology, alchemy and the influence of the stars.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Pedro de Herrera, *Descripción de la Capilla* . . . , Madrid 1617, liv. IV, fls. 117^v e 136^v–138, see also Viterbo, “Médicos Poetas”, 14–15; Moreno-Carvalho, “Yaacov Rosales”, 154; Sandra Neves Silva, *Jacob Rosales* (MS); Neves Silva, *Criptojudáismo e Messianismo em Portugal no Século XVII: Vida e Obra de Manoel Bocarro Francês* (forthcoming).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁶⁶ The complete title: *Tratado dos / cometas que ap / pareceram em novem / bro passado de 1618. / Composto pello licenciado / Manvel Bocarro Frances, Medico, & Astrologo / natural desta cidade de Lisboa / Dirigido ao illvstrissimo senhor / Dom Fernão Martins Mascarenhas, Bispo & Inqvisidor / Geral nestes Reynos & Senhorios de Portugal &. / Com todas as licenças necessarias. / Em Lisboa por Pedro Craesbeeck. Anno 1619 / 4o de 20 folhas numeradas só pela frente*. See also Kayserling, *Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa-Judaica*, 96; Lemos, *Zacutus Lusitano*, 97. Bocarro Francês reports that a bloody rain is said to have fallen for two hours, pouring into the ocean near the Portuguese seaport Setúbal (*Cometas*, p. 9^v, 14^v, 18^v and 20).

⁶⁷ Imanuel Bocarro Francês, *Anacephalaeseos*, Anotações, 28. See also Viterbo, “Médicos Poetas”, 10–11.

⁶⁸ Cardoso, *Philosophia libera*, 181. On Isaac Cardoso, see Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto*, New York 1971 (reprint, Seattle and London). A Spanish translation was published in 1989 in Madrid.

⁶⁹ Manoel Bocarro Francês, *Anacephaleoses*, fls. 3^v–4; Azevedo, *A Evolução do Sebastianismo*, 49; Viterbo, “Médicos Poetas”, 11. See also Moreno-Carvalho, “Yaacov Rosales”, 150. On Rosales as a messianist, see esp. Moreno Carvalho, “A Newly Discovered Letter”; Silva, “Criptojudáismo”, 174–176; Manuel J. Gandra, *Jacob Hebreu*

Immanuel Bocarro Francês must have gone back to Lisbon shortly thereafter, since in 1624 he published an astrological poem in four parts and 131 octaves, *Anacephalaesoes da Monarchia Luzitana* (A Summary of the Lusitanian Monarchy), a work as learned as it was dry and boring, centering on the future of the Lusitanian monarchy, a work full of Bandarrian messianic overtones.⁷⁰ In a piquant gesture, he dedicated this poem—in which he expresses his admiration for the Portuguese poet Luis de Camões, whose style he attempts to imitate—to the Portuguese monarch Felipe III (i.e. Philip II of Spain). But he expressly stipulated that his dedication should be relayed via “his Portuguese councillor of state at the court in Madrid.” Quite understandably, some of these songs remained unpublished, since they had been dedicated to Duke Teodosio of Bragança, whom Immanuel regarded as the “restorer” of the old Portuguese state and the founder of the new one. The small book bore a mythological nymph, handing over a shield with the Portuguese weapons: “Este restaurà do Reino a perda / Levantando por si novo estandarte.”⁷¹ But the duke declines since the actual sovereign of the land is Philip II of Spain.

With this book, a volume into which numerous family traditions flowed,⁷² Bocarro Francês sought to prove, utilizing the methods of

Rosales, aliás Emanuel Bocarro Francês, Filósofo Hermético e Sebastianista do século XVII (forthcoming).

⁷⁰ The exact full title: *Anacephaleoses da / Monarchia / Lvzitana. / Pello Doctor Manoel / Bocarro Frances, Medico, Philosopho, & / Mathematico Luzitano / Dirigidos ao Senhor / [Anno 1624] della el Rey N. Senhor / Com todas as Licenças necessarias. / Em Lisboa.* Por Antonio Aluarez. Bocarro Francês planned to publish his work in four parts: (1) Stado Astrológico; (2) Stado Régio, (3) Stado Titular and (4) Stado Heróico. In 1624, only Part I appeared, the others were burned or never published. The “Stado Astrológico” consists of three sections: (a) a dedication to King Philip of Spain and Portugal, (b) the poem itself and (c) a prose text dealing with his meeting with Don Baltazar de Zuñiga and their discussions about Aristotelian physics, etc. After the publication of this book, Rosales had to destroy some of his works and was imprisoned: “Esse foi o motivo para o incêndio de minha obra” [this was the reason for the burning of my work] (fol. 5); “me fizesse estar preso no Tronco mais de dous meses” [held me in the (prison) Tronco for more than two months] (fol. 14), apud Moreno-Carvalho, “A Newly Discovered Letter”, 67, ft. 19. See Hernani Cidade, *A Literatura Autonomista sob os Filipes*, Lisbon 1948, 207–218.

⁷¹ On this see A.E. Beau, *Die Entwicklung des portugiesischen Nationalbewußtseins*. Ibero-Amerikanische Studien des Ibero-Amerikanischen Instituts, Hamburg, 1945, vol. 16, 68, 76, 78, 147 ff.

⁷² See Moreno Carvalho, “Yaacov Rosales”, 148. In a warning to the reader (*Advertencia ao leitor*), Bocarro Francês voices his dissatisfaction regarding many members of his family who had persecuted his father: “muytos bastardos ... os quais aniquilando a honra dos Bocarras tomarão ... ocasiões de perseguirem a meu Pay” (*Anacephaleoses*, fol. 4^v).

political astrology, that Portugal could anticipate a messianic future. To express this vision, he mobilized the concept of the “messianic kingdom.”⁷³ In so doing, he joined in the political-literary current that has been called “Sebastianism.”⁷⁴ He wrote his book at a time when Portugal was under Spanish domination. The first three parts appeared in 1624, and many of the prophecies articulated there seem imprecise and vague. He maintained that Portugal would be the last and mightiest world empire, though leaving open the question whether that would be under Spanish or Portuguese rule. In his *Anacephalaeoses*, he tells the story of the unfortunate king Sebastian, who fought in North Africa against the Moors and was killed in 157 in the battle of Alcácer-Quibir. As a consequence of this defeat, Portugal fell under Spanish rule (1580–1640). But many Portuguese did not accept that their king had been killed: they cherished the belief that he was still alive and would return some day as “hidden king” (*o rei encuberto*)⁷⁵; under him, Por-

⁷³ Unfortunately, the study by Luís Miguel Carolino, “Cosmology and messianic expectations in Manuel Bocarro’s thought” (MS) was not available to the authors. See also Luís Miguel Carolino, *Agani Corpora Coelestia in Sublunarem Mundum annum?: Ciência, Astrologia e Sociedade em Portugal (1593–1755)*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Universidade de Évora, 2000.

⁷⁴ Christians and Jewish eschatological doctrines in beliefs, prophecies and the gift of prophecy concerning “the last days”, “the last Emperor” and “the last Empire” enjoyed a particularly flourishing tradition in the Iberian world (see Geraldine McKendrick/Angus MacKay, “Visionaries and Affective Spirituality during the First Half of the Sixteenth Century”, Perry/Cruz, *Cultural Encounters*, 93–104). In Portugal as in Spain, conversos constituted a decisive factor in shaping millenarian patterns in introducing special tropes of converso messianism. On the very popular current of Sebastianism, which contained both elements of traditional Portuguese millenarianism and of Jewish messianism, see the classical studies by João Lúcio de Azevedo, *A Evolução do Sebastianismo*, Lisbon 1984 [Rosales: 139–146]; António Machado Pires, *D. Sebastião e O Encuberto*, Lisbon 1982 [Rosales: 150–151 and especially Chapter 4: “Profetismo hebraico, mito do Encoberto e futuro de Portugal: as Trovas do sapateiro Bandarra” (Jewish prophecy, the myth of the hidden one and the future of Portugal: the poems of Bandarra), 65–78]; José van den Besselaar, *O sebastianismo—História sumária*, Lisbon 1987 [Rosales: 90–92]. On Rosales as a devotee of Sebastianism, see Matt Goldish, “Patterns in Converso Messianism”, Matt Goldish/Richard H. Popkin (eds.), *Millenarism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture*, vol. 1: Jewish Messianism in the Early Modern World, Dordrecht 2001, 41–63 [here: 54–55, 58, 63]; Moreno Carvalho, “Yaacov Rosales”; idem, “A Newly Discovered Letter”. On Bandarra, see Adriano Vasco Rodrigues/Maria da Assunção Carqueja Rodrigues, “As Trovas do Bandarra. Suas influências Judaico-Cabalísticas na Mística da Paz Universal”, *Revista de Ciências Históricas—Universidade Portucalense*, 1987, 202–221; Elias Lipiner, *Gonçalo Anes Bandarra e os Cristãos-Novos*, Trancoso 1996, provides a beautiful characterization, from which many of our insights are drawn. On the Sebastian myth see also D. João de Castro, *Discvrso da Vida do Rey Dom Sebastiam*, Lisbon 1994.

⁷⁵ The intricate history of the “hidden kings” and of the numerous “poetical prophets” and “street prophets” has yet to be written, but there is ample evidence of their

tugal would advance to lead the nations, reestablishing the kingdom in its former glory. With this book, Bocarro Francês revealed that he was a follower of the house of Bragança, declaring that a member of this house would some day be that “hidden king” Sebastian.⁷⁶ He refers to himself as a “prophet,” calling the Portuguese a “new chosen people” (*novo povo eleito*).⁷⁷ He terms himself the “hand on the clock that shows the hours” (*a mão de Relógio que aponta as horas*).⁷⁸ He names the year 1653 for the appearance of the monarchy and the “hidden king,” who will rule as sovereign over the world and vanquish the followers of Mohammed.⁷⁹ Twenty years later, in Hamburg, Rosales would give this old vision a new revised form and configuration.

The Spanish occupation forces, which recognized how explosive this text and the astrological forecasts were, ordered its first three parts burned immediately under the pretext that this document could encourage the duke of Bragança to declare himself king (“dizendo que provocava ao Duque de Bragança a ser Rei”) and would incite the population (“que incitava ao povo”). The Spanish authorities then had its author imprisoned. In a later auto-da-fé, the *Real Mesa Censoria* condemned and burned the poem and its supplement.⁸⁰ Shortly there-

activity in Spain and in Portugal. For example, 1522, during the *Germania* revolt in the Valencian town of Játiva, a hermit appeared who described himself as “el rey encubierto”, evoking the medieval idea of the *pastor angelicus* or blessed redeemer who would come from the East, rescue the kingdom from its enemies, and forever defeat the Moors. On this important historical event, see Ricardo Garcia Carcel, *Las germanias de Valencia*, Barcelona 1981, 132–138; Richard Kagan, “Politics, Prophecy, and the Inquisition in Late Sixteenth-Century Spain”, Perry/Cruz, *Cultural Encounters*, 103–124 [here: 107].

⁷⁶ “Esto quarto fragmento mostra que há-de ser este Rei, que alguns chamam encubierto, não por estar, mas por então se descobrir com maior grandeza, e se alevantará esta Monarquia” (*Jardim Ameno*, códice 774 do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo). See also João Lúcio de Azevedo, *A Evolução do Sebastianismo*, Lisbon 1984: 142; António José Saraiva, “António Vieira, Menasseh ben Israel et le Cinquième Empire”, *Studia Rosenthaliana* 6, 2, 1972, 24–57; idem, “Bocarro-Rosales”.

⁷⁷ See Ana Isabel Buescu, *Memória e Poder. Ensaio de História Cultural (Séculos XV–XVIII)*, Lisbon 2000, 18.

⁷⁸ *Luz Pequena Lunar e estellífera da Monarchia Lusitana*, fl. 100^v.

⁷⁹ *Anacephaleoses da Monarchia Luzitana*, fl. 56. Rosales is also credited with having predicted the great earthquake in Lisbon of 1755: *Profesia de Manoel Bocarro Frances Médico Philózofo Mathemático Luzitano anno 1624*, MS 249, No. 69 (Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon). See also Moreno-Carvalho, “On the Boundaries”, 75, ft. 28; idem, “A Newly Discovered Letter”.

⁸⁰ “porque os Castelhanis empidirão imprimiremçe com os outros” (*Jardim Ameno*, códice 774 da Torre do Tombo [this manuscript contains many Sebastianist texts, copied

after, Rosales recounted: “The Spaniards arrested me and claimed that my book served to incite the people against the king.”⁸¹ In his defense, Bocarro Francês argued that the duke had raised no claim to the throne and that all this derived solely from the imagination of the author and his poetic license (“o que o furor poético, e Divino e Astrológico me ditou”).⁸² The author’s arrest and the burning or destruction of the book may go back to a complaint formally lodged by two uncles, illegitimate brothers of the father.⁸³ Rosales then fled with the aid of Francisco de Mello to Rome, where he emerged as a professing Jew under the name Jacob Rosales and made the acquaintance of Galileo.⁸⁴ He would meet de Mello again later on in Hamburg and remain in constant touch with him in the future. In 1626 in Rome, he published the fourth part of his banned book *Anacephalaeoses*, together with notes which he brought out under the title *Luz Pequena Lunar*.⁸⁵ That same year, his brother

from many sources, including Rosales’book]); *Luz Pequena Lunar e estellífera da Monarchia Lusitana*. Another manuscript of *Luz pequena* is in the General Library of Coimbra University: *Luz pequena lunar e estellífera Do Doutor Manoel Bocarro Francez Rosales. Explicação do seu primo Anacephaeoses impresso em Lix^a no anno de 1626. Sobre o Príncipe encuberto, Monarchia ally pronosticada, Referense os versos do 4^o Anacephaleosis porq os C. impedirão imprimirese c. os outros. Roma anno Cristi 1626*. See also Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. 3: 198; Lemos, *Zacutus Lusitanus*, 102; Azevedo, *A Evolução do Sebastianismo*, 142–145; Moreno Carvalho, “A Newly Discovered Letter”, 71–72. António Vieira quotes Rosales in his work *Egrégio Encoberto, Descoberto*, National Library Lisbon, Doc. 7211, apud Moreno-Carvalho, “On the Boundaries”, 75, ft. 29.

⁸¹ Edital da Real Meza Censoria, Lisbon, December 9, 1774. See Cecil Roth, *History of the Marranos*, p. 112; Kellenbenz, “Rosales”, 348; Moreno Carvalho, “A Newly Discovered Letter”, 71.

⁸² *Jardim Ameno*, códice 774 do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, qtd. in Azevedo, *A Evolução do Sebastianismo*, 144.

⁸³ We should note that Jacob Rosales was never persecuted for his Marrano or Jewish beliefs. According to Cecil Roth, these uncles forced Bocarro Francês to flee, Cecil Roth, *A Life of Menasseh ben Israel*, Philadelphia 1934, 112–113; Kellenbenz, “Rosales”, 348.

⁸⁴ Writing on his relationship with Galilei, Bocarro Francês notes in the foreword to his *Fasciculus trium verarum propositionum*: “In tribus libris Foetus astrologici, Galilæus Galilæus, cui ipsos dedimus, Romæ anno 1626, typis excudi fecit.” And goes on: “Secundum commentariolum Excellentissimus in scientiis Galilæus Galilæus, Mathematicorum Coriphæus, Romæ anno 1626, typis dedit,” qtd. in Lemos, *Zacutus Lusitanus*, 98, fn. 2.

⁸⁵ *Jardim Ameno*, códice 774 do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. The book, which quotes some Jewish references, was reprinted in Rome in 1626: *Luz Pequena Lunar e estellífera da Monarchia Lusitana e Explicação do seu Primeiro Anacephaleosis impreço em Lisboa: o ano passado de 1624. Sobre o Príncipe Encuberto e Monarchia alli pronosticada; Reference os 4 Anacephaleosis porque os Castelhanis empidirão imprimiremçe com os outros; o ano de 1626* (Small lunar and smaller light of the Por-

António, plagued by his conscience, made his (in)famous accusatory statements before the Inquisition in Goa.

“Hungry for Freedom”⁸⁶ or Bocarro Francês becomes Rosales

Shortly after the appearance of this text, Imanuel Bocarro Francês left Rome and journeyed to Amsterdam, where he was to remain but for a short time. In Amsterdam or later in Hamburg he accepted the Jewish faith, taking the family name Rosales. He now began to call himself Jacob Rosales.⁸⁷ It is unconvincing to interpret this change of name as an act of caution, because in future he almost always made use of a double name.

As he notes in his *Luz Pequena Lunar e estellífera da Monarchia Lusitana*, an ancestor by this name supposedly lived in Lisbon in the second half of the fifteenth century as kabbalist Spanish Jew who had resided in the house of the duke Dom Fernando of Bragança. The latter was an ancestor of the duke, whom the Portuguese king Dom João II had murdered. Using Kabbalistic methods, this earlier Rosales supposedly had discovered a secret meaning to his name. The name ROSALES, which has a mystical Hebrew meaning, contained the Hebrew letters BARZEL (iron) and ESH (fire). The secret signification of iron

tuguese monarchy: Explanation of the first Anacephaleoses printed in Lisbon 1624. On the Hidden Prince and monarchy prognosticated therein, referring to the verses of the 4th Anacephaleoses, because the Castellians forbade the printing of the others, Rome, 1626). Another manuscript is in the holding of the University Library of Coimbra (BGUC, Ms 393), apud Silva, “Criptojudaísmo”, 179. See also Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. 3, 196–198 [here: 198]; Lemos, *Zacutus Lusitanus*, 102; Azevedo, *Sebastianismo*, 142–145, Silva, “Criptojudaísmo”, 179–183.

⁸⁶ “Postquam autem ego, in has regiones, maioris libertatis avidis, perueni,” letter from Rosales to Duke August the Younger of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, August 12, 1644. This letter was found between the pages of a copy of his book *Regnum Astrorum Reformatum* (Hamburg: H. Werner: 1644), reprinted in Brown, “Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin”, 2001, 43–46. In this letter, Rosales explains how he was in the service of the king of Spain for 22 years as a teacher of mathematics to the king’s brother, and states his hope that now the prince would subsidize the publication of his next mathematical-astrological treaty, see Reyes Bertolin, *Greek Influence in Jewish Spain* [Jacob Rosales, MS]. On Sefardi printing in Hamburg, see especially Michael Studemund-Halévy, “Sephardischer Buchdruck in Hamburg”, *Lusorama* 32, 1997, 85–101; 33, 1997, 41–72; idem, “Sephardische Bücher und Bibliotheken in Hamburg”, *Menora* 8, 1997, 150–180; idem, “Zwischen Amsterdam und Hamburg. Sephardische Bücherschicksale im 17. Jahrhundert”, in Norbert Rehrmann (ed.), *Akten des 1. deutschen Sephardenkongresses, Bremen 1997*, Romania Judaica, Bd. 3, Tübingen 1999, 69–92; idem, “Codices Gentium”.

⁸⁷ Lemos, *Zacutus Lusitanus*, 99.

and fire was: “his name would become known through iron and fire.” And “his” refers to the man who would restore the noble house after Duke Fernando’s murder.⁸⁸ The family probably left Portugal after the expulsion decree of 1446 and went to North Africa. Around 1530 a Jacob Rosales was a merchant and defender of Portuguese interests in Morocco and bore the title “captain of Safim”.⁸⁹

In Amsterdam, Rosales made the acquaintance of the famous rabbi and printer Menasseh ben Israel and the equally renowned doctor Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus (1575–1642).⁹⁰ Significantly, it was this very

⁸⁸ “Na oitava 84, digo que traz em seu nome o ferro, e fogo ... o Autor deste prognóstico, ou vaticínio foi meu terceiro avô, em tempo de El-Rei D. João o 2o, chamado D.N. Rosales, e como era muito amigo dos Infantes, filhos do Infante D. Fernando, correu a mesma fortuna que eles, e depois da morte do Duque no ano de 1483, em Maio prognosticou que estando Portugal caído, um da casa, e sangue do Infante o havia de restituir” (*Jardim Ameno*, códice 774 do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo). See also Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. 3, 196–198 [here: 198]; Lemos, *Zacutus Lusitanus*, 102; Azevedo, *A Evolução do Sebastianismo*, 143; Jacqueline Hermann, *No Reino do Desejado, a construção do sebastianismo em Portugal séculos XVI e XVII*, São Paulo 1998; Moreno-Carvalho, “A Newly Discovered Letter”, 62–66; Silva, “Cripto-judaísmo”, 181–182.

⁸⁹ “Teve meu avo João Bocarro, filho de Antonio Bocarro, capitão que foy de Safim, a meu Pay so filho seu legitimo, e teve outros muytos bastardos, que nesta cidade [i.e. Lisbon] se fizerão muy ricos e tyranos, os quais aniquilando a honra dos Bocarro tomarão mercantis exercicios e ocasiões de perseguirem a meu Pay, porque são mais favorecidos amparados”, Imanuel Bocarro Frances, *Anacephaleoses da Monarchia Luzitana*, Lisbon 1624, fol. 4^v. See also Révah, “Une famille”, 74; Shalom Bar Asher, *Sefer Ha-taqanot, yehudei sefarad u-portugal be-marogo (1492–1753)*, Jerusalem 1991, 16–17; David Corcos, “Yehudei marogo me-gerush sefarad ve’ad emsa shel ha-me’ah ha-17”, *Sefunot* 10, 1966, 104–105. On Sebastianism and its connection with the world of Portuguese New-Christians in Western Europe, see Moreno-Carvalho, “On the Boundaries of Our Understanding”; idem, “A Newly Discovered Letter”, 61–63.

⁹⁰ Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus, who was born in Lisbon in 1575, attended the universities of Salamanca, Coimbra and Sigüenza. According to a denunciation by one Salvador das Neves on October 23, 1637, he is believed to have settled in Amsterdam around 1625; there he purportedly converted to Judaism. (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Caderno 16 und 19 dos Promotor da Inquisição de Lisboa, fls. 5178–525, 175 [see Elias Lipiner, *Os baptizados em pé*, Lisbon 1998, 76]). The famous and prolific author on a wide range of subjects died on January 22, 1642 in Amsterdam and was buried in the Ouderkerk Cemetery, but the grave is no longer marked. On Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus see Lemos, *Zacuto*; Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, vol. 1, 307–321; H. Szancer, “Introduction à la ‘Pharmacopoea elegantissima’ d’Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus”, *Revue d’Histoire de la Pharmacie* 18, 1967, 509–514; Samuel S. Kottke, “Aperçu sur l’introduction à la pratique médicale (‘Introitus medici ad praxin’) de Zacutus Lusitanus (1575–1642)”, *Revue d’Histoire de la Médecine Hébraïque* 33, 1 [132], 1980, 13–16; Aaron J. Feingold, “The marriage of science and ethics; three Jewish physicians of the Renaissance”, in Natalia Berger (ed.), *Jews and Medicine; Religion, Culture, Science*, Tel Aviv 1995, 89–111; Francisco Moreno-Carvalho, “Zacutus Luzitano” (Hebrew), *Madai ha-Yehudot* 36, 1995/1996, 147–159; idem, “Zacuto Lusitano e um Tratado de medicina dirigido ao Brasil”, *Em nome da fé*, São Paulo 1999, 57–74.

Zacutus Lusitanus who in 1631 called on the Hamburg physician Benedictus (Baruch) de Castro to take action against the Christian detractors of Portuguese-Jewish physicians. Nor should it be forgotten that Menasseh ben Israel played a major role in the circles of Jewish messianists in Amsterdam. Before 1631, Rosales departed Amsterdam (?) and soon settled in Hamburg. Later in a letter to Duke August the Younger of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, he declared that he had come to Hamburg “hungry for more freedom.”⁹¹

In Hamburg

Rosales must have left Italy either in 1629 or early in 1632. The first place he settled in was Hamburg.⁹² His first appearance in Hamburg

⁹¹ Azevedo, “Bocarro Francês”, 186; Révah, “Le retour”, 58–60 [here: 58–59]. António Bocarro, who had left Portugal and tried in vain in Cochin to become a member of the Jewish community there, was overcome by depression and reported to the Inquisition Court in Goa about his Jewish past (which he had now overcome). See also Révah, “Une famille”, 73–89.

⁹² There is no evidence that Rosales lived for a time in Amsterdam, as maintained by G.A. Lindeboom, *Dutch Medical Biography: A Biographical Dictionary of Dutch Physicians and Surgeons, 1475–1975*, Amsterdam 1984, col. 1672–1673. Rosales had close connections to Menasseh ben Israel (“Don Jacob Rosales, Hebraei, Mathematici, Philosophi, & Medicinae Doctoris. Epos Noëtikon Epoz Sive Carmen intellectuale” [laudatory poem for Joh. Beverovicus]), in Menasseh ben Israel, *In Termino Vitae Liber Tres*, Amsterdam, 1639 [reprinted in Brown, “Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin”, 2001, 4–6]; “Panegyricus. In laudem eximi & praestantissimo sapientis, nobilis que viri, Menasseh Ben Israel”, in Menasseh ben Israel, *In Termino Liber Vitae Tres*, fol. N10^r [reprinted in Brown, “Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin”, 2001, 30–32]; and Zacuto Lusitano (Jacob Rosales, “D. Doctori / Zacuto Lusitano / Medicina Phoenici / Doctor Rosales, Hamburgensis, Medicus, Philosophus & Mathematicus”), in Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus, *Historiarum, Liber Tertius*, Amsterdam 1637, ff. 6^v–7^v [reprinted in Brown, “Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin”, 2001, 4–6], “Doctoris Rosalis, Medici Hamburgensis celeberrimi, In Laudem, & aeternam famam Variarum, reconditaeque lectionis viri, Zacuti Lusitani, Polyhistoris solertissimi. Ode Saphicum”, in Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus, *Historiarum, Liber Quartus*, Amsterdam 1637 ff. 6^r–7^v, this poem was not reprinted in later editions [reprinted now in Brown, “Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin”, 2001, 7–12]; “Doctoris Jacob Rosalis, Hamburgensis, Medici Hebraei, Poculum Poëticum (poem written in the form of a goblet), in Zacutinas Laudes”, in Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus, *Historiarum, Liber Quintus*, Amsterdam 1639 fol. 73 [reprinted in Brown, “Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin”, 2001, 13] and the intellectual milieu of Amsterdam (see J.H. Coppenhagen, *Menasseh ben Israel. A Bibliography*, Jerusalem 1990 [Nr. 431]). See also Moreno-Carvalho, “Yaacov Rosales”, 154–156. “‘The Epos Noeticon sive Carmen Intellectuale’ is a long poem (340 verses) in which Rosales describes how all knowledge was given to men by God. In spite of the title, it is not sure whether Rosales had any knowledge of Greek, but certainly his Latin is outstanding. The poem is

was in 1632. The first evidence on this new period in Rosales' turbulent life is of 1632, when he wrote a poem as a wedding gift für Isaac and Sara Abas. There is some indirect evidence that he had been in Hamburg since at least 1629, when Baruch Namias de Castro's, Queen Christinas's medical doctor during the time of her nervous disorder and later her medical adviser in Hamburg, wrote the *Flagellum Calumniantium* in defence of Jewish medical practice,⁹³ a forceful and direct rebuttal to Joachim Curtius's venomous diatribe against Jewish physicians, emphasizing the priority in medicine. The first edition was published 1639 in Antwerp (in Portuguese), the second 1631 in Amsterdam (in Latin) under the pseudonym Philotheus Castellus (translation of his Portuguese name Benedictus de Castro into Latin).

written in elegiac meter, the prosody is based in alternation of short and long syllables and with only small exceptions Rosales follows strictly the Classical Latin prosodic patterns. The poem is intended to defend the Jewish faith at a time of religious wars in Europe. Although he thinks that the Greeks were in error, he adopts Platonic ideas in explanation of the structure of the world and considers that through wisdom men achieve immortality, for this is a link with God and the time previous to the expulsion from paradise. The 'Carmen Intellectuale' is a very religious poem with a mention of God (simply Deus, or Omnipotens, Rector Poli, Tonans) at least once every ten lines. However, Rosales' ideas could hardly stand any trial of orthodoxy, either Christian or Jewish. From the epithets given to God we see how he continues medieval Judeo-Christian traditions as well as pagan ones. The tradition of religious poems follows a general tendency in baroque aesthetics and especially in Counter-reformation Spain, where many of the most important poets of the time wrote poems to God or about God, praising God's marvelous creation, asking for forgiveness of sins or declaring their love to God", apud Brown, "Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin Poetry", *Sefarad* 59, 1, 1999, 1 40; Reyes Bertolin, "Greek influence"

⁹³ *TRATADO DA CALUMNIA, em o qual brevemente se mostraõ a natureza, causas e effeitos deste pernicioso vicio; e juntamente se apontaõ dous remedios delle*, Antwerpen 1629. A Latin version was published in Amsterdam (or Hamburg?) in 1631: *Flagellum calumniantium seu apologia In qua Anonymi cujusdam calumniae refutantur eiusdem mentiendi libido detegitur, Clarissimorum Lusitanorum Medicorum legitima methodus commendatur, empericorum inscitia ac temeritas tamquam pernicioza Republicae damnatur*, Amsterdam 1631 (The Scourge of Calumniators or Apology in which the malicious charges of an anonymous author are refuted, the lust for lying of this person is disclosed, and the legitimate method of the most famous Portuguese physicians is commended, while the ignorance and temerity of empiric quacks are condemned as injurious to the Commonwealth ... by Philotheus Castellus). We owe a partial English translation to the famous linguist and romanist Yakov Malkiel [typescript New York 1940]. Castro wrote his *Flagellum* half a century after the famous apology *De Medico Hebraeo* of David de Pomis. On Baruch de Castro and his apology, see Friedenwald, *The Jews and Medicine*, vol. 1, 53–67; David Ruderman, *Science, Medicine, and Jewish Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Tel Aviv 1987 (Spiegel Lectures in European Jewish History, 7), 14 ff.; idem, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe*, 299–308. On Jewish and converso physicians in Portugal, see Alfredo Rasteiro, *Medicina Judaica Lusitana*, Século XVI, Coimbra 2000.

A denunciation report dated April 20, 1646 contains information about his trip and arrival in Hamburg.⁹⁴ His cousin Miguel Francês states that he journeyed to Hamburg in 1626 via France and Belgium, going first to Bastide and then to Calais. On this trip, Rosales is reported to have functioned as a kind of religious teacher, instructing the group of travellers he was with in the teachings of Judaism (“doutrinas nas ceremonias e ritos da ditto ley de Moyes”): “In Hamburg Rosales taught the Law of Moses, elucidating the Scriptures according to the interpretation of the sages. He did this publicly in the synagogues as a preacher and also on the holidays (*feira da ley*) every fortnight.”⁹⁵

Why did Rosales move to Hamburg? The Jewish community of Hamburg was young and small, having begrudgingly been given official recognition only in 1612. By 1617, a new agreement was concluded between the Portuguese community and the Senate according them the legal status of *Schutzverwandte*.⁹⁶ Rosales must have been known that Hamburg was the site of intense and bitter rivalry and competition between Sefardic and Christian physicians, and that charges against Jewish doctors enjoyed tremendous longevity in Germany. Because of the importance of this rivalry, a brief presentation of this question is required here.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ “chegarão [Miguel Francês, primo de Rosales e mais alguns familiares] a Bastida primeiro lugar do Reyno de frança (...) caminhando do ditto lugar da Bastida para o de Callis (...) em companhia de (...)” (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 7276, Sessão de 20 de Abril de 1646). On Rosales’ many travels between various cities in Europe between 1645 and 1653, see Kellenbenz, “Rosales”, 350–353.

⁹⁵ “Manoel Boccarro Doutor de medicina primo delle confitente Brittis pinel mulher do mesmo (...) [durante o percurso] todos doutrinava nas ceremonias e ritos da ditto ley de Moyes o ditto Doutor Manoel Boccarro em forma de predicante; todas as veses que acabão de comer, e em as mais ocasioens em que o trabalho da jornada daua lugar” (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 7276, 15. 12. 1647 [Miguel Francês]).

⁹⁶ See J. Klefeker, *Sammlung der Hamburgischen Gesetze und Verfassungen in Bürger- und Kirchlichen ... Angelegenheiten und Geschäften samt historischen Einleitungen*, 2, Hamburg 1766, 312. 1617 was a crucial year for the Jews in Hamburg, when the dignitaries of the Portuguese Gemeinde considered leaving Hamburg. On the decision and its historical background, see Aron di Leone Leoni/Herman Prins Salomon, “La Nation Portugaise de Hambourg en 1617 d’après un document retrouvé”, in Henry Méchoulan/Gérard Nahon (eds), *Mémorial I.-S. Révah. Études sur le marranisme, l’hétérodoxie juive et Spinoza*, Paris-Louvain 2001, 263–293.

⁹⁷ On the contacts between Jewish physicians and Christian patients, see Robert Jütte, “Contacts at the Bedside: Jewish Physicians and Their Christian Patients”, in R. Po-chia Hsia/Hartmut Lehmann (eds.), *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*, Cambridge 1995.

Given the large number of Jewish doctors practicing in the city, to endeavor to earn a livelihood as a physician in Hamburg was at best a risky proposition. And Rosales was probably also aware that since 1631, the Portuguese-Jewish doctors in Hamburg had been a target for the most vile criticism heaped on them by the Christian doctors in the town. Thus, for example, in 1631 Joachim Curtius (1585–1642), who had graduated in Basel in 1618, published his anonymous diatribe *Exhortatio celeberr. et excellentis ... dictata cur judei et agyptae a congressu et praxi medica arcendi sint et eliminandi* railing against Baruch de Castro and all Portuguese-Jewish doctors for their deceitfulness and trickery.⁹⁸ That same year, the lawyer and physician Ludwig von Hörnigk brought out in Strasburg his anti-Jewish tract *Medicaster Apella oder Juden Artzt*, a diatribe against medical impostors and charlatans, in which he accused the Jews of “Godlessness, animosity toward Christianity and charlatanism,”⁹⁹ 1638 he published in Frankfurt his book *Politia Medica Oder Beschreibung dessen was die Medici, so wohl ins gemein als auch verordnete Hof- Statt- Feldt- Hospital- und Pest-Medici, Apothecker, Materialisten, Wundtärtzt, Feldtscherer ... So dann endlichen: Die Patienten oder Krancke selbst zu thun, und was, auch wie sie in Obacht zu nehmen / ... zusammengetragen*. 1636 the physician Jakob Martini who may well have been prompted by Castro’s book, sought to demonstrate in his hateful text *Apella Medicaster Bullatus Oder Judenarzt* the peculiar relationship between Jewish physicians, Christian patients, and medicine.¹⁰⁰ The famous Jewish doctor Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus (alias Manuel Álvares da Tavora or Francisco Nunes[?])¹⁰¹ then challenged his Hamburg associate Baruch de Castro to proceed publicly against the slanderer:

O, truly learned man, who is that jester who with so much petulance has fabricated his calumnies against the Jewish Portuguese physicians? [...]

⁹⁸ John M. Efron, “Interminable Maligned: The Conventional Lies about Jewish Doctors”, in Elisheva Carlebach et al. (eds.), *Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, Hanover 1998, 296–310; idem, *Medicine and German Jews*, New Haven 2001.

⁹⁹ On Ludwig von Hornigk, see Nicoline Hartzitz, *Der Judenarzt. Historische und sprachliche Untersuchungen zur Diskriminierung eines Berufsstands in der frühen Neuzeit*, Heidelberg 1994, 80–84; Efron, “Interminable Maligned”, 302–305.

¹⁰⁰ Hamburg 1636, 2nd ed., 1733; on Jakob Martini, see Hartzitz, *Der Judenarzt*, 76–80; Efron, *Medicine and the German Jews*, 58. See also Manfred Komorowski, *Bio-bibliographisches Verzeichnis jüdischer Doktoren im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, München 1991, 112.

¹⁰¹ See Révah, “Une famille”, 81–82; Moreno-Carvalho, “Zacuto Lusitano e um Tratado”, 58, fn. 1.

Are these physicians not truly honorable, reliable, learned, gentle, witty and urbane, (in short) do they not have every qualification required, and are they not exceedingly skillful and efficient in their medical practice [...] Why do you hesitate? Why do you tarry? Why this uncommon lethargy? Are you exhausted from inaction: where is your old ardor?¹⁰²

Jacob Rosales probably contributed one of the forewords to this book, under the pseudonym Philaletes Lusitanus, Doctor of Medicine and Philosophy of the University of Alcalá de Henares.¹⁰³

But perhaps the decisive factor in motivating his move to the city was only the fortunate circumstance that he had family relations there: resident in Hamburg was his cousin Mordechai Francês alias Manuel Francês,¹⁰⁴ who already as a child had accepted Judaism in Hamburg and would later play an important role in the Hamburg Portuguese community.¹⁰⁵ Other relatives who went to Hamburg were Pero Francês (alias Isaac Francês) and his wife Brites Soares;¹⁰⁶ Henrique Francês;¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² “none hi sunt Medici maxime veri, fidi, docti, suaves, lepidi, gratiosi, urbani omni virtute decoranti, in facienda medicine dexterrimi”. This letter or preface from Dr. Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus opens Castro’s booklet, see David Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe*, 299–308; Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 441–442. A detailed account of all of the abusive anti-Jewish charges and vilifications is to be found in Johann Jacob Schudt well-known book *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten*, Frankfurt, Leipzig 1714, vol. 6, chap. 23. Baruch de Castro contributed an enthusiastic letter dated January 25, 1629 to Zacuto’s *Medici & Philosophi præstantissimi, operum tomus primus, in quo De medicorum principum historia libri sex [...] Editio postrema, à mendis purgatissima* (Lyon 1649): “O felix ætas quæ tam ingeniosum nobis ingenuit, atque creavit virum, qualem te ex Lusitanis arvis exisse merito gloriamur [...] Vale, medicæ scholæ splendor et Gloria, et me, ut solet, ama”, apud Lemos, *Zacuto Lusitano*, 196, 384. Other members of Hamburg’s Portuguese community contributed letters and poems too: Rodrigo de Castro (medico hamburguez), Doutor Vega (medico hamburguez), Doutor Rosales (hamburguez, medico, philosopho e mathematico), apud Lemos, *Zacuto Lusitano*, 225–227, 384.

¹⁰³ Philaletes argues that physicians do not involve themselves with matters of conscience affecting the soul but only with bodily problems. He concludes by extolling the background and university education of Jewish physicians all over Europe (*Flagellum*, xii–xv). See Friedenwald, *Jews and Medicine*, vol. 1, 58; Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe*, 303. Moreno-Carvalho, “A Newly Discovered Letter”, 63, fn. 5.

¹⁰⁴ Mordechai Francês alias Manuel Francês was the son of Pero Francês (alias Isaac Francês) and Brites Soares, born in Abrantes and daughter of João Francês Brandão and Ana Brandão. They left Lisbon and embraced Judaism in Hamburg. Mordechai Francês had three siblings: Henrique Francês, died in Hamburg; Miguel Francês (alias David Francês) who lived 1641 in Pernambuco, and Caterina Alvares (alias Ester Pimentel), wife of Afonso Dias Pimentel (see fns. 39, 106–107, 127). See Révah, “Une famille”, 75–76; Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 441–442.

¹⁰⁵ In 1657 he was elected the head of the Talmud Tora. He died in Hamburg in 1669. See also Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 444.

¹⁰⁶ Révah, “Une famille”, 76.

¹⁰⁷ Révah, “Une famille”, 76.

Caterina Alvares (alias Ester Pimentel),¹⁰⁸ wife of Afonso Dias Pimentel;¹⁰⁹ Miguel Francês (alias Daniel Francês);¹¹⁰ Henrique Francês (alias Jacob Francês);¹¹¹ Pero Francês (alias Moses Francês);¹¹² João Francês (alias Isaac Francês);¹¹³ Brites Lopes, wife of Manuel Henriques;¹¹⁴ Brites Nunes, wife of João Francês,¹¹⁵ died before 1641 in Hamburg,¹¹⁶ At least eleven members of the family Bocarro Francês were buried at the Portuguese-Jewish cemetery at Königstraße in Hamburg-Altona.¹¹⁷

In Hamburg, Rosales refers to himself “citizen of Hamburg, Jewish doctor, philosopher, mathematician.”¹¹⁸ According to the sparse docu-

¹⁰⁸ Révah, “Une famille”, 76. One Ester Pimentel, wife of Isaac Pimentel (alias Afonso Dias Pimentel) died on June, 6, 1667, in Hamburg, see Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 748–749. See fns. 104, 106, 109.

¹⁰⁹ Révah, “Une famille”, 76. Isaac Pimentel, who died on October, 10, 1682 in Hamburg, was the husband of Ester Pimentel, see Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, 346, 348; Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 748–749.

¹¹⁰ Révah, “Une famille”, 76.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ One Sara Nunes (alias Brites Nunes [?]), died on December 14, 1633 in Hamburg, she was married to David Franco alias Simão Roiz Dias alias Simon Dirichsen alias [?] João Francês, see Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 444–445.

¹¹⁷ Little is known about the life of the numerous members of the Francês family in France, Holland, Italy and Turkey [see Révah, “Une famille”]. Further studies on the family Bocarro Francês, other extant documents from Lisbon, Hamburg and Leghorn, and epitaphic evidence from Hamburg cemetery should shed more light on Jacob Rosales’ life, and at least tentative identification of his siblings. The following members of the Francês family are buried in Hamburg’s first Portuguese Cemetery at Königstraße: Abraham Francês, 1635–1659, son of Joseph Frances [?], Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 440–441; Bemvenida Francês, ?–1686, daughter of Jacob Fidanque and wife of Joseph Francês, Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 441; Debora Francês, ?–1677, sister of Joseph Francês and Debora da Costa, Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 441; Ester Francês, ?–1655, wife of Isaac Francês, Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 441; Ester Francês, ?–1659, wife of Mordechai Francês, Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 441–442; Isaac Francês, ?–1644, husband of Ester Francês, Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 442; Joseph Francês, gifted poet (the “Camões of Hamburg”) and brother of Ester da Costa, ?–1681, Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 442–444 (see ft. 47); Josua Francês, son (?) of Jacob Rosales, ?–1652, Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 444; Mordechai Francês, husband of Ester Francês and cousin of Jacob Rosales, ?–1669, Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 444; Rahel Sara Francês, wife of Joseph Francês, ?–1663, Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 444–445. On the Portuguese cemetery on Königstraße, see Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*. For more details on the Jewish cemetery (epitaphs and biographical sketches) on Königstraße, see now Jürgen Faust/Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Betahaim*, Glückstadt 1997; Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*; Studemund-Halévy/Gaby Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht. Der Jüdische Friedhof Königstraße in Hamburg*, Hamburg 2002.

¹¹⁸ In vol. 1 of the collected works of Zacutus Lusitanos, qtd. in Lemos, *Zacutus Lusitanus*, 99.

mentation, Jacob Rosales earned his living primarily by the practice of medicine, but also functioned as a provider of the latest news (*Avisenschreiber*) for Spain and the Emperor in Vienna, like the physicians André/Daniel de Castro and Benjamin Mussaphia. And just as in the case of his colleague Benedictus/Baruch de Castro and Benjamin Musaphia, his circle of patients also included some high-ranking personalities, among them the Danish Crown Prince Christian and the empresses Leonore and Maria.¹¹⁹

Rosales took an active part in the life of the congregation and was elected to honorary offices. The *denúncias* also indicate that he served, at least in the 1630s, as a kind of religious teacher. Thus, his cousin Miguel Frances reported on May 5, 1646 before the Lisbon Inquisition Court that Rosales had instructed members of the community in Jewish rites and had preached publicly every fortnight in the synagogue as a *predicante*.¹²⁰ Rosales also assumed the function of *mohel* in Hamburg, as noted in a denunciation dated January 18, 1650: “The physician Dr. Rosales, New Christian, born in Lisbon, circumcisor.”¹²¹ We do not know whether he carried out circumcision on children of community members or only in the case of Marranos who had embraced Judaism in Hamburg. Yet the files of the Inquisition and sermons by Hamburg clergy indicate that circumcisions of proselytes repeatedly stirred up great trouble for the Jewish community. Thus, for example, the clergy complained to the municipal council that in the summer of 1652, the Portuguese had circumcised a young Christian boy against his will. When it turned out later that the boy was not Christian but that the Portuguese had nonetheless not been granted permission to circumcise him, to calm things down the *Gemeinde* declared that it was “sufficient for them to circumcise their own sons.”¹²² In order to prevent these

¹¹⁹ Cecil Roth, *History of the Marranos*, New York 1924, 113. Kellenbenz, “Rosales”, 349, fn. 10.

¹²⁰ “Manoel Boccarro primo delle confitente natural desta cidade Doutor de Medicina o qual na ditta cidade de Amburgo ensinava as ceremonias da ley explicando os lugares da escritura conforme a interpretação dos sabios, publicamente nas sinagogas em forma de predicante assy nas festas da ley como de quise em quinze dias” (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 7276 [Miguel Francês]).

¹²¹ “O Doutor Rosales medico, christão nouo, natural desta cidade de Lisboa, circumcizador,” ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 7938 (João de Aguila), fl. 18; see António Borges Coelho, *Inquisição de Évora. Dos primordos a 1668*, Lisboa 1987, vol. 1, 426 ff.

¹²² Staatsarchiv Hamburg (hereafter StAH), Senat, Cl. VII Lit. Hf No 5, Vol. 3a Fasc. 3, fol. 128–v–133.

“prohibited circumcisions,” the statutes of the congregation *Kahal Kados Bet Israel* (established 1652) expressly stated on June 9, 1653 (14 Sivan 5413) that non-Jews (probably referring exclusively to Old Christians) must not be circumscribed:

In consideration of the annoyance and unrest feared if circumcisions are carried out in this city on individuals who are not known to belong to the seed of Israel [*que não são da semente de Israel*], it is hereby declared that none, by penalty of *beracha*,¹²³ shall circumcise strangers or the children of strangers, no matter what the circumstances, without the express permission of the collegium. This prohibition is valid for this city and its territory. Any person violating this prohibition shall be punished by penalties deemed appropriate by the collegium, aside from the above indicated penalty of the *beracha*.¹²⁴

Reports about non-permissible circumcisions of Old Christians had a foundation in reality. That is attested not only by the files of the Inquisition authorities and entries in the books of the congregations but especially by the moving autobiographies of many Portuguese. Thus, on September 1, 1665, the board accused community member Mordechai Chilão of having circumcised several strangers *guerim* (*pelegrinos*).¹²⁵ The files of the Venice Inquisition contain the following entry regarding a Portuguese Jew from Hamburg:

¹²³ *Beracha*, literally “blessing”, a euphemism for *herem* (ban). This term was intended to stress that the members of the congregation were forbidden to talk with the delinquent, see Yosef Kaplan, “The Place of the *herem* in Sefardi Hamburg”, idem, *An Alternative Path to Modernity*, Leiden 2000, 177 (An earlier version of the article may be found in Studemund-Halévy, *Sefarden*, vol. 1, 63–88). On excommunication in the Sefardi community of Amsterdam, see Yosef Kaplan, in “The Social Function of Herem”, J. Michman (ed.), *Dutch Jewish History* 3, 1993, 103–115 (reprinted in Kaplan, *An Alternative Path*, 108–142). On the halakhic significance of excommunication, see S. Mandel, *Der Bann*, Brünn 1892; Gideon Libson, *Gezerta and Herem in the Gaonic and Early Medieval Periods*, PhD diss., The Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1979 (Hebrew). For example, we find the following sentence in the course of the proceedings regarding the Ashkenazi Wulf, on 17 Tevet 5428 (1. January 1668): “*Pedindo se lhe levantase a pena de Beracha de que ninguem falasse com ele*” (*Livro da Nação*, vol. 1, fol. 375), apud Kaplan, “The Place of Herem”, 177.

¹²⁴ *Livro da Nação* (Protocol Book) of 14 Sivan 5413 (June 9, 1653), qtd. in Isaac Cassuto, “Aus dem Ältesten Protokollbuch der Portugiesisch-Jüdischen Gemeinde in Hamburg”, in *Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft*, 6, 1909, 30.

¹²⁵ *Livro da Nação* (Protocol Book) of 21 Elul 5425 (September 1, 1665), according to Isaac Cassuto, “Aus dem Ältesten Protokollbuch der Portugiesisch-Jüdischen Gemeinde in Hamburg”, in *Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft* 10, 1913, 277. It cannot be determined whether *guerim* here refers only to Old Christians or just New Christians.

Diogo Rodriguez, brother of Rui Lopez, is married to a daughter of Jorge Pirez Brandão, who left Portugal due to his transgressions before the Sanctum Officium and fled to Hamburg, where he persuaded a Christian to convert to Judaism.¹²⁶

A short time after his arrival in Hamburg, around 1631, Rosales was visited by his youngest brother Gaspar, who had just escaped the dungeons of the Inquisition.¹²⁷ Rosales convinced him to abandon Christianity and return to the Judaism of his forefathers and follow the Law of Moses. Gaspar, married to an Old Christian with whom he lived until 1641 in Portuguese India, now used the name Josua Bocarro. Their daughter was also married to an Old Christian. In October 1641, Gaspar Rosales testified to the Inquisitioner Pedro de Castilho before the Lisbon Inquisition Court that many of his relatives were living in Lisbon, Madrid, Hamburg, Leghorn, Turkey, Pernambuco (Brazil) and in Portuguese India. This denunciation report contains a detailed description of Jewish life in Hamburg.¹²⁸ The brothers visit the synagogue together, though we are not informed which one, where Jacob introduces his brother to some of the members of the congregation. Mentioned by name are among others the prominent individuals Isaac Milano, Abraham Jessurun, Isaac Cabeção, Isaac Pimentel and Joseph Penso.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ “Diogo Rodriguez irmão de Rui Lopez é casado com huma filha de Jorge Pirez Brandão, que de Portugal veo fugido por culpas que lá tinha no Santo Officio pera Amburgo, persuadia a hum christão que se fizesse judeu” (Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini, *Processi del S. Uffizio di Venezia contro ebrei e giudaizzanti. Appendici*, vol. 13, Florence 1997, 196–197). Jorge Pirez Brandão came to Hamburg in 1591, his son Pedro was living around 1605 in Venice. See Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, 108, 205, 269.

¹²⁷ This brother Gaspar (alias Josias/Uziau) is also believed to be the author of a (lost) poem entitled *Bocarro*, about whose content we know nothing (“Yosiahu Rosales, hermano del Doctor Rosales, que fue Conde Palatino, compuso en octava rima los Anafaleucis que intitulo de Bocarro” [Miguel Levi de Barrios, *Relacion de los poetas y escritores de la nación judayca amstelodama*, Amsterdam 1682, 56; reprinted in *Revue des Études Juives* 18, 1889, 281–289]), Meyer Kayserling, *Sephardim. Romanische Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, Leipzig 1859, 211 (reprinted Hildesheim 1972). On Gaspar Bocarro alias Uziau Rosales, see fn. 11.

¹²⁸ Gaspar Bocarro was reconciled on April 6, 1642 in Lisbon (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 3020 [Gaspar Bocarro], fl. 40). See also Herman Prins Salomon, *Saul Levi Mortera, Tratado da Lei de Moisés*, Braga 1988, LXXV and fn. 11.

¹²⁹ “dahy a dous dias o ditto seu irmão [Jacob Rosales] leuou a elle confitente a sinagoga dos iudeus onde costumão fazer suas ceremonias e na ditto sinagoga, estão as pessoas seguintes: duarte Esteues de pina x.n. com nome de Izac Millano e lhe parece he natural da Cidade do Porto, cazado não sabe com quem, e que a molher he natural deste Reyno: Lopo Nunez x.n. que lhe parece ser natural de Abrantes, e se nomea la per Abrahão Jéserum que será de idade de cincoenta e cinco annos cazado não sabe com

The *denúncia* then recounts that on this occasion he presented his brother with a Spanish translation of the psalms, perhaps a copy of the translation that David Abenatar Melo (alias Fernão Álvaro Melo),¹³⁰ likewise a member of the community, published in 1626 in Hamburg or Frankfurt/Main. The sermon was given by no less a sage than the Haham Abraham de Fonseca,¹³¹ who delivered a talk on a chapter of the “Old Testament.” On this occasion, Fonseca took a Hebrew book (*Sefer Tora*, prayer book?) from the cabinet (*hekhhal*).¹³² On October 18, 1641, he described details that provide us with a vivid picture of the

quem: fernão Nunez x. n. que lhe parece he natural desta cidade homem Ruyuo, e baixo e se nomea per Izac Cabeção cazado com hua molher da Beyra, a quem não sabe o nome; e hum irmão deste a quem tambem não sabe o nome, e lá se chamaua Abrahão Ergas = Diogo Carlos x. n. natural desta cidade mercador de idade de sessenta annos, que lá se nomea por Jozeph Coem = Affonço Dias Pimentel Medico homem de quarenta annos groço e se nomea por Izac Pimentel não sabe donde hé natural mas hé deste Reyno: Diogo Nunes Veiga, irmão dos passarinhos que estão em sevilha não sabe donde he natural, e se nomea por Abrahão Israel Veiga = Estevão Roiz Penço x. n. natural de Elvas, segundo lhe parece de quarenta e quatro annos de idade moreno e magro, e se nomea por Joseph Penço e outras muitas pessoas de que elle confitente não hé lembrado” (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 3020 [Gaspar Bocarro], fls. 3–3^v). See also Lipiner, *Os baptizados*, 73, and Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*.

¹³⁰ On David Abenatar Melo, see Herman Prins Salomon, *Portrait of a New Christian: Fernão Álvares Melo, 1569–1632*, Paris 1982; Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 167–168; idem, “Roteiro de uma vida. Fernão Álvares Melo alias David Abenatar Melo: Um poeta alentejano em Hamburg” (in print).

¹³¹ See Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 422–423.

¹³² “e assentandosee em hus bancos deu a elle confitente o ditto seu irmão [Jacob Rosales] hum liuro encadernado em pergaminho impresso que continha muitos psalmos de Daud os quais erão em lingoa castelhana (...) mas nenhum dos psalmos tinha o verso de gloria Patri, e no mesmo liuro estauão outras orações, das quaes em particular não está lembrado, mas so o esta de que com ellas deprecação a Deus do Ceo, e cada hua das dittas pessoas que presentes estavão tirarão outros liuros semelhantees, estando ally todos com as cabeças cubertas, se puzerão a rezar o que continhão os ditos liuros em vos alta, e dizendo todos a mesma couza iuntamente, e indo no meyo da reza hum Abrahão da fonseca natural desta Cidade a que elle não sabe outro nome que será de idade de quarenta annos barba muito comprida alto, e magro, de cor palida cazado não sabe com quem, e he filho de Henrique gomes mercador que foy nesta cidade, e o ditto Abrahão da fonseca, hé pregador da ley moysaica e disso uiue, se leuantou estando no meyo de todos os que estauão na sinagoga e pregou em vos portugueza, persuadindoos, e exortandoos a obseruancia da ley de Moyses pera o que trazia alguas vezes passos do testamento uelho (...) e agora se lembra que quando o ditto Abrahão da fonseca acabou de pregar, foy a hum almairio que estaua em hua das paredes, e abrindoo tírou delle hum liuro em pergaminho, que era hu dos de Moyses escrito em hebraico e o amostrou ao pouo que presente estaua e então fizerão todos hua cortezia com a cabeça” (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 3020 [Gaspar Bocarro], fls. 3–3^v. [Sessão de 17 de Outubro de 1641, fls. 3^v–4^v]). See also José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, *Gente da Nação. Cristãos-novos e judeus em Pernambuco 1542–1654*, Recife 1996, 487; Dines et al. (eds.), *A fênix*.

religious customs in the early period of the Hamburg *Gemeinde*, about which little is known:

On the Sabbath, all gathered together as night fell, with Jacob Rosales as the head of the house ... From a cabinet he removed a small box, which resembled a container for marmelade [Havdalah spice box, *migdal b'sa-mim*], containing cloves, muscat nuts, pepper and ginger. He blessed the container using Hebrew words which he [Josua Rosales] cannot recall. Then he smelled it and gave the others to savor its fragrance. After that he placed it back in the cabinet and took out a glass filled with beer [wine?], which he also blessed [kiddush?]. He took a sip and then gave all the others present the cup so that they might also partake of it. The Jews always do this on the Sabbath.¹³³

In Hamburg, Jacob Rosales, who became part of the circle of that other famous converso messianist, Menasseh ben Israel, also began again to compose poems of praise, mainly for the notables of the Hamburg and Amsterdam Portuguese community.

He was an ingenious and resourceful man, able to make his way in an ideologically, religiously and socially very changeable world. He wrote poetry in Spanish, Portuguese and Neo-Latin to expound his theories about the human and divine knowledge as well as in praise of his friends and colleagues. His poetry offers good examples of a newly created mythology “replete with fresh martyrs and heroes”. Rosales’ poems fall on the general tendencies of Spanish poems of his times, however, he tries to be original and create a new language that responds to the needs of his own community of Sephardim Jews, but also to the needs of the very selected group of physicians and philosophers of which Rosales was member.¹³⁴

The first such poem, a narration, an extended *epithalamium* plus verse eclogue, we have knowledge of (and which appears to have been lost) was written on the occasion of the marriage of Isaac¹³⁵ and Sara Abas

¹³³ “que nos sabbados todos que continuou a caza do ditto seu irmão elle como patrão della, á bocca da noete estando todos os da familia iuntos, (...) o ditto seu irmão tirava de hu almario hua caixa afeiçãõ das de marmellada em que estaua cravos nos moscada, pimenta e gengibre e as benzia com huas palauras hebraicas de que não está lembrado, e despois de o ter feito, a cheiraua, e daua a cheirar a elle confitente, e aos mais que presentes estauão e as recolhia no mesmo almairo donde tirou hu copo com cerueja, e com outras palauras de que em particular não está lembrado, benzeo a ditta cerueja, de que bebo, e despois de o ter feito, della deo aos que presentes estauão botando no chão a que cresceo” (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 3020 [Gaspar Bocarro], fls. 9^v–10).

¹³⁴ Apud Brown, “Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin Poetry”, *Sefarad* 59, 1, 1999, 140; Reyes Bertolin, “Greek influence”.

¹³⁵ Isaac Abas alias Manoel Rodrigues Jorge ([?]-1.7.1645) was from a family of nobility. He wrote an *encomium* in Portuguese for the *Gramatica Hebraica* of Mose de

(*Brindis nupcial e Ecloga panegyrica representada dos Senhores Isach e Sara Abas*),¹³⁶ parents of the later famous scholar Semuel Abas, the catalogue of whose huge library, long lost, was recently rediscovered in Wolfenbüttel.¹³⁷ Two years later he composed two encomia for the *Grammatica Hebraica* (Hamburg 1633) of the famous rabbi, philologist and later messianist Mose de Gideon Abudiente (1610–1688).¹³⁸ He dedicated several poems to the renowned physician Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus,¹³⁹ and likewise one poem to Menasseh ben Israel.¹⁴⁰ He com-

Gideon Abudiente (Hamburg 1633, fol. 7^r; reprinted in Brown, “Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin Poetry”, 1999, 27 [Nr. 5]). He is buried in the Portuguese cemetery on Königstraße (Studmund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 159). Several of his children lived in Glückstadt, where they are buried in the Portuguese cemetery there: Ester Abas, daughter of Isaac Abas (died 10. Elul 5404); Rahel Abas, daughter of David Abendana (died 30. Sivan 5394); Hana Cahanet, wife of Joseph de Josua Abas (died 8. Kislev 5433). See Michael Studemund-Halévy, “Die portugiesisch-spanischen Grabinschriften in Norddeutschland: Glückstadt und Emden”, *Aschkenas* 7, 2, 1997, 389–439; idem, *Der Jüdische Friedhof in Glückstadt* (forthcoming).

¹³⁶ This *epithalamium* has yet to be located. See Kayserling, *Biblioteca*, 96: “Cette allégorie est précédée d’une sorte de dialogue allégorique de Yeosua Abendana”. Kayserling probably was unfamiliar with this now lost text, but rather copied the title from Markus Roest’s *Catalogue de la collection ... de livres et manuscrits hébraïques. espagnols et portugais ... de la bibliothèque de Mr. Isaac da Costa*, Amsterdam 1861. See also Innocencio Francisco da Silva, *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez*, vol. 9 of the Supplement, Lisbon 1893, 140; Lemos, *Zacutus Lusitanus*, 102; Kellenbenz, “Rosales”, 349; Brown, “Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin”, 1999, 7, ft. 20; Studemund-Halévy, “Codices Gentium”.

¹³⁷ On Semuel Abas, the son of Isaac Abas, and his famous library, see Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 164–166; idem, “Codices Gentium”, in Jaime Contreras/Bernardo Garcia Garcia (eds.), *Familia, Religión y Negocio. El sefardismo en las relaciones entre el mundo ibérico y los Países Bajos en la Edad Moderna*, Alcalá de Henares 2002, 287–319; Yosef Kaplan, “El perfil cultural de tres rabinos sefardíes a través del análisis de sus bibliotecas”, idem, 269–286 [here: 277–281].

¹³⁸ *Librum Ode*, fol. [3^r]. und *Epygramma*, fol. [3^v], reprinted in Brown, “Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin”, 1999, 24–25. On the learned rabbi, philologist and prolific writer Mose Abudiente, see Zvi Malachi, “Moses Gideon Abudiente and His Literary Creation” (Hebrew), *Pe’amim* 1, 1979, 67–75 (a French translation as appeared in Studemund-Halévy [ed.], *Die Sefarden in Hamburg*, vol. 1, 307–316); Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 228–238; idem, “Mose Abudiente”, Kopitzsch/Brietzke, *Hamburgische Biografie*, vol. 2, Hamburg 2003, 16.

¹³⁹ “Clio in auctoris gloriam Carmina haec aeternitati deuouet,” in Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus, *Historiarum: Liber Tertius*, Amsterdam 1637, ffr. 6^v–7^v. (reprinted in Brown, “Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin”, 2001, 4–6); *Ode Saphicum*, in Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus, *Historiarum: Liber Quartus*, Amsterdam 1637, ff. 5^v–63 (reprinted in Brown, “Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin”, 2001, 7–11); *Poculum Poëticum*, in Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus, *Historiarum: Liber Quintus*, Amsterdam 1637, fol. 7^r (reprinted in Brown, “Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin”, 2001, 12–14). Rosales major medical work was *Armatura medica: hoc est modo addiscendae medicinae per Zacutinas histo-*

posed encomia in Latin for the Spanish ambassador at the Court, Francisco de Mello Count of Assumar,¹⁴¹ and for the Dordrecht doctor and professor Jan van Beverwick.¹⁴² Rosales distinguished himself as a Latinist in colloquia, among others with the theologian Johann Mochinger in Danzig.¹⁴³ A life-long bond of friendship united him with the above-mentioned Francisco de Mello,¹⁴⁴ whom he had known already in Por-

rias, eaeorumque Praxin which was published in the second volume of Abraham Zacutus' *Opera Omnia* (Lyon 1644). "The Sapphic Ode is composed in Sapphic meter, again following very strict metrical patterns. There are abundant references to Greek mythology with the intention to equate Zacutus to prominent Greek characters or even make clear that he has surpassed them. The poem starts and ends with an invocation to the Muse, Clio, and also ends with a kind of seal, the sphragis, of Greek lyric poetry. The poem uses a mythological background to express Zacutus' advances in medicine. Apparently, a new type of fever broke out and only Zacutus was able to avert it with his new approach. Rosales insists on the newness and that is why he describes Zacutus as Apollo, who was able to stop Phaeton from burning the earth. The topic of Phaeton was common in Baroque literature. There is a long poem on the theme by Juan de Tassis (1582–1622), contemporary of Rosales and well-known poet at the court of Spain, with whom Rosales might have been acquainted, as we can see in the correspondence of certain images and verses. What characterizes Rosales is that he uses the myths not just by themselves, but to contradict them using the personal experience, much like for instance Ovid in his *Tristia*. The mythological knowledge and background is necessary to present himself as a man of the times, however, Rosales is very conscious and defensive of his own culture. That is why he insists on the newness and new responses to the situations. As much as Rosales knows the poetic conventions and the myths, so Zacutus knows the traditional medicine: Galen, Celsus, Arabic physicians. But Zacutus is superior to all of them because he was able to solve the new challenge, so is Rosales superior to other poets, because in his poetry, he is able to unite the myths with reality. His poem is not a poem about how Phaeton endangered the earth, but how the fever was successfully healed by Zacutus. In Rosales' production in honor of his colleagues, there is a mixture between daily medical procedures and mythology, between practicality and culture. For instance, Rosales has a sonnet in which he praises Zacutus as the new Pelops and also because he can cure the pains of a constipation", apud Brown, "Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin Poetry", *Sefarad* 59, 1, 1999, 1–40; Reyes Bertolin, "Greek influence".

¹⁴⁰ *Panegyricus in laudem eximii & praestantissimo Sapientis, nobilis que viri*, in Menasseh Ben Israel, *De Termino vitae Liber Tres*, Amsterdam 1639, Fol. N190^r, reprinted in Paul Felgenhauer, *Bonum nuncium Israelii quod offertur populo Israel & Iudae in hisce temporibus novissimis, de Messia quod scilicet. Redemptio Israelis ab omnibus iniquitatibus suis & liberatio a captivitate, & adventus Messiae gloriosus jam nunc proxime instent*, Amsterdam 1655, 108 (see Copenhagen, Menasseh ben Israel, Nr. 363), and reprinted in Brown, "Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin", 2001, 30–32.

¹⁴¹ *Gratulatio Astrologico-Politica, Francisco de Mello, Comiti de Assumar, Regis Hispanici Legato et Locum tenenti versibus heroiciis scripta* [Hamburg], according to Kellenbenz "Rosales", 349, fn. 13.

¹⁴² *Epos Noëtikon sive Carmen intellectuale de Vitae termino; ad Joh. Beverovicium*, Menasseh ben Israel, *De Termino Vitae Liber Tres*, Amsterdam 1639, N2^r–N9^v (reprinted in Brown, "Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin", 2001, 12–14); see also Kellenbenz, "Rosales", 349, fn. 14.

¹⁴³ Kellenbenz, "Rosales", 349, fn. 15.

¹⁴⁴ See *Jardim Ameno*, (código 774 do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo), see also João Lúcio de Azevedo, *A Evolução do Sebastianismo*, Lisbon 1984, 145.

tugal. They discussed political astrology, as we learn from Isaac Cardozo, who had met Rosales around 1622 in Spain:

Rosales, a respected man among the Hamburgers and Portuguese, about whom it is said that he predicted the new king and that they [the Portuguese] would be liberated from Spanish oppression. But he also predicted many things for the governor of Belgium Francisco de Mello, who had great trust in him—for example, the happy end of the battle in which he was vanquished by Prince Condé¹⁴⁵

After Portugal achieved independence in 1640 and a member of the house of Bragança was appointed the new sovereign, Rosales in 1644 considered reprinting his book originally published in Lisbon in 1624 in order to prove that his predictions there had indeed come true. In the dedication to the new edition, he addressed all the princes and kings in Europe.¹⁴⁶ In the reprint, he included his original calculations regarding Portugal's return to independence.

Since he wanted to reach a larger readership, he prepared an edition in two languages (Portuguese and Latin). The new edition, with many changes in comparison with the first edition, shows him to be an author who desired to belong to and be identified with Jewish society, not the Christian world. The Hamburg edition consisted of 133 octaves, two more than the original Lisbon edition. In a new preface, the author informed his readership that the octaves dealing with alchemy had been omitted and the missing 20 octaves supplanted by new sections added in other parts of the book. He replaced the name of Christ five times. And in connection with the so-called miracle of Ourique, the battle where Christ makes an appearance to King Alfonso Henriques, the name of Christ had been replaced by expressions such as “the Holy one” or “heaven.”¹⁴⁷ That same year he was denounced in Lisbon by

¹⁴⁵ Rosales friendship with Francisco de Mello dates from the time he was living in Portugal, see *Luz Pequena*, fl. 15, apud Moreno Carvalho, “On the Boundaries”, 75, fr. 37. On Francisco de Mello see Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. 2, 199–200; Kellenbenz, “Rosales”, 349.

¹⁴⁶ The full title: *Regnum Astrorum / Reformatum / Cujus Fundamentum / Cælestis Astronomiæ / Praxis / Tomvs Primvs. / Vbi omnium fiderum loca ex præstantissimis [...], / Auctore / Imanuele Bocarro Frances y Rosales / Medicinæ Doctore, Nobilis, ac Comite Palatino ... / Hamburgi / Ex Officina Typographica Henrici Vverneri [1644].* The title of Part II: *Status Astrologicus. / Anacephalæosis I. Monarchiæ / Lusitanæ. / Doctoris Immanuelis Bocarri Frances, / y Rosales / Olim 10. Mayi, Anni 1624. Ulyssipone, excusi Tractatus.* A copy of this rare book is in Wolfenbüttel. See also Lemos, *Zacutus Lusitanus*, 101.

¹⁴⁷ António José Saraiva, “Bocarro-Rosales and the Messianism of the Sixteenth Century”, Kaplan, Yosef et al., *Menasseh ben Israel*, Leiden 1989, 240–243.

Diogo de Lima¹⁴⁸: “O Doctor Bocarro medico natural desta cidade que se chama Jacob Bocarro.”¹⁴⁹ A year later Manuel da Motta denounced him before the same Inquisition Court.¹⁵⁰

In the Service of the Habsburgs

In 1641, his only son, who must have been born in Lisbon around 1624, died at the age of 17, succumbing to a disease his father was unable to cure—or because of his preference for and trust in the stars, did not wish to cure.¹⁵¹ Isaac Cardoso comments:

And when his only son fell sick, the stars told him he would be healthy and enjoy long life. But his son died at the age of 17, because his father trusted more in the stars than in the mortal signs of danger and in [the healing power of] medicines.¹⁵²

It is not known why Rosales, who must have entered into the service of the Habsburgs around 1639, continued, in marked contrast with Jacob Curiel, to remain faithful to the Spanish side even after 1641. It is certain that on June 17, 1641, Rosales was honored by the Spanish ambassador of Emperor Ferdinand III for his contribution to economic and political cooperation between the German and Spanish branches of the Habsburgs by the bestowal on him of the Honor of the Palatine Count (*Hofpfalzgrafenwürde*)¹⁵³. On this occasion, another imperial document cleansed him of the “stain of Jewish origin.”¹⁵⁴ A further document confirmed his doctorate.¹⁵⁵ As a resident of the Spanish

¹⁴⁸ See also Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 79, and fn. 12.

¹⁴⁹ ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Caderno 27 do Promotor da Inquisição de Lisboa, fl. 260, qtd. in Azevedo, “Bocarro-Francês”, 195. See likewise Cecil Roth, “Notes sur les Marranes de Livourne”, *Revue des Études Juives* 91, 1931, 1–27.

¹⁵⁰ Azevedo, “Bocarro Francês”, 196.

¹⁵¹ The name of his son and the location of his grave are not known.

¹⁵² *Philosophia libera*, Venice 1673, 181. On his life and work, see Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court*; Carvalho Moreno, “A Newly Discovered Letter”, 70.

¹⁵³ In the frontispiece of his book published in 1654 *Fasciculum trium verarum propositionum* Rosales proudly refers to himself as *conde palatino*. The *Hofpfalzgrafenwürde* (*Comites Palatini Caesarei*) was conferred *ad personam* or by *heritage* (appointment), in some cases this title was conferred to famous poets, see Graf Egbert Silva-Tarouca, “Großes und kleines Palatinat”, *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adel*, vol. Band 16, XXXV ff. The certificate stating this title for Jacob Rosales has never been found.

¹⁵⁴ Information from the former Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HH u. StA) Wien, qtd. in Kellenbenz “Rosales”, 350. The *Deutscher Herold* 12, 1881, p. 103 gives Regensburg as the place and 1641 as the date of the document.

¹⁵⁵ Roth, *History of the Marranos*, 113; Kellenbenz, “Rosales”, 350.

crown, Rosales found himself in constant opposition to the official residents of the Portuguese kings, such as the Curiels and the Teixeiras. Moreover, he lacked the immense personal assets and international business contacts which these wholesalers so abundantly possessed.¹⁵⁶ These cosmopolitan and polyglot residents, who served the kings and princes primarily as experienced international bankers, but also as sources for political news by subscription (*Avisenschreiber*), owned the most magnificent and palatial houses on the Alster and Elbe. Kings and princes resided there when on a visit to the city. Foreigners who came to Hamburg or Amsterdam¹⁵⁷ commented on the incredible luxury in which these Portuguese lived as though it were a matter of course. Thus, the mansion of Joseph Zecharia Cohen da Rocha, born in Porto, had a fountain from which wine reportedly gushed forth, an aviary and pleasure house in his garden as well as a huge gallery of paintings, a collection that was later auctioned and today must be regarded as lost.¹⁵⁸ In a description of the city in 1668, Kunrad von Hövelen lauded the magnificent mansion of the resident family Curiel on the Krayenkamp as an “earthly paradise,” and was excessive in his praise for the Teixeira’s regal mansion on the Alster.¹⁵⁹ It was in this house that Jacob

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 351.

¹⁵⁷ On the sumptuous life style of the Portuguese in Amsterdam and in Hamburg, see Yosef Kaplan, “Gente Politica: The Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam vis-à-vis Dutch Society”, in Chaya Brasz and Yosef Kaplan (eds.), *Dutch Jews as Perceived by Themselves and by Others. Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on the History of the Jews in the Netherlands*. Leiden 2001, 21–40 (a French translation of this article may be found in Kaplan, *Les Nouveaux-Juifs*, 121–147); Studemund-Halévy: “Es residiren”; idem, “Von Palästen, Kutschen und Afrikanern: Portugiesen im Hamburg des 17. Jahrhundert”, *Lusorama* 50, 2002, 85–113.

¹⁵⁸ On Cohen da Rocha see Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 762–763; StAH, Reichskammergericht F 34, according to Hans-Konrad Stein-Stegemann, *Findbuch der Reichskammergerichtsakten im Staatsarchiv Hamburg*, Teil 1: Titelaufnahmen A-H, Hamburg 1993, 269–270. On the luxury in which the Hamburg Sefardim lived, see Studemund-Halévy: “Es residiren”; idem, “Von Palästen, Kutschen und Afrikanern: Portugiesen im Hamburg des 17. Jahrhundert”, *Lusorama* 50, 2002, 85–113.

¹⁵⁹ Kunrad von Hövelen, *Der Uhr-alten deutschen Grossen und des H. Röm. Reichs freien An-See- und Handel Stadt Hamburg*, Lübeck 1668, 65. Cf. likewise the description by Gregorio Leti (1683) of the Amsterdam residence of Jerónimo Nunes da Costa: “This house is the most comfortable and magnificent, at least here in the city. It has an incomparable garden. You could even say the house is like a royal court, because so many people come and go.”, *Del teatro Britannico o vera historia dello stato, antico e presente [...] della Grande Bretagna*. Amsterdam 1683, vol. 2, 406. Gregorio Leti (1631–1701) was a seventeenth-century European writer of great popularity. His books of biographies, general histories and writings on the papacy were widely read and translated into many languages. He died in Amsterdam in 1701. See Jonathan I. Israel, “Gregorio Leti

Curriel (alias Duarte Nunes da Costa), called by the Portuguese consul Francisco Vanzeller in an 1880 report for the Portuguese Foreign Ministry the first representative or ambassador (consul) of his country in Hamburg,¹⁶⁰ spent his final years of life. And in 1714, the Hamburg preacher and chronicler Johann Jacob Schudt noted in his *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten* that Manoel Teixeira (alias Isaac Senior Teixeira, 1631–1705), like his father before him known more popularly by the sobriquet the “rich Jew”—and who as a resident of Queen Christina of Sweden enjoyed protection from the attacks of the city—resided “in a palace of great splendor. Great gentlemen paid him visits and engaged in entertaining diversions with him.”¹⁶¹ The extant blueprints and drawings of his Hamburg residence are impressive testimony to a grand and aristocratic style of life geared to the demands of social representation.¹⁶²

Sometimes these Hamburg residents were also the subject of talk and acrimony abroad. In the drama *L'Adieu des Français à la Suède ou la demission de la Grande Christina et le Portrait de la Reine Christine*¹⁶³ performed in Paris on November 5, 1665, the playwright Gillot Le Songeur (alias A. h. Saint-Maurice) criticized Queen Christina because of her “ridiculous” decision to choose the Jew Teixeira, an enemy of Christ, as her banker.¹⁶⁴ It is doubtful whether Rosales also had such a resplendent residence or even had the necessary funds for it. In any event, nothing is known. But it was the power of capital of this mercantilist elite which held a protecting hand over the community externally and within.

(1631–1701), and the Dutch Sephardi Elite at the Close of the Seventeenth Century”, *Jewish History. Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky*, London 1988; F. Borgia, *Bibliografia delle opere di Gregorio Leti*, Milano 1981; Nati Krivatsy, *Bibliography of the Works of Gregorio Leti*, New Castle 1982.

¹⁶⁰ “O primeiro agente diplomatico ou embaixador de Portugal, consta ter residido aqui em 1660, um certo Eduardo Nunes da Costa, porém nada de particular ou definitivo se póde averiguar sobre elle.” Francisco Vanzeller, [Representantes de Portugal em Hamburgo], *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* 1880: 729.

¹⁶¹ Johann Jacob Schudt, *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten*. Frankfurt, Leipzig 1714, vol. 1, Book V, Ch. 8., 374.

¹⁶² Hofkammerarchiv Wien, RA 927/1–7 (Grund- und Aufrisse); Friedrich Battenberg, “Die jüdische Wirtschaftselite der Hoffaktoren und Residenten im Zeitalter des Merkantilismus—ein europaweites System?”, in *Aschkenas* 9, 1, 1999, 31–66 [here: 47].

¹⁶³ *Recueil de quelques pieces curieuses, servant à l' éclaircissement de l'histoire de la vie de la reyne Christine* [Cologne 1668].

¹⁶⁴ Susanna Åkerman, *Queen Christina of Sweden and her Circle: The Transformation of a Seventeenth-Century Philosophical Libertine*, Leiden 1991, 310–311; idem: Queen Christina of Sweden and Messianic Thought, in David S. Katz/Jonathan I. Israel (eds.): *Sceptics, Millenarians and Jews*, Leiden 1990, 142–160.

In Hamburg, Rosales espoused the official position of Spain on questions of military and political matters, quite in contrast with the majority in the *Gemeinde*. After Gabriel de Roy's death in 1645, he became the official representative of Balthasar von Walderode. Among his tasks was regulating the maritime traffic of the Hansa cities with the Spanish ports, and reporting any shippers and merchants who acted against this. It was particularly important to disrupt traffic with the Portuguese where possible. For these services, he was remunerated by the Spanish embassy and ambassador, the Duque de Terranova.¹⁶⁵ The Portuguese in Hamburg were in close contact with the now emergent Brazilian Company and provided Portugal with war materiel and rigging and supplies for their ships. After having been re-certified in July 1650 by the Spanish ambassador in Vienna, Count Lumières,¹⁶⁶ Rosales, determined to thwart this, offered his assistance: in 1651, he proposed to arrange to obtain two frigates for the Spanish which were already designated for delivery to the Portuguese king.¹⁶⁷ Rosales conferred on this deal with the Imperial Resident Plettenberg and also sought help from Count Lumières.¹⁶⁸ During the negotiations in Hamburg, intended to bring the long religious war to an end, Rosales functioned for a time as an intermediary brokering between the imperial side and the Swedes. The Hansa cities hoped these negotiations would generate a new foundation in law for their trade with Spain and Portugal, in particular a renewed confirmation of their long-standing Hanseatic privileges. At the time, Rosales was regarded as an important figure not only by the Hamburg Senate but also in the eyes of the senates in Lübeck and Danzig. Even after conclusion of the trade agreement with Spain, they sought to ensure that he remained favorably inclined toward their interests.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ *Espagne sur les Affaires des Pays-Bas au XVIIe siècle etc. Précis de la correspondance de Philippe IV (1647–1665)*, Brüssel 1933, vol. 4, 140, according to Kellenbenz, "Rosales", 350.

¹⁶⁶ Lumières an die Stadt Lübeck, Wien 27. 7. 1650, StA (State Archives) Lübeck, Hispanica III Vol. c Fasc. 1a, according to Kellenbenz, "Rosales", 352, fn. 20.

¹⁶⁷ Kellenbenz, "Rosales", 351.

¹⁶⁸ See Hhu. StA Wien, H S 942, according to Kellenbenz, "Rosales", 352, fn. 21.

¹⁶⁹ StA Lübeck, Hispanica IIIa, Vol. c Fasc. 1a betreffend Ministerresident Rosales 1638–1650. In 1649, Rosales was presented with a gift of 100 Hungarian ducats by the three Hanseatic cities Hamburg, Lübeck und Danzig, cf. Kellenbenz, "Rosales", 352, fn. 19.

In the Community

A short time later Rosales divorced his wife Judit Rosales (alias Brites [Ana?] Pinel), born in Lisbon and daughter of Alfonso Bocarro (uncle of Jacob Rosales), died before 1641, and Mecia Pinel, born in Setúbal.¹⁷⁰ This proved a welcome pretext for Johannes Müller, known for his anti-Jewish polemics, to attack Rosales, accusing him in 1649 of divorcing his wife.¹⁷¹ He also accused the Portuguese of incest and of issuing “divorce decrees whenever they so desired.” He likewise called for a prohibition on what he termed “Portuguese polygamy.”¹⁷²

In the summer of 1649, d’Andrade, a *Gemeinde* member, inflicted some damage to his house.¹⁷³ Rosales then appealed to the magistrate: it should indicate to the Portuguese community that he, “as a servant of His Catholic Majesty, should be shown proper respect.” He signed this supplication “Doctry Manuel Bocarro y Rosales.”¹⁷⁴ Suspicion for the act fell initially on Jacob Curiel, but despite their political differences, Rosales did not wish to cause any trouble for a man so highly respected in the community.

¹⁷⁰ Johannes Müller, “Bedencken wegen Duldung der Juden”, Christian Ziegra, *Sammlung von Urkunden*, Teil 1, 98–114, Hamburg 1764–1770; StAH, Senat, Cl. VII Lit. Hf No. 5, vol. 4a, 5. April 1650, EPS; StAH, Ministerium, II2, AS. 55–57, 62–65; Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750*, Oxford 2001, 61–62; Braden, *Judenpolitik*, 239. The protocol book makes mention a number of times of Levirate marriage or *yibum* (Isaac Cassuto, “Aus dem Ältesten Protokollbuch der Portugiesisch-Jüdischen Gemeinde in Hamburg”, in *Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft* 11, 1916, 68; 13, 1920, 60–61). For a Christian perspective on Levirate marriage, see Ziegra, *Sammlung von Urkunden*, Teil 1, 118. In order to prohibit Levirate marriage (an issue of some controversy) in the community, the *Ma’amad* (board) orders a document prepared on the 18th of Heshvan 5417 (November 5, 1656); it has unfortunately not been preserved: “Since we desire to avoid the difficulties, complaints and law suits customarily associated with Levirate marriage (*o acunhador*), we would like to learn whether the Law allows us to issue a regulation (*escamá*) banning Levirate marriage, esp. with a woman who is beyond the suitable age for giving birth to progeny.” qtd. in Isaac Cassuto, “Aus dem Ältesten Protokollbuch der Portugiesisch-Jüdischen Gemeinde in Hamburg”, *Jahrbuch der Jüdisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft* 7, 1910, 189. Biographical data on these persons can be found in Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*. It is not known where Ana Rosales died and is buried, see also Révah, “Une famille”, 74.

¹⁷¹ StAH, Senat, CL. VII Lit. Hf Nr. 5 Vol. 4a, Senatsprotokoll, 28. 6. 1648; Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, 46; Whaley, *Religiöse Toleranz* 92. On this incident, see Braden, *Judenpolitik*, 239 ff.

¹⁷² Braden, *Judenpolitik*, 239.

¹⁷³ Hhu. StA Wien, Reichskanzlei, Berichte aus Hamburg, 1646–1653, Bericht des kaiserlichen Residenten Plettenberg vom 20. 8. 1649.

¹⁷⁴ StAH, Senat, Cl. VII Lit. Hf Nr. 5 Vol. 3a Fasc. 3, BVI. 18, 4. 6. 1649; Kellenbenz “Rosales”, 352.

Mob violence against the Portuguese reached a sad high point that same year. When this agitation and violence became intolerable, the *Gemeinde* leaders—Dr. Jacob Rosales, Dr. Diogo Nunes Vega,¹⁷⁵ Gabriel Lopez, Andreas de Castro, Diogo Teixeira, Diogo Carlos,¹⁷⁶ Jacob Curiel and Duarte de Lima—protested to the Hamburg Senate about the “abominations of the common people” and “requested relief.”¹⁷⁷ Despite all the ill will and animosity, in 1652 Rosales signed the document establishing Congregation *Kahal Kados Bet Israel*,¹⁷⁸ and a short time later was even selected as *hatan Torah*. In settling the estate of the wealthy João da Rocha Pinto,¹⁷⁹ he functioned as a “belligerent guardian” of the widow, while Jacob Curiel was one of the two guardians appointed for the heirs of the deceased.¹⁸⁰

From Destitution to Leghorn: The Final Chapter

By the end of 1651 or early in 1652, the Hamburg period in Jacob Rosales’ life drew to a close. After he ceased being paid by Spain or Vienna for services rendered and the general climate in town and in the community turned more and more hostile toward him, Rosales wrote in June 1652 to the Spanish state secretary Geronimo de la Torre that he was in dire straits: he was no longer able to pay his debts and would have to sell his house to avoid the disgrace that had befallen other princely ministers forcibly evicted from their homes by the Hamburg Senate. After 13 years of service, he was now leaving their employ destitute (*desnudo*). He stated that he intended to throw himself upon the mercy of the King or journey to Rome.¹⁸¹ Yet as it turned out, he would in fact do neither.

¹⁷⁵ See fns. 102 and 129.

¹⁷⁶ Alias Joseph Cohen Carlos alias Joaquim Carlos, see fn. 129; Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 342–343; StAH, Reichskammergericht L 60, according to Hans-Konrad Stein-Stegemann, *Findbuch der Reichskammergerichtsakten im Staatsarchiv Hamburg*, Teil 2: Titelaufnahmen J-R, Hamburg 1994, 659–660.

¹⁷⁷ StAH, Senat, CI. VII Lit. Hf Nr. 5 Vol. 3a Fasc. 3, BVI. 18, 4. 6. 1649.

¹⁷⁸ See Ornan-Pinkus, “Kahal Kadosh”.

¹⁷⁹ Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, 762–763.

¹⁸⁰ StAH, Reichskammergericht F 34, according to Hans-Konrad Stein-Stegemann, *Findbuch der Reichskammergerichtsakten im Staatsarchiv Hamburg*, Teil 1: Titelaufnahmen A-H, Hamburg 1993, 269–270, see also Kellenbenz, “Rosales”, 353, fn. 24.

¹⁸¹ Kellenbenz, “Rosales”, 353.

In 1653, Rosales decided to journey via Amsterdam (?) to Leghorn, where his sister Brites Bocarro (alias Rahel Rosales) and other kin lived.¹⁸² Here too he would later be denounced to the Holy Office (1658). In 1659, he met two Portuguese monks in Leghorn to whom he disclosed the fact that he was a Jew. Although he tempered that revelation by adding that all could find salvation, whether in the faith of Jesus or of Moses.¹⁸³ In 1660 he joined the *Hevra di Mohar ha-Betulot* in Leghorn.¹⁸⁴ Two years later, the ailing duchess Strozzi summoned him to her bedside in Florence. Then we lose track of Jacob Rosales alias Imanuel Bocarro Francês. In 1662, he and his wife Ana were denounced to the Spanish Inquisition as “criste de la ley de Moyses” by the above-mentioned Semuel Aboab.¹⁸⁵ At the time he was over 70. He is believed to have died several years later in Leghorn, around 1668. His gravestone with the Hebrew epitaph he had composed for his own some years earlier has never been found.¹⁸⁶

Translated from German by William Templer

¹⁸² Henrique Francês and Maria Bocarro left Hamburg for Leghorn, see fns. 40, 46–47.

¹⁸³ “Gregório de Pina disse que viu em Livorno: ‘Doutor João Bocarro Rozales medico e Astrologo muito nomeado neste Reyno pello Liuro que fez do titulo de Anasaphaleuses e outros que imprimio e dedicou ao duque D. Theodosio (...) falou por duas veses na rua co o dito Doutor Bocarro Rosales e elle lhe disse que era judeo e professaua a ley de Moyses, e tambem disse a elle testemunha que tinha para sy que os que seguião a ley de Cristo se saluauão tambem’” (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Caderno 35 do Promotor da Inquisição de Lisboa, Denúncia do Conego Gregório de Pina, fls. 351–354^v). The files were published in part by Azevedo, “A inquisição”, 462–463. See also Lemos, *Zacutus Lusitanus*, 109.

¹⁸⁴ Toaff, *La Nazione Ebraica*, 385, 465 [List of the members of the Brotherhood for Dowries for Young Maidens]. See fn. 47.

¹⁸⁵ AHN (Madrid), Inq., lib. 1127.

¹⁸⁶ Kayserling, *Sephardim*, 210. Although Jacob Rosales lived but a few years in Leghorn, Toaff calls him one of the most celebrated residents of the city in the seventeenth century (“il Rosales può considerarsi uno dei più celebri abitanti di Livorno nel seicento”, *La Nazione Ebraica*, 385).