“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 Samuel 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

¹ 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.

² “[...] que son Iudios Iudaïcantes obserutes y creientes de la ley de Moyses el Dor Rosales, Residente por su Magd del rey nro señor en Amburgo = Ana Rosales su muger” (Archivo Histórico Nacional [Madrid], Inq., lib. 1127, fol. 97v), hereafter AHN.


³ Samuel 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 Sephardic 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, 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. During this period, many members of the ramified family

---

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 Zodiaco da Vida. A Polêmica sobre a Astrologia do Século XIV ao Século XVI, Lisbon 1997; on astrology and alchemy in Portugal, see Yvette Centeno (ed.), Ennena 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 astrologists and astrologists in Hamburg, see Michael Studemund-Halevy, “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].

TORTURED MEMORIES

Boccaro Françês lived as pious Catholics, Judaizers or New Jews in Lisbon, Madrid, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Leghorn, Turkey, Brazil and Portuguese India. 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.

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 community as well as well

...
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


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), ffs. 3–3′. 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 Uziu Rosales (“por seu irmão Manuel Bocarro querer se chamasse assim”) [ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 3020, f. 32′; 5 de Novem-
4. In 1644, Diogo de Lima denounces him before the Inquisition Court in Lisbon.\textsuperscript{12}

5. In 1645, Manoel de Motta denounces him before the Inquisition Court in Lisbon.\textsuperscript{13}

6. In 1646, his cousin Miguel Francêšs denounces him before the Inquisition Court in Lisbon.\textsuperscript{14}

7. In 1650, he is denounced by Joâo de Aguila before the Inquisition Court in Lisbon.\textsuperscript{15}

8. In 1658, Gregório de Pina denounces him before the Inquisition Court in Lisbon.\textsuperscript{16}

9. In 1661, he is named by Samuel Aboab in his extensive denunciation of members of Marrano communities in northern Europe before the Inquisition Court in Madrid.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{12} The files were published by Azevedo, “O Bocarro Francêšs”.

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{15} ANTT, Inquisicôšo de Lisboa, Processo no. 7938 (Joâo de Aguila).


\textsuperscript{17} AHN (Madrid), Inq., lib. 1127, fols. 97–97”. See also Schreiber, Marranen; Studemund-Halévy, Lexicon.
Despite our extensive knowledge regarding the affluence and magnificence in which the Hamburg “Portuguese” lived in the first half of the seventeenth century, 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, parnassim), 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

---

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, be-
cause 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 Kadmos Bet Israel—formed on 3 Sep-
tember 1652 from the merger of the congregations Talmud Tora, Keter
Tora and Neve Salom, and called in the protocols a “free general Ge-
meinde”—had a total of 1,212 persons. 20 This surprisingly large num-

19 “Y en las dhas Synagogas hacían los ritos y ceremonias de Judíos y publi-
cam[ente] se portaban y trataban como tales, y eran estimados, y reputados por Judíos, y
viven 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. 100r.
20 According to the testimony of Count Galeazzo Guadaldo Priorato, chamberlain of
Queen Cristina of Sweden, in 1663 approximately 120 Sefardi families lived in Ham-
burg, “Beschreibung von Hamburg im Jahre 1663”, in Henning Berkefeld (ed.), Ham-
burg 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
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–
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 crístãos 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. 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. 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), his oldest son.

---

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, Koppelmann 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 a 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”, Monatschrift 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 aeltesten 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 Hébraique 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)\textsuperscript{25} and Binjamin Mussaphia (c. 1600/1606–1674),\textsuperscript{26} whose repute spread far beyond the confines of Hamburg.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{28} Rosales was apparently better known abroad than in


\textsuperscript{28} Kenneth Brown (Calgary) is currently preparing an anthology of Sefardi poems in Latin, Portuguese and Spanish. See also Kenneth Brown, "El Parnaso sefardi y sus cancioneros, siglos 17–18", in Jules Whicker (ed.), \textit{Actas del XII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas}, Birmingham 1998, 60–69; idem, "Spanish, Por-tuguese, and Neo-Latin Written and/or Published by Seventeenth-and Eighteenth-Century
Portugal (*bem conhecido na nossa terra, e mais nas estranhas*), was esteemed by Galileo Galilei as an astrologer (*Virum Admirandum, & doctissimum Astrologorum Principem*) and, in his capacity as a royal Spanish resident in Hamburg, was many years in the service of the Habsburgs—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, and in chronicles of Leghorn. 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 Kadosh Bet Israel. 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.

---

30 On the relationship between Rosales and Galilei, see Moreno-Carvalho, “A Newly Discovered Letter”.
35 The works by these authors have been intensively investigated in recent years by the Canadian Hispanist Kenneth Brown (Brown 1999–2001).
Jacob Rosales was born in 1588\textsuperscript{36} or 1593\textsuperscript{37} in Lisbon\textsuperscript{38} as Imanuel Bocarro Francês, son of the medical doctor Fernando/Fernão Bocarro\textsuperscript{39} and Guiomar Nunes Francês.\textsuperscript{40} This highly respected New Christian

---


\textsuperscript{37} Kayserling, in Jewish Encyclopedia 10, 470.

\textsuperscript{38} The biographical data follow the studies by Kellenbenz, “Rosales” and Moreno Carvalho, “Yaakov Rosales”.

\textsuperscript{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 importância para ver S. Magestade o Senhor Rey D. Filippe III, rey de Portugal em como se ha 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 e a sua obra, Porto 1909; Révah, “Une famille”, 74. Siblings of Fernão Bocarro: (a) Afonso Bocarro, was married to (1) Jeroána Maria and (2) Mecia Pinel. His daughter Brites Pinel married his cousin Jacob Rosales; (b) André 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.

\textsuperscript{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 Sauzeda mother de Gomez dias Castanha e a Mor Franceza e a Brites Soares mulheres de Miguel Francês e de Pero Frances christianas nouas desta cidade e dando se lhe nas casas a hum tempo não nas acharão se não nouas de serem fugidas de sabado proximo passado a noite e fazendo diligencia pella ditta Gracia Dias que particularmente elle denunciante buscava como lhe foi ordenado achou que ella se fora no dito sabado com Miguel Francês seu irmão pera casa de huas christianas nouas moradoras a Sancta Justa hua das quais se chama Maria de Crasto e dando lhe na caza, lhe disserão as dittas christianas que he mai e duas filhas e hua moça pequena cristã velha que a ditta Gracia Dias se recolhera na ditta caza no ditto sabado e 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 Françes), 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 Castelvi de Rosanes in Catalonia, boasted numerous physicians and court Jews since the fifteenth century. Among his siblings were João, António, Francisco, Brites, Maria,
Francisca, Isabel and Gaspar. Of his brothers, António and Gaspar and other family members were denounced a number of times to the Inquisition authorities.

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. 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. From these char-

---

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.
53 Azevedo, "Bocarro-France”， 15.
ges he chose to exclude his brother Francisco, a soldier, since in Antô-
nio’s eyes he was muito bom christião (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. 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. He added that they not only openly identified as Jews but also
mocked Catholicism and blasphemed the blessed saints.

Imanuel, who attended the Colégio de Santo Antão—the first Jesuit
College in Portugal—in Lisbon together with Antônio, must have
taken to have doubts about Christianity already at this juncture,
be-cause once when he showed his brother a Bible, he commented on
the prophets with critical references to Christianity. The report also states
that Imanuel used to meet with other members of the Nação, i.e. with
New Christians. He also notes that his brother Imanuel had gone to
Olivais in Lisbon with the declared intention of keeping Yom Kippur,
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{58} He completed his Bachelor’s degree in Alcalá de Henares and his licentiate in Siguenza, but it does not say where he completed his medical studies. The document also notes that his holder Rosales has sufficient knowledge to practice as a physician and that he has been in practice for more than 12 years.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{60} He was examined in Coimbra in philosophy and medicine and certified there as a medical doctor.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{62} and the famous physician Zacutus Lusitanos.\textsuperscript{63} In

\textsuperscript{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 nosso boticario natural de Coimbra que moraua em Lisboa ao Corpo Santo na botica das duas portas, forão todos os sobreditos em Lisboa aos olivaes pera a parte do Grilo pera jejuarem aquelle dia que era o que chamão o jejum grande de saída do egipto que uem pelo tempo da paschoa e levavaõ conigo hua biblia com que passauõ o dia explicando algauõs profecias que tratauõ da vinda do Messias que esperauão” (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); Azevedo, “Bocarro-Franceês”, 188; Silva, “Crip-tojudaismo”, 174.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{59} Viterbo, “Médicos Poetas”, 21–22.

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{61} Viterbo, “Médicos Poetas”, 21–22.


\textsuperscript{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*. 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.

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. 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 Zuñiga 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.” 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.

---


65 Ibid., 97.

66 The complete title: *Tratado dos / cometas que ap / pareceram em novem / bro passado de 1618. / Composto pello licenceado / Manvel Bocarro Frances, Medico, & Astrologo / natural desta cidade de Lisboa / Dirigido ao ilvstrissimo senhor / Dom Fernão Martins Mascarenhas, Bispo & Inquisidor / Geral nestes Reynos & Senhoriaos de / Portugal & / Com todas as licenças necessarias. / Em Lisboa por Pedro Craesbeeck. Anno 1619 / 4o de 20 folhas numeradas só pela frente. See also Kayserring, Biblioteca Española-Portugueza-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, 14, 18° and 20).


Imanuel Boccaro Francês must have gone back to Lisbon shortly thereafter, since in 1624 he published an astrological poem in four parts and 131 octaves, *Anacephaleoses 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. 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 counselor 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 Imanuel 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 restaura Á do Reino a perda / Levantando por si novo estandarte.” 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, Boccaro Francês sought to prove, utilizing the methods of

---

Rosales, aliús Emanuel Boccaro Francês, Filósofo Hermético e Sebastianista do século XVII (forthcoming).

70 The exact full title: *Anacephaleoses da / Monarchia / Luzitana. / 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 AstroloÁgico*; (2) *Stado Régio*, (3) *Stado Titular* and (4) *Stado HeroÁlico*. In 1624, only Part I appeared, the others were burned or never published. The “*Stado AstroloÁgico*” 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 Zúñiga 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.


72 See Moreno Carvalho, “Yaacov Rosales”, 148. In a warning to the reader (*Aver- tencia 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 Bocarros tomarão … ocasiões de perseguirem a meu Pay” (*Anacephaleoses*, fol. 4v).
political astrology, that Portugal could anticipate a messianic future. To express this vision, he mobilized the concept of the “messianic kingdom.” In so doing, he joined in the political-literary current that has been called “Sebastianism.” 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*); 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, *Agant Corpora Coeleastia in Sublunarem Mundum annum?: Ciência, Astrologia e Sociedade em Portugal (1593–1755)*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Universidade de Évora, 2000.


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. He refers to himself as a “prophet,” calling the Portuguese a “new chosen people” (novo povo eleito). He terms himself the “hand on the clock that shows the hours” (a mão de Relógio que aponta as horas). 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. 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. 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 García Cares, 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. Ensaios de História Cultural (Séculos XV–XVIII), Lisbon 2000, 18.

78 Luc Pequena Lunar e estelífera da Monarchia Lusitana, fl. 100’.

79 Anacephaleses da Monarchia Lusitana, fl. 56. Rosales is also credited with having predicted the great earthquake in Lisbon of 1755: Profesia de Manoel Bocarro Frances Médico Philósofo 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 empdirão imprimiremce 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.”

In his defense, Bocarro Francê§ 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 AstroloÂgico me ditou”). 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.

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. 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 Anacephalaenoses, together with notes which he brought out under the title Luz Pequena Lunar.


82 Jardim Ameno, códice 774 do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, qtd. in Azevedo, A Evoluçâ§na do Sebastianismo, 144.

We should note that Jacob Rosales was never persecuted for his Marrano or Jewish beliefs. According to Cecil Roth, these uncles forced Bocarro Francê§ 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 Francê§ notes in the foreword to his Fasciculus trium verarum propositionum: “In tribus libris Foetus astrologici, Galileus Galileus, cui ipsos dedimus, Romae anno 1626, typis dedit.” And goes on: “Secundum commentariolum Excellentissimus in scientiis Galileus Galileus, Mathematicorum Coripheus, Romar 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 estellê§fera da Monarchia Lusitana e ExplicacE±na do seu Primeiro Anacephaleosis impresso em Lisboa; o ano passado de 1624, Sobre o Principe Encuberto e Monarchia ally pronosticada, Reference os 4 Anacephaleosis porque os Castelhanis empidiram impressiremcEe 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” 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. 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 estelífera da Monarchia Lusitana, an ancestor by this name supposedly lived in Lisbon in the second half of the fiftenth 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...
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 Abra-
ham 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
prognoÁstico, ou vaticiunio foi meu terceiro avoÃ, em tempo de El-Rei D. JoaÄo o 2o,
chamado D. N. Rosales, e como era muito amigo dos Infantes, filhos do Infante D. Fer-
nando, correu a mesma fortuna que eles, e depois da morte do Duque no ano de 1483, em
Maio prognosticou que estando Portugal caõÂdo, um da casa, e sangue do Infante o havia
de restituir” (Jardim Ameno, cÁdico 774 do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo). See
also Barbosa Machado, Bibliotheca Lusitana, vol. 3, 196–198 [here: 198]; Lemos, Zucu-
tus Lusitanus, 102; Azevedo, A EvoluçÁo do Sebastianismo, 143; Jacqueline Hermann,
No Reino do Desejado, a construçÁo do sebastianismo em Portugal sÁculos XVI e XVII,
SÁo Paulo 1998; Moreno-Carvalho, “A Newly Discovered Letter”, 62–66; Silva, “Cripto-
judAismo”, 181–182.

\(^{89}\) “Teve meu avo JoAo Bocarro, filho de Antonio Bocarro, capitAÁo que foy de Safim,
a meu Pay so filho seu legitimo, e teve outros muitos bastardos, que nesta cidade [i.e.
Lisbon] se fizerio muy ricos e tyranos, os quais aniquilando a honra dos Bocarro tomario
mercantis exercicios e occasiÁoes de perseguirem a meu Pay, porque sao mais favorecidos
amparados”. Imanuel Bocarro Frances, Anacephaleoses da Monarchia Luzitana, Lisbon
1624, fol. 4’. See also Révah, “Une famille”, 74; Shalom Bar Asher, Sefer Ha-taggaonot,
yehudei sefarad be-marqo (1492–1753), Jerusalem 1991, 16–17; David Cor-
cos, “Yehudei marqo me-gerush sefarad ve’ad emsa shel ha-me’ah ha–17”, Sefanot 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 Under-

\(^{90}\) Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus, who was born in Lisbon in 1575, attended the uni-
versities of Salamanca, Coimbra and Siguenza. According to a denunciation by one
Salvador das Neves on October 23, 1637, he is believed to have settled in Amsterdam
around 1623; there he purportedly converted to Judaism. (ANTT, InquisiçÁo de Lisboa,
Caderno 16 und 19 dos Promotor da InquisiçÁo de Lisboa, fls. 5178–525, 175 [see Elias
Lipiner, Os baptizados em pÁ. 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’intro-
duction 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 Luzitano e um Tratado de medicina
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.”

In Hamburg

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

---

91 Azevedo, “Bocarro Franchês”, 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.

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 for 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 Christina’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, 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 mostrão a natureza, causas e efeitos deste pernicioso vício; e juntamente se aponta dous remedios delle, Antwerpen 1629. A Latin version was published in Amsterdam (or Hamburg?) in 1631: Flagellum calumniantium seu apologia In qua Anonymi cujuisdam calumniae refutantur eiusdem mentientibido detegitur, Clarissimorum Lusitanorum Medicorum legitima methodus commendatur, empiricorum inscitia ac temeritas tamquam perniciosae 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. 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 ditta 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 (festa da ley) every fortnight.”

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. Rosales must have been known that Hamburg was the site of intense and bitter rivalry and competition between Sefardic and Christians 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.

---


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


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 aegyptae a congressu et praxi medica arcendi sint et eliminandi railing against Baruch de Castro and all Portuguese-Jewish doctors for their deceitfulness and trickery. That same year, the lawyer and physician Ludwig von Hörnigk brought out in Strasburg his anti-Jewish tract Medicaster Apella oder Juden Arzt, a diatribe against medical impostors and charlatans, in which he accused the Jews of “Godlessness, animosity toward Christianity and charlatanism.” 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, Wandtärtzt, Feldtscherer . . . So dann endlichen: Die Patienten oder krancke selbsten 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 Bllatus Oder Judenarzt the peculiar relationship between Jewish physicians, Christian patients, and medicine. The famous Jewish doctor Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus (alias Manuel Álvares da Tavora or Francisco Nunes[?]) 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? [...]
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?

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.

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, who already as a child had accepted Judaism in Hamburg and would later play an important role in the Hamburg Portuguese community. Other relatives who went to Hamburg were Pero Francês (alias Isaac Francês) and his wife Brites Soares; Henrique Francês; 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.

Philateles 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.

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 Alves (alias Ester Pimentel), wife of Afonso Dias Pimentel (see fn. 39, 106–107, 127). See Révah, "Une famille", 75–76; Studemund-Halévy, Lexikon, 441–442.

In 1657 he was elected the head of the Talmud Tora. He died in Hamburg in 1669. See also Studemund-Halévy, Lexikon, 444.
Caterina Alvares (alias Ester Pimentel),

wife of Afonso Dias Pimentel; Miguel Francês (alias Daniel Francês); Henrique Francês (alias Jacob Francês); Pero Francês (alias Moses Francês); João Francês (alias Isaac Francês); Brites Lopes, wife of Manuel Henriques; Brites Nunes, wife of João Francês, died before 1641 in Hamburg.

At least eleven members of the family Bocarro Francês were buried at the Portuguese-Jewish cemetery at Königstraße in Hamburg-Altona.

In Hamburg, Rosales refers to himself “citizen of Hamburg, Jewish doctor, philosopher, mathematician.”

---


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-Halevy, Lexikon, 748–749.

110 Ibid.

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 alias Simon Dirichsen alias [?].

117 Little is known about the life of the numerous members of the Francês family in France, Holland, Italy and Turkeys [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:


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 Binjamin Mussaphia. And just as in the case of his colleague Benedictus/Baruch de Castro and Binjamin Mussaphia, his circle of patients also included some high-ranking personalities, among them the Danish Crown Prince Christian and the empresses Leonore and Maria.\footnote{Cecil Roth, \textit{History of the Marranos}, New York 1924, 113. Kellenbenz, “Rosales”, 349, fn. 10.}

Rosales took an active part in the life of the congregation and was elected to honorary offices. The \textit{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 \textit{predicante}.\footnote{“Manoel Boccarro primo delle confitente natural desta cidade Doutor de Medicina o qual na dita cidade de Amburgo ensinaua 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 quinse dias” (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 7276 [Miguel Francês]).} Rosales also assumed the function of \textit{mohel} in Hamburg, as noted in a denunciation dated January 18, 1650: “The physician Dr. Rosales, New Christian, born in Lisbon, circumcisor.”\footnote{“O Doutor Rosales medico, christão nouo, natural desta cidade de Lisboa, circuncidador,” ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 7938 (João de Aguila), fl. 18; see António Borges Coelho, \textit{Inquisição de Évora. Dos primordios a 1668}, Lisboa 1987, vol. 1, 426 ff.} 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 \textit{Gemeinde} declared that it was “sufficient for them to circumcise their own sons.”\footnote{Staatsarchiv Hamburg (hereafter StAH), Senat, Cl. VII Lit. Hf No 5, Vol. 3a Fasc. 3, fol. 128–v–133.} In order to prevent these
“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, 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.

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). 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-Halevi, 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 Ban, Brünn 1892; Gideon Libson, Gezarta 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.


125 Livro da Nação (Protocol Book) of 21 Elul 5425 (September 1, 1665), according to Isaac Cassuto, “Aus dem Ältesten Protokollbuch der Portuigiesisch-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 Cabeçaão, Isaac Pimentel and Joseph Penso.129

---


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 Anefaleucis que intítulo 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 Uzia 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 doux dias o ditto seu irmão [Jacob Rosales] leuou a elle confidente a sinagoga dos iudeus onde costumão fazer suas ceremonias e na ditta sinagoga, estaúau as pessoas seguintes: duarte Esteues de pina x. n. com nome de Izac Milane e lhe parece he natural da Cidade do Porto, cazado não sabe com quem, e que a mother he natural deste Reyno; Lopo Nunez x. n. que lhe parece ser natural de Abrantes, e se nomea la per Abrahão Je瑟rum que será de idade de cinquenoa 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 Alvaro Melo),\(^\text{130}\) 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,\(^\text{131}\) 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 (*hekhal*).\(^\text{132}\) On October 18, 1641, he described details that provide us with a vivid picture of the

---


\(^{132}\) “e assentandosee em hus bancos deu a elle confitente o ditto seu irmão [Jacob Rosales] hum liuro encaderno em pergaminho impresso que continha muitos psalmos de Dauid os quais erão em lingoa castellhana (…) mas nenhun dos psalmos tinha o verso de gloria Patri, e no mesmo liuro estaua outras orações, das quaes em particular não está lembrado, mas so o esta de que com ellas deprecauão a Deus do Ceo, e cada hua das dittas pessoas que prezentes estauaõ outros liuros semelhantees, estando ally todos com as cabeças cubertas, se puzeraõ a rezar o que continhaõ os ditos liuros em vos alta, e dizendo todos a mesma couza juntamente, e indo no meyo da reza hum Abraão 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 naõ sabe com quem, e he filho de Henrique gomes mercador que foy nesta cidade, e o ditto Abraão da fonseca, he pregador da ley moysaica e disso uiue, se leuantou estando no meyo de todos que estauaõ na sinagoga e pregou em vos portugueza, persuadindoos, e exortandoos a obseruancia da ley de Moyses pera o que trazia algumas vezes passos do testamento uelho (…) e agora se lembra que quando o ditto Abraão da fonseca acabou de pregar, foy a hum almairo que estaua em hua das paredes, e abrindoo tirou delle hum liuro em pergaminho, que era hu dos de Moysês escrito em hebraico e o amostrou ao pouco que prezente estaua e então fizerão todos hua cortezia com a cabeça” (ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo no. 3020 [Gaspar Bocarro], fls. 3–3 v). See also Jose Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, *Gente da Nação. Cristãos-novos e judeus em Pernambuco 1542–1654*, Recife 1996, 487; Dines et al. (eds.), *À fenix*. 

---
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’samim], containing loves, 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 epitaphaliam 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
tortured memories

(\textit{Brindis nupcial e Ecloga panegyrica representada dos Senhores Isach e Sara Abas}),\footnote{parents of the later famous scholar Semuel Abas, the catalogue of whose huge library, long lost, was recently rediscovered in Wolfenbüttel.} Two years later he composed two encomia for the \textit{Grammatica Hebraica} (Hamburg 1633) of the famous rabbi, philologist and later messianist Mose de Gideon Abudiente (1610–1688).\footnote{He dedicated several poems to the renowned physician Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus, and likewise one poem to Menasseh ben Israel. He com-}
posed encomia in Latin for the Spanish ambassador at the Court, Francisco de Mello Count of Assumar, and for the Dordrecht doctor and professor Jan van Beverwick. Rosales distinguished himself as a Latinist in colloquia, among others with the theologian Johann Mochinger in Danzig. A life-long bond of friendship united him with the above-mentioned Francisco de Mello, whom he had known already in Porrías, eaearumque 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 39, 1, 1999, 1–40; Reyes Bertolin, “Greek influence”.


Gratulatio Astrolologico-Politica, Francisco de Mello, Comiti de Assumar, Regis Hispanicí Legato et Locum tenenti versibus heroiciis scripta [Hamburg], according to Kellenbenz “Rosales”, 349, fn. 13.


Kellenbenz, “Rosales”, 349, fn. 15.

See Jardim Ameno, (côdice 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 Hamburger 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 Condé.\footnote{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, ftr. 37. On Francisco de Mello see Barbosa Machado, Bibliotheca Lusitana, vol. 2, 199–200; Kellenbenz, "Rosales", 349.}

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.\footnote{The full title: Regnum Astrorum / Reformatum / Cujus Fundamentum / Cœlestis Astronomiae / Praxis / Tomvs Primvs. / Vbi omnium fiderum loca ex præstantissimis [...], / Auctore / Immanuele Bocarro Frances y Rosales / Medicinæ Doctore, Nobilis, ac Comite Palatino [...]. / [Hamburgh] / Ex Officina Typographica Henrici Vverneri [1644]. The title of Part II: Status Astrologicus. / Anacephalœsis I. Monarchiæ / Lusitanae. / 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.} 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 Henríques, the name of Christ had been replaced by expressions such as “the Holy one” or “heaven.”\footnote{António José Saraiva, “Bocarro-Rosales and the Messianism of the Sixteenth Century”, Kaplan, Yosef et al., Menasseh ben Israel, Leiden 1989, 240–243.} That same year he was denounced in Lisbon by
Diogo de Lima, “O Doctor Bocarro medico natural desta cidade que se chama Jacob Bocarro.” A year later Manuel da Motta denounced him before the same Inquisition Court.

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. 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.

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). On this occasion, another imperial document cleansed him of the “stain of Jewish origin.” A further document confirmed his doctorate. As a resident of the Spanish Court; Carvalho Moreno, “A Newly Discovered Letter”, 70.

---

148 See also Studemund-Halévy, Lexikon, 79, and fn. 12.
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.
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. 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 Amsterdam 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. In a description of the city in 1668, Kunrad von Hövelen lauded the magnificent mansion of the resident family Curiel on the Krayerkamp as an “earthly paradise,” and was excessive in his praise for the Teixeira’s regal mansion on the Alster. It was in this house that Jacob

156 Ibid., 351.
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
Curiel (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, 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.” 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.

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* 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. 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.


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


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

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. 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 Lumiares, 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. Rosales conferred on this deal with the Imperial Resident Plettenberg and also sought help from Count Lumiares. 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.

163 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.
164 Lumiares 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.
165 Kellenbenz, “Rosales”, 351.
166 See Hhu. Sta Wien, H S 942, according to Kellenbenz, “Rosales”, 352, fn. 21.
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. 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. 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.”

In the summer of 1649, d’Andrade, a Gemeinde member, inflicted some damage to his house. 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.” 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, I, I2, 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 acan-hador), we would like to learn whether the Law allows us to issue a regulation (escamad) 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; Kellen- benz, Sephardim, 46; Whaley, Religiöse Toleranz 92. On this incident, see Braden, Judenpolitik, 239 ff.

173 StAH, Senat, Cl. VII Lit. Hf Nr. 5 Vol. 3a Fasc. 3, BVl. 18, 4. 6. 1649; Kellen- benz “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, Gabriel Lopez, Andreas de Castro, Diogo Teixeira, Diogo Carlos, Jacob Curiel and Duarte de Lima—protested to the Hamburg Senate about the “abominations of the common people” and “requested relief.” Despite all the ill will and animosity, in 1652 Rosales signed the document establishing Congregation Kahal Kadosh Bet Israel, and a short time later was even selected as hatan Torah. In settling the estate of the wealthy Joao da Rocha Pinto, 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.

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. Yet as it turned out, he would in fact do neither.

175 See fns. 102 and 129.
177 StAH, Senat, CI. VI Lit. Hf Nr. 5 Vol. 3a Fasc. 3, BVl. 18, 4. 6. 1649.
178 See Ornan-Pinkus, “Kahal Kadosh”.
179 Studemund-Halévy, Lexikon, 762–763.
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. 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. In 1660 he joined the *Hevra di Mohar ha-Betulot* in Leghorn. 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 "criente de la ley de Moyses" by the above-mentioned Semuel Aboab. 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.

Translated from German by William Templer

---

182 Henrique Françês 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 médico e Astrologo muito nomeado neste Reyno pello Liuro que fez do título de Ana-saphaleuses e outros que imprimio e dedicou ao duque D. Theodosio (...) falou por duas vezes 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 saluaço tambêm"" (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 Azevedo, "A inquisição", 462–463. See also Lemos, *Zacatus Lusitanus*, 109.
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 Ebreo*, 385).