

João Manuel de Almeida Saraiva de Carvalho

THE FELLOWSHIP OF ST DIOGO

New Christian judaisers in Coimbra in the early 17th century

Submitted in accordance with the requirements
for the degree of PhD

20 5

The University of Leeds
Department of Spanish and Portuguese
September ~~1990~~

A B S T R A C T

Author: João Manuel de Almeida Saraiva de Carvalho

Title: The Fellowship of St Diogo.
New Christian judaisers in Coimbra in the early 17th century.

Degree: PhD

Date of submission: September 1990.

Dr António Homem was a respected teacher in the University of Coimbra, a Canon in the Cathedral and an illustrious scholar. He was also the heir of a long Jewish family tradition. His great-great-grand father lived and died as a Jew. His great-grandfather, his grandmother and two of his uncles were among his relatives to have been sentenced as judaisers by the Inquisition. His own father kept the Law of Moses, and taught it to all his children, without the knowledge of his wife, an Old Christian of noble lineage.

His concern for the situation of the New Christians in Portugal eventually made him build up a congregation of judaisers, which he called the Fellowship of St Diogo as a tribute to a Capuchin friar who had been executed a few years earlier as an apostate and defender of the Jewish Law. His congregation grew to include over sixty people, including clerics, physicians, lawyers and students, as well as merchants and farmers. Its leader gave it a corpus of doctrine and eventually a distinctive liturgy, which showed influence from the Catholic Church. The Fellowship also inspired the creation of judaiser conventicles in three major Monasteries in the Coimbra district, where a relatively large number of nuns held cult meetings and paid homage to Friar Diogo as a martyr of the Law of Moses.

After several years of activity, the Fellowship was investigated and dismantled by the Inquisition. Most of its members were arrested and sentenced. Dr António Homem was himself taken into custody, charged with heresy and apostasy, as well as sodomy (he was a known paederast), and finally handed over to the secular arm for execution. His dream of building up a judaiser community in Coimbra was shattered. The Fellowship members who survived either left the country and joined the orthodox Jewish communities in the Netherlands and elsewhere, or stayed in Portugal and gradually lost their Jewish consciousness. Descendants of some of them can still be found near Coimbra.

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

Abstract	i
Acknowledgments	v
Abbreviations	vi
Foreword	vii
Introduction	1
1 - A Family of New Christians	3
2 - The Early Years	5
3 - The Strange Case of Friar Diogo	16
4 - Preparing for a Mission	25
5 - The Year of the General Pardon	30
6 - The First Steps	34
7 - Building up the Fellowship	43
8 - Years of Consolidation	55
9 - The Beginning of the End	70
10 - The End of a Dream	79
11 - A Wave of Arrests	95
12 - New Facts Come to Light	110
13 - Dismantling the Network	125
14 - The Execution	140
15 - The Aftermath	147
Epilogue	150
Notes	
Introduction	152
Chapter 1	160
Chapter 2	164
Chapter 3	177

Chapter 4	180
Chapter 5	186
Chapter 6	192
Chapter 7	207
Chapter 8	219
Chapter 9	231
Chapter 10	241
Chapter 11	256
Chapter 12	266
Chapter 13	279
Chapter 14	287
Chapter 15	289
Epilogue	294
Conclusions	297
Genealogical Tables	301
Glossary and Notes	328
Coimbra	332
Appendices	
1 - The University Syllabus (from the 1591 Statutes)	338
2 - Extracts from the 1613 Regimento do Santo Officio	343
3 - The Monitory of Faith	350
4 - Notes on Inquisitorial Proceedings	365
5 - A Summary of Dr António Homem's Teachings	363
6 - Known Members of the Fellowship of St Diogo	373
7 - Biographical Details	377
Bibliography	
1. Manuscript Sources	
1.1. General Reference	402

1.2. Inquisitorial Proceedings	408
1.3. Texts Written by Dr António Homem	411
1.4. Postillas Dictated by Dr António Homem	411
2. Printed Sources	
2.1. The Inquisition	412
2.2. Jews and New Christians	419
2.3. The Church and Religious Matters	429
2.4. The University	433
2.5. Sermons in Autos de Fé	436
2.6. Historical References	437
2.7. Cultural References	442
2.8. Varia	443
2.9. Genealogies	444
2.10. Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias	444
Index Nominum	447
Illustrations:	
Register of Dr António Homem's Birth	5-6
Rector D Afonso Furtado de Mendonça	25-26
Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco	36-37
Rector D Francisco de Castro	40-41
The Vestments of a High Priest	54-55
Rector D Francisco de Meneses	77-78
Dr António Homem's Signature	86-87
Inquisitor General D Fernão Martins Mascarenhas	142-143
Panoramic View of Coimbra	332-333
Map of Coimbra in the Early 17th Century	333-334
A Torture Session	357-358

Acknowledgments

We wish to thank Prof Dr Manuel Augusto Rodrigues, Director of the Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, for his personal assistance and the unrestricted facilities he put at our disposal. We owe him a special debt of gratitude.

Our research at the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo was greatly facilitated by Prof Dr José Pereira da Costa, Director of the ANTT (retired), Prof Dr Inácio Guerreiro, Sub-Director, and Dr Maria Francisca de Oliveira Banha de Andrade, archivist (retired).

A considerable help was the loan of the complete microfilm of the *Autos e diligencias de inquirição* by Prof Dr Joaquim Ferreira Gomes, Director of the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences of the University of Coimbra, whose study of the said manuscript was recently published. We were also able to consult the original *Autos* in the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa.

Expert advice was obtained from Prof Dr Luís Augusto Duarte-Santos, Professor Emeritus of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Coimbra, about the psychiatric aspects of Friar Diogo da Assunção's case; from Father Dr António Nogueira Gonçalves, Professor Emeritus of History of Art in the Faculty of Arts of the University of Coimbra, about certain iconographic and topographic matters; from Father Dr Eugénio Martins about the psychology of the New Christians; from Dr Pedro José da França Pinto dos Reis about the genealogies of various families; from Dr Maria Filomena de Andrade Pereira de Brito about linguistic and philological details; and from Senhor Armando Carneiro da Silva, former Director of the Municipal Archive of Coimbra, about the city and its inhabitants in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Useful information was obtained from Dr Elvira Azevedo Mea, Portugal's foremost specialist in Coimbra Inquisition matters; and also from Mr Bruce A Lorence, who recently submitted a paper on Dr António Homem to the 1st Luso-Brazilian Colloquium on the Portuguese Inquisition.

We also wish to thank the staff of the Archivo General de Simancas, the Arquivo Municipal de Aveiro and the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa for their helpfulness; Senhor Arménio das Neves Só, Cartorário of the Arquivo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Coimbra, for his patience in helping with our research; and the staff of the Archivio di Stato of Bologna, for the information they sent us about Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro's hitherto unknown activities in Italy.

We are grateful to Prof Dr Carlos Alberto Nabais Conde and Prof Dr Carlos Manuel Alexandre Correia, of the Department of Physics of the Faculty of Science and Technology of the University of Coimbra, for the technical support they put at our disposal during the final stages of the present dissertation.

Finally, a word of thanks to our supervisors, Dr Anthony D Wright and Dr Ronald Cueto Ruiz, for their kindness and understanding.

ABBREVIATIONS

ADA	Arquivo Distrital de Aveiro
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid
AMC	Arquivo Municipal de Coimbra
AMIC	Arquivo da Misericórdia de Coimbra
AML	Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo
AUC	Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra
AUS	Archivo de la Universidad de Salamanca
BA	Biblioteca da Ajuda
BGUC	Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra
BM	British Museum Library
BMP	Biblioteca Municipal do Porto
BNL	Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid
BPADE	Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora
BR	Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana
BUS	Biblioteca de la Universidad de Salamanca
MNU	Museu Nacional de Aveiro
Cap.	Chapter
D	Dom, Dona (particle of nobility or respect)
fl.	folio(s)
Lib.	Book
No.	Number
p.	page(s)
Par.	Paragraph
s.d.	no indication of date
s.l.	no indication of place
Tit.	Title
Vol.	Volume

Foreword

The idea for the present dissertation came about as the result of a private assignment we were given by Prof Dr Joaquim Ferreira Gomes, Director of the Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences of the University of Coimbra: the transcription of Codex 8846 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa. This is the original text of the 1619 visitation to the University of Coimbra, and clearly shows the gradual build-up of a case against Dr António Homem, Lente of Prime in the Faculty of Canon Law. He was accused of corruption in office and homosexual practices. But the illustrious professor and Canon of the Cathedral was also a secret judaiser and the spiritual leader of a Jewish community, which flourished in Coimbra for nearly ten years, until the Inquisition destroyed it. His subsequent arrest is documented in the same codex.

Dr António Homem's case was rescued from oblivion by 18th century scholars as an object lesson on religious intolerance, and was also used in 1821 by Liberal politicians as a weapon in their campaign for the abolition of the Inquisition. It was also discussed in some detail by Teófilo Braga, in Volume II of his authoritative *Historia da Universidade de Coimbra* (Lisboa, 1895); a whole chapter was dedicated to what the author called "Perseguição contra os lentes cristãos-novos". His contemporary, the mathematician Dr António José Teixeira, began at the same time a study of Dr António Homem's criminal proceedings, which were published in successive volumes of the journal *O Instituto* between 1895 and 1901, and finally as a separate monograph.

Considered for many years as the definitive monograph on its subject matter, in spite of the many errors it contains, António José Teixeira's book is heavily based on Dr António Homem's Inquisitorial proceedings. Most of it actually consists of transcriptions of the original documents, put together in a logical sequence and abridged and simplified for easier reading. The author also consulted another two or three *Processos* in the National Archives to clarify certain points of his narrative. However, he concentrated his research on Dr António Homem, rather than on the congregation he had created, and consequently left a number of questions unanswered. His untimely death prevented him from completing his book as he intended.

Practically nothing else was written about Dr António Homem and his congregation until 1987, when Bruce A Lorence submitted a paper to the First Luso-Brazilian Colloquium on the Portuguese Inquisition

about António Homem - a portrait in New Christian communal leadership in 17th century Portugal. This was never intended as the last word on the subject, and inevitably suffered from the limitations imposed on the author at the time.

We had by then begun work on a study of Dr António Homem and his congregation, using all the original documents known to exist. We began with his trial records, Processos Nos. 15421 and 16225 of the Lisbon Inquisition, which are roughly bound together, with card covers, and preserved in fair condition in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, in Lisbon. The former has 334 folios; the latter has 1,176 folios and includes the defendant's genealogy and the inventory of his estate. Our task was greatly facilitated by the unrestricted access we had to the documentation of the Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, most of which had never been used before. This includes very comprehensive records of the activities of both the University and the Chapter of the Cathedral during the 16th and 17th centuries.

The Processos of over seventy people involved in Dr António Homem's congregation were consulted in the Torre do Tombo, and were of immense value in making good the omissions found in other primary sources. All cross-references were checked where possible, in order to confirm the reliability of the information contained therein. Additional details were obtained from contemporary sources in various archives and libraries, both in Portugal and abroad.

All the information thus acquired was subjected to computer analysis, compared with all known references on this and related subjects, and chronologically arranged for a better understanding of the evolution of facts and personalities. This made it possible to establish why Dr António Homem came to judaize, how he built up his congregation, how it functioned, what was its ultimate purpose, and how it came to an end.

Dr António Homem's experience as Coimbra's last rabbi was not given the importance it deserves by Jewish historians. The reason for this is quite clear. All the Jewish encyclopaedias carefully omit the fact that the Lente was also found guilty of committing the peccatum nefandum. This is a distasteful subject which most people would prefer to ignore. However, we are convinced that Dr António Homem's sexual tendencies deeply affected his commitment to his congregation and were in fact the primary cause of his downfall. Readers may ponder whether they actually influenced the doctrines he taught, which differed from orthodox Jewish practice in some remarkable points.

Introduction

By the end of the 16th century, Portugal was in the middle of the most serious crisis of its history. It had lost its King, most of its nobility, and its independence, all in four years (1), and was gradually losing its naval strength and its colonial empire. And there was widespread poverty (2).

Coimbra, once the capital of the Kingdom, was at this time a quiet provincial city, famous for its University. The latter, however, was deeply affected by the general decline in morals, standards and facilities. The ravages of the plague, hunger and wars caused an acute shortage of funds. The better teachers often sought employment in foreign universities, where they would receive a higher pay and hope for a quicker promotion. Some Chairs were provisionally in the hands of less experienced or less qualified teachers. And, since most Lentes were chosen by vote, corruption frequently occurred (3); votes were more or less openly bought (4), and successive reformations could not eliminate this scandal (5).

It was generally believed that Portugal's misery was a divine punishment for the people's sins. The common people hoped that a crowned Messiah would come to restore Portugal's lost grandeur (6). Religious fervour was on the increase (7), and there was a growing concern for personal salvation. It made quite a few New Christians think carefully about which religion they should follow.

There was a fairly large New Christian community in Coimbra. Most of their members were descendants of the Jews who used to live in the city's two main ghettos - the Judiaria Velha, by the Rua do Corpo de Deus, and the Judiaria Nova, close to Santa Justa church (8). Although there had been no ghettos in Coimbra for decades, the reluctance of many people in Santa Justa parish to call a priest in case of need was notorious (9).

King Manuel I's forced conversion of the Marranos of his Kingdom in 1497 was a serious mistake (10). Instead of integrating them into the Portuguese society (11), it only worsened the situation. Jewish rituals continued in secret. Instead of a clearly defined Jewish community, the King was now faced with a large number of secret Jews (12), who were, technically speaking, apostates and heretics. Worse still, a growing number of judaisers took Holy Orders, which was near blasphemy. Besides, the New Christians were a potential threat to in-

ternal stability, due to their considerable financial power (13); and this was how a mainly religious problem became a political one.

Many New Christians were indeed judaisers; given the opportunity, they would have been orthodox Jews. While outwardly following the Catholic precepts in order to be allowed to live undisturbed, they continued to follow their traditional rituals in secret. It was true that, without their Rabbis and synagogues, the New Christians gradually lost their knowledge of the orthodox Jewish rituals, although their will to remain Jews did not disappear (14). The most easily-detected practice, circumcision, was the first to be abandoned (15). Prayers were, for a time, transmitted orally from parents to children; but, only a few generations later, many had already fallen into oblivion (16) or had been heavily influenced by Roman Catholic prayers (17).

The basic knowledge of the Jewish beliefs and rituals was passed on by New Christian judaisers to other New Christians (18), often close relatives, and frequently women (19). It usually consisted in observing the Sabbath (20), abstaining from pork and other forbidden foods, fasting on certain days, praying to the God of the Heavens (21), and reciting the penitential Psalms without the Gloria Patri at the end (22). Converts were often told that material benefits would result from their acceptance of the Jewish faith, an incentive which helped them overcome the fear of arrest. Others hoped that Adonai would grant them their most important wishes. There were also those who awaited the imminent coming of the Messiah (23), who would lead them to a land of plenty.

Converted through necessity, many New Christians resisted assimilation into Portuguese society (24), where, however, racial prejudice was practically non-existent (25). It cannot be denied that many kept the orthodox Jew's dislike of everything Christian (26), particularly the Sacraments, and occasionally were imprudent enough to let it be known (27). On the other hand, many Old Christians had rather peculiar notions about their New Christian neighbours (28). As far as they were concerned, they continued to be Jews. In fact, over a century after their official conversion, they still had not been assimilated, however hard they might try to hide their origin (29). They continued to follow the trades which their Jewish ancestors had preferred. Some, but not many, were farmers; others were artisans; many more were shopkeepers and merchants (30). The more cultured among them were lawyers, physicians, and pharmacists; and these were very often mistrusted by the Old Christians, who, however, could not dispense with their services.

The Church authorities came to see the conversion of the New Christians as a mixed blessing. Many did in fact become pious Catholics - "christãos lindos" or genuine Christians. But many others did not. The latter were one of the main reasons for the existence of the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition (31), established in Portugal in 1536, under the auspices of King João III, for the extirpation of heresy (32), particularly Judaism (33).

Since the Inquisition was a Church tribunal, people who were not Church members were not its concern. The Jews were not prosecuted because they were Jews. If they retained their ancestral faith, they were beyond the jurisdiction of the Holy Office (34). It was only when they were converted to Christianity, and then relapsed into Judaism, that they became subjected to Inquisitorial action as having committed the crime of heresy and apostasy.

Judaisers or not, the New Christians did have friends within the Church. Their most valuable ally was the influential Society of Jesus. Its founder, St Ignatius of Loyola, was sympathetic to the Conversos and had several New Christian collaborators (35). Generally speaking, it was easier for a New Christian to become a Jesuit than a member of any other religious Order (36). Besides, there was a long-standing rivalry between the Society and the Dominicans (37) - and the latter were detested by the New Christians because of their connections with the Inquisition. It was not difficult for them to use this rivalry to their profit (38).

1 - A Family of New Christians

There was in Coimbra, in the mid-15th century, a Jewish merchant and physician called Moisés Boino (1), the scion of an illustrious Sephardic family, who lived and died as a devout Jew. His widow Isabel Lopes's voluntary conversion to the Catholic faith came as a surprise to those who knew her. She was baptised in 1496 in the church of Santa Justa, in Lisbon, together with her four children (2).

Her son Jorge Vaz was 20 at the time. His career was certainly improved by his conversion: on 12 January 1504 he was made a Royal Squire by King Manuel I, this being later confirmed by João III, who also made him a citizen of Coimbra on 9 November 1521 (3). A man of substance (4), he was highly respected by the leading members of the

Church and nobility, many of whom were his guests when passing through Coimbra (5). His piety was notorious. He was a member of half a dozen religious Fellowships. He built a chapel dedicated to St Peter the Martyr, the patron saint of the Holy Office, in the church of St Dominic's Monastery, where he intended to be buried, together with his descendants. At the same time, he continued to judaize at home. The Inquisition first suspected it when his friend and neighbour Jorge Fernandes was arrested as a judaizer. The latter operated a Yeshiba or religious school at home, where he taught Hebrew and the Torah and instructed other New Christians in the ceremonies of the Jewish Law (6). Then it became known that Jorge Vaz had given shelter to a wanted heresiarch, Master Gabriel, on the run from the Lisbon Inquisition. Finally, according to information received by the Holy Office, Jorge Vaz made certain Jewish ceremonies in the privacy of his home and once desecrated a crucifix. He was arrested. His wealth, legal resources and influence saved him (7).

Jorge Vaz's wife Brites Lourenço gave him six children (8), who at first appeared to be sincere Catholics. One was António Vaz, Jorge Vaz's business partner, who earned the trust of Bishop Friar João Soares and was appointed Paymaster to the Bishopric and the Chapter. Another was Simão Vaz, who obtained a Canonry in the Cathedral of Coimbra (9). A third son, Dr Heitor Vaz, certainly was a judaizer (10). He was arrested by the civil authorities on 15 December 1565 on charges of fraud and forgery, and was handed over to the Inquisition eight months later (11). He was sentenced on 5 October 1567 (12).

Another of Jorge Vaz's children, Miguel Vaz, married Guiomar Brandoa, a New Christian judaizer (13). A reasonably wealthy man, he purchased in the spring of 1537 from Henrique Dias for 200,000 réis the office of Inspector of Taxes (14). On 22 November of the same year, he was granted a minor magistracy (15) which had belonged to the said Henrique Dias. He was thus well established in the society of his day, and his career seems to have been undisturbed by the arrest and condemnation de levi of his father Jorge Vaz by the Inquisition.

Miguel Vaz died in 1545, leaving six children, three male and three female (16). His son Jorge Vaz Brandão inherited his position in Government bureaucracy on 21 December 1548 (17). Although a full New Christian, with several convicted judaizers in his family, he did his best to fit into the strict Catholic society of his time (18). In this he undoubtedly succeeded. He was a respected Government official and a gentleman (Cavaleiro fidalgo), and married an Old Christian lady of a noble, although modest, family: D Isabel Nunes de Almeida (19). And he

was never prosecuted by the Inquisition, although he secretly followed the Law of Moses, which his mother Guiomar Brandoa had taught him.

It was a dangerous situation. Guiomar Brandoa's 70-year old cousin Isabel Vaz, the widow of Francisco Alvares and a staunch judaiser, was arrested on 22 June 1568. She voluntarily confessed her apostasy on 5 July, and admitted having indoctrinated her children and daughters-in-law. She was sentenced on 1 August 1568 to perpetual gaol and penitential dress (20). Her son Bachelor Miguel Vaz (21), married to Iseu de Arede the elder (22), was reconciled in the same auto de fé and had an identical sentence. Jorge Vaz Brandão's own sister Ana Brandoa abjured de vehementi at the same time (23).

Jorge Vaz Brandão's mother Guiomar Brandoa lived at the time in the Rua do Arco de Jorge Vaz with her son Luís Brandão and her daughter Ana Brandoa. When the latter was arrested, Luís Brandão advised her to leave before the same happened to her. Guiomar Brandoa escaped to Lisbon with the help of her son-in-law Francisco Travassos (24), and presented herself to the Inquisition on 19 September 1572 (25), claiming that she had absented herself because of financial troubles (26). She was immediately arrested. However, she had a comparatively easy time; certain warders had been bribed and passed on messages and foodstuffs to her (27). Guiomar Brandoa's defence was effective (28); she abjured de levi in Coimbra on 12 September 1574. Luís Brandão, as much a judaiser as his mother, was not prosecuted until much later (29).

Jorge Vaz Brandão was thus the heir of a century-old Marrano tradition. Cautious as he was, it is not surprising that he chose to pass his beliefs on to his children.

2 - The Early Years

On a spring day in 1564, Jorge Vaz Brandão's wife D Isabel Nunes de Almeida gave birth to twins, their sixth and seventh children respectively (1). They were baptised on 7 July in Santa Cruz church (2) and given the names of António and Marcelina. The girl, who was born first, did not survive (3).

Jorge Vaz Brandão was a secret judaiser, but D Isabel Nunes de Almeida apparently did not know about it. However, she could not ignore the fact that several of her husband's relatives had been convicted by the Holy Office. She was obviously concerned about the pos-

Junho 67

A os 7 dias do mes de junho de 67 baptizei ana filha de
joão luis e de madalena foz for. pad. gaspar o. mad.
isabel da costa; e ioana fo de fr^o luis e trazia a criança

A os 9 dias do dito mes baptizei diogo e maria foz
de manuel carvo e de s. lianor de jona forão pad.
rodrigo home, e and^o da merida. mad. branca mendanha,
maria da nis e maria da genoveo
trazia as crianças.

foz de: A os 21 dias do dito mes baptizei an^o fo. de an^o luis e de
s. m. lianor simois. foi pad. sourenco ant^o. mad. m. joana
m. de sim^o e de sao fagundo. e margaida com a criança

Julho de 67

No 1 dia de julho de 67 baptizei ioana filha de fr^o luis
ma lezeiro e de s. m. mendes foi pad. cristovao de
crosta. mad. m. dacha e and^o da merida. trazia a
criança

A os 7 dias do dito mes baptizei an^o e marcellina foz
do almoxarife e de sua. mulher. isabel nuñez forão pad.
joão velho e do and^o. mad. dona lianor e branca
mendanha; e ines velha que trazia as crianças

THE REGISTER OF DR ANTÓNIO HOMEM'S BAPTISM

"A os 7 dias do dito mes [July 1564] baptizei antonio e marcellina filhos do almoxarife e de sua. mulher. isabel nuñez forão padrinhos. antonio ho velho e do antonio madrinhas. dona lianor e branca mendanha antonia gracia e ines velha que trazia as crianças" (AUC, Tomo 1º dos Baptizados [of Santa Cruz], Liuro 1º, fl. 102v).

sibility that their children would also judaize. Besides setting an example as a faithful Catholic, she often told them not to befriend New Christian children (4).

Young António Homem's childhood was not always a happy one. He seems to have been liked by the other boys in the elementary school (5), but his delicate health occasionally interrupted his studies. He was not yet eight years old when his grandmother Guiomar Brandoa, then aged 65, was arrested by the Inquisition (6). Two years later, the office of Almojarife of Coimbra was suppressed, which left his father in serious financial trouble (7).

When António Homem concluded his elementary studies at the age of 13, it had already been decided that he would go to University. He registered in the College of Arts on 31 October 1577, where he would study under the Jesuits for the next three years.

It was precisely around this time that the Inquisition again showed interest in the New Christian problem. King Sebastião had granted a general pardon to the New Christians on 21 May 1577, in order to raise funds for his African campaign (8). The clergy and the people were outraged, and even Felipe II protested at his nephew's decision. Many New Christians sold their possessions and left the country. The Inquisition was powerless to stop them, but could find out where they went and who helped them. On 27 July 1578, an enquiry was initiated by the Coimbra Inquisition, on the instructions of the General Council of the Holy Office, about the New Christians who had left the city and district and emigrated to Italy, in particular to the Duchy of Ferrara. The enquiry was discreetly conducted, and caused no alarm among the New Christian community. In any case, the Almojarife's family had nothing to fear in that respect.

António Homem concluded his studies in the College of Arts in 1579. His first registration in the University, as a student of *Instituta*, was dated 16 April 1580. He was not yet sixteen. In accordance with the Statutes then in use, he made his oath of allegiance to the institution in which he had just registered.

Exactly a week later, on 23 April, the University took the first preventive measures against an outbreak of the bubonic plague, which had spread throughout the city since the previous January (9). It was decided to suspend all lectures from July onwards. The epidemic did not end until late February 1581, and the University reopened for examinations on 3 March, by which time Portugal was already under Cas-

tilian rule. On 16 February 1581, Bishops D Jorge de Ataíde, Chief Chaplain of the Kingdom and President of the Board of Conscience and Orders (10), and D Afonso de Castelo Branco, Deputy of the Board, swore allegiance in Elvas to Felipe II, in the name of the University, as the rightful King of Portugal, and bestowed upon him the dignity of Protector of the University (11). The country slowly adapted itself to the new order.

On 9 March 1583, Felipe II appointed Bishop D Manuel de Quadros, a relative of António Homem's mother (12), as Reformer of the University. He was sworn in on 21 May. The visitation that ensued was not primarily concerned about the behaviour of the students (13); even if it were, it would have found nothing to criticise about António Homem, a quiet and sensitive young man dedicated to his studies. Not that there was much to distract him. He was not interested in a military or Government career, and Coimbra in those days was no longer of any political significance. And his lack of interest in girls could be easily explained as a consequence of his fragile health and studiousness.

D Gaspar do Casal, Bishop-Count of Coimbra (14), died on 9 August 1584, and D Afonso de Castelo Branco, Bishop of the Algarve, was appointed his successor on 3 January 1585. The latter's experience in the Holy Office made him rigorous in dealing with heretics, but he was a kind man at heart, ever willing to forget the Jewish ancestry of a sincere Catholic. As he settled in Coimbra, he took into his household various New Christians, whose dedication to the Catholic faith he had no reason to doubt. One of them was a 13-year old boy, Crispim da Costa (15). The Bishop, who was fond of him, made him learn Latin in the Cathedral (16) before sending him to the College of Arts. He was not the only New Christian protégé of the Bishop-Count who would eventually judaise. The whole of the Diocesan administration was in the hands of New Christian judaisers. And the situation was no different in the University. Dr António Homem's uncle Luis Brandão was Paymaster, and was about to be replaced by another judaiser, Henrique Fernandes (17).

On 10 July 1585, António Homem, by then a tall and handsome 21-year old (18), obtained a Bachelor's degree in Canon Law, the first step to a promising career (19). His younger brother Gonçalo, who had a natural capacity for learning, was about to begin his studies in the College of Arts. He registered on 9 October 1586, at the age of fourteen (20).

In 1588, António Homem's cousin Vicente de Arês, then aged

20 and recently married to Ana da Costa de Arede, paid a visit to his friend Diogo Rodrigues, his wife's grandfather and a secret judaizer (21). The old man reminded him that his late mother was a New Christian who believed in the Law of Moses. Should he not do likewise, for her memory's sake? Vicente de Arês found he rather liked the idea, and allowed Diogo Rodrigues to instruct him. His Old Christian father, Estêvão Arês, would never know (22).

Still a student, preparing for a higher degree, António Homem was appreciated and respected. When Dr Cristóvão João, Lente of Vespers, absented himself in early 1590, it was he who was entrusted with his Chair, which he taught between 8 January and 16 February (23). António Homem was not yet 26.

A cousin of his, 15-year old Luís Arês (24), was very unhappy at that time. His mother, Ana Brandoa, was dead and he lived with his father, Estêvão Arês, a sober, respectable Old Christian who could not give him the affection he needed. He was grateful to his aunt Isabel Brandoa for the love she showed him (25); and when she told him, "fazendo lhe muitos mimos" (26), that the Law of Moses was the only true, good and necessary way to eternal salvation, he naturally believed her and adopted the Jewish faith (27).

António Homem spent the autumn term as the substitute teacher of the morning Catedrilha. In January 1591, when Dr Sebastião de Sousa abandoned the Chair of Clementines, he replaced him until the end of May. It was a welcome assignment at a time of great hardship for his family. His father's debts to the Royal Treasury had built up until confiscation of part of his estate was unavoidable (28), which, for all purposes, ended his career as a civil servant. His yearly income was barely adequate to support himself and his household according to his social status (29).

A New Christian friend of António Homem's was also doing well: Manuel Rodrigues Navarro was given the Chair of Instituta in the Faculty of Law by Royal Provision on the 13th of that month (30). It was common opinion that he would go far in the University (31).

António Homem lectured Decretum as a substitute teacher during the autumn of 1591. He was then asked to teach Clementines, again as a substitute, which he did from 4 December until 24 January 1592. In spite of various personal and family difficulties, he was firmly committed to an academic career.

That year began with an unusual event. The University, which had had no Lente of Mathematics since Pedro da Cunha retired in 1563, was to have Mathematics lectures again. On 4 January, André de Avelar, Master of Arts by the University of Valladolid (32), was appointed for that Chair. He was a learned 46-year old New Christian, who secretly kept his faith in the Law of Moses (33). He patiently started building up his career in the University (34).

On 23 January 1592, a vacancy was declared open for a Cate-drilha in the Faculty of Canon Law. António Homem was eligible and presented himself as a candidate. More than anything else at that particular time, he needed security. 1592 was a difficult year for the less wealthy, with rising prices and food shortages. Part of his father's estate had been confiscated to help pay his debts to the Royal Treasury, and his whole family was seriously impoverished. António Homem was lucky: when the results were made public on 2 February 1592, he learned that he had been elected by an overwhelming majority - 366 votes against 133 (35). He was sworn in on the same day and taught his Cate-drilha until 14 February, when he was asked to resume his substitution of Clementines.

On Tuesday, 25 February, António Homem appeared before Rector D Fernão Martins Mascarenhas for an intermediate examination, the Aprovação, in which he was sponsored by Dr Sebastião de Sousa, Lente of Clementines. He was unanimously approved (36). The next step was the Act of Repetition, which took place on Sunday, 8 March, after lunch. António Homem's sponsor was now Dr Luís Correia, Lente Emeritus of Prime in the Faculty of Canon Law (37). The ceremony ended ninety minutes later, amidst general rejoicing. On Saturday, 14 March, Dr Luís Correia sponsored him in his examination for the Licenciatura; and António Homem, who performed brilliantly, passed nemine discrepante and received his degree from the hands of Friar D Dionísio da Misericórdia, Vicar of the Monastery of Santa Cruz and Vice-Chancellor of the University (38).

On Sunday, 12 April, the Licentiate António Homem was escorted to the University Chapel by his sponsor, Dr Luís Correia. There he joined the Rector, the Chancellor, the senior Lentes of the four Facul-ties, and other officials, and was granted the privilege of hearing Mass close to to the high altar, next to the Rector and the Chancellor. After Mass, they proceeded to the public examination hall, where António Homem discussed and proved a proposition to the satisfaction of all. Following speeches by two Lentes, António Homem asked the Chancellor to confer on him the degree of Doctor in Canon Law. He was ask-

ed to swear that he kept the true Faith, as prescribed by the *Motu Proprio* of His Holiness, and was given the degree he had worked so much for. His doctoral insignia were put on him by Dr Luis Correia: the *borla* or doctoral hat, in the green colour of the Faculty of Canon Law (39), representing the crown of triumph; the *capelo* or short cape, the symbol of the honour and dignity of a Doctor; and the ring, which indicated the spiritual union of the graduate with the *Alma Mater* and his fellow graduates. Dr António Homem made a brief speech of thanks, and the ceremony ended with the *osculum pacis* (40). Only a week after his doctorate, he sponsored his first student, Bachelor Paulo do Souto, who passed his *Formatura nemine discrepante* - a credit to his sponsor, as well as to himself (41).

As the University was becoming used to Castilian rule - which, to the surprise of many *Lentes*, was far less strict than they feared - Dr António Homem taught *Clementines* throughout 1593, to the general satisfaction of the University (42). As further evidence of his good standing, he was elected *Almotacé* of the University (43) for a three-month period.

When lectures were resumed in the autumn of 1593, Dr António Homem was again chosen as the substitute teacher of *Clementines*, but read *Sext* between 16 October and 20 November. When the Chair of *Clementines* was declared vacant on 22 November, he hoped to be elected for it, but his only opponent, Dr Diogo de Brito, was declared the winner on 19 December (44). However, he was appointed to lecture *Clementines* as a substitute between 18 December and 8 January 1594 (45).

Early in that year, Dr António Homem's friend Henrique Fernandes, the University Paymaster, decided that it was time for his 15-year old son to continue his studies in Coimbra. The boy arrived from Aveiro in the summer and began learning Latin in the College of Arts in October. Miguel Gomes, for that was his name, was promptly nicknamed "o Manco", 'the lame one', as he was a cripple (46). An intelligent and sensitive boy, he was affable, generous, reliable and dedicated to his friends. He was also a secret judaiser. Dr António Homem came to know him better after he registered in the University (47), and set a high value on his qualities, which he would eventually put to good use.

Meanwhile, Dr António Homem continued his duties as the *Lente* of a *Catedrilha* during the autumn of 1594, although he was already earmarked for better things. When his friend and patron Dr Luis Correia missed three lectures due to the death of a brother-in-law, it was he who replaced him in the Chair of *Prime* (48). He also had other reasons

to be pleased: his younger brother Gonçalo, who had decided to study Canon Law, registered in the University on 1 October as a pupil of Ins tituta (49).

On 28 January 1595, Dr António Homem requested the University Council to declare his Catedrilha vacant (50). This was accepted, and the vacancy was declared on 3 February. Dr António Homem presented him self as a candidate on the following day; there were no others. He was elected on 13 February (51).

Dr António Homem's competence was already established, which made him a busy man. During that summer, he was asked to solve another dispute with the Monastery of Santa Cruz, this time about tithing problems (52). On 30 September he was chosen by Rector António de Mendonça to take over the Chair of Prime for a fortnight, during the absence of Dr Luís Correia. His Catedrilha was temporarily handed over to Bachelor André de Melo (53). He was also elected Deputy of his Faculty for 1595-1596, the first time he occupied this post (54).

When Dr Cristóvão João, the former Deputy of the University Treasury Board, fell seriously ill in April 1596, Dr António Homem was asked to replace him, which he did to the satisfaction of the University. Not only was he paid the 6,000 réis a Deputy earned in a year (55), he was also granted a supplementary award of 38 alqueires of wheat and 40 of barley (56). By this time, the University was beginning to consider him as an expert in administrative matters. He had just finished sorting out various matters concerning University property in Alvorge, Montemor-o-Velho and Lavarrabos, which made him spend twelve days away from his classroom (57). He was also made responsible for ordering from goldsmith Simão Ferreira a lamp for the University Chapel, for which he was entrusted with a substantial amount of money (58). And he was again given the substitution of the Chair of Clementines from 1 October to 2 November (59).

On Saturday, 1 February 1597, exactly five years after having won his Catedrilha, Dr António Homem took possession of the Chair of Clementines, replacing Dr Diogo de Brito, who had been made Lente of Sext in the previous month (60). It was a well-deserved promotion, which, however, meant extra work for a man whose health was giving him some cause for concern (61).

On 23 August, the Treasury Board appointed Dr António Homem to sort out a dispute about the irrigation of a University-owned farm at Lavos. But on the 27th, due to health problems, he was replaced in

this assignment by his friend Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro, his colleague in the Board and thus a logical choice (62). No one suspected that Dr Navarro followed the Law of Moses in the intimacy of his house, by St Christopher's church, and even invited his most trusted friends to celebrate Passover with him (63).

At about this time, a girl of the neighbourhood, who had been taken into Jorge Vaz Brandão's service, was found to be pregnant and was summarily dismissed. Although the Santa Justa area was notorious for the loose morals of many women, and frequented by womanisers and lechers, it was whispered at the time that she had been made pregnant by Dr António Homem. D Isabel Nunes de Almeida, who could not help noticing his 34-year old son's lack of interest in women and marriage, may not have been altogether displeased with what was, in all probability, a groundless rumour. The girl died shortly afterwards (64), and the matter was allowed to be forgotten (65). What Dr António Homem thought about this incident can only be guessed; his tastes were different and he was aware of it. In a society where anything departing from the Christian norm was liable to persecution (66), he was permanently at risk. He liked boys.

His was not a unique case. The intellectuals of his day considered that the love of women, once stripped of its romantic aura, was a vulgar manifestation of the animality of the lower classes. It was, in a way, quite distasteful - almost a necessary evil (67). Thus it is not surprising that a significant number of cultured men cultivated passionate friendships with adolescent boys. The Renaissance scholars, who were studied and revered in Coimbra, had rediscovered in the Classics the beauty of the male form (68). There was only a short step between theory and practice. Both Lentes and students often asked the boys who lived in the narrow streets leading to the University to run errands for them, and this approach naturally developed into friendship. The boys, who felt honoured by the favours bestowed by the "Senhores Doutores" (69), were quite willing to oblige them.

Dr António Homem was busier than ever, having University business to deal with in addition to his duties as a teacher (70). His health was apparently affected by overworking. When D Afonso Furtado de Mendonça was sworn in as the new Rector, on 28 October (71), Dr António Homem was present at the ceremony. But, knowing his limitations, he gave up his post as Deputy of the Faculty of Canon Law (72). And he fell ill during that winter (73). On his doctor's recommendation, he left his parents' house, in the Rua de Jorge Barbosa, and moved to a house by the Almedina Gate (74).

Dr Rui Lopes da Veiga (75) arrived in February 1598 from Madrid, bringing with him the new University Statutes. They were unanimously accepted in a *Claustrum Plenum*, specially called by Rector D Afonso Furtado de Mendonça, which took place on 23 February in the Hall of Public Acts, with the presence of 17 *Lentes*, all Deputies and Councillors, and the main University officials (76). Dr António Homem was present, but did not sign the minutes of the *Claustrum Plenum*, as his rank of *Lente* of Clementines was not senior enough. This did not mean his work was unappreciated: he read Sext for the whole school year as a substitute, a sure indication of his standing in the University (77).

1598 was a difficult year for most people. Food shortages and various diseases caused many victims, particularly among the poor. The death rate in some rural areas was very high (78). It was also a bad year for the New Christians. Among the 110 people who were sentenced in the *auto de fé* of 12 April - 43 men and 67 women - three men and three women were executed. Another two men and three women were tried in *absentia* and executed in effigy (79). Barely a month later, on 13 May, Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco informed the Chapter of the Cathedral that Felipe II had reached a decision about whether the New Christians should be given Church dignities: "O priuilegio que pedis por nesa Se não auer Cristãos novos Com beneficios tenho mādado pedir ao sãto padre para todas as Sees dese reino: e cõforme ao que Sua Sanctidade me tem respondido espero que o cõcedera". Meanwhile, the Chapter would adopt the statutes of the Cathedrals of Toledo and Seville, which denied such dignities to New Christians (80).

Some of them were luckier. Dr António Homem's friend and former neighbour Miguel da Fonseca Cardoso (81) was appointed Clerk of the University Treasury in the same month (82). His half New Christian ancestry was no objection to his appointment, and the fact that he was a judaiser was a well-kept secret (83).

Another of Dr António Homem's friends, his patron Dr Luís Correia, who had helped him through some difficult times, died in Lisbon on 13 May. He had been proposed for a Doctoral Canonry in Coimbra, but some bureaucratic problems were raised by his opponents and he was forced to go to Lisbon, in order to clear them up. He would not return to his University (84). His demise was a great loss for the *Lente*.

On Wednesday, 11 November, St Martin's day, Dr António Homem was elected Deputy of his Faculty (85). But, just as the University thus obtained the direct collaboration of an exceptionally skilled ad-

ministrator, an epidemic of bubonic plague had broken out in Lisbon. The first cases were confirmed in October, and by the end of the following month it already affected the whole of the capital, and other areas as well. The situation was discussed in a *Clastrum Plenum* on 12 December: "desta cidade dependia a saude de todo o Reino pois de todas as partes delle auia aqui estudantes". It was decided to write to His Majesty, the Governors of Portugal and the Board of Conscience and Orders, requesting leave to close the University, "de maneira que se com apertar o negocio muito se possão fechar as escollas sem se esperar re cado" (86). The letters were written on 19 December, but the Board of Conscience and Orders considered that the danger to the student population was still negligible, and turned down the request. However, Dr António Homem would soon have an opportunity to prove his worth in a situation of emergency.

The City Council met on 23 January 1599 to discuss the measures to be taken against the plague, which was expected to affect the city at any time. The grounds near St Sebastian's chapel, beyond the Franciscan monastery of Santo António dos Olivais, were reserved for a hospital. It was decided to appoint an Inspector General of Health, and the Councillors' first choice was the Juiz de Fora Francisco Fernandes Fialho, a very competent official who was also serving as the interim Corregidor. However, because of "alguuns incôuinientes e queyxas que auia antre os cidadãos e pessoas nobres desta cidade" who refused to obey the orders of a commoner, it was thought proper that the post should be given to "hum senhor de titulo". Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco, because of the popularity he enjoyed in the city and the respect he commanded, was the obvious choice. Weak as he still felt - he was recovering from a serious disease (87) - he accepted the invitation, and made his decision known to the Councillors on the same day, through one of his chaplains (88).

Money was also needed, but the City's finances were in a precarious state. The Rector, who was officially asked if he could help, referred the matter to the Treasury Board. The latter, due to the exceptional nature of the request, decided on 30 January to grant the Council 80,000 réis. The King would be informed, and if he would not approve of this, the Rector and the Deputies would personally refund the University Treasury (89). Dr António Homem was instructed to hand the money over to the City Councillors (90).

The Rector and senior Lentes gathered in Council on 5 February to assess the situation. As a growing number of students left the city (91), another letter was sent to the King, requesting him to allow

the University to be closed. The plague was upon the city. Its first confirmed victim died on 12 February (92). On the 20th, the Council ordered all physicians, surgeons and barbers not to leave the city, on pain of a heavy fine.

The epidemic did not, however, interrupt Inquisitorial activity; on the contrary, the only way to decrease the risk of the plague developing in the Inquisition gaol was to sentence as many people as possible in the shortest possible time. During an auto de fé in Santa Cruz church on 14 March, 41 men and 54 women were sentenced. Another 67 men and 83 women were sentenced on 7 April; due to the circumstances, the ceremony took place within the Inquisition Square (93).

By the middle of the month, there was already a full-scale epidemic in Coimbra. The City Council decided on 24 April to leave and meet elsewhere. On the 31st, the Chapter of the Cathedral had already moved to Vila Nova de Monsarros, a small rural community near Anadia (94), although one or two Canons chose to stay behind for the time being. The Board of Conscience and Orders, already informed about the growth of the epidemic and functioning from Alcochete, because of the danger of contagion in Lisbon, sent a letter to Rector D Afonso Furta-do de Mendonça on 22 April, asking him to lend the City Council 1,000 cruzados taken from the revenue of the University, which would be repaid either through a special tax or by Royal grant (95). The Rector left the city on 4 May with his Deputies, Drs Gabriel da Costa (96) and António Homem, and stayed in a farm by the Ribeira de Bera, in the parish of Almalaguês (97), where routine administrative duties were resumed at once. All lectures were suspended on 12 May, the University buildings were closed, and a caretaker appointed to make sure there would be no burglaries or acts of vandalism.

Despite occasional bouts of illness, Dr António Homem assumed the administration of the University, almost single-handed (98). He fulfilled his duties well, and not without some risk (99). His competence was noted and appreciated by the Rector and the city authorities, who gave no particular importance to his half New Christian ancestry.

Coimbra was declared cleared of the plague in September (100). The University had no more than a few weeks to put its affairs in order, before recalling teachers and students and resuming its normal activities. On 4 September, Dr António Homem was nominated as a temporary University agent, due to his performance during the epidemic. His first task was to direct the visitation of the churches which the Uni-

versity maintained in the Beira Alta province (101), which he did with the efficiency which was already taken for granted from him. His report was presented to the Treasury Board on 6 November (102). The Rector was favourably impressed, and confirmed him as University agent until things went back to normal (103).

The Rector addressed a University Council meeting on 14 December, and informed the few Lentos who were present - many were still away - that the University would reopen on 2 January 1600, by permission from the Governors of the Kingdom. The students would be notified through notices which would be displayed in the main cities and towns (104). The City Council, however, feared a new outbreak of the disease and decided by majority on 29 December that no students would be allowed into the city, subject to the King's decision (105). By that time, the city was judged safe enough for the celebration of an auto de fé in the open. This took place on 19 December in the City Square, under the presidency of Inquisitor Bartolomeu da Fonseca (106).

3 - The Strange Case of Friar Diogo

On 10 August 1599, in the middle of the plague epidemic, Friar Diogo da Assunção, a 29-year old Capuchin (1), ran away from the Monastery of St Anthony of Castanheira, near Alenquer. A psychologically unstable man, Friar Diogo had suffered various disappointments in the course of over eight years of monastic life, and finally convinced himself that the Christian faith was a lie and that he was destined to become a Jew. After laboriously putting together some notes in support of his theories, a task which took him a whole month, he left his Monastery, with the vague idea of reaching England or Flanders in order to judaise openly and thus gain eternal salvation. The best way to do this, he reasoned, was to find a ship in Setúbal harbour which would take him away.

He first went to the house of a New Christian merchant, Gaspar Bocarro, who had left the capital because of the plague and had found lodgings at Cachoeira hamlet, about a mile from the Monastery. Bocarro did not even know Friar Diogo and saw no reason why he should trust him. He refused to help him and advised him to approach Diogo de Sousa, a rural nobleman and a Knight of the Order of Christ, who lived in nearby Cadafais estate (2).

Friar Diogo spent that night in the forest, and left at day-

break, reaching Cadafais in the early morning. Being a simple man at heart, he confided in Diogo de Sousa, who, he told him, might advise him about what he should do, since he could not even seek his relatives, who would surely kill him if they knew what he had done. Then he told Diogo de Sousa that he deeply regretted having become a friar, that he had concluded that the Christian religion was false, and explained that he followed the Jewish Law, in which he hoped to find salvation. He added that the coming of the Messiah was at hand, and prophesied a great tribulation for 1601, of which the plague was just the beginning.

Diogo de Sousa patiently listened to Friar Diogo's prophetic-
al ramblings, and then took the first available opportunity to report him, by sending an urgent message to Friar Diogo de S Tiago, Guardian of the Monastery. In the late afternoon, while Friar Diogo da Assunção was taking a siesta, two friars arrived to take him back. He tried to hide under the bed, but was pulled out and scolded by the friars, who apparently were not very surprised at his behaviour. He had his hands tied with a cord and went quietly with them.

On 12 August, Diogo de Sousa made a written statement of the incident, which he confirmed verbally before the Licentiate Heitor Furtado de Mendonça, Deputy of the Holy Office, on the 27th of the same month. He had already discussed the matter with the Monastery authorities, who were of the opinion that it would be best to hand Friar Diogo over to the jurisdiction of the Holy Office. Heitor Furtado de Mendonça, obviously puzzled, asked Diogo de Sousa whether he thought that Friar Diogo was out of his mind. Certainly not, he replied. He had clearly understood and seen that his mind was sound.

Meanwhile, Friar Diogo was transferred by sea to the Capuchin Monastery near Lisbon, under an escort of five of his companions, and was put in isolation in the tronco, the Monastery prison. It was there that Heitor Furtado de Mendonça questioned him on 21 August. Friar Diogo made a detailed narrative of his escape and beliefs, and asked for forgiveness and mercy. His statements were examined by Heitor Furtado de Mendonça and Manuel Alvares Tavares, who concluded that his confession was incomplete and deceitful. Instructions were given for further enquiries to be made, and an arrest warrant was issued on 30 September. Friar Diogo was escorted by Bailiff Damião Mendes de Vasconcelos to the Estaus, the Lisbon Inquisition headquarters, where he was admitted on 25 October by Chief Warder Gaspar Molina da Cunha. Formal proceedings were then opened.

While enquiries about Friar Diogo da Assunção continued in total secrecy, the Inquisitors did not know what to think of him. He was heard at his request on the morning of 6 April 1600; but when the duty Inquisitor, Licentiate D António Pereira de Meneses, asked him what he wanted to say, he "leuantandosse com muita Collera perguntou: que lhe dissesse o dito senhor. quod est nomen domini". Was he insane, D António Pereira de Meneses asked himself? He was taken back to his cell, and the interrogation resumed on the following morning. But when Friar Diogo was asked why he had requested an audience, "respondeo que não tinha per que pedir mesa pois nella lhe não sabião dizer quod est nomen dei". Did he know it, then? "respondeo Ego sum Deus Abrahã, &c. E pois nesta mensa se não sabia isto, como auia elle de uir aprender a ella, o que disse com collera alleuãtandosse en pee". He added that he awaited the Messiah, who would soon come to set him free, "o que disse com muita collora".

His behaviour was erratic enough for the Inquisitors to ask for a second opinion. The Jesuit Father Manuel Correia, an expert confessor, was allowed to see him on 8 April. At first Friar Diogo talked normally, "muyto sezudo e sobre si", until his points of view were refuted; then he

"começou a desatinar ou fingir desatinar Fallar alto, bater na cadeira, dizendo que tinha doo de nos de quam errados andauamos, por que soo a Deos de Jsrael se auia de seruir e adorar, e soo a sua ley que nas escrituras esta, se auia de guardar, E começou com hua multidão grande de autoridades tiradas dos psalmos, humas a proposito, e outras fora de proposito, dos Fauores que Deos ao pouo Israelitico fizera; e soo aquelles chamaua seus seruos, e aquelles comunicaua seu espirito, E isto com hua cõtinueação tamanha que não esperaua resposta tee que cançou / E dizendolhe eu que estaua ou doudo ou malicioso e que nem Judeu sabia ser, Respondeome que elle era Judeu, e que não estaua doudo / que nos eramos os errados e ignorãtes que nem o nome de Deus sabiamos, o qual era Ego sum Deus Abrahã Jsac & Jacob / E as cousas da escritura applicauamos no breuiario aos Santos dizendosse ellas soo por Deos e pollo Messias / E se lhe eu queria responder, não escutaua senão cõ furia continuaua uersos dos psalmos que elle cuidaua lhe seruião a seu proposito".

Friar Diogo ended the interview with the statement that he awaited the coming of the Messiah, which would soon take place: "Basta, elle não esta longe".

Father Manuel Correia, who knew that he was faced with a most delicate case, took his colleague Father Gaspar Ferraz on 13 April for another talk with Friar Diogo. The latter was "mais brando, e quieto", and told the Jesuits that "agora no Carcere tinha mujtas cōsolações e Jllustrações de Deus". He replied to various questions "com quietação, olhos baixos, e mujto sobre si". Nobody had taught him to judaize, he had come to understand the truth of the Jewish faith by himself. His father, brothers and relatives "todos andauão errados, como uos outros". And he made a passing remark about the Messiah, which prompted Father Manuel Correia to ask him: "Sois Vos logo o Mesias? Respondeo, Vosa Reverencia. o diz". The Jesuit had at last something to explore in depth, and asked him:

"Se sois o Messias, porque não liurais Vos o pouo, e porque não tendes aparato de Rey, e fazeis Milagres, e outras cousas que os Judeos dizem que ade ter o Messias por quem esperão! Respondeo por que vos não quereis ouuir e todos estais cegos, Mas eu sou o Mesias, E isto não o soube eu se não depois de estar neste carcere, posto que dantes o profetizei sem o entender, e depois o entendi [...] E andando minha Mãy prenhe de mim, indo fazer huma Romaria, hua molher lhe offereceo hum filho que tinha, por este que leuaua no Ventre! E minha Mãy lhe disse Não quero dar este que trago porque ade ser hum seruo de Deus".

As they could see, even his mother felt he would be the Messiah. He then listed various Messianic prophecies, adapting them to himself. The astonished Jesuits asked him how could that be, if he was

"tam pobre encarcerado tremendo de frio e desprezado de todos! Respondeome tãbem com os olhos baixos, e encolhido, elegi abrectus es se in Domo Dei mei, Vermis sum & non homo, e assi tiue mujtos trabalhos e persigiçoens na Religião, Desprezado de todos, auntejandome outros que entrarão depois de mim, andando pellas cozinhas, e tres vezes encarcerado".

And, as the Messiah, he could tell them that, when the end of the World came, there would be no resurrection of the flesh nor final judgment.

The Jesuits concluded that Friar Diogo was not showing malice in his replies, as he said everything clearly and without duplicity; and his explanations were generally coherent, which proved that he was not insane. He had to be possessed by the Devil. The Chief Warder confirmed that he seemed to be in control of his senses, but at the same

time under some evil influence: "Jlluso do Demonio".

On 20 June Friar Diogo repented and asked for forgiveness. Yet, on 3 September, he went back to his first statements. The Inquisitors decided, by majority vote, that he was sane enough to be held responsible for his behaviour. In fact, he lost no opportunity in explaining his doctrines to his cell-mates (3), who were thoroughly fed up with him. Friar Diogo kept telling them that he had been arrested "porque mantinha a lei de Deos"; if Christ were the Messiah, he "não se ouuera de deixar enforçar entre dous ladrões como o efrocarão"; and those who denied Christ and died for it were saints. When they showed their outrage, he angrily replied that they might as well report him to the Inquisitors, for all he cared.

On 25 October, Inquisitors Manuel Alvares Tavares and D António Pereira de Meneses, accompanied by Secretary Francisco de Burges, made a visit to Friar Diogo and his companions, who were asked by the gaoler to stand up and approach them:

"e chamando os presos todos a grade para os uisitar, como he Costume, ueo entre elles o ditto frei Diogo com a cabeça cuberta com hum barrete de pano e dizendo os senhores Inquisidores que tirasse o barrete e se descubrisse, elle frei Diogo respondeo. Soli Deo honor et gloria".

As a devout Jew, Friar Diogo had made himself a cloth cap and insisted on wearing it at all times. Another prisoner was ordered to remove it from his head. The Friar's companions were briefly questioned, and all stated that, in their opinion, he was not insane. They agreed that he was sometimes bad-tempered and even violent, but that did not necessary mean that he was deranged.

On 14 December, the Inquisitors heard Pero Domingues, one of Friar Diogo's companions, about the situation in his cell. He and his cell-mates had told the friar that he was nothing but a heretic, and if they had come across him in the streets, they would certainly stab him; to which he replied

"que elle não era herege mas que era bom judeu e que a major honrra que tinha era ser Judeu e que era filho de hũa Judia e de hum portuguez, e antão disse mais o dito frade que elle não cria em cousas nenhuma da Igreja nem nos Sacramentos della [...] e que e] le mesmo dito frade avia muito sedo lançar fora de sua companhia a elle denunciante e aos mais companheiros porque Deos não queria

que estivessem elles em companhia delle, e nestas praticas e em outras semelhantes abhominaveis de que não esta ora mais lembrado passou o dito frade espaço mais de huma hora não dando pellas reprehensões ne amoestações que elle denunciante e os mais companheiros lhe fazião".

The Inquisitors were curious to hear Pero Domingues's opinion. Did he think that Friar Diogo was insane? He did not think so.

The Holy Office was still unsure of how Friar Diogo was to be dealt with. A request was sent to his Monastery for his books and personal papers to be sent to the Estaus for detailed examination, but the notes Friar Diogo had with him when he was captured were apparently lost. All that was found in his cell was a book which his friend Friar Jerónimo de Jesus had lent him (4), which Friar Francisco dos Mártires, Guardian of the Monastery, sent to Inquisitor Manuel Alvares Tavares on 15 January 1601, with an explanatory letter. He was convinced that Friar Diogo had judaised with full knowledge of what he was doing, and also mentioned that he had relatively few friends; one of them was a Friar Sebastião, who was a student of Theology (5).

The enquiries continued throughout the year, and Friar Diogo neither asked to be heard nor was bothered with interrogations. By then, he was convinced that God taught him in his sleep, and seemed to have put aside his Messianic claims. He quietly judaised in his cell, ignoring the outraged remarks of his companions. Every morning, as he woke up, he stood by his bed, looking upwards and raising his hands while he prayed. He fasted on every Friday, and on other days as he felt like; on Saturdays he wore clean clothes and did no work; and on Sundays he cleaned his cell and did other chores. And he often reminded his companions that their beliefs were wrong and they would be damned for all time.

After an interval of over a year, Friar Diogo da Assunção was again questioned by the Lisbon Inquisition. He was made to explain his beliefs on 20 June 1602, which he did with all frankness, adding that God himself had taught him the Jewish Law, and that his conversion was consummated after his arrest. He repeated the same arguments on 3 September, and added that he would not ask for forgiveness. The Inquisitors could do nothing else but prepare a criminal libel against him.

Friar Diogo was taken to their presence on 30 October and formally admonished before the charges against him, fourteen in all, were read. His reaction was surprising: first he said that God would answer

the libel for him, then he denied the charges, and finally agreed that he was indeed an apostate and a judaiser. He then began a long discourse, denying the authority of the Catholic Church and the Holy Office, which Inquisitor Manuel Alvares Tavares eventually cut short, advising him to choose a lawyer. But Friar Diogo replied "que elle nam queria procurador. que Deus era seu procurador que auia de responder por elle".

Manuel Alvares Tavares proposed the Licentiate Miguel Nuno and Gregório Rodrigues de Oliveira, to which Friar Diogo replied "que elle nam conhecia esses homens [...] e deu por razam que os nam queria, porque elles sam homens que nam sustentam a ley de Deus". Friar Diogo was given a week to write down his defence, for which he was supplied with ink and paper; and was sent back to his cell.

On 6 November, Friar Diogo told Inquisitor Manuel Alvares Tavares that he did not wish to put his defence in writing, and was allowed to dictate it to the Secretary, which he did in six consecutive sessions (6). The text was examined by the Inquisitors, who appointed the Licentiate Miguel Nuno as Friar Diogo's counsel and arranged for him to meet his client. The lawyer had a hard task before him. He met his client on 15 November, but Friar Diogo refused to help him, and made him write that he wanted to be a Jew, which he did in order to humour him. Miguel Nuno added that "per descargo de minha consciencia digo e affirmo que não acho iustiça ao Reu. para o deffender". The defendant insisted in throwing away every chance he was offered. Friar Diogo was informed on 18 November that his counsel felt unable to assist him, and he replied with the usual arguments about being a Jew and wishing to remain so. When he was asked if he wished to talk to theologians about any particular points of doctrine, he told Manuel Alvares Tavares that there was no need for that: he was certain of everything.

On 1 January 1603, Friar Jerónimo de Jesus, then in Coimbra, wrote a letter to the Lisbon Inquisition. He had been very concerned about Friar Diogo, whose best friend he had been. They had been together since their mid-teens, had been novices together and had professed together. He knew him better than anyone else, and hoped to be able to lead him back to the true Faith. He thus requested permission to speak to Friar Diogo (7).

The idea seemed a good one to the Inquisitors, who were getting nowhere with him. After two months in his cell, Friar Diogo suddenly asked to be heard on 21 January. He wanted a list of the Church's

doctrines, so that he could refute them! He was told the articles of the Creed and promised that he would receive mercy if he repented, but he became furious, replied to all questions that the Church's doctrines were false, and the session had to be closed. Friar Diogo was asked to sign the minutes of the hearing, which he did in an unexpected way: "xpistus dominus". The Inquisitors did not ask him why he wrote that, "por parecer que estaua tomado de colora", but, very tactfully, asked him to write his name in full. The Friar added "que he o mesmo frej diogo dasumpção".

Things being as they were, there was nothing to lose in accepting Friar Jerónimo's offer. He was summoned to Lisbon and examined on 26 March. His interview with Friar Diogo took place on the morning of 3 April in the outer audience room. The gaoler was present as a security measure. Friar Jerónimo's hopes were quickly dispelled. After a brief salute, Friar Diogo told his friend that he was wrong in being a Christian, like everybody else he had talked to since his arrest, and began explaining his arguments in favour of the Jewish faith, although he said nothing about being the Messiah. When Friar Jerónimo tried to touch his arm, he recoiled, "que se afastasse delle; e lhe nam possesse suas mãos polutas". He eventually calmed down, and the gaoler suggested that they embraced one another, as good friends should. This they did; and Friar Diogo, putting his right hand on his friend's head and running it down his face, blessed him in the Jewish fashion, saying: "Benedica tibi dominus custodiat te ut uideas dies bonos". He repeated the last sentence as they parted: "Uideas dies bonos".

Friar Jerónimo was shocked with his friend's obstinacy. He returned to Coimbra, gave the matter a great deal of thought and prayer, and on 15 April wrote a letter to Inquisitor Manuel Álvares Tavares: "O que entendo delle he que cuida que o não hão de matar: ne deos o ha de deixar matar". In his opinion, Friar Diogo should be exorcised and then, "o derradeiro Remedio he ameaçalo com a morte Porque ha vista della ha de dar em terra Com todas suas Esperanças".

On 16 May, Friar Diogo was admonished and then read the proof of Justice. All he had to state was that the charges were absolutely true: he was a Jew and wanted to live and die as such. He did not wish to defend himself, and wanted no legal aid. Nevertheless, he was given the Licentiate Miguel Nuno as his counsel, and eventually agreed to receive him; but the lawyer had never had been given such a hopeless brief: "E eu pello iuramento que tenho recebido digo que não lhe acho defesa", he wrote.

The fact was that the Inquisitors could not make up their minds about Friar Diogo's sanity. Two specialists, Friars Paulo Foreiro and João de Valadares, were allowed to examine him on 3 July, but their reports were inconclusive. The former had no doubts about Friar Diogo being a Jew of the Sadducee persuasion, as he denied the resurrection (8). He was not very learned, but he did have a good memory, storing various Scripture references to support his errors. He had a few curious notions: "E punha Lisboa ser o meio da terra de que as escrituras diziam. que no meio da terra daria deus a Salvação E a redenção". All the same, his mind was sound enough: "E as impacencias e furores era quando claramente se via cõuencido" (9). In his opinion, Friar Diogo was being deceived by the Devil, who found in him an easy victim because of his sins and the loss of his faith; but he was not possessed. Friar João de Valadares, who was treated by Friar Diogo to a full explanation of his theological ideas, wrote in his report that he was so obstinate in his errors that "quando lhe fallão nos mysterios Sagrados de nossa fee se enxerga nelle o que aponta S. lucas act. 7 dos obstinatissimos Judeus quando S. Esteuão lhe pregaua" (10).

Both friars reached the same conclusion: Friar Diogo was sane and thus accountable for his behaviour. He would have to be considered as a pertinacious heretic and apostate, perhaps under diabolical influence. Friar Diogo's sentence was drawn up on the very same day. He was found guilty as charged, a heretic, apostate, pertinacious, convict, confessed and defender of his own heresy. He would thus be released to the secular arm, but "que se tenha particular cuidado do Reo, para que não perca sua alma". The sentence was confirmed by the General Council on 10 July: "e que Vaa ao auto com huma mordça na boca, persistindo em sua pertinacia". A notification was issued on the same day, but Friar Diogo was given another three weeks to reconsider his situation. He was informed on 1 August that he had been found guilty and would be handed over to the secular justice for execution; "e portanto podia despor da sua alma". His hands were tied and he was left with the Jesuit Fathers António de Vasconcelos and Luis Pinheiro, who unsuccessfully tried to bring him back to the Catholic faith.

The Ribeira of Lisbon was the scene of an imposing auto de fé on Sunday, 3 August. It was presided over by Viceroy D Cristóvão de Moura - one of his last official acts in Portugal (11) - and watched with interest by the highest Government officials and thousands of people (12). There were 153 people to be sentenced, and five men and two women were to be handed over for execution. It would have been a routine affair, were it not for its far-reaching consequences; for one of the condemned men was Friar Diogo. He was considered to be prone to

violence, and was thus led to the auto with hands tied together and a muzzle on his mouth. He was excommunicated, degraded from Holy Orders and handed over by the Chief Warder to Corregidor Rodrigo Homem, who was to see that the sentence was duly executed. Friar Diogo refused to die as a Christian, and was consequently burned alive (13).

Friar Diogo's mental sanity was doubted by some until the very end (14). For the New Christian community, however, he was a martyr and an example to coming generations (15).

4 - Preparing for a Mission

The year of 1600 was dedicated to rebuilding a society devastated by famine and the plague (1). There was an urgent need for skilled administrators. For a man trained as a scholar, Dr António Homem had proved to be outstandingly able as a University agent and a Deputy, and his commission was extended by Rector D Afonso Furtado de Mendonça (2), who also tried to reward him. In the following April, the Rector and his Deputies informed Felipe III that Dr António Homem had proved to be "hum dos mais necessarios lentes e de mais importancia que tem a faculdade". During the plague epidemic, "com notavel risco de sua pessoa acompanhou o Reitor achandose nos mezes que se fogião pondo em cobro a fazenda da Universidade, dando sempre em todos os negocios mostra de prudencia e inteireza". He was of noble descent "e de bom exemplo de vida", but very poor, and with "obrigações de pai, mãe e irmãs, a quem acode com muita honra". He wished to take Holy Orders, but had no income "com que commodamente possa viver" (3). Therefore, His Majesty was requested "lhe faça merce de o prover de alguma cousa ecclesiastica conforme a sua pessoa porque assi va cõ seu bõ intento por diante, e com mais animo e gosto continue com o trabalho das scol-las". The Board of Conscience and Orders sent a favourable opinion on 9 May (4). But Dr António Homem would have to wait until a suitable vacancy was opened - which did not take place until nine years later.

Meanwhile, there were other reasons to rejoice. On 10 July, the Lente sponsored his younger brother Gonçalo in his Bachelor's examination in Canon Law. The latter expounded the subject of "Qui filii sint legitimi" and successfully replied to the argumentation of Dr Domingos Antunes and other Lentes, and was approved *nemine discrepante* (5). Dr António Homem was looking forward to the day when his brother would join the staff of the Faculty as his junior colleague.



Afonso Furtado de Mendonça

RECTOR D AFONSO FURTADO DE MENDONÇA (1597-1605)

The University of Coimbra reopened for the first term of 1600-1601. Still in charge of the substitution of the Chair of Sext, Dr António Homem continued building up a sound reputation for competence in legal matters, and was already well known in Coimbra. Busy as he was (6), he was forced to work even harder, and fell seriously ill (7). When lectures were resumed a few days after the New Year of 1601, he had not yet recovered from his illness. He missed another seven lectures (8).

Being a New Christian did not always adversely affect one's career. A Chapter meeting on 20 March elected Fernão Dias da Silva as its agent in Rome; and his ancestry was well known (9). All the same, there was some concern among the clergy about the New Christians, who had just been given certain concessions by the Crown and were still hoping for a General Pardon. Luís de Mendanha, Archdeacon of the Vouga, requested an extraordinary Chapter meeting to discuss an urgent matter, and this took place on 16 June. He had been informed that Canon António Lopes da Maia was about to resign his Canonry in favour of Rodrigo Aires's son Francisco da Silva (10):

"E porque o dito francisco da sylua era de todos os quatro costados da nação, e descendente de Auos muito proximos infames, conuiha sopposto o estatuto que o senhor bispo cõ o cabido fizera sobre este particular e era em Roma confirmar, e outros muitos derejtos, se tratasse do que neste caso se deuia fazer pera que a dita renunciação não tiuesse effeito".

Dr Gabriel da Costa and Archdeacon André de Pinho were appointed to write to the Pope, the King and other religious authorities in order to prevent Francisco da Silva's appointment (11). Their initiative was successful (12).

Dr António Homem never had the chance to rest as often as he should. His health gave in again, and he spent most of the term in bed (13). He was ill when that year's sole auto de fé took place on 6 May, in the City Square (14). In fact, health problems continued to exist in Coimbra. Several cases of the plague were detected in late November. The sick were confined to the Castle by mid-December 1602, and were moved to the St Sebastian camp after Christmas. The epidemic was not considered extinct until the following spring.

Meanwhile, an important petition from Matias Homem Brandão, Dr António Homem's older brother (then aged 49), had been submitted to Felipe III. His Majesty agreed with its contents, and also took into

consideration Matias Homem's services to the Crown in the Navy and on other occasions. Therefore, he conferred on him on 1 June 1602 the title of Assistant Postmaster of Coimbra, subordinated to the Postmaster General of the Kingdom (15). In order to be accepted, he had to prove that the rumours that he had Moorish blood on his mother's side were unfounded, which he did. Dr António Homem eventually had cause to be grateful to his brother for the genealogical research he had done (16).

This period was not wholly unpropitious for the New Christians of Coimbra. There had been only one auto de fé in the whole year, on 15 September 1602 (17), and there would be no others until January 1605. Prominent New Christians continued to be active in the city. Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro, who was known to supplement his income as a *Lente* by lending money at very high interest, was nevertheless promoted to the Chair of *Digestum Vetus* on 4 November (18). Henrique de Arede, another New Christian judaiser (19), was enjoying a period of prosperity. He was so busy that he requested the Chapter of the Cathedral to replace him as Paymaster. His request was granted on 28 December by the new Dean, D Francisco de Castro (20). But Henrique Fernandes, the University Paymaster, decided that he would rather emigrate than remain in Portugal, with the danger it would entail. He allowed his Paymaster's contract to lapse in 1602 (21), and left for Bordeaux; his daughter Maria Gomes had just gone ahead of him (22). There he did more than judaise openly. A friend's son, Duarte Fernandes, recalled years later that

"na qual Casa do dito Anrrique fernandez se ajuntauam os xpistãos nouos portuguesses, que naquella Cidade uiuiam, e tinham huma Camara separada, que lhes seruia como de Sinagoga porque nella aos Sabados e festas da lej de Moyses se ajuntauam a rezar juntos orações judaicas em lingua portuguesa; E que elle Confitente seu paj, mãj, irmã, e irmãos hyam tambem aos ditos dias de Sabados e festas a rezar na dita Casa com os demais, na qual nam auia Imagem alguma, nem outra cousa mais, que huns bancos em que se assentauam [...] os quaes [judaisers] em a ditta Casa pella manhaã rezauão o Cantico de Moyses, e alguns psalmos de Daudid sem gloria Patri: E hum dos asistentes resitaua por hum liuro a historia do sacrificio de Abraham tudo em Portugues" (23).

In the University, the Chair of *Decretum* was declared vacant on 12 April 1603 (24). Drs António Homem and Diogo de Brito presented themselves as candidates for the vacancy on 21 April, and on 6 May it was proclaimed that Dr António Homem had defeated his opponent by 163 votes against 158 (25). It had never occurred to Dr Diogo de Brito,

who was older and more experienced, that he could lose to a junior colleague. He tried to have the election declared null and void, but failed, and then refused to lecture for a time, as a protest. But Dr António Homem was not too bothered about his colleague's behaviour. His younger brother Gonçalo was preparing for his *Formatura*, and he was to sponsor him. The graduation took place on 9 June, and Gonçalo was unanimously approved (26). His next step would be a Licentiate's degree.

Dr António Homem's summer holidays were disturbed in early August by reports circulated throughout the country by travellers and authorities who had been present at an *auto de fé* in Lisbon on Sunday, 3 August. A friar by the name of Diogo da Assunção had been sentenced as a judaiser, and his refusal to die as a Christian made him be burned alive. Most New Christians agreed that he was a true martyr of the Law of Moses. His fate so inspired Dr António Homem that, in due time, he would honour the memory of the unfortunate friar before his congregation. In fact, the *Lente* was already preparing to assume the role of spiritual leader of the New Christians in Coimbra (27).

At this time, though, he had other priorities. The University was engaged in a seemingly endless legal argument with the Monastery of Santa Cruz, concerning various privileges related to the former High Priory which had been transferred to the jurisdiction of the University. The dispute required the services of the best legal experts the Faculty of Canon Law had. The *Lente* finished his report on 1 September. It was, as usual, a model of scholarship and clarity, leaving no reasonable margin for dissent (28). Drs Francisco Dias and Sebastião de Sousa, *Lentes* of Prime and Vespers respectively (29), subsequently presented skilfully-written argumentations defending the University's point of view, which owed not a little to the summaries of legal precedents and details given them by Dr António Homem. The latter did more than that. As a consequence of a telling legal brief he wrote in December 1603 (30), he was chosen to represent the University in the dispute. After several days in Valladolid, he resumed his lectures on 14 February 1604. He was sent to Lisbon on 13 March and did not return until 1 June (31). As the matter was rather complex, he was once more asked to go to Lisbon on 13 July, in order to settle certain aspects of the dispute, and was given 50,000 réis to cover his expenses (32).

The New Christian presence in the Chapter of the Cathedral was strengthened at this time. André de Avelar, the *Lente* of Mathematics, was accepted as *Tercenary* (33) on 2 February 1604, and the insignia of that dignity were conferred on him by Dean D Francisco de Cas-

tro (34). The investiture was confirmed on 29 February by the Bishop-Count through Dr António Velho, Purveyor of the Bishopric (35).

In the meantime, important appointments were being made in the University that were soon going to affect the position of the New Christians. On 20 March D Francisco de Bragança, then a delicate young man in his late twenties (36) but already known as a defender of the Catholic orthodoxy (37), was appointed Reformer of the University by Royal order and given five months to complete his task (38). D Francisco de Bragança could not leave at once; much had to be done in anticipation of his arrival (39). He was received in Coimbra on Monday, 8 November. A *Claustrum Plenum* was summoned for Wednesday, 10 November, where his Royal letter of authority was read and formally accepted. He was sworn in on the same day (40).

D Francisco de Bragança faced a difficult task. The long-awaited General Pardon had already been authorised, and it was greatly feared that hostile demonstrations would take place, as soon as the news became known. There were already signs that a fraction of the student population was inclined to violence. The City authorities and certain University officials were so concerned about what might happen that they asked D Francisco de Bragança to take measures against known acts of indiscipline. The latter informed a *Claustrum Plenum* on 14 November that groups of students "de certos tempos a esta parte costumam andar tanto que era noite embuçados, E com os manteus por cima das cabeças E que tãbem o fasião de dia nos aredores da cidade de que auia grande escandalo, E podião nascer grandes inconuenientes" (41). There was some urgency in solving this problem, and the University Bailiff and his men did not suffice to enforce the law in the city. Therefore, D Francisco de Bragança proposed that he could extend the powers of arrest of student lawbreakers to the city Bailiffs, despite the fact that the civil authorities normally had no power over University personnel. The proposal was approved for the duration of the emergency.

A peace-loving man, D Francisco de Bragança was not prepared for what was to come. His instructions were limited to checking the University finances and solving any difficulties arising during the normal operation of the University (42). Perhaps he hoped that the University would not be directly affected by any anti-Jewish riots. After all, the University Treasury Board had just hired Henrique de Arede, a former Paymaster to the Chapter (43), for the office of University Paymaster; and he was a New Christian. He was also a judaiser, but D Francisco de Bragança was not aware of it. Only a very small number of relatives and friends knew about Henrique de Arede's secret beliefs; one

of the latter was Dr António Homem, whom he would help build up his congregation.

Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco, who had asked the King to give him leave to resign the Viceroyalty, had his wish granted on 9 December: a Royal letter informed him that he would be replaced by the new Inquisitor General, Bishop D Pedro de Castilho (44). D Afonso left the capital on 26 December with few regrets, and returned to Coímbra and his episcopal duties on 2 January 1605. His successor entered Lisbon on 31 December, with strict instructions to put the General Pardon into practice (45). He obeyed his orders, but under protest.

5 - The Year of the General Pardon

As the 16th century was drawing to a close, the New Christians doubled their efforts to obtain from the Crown the general pardon they had wanted for years. Ministers were bribed. Lavish sums of money were promised to Felipe III, his valido the Duke of Lerma, and even the highest officials of the Inquisition. In a difficult period for the Royal Treasury, the petition could not be dismissed lightly. The Portuguese authorities, fearing the consequences, were alarmed. Knowing that the final decision could well be dictated by financial considerations, they offered the Crown 800,000 cruzados in order to prevent it. Felipe III accepted the offer, and informed Lisbon on 27 February 1600. The matter was settled, but not for long.

Towards the autumn, the Holy Office was seriously concerned about the projected general pardon, which was talked about by the New Christians almost as a certainty, despite the setbacks their cause had suffered. Since the final decision would be taken at the highest level, it was decided that it would be best to present the Inquisition's point of view as a short theologico-legal essay addressed to the King. This was written by three Deputies of the General Council: Bartolomeu da Fonseca, Rui Pires da Veiga and Marcos Teixeira de Mendonça. It was a masterpiece of its kind. It was claimed that

"as Prouíncias, e Reynos se conseruão e acrescentão com se dar premio aos bons, e castigo aos maos; e aos Reys e Princepes conuem alimpalos, e purgalos de delinquentes e facinorosos: principalmente quando os dilictos se cometem cótra a Magestade diuina. Nem sera justo nem razão castigaremse os que offendem a Magestade humana; e deixarem sem castigo os que he mais razão que se jáo castiga-

dos; porque muito mais he offender a Magestade Diuina, que a humana" (1).

A full-scale effort was made in 1601 by the New Christians to obtain the general pardon. Two procurators, Jorge Rodrigues Solis and Rodrigo de Andrade (2), were sent to Madrid with an offer of 200,000 cruzados. It was an open secret that the Crown was, as usual, in need of money. The offer was favourably considered at first, although there were some objections from Rome (3). In any case, the New Christians obtained some important concessions. On 4 April, Felipe III allowed them to leave and enter the country as they pleased, with or without their families (4), and sell their property without any need for a licence. The New Christian community had reasons to be hopeful. Insulting a New Christian by calling him a Jew, Marrano or Confesso was made an offence on 24 November. This was made possible by the fact that the Lisbon authorities could not raise the 800,000 cruzados which they had promised the Crown in the previous year, in order to prevent the General Pardon, which was strongly opposed by the clergy, both in Portugal and in Spain (5).

As the New Christians increased their pressure on the Crown to obtain a General Pardon, the Archbishops of Braga, Lisbon and Evora left for Madrid in February 1602 to explain their point of view to Felipe III himself, who had just been offered the sum of 1,860,000 ducados by the representatives of the Portuguese New Christians. The King eventually rejected the offer, for reasons of State.

D Pedro de Castilho, Bishop of Leiria, was appointed Inquisitor General on 24 February 1604. The New Christians hoped that he would be more sympathetic to their points of view, although there had recently been an increase in Inquisitorial activity (6). In any case, the Crown had had an offer it could not refuse. In exchange for a General Pardon, the New Christians agreed to write off the debt of 225,000 cruzados owed to their financiers, and promised the Royal Treasury a "service" of 1,700,000 cruzados. The result was as foreseen. Answering Felipe III's request, the Holy See issued on 23 August the Brief *Postulat a Nobis*, which authorised a General Pardon to the New Christians of Portugal. This was to include those who had been arrested by the Inquisition but still had to be sentenced (7).

On Sunday, 16 January 1605, a high Mass was celebrated in the Cathedral of Lisbon, following which Father António Duarte, Curate of the church of Our Lady of the Martyrs, proclaimed the Papal brief granting a general pardon to the New Christians. Orders were given to

have the New Christian prisoners released: 70 men and 85 women in the Lisbon Inquisition alone (8). The Old Christian majority felt naturally outraged, and reacted accordingly:

"e logo ao outro dia comessarão a soltar todos os que estauão presos aiuntandosse as portas da santa Inquicissão grande numero de gente homens molheres mancebos mossos maraos meninos e Ratinhos e en saindo saltauão nelles e lhe dauão tanta chichilada pancadas pedradas que foi necessario acodir toda a Iustissa e nem isso bastaua porque de tal maneira os tratauão como o elles meresião" (9).

The Évora Inquisition released 126 prisoners on the same day (10). The popular reaction was not so serious in the city, which had a substantial New Christian population and was a Jesuit stronghold - the local University was run by the Society of Jesus.

In Coimbra, D Afonso de Castelo Branco, who had just resumed his duties as Bishop, presided at a similar ceremony on the same day; were it not for the General Pardon, it would have been the first auto de fé in the last three years. It took place in the City Square, and 70 men and 59 women were released (11). The populace was so angry that the Inquisitors themselves had to protect the New Christians from being lynched. Many of the latter sought refuge in nearby churches. The disturbances quickly spread to the University, where there were riots against the New Christian students. The authorities lost control of the situation for days (12). The University Conservador, Cristóvão Machado de Miranda (13), when trying to protect some New Christians, was set upon by a mob and had to lock himself at home until the disturbances subsided (14). Several University officials were suspended until an enquiry established whether they had been involved. Henrique de Sousa, a career magistrate, was appointed to head the enquiry (15).

Dr António Homem was known to be a half New Christian, but was generally liked in the University and was not attacked (16); nor was his father, an elderly and respected man. The riots made it clear to father and son that a strong organisation was needed, if the New Christians wanted to defend themselves. Meanwhile, his younger brother Gonçalo decided to give up his plans to obtain a Licentiate's degree, and emigrate to Brazil, where he could judaise in relative peace (17).

Dr António Homem had just been relieved from a delicate problem in his Faculty. A Royal letter to the Rector, read to the University Council on 22 January, settled the dispute between him and Dr Diogo de Brito, which had dragged on for well over a year. The Chair of

Clementines was replaced by a supplementary Chair of Decretum, with the same salary, which was given to Dr Diogo de Brito (18). It was a fair solution, and Dr Diogo de Brito accepted it, to the great relief of the University. He was sworn in on 15 February (19).

As D Francisco de Bragança continued the reformation, he could not fail to be aware of the animosity towards the New Christians. It would be pointless, in the short time he had been allotted, to stir up too much trouble. He decided to ignore the New Christian issue, which he left for the King's magistrates, and concentrated on the administrative matters he was supposed to investigate. The visitation revealed the appalling condition of the University's accounts. It was owed the enormous sum of 12,315,777 réis, and the list of debtors included several teachers and officials (20). Felipe III was forced to give the University six months to collect its debts; any further delays would make him hand over the case to an official of Justice (21). Practically all the debts were collected within the six months (22).

The University had some other matters to consider. Early in the year, Rector D Afonso Furtado de Mendonça was rewarded with a place in the Council of State for Portugal. As his duties required him to move to Valladolid, he had to resign his rectorship (23). Then, on 8 April, a male heir - who was to become Felipe IV - was born in Valladolid to the King and Queen of Castile and Portugal. The University commemorated the happy event with a Mass of thanksgiving, celebrated by the Reformer D Francisco de Bragança.

Public opinion, however, was no more favourable to the Marranos, but this did not prevent a 24-year old New Christian student from Oporto, Gabriel da Costa, from returning to the University. The son of a sincerely Catholic father and a judaiser mother, Gabriel da Costa had interrupted his studies after 1601 and was still undecided about which religion he should follow. On 7 May 1605, he proved before Dr António Homem that he had attended the lectures of Instituta between October 1600 and February 1601, which was a precondition for being allowed to register again in the University (24).

Meanwhile, the enquiry that Felipe III had ordered about the disturbances caused by the publication of the General Pardon got nowhere. A Provision dated 1 July informed all civil authorities that, although it had been established that many students took an active part in the disturbances, none were positively identified (25), and thus could not be suitably punished. However, in order to prevent further breaches of the peace, the duties of the University Conservador

were transferred to the local Justices until further notice. It meant the suspension of one of the main privileges of the University (26).

Although he was not yet a senior Lente, Dr António Homem's position within the University administration was going from strength to strength. On 12 July he was given 6,000 réis "pello trabalho que teue nos apontamentos de direito que fes de emportancia em segredo sobre sertos negocios da Vniversidade emcomendados por ella" (27).

Dr António Homem was present at the investiture of D Francisco de Castro as the new Rector, on 30 July (28). Less than a month later, on 27 August, he was appointed by the University to go to Lamego and Oporto on official business concerning the revenue of the churches the University had in those bishoprics (29). He was given 16,000 réis on 3 September for his expenses (30), and was back in the following month. In recognition of his services, he was elected Deputy of his Faculty in the University Council on 9 November, replacing his senior colleague Dr Sebastião de Sousa, Lente of Vespers (31).

It was at this time that Dr António Homem's father Jorge Vaz Brandão died (32). An honourable and respected man (33), he had never been suspected of following the Law of Moses, least of all by his wife. Yet there can be no doubt that he did judaise. As his life came to an end, Dr António Homem took over from him the calling to maintain the Jewish faith in the family (34). He would eventually go even further. All the judaisers he had met during his travels were hopelessly disorganised (35). A leader was urgently needed to give the New Christians a purpose in a modern Babylon; the Messiah would not come unless the Lord's chosen were gathered as a community (36). With his superior knowledge of the Scriptures and his administrative skills, Dr António Homem felt that he would have a chance to succeed where others had failed. He would organise a congregation and give it an example to follow, a man whose devotion to the Law of Moses had cost him his life: Friar Diogo da Assunção (37).

6 - The First Steps

One of the practical results of D Francisco de Bragança's visitation was the decision to build "hum alpendere pera recolhimento das caualgadas dos doutores & mais pessoas que vinhão a vniversidade". As was customary in those days, estimates were requested through verbal proclamations in various parts of the city. Francisco Fernan-

des, a building contractor, tendered the lowest estimate, which was accepted by the University Council. Having been given the proper authority on 21 February 1606, Dr António Homem made an agreement with Francisco Fernandes two days later, whereby the latter would complete the undertaking by the following May, at the cost of 70,000 réis (1).

By that time, the University was about to receive a valuable addition to the teaching staff of the Faculty of Law: Dr Francisco Caldeira, Professor of Prime of Law in the University of Salamanca, a famous jurist - and a New Christian judaiser (2). He was sworn in by Rector D Francisco de Castro on 13 March (3).

Dr António Homem was a busy man. He had just moved into another house, across the road from St Paul's College (4), with his mother and Alexandre de Sequeira, the brother of his sister-in-law D Viglante de Sequeira. On 11 March the Treasury Board voted to send him to Oporto, to reach an agreement with the Bishop about certain churches in the diocese which were under University care (5). He left shortly after Easter Sunday, 26 March, and stayed for about a week in the house of his friend and former pupil, Abbot Melchior Vaz Correia (6), while he discussed business with Bishop D Gonçalo de Morais (7). The latter was advised by the Licentiate Tomé Vaz, Procurator of the Bishopric, who was a New Christian and a cousin of Dr António Homem's father (8). As it happened, Tomé Vaz had gone back to the Jewish faith just before the General Pardon, and his wife Filipa de Pina had never forsaken the beliefs her parents had taught her (9). He was, in all probability, the first person to whom the Lente confided that he also believed in the Law of Moses - with the exception of his own father and brothers.

The assignment was successfully concluded, as was a similar one in late June (10). On 2 September, the University Treasury Board considered a petition which Dr António Homem had just presented "sobre a satisfação dos seruícos que fes a Universidade em jr a cidade de lameguio & a do porto tratar com os prelados dellas & asentar sobre os contratos sobre as fabricas das Igrejas que a Universidade tem nos ditos bispados", among others, and granted him 40,000 réis in recognition of his outstanding services (11). Rector D Francisco de Castro duly instructed Paymaster Henrique de Arede (12) to give the Lente the money (13).

During that September and October, Dr António Homem also had to advise the Reformer on how to proceed in the case of certain debtors. A friend of his, the wealthy notary Luís de Lemos da Costa (14), was already giving some consideration to an idea he had. His only dau-

ghter, Catarina Vogada, was 20 and still unmarried; and he would like the Lente to marry her. He was disappointed to learn that the latter had no plans to marry, but that did not affect their friendship. Luis de Lemos did not know, of course, the reason for Dr António Homem's lack of interest, any more than he knew that his own wife was a covert judaiser and that Catarina was following her mother's example (15). Luis de Lemos soon found a suitable match for his daughter: António de Azevedo Barreiros, an Old Christian from a respectable family of Viseu (16). She had a handsome dowry: no less than 4,000,000 réis. The deed of endowment was drawn up in Luis de Lemos's house on 20 February, in the presence of the parents of both the bride and the bridegroom, and four witnesses, including Crispim da Costa, from the Bishop's household, and Dr António Homem, as Luis de Lemos's friend (17).

1606 was an eventful year for the Lente. The Republic of Venice was in open rebellion against the spiritual authority and the jurisdiction of the Holy See - the so-called Alterations of Venice (18). It was imperative for the Pope to demonstrate that Right was on his side, and thus Paul V asked the greatest experts of his time in Theology and Canon Law to write authoritative memoranda on that subject. In the University of Coimbra, Father Francisco Suárez and Dr António Homem were invited to do so, through Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco, and their opinions were sent to Rome in early 1607, by which time Venice was on the verge of reconciliation, and great care had to be taken not to antagonise the Republic. Francisco Suárez's *De Immunitate ecclesiastica a Venetis violata* was greatly appreciated by Paul V (19). So was Dr António Homem's Canon Law writ, which deserved a congratulatory message from Cardinal Eusebio, in the Pope's name. The Lente was sincerely proud of it for all his life (20).

On 23 March 1607, Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia presented himself as a candidate for a Catedrilha of Canon Law. His father, Dr Alvaro Vaz, had been Lente of Prime in the Faculty of Law - and a secret judaiser, like himself (21). But this, of course, was unknown to the University. Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia was elected on 30 March (22). Dr António Homem now had a junior colleague whose religious interests and competence could make him useful in the future.

In the early spring, the dispute with the Monastery of Santa Cruz came to an end, largely due to Dr António Homem's hard work as an expert in legal matters. On 19 April, the Treasury Board appointed him and Dr Francisco Caldeira to represent the University at the formal ratification of the contract (23). The Lente was awarded 8,000 réis on 19 May as a reward for his work in the contract, "estudando o modo que



D AFONSO DE CASTELO BRANCO,
BISHOP OF COIMBRA AND COUNT OF ARGANIL

se auia de ter na sostancia delle ate com Efeito se afeituar" (24).

On 27 May, Felipe III signed in Madrid a Royal Letter of considerable importance to the University. After summing up the enquiries about the disturbances made at the time of the general pardon in 1605, which led to the suspension of the juridical independence of the University, he added that, "por Justos Respeitos que me a isso mouem, E por folgar de fazer merce a ditta Vniuersidade", it was his pleasure to restore to the University its lost privilege (25). Things were back to normal. The University had once again a Conservador, no students had been prosecuted, and the New Christians realised that the protection they could expect from the authorities was strictly limited.

Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco could now dedicate more attention to his favourite project: the construction of the new Monastery of Santa Ana (26), which he was undertaking at his own expense but had been delayed for various reasons. A major problem was that it required a considerable amount of money, which surpassed the Bishop's income (27). He was forced to ask his half-cousin D Duarte de Castelo Branco, Count of Sabugal, for financial support, in exchange for the right of advowson - the right to appoint nuns for benefices in the Monastery (28). The deed of patronage was signed on 4 August (29), and on the same day the Prioress and the senior nuns of the Monastery of Santa Ana officially accepted the Apostolic letters which authorised it (30). Dr António Homem was present at both events as the Bishop's legal adviser (31).

The Lente was now ready to assume the leadership of Coimbra's underground Jewish community. Knowing that his servants would be away for vintage or harvest work, and thus would not disturb him (32), he organised at home a private Yom Kippur ceremony (33). Having no knowledge of astronomy, which was essential to determine the right day for the ceremony, he relied on the advice of André de Avelar, the mathematician (34), and invited some trustworthy New Christian friends of his. They were Miguel Gomes (35), António Dias de Almeida (36), Miguel da Fonseca, José Coutinho Botelho (37), Diogo Lopes da Rosa (38), Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (39), Henrique de Arede's son Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa and son-in-law Francisco de Andrade (40); all friends of his late father's. They would later be the founding members of the Fellowship of St Diogo.

The ceremony, which took place on Saturday, 20 September, was quite simple, and followed the traditions of the New Christian judaisers. The room was empty, except for a table with four lighted candles.

The guests took their shoes and hats off, and stood or leaned against the walls. Dr António Homem, also barefoot, read from a prayer book for some time, and then led the congregation in reciting the seven penitential psalms without the Gloria Patri of the Christians. There were periods of meditation. After sunset, they had a quick meal consisting of fish and sweetmeats, declared to each other their belief in the Law of Moses as the only way to salvation, and went home (41).

From this time on, Dr António Homem tried to be less often absent from Coimbra on University business. His health had improved of late, he was busier than ever with his work as a teacher, and he willingly left such matters to his colleagues (42). But his work continued to be duly appreciated; he was once again entrusted with University business in the winter of 1607-1608 (43). Less vital affairs were entrusted to the aged Lente of Vespers of Theology, Friar Egidio da Apresentação, who could afford being away from his Faculty for longer periods (44).

It was a time of great poverty. The Brotherhood of Mercy, unable to care for an increasing number of people in need - "por Rol eram ja Mil e trezentos" - asked the Monasteries, the University and the Colleges to help. St Peter's College agreed on 11 April to support a dozen poor people for as long as necessary, and a scholar was elected to supervise their upkeep (45). The choice fell on the most senior of all, D Francisco de Meneses (46), a Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition who was preparing for a Doctor's degree in Canon Law.

By that time, Dr António Homem had made friends with a most remarkable Canon Law student: D Vicente Nogueira, an intelligent and energetic Old Christian from an upper-class background (47). The Lente sponsored him in his act of Approbation on 14 July, and was a member of the jury in his examination to obtain the degree of Licentiate, on 21 July (48), which he passed nemine discrepante. Those who knew D Vicente Nogueira well could not fail to be aware of his tendencies; he was becoming notorious as a self-confessed homosexual (49).

Dr António Homem lost one of his most promising students in the summer, an intelligente and sensitive 27-year old New Christian from Oporto called Gabriel da Costa (50). The young man, who was frequently troubled by crises of conscience and a faltering belief in an after-life, had recently suffered the loss of his father (51) and decided to leave the University for ever (52). Thus did the Lente lose a future candidate for his congregation (53).

After six years without executions, a man and two women were handed over to the secular arm outside Santa Cruz church on 3 August. It was a small auto de fé: only seven men and four women were sentenced. The ceremony was not significant enough to intimidate the judaisers. Thus it happened that André de Avelar, "o Matemático" as he was popularly known, decided to instruct his children in the Law of Moses, which he did with great success. Luis de Avelar would later recall that at the time, when he was "nas Clases do Latim ou das artes", he had lunch with two schoolmates, one of whom, Paulo de Lena (54), afterwards told him:

"vem cá tu não sabes que es da naçam dos Iudeos e que por uia de teu pai es mais honrrado que por uia de tua Mãe que he xpistã velha se queres se Riquo e ser letrado as de uiuer na ley de Moyses porque so ella he a boa e a que nella e fas deus muitas Mercês e o enche de muitos bens e he a uerdadeira para saluaçam dalma, e assi te resoluê em creres em ella e uiuer conforme outros uiuem" (55).

Luis de Avelar did not really need any encouragement. He readily agreed with his friends, and at their suggestion influenced his 10-year old brother Pedro Homem de Faria, who had just been initiated in the Law of Moses.

Another young boy had a similar experience at the time: 11-year old Valentim Quaresma, Dr António Homem's nephew (56), who stayed at his uncle's for some ten months. The Lente persuaded him to follow his mother's example and adopt the Jewish Law, and instructed him, his brothers Francisco and Jorge and his sister D Isabel in its basic precepts (57). Valentim could not keep them in his father's house, but it was a different matter with his uncle, with whom he often stayed (58).

At about the same time, Crispim da Costa was visited in the Bishop's palace, where he lived, by his brother Francisco da Costa, who was on his way from Lisbon to Lamego, their father's town of origin. During Francisco da Costa's stay in the Bishop's palace - he was his guest for a few days - he learned that Crispim da Costa had judaised (59).

Late in the following September, Dr António Homem organised again a private Yom Kippur ceremony in his house. It was much like the one he had promoted in 1607, and the same people were present, with some newcomers, selected for their reliability: his friend André Vaz Cabaço (60), Pero Cabral Colaço, who had succeeded his father as Clerk of the City Council (61), and a student, Manuel Gomes "o Tasquinha"

(62), recently converted by André Vaz Cabaço's wife Ana Ribeira (63).

At that time, Dr António Gomes, Lente of Vespers of Medicine, had made friends with a 24-year old student who showed promise as a physician and could even become his junior partner in the hospital. He was Simão Lopes, a half New Christian, who had for some reason been nicknamed "o Chorão" ('the weeper') (64). He trusted him so much (65) that he decided to tell him that he was a judaiser and would like him to follow the Law of Moses as well. Simão Lopes agreed; after all, his mother had already given him some instruction in the Jewish Law (66). Dr António Gomes did no more than stimulate his interest (67).

When the summer holidays were over and lectures had to be resumed, no teacher could be found at short notice for a Catedrilha of Canon Law. The University filled the gap with a substitute teacher: Simão Barreto de Meneses (68), who had obtained the degree of Bachelor three years earlier and intended to obtain a Licenciatura in due time. Dr António Homem, in charge of the Chair of Decretum (69) and an established authority in Canon Law, and moreover writing his lectures on the controversial subject of "Qui filii sint legitimi", had no reason to pay any particular attention to his junior colleague, who did not remain in the Faculty's teaching staff for long anyway (70). He could not guess Simão Barreto would play a leading role in his downfall.

Early in the year, Dr António da Cunha, Lente of Prime in the Faculty of Law, was promoted to King's Counsel (71). Rector D Francisco de Castro thought at once of recommending Dr Francisco Caldeira for the Chair of Prime, knowing that he would have Royal approval, but the latter was openly disenchanted with his career in Coimbra, and would have already left, had it been possible for him to do so (72). At the same time, Dr Caldeirão's colleague and fellow New Christian Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro, who had been offered the Chair of Vespers in February, went to Madrid to try and persuade Felipe III to appoint him Lente of Prime, his lifelong ambition. But that was not to happen. Dr Caldeirão finally changed his mind, "per muitas instancias que elle Senhor Reitor lhe fizera por entender que conuinha asi ao bem da vniuersidade" (73). This was made official on 28 November. The Chair of Vespers which he now vacated was given to Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro, who took possession of it on 4 December (74). The two most important Law subjects were thus in the hands of judaisers.

Gregório da Silva Soares, Secretary and Master of Ceremonies of the University (75), died in March 1609. The beadle of Theology, Bartolomeu Fernandes, was appointed on 30 March to replace him for a



Francisco de Castro

RECTOR D FRANCISCO DE CASTRO (1605-1611)

month (76). A few days later, Gregório da Silva Soares's widow, D Madalena de Vilhena, asked the Rector to appoint her late husband's cousin Rui de Albuquerque (77) as an interim Secretary. This was accepted (78), and Rui de Albuquerque was sworn in on 10 April (79). Dr António Homem was pleased with the result: it would be useful to have a family friend as Secretary. The Lente had been working hard of late. He had just taken into his household a personal secretary, Manuel Rodrigues Cardoso, an Old Christian student (80), on the recommendation of his friend D Vicente Nogueira.

In the same year of 1609, António Correia de Sá, a country gentleman (81), went to Oporto on business. He stopped in Aveiro and stayed as a guest of a New Christian tradesman, Fernando Alvares "o Buco", Miguel Gomes "o Manco"'s brother and a covert judaiser. Fernando Alvares, learning that António Correia de Sá's mother was from the famous Jewish family of Coronel (82), gradually persuaded him that he would do well in adopting the Jewish faith. He would thus obtain financial support whenever he needed it, and all the New Christians would help him. António Correia de Sá had never considered such a thought. His mother's relatives were too highly placed to judaise openly, and he was quite prosperous and respected (83). However, Fernando Alvares's advice seemed to be sound, and he accepted it. His host taught him the basic precepts of Judaism, but António Correia de Sá did not try to convert his children until they were older.

As Dr António Homem's congregation grew, so did the danger of being found out. Henrique de Arede's house was considered as an alternative venue, but was not much safer. Country estates were inconvenient, and local farmers might easily notice any unusual activities. Francisco da Silva's house was generally acceptable, but was rather exposed to the curiosity of his neighbours (84). The obvious choice was Miguel Gomes "o Manco"'s new house, situated at the junction of the Rua da Moeda and the Terreiro das Olarias (85), a few minutes' walk from Santa Cruz church; he had recently moved in. Although Miguel Gomes was single and lived alone, with a few servants, he had many friends and received guests on various occasions, and his house was frequently used for gambling. It was perfect in most respects; that had actually been a reason for Miguel Gomes's choice. He now had to get rid of his neighbours.

It was not difficult. As the house was in need of repair and the proprietor, Bernardo de Castro, lived in Leiria and could not take care of it, Miguel Gomes volunteered to pay for the repair work, if he were allowed to rent the whole house. Bernardo de Castro was pleased

with his offer. A tenancy agreement was drawn up on 28 July in notary Agostinho Maldonado's house for a nine-year lease, commencing on 1 November and automatically renewable every nine years (86).

On Monday, 28 September, Dr António Homem organised the ceremonies of the Dia Grande in his home, for the third consecutive year. He followed the pattern of the previous occasions, and all went according to plan. He would have no further need to risk his personal safety or his status. The Lente was rising fast in the hierarchy of his Faculty. Although he was still in charge of the Chair of Decretum, he had lectured Vespers for the past year; and now, with the retirement of Dr Francisco Dias, Lente of Prime, he was appointed on 30 September to take over his Chair as a substitute (87).

A vacancy for a Doctoral Canon (88) was declared open by the Chapter of the Cathedral on 6 October, to be filled through an election held by the University. The first candidate to apply, on that same day, was D Francisco de Meneses (89), followed by Dr António Homem on the 17th. Both applications were accepted (90). Objections were soon presented by both candidates. D Francisco de Meneses suggested that Dr António Homem should be rejected as having some Moorish blood on her mother's side, which was eventually shown to be untrue. On his part, the Lente claimed that his opponent was technically unsuitable for the Canonry: his term of residence in the city was months short of the minimum required.

Meanwhile, on 11 November, Dr António Homem was elected Deputy of his Faculty in the University Council. It was the fifth time he had been honoured with this distinction (91). And his career was about to have further advancements. The demise of Dr Sebastião de Sousa left the Chair of Vespers vacant, and no one was better qualified to fill in the vacancy than Dr António Homem (92). He was appointed Lente of Vespers on 9 January 1610 (93).

Rector D Francisco de Castro addressed the University Council on 20 March. After a few introductory notes about the vacancy for the Doctoral Canonry, he went on to the main point. Dr António Homem's objections to D Francisco de Meneses's candidature had been confirmed by the Board of Conscience and Orders. The Lente was thus the only valid candidate. He had also passed an enquiry de vita et moribus (94). The Canonry was then put to the vote and the ten Council members (95) elected Dr António Homem; "porem por auer ordem de sua magestade se asentou que esta elleição estiuesse en segredo ate elle mandar o que determinasse". The result was confirmed by a Royal letter, which Secretary

Rui de Albuquerque read to the Council on 2 June (96). Dr António Homem was invested in his new dignity on Wednesday, 11 August, after Vespers, in the presence of the full Chapter and Apostolic Notary António Dias (97).

The Lente was now in possession of the Canonry which had belonged to his friend and patron Dr Luís Correia. He swore once again to keep the Statutes on 14 August before Half-Canon Tomé Nunes, notary of the Chapter, and made his profession of faith on 23 August (98). As a covert judaiser, he would not feel alone in the Chapter. He knew one of his new colleagues, Canon António Dias da Cunha (99), to be a follower of the Jewish Law.

Dr António Homem's health was again giving him problems. He fell ill in the summer (100). His friend Simão Torresão Coelho would later recall that, when he visited him, he saw him "hora na cama, hora assentado em huma cadeira donde se nam bolia por nam poder" (101). It is questionable whether he was receiving sufficient medical attention. His doctor, the Lente of Anatomy Dr João Bravo, was a busy man (102).

As Dr António Homem was slowly recovering from his illness (103), he suffered the loss of his brother Matias. He did his best to help his brother's widow, D Violante de Sequeira, and took her and her children into his household (104). There was no question of his organising the Yom Kippur ceremony. He left it to Henrique de Arede, in whose house it took place on Thursday, 16 September. He could not attend it (105). Besides, he was preparing to receive Holy Orders (106).

7 - Building up the Fellowship

The endless legal disputes in which the University was involved kept its senior Lentes busy. As 1611 began, there was a difference of opinion with the Church regarding certain canonries which the University conferred by tradition. Drs António Homem and Francisco Caldeira were appointed to defend the University, which they did with success (1). The situation was particularly delicate for the former, who was not only a Doctoral Canon but would soon become the Secretary of the Chapter for that year (2).

As the unusually harsh winter (3) drew to a close, Dr António Homem's mother D Isabel Nunes de Almeida died on Friday, 25 March, just before Palm Sunday (4). She was a faithful Catholic to the end,

and never found out that her son António, who truly loved her and had been her support since Jorge Vaz Brandão's death, was a secret judaiser like his father, a thing that would certainly horrify her.

When Canon Baltazar Pinto retired from the Chapter, Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco proposed a candidate for the vacancy: Mateus Lopes da Silva, the 20-year old son of Rodrigo Aires, Paymaster of the Revenues of the Bishopric. He was accepted on 17 May and made his profession of faith on 25 May (5). Most Canons did not know that he was a judaiser, like his whole family. Those who did would not betray him.

As a Lente of Vespers, Dr António Homem was quite well paid, and the revenues of his Canonry made him a wealthy man. He could at last afford to buy a house more in keeping with his status; and he now found one. Francisco de Pina Perestrelo (6), a relative of D Luísa Perestrelo Botelho, whom the Lente had advised in certain legal matters, was the tutor of Gabriel de Almeida, whose father had recently died, leaving him a good house with an adjacent garden in the Rua do Colégio Novo, by the Arch of D Filipa (7). The house was to be sold. Although it was in need of some repairs, Dr António Homem liked it, and a deal was quickly made. He bought it on 26 August for 320,000 réis, a very fair price (8).

By then, Dr António Homem's health was giving him problems again. He fell ill in mid-September, and was forced to entrust Henrique de Arede with the organisation of the Dia Grande ceremonies. He felt better in early October, but had to remain in bed for most of the second half of that month. He missed twelve lectures before he felt strong enough to go back to the University (9). However, it is interesting to note that one of the last Chapter meetings he attended before his illness, on Wednesday, 14 September, was dedicated to various problems arising from the cult of certain saints, for which the Bishop's opinion had to be requested: "E que tambem se lhe fizesse lembrança sobre alguns Sanctos de Hespanha, como São Diogo, E outros se serão seruiço de Nosso senhor rezarse como he concedido a Hespanha" (10). The devotion to San Diego de Alcalá (11) was becoming popular among the ruling classes, as an external sign of loyalty towards the Spanish Crown. It would not be surprising if this meeting had given Dr António Homem the idea which he would implement two years later.

By then, another matter had attracted the Lente's attention. The Blessed Queen Isabel, wife of King Dinis I, who had always been considered as a saint by the common people, was at last to have her

canonisation proceedings open(12). This decision was taken in the late spring of 1611, and the interest shown by the University was unaltered by the replacement of D Francisco de Castro as Rector (13). Three judges were appointed on 8 June 1611 to conduct the necessary enquiries: D Afonso de Castelo Branco, Bishop of Coimbra; D Martim Afonso Mexia, Bishop of Leiria (14); and King's Counsel Dr Francisco Vaz Pinto (15). Felipe III himself became personally interested in the success of the cause (16). As the Holy Queen's life and miracles were closely linked to the city of Coimbra, the Bishop-Count was asked to produce a report of local interest in February 1612, which was to be sent to the Holy See. He appointed for that task the most respected authority in Canon Law: Dr António Homem, who had recovered from his illness (17). The enquiry on the sanctity of life and miracles of the Holy Queen began on Monday, 6 February.

Dr António Homem's report on the Holy Queen, as faultless as could be expected from him, was so favourably received that he was asked to organise a festival in honour of Queen Isabel (18). And here he made a mistake. Being pressed for time and expected to stage a musical drama, he accepted the suggestion of a colleague, Francisco de Sousa, and let him rehearse the players (19). The performance, which took place in the Monastery of Santa Clara and closed the festival, was mediocre, and the Lente's strong criticism of the players, who expected more money than they were given, made him a few more enemies. But he gave it little thought at the time. He was ordained on Friday, 16 March by his friend D Martim Afonso Mexia, Bishop of Leiria, in the church of Our Lady of the Carmel - just about a hundred yards from the Inquisition building (20).

The Chapter met on 8 April to consider a rather serious matter. Canon João Rodrigues Banha (21), a friend and aide to Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco, was about to renounce his dignity in the Cathedral in favour of a New Christian, Francisco Cardoso de Oliveira (22), who had already obtained from the Holy See a dispensation of a ruling of Pope Clement VIII forbidding the investiture of people of Jewish descent (23). His parents had both been arrested by the Inquisition (24), and it was known that other close relatives of his had been sentenced as judaisers. The affair caused some indignation amongst a faction in the Chapter which had opposed the aged and testy D Afonso de Castelo Branco for some time. Felipe III was duly informed (25) and on 9 May requested the Bishop to oppose Francisco Cardoso's dispensation and persuade the Chapter to do the same (26). He did not know that the Holy See had issued the dispensation at the Bishop's request. Less did he know that the relations between the Bishop and the Chapter

were openly hostile: some Canons even complained that the Bishop, "pelos iniuriar e afrontar e zombar delles", called them by their nicknames, something their honour could not tolerate (27).

Dr António Homem was so overworked at the time (28) that he requested the Chapter to allow him a few days' leave "para poder continuar nas liçoens deste mez de Maio". His request was unanimously approved on 4 May, "uistos os Seruiços que continua mente fas a esta See E os que do dito senhor sempre se esperão". He was given fifteen days' leave, and was replaced by Canon Salvador de Sousa (29).

On 9 July, the Chapter agreed to draw up a statute against the admission of New Christians to any dignity in the Cathedral: "daia do Dignidades, Conegos, meios Conegos, tercenarios, ou quartanarios, ou quaisquer outros beneficios perpetuos e razões que de nouo se criarem" (30). Four days later, Canon António Dias da Cunha, a New Christian and a secret judaiser, was elected clerk of the Chapter, replacing António Lopes da Maia. It was the last thing he wanted at that precise time; the least noticed he would be, the better. He tried to excuse himself, but the Chapter did not accept his excuse "e ordenou que pois estaua eleito seruisse o dito officio" (31).

At this time, Reformer D Francisco de Bragança, member of His Majesty's Council, King's Counsel and Commissary General of the Bull of the Holy Crusade, undertook a brief visitation of the University. This time he had the co-operation of the new Rector, D João Coutinho (32). Nothing seriously wrong was detected. Dr António Homem was not even investigated. There was no reason for it: he was a respected scholar and his religious orthodoxy was above suspicion. Other judaisers also escaped detection. André de Avelar, the Lente of Mathematics, retired on 28 September, after twenty years' service, but his teaching contract was extended by request from the University. A Royal Provision dated 21 November allowed him to lecture for another four years (33). Rector D João Coutinho, who valued his services so highly, had no idea that André de Avelar followed the religion of his ancestors.

The Dia Grande ceremony took place as scheduled, in Miguel Gomes "o Manco"'s house. It began at eight on the morning of Tuesday, 25 September. The congregation already had a new member, Henrique de Arede's son António Gomes "o Sapo" (34). Canon António Dias da Cunha, who was to assist the officiating priest, was unwell and excused himself. All present were asked to come into an anteroom, and

"se descalsarão em a salla das ditas casas, tirando as capas, e des

carapuçados entrarão todos iuntos pera a Camera de dentro a qual estaua aparamentada com esteiras e alcatifas em partes [...] e a huma parte da casa estaua hum bofete coberto de hum pano [...] sobre o qual ardião seis uellas em castiças de pratta, e iunto ao dito bofete ficando elle confitente e os mais circunstantes em pe ao longo das paredes da dita Casa, estaua o dito miguel gomes perto em pe reuestido em huma ueste ao modo de loba, e sobre ella tinha outra que segundo sua lembrança era de tafeta" (35).

After an absence of two years, Dr António Homem was again personally at the head of his congregation. He reminded all present that Yom Kippur, the Great Day, was a day of forgiveness, and "que se perdoasse de parte, a parte as injurias que se aquião feito". He recalled the great things that the Lord had worked for His people Israel, and led his congregation into prayers. These were no longer improvised. The Lente read them from a book, a novelty in his synagogue: "o tal liuro por que lião era o Talmuth da altura de hum Missal, e que era de letra de mão segundo sua lembrança e em latim, e que [...] o que resauão eram huns psalmos os quaes se desião sem gloria patri" (36). Dr António Homem made them swear on the book that they would keep all the ceremonies secret, and dismissed them with individual blessings, after the Jewish fashion.

The Lente was also concerned about religious problems of another nature. On Friday, 14 September, the Chapter voted to prepare an official complaint against Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco, who was accused of insulting its members "com palauras mui afrontosas [...] e mui particularmente aos quatro Capitulares que o Cabido tinha eleito para tratar do Statuto que estaua inuiado a Sua Magestade"(37). The text of the complaint was read to the Chapter on 11 October, and all the Canons present were asked by Dean Francisco Pinto Pereira to sign it (38). Dr António Homem refused, and did not give in until he was shown Statute 61 as evidence that he could not lawfully refuse to sign the text of a majority decision (39). He was the only Canon to defy the collective will of the Chapter, risking his status for the sake of his friend the Bishop (40).

On 14 October, the Chapter decided to appoint up to four experts in Theology and Canon Law to help draw up an accusatory libel against D Afonso de Castelo Branco. Three people, whose careers often touched that of Dr António Homem, were considered, but rejected "per nos sobreditos auer alguns inconuenientes": Friar Egidio da Apresentação, D Francisco de Castro, and D Francisco de Meneses, "enquisidor nesta Cidade" (41). The libel was completed on 21 October. There were

28 charges against the Bishop-Count, and the first ten directly accused him of protecting New Christians, in direct violation of Pope Clement VIII's *Motu Proprio* (42). Not surprisingly, Dr António Homem was absent (43). The case would drag on for well over a year (44).

1613 was an auspicious year for Dr António Homem. In early March, he began lecturing the Chair of Prime in place of Dr Francisco Dias (45), and continued as the substitute *Lente* of that Chair for the remainder of the year. Meanwhile, he became more and more involved with his congregation. Rather than adopting the liturgy of an orthodox Jewish synagogue which, as a learned man from a judaiser family, he would know fairly well (46), he deliberately built up an elaborate ritual from the descriptions contained in the Pentateuch - the Torah or written Law - and other books (47), with some influence from the Catholic liturgy, which gradually evolved into a definitive form. The *Lente* was in fact trying to restore the Temple worship, which, in Jewish tradition, was a precondition for the coming of the Messiah, one of the major concerns of the New Christians of his day.

Dr António Homem also built up a corpus of doctrine, backed up by numerous quotations from the Old Testament and his personal authority, which he expounded to his congregation during the ceremonies. It was quite simple and easy to follow. The Law of Moses was still valid and the only way to salvation. It differed from that of the Christians basically in observing the Sabbath and certain festivities, and rejecting the veneration of images. If its precepts could not be kept on certain occasions, the wish to keep them would suffice. Its priests were to be obeyed as the ultimate authorities in all matters pertaining to the Law. There was no need for circumcision or other external signs of the Jewish faith. The *Lente* thus relegated the 613 *Encomendas* of the orthodox Jews and the whole rabbinical tradition (48) to a secondary position, but this mattered little to him. These discrepancies could be dealt with later, if necessary. The important thing was to keep alive the faith in Adonai, in anticipation of a better future which would surely come as a divine reward.

There was a need to find a legitimate cover for the activities of the congregation, and Dr António Homem recognised it. Since it was under the auspices of Friar Diogo da Assunção, he created a charitable organisation, the Fellowship of St Diogo (49), "para honrarem a um individuo, que com tanta constancia confessara a lei de Moyses, e publicamente morrera por isso". It was headed by the *Lente* himself, as Rabbi, assisted by Miguel Gomes "o Manco" and by Fernão Dias da Silva, who was its first judge. The Fellowship officials were elected yearly,

initially on 3 August, the anniversary of Friar Diogo's execution; the tenth anniversary of his death was commemorated in that precise year. For convenience, however, the election was soon transferred to the eve of the Yom Kippur ceremony.

André Vaz Cabaço left us a description of an early election. It was a rather informal affair. A number of Fellowship members met at Miguel Gomes "o Manco"'s house at about three in the afternoon:

"E entraram todos pera huma Camara do dito miguel guomes que fica dentro sobre a Runa, e ahi se tratou entre elles, de faserem noua elleição Como fiserão do juis e officiaes da Confraria de frei Diogo, que naquelle dia acabara Dioguo Lopes Roza de ser juis da dita Confraria, e loguo ficou eleito pera o anno uindouro, o dito miguel guomes por juis, e Com elle por mordomo da bolsa francisco rodriguez o batelho de Taveiro (50), do qual tem dito E todos os presentes ficaram rogados do dito Miguel guomes, pera o dia seguinte uirem fazer o jejum do dia grande a dita Casa E nesse mesmo dia acabada a elleição em que tomou os uottos o dito Diogo lopes rossa em se publicando por juis o dito Miguel gomes, o tomarão no Collo, leuantandoo do chão como fazem aos que leuão Cadeira na Uniuersidade, e derão huma uolta cõ elle pella Casa, e elle abrio hum escritorio, em que tinha bocados de perada e marmelada & confeitos, e todos tomarão seu quinhão, e alguns comerão, e outros leuarão e sairã ao sol posto da dita Casa" (51).

The Fellowship members were sworn to secrecy, paid their dues every year (52) and were usually registered in a book (53). The money obtained by the Fellowship - between 15,000 and 20,000 réis a year (54) - was employed to help poor New Christians in the city and cover the expenses of the congregation. Some of it was diverted abroad, mainly to the Corfu synagogue.

In actual fact, some Fellowship members were enjoying a time of peace and prosperity. Henrique de Arede, a former Paymaster of the Bishopric, was appointed University Paymaster in July (55). He was sworn on 13 July by Rector D João Coutinho, who had, of course, no idea that his new official was a judaiser and had been a leading member of Dr António Homem's congregation for years (56).

The Yom Kippur ceremony took place in late September, in Miguel Gomes's house. It was indeed the ideal venue. It was situated in a quiet part of the city, yet close enough to the centre and within easy reach. Neighbours knew that it was frequently used for gambling

purposes, and thus would not become suspicious at the presence of many people for no known reason (57). Additionally, contacts could easily be made during genuine gambling sessions. André Vaz Cabaço later recalled that Miguel Gomes

"uiuia no fim da Cidade em parte muito escusa da uisinha e auia em sua Casa de ordinario grande trato de gente da nação, e o dito Antonio homem e os mais conegos poderiam uir de madrugada, e sem criados, porque achou elle confitente a rua e a logea do dito Miguel gomes sem mullas e criados que os podessem acompanhar" (58).

Many of the congregation's early members were friends and relatives. They were gradually joined by clergymen, teachers, University officials, students, physicians and merchants, who were carefully vetted before they were let into the secret. They all had their own reasons to judaize. Most followed their family traditions; others did not. Such was the case of Simão Gonçalves "o Malhado", whose conversion took place around 1600. A barber by trade, he was in direct contact with the victims of the plague, whom he was instructed by the physicians on duty to bleed. He did not succumb to the epidemic, nor did his wife Maria de Oliveira; but eight of his nine children died (59). He had never had an easy life (60), but the loss of most of his children was more than he could accept. Could it be that he had been punished for having abandoned the Jewish faith which his mother had taught him as a boy? Thus he, "como fraco e enguanado do Demonio", made a decision which would change his whole life. With his wife's ready agreement, he allowed himself to be persuaded back to the Law of Moses by his friend Marcos Fernandes, a half New Christian civil servant (61). Another friend of his, Miguel da Fonseca, introduced him to the Fellowship of St Diogo.

On 7 September, Archdeacon Manuel de Sousa informed the Chapter that Crispim da Costa was from then on to be accepted as a full member (62). This surprising decision was endorsed by Dean Francisco Pinto Pereira, who had previously opposed his acceptance (63). In the meantime, a major campaign was being prepared against the New Christians. Inquisitors D Francisco de Meneses and Rui Fernandes de Saldanha sent a letter on 20 November to every parish priest in the area covered by the Coimbra Inquisition. They required the compilation of a list of all New Christians, men or women, who had absented themselves from each parish, together with their identifying signs and their probable whereabouts, "com a breuidade posiuel cautella & segredo". Secrecy was to be maintained by all parties concerned.

For the time being, however, the New Christians continued to build up their influence in the city. Dr António Homem, who had just been elected Deputy of his Faculty in the University Council (64), was even able to help a friend. The Chapter of the Cathedral was in the middle of an administrative crisis: their two accountants, Schoolmaster Sebastião Teixeira de Vahia and Canon João da Costa, had been negligent in their duties and could no longer update their book-keeping to acceptable standards. The only short-term solution was to ask Henrique de Arede's son Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa, who was already Provost to the Chapter (65), to take over their duties, and on 30 December Dr António Homem was asked to do this "E outrem ninguem se intrometesse no negocio por não auer confusão e ouesse melhor expediencia" (66). Without knowing it, the Chapter had appointed the rabbi of the Fellowship of St Diogo to persuade a member of his congregation to accept extra duties in the service of the Cathedral. And Dr Francisco Gomes "o Doutorinho" did accept, but on his own terms (67).

When March 1614 came, it was time to celebrate Passover. This was done in private, rather than in a Fellowship meeting; and Dr António Gomes promoted a discreet ceremony at home, with the help of his wife Maria Gomes. They lived at the time in the house of the Count of Portalegre, which they had rented, and decided to utilise the Count's oratory for that purpose - after all, was it not intended for private worship? Guests were Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro, his wife D Francisca Brandoa, and António de Oliveira, a New Christian trader (68), "descalsos com Barbas feitas E milhores uestidos, em corpo, e descarapussados". A table was covered "cô humas toalhas de mesa, E sobre ella tres pães asimos". Maria Gomes

"trouxe hum cordeiro assado em hum prato de agua as mãos de prata, E o pos na ditta mesa na qual estauam ja postas humas poucas de alfases agrestes, E logo se chegarão todos para a ditta mesa [...] depois de faserem tres gayas que era abaxar a cabessa ate os peitos E bolir cô ella para as ilhargas (69), o ditto Nauarro despedassou com as mãos o ditto Cordeiro E logo todos quatro o comerão mesturado cô o ditto pão asmo, E alfasses agrestes cô a maior presa que puderão [...] E depois da ditta Maria Guomes leuantar as tralhas, E leuar para dentro o pão asmo, E alfasses que sobejarão, trouxe hum braseiro de ferro cô brasas acesas, E nellas lansarão os ossos que ficarão no ditto prato, E depois recolherão o braseiro para dentro" (70).

It was a short, simple but dignified ceremony. And it followed the orthodox Jewish practice more closely than anything ever orga-

nised by the Fellowship of St Diogo.

On 18 July, Dr António Homem proposed Father Manuel Vieira, a Bachelor in Canon Law, as Judge of the Chapter, in charge of terminating the dispute between the Cathedral and the Bishop. His proposal was accepted on 1 August (71), and by the end of the month a preliminary agreement was reached with Crispim da Costa (72). The Lente was doubly pleased with himself: he had recently sponsored his nephew Valentim Quaresma, who graduated *nemine discrepante* as a Bachelor in Canon Law (73).

By that time, the Fellowship was about to expand its membership. Francisco de Aguiar de Brito, a half New Christian proprietor who was staying at the time in his farm at Copeira, near Coimbra (74), was ill and asked his friend, the physician Simão Lopes "o Chorão", to go and see him. It was not a serious disease, the latter informed him; and he would feel even better if he followed his mother's example (75) and embraced the Law of Moses, the only one which would bring him salvation. Francisco de Aguiar de Brito, whose devotion to the Catholic religion was only superficial (76), was rather impressed with his proposal. If disease was a consequence of sin, as taught by various authorities, would he not feel better if he chose the right way to salvation? He would just take some precautions in order not to involve his wife and children (77).

In August, António de Oliveira paid a visit to his friend Dr António Gomes, Lente of Prime of Medicine. The latter and Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro, who was with him, had been studying António de Oliveira's commitment to the Law of Moses for some time. They had concluded that he, as a dedicated student of the Old Testament, was less than satisfied about how he followed the Jewish law. Seeing in him a possible recruit for the Fellowship, they had a long talk about the Law. When they saw his interest in an organised cult, more demanding than their private Passover ceremonies, they invited him to the forthcoming Yom Kippur meeting,

"em que auia de fazer o sacrificio o seu Pontifice e Sumo Sacerdote, ao qual hera resão que obedecessem por suas muitas letras porque hera o maior Rabino que nunca tiuera a lei de Deus que ainda que a asperesa de sua condição o não fisesse amauel, com tudo o auião de amar de Coração, pois era figura do grande Sacerdote Aram por quem Deus tantas maravilhas obrara na terra da promessa".

António de Oliveira half suspected they meant Dr António Ho-

mem, whose reputation was widely known, and asked them whom they meant. They replied that they could not reveal his name without permission: "saberião primeiro do dito Sumo Sacerdote, se se queria fiar delle", because "sem sua ordem e licença se não auia de fazer nada". Early in September, the three met again in the same house, and António de Oliveira, who was by then considered safe, was sworn to secrecy on a Bible, "e do ditto iuramento e maldições que sobre si rogou ficou tendo grande terror". He was then told that Dr António Homem was indeed their high priest and leader (78). The ceremony would take place towards the end of the month in the Lente's new house, in the Rua do Colégio Novo, which had just been refurbished (79).

On the eve of the appointed day, António de Oliveira told his household that he would be away at Lorrvão on business for the whole of the following day. He left before sunrise and arrived at the Lente's house at about five in the morning. He entered the courtyard on his horse, leaving it "em huma logea de dentro em que o dito doutor tinha huns porquos", and went upstairs, where his host was waiting for him. The Lente told him that he was very pleased to see him there, the more so because he always had been very fond of him, even when he had had a legal dispute about some property with his late brother Matias Homem. After a while, André de Avelar joined them, and the three men went to the Lente's study, where they were told to wait. Half an hour later, they were taken to another room, where the congregation was already gathered: Drs Manuel Rodrigues Navarro and António Gomes; Canons António Dias da Cunha and Crispim da Costa; Fernão Dias da Silva, whom Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco had just proposed for a Canonry; António Correia de Sá, the physician Francisco de Almeida, André Vaz Cabaço and António Dias de Almeida; Henrique de Arede, his brother Manuel da Costa and his son Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa; Francisco and Manuel de Arede; Diogo Lopes de Sequeira and José Coutinho.

They took their shoes, coats, capes and hats off, and leaned against the walls, while Dr António Homem sat on a chair and began a long sermon in Latin, outlining the main points of the Law of Moses, which was translated into Portuguese for the benefit of those who were not familiar with Latin. Now and then, all made *gaias* - ritual gestures of reverence. Psalms were then quoted, omitting the usual *Gloria Patri* of the Catholics. This was the preparation for the ceremony itself, and took about an hour. Then Dr António Homem got up and went to another room, facing the backyard. About a quarter of an hour later, a trumpet was blown three times (80); it was the sign for André de Avelar and the Canons to join the Lente. Later still, the trumpet was again blown three times, and the members of the congregation, after

making some gaias, went in pairs to the other room, which was specially decorated for the ceremony.

The walls were covered with tapestries. There were candles everywhere. A table was placed by a wall, covered with a clean white cloth; it was the altar. On it was a book - the Old Testament - and a retable of Moses which António de Oliveira had previously seen in the houses of Crispim da Costa and António Dias da Cunha. Close by was a smaller table with towels, a candleholder, a silver censer and a statuette of Friar Diogo, which belonged to António Dias da Cunha. Dr António Homem stood by the altar, with a mitre on his head and wearing the garments of a high priest (81). He was flanked by André de Avelar and the Canons, all wearing less elaborate vestments. It was the Lente of Mathematics who began the ceremony, incensing first the high priest and then the congregation (82). Facing the altar, Dr António Homem began reading from the Old Testament, interrupting from time to time to make some gaias but never facing the congregation. His acolytes, who followed his readings in whispers, now and then prayed loudly in Hebrew, and the congregation repeated these short prayers. The ceremony occupied the whole morning.

At about noon, Dr António Homem sat on his chair and began reciting various psalms, interpreting them in detail, so as to demonstrate that the Law of Moses was still valid and essential for salvation. A couple of hours later, the Lente blew the trumpet three times to signal a brief period of meditation, following which he resumed the service with selected readings of the Old Testament. By nightfall, he and his congregation were again incensed, and he delivered a sermon in Portuguese, exhorting all present to follow the Mosaic Law and keep the ceremonies secret. He then sat down, and all the others, one by one, knelt down at his feet and kissed the hem of his garment, receiving a blessing before leaving (83).

António de Oliveira often questioned Dr António Homem about the principles of the Jewish faith, and was instructed in detail by the latter, sometimes in the presence of André de Avelar, who confirmed the wisdom of his teachings. We owe him the most complete abridgment of the Lente's doctrines which survived (84). Seeing in him a promising disciple, the latter quoted various Scripture verses to prove that the Law of Moses was still valid and that no one would be saved, except through it. He also tried to make him see the importance of remaining true to the Jewish faith at all times.

It was at this time that Luís Arês returned to Portugal with



- a Superhumeralis, seu ophod.
- b c Duae ora superhumeralis.
- d Textura, siue artificium superhumeralis. La bordyre.
- e Lapidés onychini duo, quibus insculpta erant nomina duodecim filiorum Israel.
- f Pala aurea, pro quibus interpretés verticis vncinos.
- g Casenula.
- h Pectoralis iudicij, pro quo interpretés verticis rationale iudicij: in quo erant duodecim lapidés in quibus incisá nomina duodecim filiorum Israel.
- i Vncini in palis aureis.
- k Annulli quatuor in extremitatibus pectoralis iudicij.
- l Annulli in lateribus superhumeralis.
- m Virta hyacinthina.
- n Tunica qua super humerali supponebatur, in cuius superiori parte erat capricium siue furamen, per quod caput traieciat sacerdos.
- o Tinnabula aurea.
- p Mala punica.
- q Lamina, qua vitra hyacinthina religabatur tunicæ.
- r Tunica bystina.
- s Tiara.
- t Balteum, siue cingulum.

CAPVT XXVIII.

1 Applica quoq; ad te Aaron fratrem tuum cum filiis suis de medio filiorum Israel, vt sacerdotio fungatur mihi Aaron, Nadab, & Abiu, Eleazar, & Ithamar. 2 Faciesq; vestis sancta Aaron fratri tuo in gloria & decoré. 3 Et loqueris cum tuis sapiéntibus corde quos repleui spiritu prudéntis, vt faciát vestes Aaron in quibus sanctificatus ministrat mihi. 4 Hæc

autem erunt vestiméta quæ faciét, Rationale & super humerale, tunicá & lineam strictam, cingulum & balteum. Faciét vestimenta sancta fratri tuo Aaron, & filiis eius, vt sacerdotio fungantur mihi. 5 Accipientq; aurum & hyacinthum & purpuram, coccumq; bis tinctum, & byllum. 6 Faciét autem superhumeralis de auro & hyacintho & purpura, coccumq; bis tinctum & byllo retorta, opete polymito. 7 Duae

THE VESTMENTS OF A HIGH PRIEST

Illustration taken from Biblia Sacra, ad Vetustissima Exemplaria nunc recens castigata, Romaeque reuisat. In quibus, praeter ea, quae subsequens Praefatio indicat, capita singula uersibus distincta sunt. Cum pluribus Iudicibus copiosissimis, ac necessariis (Lyon, 1588). This Bible, currently in the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, was once in the library of St Paul's College.

the armada of Viceroy Rui Lourenço de Távora (85). He arrived in Lisbon on 15 September and returned to his friends in Coimbra as soon as he could. Although he was a Dominican and a priest, he was still a judaiser and would have no objections to revealing his covert beliefs to fellow judaisers. He would later join the Fellowship of St Diogo.

Some less idealistic New Christians were of course more interested in keeping their religion to themselves. The Chapter of the Cathedral met on 9 October to study Crispim da Costa's proposal for an amicable settlement. Having considered his services to the Cathedral since he was sworn in, the Chapter instructed its procurators in Lisbon to inform the Tribunal of the Apostolic Legation that their dispute had been resolved. Crispim da Costa was accepted in his Canonry and agreed to pay the costs of the proceedings (86).

After months as a substitute Lente, Dr António Homem was finally promoted to Lente of Prime on 17 October (87). He had been working too hard, both as a teacher and a Deputy of the University Treasury (88), and his health was again giving him some trouble. He was forced to miss five lectures during the first term (89).

In that autumn, D Martim Afonso Mexia, who had recently been elected to the Bishopric of Lamego, found temporary accommodation in Coimbra. He was accompanied by his nephew Jorge Mexia, then nearly 14, who was going to join his brother Martim Afonso Mexia (90) and his cousin Martim Afonso Pereira (91) in the University. As befitted a man of his station, Dr António Homem welcomed his friend the Bishop, who had ordained him in 1612, and they renewed their friendship (92). He also met Jorge Mexia, the boy who was to change his whole life (93). An impulsive, though affectionate boy, Jorge won over Dr António Homem's favours. He often had dinner with the Lente, who doted on him, and frequently stayed at his house. They became inseparable companions, which could not fail to arouse suspicions among those who saw them (94). And the Lente was so obsessed with Jorge for a time that he failed to notice that his fellow judaisers did not altogether like it.

8 - Years of Consolidation

Following the death of Canon João Guterres, a vacancy for a Doctoral Canonry in the Cathedral of Lamego was declared open on 27 January 1615. The first candidate to present himself, Dr Miguel Soares Pereira, Lente of a Catedrilha of Canon Law, did so on 10 February (1).

On the 25th, the Licentiate Simão Barreto de Meneses, who had spent the last couple of years as an Inquisitor in Évora, also became a candidate (2). The election took place on 10 March, and Dr Miguel Soares Pereira won (3). Being a short-tempered man and a bad loser, Simão Barreto felt he had been unfairly treated (4), and blamed his failure on his former colleague Dr António Homem, who was an influential voice in the proceedings. Simão Barreto's resentment only increased his aversion for the Lente.

Fernão Dias da Silva was back in Coimbra in early 1615, was sworn in as Canon on 29 January (5), and began dedicating his spare time to help build up the Fellowship. One of the first members he met was António Correia de Sá (6). He also had the opportunity to strengthen André Vaz Cabaço's commitment to the congregation (7). It was at this time that he met Friar Luís Arês, whose faith in the Law of Moses was rather unsteady, met Henrique de Arede, who had known him for many years and knew his vulnerability. Henrique de Arede reminded him of the love that his aunt Isabel Brandoa had always shown him; and added that, if he had ever been truly fond of her, he could not leave the Jewish faith. Besides, he had books about the Law of Moses, and could tell him, as a learned man, that it was the only true one; "e que sua magestade fazia muito Caso da gente da nação e se ualia della em todas as Necessidades e apertos em que se uia". It was the truth, and Luís Arês believed him: it was common knowledge that Felipe III could not dispense with the financial support of the New Christian bankers (8). He followed Henrique de Arede's advice. The latter was pleased with him, and eventually introduced him to the Fellowship of St Diogo. He also confirmed in the Law of Moses Francisco Rodrigues "o Bate-lhe o Fuzil", a farmer from Taveiro who was a frequent visitor to Coimbra, as a tenant of the Chapter, and had recently joined the Fellowship.

At about eight on the morning of 12 May, Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco died, aged 93, after thirty years in the episcopal dignity (9), and was buried in the new Monastery of Santa Ana, which he had founded (10). On the following day, the Chapter elected four representatives to oversee the inventory of the late Bishop's estate. One of them was Dr António Homem (11). But if the Bishop's death was peaceful, its aftermath was not. When his funeral was being organised, there was an argument between the Chapter and the Brotherhood of Mercy about which institution should carry the Bishop's coffin (12). The Collector of the Holy See, Ottavio Accoramboni (13), had to threaten both sides with excommunication before a compromise was reached: the Statutes of the Chapter would be strictly kept (14).

The loss of his friend the Bishop-Count was a blow to Dr António Homem, and his patience in dealing with temperamental students decreased somewhat for a time. One of the latter, Diogo Salazar, the scion of a noble family of Lisbon and a candidate to the degree of Bachelor in Canon Law, formally accused the Lente before the University authorities of being prejudiced against him. To avoid trouble, the Rector dispensed him from questioning Diogo Salazar during his examination, which took place on 16 July (15).

Outwardly, Dr António Homem continued to lead a rather uneventful life, dedicated to his studies. He also pursued other interests. He had recently befriended a 9-year old boy, Francisco Talesio (16), the son of Pedro Talesio, the Master of Music (17), who was away at the time (18). Francisco's parents, whom he knew well, did not seem to mind; besides, they were literally indebted to him (19).

The Fellowship had now reached the peak of its development. On Monday, 21 September, Miguel da Fonseca visited Miguel Gomes in his house, "aonde hia de ordinario a iugar". There he met António Correia de Sá (20), André Vaz Cabaço and Jose Coutinho, who informed him that the ceremonies of the Dia Grande would be held there on the following day. It was a well-attended ceremony; most of the Fellowship members were there at seven in the morning. André Vaz Cabaço was late:

"não pode elle confitente hir pella manhaã como ficara por estar doente aquella noite de hum accedente de Colica mas foi depois das onze horas, e de ter jantado. E achou a porta da rua aberta, e subindo achou a porta da escada fechada onde bateo, e lhe veo abrir o dito Miguel gomes com muita festa, e o leouu a dita Camara por huma porta da Cozinha pella outra estar fechada" (21).

Among those present were two newcomers to the Fellowship: António Leitão "o Corcovado" (22), a 47-year old lawyer who had been invited by Henrique de Arede's son Dr Francisco Gomes, and Francisco Serão, clerk of the Court of Justice (23), also a friend of the Aredes. Dr António Homem officiated as High Priest, assisted by Miguel Gomes. The sermon he had composed for the occasion enhanced the need for a strong faith, his favourite theme: "e que nunca a negassem, por mais perseguidos que fosse E morressem por ella sendo necessario" (24).

On a Saturday afternoon in late 1615, 22-year old Luís de Sá Sotomaior went to Dr António Homem's house with a message from his father, António Correia de Sá: he was to remind him not to forget the matter they had discussed. The young man arrived in the evening, "sen-

do ja Aue Marias", and was taken to the Lente's study. Dr António Homem greeted him in a familiar way, asked him to sit down, and locked the door. After ordering him to keep their meeting secret, he told Luís de Sá that his father had sent him so that he could be confirmed in the Law of Moses, which the latter had recently taught him (25). The said Law, Dr António Homem told him, was the only good one for the salvation of the soul, "e tudo o mais um riso". He himself knew it, he added, and was not likely to be wrong in this matter:

"se hum tam grande leterado E lente de prima de Canones lhe dizia aquillo, que assy o tiuesse por uerdade infaliuel. E que entendesse que hum homem como elle, a quem não so os que uiuiam na lej de Moyzes consultauam, mas tambem o Papa dos xpristãos, que se nam auia de enganar naquella materia".

Luís de Sá was told to go down on his knees, "com as mãos alevantadas com os dedos largos hus dos outros por elle assy lho mandar". The Lente produced a book in Latin, which he read for well over one and a half hours:

"E hya salteando o dito liuro lendo hora em huma parte hora na outra, o qual estaua registado cõ huas fitas E lya em latim, E quando chegaua a certa paragem dizia a elle confitente que dissesse amen E o dito doutor nos ditos passos abaixaua a cabeça, E corria huma das mãos pella cabeça e Rosto abaixo delle confitente E que sette, ou oito vezes fez a dita cerimonia: E por tres vezes, deu com o dito liuro huma pancada fechando e tornando abrir, E da vltima o fechou de todo com major pancada, E depois pegou das mãos delle confitente, Metendolhe as suas pello pescoço delle confitente E por ser demasiadamente o dito pegar se agastou contra o dito Antonio homem, disendolhe, que pera que era aquillo, E o dito Antonio homem lhe disse que se não agastasse, que tornaria la outro dia mais de vagar, E praticariam naquellas materias: E então lhe deu hum lenço de bocados de cidrada E huma pataca, dizendolhe que quando tiuesse alguma necessidade de dinheiro lho fosse pedir, E dissesse ao dito seu Paj que jaa hya confirmado" (26).

The bewildered Luís de Sá, who did not know what to think of all this, went home and told his father "que o dito Doutor deuia estar bebado, pois não queria dizer outra cousa pegar tanto delle". António Correia de Sá scolded him, "que era paruo, e moço em fallar naquella forma", because Dr António Homem was the most learned man in the Jewish Law (27).

Some time later, António Correia de Sá's 17-year old son Francisco was sent to Dr António Homem's house for the same purpose. When he returned home, he told his father that the Lente "o ensinara na lei de Moyses as mesmas cousas que elle lhe tinha ensinado a saber guarda dos sabados e ieiuns de segundas e quintas feiras, e não comer carne de porco, lebre, coelho e peixe sem escama, e outras mais cousas que [...] não declarou" (28).

In Miguel Gomes's opinion, Luís de Sá was now ready to be accepted into the Fellowship. He told him "que o queria metter na Confraria do Martire Sam Dioginho, E que auia de ser por ordem do Conego Fernam dias: porque tinha o Rigimento, de como se auiam de auer na dita Confraria". They went together to Fernão Dias da Silva's house on a Thursday afternoon, and Luís de Sá was told to wait, while they had a private talk. After a quarter of an hour, Fernão Dias called him and said:

"que folgaua muito saber que elle desejaua entrar naquella Confraria do glorioso Sam Dioginho: porque isso era o que se esperaua de seu termo, e desejo que mostraua de sua saluação. porem que antes de entrar na dita Confraria auia elle confitente de jurar de em nenhum caso a descobrir Inda que fosse presso pello Santo officio E que pello dito caso o condenassem a queimar: porque posto que o queimasse saluaria sua alma E ficaria aiuntado o dito Martire, E que tambem soubesse, que se o descubrisse nam auia de ter huma de uida: porque naquella Confraria andauão muitos fidalgos, E outras pessoas mui graues que sem duuida o matariam logo sem elle confitente saber nem enteder donde lhe vinha o mal".

Luís de Sá accepted the conditions, and immediately swore on a book (29) "que juraua e prometia a Deos dos Ceos de guardar jnuiolamente a lej porque aquelle santo martir morrera, E de morrer por ella, E de não descobrir cousa alguma das sobreditas" (30).

On 5 December, D Afonso Furtado de Mendonça, the former Rector of the University, who had been so favourably impressed by Dr António Homem's management of its affairs during the 1599 epidemic, became Bishop-Count of Coimbra (31). The Lente had by then a new neighbour: his colleague, friend and fellow judaiser Crispim da Costa, who had recently moved in (32).

The University Council was informed on 24 February 1616 that Felipe III had appointed D Martim Afonso Mexia, Bishop of Lamego (33), to visit and reform the University (34), for which task he was given

three months (35). The Bishop was sworn in as Reformer on 29 February and was given as his clerk Dr Martim de Carvalho Vilas-Boas (36).

Shortly after these events, Diogo Lopes da Rosa met Miguel Gomes "o Manco" near Santa Cruz church. They talked about the Fellowship, as they often did; but this time Miguel Gomes had something new to tell. Canon António Dias da Cunha, whose role as one of the organisers of the Fellowship gave him some authority over it, wanted to introduce some alterations in the ceremonies:

"o dito Conego Antonio dias da Cunha lhe mandara de sua casa desta cidade doze uestes de canequim a modo de penteadores que darião por meya perna nouas as quaes se fizerão por ordem do dito conejo do dinheiro da Confraria que elle dito Conego tinha em seu poder E que estas uestes leuara seu sobrinho francisco machado cõ o liuro da confraria por o dito Conego Antonio dias da Cunha se querer ir para o Porto E as leuara a casa delle Miguel gomes por que ahy huião de fazer o jejum do dia grande primeiro que uiesse ou na quinta do dito Conego no fundo de Coselhas, E que da parte do dito Antonio dias da Cunha lhe dissera tambem seu sobrinho que elles hião errados na forma em que fazião as ceremonias do jejum grande por que se huião de fazer em outra forma como tinha por noticia não declarando donde E que pera se ficar melhor sabendo hauia elle dito Conego de tornar do Porto antes do dito jejum para nelle fazer o officio cõ as ceremonias que de nouo sabia" (37).

It was a fact that the Fellowship ceremonies did not follow the orthodox Jewish rituals, which had been explained to António Dias da Cunha by a visiting Jew from Corfu (38). Dr António Homem was informed, but showed no special interest in changing the rituals he had developed. However, as a concession to his colleague's standing in the Fellowship, he agreed to make some of the changes he proposed, on an experimental basis.

As usual, for security reasons, the Fellowship conducted no Passover ceremony. Its members celebrated the feast privately. This year, a ceremony was held in Francisco Serrão's house, in the Rua da Moeda, with the presence of Miguel Gomes, André Vaz Cabaço, José Coutinho, Diogo Lopes da Rosa, Miguel da Fonseca and a few other people. Francisco Serrão gathered them in his study and began the ceremony with a speech about the solemnity of the day. André Vaz Cabaço, who had been invited by Miguel Gomes, later described the ceremony in the following terms:

"preparada a mesa em que escriuia cuberta com humas toalhas dobradas que nam pendiam das ilhargas nem Cabeceira e estando todos em pee tinham tres candieiros grandes acesos, hum pegado na parede, e os dous cada hum em seu mancebo, lauados os candieiros con trocidas nouas e azeite limpo e o sobredito francisco serram [brought] em hum prato grande destanho de agoa as mãos o Cordeiro asado e o pos sobre a mesa e disse certas palauras, que elle cõfidente não entendeo, por lhe parecerem hebraicas e mal pronunciadas, e so del las entendeo Adonai, Adonai, e gastaria nellas espaço de tempo de huma aue Maria e nenhuma das pessoas presentes Respondeo nada mas estauão com as mãos leuantadas afastadas humas das outras, com as palmas humas para as outras e os olhos no ceo enquanto o sobredito disse as dittas palauras, e estauão mais na mesa tres pães asmos e o sobredito francisco serram acabado de diser as dittas palauras espedaçou com as mãos o ditto Cordeiro e deu a cada hum dos circunstantes seu pedaço com pedaço do ditto pam que tambem partio com a mão por não auer faca na Mesa".

The ceremony ended with a mutual declaration of faith in the Law of Moses, in which they hoped to obtain eternal salvation (39).

Miguel Gomes already felt safe enough to share his knowledge of the Jewish Law with his closest friends. One of the first people he confided in was a 20-year old Canon Law student, Ascenso Dias "o Rato", his special friend (40), whom he advised to follow the Law of Moses for the sake of his salvation. Ascenso Dias needed little persuasion. His own father and his brother André Dias were secret judaisers, as were other relatives of his (41). He told Miguel Gomes that he willingly accepted his advice. When he visited him a couple of days later, he found him with a small group of New Christian students, instructing them in the precepts of the Jewish law (42).

Miguel Gomes soon organised private ceremonies of his own. Some time in that spring, he asked Ascenso Dias to meet him at home on the following day, no later than ten in the morning. When the latter arrived, Miguel Gomes took him to an inner room, where he met António Lopes, a medical student from Aveiro, and Law students Gaspar Nunes and Diogo Barbosa. In Ascenso Dias's own words:

"o pauimento da ditto Caza estaua alcatifado E para huma parte da ditto casa encostado a parede estaua hum altar que tinha huma toalha branca por sima e hua Couza como frontal, que se nam lembra de que Cor hera, nem o pode entam duiuzar bem porquanto a ditto caza hera escura e auia nella pouca Claridade e sobre o ditto altar es-

taua hum vulto piqueno cuberto cõ hum tafeta que tomava quasi todo o altar e sobre elle estauã quatro uellas acezas en quatro castisais que estauam nos quatro cantos do ditto altar [...] e na parede que ficaua detras do ditto altar estaua hum alampadario de azeite acezo [...] e para huma ilharga da ditto caza de fronte do altar estaua huma Meza cuberta com huma Alcatifa e sobre ella estaua hum liuro de folha digo Menos que de folha fechado e nam esta lembrado Como estaua encadernado nem sabe que liuro hera; e a Roda da ditto caza estauão cadeiras despaldas tirado para huma parte onde estaua hum banco. E o ditto Miguel gomes estaua uistido em huma ueste que a seu parecer delle confitente hera de ceda porque Rugia e hera escura mas não pode diuisar bem nem he lembrado da Cor que tinha; e chegaua ate o cham e hera larga, e lhe parece que hera a feiçam das lobas que os clerigos trazem e tinha a Cabeça descuberta".

Ascenso Dias asked Miguel Gomes what all that meant, and was told that he was "Rabino e sacerdote da ley de Moyses e que fazia todas as seremonias que na ditto ley se faziam" (43). He had invited them for the ceremony which was about to take place. Miguel Gomes locked the door and asked them to sit,

"mandandolhes iuntamente que tirassem as capas E sombreiros digo barretes, E que estiuessem sempre em Corpo com as mãos nas ilhargas, E que estiuessem atentos a humas oraçõis que o ditto Miguel gomes auia de dizer, e que quando elle Miguel gomes abaixasse a cabeça o fizessem tambem elles circunstantes, fazendo com o rosto bigaias que he certo meneio que faziam com os olhos e com a boca ao tempo que Abaixauam as cabeças".

Miguel Gomes recited various prayers and finally asked the young men to approach him, one by one, to receive a blessing. Ascenso Dias went down on his knees, was blessed after the Jewish fashion, in the name of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and went back to his seat; the others did the same. But there was a final ceremony before they were dismissed. Miguel Gomes told them to stand by the altar,

"e que de iuelhos beiassem aquelle vulto que nelle estaua o que logo todos fizeram e nam se lembra quem foi primeiro e quando elle confitente chegou para beiiar o ditto vulto que estaua no altar vio que o tafeta com que estaua cuberto hera verde e descobrindo hum pouco do ditto tafeta vio debaixo delle o ditto vulto que lhe pareceo ser hum animal affeicam de touro piqueno pouco mais de meo palmo de Comprido, e estaua em pee e hera de metal não sabe se de ouro todo ou dourado, e como o vio tam de preça nam se affirma bem

no animal que hera ao certo".

They went back to their seats and heard Miguel Gomes explain some points of the Jewish Law. They were sworn to absolute secrecy on a book and had a light supper before leaving (44).

Other guests of Miguel Gomes's did not accept his new rituals so easily. Some time later, António Correia de Sá's son Luís de Sá went to Miguel Gomes's house, as he often did. This time, however, he was received by the latter's 11-year old nephew Henrique, who told him that his uncle was busy. Luís de Sá pushed him aside, went in, and found his host with Francisco de Almeida, who had just finished lunch: "hiam no cabo do iantar porque comiam passas e maçans".

"E logo que acabarão de iantar tendo ainda as toalhas postas na mesa se alleuantou o dito Miguel gomes della e abrio hu escritorio que tinha na dita casa que segundo sua lembrança era de cedro laurado e marchetado e com ferramenta dourada E abrindo hua guauetta do ditto escritorio que tambem estaua fechada, e da dita guauetta tirou hua bezerra de mettal e nam sabe se era de prata se de latão emboralhada em hum tafetta cramisim, a qual era toda dourada e seria do tamanho de dous palmos de comprido e hum de altura, e não tinha cornos, e logo o dito Miguel gomes pos a dita bezerra em huma salua de prata que estaua no meio da dita meza E o dito Miguel gomes, e o dito francisco dalmeida se poseram logo de ioelhos de frente da dita bezerra disendo a elle confitente que se posesse na mesma forma, E elle confitente respondeu que não auia de adorar huma bezerra e elles lhe responderão que era elle confitente noua^{to}, e que não entendia o que aquillo era, E em fim a não adorou, E os ditos Miguel gomes e francisco dalmeida estiuerão de ieolhos batendo nos peitos e resando em latim por espaço de hum quarto de hora diante da dita bezerra sem elle confitente os entender, E estando assim de ieolhos o dito miguel gomes tomou nas mãos a ditta bezerra, e a meteu outra ues na ditta gauetta, e posto que alli declararão todos tres que criam e uiuiam na lei de Mojses e nella esperauão saluarse, não declararão as ditas pessoas que misterio continha a dita bezerra" (45).

The calf was, of course, a symbol of the Jewish faith, much like the fish - Ichthus - was that of the Christian faith in the early centuries of the Church (46). But Luís de Sá had not been prepared for what seemed to him as an act of idolatry (47).

In the meantime, the New Christian presence in the University

was further strengthened. The Licentiate Duarte Brandão, a friend of Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia's who had earned a good reputation as a practising lawyer, became a 'conductary' or provisional teacher in the Faculty of Canon Law (48). Rector D João Coutinho, unaware that he was a secret judaiser, had persuaded the Crown that he would be useful in the University. He was appointed on 21 April, with a yearly salary of 80,000 réis and the privileges of a Lente, and sworn in on 4 May (49). However, his performance as a teacher was disappointing at first (50).

The visitation presented a considerable danger to the Fellowship; some of its members were vulnerable to a close enquiry. But Dr António Homem felt reasonably secure. He had kept the appearances of a faithful Catholic before his household, and did not follow any Jewish dietary laws. He was an internationally famous scholar, whose works were faultlessly orthodox and, although unpublished, were quoted by the foremost authorities in Canon Law. He was in very good terms with some of the leading members of both clergy and nobility. Above all, he counted on the friendship of Bishop D Martim Afonso Mexia, who relied on him as his legal adviser (51). The latter had completed the first phase of the visitation by mid-April, but the second phase was more delicate, involving the prosecution and sentencing of various Lentes and students. Early in May, Felipe III allowed him three Deputies for that purpose: the Augustinian Friar Egidio da Apresentação, the Dominican Friar João Aranha and the Jesuit Father Francisco Suárez, all Lentes of Theology.

On 24 May, Canon Alvaro Soares Pereira, a neighbour of Dr António Homem's and his colleague in the Chapter of the Cathedral, wrote a letter to D Francisco de Meneses, then an Inquisitor in Coimbra and a known rival of the Lente: "Temos nesta Rua o doutor Antonio homem tido por somitiguo e na uerdade as obras são testemunha de seu Crime". D Francisco de Meneses, who was thus given a perfectly legal weapon against his enemy, advised him to make a full report to the Inquisition, but he refused, "por quanto se temia e areceava o dito Antonio homem". However, the good Canon was not afraid of putting his knowledge to paper. On 31 May, he sent D Francisco de Meneses two letters which betrayed a strange anxiety to have his neighbour arrested. In the first one, he listed several people who could testify against him, and named Jorge Mexia:

"souue do nome do estudante mora junto ao Conego Villas boas, e pegado a hum bilingim que se chama joam jorge ao salvador, chamase manuel Rodriguez este dira o nome dos Criados criadas e pajens do seu tempo e tão bem dira de hum Criado que e do seu tempo que inda

oje pousa cô o doutor e, grande Testemunha, este dira da mesma maneira dos criados Criadas e pajens que estão en casa e da Cunjada e de hum sobrinho que ten en Casa /dom joam e dom gomez dirão o nome dos seus Criados e a dum sobrinho do bispo, chamase Jorge mexias, os que podem testiuinhar são martim afonso mexias, e martim afonso pereira jorje Fernandes criado ou parente do bispo, e outro Criado por nome Franquo an de vir depresa por que se hão de ir de meado de Junho para alen Tejo que tem licença do bispo, o outro Criado que esta Con ho caldeira que e grande testemunha chamase andre goncalvez os pajes que oje tem sam grandes testemunhas bulla Vossa merce. que elle ira aonde foi a oliuensa que e deshorrã hu Fuir a santa inquisição nas suas barbas hum Crimen tam innorme, outro Criado tão bem chamase barreto que oje tem e grande testemunha".

Other names were added in the second letter:

"ho homem de pee que esta a muito tempo en casa chamase Pero Rodri-guez mora iunto ao juiz do Fisco este e grande testemunha e dira de dous pajes que agora se sairão de casa os quais são testemunhas muito necessarias que por este respeito se sairão dizendo que não auião de seruir a hum somitico. toda a gente de Casa são testemunhas de Vista pero Rodriguez dara ho nome de todos e a Cunjada e sobrinho, e outro pajem pequeno" (52).

Since the denouncer was afraid of Dr António Homem, the Coimbra Inquisition suggested that he could be interviewed discreetly in a monastery, but this was apparently rejected. On 2 August Canon Pereira made a formal statement in the house of Inquisitor Rui Fernandes de Saldanha about what he knew; it was five folios long (53). A brief enquiry took place, but no immediate action was taken. It was not just that the evidence was inconclusive; the visitation had uncovered too much already, and there was a limit to the scandal the University could absorb at one time. The illustrious Lente Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro had been charged with corruption and usury, as well as with committing the sins of mollities and sodomy with various students, and was suspended from the University on 6 June. He was arrested on 4 July (54). At least he was not handed over to the Inquisition, which would have proved his involvement in Jewish rituals without too much trouble (55).

After an interval of more than four years, an auto de fé took place in Coimbra's City Square on 28 August. 33 men and 33 women were sentenced; four men were handed over to the secular arm, the first executions in eight years, and four women were released in effigy. This,

however, was no reason why Dr António Homem should miss that year's Yom Kippur ceremonies, scheduled to take place in Miguel Gomes's house on Monday, 26 September. He was to officiate as High Priest, assisted by his host and Canons Fernão Dias da Silva, Crispim da Costa and António Dias da Cunha (56). At the latter's request, he would introduce certain rituals which, according to the Canon's information, were used in the Corfu synagogue.

On the eve of the ceremony, José Coutinho, Manuel de Arede, Simão Lopes "o Chorão", Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, Francisco Serrão and other fellow members met in Diogo Lopes da Rosa's house after lunch, to elect the Fellowship officials. The election was no longer the informal gathering of earlier years:

"E estando todos no escritoreo do dito dioguo lopes roza com as portas da rua fechadas, puzerão hum bofette no meo da caza do escritoreo Cuberto com hum pano de ceda ou huma alcatiffa, e estando sobre a dita meza posta huma caixa pequena com hum buraco no meo por onde lansauão nella o dinheiro, e tendo duas uellas accezas sobre o dito bofete, por ser ja a boca da noute, e estando descalsos [...] a roda da dita caza, e encostados as paredes com as cabeças inclinadas pera baixo, e descubertas loguo no principio, estiuerão assi por espasso de hum quarto de hora, abaixando, e aleuando a cabessa, e no cabo disso ficando todos em pee, tendo o dito dioguo lopes da roza uestida huma ueste sacerdotal da lei uelha ao modo de loba de cleriguo, a qual era de tafeta pardo, e estando o dito dioguo lopes que fazia o dito officio de sacerdote da lei encostado ao dito bofete, disse pera todos os circunstantes que aquella era a uespera do dia grande, o qual auião de guardar, jejuando nel le per honra, e obseruancia da lei, na forma que fizerão os seus passados, e que aquella Ceremonea naquella mesma forma se fazia ajnda hoie na sinagoga de Gulfoo [Corfu], onde continuamente ardia huma alampada por todas as ditas pessoas e que pois ali estauão juntos, todos deuião fazer eleição das pessoas que seruissem por dous ou tres annos de officiais da Jrmandade que entre elles auia, e loguo [...] comessarão a uotar nos officiais tomando os uottos o dito dioguo lopes da roza, chegando a elle cada huma das ditas pessoas que estauão presentes, e nomeauão as pessoas que lhe parecião para officiais da dita Jrmandade, e sahiu então eleito por Juis dioguo lopes de sequeira, e por escriuão francisco serram, e por sacadores francisco dalmeida, e seu jrmão miguel dalmeida; e o dito dinheiro que se daua de esmolla para a dita Confraria ficaua sempre por recebedor o dito dioguo lopes roza; e loguo acabado isto derão algumas das ditas pessoas algum dinheiro pera se lansar

na dita arca" (57).

The Yom Kippur ceremony took place on the following day, as planned. The Fellowship members arrived separately at about six in the morning, and were taken upstairs, where a room was already prepared. Fernão Dias da Silva, whose occupations made him travel a great deal, had kept his promise and was also present. The ceremony began with a reading of the penitential psalms by Dr António Homem, who sat in a place of honour, "em huma cadeira das de tella que forão do Bispo dom Afonso de Castelo branco", while the congregation stood. All present were given tephilim, a novelty in the Fellowship (58), but only for their foreheads. Miguel Gomes showed them how to put them on.

The reading lasted for about half an hour. Dr António Homem then stood up and entered an adjacent room, where he remained for a few minutes. Then he gently blew a horn twice, which was the sign for his congregation to join him:

"e a dita casa estaua armada de seda e o chão alcatifado e junto a huma parede das ditas casas estaua hum bofete e sobre elle humas toalhas brâcas ao modo de Altar e postos sobre elle quantidade de castiçais cõ uellas acezas não lhe lembra quâtas e segundo sua lem brança algumas dellas tinhão mais de hum lume ao modo de serpenti- nas e tâbem auia mais hum candeeyro cõ muytas luzes que ardião em o dito bofete estaua hum Retabulo em que estaua Moyses pintado cõ as taboas da ley na mão, desuiado do dito bofete estaua outro no qual estauão postas certas uistiduras as quaes, segundo sua lembrã ça erão de chamalote de ouro não se lembra de que cor" (59).

The main ceremony was about to begin. The High Priest's aco- lytes, Canons Fernão Dias da Silva, António Dias da Cunha and Crispim da Costa, put on their ceremonial vestments. Crispim da Costa

"tomou huma ueste de olanda ou tafeta que estaua posta em huma ban da do bofete a qual era larga e tinha humas mangas tambem largas, que se abotoauam nos colos dos braços, com seus botões, e tinha hums botões pella dianteira ate o peito ordinarios do mesmo pano, ou de seda branca, e era comprida, ate perto do artelho, e fican- do assi reuestido, sem se cingir, nem ter nada na Cabeça nem no pes coso, estando descalso como os mais tomou o dito liuro nas mãos e se pos de giolhos iunto ao dito bofete, a huma das ilhargas delle, pondosse tambem os Circunstantes na mesma postura e Começou a re- zar em uoz intelligiuel em latim pello dito liuro, e chegando a Certas palauras [...] abaixaua o dito Chrispim da costa a Cabeça

pera sobre o peito, e depois para cada huma das illargas, o que tambem faziam os circunstantes, e nisto se deteriam por espaço de huma hora" (60).

As the High Priest, Dr António Homem was elaborately dressed by his assistants:

"primeiramente lhe uestirão huma alua a modo de roxete com mangas e bem comprida que era de olanda, ou de cambray e tinha muitos pontos de renda nas mangas, e a roda o qual roxete atou cõ hum cordão de retros, e logo deu pera elle uestir duas uestes ao modo de huma tunica, e tunicela de que os Bispos uzão quando se reuestem em Pontefical; e sobre ellas uestio o dito Antonio homem huma ueste grande a modo de capa de asperges que quasi chegaua ao chão, e por baixo tinha humas borlas de seda e ouro a modo de campainhas toda a roda: e loguo o dito Antonio homem lançou hum cordão ao pescosso de que penduraua huma lamina dourada, ou de ouro e não sabe o que tinha: e loguo [Father Diogo da Mata (61)] administrou aos ditos sacerdotes huma mitara de dous palmos toda fechada asima como trazem os papas, nas ilhargas da qual mitara auia hum modo de ioias com ouados e com pedras que reluzião (62), e enquanto os ditos assistentes ministrauão ao dito Antonio homem estiuerão inclinados com a cabeça, e com modestia, e com muito acatamento lhe uestirão as ditas uestes, e todos os ditos conegos assistentes uestirão sobrepelises destas ordinarias, e [Father Diogo da Mata] tambem uestio a sua, e todos os ditos sinco conegos uestirão sobre ellas cada hum sua ueste a modo de almaticas, com meas mangas todas de cha malote de ouro".

The High Priest and the altar were incensed. The usual sermon and prayers followed. All present forgave each other, and were individually blessed in the Jewish fashion by Dr António Homem, who had his feet kissed as an act of reverence. An oath of secrecy was also taken. The Lente made a final speech,

"emcomendando a todos que guardassem pontualmente segredo, dando-lhes logo iuramento no testamento uelho, emcomendandolhes que ainda que fossen prezos pello Santo officio, e estiuessen arrisco de morrerem o não descubrissem ainda que os queimassem" (63).

The ceremony was a success, as usual (64), but the tephilim, long forgotten among the New Christians, seemed out of place (65). Besides, Dr António Homem was not interested in changing the rituals he had developed, which combined the dignity of the Christian liturgy

with the written Jewish Law. The tephilim were never used again. In the eyes of Dr António Gomes, a strict judaiser, this confirmed what he and Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro had suspected for some time. His fellow Lente was not just promoting a revival of the Jewish faith; he was intentionally creating a new form of worship, radically different from the orthodox rituals which he knew well from tradition. He was reviving the Temple worship, and the implications of such a course of action were obvious to all.

The significance of the Temple in Jewish liturgy was enormous. A rabbinical tradition suggested that the Lord had considered creating the Temple before the World itself (66). The destruction of the second Temple had been brought about by the Lord because of the spiritual decay prevailing among His chosen people (67). The Lord Himself would have the Temple rebuilt at a time of His choosing (68). This would happen with the coming of the Messiah. But the latter would be preceded by the return of Elijah the prophet (69), who would reintroduce certain aspects of the Temple worship and would set the pure Israelites apart from the Gentiles. Now, Dr António Homem was a learned man and an authority on the Law of Moses, and was therefore accepted by his congregation as their High Priest, even though he was only a half New Christian; but all his scholarship did not give him the right to assume the role of Elijah. Dr António Gomes could not honestly say that he approved of what was taking place (70).

In the course of the visitation, Dr António Homem was accused of corruption and sinful living by a number of people who resented his growing power in the University (71). Although his enemies could not prove beyond doubt that he was the actual leader of the New Christian surras or pressure groups, they did present more than enough evidence to substantiate the allegations of corruption and bribery. Consequently, Dr António Homem was formally charged on 18 November with corruption, on five counts, and was given three days to reply to the charges. His defence was completed on 21 November (72). He recalled his services to the University for the past forty years, pointed out that he had always been known as a good teacher, scholar, and administrator, and tried to prove that the charges against him were mere fabrications of his enemies. He was partially successful. Some minor details were dropped as unproven. Nevertheless, he was found guilty on four counts, and was privately sentenced to pay a fine of 100,000 réis "applicados a Universidade para ajuda dos gastos, e despesas que tem feito, e se fizerem nesta visita" (73).

The allegations of immorality were a different matter. Bishop

Mexia's clerk, Dr Martim de Carvalho, later stated that it was clear that the people who testified against the Lente "fallauam do dito Antonio homem em materia de fanchonices, E nas mais de que se trataua na deuaça, com animo de o infamar E offender [...] porque fallauam uaguamente e com generalidades sem especificar cousa que contiuesse delicto formado nem aparente" (74). All the same, the Bishop ordered Father Francisco Suárez to conduct an enquiry, which was dropped because of insufficient evidence (75). It could be argued that nothing came out of it because the Bishop's nephew Jorge Mexia and his older brother were involved; but, in truth, the incident made no difference to the Prelate's friendship for Dr António Homem (76). However, it was thought advisable to send Jorge Mexia away. This was far more painful for the Lente than paying the 100,000 réis (77).

Not all were so fortunate. Dr António Gomes, whose New Christian ancestry had caused him problems in the Faculty of Medicine since 1610 (78), was suspended from his Chair of Prime and fined 200,000 réis, to be paid to the Hospital of St Anthony of the Portuguese in Madrid. For obvious reasons, he severed all links with the Fellowship at this time (79). Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro was found guilty of corruption and usury, and of having indulged in the sins of sodomy and mollities (80). His family was not affected (81). Dr Navarro was expelled from the University in perpetuum, and his name was struck off the University records. He was paraded in chains through the streets of Coimbra on 15 December (82) and sentenced to be deported to Africa (83). On the following day, various students were punished according to their offences (84). Some of them were New Christians (85).

9 - The Beginning of the End

The visitation ended quite abruptly, as Father Francisco Suárez privately admitted to his friend D Rodrigo da Cunha (1). A junta as appointed by the King to wind up the proceedings as quietly as possible. There had been enough scandal already. Rector D João Coutinho and his Deputies concluded the matter in a couple of weeks (2), and Father Suárez considered himself free to leave on holiday by late May 1617 (3). Dr António Homem, who had just recovered from a short illness (4), had not been detected. His luck had not left him outside the University either: one of his servants, André Gonçalves, was interviewed during the visitation to the city's parishes and said nothing which might have endangered his master (5).

At about this time, Dr António Homem's aunt Brites Brandoa went to the Monastery of Our Lady of Campos, near Montemor-o-Velho (6), where her daughter Briolanja Travassos was a nun (7), to remind her of her duties as a follower of the Jewish faith. Briolanja Travassos, accompanied by Sister Branca de São José, a New Christian (8), met her mother at the grating which separated nuns from visitors in the parlour. Brites Brandoa took the opportunity to tell Branca de São José that the Law of Moses "hera a boa para salvação dalma E que so nella auia Salvação". She would do well in following it, she added, "que Deus lhe faria muitas merces" (9). Branca de São José, who came from a family with judaiser traditions, easily agreed to follow her advice. When Dr Jerónimo de Almeida (10), a leading member of Montemor-o-Velho's New Christian judaiser community, visited his sisters in the Monastery, he instructed her at her request. And when she was elected Abbess, she used the influence that her rank gave her to promote Jewish cult meetings among her subordinates.

This was not the only such case. Three of Canon Fernão Dias da Silva's sisters, all nuns, judaised in the Benedictine Monastery of Our Lady of the Assumption of Semide. They were Maria da Silva and Brites Nunes, both aged 40, and Leonor da Silva, aged 35. They held prayer meetings with the collaboration of other New Christian nuns (11). Their sister Violante da Silva, aged 37, a nun in the Augustinian Monastery of Celas, in Coimbra, also judaised, together with some others (12). They all were connected with the Fellowship of St Diogo and occasionally contributed to its fund (13).

The Fellowship continued to grow. Miguel Gomes "o Manco" recruited a new member in June: Manuel Soares, a country gentleman who lived in the Rua das Solas (14). Although he was only a quarter New Christian and was married to an Old Christian woman, Maria de Oliveira, he was a sincere convert to the Jewish faith, and Miguel Gomes trusted him from the beginning (15). Contacts were also established with reliable judaisers in Montemor-o-Velho, particularly within the Pina and Lobo families; but other equally trustworthy judaisers were also approached. One of the latter was Manuel de Seïça, a full-blooded New Christian who had been carefully brought up as a Catholic (16) and owed his Jewish beliefs to his friend Manuel de Arede (17).

In August, Dr António Homem invited a neighbourhood boy, 13-year old Francisco Gomes, to accompany him to a vineyard of his in the S Lázaro area, on the northern approach to Coimbra. Late in that afternoon, the Lente sent his page boys Manuel Henriques and Tomé da Fonseca to the city, in order to get some wine; and, in their absence, he

embraced Francisco Gomes, with the latter's consent. Thus began a relationship which was to continue until a few days before Dr António Homem's arrest. Francisco Gomes kept it secret until the redoubtable Simão Barreto de Meneses scared him into confessing it (18).

D Francisco de Meneses was transferred to the Lisbon Inquisition on 9 August 1617, which was good news for the Lente. Even so, he would have to take care. He decided to miss that year's Dia Grande ceremonies, which were to take place in Miguel Gomes's house on Saturday, 30 September (19). They went on as planned. André Vaz Cabaço, who was present, would later describe them. They met before eight on the morning of the appointed day,

"em hua Caza que tem o ditto Miguel gomes onde dormia cõ hua porta para a Cozinha e outra para a sala que estauam fechadas porque os não uissem ne fossem dar com elles e se algua pessoa batia o ditto Miguel gomes sahia fora a falarlhe pella ditta porta da cozinha".

Diogo Lopes da Rosa, who was the officiating priest and wore a mitre, showed them an alabaster retable portraying Moses with his rod, which they were made to kiss. He then began a long prayer, which lasted for about an hour, "pedindo que rogassem todos a Deus por meo do ditto profeta Moyses os liurasse do poder de seus inimigos [...] e os reduzisse a sua fee". Afterwards they went down on their knees and praised God, imploring Moses to listen to their prayers, "e se abraçaram huns aos outros". The session was occasionally interrupted by people, who were taken care of by Miguel Gomes, "e os que stauam dentro fingiam que iugauam".

Diogo Lopes da Rosa read a text on which he elaborated as the subject of his sermon. He took the Maccabees as symbols of the struggle of the Jewish people to obtain religious freedom (20). Other prayers and periods of meditation followed until sunset. The ceremony was concluded when the first star was seen in the sky. They then had a light supper, following which all knelt down, led by Diogo Lopes da Rosa, who began praising God

"com as Mãos abertas leuantadas e afastadas huma da outra mas com as palmas humas tornadas para as outras; e o mesmo fasiam os circunstantes; e disse muitas graças vos damos senhor Deus do ceo por nos liurares de poder de nossos Inimigos e delles nos liurai asi como liurastes ao Pouo hebreu do Catiueiro do faroo; pedimos uos que nos tenhais sempre em obseruancia de vossa ley que nos destes por Moyses vosso profetta e outras palauras semelhantes a estas

[...] e todos responderam amen com as cabeças baixas" (21).

The promotion of Dr António Homem's old rival Dr João de Carvalho to the Chair of Vespers of Law on 20 October, replacing the disgraced Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro (22), could have given him some concern. But there were no serious reasons for worry. He was highly placed in the University and on good terms with Rector D João Coutinho. When the latter summoned a *Claustrum Plenum* on 9 December to inform the *Lentes*, Deputies and Councillors about a Royal letter which had just arrived, Dr António Homem was present, in a place befitting his rank, and his opinion was respectfully heard (23). The news that Oporto was about to be visited by the Inquisition caused no undue alarm (24).

D João Coutinho's promotion to the Bishopric of the Algarve made it necessary to elect a new Rector. Three candidates were chosen by the University Council on 19 July (25): D João de Lencastre, D Fernando de Castro, and Canon Vasco de Sousa (26). A Royal letter dated 13 January 1618 appointed Vasco de Sousa for the Rectorship (27), and he was sworn in on 23 March with the usual ceremonial (28), having had to resign his Canonry (29).

At about that time, Dr António Homem was unlucky enough to befriend 15-year old André da Cruz, a musician in the Cathedral. The boy, who knew him from the religious services and was a close friend of the *Lente's* page boy Manuel Henriques, went to see him one day and asked him for a loan of six tostões. The *Lente* gave him that sum, after some intimacies which took place in his study. He apparently did not know that André da Cruz had various special friendships, and was capable of turning against his friends in order to save himself (30). It was also during February that the *Lente* made friends with Diogo de Beja, a 17-year old student from a good family (31) who maintained homosexual relations with various students. It all began when Diogo de Beja visited him, to give him a message from his uncle Manuel de Escobar and ask him for advice. The youth later stated that it was the *Lente* who took the initiative, but, if he did, he was unopposed (32).

In spite of these diversions, the fact was that Dr António Homem felt he was already under suspicion. The strain began to show. He was known to drink too heavily on occasions. On Lazarus Sunday, just before Easter, Dr António Homem went with Canons Manuel Teles and Mateus Lopes da Silva, both fellow judaisers, and other guests to the former's estate near the hermitage of Our Lady of Loreto, beyond the northbound gates of Coimbra:

"E estando os ditos tres conegos merendendo, o dito Doutor Antonio homem se embebedou de modo que depois de uomitar se andaua abraçando cõ os synseiros e ahi o deixarão os ditos dous conegos e como foi noite o trouxerão os lacayos por não poder elle uir nem a caualo nem a pee sem a dita ajuda delles".

Canons Manuel Teles and Mateus Lopes were deeply shocked to see a colleague of theirs, and their Rabbi besides, disgracing himself in public. When they went home, they told other people, and soon the whole city knew about the incident (33). Even so, the Chapter still trusted Dr António Homem's legal skills. There was at the time a complicated litigation with Pero Lopes de Quadros, which had been referred to the Archbishop Primate of Braga for arbitration. On 23 April, the Lente was asked to review the original documents related to the dispute (34).

The fact that Dr António Homem's activities concerning his synagogue went on without arousing any suspicions among his servants indicates how careful he was. This, however, was in order to protect his congregation. He was not so careful in matters that involved no one but himself. His servants were generally aware of their master's familiarities with boys (35). The latter, who visited the Lente on many occasions and, being Old Christians, would have noticed any sign of unorthodox rituals, invariably saw nothing strange.

In that spring, Vice-Conservador Dr Martim de Carvalho Vilas-Boas, a friend and former pupil of Dr António Homem's, succeeded in taking possession for the University of a rural estate in Carapinheira, which was being claimed by other parties. It was a delicate assignment which was duly rewarded (36). A favourable report was sent to Felipe III, for whom he was entrusted with confidential business a few months later (37). The King was pleased with him, and promoted him to Conservador, with a corresponding pay rise (38). Further advances in his career could be expected. And for Dr António Homem, having the University's top law enforcement authority on his side was a major advantage.

Rector Vasco de Sousa did not survive long in office. He was taken ill in the early spring and died on 25 June. On the following day, Friar Egidio da Apresentação was again elected Vice-Rector until a new Rector could be chosen (39), and on the 27th the names of three candidates for the Rectorship were sent to Felipe III (40). One of them was none other than the Licentiate Simão Barreto de Meneses, and another Dr António Homem's old adversary, D Francisco de Meneses. Both had the support of the influential St Peter's College.

In the meantime, Dr António Homem had other matters on his mind. On 28 June, he was appointed by Royal provision the legal guardian of his young nephew Estêvão, aged eight, who had lived in his house since the death of his father, the Lente's brother Matias Homem. His mother, D Violante de Sequeira, had recently left the house. She was suspected of having an affair with her second cousin Francisco de Moraes da Serra, which disqualified her as Estêvão's guardian (41). The boy's mother had no idea that he was already won over to the Law of Moses (42). It was also in June that Dr António Homem befriended 12-year old Bento Rodrigues, a choirboy in the Cathedral. He invited him home one day, after Vespers, and afterwards asked him to visit him as often as he liked. The boy willingly did so, having known the Lente since early childhood (43).

A consequence of Dr António Homem's double life was that he was under constant threat of exposure. The strain was gradually becoming too much for him to endure. Although he still had five years to run before he was eligible for retirement, he requested early retirement in August, based on the extra time he had lectured as a substitute (44). At the same time, he sent a warning through Canon Fernão Dias da Silva to all members of the Fellowship of St Diogo, "que, ainda que fossem presos, não dissessem nem a pena de morte nem descobrissem a dicta confraria, porque corria nisso grande perigo de affronta e descredito para todos" (45).

Arrests of judaisers began in Oporto in the early summer. On 1 September, the physician Luís Lopes da Cunha (46) was handed over to the Coimbra Inquisition by Familiar Pantaleão Alvares, who had escorted him. His arrest set up a far-reaching chain of events. The prisoner asked for a hearing and began his confession on 6 September before Simão Barreto de Meneses (47), naming his brothers Paulo Lopes da Cunha and Canon António Dias da Cunha as judaisers. He thus made their arrest unavoidable (48), and, without knowing it, dealt the first blow to the Fellowship of St Diogo, with which he never had anything to do.

Yom Kippur was still celebrated, but more discreetly, in Canon Mateus Lopes da Silva's house, by the Arch of Dona Filipa. It had been scheduled for Tuesday, 18 September, but Dr António Homem decided to conduct the ceremony a couple of weeks earlier, for security reasons. The Chapter was represented by no less than six people: the Lente as the officiating priest, André de Avelar, and Canons António Dias da Cunha, Crispim da Costa, Fernão Dias da Silva and Mateus Lopes da Silva. A table served as the altar. Dr António Homem

"estaua asentado em huma cadeira despaldas afastado hum pouco da messa, vestido em huma veste vermelha forrada de tafetta brãco E era a que tinha visto em Casa de Matheus lopes, que vestio o frade frej Sebastiam (49) [...] e na Cabeça huma mitra de tafetta vermelho ou damasquilha, a qual nam era como a dos Bispos, mas vinha a fazer hum redondo em sima no remate como do Papa, ou Emperador, forrada de tafetta branco, com huns perfillos de prata ou seda branca" (50).

After the usual prayers and homily, they waited for the first star to appear in the evening sky. The ceremony ended with individual blessings, following which the congregation enjoyed a light supper of boiled fish, fruit and sweetmeats. It was the last time the Fellowship celebrated a Jewish holy day.

Canon Mateus Lopes's brother Francisco da Silva, the University Paymaster (51), was not present. He had taken a few days off from his usual activities and gone to Lisbon on business. His secret task was to find a way to dispose of the Fellowship vestments, which were normally hidden in a cellar in Miguel Gomes's house (52). This he did, with the latter's assistance (53), but suddenly fell seriously ill and asked to be taken back to Coimbra. His condition rapidly worsened after his arrival. He received the last rites as a faithful Roman Catholic, which he certainly was not. Shortly before his death, he told his daughters D Maria Madalena and D Antónia de Meneses, aged 11 and 9 respectively:

"que sabia que ellas estauam ensinadas na crença da lei de Moyses per seu tio o Conego matheus lopes E que tinha muito gosto nisso porque na dita lej somente auia saluação E ella era a boa e verdadeira [...] que cressem e viuessem na dita lej, e na crença della estiuessen muito constâtes e firmes porque so nella se auiam de saluar" (54).

He died at home five days after his arrival in Coimbra. Very few people knew about his role in the Fellowship. His Old Christian wife, when she heard about it five years later, would not believe it.

A few days later, on 15 September, Canon António Dias da Cunha was arrested by his colleague Canon João de Vilas-Boas (55), an unprecedented event in the city (56). He was the first Fellowship member to be taken into custody. It was feared that he would try to abscond. The scandal of his arrest was deeply felt by the Chapter (57),

which met on 26 September to request from the Holy See the confirmation of a statute denying Cathedral dignities to New Christian clerics. Choirmaster João Pimenta de Abreu and Archdeacon Bento de Almeida, both Deputies of the Holy Office, were chosen to procure from the Crown the necessary support (58).

António Dias da Cunha was first questioned on 29 September. He was in no mood to deny his guilt, but did not intend to tell more than was strictly necessary. As he could not guess how much the Inquisitors knew, he decided to begin with a partial confession. He stated that he had judaised around 1613 or 1614, but no one had influenced him: "disse que o ensinarão seus peccados E sua grande malicia [...] Costumaua ler pello testamento velho, E pouco, E pouco o foi o diabo enganando". This was clearly unsatisfactory; his mother Inês Henriques, arrested on 19 September, had already admitted that both she and her mother were judaisers. António Dias da Cunha's case was given to Simão Barreto de Meneses, who questioned him on 6 October (59). Meanwhile, the Inquisition continued its enquiries in Oporto. Tomé Vaz's children Diogo de Pina, António Vaz and André Nunes de Pina were arrested on 13 October; the latter's wife, D Ana da Cunha (60), was arrested on the 17th, as was Tomé Vaz himself (61). Due to its importance, the latter's case was also given to Simão Barreto de Meneses.

The scrutiny for the Rectorship, which was supervised by Dr António Homem, eliminated D Francisco de Meneses and Simão Barreto. The losers complained directly to Felipe III through Dr Diogo Fernandes Salema (62), who was sent to the Court of Madrid for that express purpose and succeeded in having the election declared null and void. This actually solved a problem for the King, whose choice of Bishop-Count D Afonso Furtado de Mendonça as Reformer of the University had just been dropped (63). D Francisco de Meneses was appointed Reformer and Rector of the University (64).

Faced with the fact that his enemy would soon be his Rector, Dr António Homem chose the only way that came to his mind that could strengthen his position. As Reformer, D Francisco de Meneses would undertake a visitation. As a rule, visitations were primarily concerned with the state of the University's finances. If the Lente could be elected Deputy of the University Treasury Board, he would be able to follow the daily progress of the visitation and how it would affect him. Better still, if the other Deputies were his friends, or at least not hostile, he would feel safer. He only had to persuade enough people to vote for him, which would not be too difficult.



D. Francisco de Meneses Rector

D FRANCISCO DE MENESES, REFORMER AND RECTOR (1619-1624)

A few days later, António de Faria, a physician who also had his ambitions about a career in his Faculty, was approached by the Lente and Secretary Rui de Albuquerque, who asked him in private "que na dita eleição que estaua pera se fazer de deputados da fasenda, uotasse por elle dito Antonio Homem pera deputado della Canonista; e no Doctor Antonio Lourenço pera deputado legista". The same request was later made by Dr João Bravo Chamiço (65).

On Saturday, 10 November, Friar Egidio da Apresentação presided at a meeting of the Treasury Board for the annual election of its Deputies. The scrutiny took place as Dr António Homem had wished. He was elected Deputy of his Faculty, and his friend Dr António Lourenço was re-elected to represent the Faculty of Law. The Deputies of Theology and Medicine, Friar Francisco da Fonseca and Dr Martim Gonçalves Coelho, had never been unfriendly to him. But Dr António Homem was unaware of the provocation which the scholars of St Peter's College had planned for him. He left the meeting with the newly-elected Deputies and the Vice-Rector and crossed the University gates, turning left towards the Trinity College chapel. It was precisely when they passed St Peter's College that the scholars lighted fireworks, which they threw from the windows of the College, shouting at the same time that the Lente would be thrown out of the University with fire (66).

As if the Heavens wanted to signal the downfall of the synagogue, several portents were recorded in that year. There was a great comet in November 1618. It was first observed on the 10th, and on Saturday, 17 November, "deu tam grãde Craridade que se podia enxergar longe hum alfinete". It was clearly visible until mid-December, and many astrologers foretold great misfortunes: "e asim as comesamos logo auer [...] neste cansado Reino de Portugal de que todos Cramauão sem auer enmenda de nada e tudo ir cada ues de mal em pior" (67).

Canon Fernão Dias da Silva was arrested on 17 November (68). His cousin Maria Henriques, a nun in the Monastery of Celas (69), was deeply shocked when she heard about it. She confided in her good friend and fellow judaiser Sister Margarida do Presépio:

"estando ella confitente hum dia com a dita Maria Anriques na sua sella lhe uira hum painel de xpisto nosso. senhor. quando o coroa-ram de espinhos de muito maa pintura, e a dita Maria Anriques disse a ella confitente uedes uos aquella figura he a de meu primo fernam dias perseguido do santo officio" (70).

On Sunday, 25 November, 61 men and 65 women were sentenced in

an auto de fé which took place in Coimbra's City Square. There were no executions. Among the penitents were some of the first judaisers to be arrested in Oporto: Tomé Vaz's children Diogo de Pina and Tomás Nunes de Pina, Canon António Dias da Cunha's brothers Paulo Lopes da Cunha and Dr Luís Lopes da Cunha, and the latter's wife Florença Dias, all of whom were sentenced to gaol and penitential dress ad arbitrium (71); and the physician Francisco Rodrigues Vila Real, sentenced to perpetual gaol and penitential dress (72). It was a heavy blow for Dr António Homem's congregation, and much worse was yet to come. Miguel Gomes had recently extended the lease of his house for another nine years, but there were few hopes that meetings would be held there again (73).

After the nomination of D Francisco de Meneses as Reformer and Rector, one would think that Dr António Homem would be more careful. But he did not seem to care too much at this stage (74). Late in December (75), the Lente went to Lisbon on business, returning to Coimbra immediately after New Year's day. During his return journey, he dismounted and continued in a sedan chair, with curtains drawn, in the company of his page boy, 16-year old Tomé da Fonseca. This obviously irritated his travelling companion, João da Cunha, the 17-year old son of the deceased King's Counsel Dr António da Cunha; and the Lente, wishing to please the youth, found time to embrace him during a lunch break at a roadside inn (76).

10 - The End of a Dream

1619 began with an unlucky omen for Dr António Homem. His old housemaid, Joana Jorge, a widow who had managed his household for over twenty years and was dedicated to her master, died on 8 January (1).

D Francisco de Meneses was sworn in as Reformer and Rector on 18 February (2). On 6 March, the Licentiate Agostinho de Aguiar de Figueiroa, a career magistrate and former District Judge of Viana do Castelo, was appointed his clerk (3), with the salary of two cruzados a day plus 100 cruzados for expenses.

At about that time, 16-year old Agostinho de Faria, a page boy in the service of D Diogo Lobo, took to Dr António Homem's house some lemons that the boy's uncle, a priest in Santo António dos Olivais, had sent him. The Lente, who had never met the boy, was impressed with his countenance. He took a lighted candle "e chegando, iunto ao rosto delle [...] lho esteue uendo mui deuagar". Nothing else hap-

pened at the time, because another page boy, Francisco de Miranda, was also present. But Agostinho de Faria, flattered by the Lente's interest, visited him again a few days later, of his own accord, and intimacies soon began to take place (4).

By then, the synagogue was already doomed. An arrest warrant was issued in late February against Simão Lopes "o Chorão". He was arrested on 2 March. A weak man, he began his confession on the following day and named Miguel Gomes "o Manco", Diogo Lopes da Rosa and Miguel da Fonseca as judaisers, although he did what he could not to say more than was strictly necessary.

On 15 March, Simão Barreto de Meneses received the confession of André Nunes de Pina, who had asked for an audience (5). He claimed to have been converted around 1603 by his neighbour, the late Fernão Pais, a merchant, and Tomé Pais, his son, a silk tradesman (6), but also named his father Tomé Vaz as a judaiser, as well as the Aredes. The time had come for their arrest. Henrique de Arede's cousin Manuel de Arede "o Torto" (7), his wife Leonor de Caminha (8) and their children Miguel Pais and Iseu de Arede were arrested on Tuesday, 18 March, as was Henrique de Arede's son-in-law Francisco de Andrade (9) and his wife Catarina Duarte (10). Henrique de Arede himself and his son Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa, Iseu de Arede's husband, were arrested at home in the evening by Dr João de Carvalho in person (11). The former University Paymaster was so agitated that he shouted to his son: "Nem ey de dizer nada inda que me leuem ao Arnado". The latter tried to prevent his father from compromising them both even further, "dizendo com as mãos aleuantadas pera o dito seu pai, que pellas chagas de Deos fallasse a uerdade [...] que os nam deitasse a perder" (12).

A couple of days later, Miguel da Fonseca visited Dr António Homem on official business. It was still winter and the daylight was poor (13). "E estando ambos soos a huma janella tratando sobre humas cartas da Uniuersidade, que hya comunicar com elle por ordem do Reitor e dela", Miguel da Fonseca mentioned the Lente's kinship with the Aredes and told him "que as prissões desta cidade apertauão cõ muitos homens", and that he feared that neither of them would escape the Inquisition. The Lente replied "que tinha grande boyo pera tudo, e que a ley de Moyses era a boa e verdadeira para salvaçam da alma". And they renewed to each other their vows to be faithful to the Jewish faith.

At about the same time, Miguel Gomes "o Manco" was discussing the arrests with some friends, when he made a careless remark: "nem todos podem ser Judeus: muitos se prendem que saem soltos E liures".

His neighbour Pero Lopes de Gouveia, a notary public, asked him what he meant, and Miguel Gomes explained that the auto de fé of 25 November had been "muito Infame: porque sairam nelle muitos Infames confidentes: porque os homens honrados que prendiam ou auiam de sair soltos e liures, ou queimados". In other words: no man of honour would confess; either his case was dismissed or he was executed. Henrique de Arede was known to be a honourable man, therefore Miguel Gomes predicted that he would be burned at the stake. Pero Lopes de Gouveia took such good note of it that he reported it to the Inquisition (14).

Henrique de Arede's son António Gomes "o Sapo" was arrested on Thursday, 21 March, St Benedict's day, with the discretion required by the importance of the case (15). This was more than Diogo Lopes da Rosa's nerves could stand. On the following day, he asked his friend Dr Martim Gonçalves Coelho, Lente of Medicine, to make an appointment for him with Simão Barreto de Meneses. The Inquisitor received him secretly in his house, at ten in the evening, expecting to hear his confession, but Diogo Lopes da Rosa told him that all he wanted was some guidance about what he should do. Many of his friends had been arrested as judaisers, and he feared that their friendship might cause him problems. Diogo Lopes da Rosa was no match for an expert interrogator like Simão Barreto. He soon admitted that the Law of Moses seemed good to him, and that he had wished to follow the Jewish dietary laws as closely as possible. It was too late in the evening to continue the session, but Diogo Lopes da Rosa, who was scared out of his wits, promised that he would testify as often as Simão Barreto wished, provided they could meet discreetly, in his friend the Chief Warder's quarters or elsewhere.

Simão Barreto left Diogo Lopes da Rosa alone over the weekend, to give him time to think; but called him back on Monday, 25 March, and extracted from him the admission that he had abandoned the Christian faith about seven years earlier, under the influence of Fernão Dias da Silva's brother Marçal Nunes. He also mentioned Miguel Gomes "o Manco" and the Aredes as judaisers. Simão Barreto was now convinced that he was a valuable source of information, and questioned him again on 26 and 27 March. Diogo Lopes da Rosa's statements were closely studied by the Inquisitors, who concluded that he "não disse cousa per onde podesse ser auido por confitente". His arrest was ordered on 29 March, with confiscation of his estate (16).

Diogo Lopes da Rosa was arrested in the evening. By that time, another four Fellowship members had been taken into custody: the physician Francisco de Almeida (17), the merchant Francisco Gomes "o Rui-

vo" (18), and, worst of all, Miguel Gomes "o Manco", on 25 March (19), and Henrique de Arede's son Diogo de Arede on the 26th (20). Emergency measures had been taken long ago, of course: there was no material evidence left for the Inquisition to confiscate. All the books, vestments and objects used by the Fellowship had been smuggled out of the country months earlier by New Christian merchants, on standing instructions left by the late Francisco da Silva (21).

In early April, a few days after Easter Sunday, schoolboy Francisco Pinto de Faria, who had just celebrated his 14th birthday, went to Dr António Homem's house before lunchtime, to deliver a message from his mother, Filipa Pinta de Macedo. The Lente, who probably knew him already as his young friend André da Cruz's neighbour, took the boy to his study and committed the sin of mollities with him, apparently with his consent. This was to happen again at least another four times before the summer holidays (22).

Tomé Vaz broke down on the morning of 23 April and began a detailed confession, fifteen folios long. He admitted that he had judaised, influenced by his father-in-law, and had subsequently converted all his children (23). He also named several judaisers he knew, but not yet Dr António Homem. The latter continued working as usual, without any outward signs of concern. On 30 April he was elected inspector of the Chapter's estates (24).

Two days later, on 2 May, D Francisco de Meneses presented his credentials as a Reformer and declared the visitation open. But, contrary to Dr António Homem's expectations, he did not conduct it as his predecessors had done. He summoned various witnesses, chosen at random among the teachers and students (25), had them sworn on the Gospels and questioned them about the life and morals of the people who taught, studied or worked in the University. In actual fact, he concentrated on cases of immorality (26) and corruption, rather than financial or administrative matters (27); and, as an Inquisitor, he followed the standard procedures of the Holy Office, with which he was best acquainted.

And thus it happened that, on 10 May, Manuel Ribeiro Pacheco, a Bachelor in Law, mentioned various allegations which circulated in the University about Dr António Homem's private life (28). On the following day, António de Faria, a graduate in Medicine, accused him of bribery, corruption and homosexuality (29). A Law student, Francisco Tavares, mentioned incidents with Damião da Silva and João da Cunha and Dr António Homem's relationship with Jorge Mexia. He added the ru-

mour that he "deshonrrara em sua casa huma moça e nella lhe morrera e a enterrara secretamente", and accused him of buying votes in the University elections (30). On 15 May, another Law student, Jacinto da Rocha, recalled a visit he paid Dr António Homem in early 1614. He clearly implied that the Lente committed the sin of mollities and used his influence to buy votes. And he mentioned Jorge Mexia (31).

As the Reformer was building up a formidable case against Dr António Homem, Felipe III cross the border in Elvas on Ascension Thursday, 9 May (32), and arrived in Évora on the afternoon of the 15th, on his way to Lisbon. For D Francisco de Meneses, he could not have arrived at a better time. He could now be informed about what the visitation had uncovered. The King was also firmly opposed to judaisers; his wish to attend an auto de fé in Évora was granted on 19 May, Holy Ghost Sunday. During the ceremony, which lasted from dawn to dusk, 120 people were sentenced, of whom four men and eight women were executed.

Felipe III left Montemor-o-Novo on 24 May and arrived at the Hieronymite Monastery of Belém, near Lisbon, on 5 June, but did not make his official entry into the city until the evening of the 29th (33). During his stay in Lisbon, he was surprised to learn that everybody hoped that he would find a solution for the problems which troubled Portugal (34). Although he understood the workings of government, he was an indolent monarch who found them tedious, and was happy to leave them to his validos.

Meanwhile, in Coimbra, Henrique de Arede's interrogation had begun (35), and D Francisco de Meneses continued to obtain evidence against Dr António Homem. On 22 May, Damião de Sousa Falcão, a Canon Law student, stated that the Lente was known to commit the sin of mollities, in particular with Jorge Mexia, and had tried to persuade him to consent to his advances (36). Other people, however, feared for the Lente's safety and did what they could to protect him. On 23 May, João da Cunha was on his way to the Reformer's chambers, to be interviewed for the visitation, when he was approached by Cristóvão Dinis de Sousa, a candidate teacher in the Faculty of Law. The latter asked him to say nothing against "hum Doctor", in case the Reformer mentioned certain matters. He should not have trusted João da Cunha, who was greatly concerned about his own safety and promptly told almost everything. Although he denied having had intimacies with Dr António Homem, he claimed that other people had, including Jorge Mexia (37).

The Reformer interviewed Bachelor Gonçalo Alvo Godinho, a distinguished Canon Law student, on 10 June. He accused Dr António Homem

of sodomy as well as mollities (38), although the latter was to sponsor him as a candidate for the Licenciatura a week later. It was precisely during this examination, on 17 June, that an alarming incident took place. Having collected so much evidence against the Lente, the Reformer no longer bothered to conceal his enmity (39). At a certain stage, when it was Dr António Homem's turn to speak, Dr João de Carvalho (40) interrupted him without reasonable cause. When the former courteously asked him to await his turn, D Francisco de Meneses angrily told him that he always wanted to speak, but did not allow others to do the same (41). The Lente had the sense not to aggravate the situation, and no mention of the incident was made in the official records. But it was undoubtedly a worrying sign. Even in Coimbra, where such arguments were not all that uncommon, such a blatant display of hostility from the Rector was extraordinary.

On 3 July, Dr António Homem had to examine Bachelor Ascenso Dias, who was sponsored by Dr Luís Ribeiro de Leiva in his first attempt to become a Licentiate - the Formatura. Although Ascenso Dias was expected to be unanimously approved, he performed worse than expected and was passed with reservations, being penalised for one year (42). The events that would soon follow ensured that he would never repeat his examination. There were, however, more immediate causes for concern. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was arrested on 17 July by Bailiff António Moreira (43). This was serious; he was known to be vulnerable to questioning (44). And so he proved to be. He would have confessed on the same day, had he been questioned (45).

Dr António Homem's old friend D Martim Afonso Mexia, Bishop of Lamego, was elected Bishop of Coimbra on 14 July, and the Chapter was informed of it a few days later. As one of Portugal's highest-ranking Prelates and a loyal subject of the House of Austria, he could be of immense help to the Lente in his struggle for survival. The latter, realising that Bishop Mexia's investiture could still be months away (46), had no choice but play for time. He requested again early retirement in August, so as to be away from the University and his enemies. This time his request was granted (47), but it is doubtful whether he was ever informed about it. At the same time, he tried to protect himself in other ways. He privately asked his young friend Diogo de Beja not to tell about their relationship, when the time came for him to be interviewed by the Reformer (48).

André da Cruz appeared before D Francisco de Meneses on 6 August. The 16-year old boy decided to tell everything in order to save himself (49). He made a very full confession. He admitted that he had

sinned with eleven students, a priest, three friars, a University official, a citizen, and Dr António Homem (50). To make things worse, Francisco Pinto de Faria was interviewed on 8 August and stated that the Lente had sinned with him on various occasions (51). On 16 August, Diogo de Beja admitted having intimacies with Dr António Homem and other people (52), and 14-year old Manuel Pereira reported some advances the Lente had made (53).

Meanwhile, D Francisco de Meneses tried to consolidate his position by appointing men he could trust to places of responsibility. When Simão Leal, Clerk of the Conservatória (54), was indisposed and had to be replaced, the Rector had António Gomes, Clerk of Executions, appointed as his substitute on 3 August (55). This would put one of his men close to the Conservador Martim de Carvalho, who had been singled out as one of the main defendants of the visitation (56). He did not expect to be opposed; it was generally known that he enjoyed Felipe III's support. None the less, Dr Martim de Carvalho refused to accept António Gomes in his service. The latter complained to the University Council on 16 August (57). The Conservador was summoned to explain his attitude, but simply refused to answer in the presence of the Reformer, "seo emiguo capital"; and he left the hall (58). On the following day, he was asked what should be done about it, and replied that they could do as they pleased (59). There would be no amicable settlement.

Now that his friends Dr Martim de Carvalho and Rui de Albuquerque were themselves under attack and could no longer help him, Dr António Homem became seriously concerned about what the growing power of D Francisco de Meneses could mean for his future. Early in August, Inquisitor Simão Barreto sent him a message through Archdeacon Manuel de Sousa de Meneses, inviting him for a talk in private. The Lente did meet Simão Barreto, on a Sunday morning, possibly on the second Sunday of August, "despois da terça do Coro". The latter suggested that the best way for him to defend himself was to make an official complaint against D Francisco de Meneses, who would otherwise destroy him. The Lente had known Simão Barreto for years, and was not so naive that he would trust him without considering his proposal very carefully. But he finally accepted his advice, because of an important detail: the six months's grace Felipe III had given to D Francisco de Meneses expired on the 18th of that month, and the Reformer would then be more vulnerable. There was even talk about the appointment of a new Rector. The complaint was filed in mid-August (60).

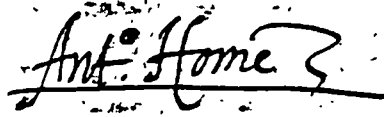
By that time, D Francisco de Meneses had appointed his friend

Friar Vicente Pereira to meet Felipe III in Lisbon, ostensibly to pay his respects in the name of the University, but in actual fact to make a report on University matters, including the visitation. This was a clear violation of the Statutes, which Dr António Homem immediately noticed and hoped could be used against his enemy. He had not long to wait. On 21 August the *Claustrum Plenum* was informed that the King had just extended the Reformer's term of office by another six months (61). The *Lente* reminded at once the *Claustrum* that Friar Vicente Pereira's appointment "punha contra o statuto libro 2º titulo 23 & 7 (62), que dispoem que os negocios desta calidade se tratem em claustro pleno, e que dessa clausula nem na mesa da fazenda se tratara".

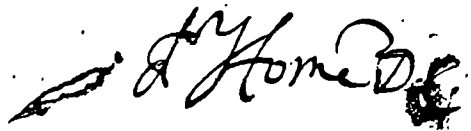
D Francisco de Meneses was taken aback, and replied "que em messa da fazenda prupusera que seria bem mandarse uisitar sua magestade como a universidade costumava faser em casos semelhantes". It was the Treasury Board that chose Friar Vicente Pereira, and letters were accordingly written to the King, the Prince and the Royal Confessor about it, in the presence of the Deputies, Dr António Homem included. In any case, it was nothing worse than a misunderstanding: "as ditas cartas erão so para beiar a mão a sua magestade e lhe dar a obediensia deuida". That, he explained, was why he did not put the matter to the vote. However, they were free to vote on this, if they insisted. Dr António Homem expected more, but it was nevertheless a defeat for the Rector. He replied "que não tinha duuida na elleisão das ditas pesoas porque lhe paressera muito acertada e nellas mesmo uotara na ditta mesa da fazenda". He added, as a parting shot, that he "se tinha escapado da ditta clausula da carta que se não tratara na ditta messa". The matter was put to the vote, "E se asentou que para mais seguransa não tratasse nenhum negocio particular desta universidade sem particular comissão deste claustro na forma dos ditos statutos". It was clear that quite a few *Lentes* were not over-enthusiastic about how D Francisco de Meneses managed the affairs of the University. Dr António Homem felt he had won a battle. The signature he put to the minutes of that meeting was unlike any he had done before: his full title - "Antonio Homem Lente de prima de Canones." (63).

On 30 August, the Treasury Board was notified that Dr António Homem would be away in Lisbon for a time. It was suggested that, since he had to go, he could discuss with the Bishops of Elvas, Leiria and Miranda do Douro, who were there with Felipe III, the matter of allowing the University to present two canonries in each diocese. He accepted (64). He left for Lisbon on Monday, 2 September, and remained in the capital until 10 October (65). Three days after his departure, Simão Barreto received Diogo Lopes de Sequeira's confession (66).

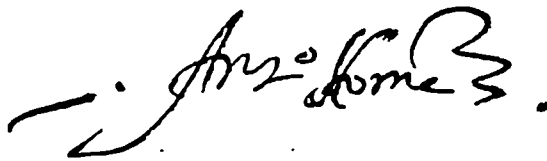
DR ANTÓNIO HOMEM'S SIGNATURE



An early specimen, dated 1585.



"doutor Homem Deputado de Canones", on a receipt dated 17 June 1614.



1617 specimen.



"Antonio Homem Lente. de 1ª [Prima] de Canones". His full title was very rarely used.



Signature dated 20 November 1619, four days before his arrest (Conselhos, 1619-1620, fl. 63).

Meanwhile, the Treasury Board nominated D Francisco de Castro, Bishop of Guarda, to accompany Friar Vicente Pereira to Lisbon. But D Francisco de Meneses did not waste his time. He informed the Board on 9 September that D Francisco de Castro had written to him on 30 August to tell him that he was unable to accept his invitation to accompany Friar Vicente Pereira. Due to the inconvenience of electing a replacement, it was decided that Friar Vicente Pereira should go alone, and would also give Felipe III the letters which the University would write to him, "Reformadas por considerações que pera isso se apontarão" (67). The Reformer had won.

It was during his stay in Lisbon that the Lente met again Jorge Mexia, whom he had not seen since they parted after the 1616 visitation. Just before he left Coimbra, he had received a letter from Jorge's brother Martim Afonso Mexia, Archdeacon of Riba Coa, asking him to give the young man some money on his behalf for his personal expenses. But Dr António Homem was disappointed. Jorge was 17 now and no longer the affectionate boy he recalled. He was preparing for a military career and was apparently uninterested in their past friendship. For some reason, the Lente gave him no money; and Jorge, as short-tempered as ever and feeling rejected, complained bitterly to his brother. It was an argument the Lente should have avoided, but he had by then a great deal more to think about (68).

In Coimbra, the interrogations continued. Unlike his father, Tomé Vaz's son André Nunes de Pina showed little willingness to cooperate, and on 16 September it was decided to put him to torture: "que fosse atado e leuantado ate a Roldaina". This was to take place on the following morning. Just before breakfast time on 17 September, Simão Barreto asked Chief Warder Simão Fernandes to bring him André Nunes de Pina, whose guardian he was (69). Simão Fernandes was an old man, and hard of hearing, and had had too much to do in the last few days. He rushed to obey his orders and, understandably, made a mistake. He took André Nunes de Pina to the new cell on the lower floor, and asked his helper Leonardo João to escort two prisoners, Domingos da Fonseca and Father Manuel Carneiro, to the audience hall. The warder did as he was told: he went to the cell, which was ready for the transfer, asked the prisoners to follow him, and took them to Simão Barreto. The latter, who could not understand how such a serious breach of security could have happened, whispered to Leonardo João to take them back to their cell at once. Meanwhile, André Nunes de Pina was transferred to the same cell, where, to his astonishment, he found his brother-in-law Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. His first impulse was to hug him, but the lat-

ter stepped back, saying, "louuado seja xpristo que a tal estado me chegou", and sat on a step, weeping. A few minutes later, Chief Warder Simão Fernandes told André Nunes de Pina to put his cloak on and follow him.

This time he was taken to the torture chamber, where Simão Barreto awaited him. André Nunes de Pina asked to be heard before the torture began. He named, among other judaisers, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (70) and António Dias da Cunha - and his second cousin Dr António Homem. He confessed that, some six or seven years earlier, he had gone to the Lente's house, where the latter and Canon Mateus Lopes da Silva, who was also present, confessed to him their belief in the Law of Moses. This was the first definite statement the Inquisition had obtained against Dr António Homem for judaism. André Nunes de Pina was led away and placed in a larger cell, the Casa da Murta, not far from the torture chamber (71).

A couple of days later, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was resting in his cell when he heard weeping and moaning sounds, which he thought were made by someone being tortured. He was greatly moved by them and asked for an audience. He was heard by Simão Barreto on the morning of Friday, 20 September, and continued his previous confession. Among other things, he stated that he had visited Dr António Homem two or three years earlier about a certain matter:

"E o dito Antonio homem desculpandose de não responder a proposito a elle confitente lhe disse, que estaua como de feito mostraua estar, mui cheo de colera nam sabe com que occasiam: porem querendo o dito doutor encarecer a pajxam com que estaua, disse que era o mais mofino Judeu de quantos criam na lej de Moyses, E logo, como tornando sobre sy, disse nam sey o que tenho dito. porem mostrando aquietarse, disse a elle confitente que tiuesse segredo" (72).

Diogo Lopes de Sequeira's story was plausible enough and was accepted as true. He had of course known the Lente as a judaiser for much longer, but did not want to mention the Fellowship.

Also on 20 September, Deputy D Francisco de Soveral, a kindly man who had previously visited Tomé Vaz at his request, for spiritual counselling, was called to see him. The latter's health had worsened since his arrest, and he wanted to be heard in confession, in case he would die. Seeing that his condition was not very serious, D Francisco de Soveral told him that he could not absolve him, unless he named all the judaisers he had deliberately omitted from his confession, as evi-

dence of his repentance. Tomé Vaz, "mostrandose como affligido por lhe significarem que ainda não tinha satisfeito de todo", replied that he would consider the matter overnight, and would tell everything he could recall. When Simão Barreto visited Tomé Vaz in his cell on 21 September, the old man was ready to tell everything. Among various relatives of his who had judaised, he mentioned Dr António Homem, "sobri^unho delle Confitente, per ser filho de hum seu primo com irmam". He told the Inquisitor about that fateful meeting in Oporto, so many years before, when Dr António Homem had confided in him (73). Simão Barreto now had three independent testimonies against the latter; enough to have him arrested.

In the University, D Francisco de Meneses's position was growing in strength. Conservador Dr Martim de Carvalho was questioned in a *Claustrum Plenum* on 2 October about a complaint made against him by the Reformer's appointee António Gomes, whom he had arrested. The Conservador just replied that the Reformer kept summoning him "não porque o caso o pedisse senão pellos desejos que tinha de molestar como seu enemigo capital". As D Francisco de Meneses expected, his choice of António Gomes was considered lawful and orders were given to have him released and sworn in within 24 hours. Dr Martim de Carvalho was personally notified of this decision by Secretary Rui de Albuquerque (74) and sent a written protest, which was read to a *Claustrum Plenum* on 5 October but was overruled. He was suspended from his office by a majority decision, and replaced by a Vice-Conservador, which the University Council would elect (75).

Canon Mateus Lopes da Silva was arrested at home on Sunday afternoon, 6 October (76). Being a sick man, he was immediately seen by the duty physician, the Licentiate João Borges, who happened to know him well, having been his doctor for the past few months. The latter satisfied himself that Mateus Lopes's life was not at risk, and advised him to confess, but he replied: "Confessar, bem me podem desfazer os ossos, não hei de confessar nada". João Borges was so shocked by this apparent display of impenitence that he told other people about it, thus breaking his oath of secrecy (77).

A few days after Mateus Lopes da Silva's arrest, André de Avelar paid a courtesy visit to D Miguel de Castro, a cleric who was in touch with Inquisition affairs and would soon be accepted as a Deputy in Coimbra. The latter surprised him by saying that, as a result of enquiries still going on about judaisers, he would probably end up by being arrested. If he were indeed guilty, would he agree to make a voluntary confession to him? He would thus earn the benevolence of the

Holy Office, and he, D Miguel de Castro, promised him "de não bullirem com elle, e remedear, e aplacar tudo" (78). It was good advice, but André de Avelar rejected it.

Dr António Homem's journey seemed to be worth the trouble. His complaint was accepted by the Board of Conscience and Orders, and High Chancellor Dr Luis Machado de Gouveia was appointed to investigate it. When the Lente returned to Coimbra in mid-October, he brought with him a letter of authority, which enabled him to obtain statements from the witnesses he had named, who would corroborate his complaint. But he learned that, in his absence, his enemies had insinuated that he "intentava as suspeições por se achar culpado", and circulated the rumour that he had already been arrested. He became ill only a few days after his return to Coimbra (79). In actual fact, the Promotor of the Inquisition had already requested his arrest, on the grounds that there were three separate statements against him, taken from relatives of his - André Nunes de Pina, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira and Tomé Vaz - who were good confessants and had confessed *jure similmente*. The Promotor's request was examined on 14 October, and it was unanimously decided on the 19th that the Lente should be arrested, with confiscation of his estate (80). Not only was the evidence conclusive, but Dr António Homem was known to be a half New Christian, with close relatives who had been sentenced as judaisers by the Holy Office, and his standing as a scholar and a Canon was greatly damaged by allegations of moral turpitude (81). The decision was confirmed by the General Council of the Holy Office on 8 November (82). Due to the extraordinary gravity of the matter, the Inquisitor General ordered that Dr António Homem was to be transferred to Lisbon as soon as possible.

While awaiting a decision from the General Council, D Francisco de Meneses obtained additional evidence against Dr António Homem, which he sent to Lisbon on 3 November, together with other documents, through his right-hand man, who also happened to be one of the latter's enemies: Dr Cristóvão Mouzinho, Lente of Codex (83).

On 5 November, Dr António Homem was present for the last time at a meeting of the Treasury Board, as Deputy of his Faculty (84). He hoped to prevent his impending arrest if he could prove that D Francisco de Meneses was his deadly enemy. If he could obtain statements from the witnesses he had named, and send them without delay to the Board of Conscience and Orders, he would have a fair chance of succeeding. Now, however, the people he was counting on did not want to be involved. Worse still, some had been won over to the side of his enemy. Dr Fabrício de Aragão, to whom he sent a male servant with a message,

regretted that his health problems prevented him from helping, which was indeed a plausible excuse (85), but at the same time collaborated with the Reformer in the visitation (86). Dr António Lourenço, Lente of Digestum Vetus, and his nephew Dr Pantaleão Rodrigues Pacheco, who were openly hostile to the Reformer, had changed sides: the former because he hoped for a promotion, the latter because he wanted to be elected Vice-Conservador, in place of Dr Martim de Carvalho, whom the Reformer had suspended from his duties (87). And Dr Domingos Antunes, Lente of Vespers, had proved to be a useful ally of the Reformer (88).

On 17 November, Dr António Homem was visited by 15-year old Francisco Gomes, whom he had befriended in the summer of 1617. It was the last time he is known to have had intimacies with one of his young friends (89). On 20 November, he attended a University Council meeting to discuss a point of law concerning Gonçalo Pires de Carvalho, the tenant of a University land at Carapinheira (90). However concerned he might be, the Lente had no excuse to neglect his duties.

On Saturday, 23 November, the beadles of all Faculties announced in the lectures of Prime - at half past seven in the morning - that, in accordance with the Statutes (91), all Lentes and students were to be present at two in the afternoon of the following day in the University Chapel, sub poena prestiti iuramenti (92), to celebrate St Catherine's feast. Dr António Homem saw no reason why he should not be there. He could not guess that he was giving his last lecture (93).

On Sunday, 24 November, the eve of St Catherine's day, the whole University congregated in the Chapel, where a High Mass was celebrated, with an appropriate sermon. A procession was then formed per modum universi, with the students of all Faculties, followed by the beadles with their maces, and finally the Rector and the Lentes. They proceeded towards the College of the Carmelites (94), where Vespers would be preached. It was already dusk, well after four o'clock, when the procession entered the Rua da Santa Sofia. The Church of Our Lady of the Carmel was already in sight, about forty yards away, on the right side of the street. As the procession was nearing its end, D Diogo Lobo, Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition (95), and his men approached Dr António Homem, who walked beside D Francisco de Meneses, and invited him to go with them to the Inquisition building (96). There was no point in resisting (97). He was taken through a side street, yards away from the church (98). The arrest was so quick that it caused no undue alarm (99).

On that same afternoon, the Misericórdia of Coimbra, the

city's most prestigious charity, held a regular meeting. The Purveyor, D Miguel de Castro, expressed the great scandal and disgust which the recent arrests of certain of its members had caused. There was only one way to restore public confidence in the Brotherhood: any members who had New Christian blood should be expelled without delay. The proposal was put to the vote and unanimously approved (100).

On the evening of the same day, a group of students gathered on the University square to make a bonfire of notes Dr António Homem had dictated. They then applauded and cheered outside the house of D Francisco de Meneses and those of other known enemies of the unfortunate Lente (101). Father Luís Arês was in St Dominic's Friary in Coimbra when he heard about the Lente's arrest. His Prior, Friar Sebastião dos Anjos, noticed how he reacted: "aquella noute se achou no ditto mosteiro e toda ella andou em pee so passeando por huma uaranda quasi descuberta e desemparada aos ares e dando a mão como homem pensatiuo que sentia a prizão do ditto Antonio homem" (102).

On 25 November, the day after the Lente's arrest, an inventory of his estate was made by order of Dr Manuel Veloso da Veiga, Judge of the Public Treasury in Coimbra (103). He was assisted by his clerk, Francisco Pinto Bacelar, and by a goldsmith, João Roque, who acted as a valuer. At the same time, as Dr António Homem feared, Simão Barreto de Meneses was put in charge of his case, and was openly hostile from the beginning:

"dizendolhe despois de preso elle senhor Simão barreto, que so hum Anjo do Ceo podia desfazer os testemunhos que lhe lja, o Reu. lhe respondeo com a diuida modestia que assi os costumaua mandar fazer Deus quando era necessario para defender inocentes, E que assi con fiaua o auia de fazer, no caso delle Reu [...] E elle senhor Simão barreto não teue que lhe responder se não que o que fazia o dito dom francisco não era por ordem do Santo. officio, E o Reu lhe replicou que sendo a materia a mesma. E os que testemunharão os mesmos isso bastaua para proua das Machinações que ouue cõtra elle Reu. em ordem a sua prisão, estando a tudo isto presente o Notario Manoel Rodriguez Sylueira".

When Dr António Homem was given Father Bento de Lira as his companion, and asked the latter to console him, Simão Barreto made a rather unkind comment:

"porque? vos sois iudeo, E estaes conuencido de somitigo quomo para quem ides? palauras mui alheas E fora dos limites do officio de

Inquisidor, cõtra justiça E Charidade, que mostra bem o odio de que seu animo estaua cheo cõtra o Reu; nomeando a hum sacerdote, tam qualificado, a outro preso, com taes nomes dando por conuenido, antes do libelo, nem defesa" (104).

A detailed report on Dr António Homem's arrest was sent to the General Council of the Holy Office without delay. Due to the importance of the case, the Bishop Inquisitor General instructed the Coimbra Inquisition to transfer the prisoner to Lisbon as soon as possible, as had previously been agreed. Paulo Correia, Commissioner of the Lisbon Inquisition, was to escort him, "e seia tudo de Maneira, que ve nha com o segredo segurança, e resguardo que cõuem" (105).

Meanwhile, Dr António Homem's estate was confiscated by sentence of the Holy Office. His furniture and other belongings were handed over to Manuel Fernandes Guterres, a building contractor, for safe keeping (106). The Treasurer of the Public Treasury, Pedro Homem de Resende, was made responsible for the gold and silver items found in the Lente's house (107). The house itself was eventually auctioned and bought by D Isabel de Almeida, Pedro Homem de Resende's mother, who offered it to her other son, João de Resende (108). Dr António Homem's most prized possession, his library, was transferred to St Paul's College by order of the Inquisitor General; the Rector of St Paul's, Dr Francisco Rodrigues de Valadares, accepted it in the name of his College (109). The Lente's servants were made to look for employment elsewhere. His mule was bought by D Francisco de Meneses for next to nothing (110).

The Reformer had a personal dislike for Dr Luís Ribeiro de Leiva, and did not feel he should accept the students' choice of the latter as the interim Lente of Prime (111). He gave that assignment to Dr Domingos Antunes, who, as Lente of Vespers, was immediately after Dr António Homem in the hierarchy of the Faculty of Canon Law (112). He also wrote to Felipe III on 29 November, informing him about the latest developments and explaining how he intended to reorganise the Faculty (113).

On 14 December, Dr António Homem was escorted to Lisbon by Paulo Correia and António Rodrigues, a 18-year old in the service of the Bailiff of the Coimbra Inquisition: "Vindo preso [...] mettido em huma litteira muito doente de gota, E acõpanhado, dentro nellas cõ pe soa de tanta confiança como Paulo Correa, disse outro deputado do Santo officio fora do seu direito, que me lançassem aljemas" (114). The overzealous Deputy was António Coelho de Carvalho, a former pupil of

the Lente's. The latter had sponsored him in his Formatura exactly one year and three days earlier (115).

The journey was uneventful. Paulo Correia formally handed over Dr António Homem to Heitor Teixeira, Chief Warder of the Estaus, on 18 December. The latter made a perfunctory search of the prisoner, "e sendo buscado na forma do regimento lhe não acharão cousa alguma" (116).

On 19 December, Friar Vicente Pereira delivered to the General Council a message from D Francisco de Meneses. The Reformer suggested that the Inquisitors should interview three important witnesses, including Manuel Carvalho, a footman in the service of D Lourenço Coutinho, and Diogo de Beja, who would later accuse the Lente of committing sodomy. Manuel Carvalho, a 28-year old mulatto, was interviewed on the following day and was more subdued than in his earlier statement. He testified that, some four years earlier, when he was in Dr António Homem's employment, he had accompanied him and Jorge Mexia to the Lente's farm by St Lazarus's hermitage, where they spent three or four days. As he slept in a ground-floor room below the Lente's own bedroom, he could listen to noises which led him to believe that Dr António Homem had sex with the boy. It was true that he never found any material evidence when he made the Lente's bed every morning, but he knew that the latter locked himself in his study with Jorge Mexia and "o trataua com muitos mimos" (117).

Simão Barreto de Meneses interviewed Manuel Henriques, the Lente's 16-year old page boy, on 21 December. He was not sure of what the irascible Inquisitor expected of him. Being asked about whether he knew if any boys visited Dr António Homem regularly, he replied that his neighbour, 15-year old Francisco Gomes, often did. He even "por disimulação entraua algumas ouses pella porta do quintal", and Dr António Homem sometimes called him in, "e lhe daua doces, e fazia mimos". He believed that they committed the sin of mollities, but no worse. Manuel Henriques made a voluntary statement against his former master on the following day, but denied that sodomy had taken place (118).

The Christmas festivities were barely over when, on 29 December, D Francisco de Meneses wrote to Felipe III about the progress of the visitation. Simão Barreto interviewed Francisco Gomes on the same day. Obviously terrified of what the Inquisitor might do to him, the boy confessed that he "estaua mui arrependido, das fraquezas, e culpas, em que o dito Antonio homem, o fisera cair, (o que disse com muitas lagrimas)". After having seduced him, he stated, the Lente often invited him to his house in daytime, and committed the sin of molli-

ties. Not that he wanted it to happen, of course; but he was persuaded with money and gifts. This had happened very often, sometimes once or twice a week. But he denied that sodomy had ever taken place (119).

11 - A Wave of Arrests

D Francisco de Meneses was allowed three Deputies on 2 January 1620 to assist him in the reformation (1): two Dominicans from the Faculty of Theology, Friars João Aranha (2) and Vicente Pereira, and Dr Luís Ribeiro de Leiva, Lente of Decretum in the Faculty of Canon Law (3). Their first task, on 3 January, was to order the arrest of Diogo de Beja, André da Cruz and another five young men, charged with homosexuality (4). Simão Barreto had begun interviewing Dr António Homem's young friends on 2 January. Although existing evidence suggested that nothing worse than mollities had ever taken place, he was convinced of the Lente's guilt, and was persistent. He soon obtained evidence against him for sodomy from eight boys (5).

Meanwhile, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira's extensive confession was found to be insufficient, and consequently the decision was made on 12 January to have him tortured: "sera começado a atar". This was done on 15 January, but he added nothing else. Manuel de Arede had been tortured on the 13th, with somewhat better results (6).

The visitation was causing a marked disruption in University affairs (7). Knowing that the Reformer's term of office was about to expire, Dr Luís Ribeiro de Leiva and other Lentes proposed in a *Clastrum Plenum* that a Vice-Rector should be elected to take over the administration of the University until the Crown appointed a Rector. The choice fell on the respected Friar Francisco Carreiro, Lente Emeritus of Scotus (8). Predictably angered to see one of his Deputies second a motion against his activities, D Francisco de Meneses had a report made and sent it to the King through the Board of Conscience and Orders. It had immediate results: the election was suspended (9), the Reformer's term of office was extended for another year (10), Friar Francisco Carreiro was ordered to report to the Governors of the Kingdom (11), and Dr Luís Ribeiro de Leiva was informed that he need not attend the meetings of the Junta of Reformation (12).

Enquiries about the Fellowship of St Diogo continued. Canon António Dias da Cunha had not revealed who had persuaded him to judaise, which classified him as a *diminuto*. His case was reviewed on 10

January and the Inquisitors decided to have him tortured, which was confirmed by the General Council on 21 January. This was executed on the morning of the 29th, in the presence of Simão Barreto. The torture was unusually violent, as was to be expected for such an important defendant (13), and was interrupted twice by decision of the physician and surgeon. António Dias da Cunha named Canons Manuel Teles, Francisco Borges and Crispim da Costa, which was less than was expected of him. But it was accepted that he could not add anything of substance to his confession. His statement was ratified on 31 January and his proceedings closed (14).

On 1 February, Simão Barreto de Meneses, Dean Francisco Pinto Pereira and three Deputies discussed whether the evidence against Manuel Teles, Francisco Borges and Crispim da Costa was sufficient to order their arrest. They decided against it in the case of Manuel Teles (15), and Francisco Borges's case was not considered urgent, as he was an old man and not likely to abscond; but Crispim da Costa should be arrested at once, with confiscation of his estate. However, the General Council decided on 7 February that no arrests should be made for the time being. Meanwhile, the Inquisition was taking its time with Dr António Homem. He was not questioned until 4 February, and then only about genealogical matters (16). His first interrogation in genere was made on 13 February. He denied being guilty as charged.

Crispim da Costa could not know that the Lente had confessed nothing, and feared for his safety. On Friday, 21 February, he approached his old friend and colleague Julião Pinheiro, Archdeacon of Seia, and told him "com grandes extremos de sentimento" that he wished to confide in him as a friend. His honour, he added, "estava posta em mãos de quatro ualhaquos que estavam presos do Santo officio nomeando os Conegos Antonio homem, fernam dias, e Matheus lopes, e o medico francisco dalmeida". Julião Pinheiro pointed out that those four had been arrested some time ago; why be concerned about them now? He replied that Archdeacons Bento de Almeida, Manuel de Sousa and Dr João Pimenta "lhe fallauam de algum tempo a esta parte mais chumbados, e carreguados do que costumauam, e que isto o tinha a mao sinal". At about six in the evening, Crispim da Costa met Canon Nicolau Monteiro outside the Cathedral, and admitted that he was afraid, as three of his colleagues "lhe não faziam tam bom rosto como dantes, e que lhe falauam mais carregados, do que costumauam". Nicolau Monteiro tried to cheer him up, but was at a loss to understand why he was so upset (17).

At nine on the morning of Saturday, 22 February, D Francisco de Meneses declared open a *Claustrum Plenum* which he had ordered to

take place on that day. Bartolomeu Fernandes Soares, then acting as Secretary of the University (18), read a letter which Felipe III had sent the Reformer on 12 February, extending his term of office for another year. It was a shock for many Lentes. The respected D André de Almada, Lente of Vespers of Theology, protested at once. His Majesty should be informed that the University could not afford any more expenses. D Francisco de Meneses could wind up the reformation in far less than a year, or leave that task for D Martim Afonso Mexia, who was an experienced Reformer and would soon be invested in the dignity of Bishop of Coimbra. He was supported at once by three Lentes, and the session was abruptly closed (19). The Reformer could afford such minor inconveniences; he could not be dismissed while he had His Majesty's protection (20).

On Sunday, 23 February, Archdeacon Bento de Almeida (21) was about to leave the Cathedral after the morning service, when he was approached by Crispim da Costa, who wanted to know if it was true that Cristóvão de Sá had told the Dean that he had made Canon Mateus Lopes da Silva judaize. Bento de Almeida replied that he knew nothing about it. It was true that Cristóvão de Sá had visited Dean Francisco Pinto Pereira (22), but that could well be a courtesy visit. After all, Crispim da Sá was an influential citizen who honoured the Dean with his friendship. Bento de Almeida could not admit it, but, as a Deputy of the Holy Office, he knew that António Dias da Cunha had named Crispim da Costa as a judaizer.

On the following day, when he was walking with Crispim da Costa by the Castle Gate, the latter repeatedly asked him to tell him whether the Inquisition had anything against him. After considering the matter, Bento de Almeida decided to refer him to higher authority, and informed Inquisitor Simão Barreto de Meneses. The latter understood Crispim da Costa's attitude as meaning that he was willing to give evidence about the Fellowship, and agreed to have a talk with him. Bento de Almeida took him to Simão Barreto's house in the evening, and they were received by the Inquisitor in the presence of his secretary, Father Manuel Dias Palma. Simão Barreto told Crispim da Costa that he was ready to hear him "com todo o fauor, e misericordia, dispondosse elle declarante para a merecer, e alcansar"; but the latter replied that he was a good Christian and had nothing to confess. All he wanted was "uer, se elle senhor jnquisidor lhe abria algum caminho, por onde entendesse se tinha ou não tinha alguma culpa". Simão Barreto replied that he could not possibly tell him. Fearing that he had been misunderstood, Crispim da Costa explained that he wished to be given "alguma lux, ou claridade, por onde podesse uir em lembrança de alguma culpa,

contra nossa sancta fe, se por uentura a tiuesse cometido". He had no recollection of any such fault, "e que en certo modo folgara de ter as taes culpas, pera se lançar aos pes delle senhor jnquisidor, e confes-sallas".

Simão Barreto was experienced enough to see that Crispim da Costa was not only frightened but also guilty. Without knowing it, he was behaving like Diogo Lopes da Rosa had done months earlier, and for the same reason. Thus, Simão Barreto told him that, if he could not recall any faults against the Faith, that surely meant that he had committed none; for such was the gravity of the matter that he could not possibly forget it. If he had no guilt to confess, he would have no reason to be concerned. Would he take the opportunity which was being offered him and confess all he knew? Crispim da Costa replied that he was ready to do whatever was asked of him, "e que assinaria em branco [...] quando elle senhor jnquisidor achasse alguma culpa contra elle declarante de que fosse lembrado, mostrandolha por algum caminho". The meeting came to an end, and Crispim da Costa was dismissed. Before he left, he asked Simão Barreto again to give him a clue about what he should do (23).

Bento de Almeida had a meeting with Simão Barreto on 25 February. He told him that, after the previous night's interview, Crispim da Costa "mostraua maiores receos, e inquietações de sorte que não atinava o que dizia, e chegou a dizer a elle senhor, aquillo que se escreueo ha de bastar pera me prenderem". Bento de Almeida feared that Crispim da Costa would try to escape. In the afternoon, just before Vespers, Bento de Almeida was again approached by Crispim da Costa, who repeatedly asked him whether he was being investigated by the Inquisition. Simão Barreto was immediately informed, briefed the other Inquisitors, and it was decided to take Crispim da Costa in without any further delay. He was arrested at home at about five (24) and was taken to the Inquisition building, where he was put in isolation.

On Sunday afternoon, 1 March, during his first interrogation, Crispim da Costa broke down and provided the Inquisition with valuable material against six people: Canons Mateus Lopes, Fernão Dias da Silva and António Dias da Cunha, Tercenary André de Avelar, the physician Francisco de Almeida, and Dr António Homem, whom he falsely made responsible for his having judaised:

"mouido pello exemplo do dito doutor e tentado pello diabo, se apartou aly da fee de xpisto nosso senhor e se passou a dita ley de Moyses [...] o principal motiuo, que para isto teue foi sua maa In

clinação fundada e nacida do sangue, que tem da nação dos xpistãos novos [...] pois hum homem tam jnsigne em leteras seguia e professava a dita lej de Moyses deuia ter muitas rezões e fundamentos pe_r a assy fazer, e que pello consequinte não podia a dita lej deixar de ser boa" (25).

On 2 March, Miguel da Fonseca Cardoso and his wife Catarina Travassos were arrested by Bailiff António Moreira and taken to the Inquisition building. The former clerk of the University Treasury, already 63 and in poor health, quickly made a partial confession in order to avoid a lengthy period in a cell (26). He even named Dr António Homem as a judaiser. Other New Christians to be arrested on the same day included Luís Arés's sister Vicência de Arés (27) and Francisco Rodrigues "o Bate-lhe o Fuzil". Inquisitor Gaspar Borges de Azevedo compiled the latter's genealogy on 5 March, and warned him that the confession he had made was incomplete. Francisco Rodrigues, "prostado de jiolhos com lagrimas e sinaes de arrependimento", immediately added to it. At the same time, Simão Barreto examined Miguel da Fonseca's confession and considered whether he could be sentenced in the forthcoming auto de fé. It was true that he had told less than he knew; but, once out of prison, he might try and warn other judaisers unknown to the Holy Office, who would thus be identified (28). As for Francisco Rodrigues, his confession was defective, but the Inquisition cells were overcrowded and he was not important enough to take up valuable space.

The lawyer António Dias de Almeida was arrested on 14 March and put in the sixth cell of the upper aisle, facing St Bernard's. José Coutinho Botelho was arrested on the same day and put next door to him, in the fifth cell. As they were not considered very important, they were not isolated (29), and were not questioned until July.

As a consequence of Crispim da Costa's testimony against André de Avelar, it was decided to have the latter arrested with confiscation of his estate. It was feared that he was making ready to abscond: "deste Reu ha informação que tanto que se começarão a prender co negos tirou todo seu fato de casa". His arrest warrant was confirmed by the General Council on 17 March, and he was arrested at about three on the afternoon of 20 March (30) by his colleague Gonçalo Leitão, Treasurer of the Cathedral. On account of his age and infirmities, he was lodged in the gatekeeper's quarters. André de Avelar soon asked to be heard, and on the afternoon of 21 March made a detailed confession, naming, among other judaisers, Dr António Homem, Miguel Gomes and Henrique de Arede - the three most important Fellowship members.

Another member, Francisco Serrão, was arrested on 19 March by citizen Jerónimo Machado. When he was heard by Simão Barreto on the morning of 22 March, he was a model of co-operation. He confessed how he decided to follow the Law of Moses, accused his wife of doing the same, admitted his knowledge of some Jewish prayers (31), and named many of his colleagues in the Fellowship. In the next couple of days he named practically every judaiser he knew (33), with the exception of Dr António Homem, which was not considered as a serious omission. His wife Luisa Serrão was arrested on 22 March and her five children were entrusted to the care of Dr António Sebastião, but the eldest, 12-year old Branca, presented herself to the Inquisition on 23 March to confirm her parents' guilt (33). Luisa Serrão's unwillingness to confess was to cost her twenty months in prison (34).

Two more judaisers were arrested on 25 March. One was Vicente de Arês, a cousin of both Dr António Homem and Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. He was the Almojarife of the Pinhel district and had taken part in Fellowship ceremonies (35). The other was Catarina Vogada, the wife of António de Azevedo Barreiros, who had been accused by her friend Crispim da Costa (36). Knowing that her case would benefit from her unstinted co-operation, Catarina Vogada asked to be heard on 26 March, and began her confession before Simão Barreto de Meneses, naming Crispim da Costa, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, Dr António Gomes and his wife Maria Gomes, and Dr António Homem, a good friend of her father's, who, "quando se offerecia falarem nos xpistãos uelhos, ou nas Coussas da fe elle ria, e zombaua".

Manuel de Arede's wife Leonor de Caminha asked for an audience on 27 March and was heard by Simão Barreto. Among other things, she confessed that Dr António Homem's sister D Maria Brandoa was a judaiser, and had shared her beliefs with her some 14 years previously, when they both met at Vagos, near Aveiro. D Maria Brandoa could be an important witness in the Lente's proceedings, as she lived at his home and depended on him for her sustenance (37). She was arrested on the following day (38), but the Inquisitors were so overworked that she was not questioned until 8 July, and then only in order to make an inventory of her estate. Against all expectations, she proved to be a disappointing witness in the following interrogations (39).

The cells of the Coimbra Inquisition were so overcrowded that four prisoners were transferred to Lisbon, where they arrived on 31 March: Miguel Gomes "o Manco", António Gomes "o Sapo", Francisco Gomes "o Ruivo" and Francisco de Almeida. Other cells were vacated by those

who were sentenced in the auto de fé of 29 March. They included Canon António Dias da Cunha, with perpetual gaol and penitential dress without remission (40); Miguel da Fonseca and his wife Catarina Travassos, Diogo de Arede (41), Francisco de Andrade, Diogo Lopes da Rosa (42), Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, Manuel de Arede "o Torto" and his wife Leonor de Caminha, and Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa's wife Iseu de Arede (43), with perpetual gaol and penitential dress; Crispim da Costa (44), Tomé Vaz (45), André de Avelar (46), Francisco Rodrigues "o Bate-lhe o Fuzil", Catarina Vogada (47), Simão Lopes "o Chorão", Francisco Serrão and André Nunes de Pina (48) with gaol and penitential dress ad arbitrium.

Having obtained the King's tacit agreement, the Board of the Misericórdia met on 17 May to decide how its members who had Jewish blood should be dismissed without undue scandal. Purveyor D Miguel de Castro's proposal was unanimously accepted. He instructed his clerk, Canon António de Oliveira, to inform six New Christian members privately "e com todo o bom modo possiuel" that they were not to attend any future Brotherhood meetings and were to refrain from wearing Misericórdia insignia. The decision affected Pero Cabral Colaço and his son Manuel Cabral, António Correia de Sá and André Vaz Cabaço, as well as Dr Francisco da Costa Cabral and António de Gouveia, clerk of the Conservatória (49).

By that time, D Francisco de Meneses had already filled in the gaps in the teaching staff of the Faculty of Canon Law. He informed the Faculty on 27 March that, until the King decided otherwise, the proprietary Lentes of each Chair would be in charge of that immediately above. Thus, Dr Domingos Antunes, Lente of Vespers, would teach Prime, replacing Dr Luis Ribeiro de Leiva, who would have Vespers; Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia would teach Decretum, Dr Miguel Soares Pereira would teach Sext, and Dr Diogo Mendes Godinho would teach Clementines, due to the illness of Dr Fabricio de Aragão, the proprietary Lente. The morning Catedrilha would be entrusted to Dr Pero Cabral, and the afternoon Catedrilha to Dr Duarte Brandão (50), whose judaiser activities were still unknown.

At two on the morning of 21 May, Inquisition physician João Borges was called to the fifth cell of the upper aisle to certify the death of Canon Mateus Lopes da Silva. His two companions stated that Mateus Lopes was a "tisico conformado, E auia muitos messes que estaua doente". He had received medical assistance during his illness, was sound of mind until the end, and was heard in confession by the Jesuit Father Diogo Monteiro before his demise. As he had died without admit-

ting his guilt, his proceedings were continued posthumously; and it was his Old Christian sister-in-law, D Catarina de Sá, who undertook to defend his good name. She appointed as counsel for the defence the Licentiate Ivo Duarte, a very able lawyer (51).

In the University, D Francisco de Meneses felt free to continue his visitation as he saw fit. His dispute with Dr Martim de Carvalho looked as if it would lead nowhere (52), and his protégé Dr Panteleão Rodrigues Pacheco was the Conservador now (53). However, Felipe III thought otherwise in this respect, and on 3 June ordered the Reformer to reinstate Dr Martim de Carvalho to his duties. Like it or not, D Francisco de Meneses would have to live with him. The case he had built up against the Conservador was not sound enough (54).

Dr António Homem was not forgotten by his congregation. Knowing that no earthly power would save him from the Inquisition, some of his friends prayed and hoped that the God of the Heavens would take pity on him. Early in June, the town of Montemor-o-Velho organised a series of festivities to celebrate St Anthony's day, which fell on Saturday the 13th. Inspired by this event, brothers Rui and Paulo de Pina decided to revive the Fellowship ceremonies for a last time, but in private and before a restricted number of people: some close relatives, Dr Jerónimo de Almeida and a few chosen friends. For the sake of security, they used the house of their cousin Isabel da Costa. António de Oliveira's daughter D Joana de Pina, then a guest of the house, later described what she called a "missa a seu modo":

"Isabel da Costa tinha em huma caixa emcourada preta que estaua na Casa do meo huma uestimenta de setim amarello com os senastros do mesmo setim uermelho: e campainhas por baixo ao redor da seda amarella e uermelha com a qual se disse tres uezes na ditto caza missa a seu modo, e a primeira que ella ouuio foi hum domingo pella manham a seis horas pondose na Casa do meo hum bofette emcostado a parede e cuberto com huma alcatifa e depois huma toalha de mãos com pontas e tinha no meo huma estante com hum liuro que lhe disseram que era da Confraria de frei. Diogo e dous castiçais acessos com uellas brancas de prata e o liuro era de pergaminho branco de tres dedos de altura com fitas uerdes e estaua pintado no mesmo liuro na primeira folha delle o frei. Diogo da cintura para cima afogueado e aluminado e no mesmo liuro estauão assentados os confrades conforme ao que lhe disserão que ella a esse tempo nam sabia ler, e Joam dandrade xpistão nouo da ditto uilla enteado da ditto Isabel da Costa se reuistio em hua alua de olanda com pontas por baixo e hum rabo grande que fazia por de tras e per diante fi-

quava igual e no meio atada com cordão, mas estaua solta e por cima da ditto Alua lançaua a uestimenta que tem dito e per cima da uestimenta lançaua hum pano de setim vermelho com sua renda de prata ao redor de que estaua guarnecida e huma mitra branca de seda na cabeça de feisão das dos Bispos mas tinha humas pontas de renda por baixo e per riba pellas bordas e tinha no altar huma campainha de prata sem badallo e humas galhetas e huma trombeta de latam que punha na boca por duas uezes somente e não tangia mas quando fazia aquelle sinal todos os que estauão presentes estauão em giolhos E a esse tempo se aleuantauão em pee correndo a mam aberta pellos rostos e fazendo gayas por espaço de hum padre nosso e logo se tor nauão a por de giolhos E o que ajudaua a missa era Paullo de Pina o qual lhe respondia de quando em quando em lingoagem que ella não entendia que lhe parecia que era em latim [...] aleuantauão hum calix de prata branco E elles todos os que estauão presentes adorauão o ditto calix batendo nos peitos mas nam sabe que hia nelle e nam aleuantarão hostia somente no cabo dezia o ditto Sacerdote he ministro que ajudaua que a missa era acabada".

In the absence of their High Priest, with most of the congregation under arrest, the Pinas could not think of a more appropriate ceremony than a parody of the Catholic Mass. But all those present, without exception, took it very seriously indeed:

[...] ouuiram a ditto missa que disseram que era a uerdadeira E da ley de Moises declarandosse todos aly que criam e uiuiam na ditto Ley e por sua guarda e obseruança ouuiam a dita missa, e no cabo della se despio o ditto Joam dandrade. e guardados os dittos ornamentos se lançaram humas toalhas no cham na mesma casa sobre huma esteira e aly almoçarão todos galinhas assadas E cousas de leite e fruta e na ditto caza estiueram todos ate o iantar e todos iantarão esplendidamente e acabado elle [lunch] se forão os homens as festas que se faziam na ditto uilla de Santo Antonio e as molheres ficarão ate noite que se forão para suas casas".

A similar ceremony took place on thursday the 18th - Corpus Christi day - again in Isabel da Costa's house, Rui de Pina acting as priest. The ceremony, which was identical, took the whole morning:

"desta uez estiuerão todos assim iunta mente atee a tarde cantando e bailhando e os homens tangiam e iunto da noite merendarão todos na mesma Caza assentados de recouado Sobre huma esteira comendo no cham galinhas digo Couzas de leite e fruta e uuas e nesse dia he lembrada que não comerão Carne" (55).

Five days later, on 23 June, Dr António Homem was betrayed by his best friend. An unexpected witness appeared before the Inquisitors in Lisbon: it was none other than Jorge Mexia, who had been summoned earlier but could not be found (56). He knew he was so deeply compromised in Dr António Homem's sodomy proceedings that being Bishop Mexia's nephew might not be enough to save him. All he could do was confess, repent, and ask for mercy. He thus voluntarily confessed that Dr António Homem had often committed the sin of mollities with him, and also tried to commit sodomy on three separate occasions, "disendolhe muitas palauras de amores afim de persuadir a elle declarante que consentisse no ditto peccado". At least he did not accuse the Lente of actually committing sodomy (57).

Miguel da Fonseca's son João da Fonseca was arrested as a judaiser on 11 July. He confessed on the same day that, around 1610 or 1611, when he was about twelve, his parents told him "que importava a elle confitente ter crensa na lei de Moizes, na qual soo auia saluaçam"; whereupon he was instructed in its precepts. His sister Maria Cardosa, aged 19, was arrested on the 20th, and also began her confession on the same day. It was not until much later that it became clear that she held back as much as she dared.

On the afternoon of 14 July, Dr António Homem was taken to Deputy D João da Silva, who was to make an inventory of his estate. The Lente answered his questions in great detail, and added that his main possession was his library, which had cost him over 2,000 cruzados, "E mais outros muytos papeis postillas assy suas como alheas E outros papeis de que confia estara fejta particular lembrança E jnuentajro muy perfejto". He wanted a detailed inventory to be made of his books and papers, as it was not uncommon for books to disappear before a prisoner was sentenced. He also wanted to make sure that any documents he might need for his defence would not be lost.

António Dias de Almeida was unco-operative from the beginning. The Inquisitors, who already suspected that all his family followed the Jewish faith, had three of his children arrested on 20 July: António de Almeida, João de Almeida and Isabel da Barca (58). There was more than enough evidence to convict them. António Dias de Almeida's case was given to Sebastião de Matos de Noronha, who was expected to be more successful than his colleague Gaspar Borges de Azevedo.

Dr António Homem's first interrogation about the sodomy charges took place on 23 July (59). After a few introductory questions,

intended to satisfy the Inquisitors that the defendant was aware of the law and the seriousness of the charges, the Lente was asked whether, on this or that occasion, he had committed the sin of sodomy with certain persons of the male sex. He denied every accusation. Then Simão Barreto de Meneses (60) asked him whether it was true that he had slept in the same bed with "huma pessoa do sexo masculino moço e sem barba", to whom he was not related and having no reason which would decently explain such intimacy. This was a direct allusion to Jorge Mexia; and Dr António Homem lost his self-control for a moment. He replied "que nunca com pessoa do sexo masculino cometeo os tais actos em ordem ao pecado nefando, e que para outros pecados lhe tinha elle senhor inquisidor, declarado, que não hera nescesario disellos nesta mesa nem hera sua tençam perguntar por elles, nem elle Reo tinha obrigação responder a elles". He knew, of course, that mollities were outside the jurisdiction of the Holy Office (61), and had apparently reached an agreement with Simão Barreto about that subject.

On the same day, the Promotor presented a five-point libel of Justice against Dr António Homem for judaism (62), and, as was expected of him, requested that the defendant be declared a heretic and apostate, and consequently be excommunicated, with confiscation of his estate, and handed over to secular justice *cum protestatione juris et expensis*. Manuel Rodrigues Cabral presented a 33-point reply to the charges on 27 July, which had written in collaboration with his client and was accepted by the Inquisitors. At this stage, the prosecution still had comparatively little solid evidence against the Lente, who might just about escape condemnation if no further evidence would surface against him. But the Holy Office was not going to let it happen. Miguel Gomes's brother Fernando Alvares "o Buco", an important witness, was arrested on 29 July (63).

The libel of Justice against Dr António Homem for sodomy, also with five articles, was published on 30 July. The Lente denied the charges and nominated as his lawyer Manuel Rodrigues Cabral, assisted by Diogo Gonçalves Cabral, whom he already had appointed as counsel in the proceedings for judaism and, although he did not know it, was also defending Miguel Gomes "o Manco". His first conference with Manuel Rodrigues Cabral took place on the following day. His defence was based on two main points: firstly, the witnesses for the prosecution were untrustworthy, being young, uneducated and badly brought up; secondly, due to his poor health, he was impotent and therefore physically unable to commit sodomy. If this were proved, the charges would be dropped and he would be able to dedicate all his energy to his other case.

While Dr António Homem and his counsel tried to build up a credible defence, Simão Barreto de Meneses did not even conceal his hatred for the Lente. As the latter would recall:

"sendo conforme ao sobredito senhor Simão barreto a pessoa que melhor sabia das subgestões do dito dom francisco [de Meneses], E Machinações dos outros inimigos, E sendo por isso obrigado, a iuntar esta sciencia particular com a publica dos autos, conforme ao allegado sofria mal que elle Reu. em suas defesas fallasse no dito dom francisco E Colleagueaes, suas Machinações, E ameaços chegando a dizer a elle Reu; E ao seu aduogado Manoel Rodrigues Cabral, para que era deter naquellas materias que não seruião, com outras palavras semelhantes que fiserão arrebrantar ao Reu: Em lagrimas que virão o mesmo letrado E Alcaide" (64).

He could not even rest in his cell as he wished; he suspected that the companion he had been given, Jerónimo da Fonseca Pina, was an agent provocateur (65). Fortunately for the Lente, the redoubtable Simão Barreto was soon taken off his case. The Holy Office needed his energy and dedication in a different field. The New Christians were trying to purchase another General Pardon from the impoverished Spanish Crown, and Simão Barreto was thought to be the right man to represent the Inquisition in Madrid (66). After all, a General Pardon would bring the enquiries about the Fellowship of St Diogo to a standstill.

In early August, Ascenso Dias "o Rato" felt uneasy about his situation. His friend António Lopes had been arrested on 24 July, and would no doubt mention him to the Inquisitors (67). He would not escape arrest if he remained in Coimbra. Ascenso Dias returned to Aveiro, but his father was not very pleased. Hiding a fugitive would cost him his job; besides, he was a judaiser himself, and the last thing he wanted was to attract the attention of the Holy Office. He refused to become involved, and Ascenso Dias left Aveiro with all his savings - some 3,000 réis - in his pocket, with the idea of finding employment in Spain, or even going to Rome and taking Holy Orders, if necessary. He went as far as Ayamonte through a circuitous route, and then, being short of money, he made his way back to Aveiro via Lisbon. As he could not count on getting help from his father, he hid in the house of a distant relative (68).

In Lisbon, Miguel Gomes "o Manco" began preparing his defence on 21 August, with the assistance of Manuel Rodrigues Cabral. He claimed to be a good Christian, who often helped people by giving them shelter and lending money; "E por isso se dizia geralmente que sua casa

era Hospital, E Botica". Among the witnesses he named were Inquisition lawyers André de Burgos (69) and Ivo Duarte, the beadle of Medicine Gaspar de Seixas, and the influential citizens Bento Arrais de Mendonça and António de Beja Perestrelo (70).

Back in Coimbra, Inquisitor Sebastião de Matos de Noronha had a pleasant surprise. António Dias de Almeida, who had until then been unwilling to co-operate, asked to be heard on 29 August and began his confession, "alumiado pello espirito sancto". He told how he had gone over to the Jewish faith and named Miguel Gomes, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, Diogo Lopes da Rosa, Miguel da Fonseca and others. But his confession, which filled over a dozen folios, had nothing at all about the Fellowship (71).

António Dias de Almeida's brother Francisco Dias was arrested on 30 August by Inquisition Commissioner Paulo da Costa (72). His case was initially given to D Francisco de Soveral, who first questioned him on the morning of 2 September. Francisco Dias was apparently ready to confess, and made a fairly accurate statement, although he claimed that his brother had converted him only three years before. This was known to be false, but D Francisco de Soveral wanted to obtain as much information as possible, and questioned him again in the afternoon. He was then sent back to his cell and left there, so that he could think about the situation in which he found himself.

Late at night on 14 September, an armed patrol detained a man in the Rua dos Sapateiros. He was dressed in black travelling clothes, had 5,200 réis on him and gave no plausible excuse for breaking the curfew. He was identified as Ascenso Dias "o Rato", wanted by the Holy Office as an alleged judaiser. He was handed over to the Inquisition in the following morning, and placed in a cell with Vicente de Arês. He was questioned shortly afterwards by Sebastião de Matos de Noronha, and denied his guilt. He had returned to Coimbra, he said, to request an audience with the Reformer about his being penalised in his graduation. But the truth gradually emerged. He had been hiding for the last few weeks in Aveiro, because he feared that Miguel Gomes "o Manco" and the physician António Lopes, both of whom were in custody, might have given evidence against him. His father did not wish to be involved in his escape (73), but did give him some money. He intended to go abroad until it became safer for him to return, and had just arrived from Aveiro when he was arrested (74).

Father Luis Arês knew that he would not escape arrest. His brother Vicente and sister Vicência had been detained in March, and

there were other prisoners who could indict him. However, he still refused to give up. He began preparing for the sabbath with a private ceremony on behalf of Dr António Homem and the Fellowship. His brother-in-law Luís de Sá, who was occasionally present, described it thus:

"a sexta feira a noite, o dito luis ares punha no meo da casa huma mesa, E em cada canto da dita mesa huma candeinha de Rolo accessa E no meo della huma vella grande Em hum castiçal: e estando ambos com os pes, e pernas descalços postos de giolhos junto a dita mesa o dito padre luis ares tinha na mão hum liuro maior outro tanto que huma cartilha Empresso de letra de forma, de fora de pasta, e tendo o dito padre ao pescoço certas fittas de seda vermelha, que nas pontas erão fendidas, e ficauão duas pontas, E erão duas fitas, E cada huma dellas seria de duas uaras, estaua assy rezando espaço de duas horas o dito padre Em tom de ladainha, e em quãto duraua se aleuantauão por tres vezes, E ambos faziam certas goayas, aleuantando, E abaixando a cabeça pera a mesa, E entam dizia o dito padre a elle confitente, que dissesse Amen E elle o dizia, E logo rezauam os psalmos penitenciaes, por cinco vezes sem dizerem gloria patri et filii. ett., E o dito padre declaraua a elle confitente, que aquella era a ladainha dos Rabinos".

Dr António Homem, he added, was indeed "a cabeça dos Rabinos E que pois hum homem tam grande leterado viuia na lej de Moyses certo era, que so na dita lej auia saluação" (75).

After a month in his cell, Francisco Dias was unwilling to complete his confession. D Francisco de Soveral handed his case over to Sebastião de Matos de Noronha, who was in charge of António Dias de Almeida's case and thus could handle him more effectively. Francisco Dias was questioned again on the afternoon of 2 October; he claimed that he could remember nothing else, and assisted in the compilation of his genealogy. In any case, information could be obtained from other reliable sources. Fernando Alvares "o Buco", who had tried to evade being questioned by pretending to be insane, was unmasked and began to confess his guilt on 13 October.

Dr António Homem was formally admonished on 20 October, and replied that he "não tinha culpas que aia de confessar nesta mesa". He started building up his defence. On 27 October, he presented 155 articles of contradiction (76), of which only twenty were accepted as referring to the witnesses for the prosecution. The remainder were rejected *ex causa*, although they were kept on file for reference and possible use in the future.

On the same day, at about five in the afternoon, Henrique de Arede had a heart attack in his cell (77). His three companions immediately called Chief Warder Miguel de Torres Ferreira, who alerted the duty physician, João Borges, and surgeon Gonçalo Dias. They did what they could to assist their patient, who had lost his speech and never recovered. He died in the afternoon of the following day and was given a provisional burial (78). His proceedings were not interrupted (79).

Francisco Gomes was interviewed by Sebastião de Matos de Noronha on 18 November, and changed his previous statements. Although they did commit the sin of mollities, he said, "nunqua o dito Antonio homem cometeo com elle declarante o peccado de sodomia nem o intentou cometer". That was in fact what he had stated when he was interrogated for the first time. If he had accused the Lente of sodomy on the second interview, it was "per estar mui perturbado e se embaraçar nas respostas que daua, as perguntas que lhe fasiam". His confessor, the Jesuit Father Nuno da Cunha, advised him to make a statement to the Inquisition. His recantation, although not altogether convincing, was accepted as true (80).

It was important for the defence to obtain statements in favour of Dr António Homem's character. Several friends of the Lente were called as witnesses; but whether they would testify in his favour was another matter. In the event, few were brave enough to defy the redoubtable D Francisco de Meneses, whom most of them served, and thus compromise their careers. On 24 November, Inquisitor D Miguel de Castro interviewed four character witnesses in Coimbra. The most helpful of them was by far Dr Simão Torresão Coelho, a former pupil of Dr António Homem's and his friend since 1610. He had in the past been accused of mollities (81), and thus he knew how best to help the Lente in this situation. He said that he had heard students refer to Dr António Homem as being guilty of mollities, but never of sodomy. Although he could not confirm whether he was impotent, he knew that his health was not very good: he often complained of gout and had to stay in bed from time to time. Estêvão de Aroche, a scholar of the College of the Military Orders, had a good opinion of the Lente. The Augustinian Friar Francisco da Fonseca, Lente of Scotus and a scholar of the College of Our Lady of the Grace, stated that Dr António Homem was a very learned professor, but it was said that he sometimes drank too much, and that he was of doubtful mores and fond of boys. D João Carreiro Sotomaior stated that the Lente was "homem pouco exemplar e mal acostumado" (82).

On 7 December, André Franco, aged 35, a scholar of the Colle-

ge of the Military Orders and a former pupil of Dr António Homem's, stated that the Lente's doctrines were faultless. Then he added that he was "muito mal acostumado, e amigo de moços do que auia roins sospeitas" and that he drank too much "e fazia outras cousas indecentes de Clerigo" (83).

As Francisco Dias showed no wish to co-operate, Sebastião de Matos de Noronha questioned him again on the afternoon of 17 December, with the assistance of Dean Francisco Pinto Pereira. Unexpectedly, the defendant recanted all his previous confessions, which he claimed were false. The Inquisitors knew that he was lying and refused to accept his recantation. On being told that his attitude could put him in serious trouble, he admitted that his confessions were true, after all, but added nothing else to them (84).

In Lisbon, the Inquisitors were trying to determine whether Dr António Homem was impotent, a vital part of his defence. For some reason, he was never physically examined (85), but the physicians who had treated him in the past were consulted. The Licentiate João Borges was interviewed on 19 December. He had been the Lente's personal doctor for years and had treated "inchaços, oppillações, e deficuldade na urina e guotta que sam causas que costumam a ficar depois de grandes doenças". He could not say whether he was impotent, but, he added, "o seu temperamento por ser extremamente malenconico (86) podia facilmente cometer o ditto peccado [of sodomy], e consumallo se quisesse". Anyway, was it not said that "lhe fallecera em casa huma moça com que desiam andar amancebado" (87)?

On 23 December, Dr João Bravo Chamiço, Lente of Vespers of Medicine, who had known Dr António Homem for about twenty years, was his friend and had occasionally treated him, confirmed that he "teue uarias e mui grâdes infirmitades" and "ficou com muitos achaques", but did not think he was impotent. In fact, he "ouuio diser que o Reo emprehara huma moça" (88).

12 - New Facts Come to Light

A Royal Charter of 12 January 1621 confirmed D Francisco de Meneses as Reformer and Rector until further orders (1). Unaware of this decision, the Board of Conscience and Orders sent the King on the same day a report on the state of the University, reminding him that the reformation cost nearly 4,000 cruzados a year, which the Universi-

ty could not afford. Additionally, the Reformer's Deputies were so busy that they had no time to spare for their lectures, although they still received full pay as if they continued to teach. This meant that they had to be replaced by substitute teachers, who were duly paid, thus worsening the financial problems of the University. Therefore, it was the Board's opinion that His Majesty should instruct D Francisco de Meneses to terminate the reformation, and have its accounts audited by the Board (2).

Meanwhile, the Reformer and his Deputies continued sentencing those who were found guilty during the visitation. By February, no less than 67 people, mostly students, had been sentenced. A report was sent to Felipe III, who was appalled at the number of people involved in homosexual acts. The Monarch wrote from Madrid to D Francisco de Meneses on 5 March, ordering him to expel from the University for ever all those who were found guilty, "tendo consideração ao muito que importa desarreigar da Universidade hum crime tão pernicioso como o de molicies" (3).

While the enquiries made by the Holy Office about the Fellowship of St Diogo continued to uncover new information, the Lisbon Inquisition made a telling arrest. Vicente de Arês's son Estêvão de Arês da Fonseca, who had left home after his father's arrest, was located in the capital and taken to the Estaus on 16 January by Familiar Manuel Pires. He felt that his chances of being acquitted were minimal. He asked to be heard shortly after his admission, and began his confession before Deputy D Diogo Lobo. As a coincidence, the latter had compiled his father's genealogy five months earlier (4).

Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was free again, but was deeply ashamed of being a public penitent. He finally cast prudence to the winds. He told Dr Manuel Veloso da Veiga, Judge of the Treasury and thus responsible for the confiscation of his estate, that he had never judaised and had been forced to sign his sentence without being allowed to read it (5). He also told the same to other people, who were duty-bound to report it to the authorities, as it was a criminal offence. It was only a matter of time before he was re-arrested.

Another Fellowship member, Simão Lopes "o Chorão", had withheld all he knew about the Fellowship, in the hope that he would not be found out. He was re-arrested as a diminuto on 17 January, and this time he gave the Inquisitors his unrestricted collaboration. He began a detailed confession on the following day (6). Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa "o Doutorinho", arrested on 26 January, proved to be a much more

reluctant confessant.

Sebastião de Matos de Noronha and Dean Francisco Pinto Pereira decided to question Francisco Dias again on 6 February, during the afternoon session. But the prisoner, instead of continuing his confession, denied everything he had previously stated, adding that he "andava muito malenconizado e doente e temeu morrer entre duas paredes soas e sem companhia". The Inquisitors, who knew the evidence and had no doubts about his guilt, took pity on him and did not accept his recantation. He was given time to consider the matter, and was questioned again on 10 February; but he only made things worse by saying that Deputy D Francisco de Soveral, who had first heard his confession, had persuaded him to give false testimony. He was admonished and sent back to his cell, while his statement was checked. Convinced that D Francisco de Soveral was innocent, Sebastião de Matos de Noronha questioned Francisco Dias on the following morning, but the latter intended to maintain his denial until the end. The accusatory libel was published on 15 February (7). Soon afterwards, he began a hunger strike, a rather uncommon event in the Coimbra Inquisition (8).

André de Avelar's son Pedro Homem de Faria was arrested by the Lisbon Inquisition on 11 February. It was feared that he was preparing to escape; he had enlisted to serve in India, and was awaiting his departure (9). He missed it by six weeks (10).

Miguel Gomes's case was reviewed on 4 March. The main points of the charges had been proven, and his articles of contradiction did not significantly affect the credibility of the witnesses. Besides, he was "de radice infecta cujos pais morrerão Judeus em bordeos, E hum unico irmão que lhe ficou no reino esta prezo em Coimbra conuicto em Jejuns dos Carceres e confesso posto que não disse do Reu por lhe sobreuir hum accidente E doudice cõ que não prosseguio sua confissão" (11). It was decided to put him to torture, "E tenha todo o que poder leuar esperto a arbitrio dos inquisidores Juizo do Medico e surgião". This was rejected by the General Council of the Holy Office as unnecessary; Miguel Gomes would probably be executed anyway. It was agreed on 10 May that he could be sentenced as a heretic on the available evidence and released to the secular arm. In the event, the execution of the sentence was suspended because new evidence had been discovered, requiring additional enquiries.

António Dias de Almeida's disappointing performance as a confessant made him liable to be tortured, although, out of consideration for the amount of information he had already supplied, it was decided

to put him "ad faciem tormenti" only (12). He was taken to the torture chamber on 6 March and admonished in the presence of Bishop-Count D Martim Afonso Mexia (13). He replied that he could remember no more. He was made to sit on the stool and then he was sent back to his cell. The intimidation had not worked. His case was closed and the sentence of gaol and penitential dress in perpetuum was proposed (14).

Francisco Dias's persistence in denying his guilt may have hastened the arrest of his wife Maria Gomes (15) and his children Ursula dos Santos and Leonor dos Anjos. They were arrested on 9 March, and within 24 hours had spontaneously confessed that Francisco Dias was a judaiser and had persuaded them to follow the Law of Moses, as the only way to achieve eternal salvation. Ursula dos Santos said that he used to repeat to her and her sisters the descriptions of the ceremonies he heard in the sentences of the autos de fé, so that they could learn them (16). Francisco Dias's son António Dias was arrested on 10 March and questioned on the following day. He also admitted his father's role in his apostasy, not knowing that the latter had already chosen death rather than betray his fellow judaisers. However, despite all the arrests, not all Fellowship members had been positively identified yet. André Vaz Cabaço, who would not be named until a few months later, was elected Procurator of the Chapter on 26 March, replacing Dr António Homem's childhood friend Manuel Duarte Salazar (17).

Dr António Homem's case was reviewed on 19 May. The Inquisitors considered whether his sodomy proceedings could be concluded in time for the next auto de fé (18). It was recognised that the available evidence was insufficient to secure a conviction, which was a minor victory on the Lente's part (19); but the charges against him were too serious to be dismissed. Furthermore, he was also being prosecuted as a judaiser, and releasing him might be detrimental to the course of Justice. It was true that, abundant as it was, the existing evidence was not conclusive (20). However, the fact that other prisoners, particularly his sister D Maria Brandoa, would almost certainly add to the evidence, and "visto outrosi nao auer mais que hum anno e meio que esta prezo (21) e a qualidade da pesoa", made the Inquisitors keep him in custody for the time being, "para mais segurança".

Miguel da Fonseca and his wife were again arrested by the Inquisition on 15 June. Extensive additional evidence against them had been supplied by six people, among whom were their children João da Fonseca, aged 24, and Maria Cardoso, aged 19. Wisely, Miguel da Fonseca began his confession on that very day, and admitted that he had persuaded his children to follow the Law of Moses (22). However, his

reluctance in confessing all he knew was obvious. It was decided on 20 July to have him put to torture again: "que tenha hum trato corrido e seia outra ues começado a levantar". This was executed on 30 July. He was lifted up to the ceiling, but "por ser muito velho, E ser quebrado de virilha, E ter hum braço tambem aleijado", the torture was interrupted and he was taken back to his cell (23).

On 13 July, Dr Pero Cabral de Gouveia re-examined Manuel Henriques, Dr António Homem's former page-boy, who had been accepted in the Bishop's household after his master's arrest and worked as the episcopal muleteer. He stated that the Lente had never committed sodomy with him. If he had ever said otherwise, it was because Simão Barreto de Meneses "com muitas palauras, humas asperas, e outras brandas, o exortou, e persuadio", accusing him of covering up the truth: "pois nam queria confessar a verdade, que o leuassem a Cadea". Manuel Henriques, "moço de pouca idade, e ignorante, intimidado de se ver na mesa do Sancto officio", made the confession that was expected of him. His confessor, the Jesuit Father António Henriques, advised him that he should take back his statement, but he was afraid. Deputy D Francisco de Soveral, whom he approached, told him to report the matter to the Inquisition. He was finally persuaded by Friar José de Jesus, a Carmelite Discalced friar who heard him in confession. His recantation was interrupted by "lagrimas, mostras, e sinaes de arrependimento". As was the rule in such cases, two clerics were present: Fathers António Botelho and Manuel Rodrigues da Silveira, both Secretaries of the Holy Office. They agreed that the youth was telling the truth, "pello modo com que fallou, e muitas lagrimas que choraua" (24). His volte-face was so embarrassing to the prosecution that he was summoned again much later, in September 1622, to be cross-examined.

On 8 August, Miguel Gomes "o Manco" was admonished before the publication of fresh evidence against him. Meanwhile, the Licentiate Manuel Rodrigues Cabral, whose involvement in Dr António Homem's defence made him very busy, requested that he be replaced as Miguel Gomes's counsel. This was accepted, and on 27 August the latter was given the Licentiate Damião Rodrigues, who immediately began the preparation of another set of articles of contradiction.

Simão Gonçalves "o Malhado" was arrested on 9 August by Inquisition Bailiff António Moreira (25). The 60-year old barber, cursing himself for having joined the Fellowship (26), asked to be heard and began his confession in the afternoon before Sebastião de Matos de Noronha. On the following morning, he named most of his fellow members to D Francisco de Soveral, with the conspicuous exception of Dr Antó-

nio Homem, but this omission was not considered serious. He thus earned the Inquisitors' leniency, and his proceedings were closed in a matter of weeks (27).

A few days later, the City Council organised a bullfight in the City Square in honour of Our Lady of Nazareth, and Luis de Sá was invited to watch it from his friend Ivo Fernandes's house (28). The latter's uncle had just been arrested, and this knowledge increased his fears. The spectacle he was watching could not put his mind off his impending doom. He knew there was a way to escape arrest, but would he really do it?

"dizendolhe elle confitente que seria bom uirense ambos acusar a esta mesa antes que os prendessem, respondeo o ditto Iuo fernandez que nam quisera ter conhecido a elle confitente pois tinha tam fraco animo perguntando se sabia elle confitente que ser preso pella inquisiçam e sair no auto era honra pera com a lei de Moyses, e que de outra maneira nam se guardaua a ditto lei" (29).

The arrests continued: António de Oliveira on 6 September, and André de Avelar's son Luís de Avelar on 10 September (30). An arrest warrant was issued on 13 September against Father Luís Arês, and he was taken to the Aljube, the ecclesiastic prison, until further orders. With some help from the gaoler, who felt sorry for him, he smuggled out a message to his brother-in-law Luís de Sá (31), who went to talk to him in private "de licença do Aljubeiro". Father Luís Arês informed Luís de Sá that his sister Vicência de Arês had named him as a judaiser, and therefore his arrest was unavoidable. All he could do was present himself to the Inquisition and confess his apostasy, or at least talk to Friar Vicente Pereira or, better still, to the Jesuit Father Gaspar Correia. He himself "dito padre Luis ares determinaua uirse confessar a esta meza e dizer a uerdade nella, e alimparse, e que ja corria com isto o dito padre gaspar Correa, e outro que nomeou da Companhia de jesus". This willingness to confess was not exactly a conversion: "com esta ocasião se derão Conta ambos soos de como crião e viuião na lei de Mouses e nella esperauão Saluarse" (32).

University Secretary Rui de Albuquerque, whose friendship with Dr António Homem had caused him a great deal of embarrassment lately and was still trying to escape prosecution for corruption in office, suffered at this time an unexpected blow. His wife D Maria was arrested as a judaiser on 16 September (33).

António Correia de Sá was arrested on 18 September and put in

solitary confinement. His first interrogation, concerning his genealogy, took place on 23 September. As a full member of the Fellowship of St Diogo, he knew a great deal about it and his fellow members. He began by denying everything, but eventually decided to tell what he knew (34). His son Luis de Sá was arrested on the evening of 22 September, and was put in a cell with another three prisoners, one of them being Luis de Avelar, because the Inquisitors thought that he was unimportant. They could not have been more wrong.

Luis de Sá asked for an audience on the following morning, and immediately began his confession before Inquisitor Sebastião de Matos de Noronha. About 1612, he said, shortly after his mother's death, his father told him that he was wrong in believing in Christ, just as his mother had been wrong all her life. The Messiah still had to come. He could only be saved in the Law of Moses, and the Lord would reward him if he followed it. He went on to initiate him in the precepts of the Jewish law. Luis de Sá believed that his father knew what was best for his salvation, and judaised. A few days later, he learned that his younger brother and his sisters had already been instructed in the Law of Moses by their father (35). He also named various other judaisers, including three important Fellowship members: Miguel Gomes, Diogo Lopes da Rosa and José Coutinho.

Luis de Sá was heard again after lunch, at his request. He had a great deal to tell, and Sebastião de Matos de Noronha could hardly find a more co-operative prisoner. He resumed his confession on the following morning, and, as he was taken back to his cell, he requested another audience - and still another, in the afternoon. It was almost unheard of. Furthermore, he was telling the truth; the details he gave were confirmed by other sources (36). His cell-mate Luis de Avelar was first questioned on 24 September and began his confession at once (37). Others were not so compliant. The lawyer António Leitão "o Corcovado", a relatively unimportant Fellowship member who had been arrested on the same day by Inquisition Bailiff António Moreira, refused to confess, and did not change his mind until nearly two years later (38).

The Inquisitors were delighted with Luis de Sá, and allowed him to add as much as he wished to his confession, knowing that, sooner or later, he would betray himself. He did so. On 5 October, after a few unimportant remarks, he said that in 1616 he was having lunch with Miguel Gomes when the latter was visited by Francisco de Almeida. They exchanged a few words in Latin, knowing that they would not be understood by Luis de Sá:

"e olhando o dito Miguel gomes pera elle confitente lhe perguntou se entendia as ditas pallauras, e disendo elle confitente que nam, disse o ditto Miguel Gomes que queriam diser se era elle confitente do seu Rol [...] e o ditto Miguel gomes declarou a elle confitente que elle dito Miguel gomes e o dito francisco dalmeida tinham a sua conta fazer Rol das pessoas da naçam que uiuião na lei de Mojses pera que em suas necessidades lhe acudissem todos e que diferente charidade e termo era aquelle com que se tratauam os iudeus dos que os xpristãos tinham entre si".

Sebastião de Matos de Noronha was now sure that Luís de Sá knew about the Fellowship of St Diogo and was trying to hide it behind an abundance of less important information. Luís de Sá asked for an audience on 11 October and added a few more details to his confession, but he still admitted nothing about the Fellowship. He had his chance and threw it away, and Sebastião de Matos de Noronha, who was aware of it, questioned him on the following day and advised him to make a full confession. This time, however, Luis de Sá was not so willing (39).

André Vaz Cabaço was arrested on 5 October and put in solitary confinement (40). Inquisitor Gaspar Borges de Azevedo, who had just returned Luís de Sá's proceedings to Sebastião de Matos de Noronha, was put in charge of his case (41). He was also given that of Father Luis Arês, who had just been handed over to the Inquisition, and that of Francisco de Aguiar de Brito, who was arrested on 6 October (42).

Simão Leal, the 62-year old clerk of the University Conservatória, led a quiet life in his house by Santiago church, apparently in different to the arrests of New Christians. However, a knock on his door on 7 October brought him the greatest shock of his life. Inquisition Commissioner Brás do Canto, whom he knew well, had come to inform him that he had an arrest warrant against his wife Maria de Morais, who had been accused of heresy and apostasy. Simão Leal had known his wife for over forty years and had never suspected anything (43). He insisted that she must be innocent. He used all the influence he could muster, as a Familiar of the Holy Office (44) and a citizen enjoying the privileges of the University, to have the Inquisitors append to his wife's proceedings a list of articles of contradiction he had written himself. He claimed that Maria de Morais was a victim of his and her enemies (45), and named as such practically every person he knew his wife was acquainted with. Unaware of what her husband was doing for her, Maria de Morais waited and hoped. She was not questioned until two weeks later (46).

Meanwhile, Dr António Homem accepted the temporary services of Licentiate Damião Rodrigues during the absence of his counsel, and, with his help, compiled a list of articles of contradiction which were submitted to the Inquisitors on 8 October. He also complained about his companion Jerónimo da Fonseca Pina, whom he suspected was intentionally making life difficult for him: "em publica vos chegou a dizer que queria que o ouvissem todos os do corredor, que o Reu. estava maes são que todos; E comia melhor que todos, que se não fiassem delle que tudo dizia ao Alcaide quanto elles dizião" (47).

That choice of companion was, in fact, due to Simão Barreto de Meneses, whose enmity for him he was trying to prove. Among other remarks, he added that Simão Barreto was a close friend of Rector D Francisco de Meneses, his enemy, "quomo parentes (48), Colleagueas, E companheiros no mesmo tribunal do Sancto officio".

The overworked Brás do Canto arrested Manuel Soares on 14 October. He was put in solitary confinement in a recently-built cell on the lower floor (49). His case was considered important enough to be given to Inquisitor Gaspar Borges de Azevedo (50).

Luis de Sá's brother Francisco and his sisters Serafina, Juliana and Angela were arrested on 15 October. Knowing Luis as they undoubtedly did, they guessed that he had confessed everything, and saw no point in trying to deny their guilt. They all admitted having been persuaded by their father António Correia de Sá to go over to the Law of Moses. Manuel Gomes "o Tasquinha" was arrested by Paulo da Costa on the same day, briefly questioned in the afternoon by Gaspar Borges de Azevedo, and put in the second cell of the new aisle with Francisco de Sá and António de Almeida, both confessants (51).

On Sunday morning, 17 October, Brás do Canto arrested André de Avelar's daughters Ana de Faria (52), Mariana do Deserto and Violante do Céu in the Monastery of Santa Ana. Their sister Tomásia de Faria (53) was arrested at home later in the day. The same happened to André de Avelar, whose previous confession the Inquisitors knew was far from complete. The weakest of the four women, Violante do Céu, immediately began her confession, holding very little back and naming her father as having made her judaise (54). Ana de Faria was first questioned on the morning of 18 October, and denied her guilt. Her father was interviewed in the afternoon by Gaspar Borges de Azevedo, and stated "que estava inda perturbado de sua prisam que pedia lhe dessem tempo pera cuidar em suas culpas". This was granted. But when he was summoned by Sebastião de Matos de Noronha on the following after-

noon, he asked for a further adjournment on similar grounds. He was given until the following Monday to make up his mind.

Pero Cabral Colaço was arrested on 19 October (55). On the following day, Diogo Lopes da Rosa was taken in again as a *diminuto*. His fate was sealed. On 21 October, Simão Lopes "o Chorão" revealed that, in 1615 or 1616, Diogo Lopes da Rosa had told him:

"que auia huma irmandade, entre as pessoas da nação que viuião na lei de Mouses, e que elle dito dioguo lopes roza tinha a sua conta ajuntar o dinheiro que as ditas pessoas dauam de esmolla pera certa alampada que continuamente ardia em huma sinagoga na cidade de gurfo [Corfu], e juntamente lhe pediu que desse alguma esmolla para aseite da dita alampada".

The connection between the Fellowship and the organised Jewish communities abroad was established. Corfu was a Venetian possession with an important Jewish colony, and it was known that considerable numbers of Portuguese New Christians had settled there.

Several nuns were arrested in the Monastery of Santa Ana on Monday, 25 October (56). On the morning of the same day, André de Avelar was questioned again by Sebastião de Matos de Noronha, and astonished him by going back on all his previous statements, claiming that he had never judaised, and that his previous confessions were false and caused by his arrest, prison conditions, his old age and natural timidity, "e estar ajnda ao tempo que comesou a fazer sua confissam atroado das grandes gritas e concurso de gente com que o trouxeram pelas Ruas publicas desta Cidade". Besides, he added, Simão Barreto de Meneses had promised to return him to his Chair of Mathematics and personally recommend his case to the King, if he confessed.

Simão Barreto could no longer refute this statement: he had died in the summer (57). But Sebastião de Matos de Noronha knew that André de Avelar's case had been handled by Gaspar Borges de Azevedo and D Francisco de Soveral, to whom he had confessed, and that Simão Barreto had played a minor part in it. The lie was evident. A skilful line of questioning led André de Avelar to admit that he had constantly been cautioned to tell the truth, that no names had been suggested to him, and that the people he had named as judaisers were not his enemies. In brief, there was no reason why he should name them, unless they were indeed guilty. Sebastião de Matos de Noronha resumed his interrogation on the morning of 26 October and told André de Avelar that his excuses were not believable, particularly because his confession

was confirmed by evidence from other sources. André de Avelar insisted that he was not guilty, and continued to do so when questioned in specie on the following day. It was a waste of time, and he was sent back to his cell, in the hope that he would reconsider (58).

On 28 October, Inquisition Bailiff António Moreira escorted Dr António Homem's cousins António Travassos Brandão and Duarte Travassos from Montemor-o-Velho, where they lived, to Coimbra. There was sufficient evidence to prove that both had judaised, although they were not known to be Fellowship members (59).

As Luís de Sá had remained silent for over two weeks, Sebastião de Matos de Noronha decided to question him in specie on 29 October. He claimed that he knew nothing about any ceremonies, which the Inquisitor knew was a lie, but told him about Miguel Gomes's attempt to make him worship a calf. This was so unexpected that the Inquisitor found it hard to believe (60). And what about the roll or register he had previously mentioned? All he could remember, he said, was that Diogo Lopes da Rosa was also working on it, or so they told him.

Luís de Sá was sent back to his cell, knowing that he could no longer hold back his knowledge of the Fellowship and hope to get away with it. He made a wise decision, the only one he could really choose: he asked for an audience after lunch. He was immediately taken to Sebastião de Matos de Noronha, who knew he would soon be back, and told him everything: how Dr António Homem had confirmed him, how he had been persuaded to join the Fellowship, where the ceremonies took place, what they were like. He talked until the session was closed in the evening. His testimony filled thirteen folios. But this was not the end. Luís de Sá asked to be heard again on 30 October and was taken to Sebastião de Matos de Noronha in the afternoon. He told where the Fellowship vestments were usually hidden, and explained what could have happened to them (61). He added that the Fellowship intended to organise a major ceremony, with people from all over the country:

"entre as quais entravam homens fidalgos, que não tinham mais, que meus quartos de xristãos novos; os quais estão já desenganados, que tudo era Nada em comparação da lei de Moyses. E que o doutor Antonio homem tinha feito um livro, em que tratava da dita lei: E a defendia com tam claros Argumentos, que se os visse o Papa dos xristãos professara a mesma lei sem falta" (62).

Also arrested, on 7 November, was Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro's wife D Francisca Brandoa, who had remained in Coimbra after her

husband's disgrace. A confirmed judaiser, who declared herself as such with many of her friends (63) and celebrated Jewish holy days at home with selected guests, she lived in her farm in Lares, near Montemor-o-Velho, where Inquisition Commissioner Brás do Canto found her. She was initially put in isolation (64). Although she had contacts with many known judaisers in the Coimbra district, she was not a member of the Fellowship of St Diogo, which the Inquisitors knew was an all-male congregation.

André de Avelar was aware of the dangers to which his attitude exposed him, and eventually felt that it was not really justifiable. He asked for an audience, and was taken to Gaspar Borges de Azevedo on the morning of 8 November. He was now ready to plead guilty, and admit that all he had stated after his second arrest was untrue. He thought he was expected to accuse his children. If he had not done so, it was not

"por falta de fee da ley de Xpisto nosso Senhor Mas por amor paternal e ser estrangeiro nesta terra e ter suas filhas Recolhidas em o Mosteiro honrradamente e outra cazada com hum homem honrrado Xpistão velho, e seus filhos mansebos, em ordem de terem vida. E que isto soo o deteue e Retardou em suas confissõis".

He continued his story. Some time after the General Pardon, he gathered his children in his house and told them "que bem teriam entendido o amor de pai onde chegava e o que elle lhes tinha, que lhes desejava sua saluaçam como a sua propria, e que so na ley de Moyses auia saluaçam". He then instructed them in the precepts of the Law of Moses. All he had to confess now was his active participation in the ceremonies of the Fellowship of St Diogo (65).

André de Avelar's daughters Mariana do Deserto and Ana de Faria began their confessions on 12 November, naming their father as the responsible for their apostasy. The latter told Gaspar Borges de Azevedo, who was also in charge of André de Avelar's case, that she could not perform the ritual fasts in her Monastery as often as her sisters, "por ter muito pouca compreissam [...] e por ser occopada em tanger o baixam, que lhe daua muito trabalho". Their Jewish practices ceased shortly before her father's arrest, "porque depois andauam muito atemorizadas, e não ousauão fallar nestas cousas". She soon provided details of the Jewish cult meetings in her Monastery (66).

After twenty months in custody, Miguel Gomes "o Manco" decided to confess. He asked for a hearing and was taken to the presence of

Deputy D Diogo Lobo on the morning of 18 November. He admitted having judaised and followed the precepts of the Jewish law and named various people, but not Dr António Homem. He gave a few more details to Deputy Dr Pero da Costa on the following morning. This was considered enough, and his proceedings were closed on 20 November. He had named over sixty judaisers.

António Gomes "o Sapo" had been informed on 8 November that he had been found guilty and would be released to the secular arm as a pertinacious and negative heretic. He finally changed his mind, asked for a hearing and confessed on 19 November that he was indeed guilty, having been indoctrinated in the Jewish faith by his father. The Inquisitors did not notice that his confession was less than sincere: although he named various Fellowship members, including António Dias da Cunha, André de Avelar and Crispim da Costa, he omitted Dr António Homem and made not the slightest mention of the ceremonies (67).

Familiar António Moreira detained the lawyer Simão do Couto on 21 November. The latter, an obscure but faithful judaiser, had been named by his friend and neighbour António Dias de Almeida and by Simão Lopes "o Chorão". His hopes of escaping arrest - he had been of no particular importance in the Fellowship - were shattered (68). Two days later, Manuel de Seíça's worst fears became reality; he was arrested at home in Montemor-o-Velho (69).

André Vaz Cabaço asked for an audience on 22 November. He was heard in the afternoon session by Gaspar Borges de Azevedo, and began his confession, naming various Fellowship members. He continued on the following day, at his own request, and this time he revealed the existence of the Fellowship and how it functioned (70). His unrestricted collaboration was seen as a true sign of repentance, and his case was accordingly terminated. On the same day, António Correia de Sá provided a detailed description of the 1616 Yom Kippur ceremony, and named among those present Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia, whom no other witness had connected with the Fellowship of St Diogo (71).

Also on 22 November, José Coutinho, "allumiado pello espirito santo", asked for a hearing and began his confession before Sebastião de Matos de Noronha (72). He admitted that he had judaised about 30 years previously, at the age of 15, having been persuaded by his mother Guiomar Brandoa and grandmother Brites Brandoa; and named various judaisers, including André Vaz Cabaço and António Dias de Almeida (73). His proceedings were reviewed on 24 November. Although he had made a partial confession, he was considered as a heretic, apostate and false

confessant, and was sentenced to be handed over to the secular arm. José Coutinho had his hands tied up and was informed that he would be executed on the following Sunday; "que per tanto disposesse de sua alma, e atentasse o que lhe Conuinha pera saluação della, E pedisse a xpisto nosso senhor o encaminhasse e lhe tirasse a Cegeira que tinha em seu Entendimento". José Coutinho understood the message. He requested a hearing on the same day and told Sebastião de Matos de Noronha all he wanted to hear about the Fellowship of St Diogo, its ceremonies and Dr António Homem's role in it, thus saving his life. He continued his confession on 27 November, being heard in the morning and afternoon sessions by D Francisco de Soveral. The ceremonies, he explained, took place

"logo depois do Ultimo perdam geral ate o tempo da prizão delle Confitente, em todos os annos no mes de Setembro na ocasiam en que cahia o jejum do dia grande nesta Cidade huns annos en caza de miguel gomes, outras en caza de henrique darede prezo nos carceres deste Santo officio; outros em caza de Antonio dias da Cunha coneguo; e outras em caza de ferno dias da Silua Coneguo, e ali nas ditas cazas e Companhia de todas as pessoas que tem dittas [...] e o que fazia o officio de sacerdote lhes encomendaua que fizessem a dita festa, e a Celebrasem pera o anno vindouro, e pera todas as mais que pudesem, em sua vida, e lhes daua juramento a todos, e a cada hum delles [on the Talmud] que tiuessem segredo, e antes morresem como morreo frei dioguo, que dizerem cousa alguma por onde se uiesem a descobrir, e perdesem sua deuaçam e isto acabado se recolhião a sear e a mesma caza, Couzas que não erão de carne em lousa noua, e tinham preparados quando sahião malegas de talaueira nouas, cheas de vinho, as quais sempre estauão cheas por ceremonea da dita Lei e no principio thomauão hum pouquo de uinho; depois seauão" (74).

On 26 November, Canon Fernão Dias da Silva, who had consistently denied his guilt, was informed that he would be included in the forthcoming auto de fé and released to the secular arm as a convicted and negative apostate and heretic. At this point he gave up and began his confession, thus prolonging his life (75). Francisco Dias, who was in the cell next to his own, had a different fate. Inquisition clerk António Botelho informed him that he would be handed over to the secular arm in two days' time (76). He had his hands tied up "pera seu desengano" and was given a confessor, but did not change his mind.

An imposing auto de fé took place in Coimbra's City Square on 28 November. It lasted for three days, during which 174 people were

sentenced and the whole country was told about the Fellowship of St Diogo (77). Miguel da Fonseca Cardoso (78) and Simão Lopes "o Chorão" were sentenced to perpetual gaol and penitential dress without remission; Simão Leal's wife Maria de Morais (79), Francisco Serrão's wife Luisa Serrão and António Correia de Sá to perpetual gaol and penitential dress. The latter's sons Luís and Francisco and his three daughters were sentenced to gaol and penitential dress *ad arbitrium*, as were André Vaz Cabaço (80), Miguel da Fonseca's son João da Fonseca, André de Avelar's children Ana de Faria, Tomásia de Faria (81) and Luís de Avelar, António Dias de Almeida's son João de Almeida, Simão Gonçalves "o Malhado" (82) and Manuel Gomes "o Tasquinha". José Coutinho and Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa were sentenced to perpetual gaol and penitential dress with insignia of fire, without remission, and penal servitude at the oars - three and four years respectively (83). Eight men and four women were handed over to the secular arm for execution; Francisco Dias was among them. The late Henrique de Arede was one of nine men and three women to be executed in effigy.

Another *auto de fé* took place in Lisbon's Rossio on the same day, with 92 penitents, 58 men and 34 women (84). One of them was Estêvão de Arês da Fonseca, sentenced to perpetual gaol and penitential dress (85). The same sentence, but without remission, was passed on Miguel Gomes "o Manco", Francisco de Almeida (86), António Gomes "o Sapô" (87), Dr António Homem's former cell-mate Jerónimo da Fonseca Pina (88) and Paulo de Lena (89); the latter's penitential gown had insignia of fire. All five were transferred on the following day to the penitential cells, where they would be given religious instruction.

Predictably, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was arrested again on 30 November. It had been established that he was a Fellowship member and participated in its ceremonies, but confessed nothing about it. Furthermore, he had, very unwisely, told all and sundry that he had never judaised and had confessed under coercion, which was untrue. He was put in a cell with another six prisoners.

António Correia de Sá's co-operation was appreciated by the Inquisitors. He was released on 30 November and instructed to gather information about other New Christians. He began by writing a four-page report about how the prisoners communicated with each other, how they made ink in their cells and how they passed clandestine messages to the outside. He proved to be a willing collaborator (90).

13 - Dismantling the Network

António Dias de Almeida had already spent twenty-two months in prison when he was faced with yet more evidence against him on 19 January 1622. He knew all too well what was expected of him, and this time he described the Fellowship ceremonies and named its members - with the conspicuous exception of Dr António Homem. He was advised to make a full confession and was sent back to his cell (1).

Miguel Gomes knew that the Inquisitors were determined to get to the bottom of the Fellowship affair, and decided to add to his confession on 25 January. His statement was written down, and followed by an interrogation in specie on the same day. The Inquisitors already knew that he had confessed far less than he should, but they could afford to take their time: he was still in custody (2). Besides, there were other equally good sources of information they could use.

On 7 February, Miguel Gomes was admonished before more evidence against him was published. He denied having taken part in Jewish ceremonies, was advised to appoint a defence counsel, and chose the Licentiate Damião Rodrigues. They began preparing a new set of articles of contradiction, which were presented to the Inquisitors on the following day. They were cleverly elaborated, as could be expected from a man with a good knowledge of Jewish rituals. He denied everything, and pointed out that "os Judeus não dão Culto, nem veneração alguma se não a Deus, ao qual somente resão, E se encomendão, E não a Sancto algum". Furthermore, there was no solid evidence of the existence of a synagogue, and no trace was ever found of the vestments which the prosecution claimed were used in its ceremonies - something he was not supposed to know. As for his alleged role as a priest, anybody could see he was a cripple and could not walk without his crutch; and "na lej de Mouses o Sacerdote avia de ser pessoa que fosse são sem Aleijão nem deformidade" (3). He continued to affirm his innocence, as more and more evidence was obtained against him. It was exactly the same method which Dr António Homem had adopted.

Meanwhile, the Inquisition decided to speed up Ascenso Dias "o Rato"'s proceedings (4). He was admonished on 2 March before the publication of a sixteen-point libel of justice, and continued to deny his guilt. He chose Ivo Duarte as his counsel and had a long talk with him. As a result, he decided to confess and asked for a hearing, which was granted on the afternoon of 4 March. D Miguel de Castro heard him blame Miguel Gomes "o Manco" for having persuaded him to judaise (5).

On the same day, Pedro Homem de Faria, who had been left undisturbed in his cell for ten months, was taken before Inquisitor Pero da Costa and faced with an accusatory libel. He continued to deny his guilt, the only defence that occurred to him at that time (6).

While the persecution of New Christian judaisers escalated, the Holy See made a decision, the irony of which could not escape the Inquisition. On 22 March, Pope Gregory XV canonised Ignatius of Loyola and Teresa of Avila; the latter was of New Christian extraction, the former was the founder of the Society of Jesus, the New Christians' greatest ally in their struggle against the Holy Office, and counted several known Conversos among his friends.

Miguel Gomes's defence was so vigorous that he went beyond the limits of prudence, and showed that he was aware of certain points of evidence he was not supposed to know. The Inquisitors asked him on 21 April how this could be, and on 26 April decided to keep him in his penitential cell, but isolated from outside contact. When a substantial amount of evidence had been put together against him, with the unwilling collaboration of André Vaz Cabaço, action was taken at last. The General Council of the Holy Office decided to reopen his case, and on 2 June ordered his transfer to the Cárceres Secretos until the conclusion of the proceedings. This was done on the following day. Miguel Gomes knew he was in danger, but refused to confess at first. Being faced with eight folios of evidence against him on 4 July, he denied everything. As his counsel Damião Rodrigues was very busy, he appointed the Licentiate Francisco Tavares to assist him on the following day. Miguel Gomes spent the first half of July compiling evidence to show that he was being falsely accused by deadly enemies of his, and trying to discredit their statements.

After two years trying to deny his guilt (7), Vicente de Arês was questioned on the afternoon of 14 July by D Francisco de Soveral. Against all expectations, he decided to confess. He began by admitting that his apostasy had taken place about 34 years earlier, under the influence of his first wife's grandfather, Diogo Rodrigues. He asked for a hearing on the following day and gave D Francisco de Soveral a considerable amount of information about other judaisers, Miguel Gomes "o Manco" included. This was not enough. He still had to admit his part in the Fellowship ceremonies (8).

As the Coimbra Inquisition was already seriously under-staffed, it was decided to appoint the more experienced Deputies to take up certain cases. One of the first to be chosen was Dr Luís Ribeiro de

Leiva, whose knowledge of Canon Law was a great asset under the circumstances. Inquisitor General D Fernão Martins Mascarenhas ordered the Chapter to dispense him from the duties of his Canonry whenever necessary, without loss of revenue. This was granted on 4 August (9).

On 25 August, André de Avelar was questioned in the afternoon session by Sebastião de Matos de Noronha, who had taken over his case. Although the Lente of Mathematics alleged that his memory was bad, he admitted having participated in three ceremonies: in 1609 and 1611 in the house of Henrique de Arede and in 1612 in that of António Dias da Cunha. But it was not enough. He was charged on 3 September (10).

Dr João Álvares Brandão took over Dr António Homem's proceedings on 12 September (11), and on 15 September questioned Francisco Talésio, now 16, who confirmed that Dr António Homem had committed sodomy with him on three occasions. Diogo de Beja also confirmed his previous statement (12). But when Manuel Henriques was interviewed in the afternoon, he repeated what he had stated over a year before, adding that Simão Barreto had told Manuel Dias Palma, his secretary: "Levenno, levenno elle não quer diser ua buscar quem o leue preso". This time the Inquisitors were stricter, as the matter required. Manuel Henriques was ordered not to leave Coimbra until further orders, on pain of major excommunication and five years' penal servitude in the galleys, and to appear before them again at eight in the morning of the following day, as well as on any other day appointed by the Tribunal.

Secretary Manuel Dias Palma was interviewed on the following day. He confirmed that it was true that Simão Barreto had put considerable pressure on Manuel Henriques. Although he could no longer recall all the details, it could well be that the Inquisitor had said the words reported by the young man; "o ditto inquisidor era collerico, e em semilhantes cousas costumava a diser semilhantes palauras" (13). And Manuel Henriques "se mostrava ser timido, porque tanto que o ditto inquisidor lhe fasia algumas das dittas instancias loguo chorava". As a minor, Manuel Henriques was given a Curator or guardian, Inquisition Commissioner Paulo da Costa (14).

André de Avelar's daughter Violante de Faria was questioned in specie by Sebastião de Matos de Noronha on 23 September (15). But she, who had been fairly co-operative until then, decided to try and convince the Inquisitor that she had never judaised within her Monastery. She failed, and after lunch asked to be heard, dismissed her previous explanations as the work of the Devil, and resumed her confession (16).

By mid-October, Miguel Gomes understood that it was useless trying to deny the evidence and asked for a hearing. This was not immediately granted, because the Chief Warder was ill and could not pass on his request. On 24 October, however, he was taken before Inquisitor D Manuel Pereira and began his confession. He told him about the Jewish ceremonies, when and where they had taken place, and Dr António Homem's leading role in them. On 31 October he revealed how the judaisers were organised:

"Disse mais que na ditto cidade de Coimbra auia huma confraria que chamauão de frey Diogo, o qual foi relaxado por esta Meza a justiça secular, E morreo queimado viuo, da qual confraria erão confrades elle Confitente E todas as mais pessoas acima nomeadas, dizendo todos que o ditto frey Diogo era sancto, E como tal morrera na crença E confissão da ditto ley de Moyses, E como a sancto lhe rogauão que intercedesse a Deos por todos elles em suas petições E necessidades; E que por honra do ditto frey Diogo se tirauão algumas esmollas, as quaes se repartião pellas pessoas pobres da mesma Nasção" (17).

He thus confirmed in detail what the Inquisitors already knew from other sources. His confession was continued on 9 November and ratified on the 22nd of the same month.

By that time, the Inquisitors already knew that the cult of St Diogo had spread to unlikely places. On the morning of 20 October, the Augustinian Friar Teodósio da Cunha appeared before Gaspar Borges de Azevedo to make a statement. As the Prior of the Monastery of Our Lady of the Angels in Montemor-o-Velho, he often visited that of Our Lady of Campos in the same town. He had recently been there to listen to a sermon, and had noticed on the left-hand side of the church an altar which was not quite what he would expect to see. It had an image of Our Lady of Campos, patron of the Monastery,

"sem o Minino Jesus nos braços E com Ricos vestidos, E o melhor que tem he hum de Chamalote douro, E seda não se lembra da Cor, que lhe deu o doutor Jeronimo dalmeida da dita Villa meo xpistão nouo, E que hum Matheus Lopes Clerigo xpistão nouo Irmão de Manuel de Ceixa presso nestes Carceres (18), quando faleceo Deixou em seu testamento huma peça de prata não se lembra se castiças, se Alãpada pera aquelle mesmo altar, no qual tem muita deuação toda a gente da nação daquella Villa".

Friar Teodósio da Cunha was a shrewd man and understood that something was amiss. Mateus Lopes da Silva was a known judaiser, and Dr Jerónimo de Almeida was already under suspicion. But there was more:

"E agora de nouo a Abbadessa que he Branca de Sam Jose, que hee xpistaã noua natural da dita villa, mandou pintar sobre o dito Altar, e sobre a Cabeça da Senhora huma pintura de Sam diogo de Alcala que pareceo a elle declarante que tinha a Coroa aberta sendo o dito Sam Diogo frade leigo sem Coroa E nessa forma o pintam em toda a parte, E por baixo tinha a dita Pintura humas leteras Cabidolares com o Nome de Sam Diogo, E da outra parte em trespondencia Em forma de um xpisto resurgitado esta pintado Sam Benito negro, de Palerma sem Rotolo algum E que no dito Altar de nossa Senhora esta ao pee diante d'elle hum Cirio grande de mais de AROBA, que esta acceso as missas, E que elle declarante por reparar no dito Sam Diogo, E na forma em que estaua a imagem da nossa Senhora e do Cirio nam o vendo nos outros altares, nem Rotolo no pee de Sam Benito formou Conceito que a dita Abbadessa cõ as mais religiosas da nação, que seram quinze ou dezaseis tinha dedicado o dito altar a Rainha Saba ou Hester por serem da nação, e judias E o terem tam venerado, E que o Santo diogo nam he o de Alcala; mas que he o falso frei diogo que da ordem de sam francisco foi queimado por herege viuo na Inquisição de lisboa, que os judeus tanto veneram, neste Reyno".

Having no knowledge of the Fellowship of St Diogo, Friar Teodósio da Cunha had found a ramification of that secret organisation. 60-year old Branca Pais, the Abbess of the Franciscan Monastery of Our Lady of Campos, had organised a Jewish conventicle within her Monastery and dedicated it to the memory of Friar Diogo da Assunção (19). Friar Teodósio's suspicions about the altar in the Monastery church were also correct (20).

On 22 December, Dr António Homem was informed that, "por especial licença e comissao que pera isso tem do Illustrissimo Senhor inquisidor geral", João Alvares Brandão had replaced Simão Barreto de Meneses, whom the Lente had accused of personal enmity. Would he agree to this change? Also, would he consider taking back the accusations he made against Simão Barreto? Dr António Homem, whose requests for a personal interview with D Fernão Martins Mascarenhas had been consistently denied, could understand that the Inquisitor General was trying to help him defend himself. He replied that

"elle entendia em sua consciencia que não podia dessistir dos dit-

tos embarguos, e sospeições por quanto todas as causas nelles de-
dozidas erão uerdadeiras, E que ainda que sente muito as dilações
em seus negocios pellos trabalhos que tem padecido nos carceres, e
infermidades que lhe sobrevierão nelles deseiaua que seus negocios
se concluíssem em breue Com tudo podião mais com elle as resõis de
iustiça em Sua defensão que os dittos trabalhos, e que tiuera por
grande merce e fauor que o Senhor inquisidor geral lhe fes em lhe
dar por iuis a elle Senhor inquisidor João aluers brandão por gran-
de Conceito que delle tem por sua inteireza e partes, e sendo ne-
cessario disse que consentia nelle Senhor João aluers brandão que
fosse seu iuis em ambos os seus processos".

He had succeeded in proving that Simão Barreto de Meneses was
biased against him. Now, guilty or not, he felt he could have a fair
trial (21).

Vicente de Arês could not know that his proceedings had al-
ready been closed when he asked for a hearing on 3 January 1623, and
gave Dr Luis Ribeiro de Leiva some additional details to his confess-
ion. He accomplished no more than show that he knew more than he had
told, which made him liable to be tortured. He was taken to the tor-
ture chamber on the morning of 6 February. The mere sight of it was
enough to make him resume his confession, but there was more for him
to add. He began to be tied up, and the pain made him ask to be heard.
This time, as was expected of him, he named Dr António Homem as a ju-
daiser, as well as the Lente's father Jorge Vaz Brandão, his brother
Gonçalo Homem, who was also his uncle, and the latter's sister D Maria
Brandoa, his aunt - all of which was true. "E por não poder assinar
por estar mal tratado dos dedos", Inquisition clerk Simão Nogueira
signed on his behalf (22).

Meanwhile, Manuel Soares was notified on 4 February that he
would be released to the secular arm as a convicted, negative and per-
tinacious heretic and apostate. The fear of being executed did what
fourteen months in prison could not do. He admitted his guilt and nam-
ed various judaisers, but he still confessed nothing about the Fellow-
ship (23). It was decided on 13 February to have him tortured: "dous
tratos expertos e que fosse outra ves leuantado te o libello". The sen-
tence was executed on 21 February. Manuel Soares did his best to avoid
the pain. He named António de Oliveira as a judaiser before the pro-
ceedings began, but denied any knowledge of the ceremonies. As he was
being tied up, he said he wanted to make a statement, and this time he
described two Yom Kippur ceremonies and named many Fellowship members.
However, this was not entirely satisfactory. He had not mentioned the

actual existence of the Fellowship of St Diogo, and, worse still, he omitted Dr António Homem's rôle in the ceremonies, which he could not possibly have forgotten. He would have to be tortured again (24). António Dias de Almeida was similarly tortured on the same day. Although he had already confessed a great deal, he now decided to say no more. He endured the torture as best he could, and confessed nothing. His proceedings were closed at last.

By that time, Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa was again in custody. He had been arrested in Coimbra and transferred to Lisbon, as the importance of his case required; the Inquisitors were now sure that he had a great deal to confess. He was admitted to the Estaus on 11 February, and began his confession shortly afterwards: "auera des annos pouco mais ou menos em Coimbra se comessou huma confraria com titolo de juntamento de christãos nouos appartados da fe obseruantes da lej de moisses de que foj instituidor e autor Antonio dias da Cunha conego que entam era". He named various Fellowship members, carefully omitting Dr António Homem (25).

Having been faced with a growing amount of evidence against him, André de Avelar decided to add to his confession on 21 February. There was no way out; this time he admitted his role in the Fellowship of St Diogo and named Dr António Homem as its High Priest. In the following sessions, he willingly replied to the questions which D Miguel de Castro asked him. The vestments used in the ceremonies, he explained,

"herão huma como Roxete de Bispo mas mais larga e chegaua ate o ar telho e hera de Caniquim ou de olanda e não esta lembrado se tinha per baixo alguma renda, e sobre esta ueste uistiam outra como dalmatica de ceda azul que hera tafetá ou damasquilho e hera azul ou uerde, E ficaua mais curta que a alua branca: E em outras casas esta ueste de ceda hera da feiçam de loba e que o Conego Fernão dias tinha huma ueste destas de feiçam de loba e o mesmo lhe pareceo que tinha o Conego Matheus lopes e Antonio dias tinha huma da feiçam de dalmatica E todos tinham suas aluas".

The lesser priests wore on their heads "como huma gualteira redonda de modo que humas uezes hera mais alta outras mais baixa por ser de cousa que se dobraua e estendia" (26). The High Priest, however, wore a

"Mitara sarrada toda por sima, E era de seda uermelha não se lembra em particular que seda era, e sobre esta Mitara ataua o dito

summo sacerdote pella testa hum sendal uermelho, e dando dous nós de tras cahiam sobre as costas duas pernas do dito sendal, o que os outros sacerdotes não tinham".

When D Miguel de Castro asked who had introduced such vestments, and on whose authority, "pois era contra o Comun rito dos Rabinos, e Contra o que se pratica na maior parte das Sinagogas", André de Avelar replied that he did not know: "lhe parece que se tiraria o uzo dellas de algumas figuras do testamento uelho que em algumas biblias andão pintadas, Com as sobreditas uestes E que não sabe o que se uza nas outras Sinagogas" (27).

Meanwhile, the Faculty of Canon Law was more disorganised than ever. Dr António Homem's proceedings were taking much longer than the Reformer had expected, there was still no end in sight (28), and the Chair of Prime could not be left vacant indefinitely. After the necessary consultations, Felipe IV wrote on 23 February to the Reformer: Dr Domingos Antunes, a New Christian, was allowed to retire, and his Chair of Vespers was given to Dr Luís Ribeiro de Leiva. The Chair of Decretum was given to Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia, that of Sext to Dr Duarte Brandão and that of Clementines to Dr Diogo Mendes Godinho - all New Christians. But "enquanto o doutor Antonio homem, não for sentenciado, nem eu mandar prouer a sua cadeira", the King ordered, as an interim measure, that the Lente of Vespers should teach Prime, that of Decretum should teach Vespers, and so on.

The accusatory libel read to Dr António Homem on 27 February had, for the first time, a general description of the Fellowship ceremonies. If the Inquisitors hoped to persuade him to confess by showing him how much they already knew, they were disappointed. The Lente was quick to spot various apparent discrepancies in the description, and decided to make the most of them. He continued to deny everything and replied with 104 articles of contradiction. Points 7 to 42 were a brilliant attack on the testimonies presented in the libel, which only overlooked an important detail: he had wrongly assumed that the libel referred to one ceremony, whereas it was based on descriptions of various ceremonies and thus its contradictions were only apparent. He then insisted that he was the victim of a conspiracy. Simão Barreto de Meneses had even placed his deadliest enemies in nearby cells, "enchendo as casas do corredor de quatro e cinco em cada hua cercando ao mesmo Reu. de seus enemigos". And, to prove it, he presented an accurate list of who was in every cell of his wing (29). Even allowing for the fact that many prisoners communicated with their neighbours through knocks on the walls, Dr António Homem's knowledge was outstanding.

As Diogo Lopes de Sequeira persisted in being unco-operative, the Inquisitors recommended on 28 February that he be put to torture, "e nelle tiuesse todo o que podesse leuar a juizo do medico e sirugião e arbitrio dos Inquisidores", but this decision was postponed for the time being. He was faced with new evidence against him on the following day, and made another list of articles of contradiction with the help of lawyer Ivo Duarte (30). The witnesses he named did not confirm his defence (31).

It was now the time to make arrests in the Monasteries where judaisers were known to exist; their connections with the Fellowship had to be accurately established. 22-year old Sister Margarida do Présépio was arrested on 3 March, and was so scared that she immediately began telling what she knew. She did not even spare her special friend in the Monastery of Celas, Sister Maria Henriques, who had persuaded her to judaise:

"pedio a ella confitente que fosse ella confitente com ella Maria Anriques ao leito aonde a sobredita dormia pera faserem desacatos, e afrontas a um Xpisto que tinha em hum painel com a crus as costas, e pera o picarem com alfenetes, disendo que aquillo era bom pera ir ao Ceo" (32).

On 6 March, Father Luís Arês, who had tried for months to deny the charges against him (33), asked to be heard and began his confession, naming other judaisers. He still tried to minimise his guilt. He claimed to have judaised as late as 1616, through the influence of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. He continued his statement on 14 March, by which time the Inquisitors knew that he was withholding evidence. He asked for a confessor on the following day, but this was refused him. He insisted, asking for Deputy Friar João Marmeleiro, and was allowed to talk to him in private, under the watch of Secretary Manuel Dias Palma. The talk was fruitless. Luís Arês rose and told the Inquisitors that his previous confessions were untrue. He had never judaised, nor did he know of anyone who had. He had made the previous statements because Sebastião de Matos de Noronha had told him that only a miracle would save him. The Inquisitors, who knew that his previous confession was essentially true, asked him whether he knew that a revocation was a very serious matter. They could see he was perturbed, and thus would not accept it. He was advised to think carefully about it. After various admonitions, he became aware of the danger to which he was exposing himself, and admitted his guilt on 23 March:

"elle Reuogou suas Confissões por Cuidar que seria grande uergonha e peio para elle uerse sahir nesta terra, Confesso onde tem parentes xpistãos uelhos e honrados: E que tinha tenção de procurar que o leuassem a lisboa pera la desencargar sua Consciencia inteiramente".

This time he held very little back. He named more judaisers, and even told the Inquisitors about how his aunt Isabel Brandoa had converted him to the Jewish faith at the age of 15 (34).

Sister Maria Henriques was arrested in the Monastery of Celas on 8 April and taken to the Inquisition jail by Familiar Domingos Teixeira. She was over sixty and tired of waiting for her arrest, which she had feared for the past five years. She gradually enlightened the Inquisitors about the Jewish activities in her Monastery (35). Branca Pais's conventicle in the Monastery of Our Lady of Campos was a more serious matter. She would have to be arrested, but not just yet; the decision was made on 29 April to wait until more evidence was obtained. She was not taken into custody until 29 June.

On 4 May, Father Luís Arês asked to be heard, and named a few more judaisers. But that was not enough. Instructions were received from the General Council to have him tortured. He was taken to the torture chamber on 16 May, where he insisted that he had told the truth and had nothing else to confess. He was lifted up, but the session was interrupted because he was "quebrado E andar doente de Camaras, E neste tempo lhe dar hum accedente e ficar desacordado de todo". His proceedings were closed on the following day (36).

As for Dr António Homem, he had not confessed to anything incriminating, but the evidence against him was overwhelming. The Inquisitors were uneasy about the proof of Justice in the sodomy proceedings, which, as the Lente had foreseen, depended on whether he was impotent or not. On 20 May, Dr Baltazar de Azeredo, Chief Physician of the Kingdom, was asked for his learned opinion; but he was already over 70, and his powers of reasoning may have been impaired. All he had to say was that he did not think Dr António Homem was impotent, "quanto mais em caso que o fosse, pera agente no peccado, o não seria pera paciente nelle" - a pointless remark, since the Lente was invariably accused of being the active partner (37).

On the same day, André de Avelar was admonished and taken to the torture chamber, where he was tied up (38). Not unexpectedly, he asked to be heard, and incriminated Father Diogo da Mata and his mo-

ther. It was clear that he had nothing else to confess. His case was closed later in the day and a decision was taken about his sentence, which he would serve in the penitential cells of the Lisbon Inquisition, "uisto o damno que se podera seguir se o Reo tiuer comunicação com pessoas de sua nação peruertendoas com sua doutrina e exemplo por ser tão uisto nas cousas da lej de Moyses" (39).

At this time, the Holy Office had collected substantial evidence against the late Francisco da Silva, who had been University Paymaster until early 1618: eleven witnesses (40) had testified that he had judaised. Proceedings were started against him on 2 June, and his widow, D Catarina de Sá, was summoned to defend her late husband's honour and estate (41).

António Leitão "o Corcovado"'s proceedings were by then declared closed. He knew that the Inquisitors were fully aware of his participation in Dr António Homem's congregation (42), but he still refused to confess. He was summoned before the Inquisitors on 3 June, admonished and confronted with the latest evidence against him, but denied everything. He was then informed that he had been found guilty of heresy and apostasy, aggravated by pertinacity, and would thus be released to the secular arm. António Leitão asked for an audience on the following day, and was heard on the morning of 5 June by Dr Luís Ribeiro de Leiva. He confessed having judaised and participated in a Yom Kippur ceremony, and named various Fellowship members, carefully omitting Dr António Homem (43).

On the same day, Inquisition Bailiff António Moreira escorted five prisoners from Montemor-o-Velho to Coimbra: brothers Rui, Amaro and Paulo de Pina, Francisco de Paiva and Dr Jerónimo de Almeida. The latter would eventually help identify the judaisers in the Monastery of Our Lady of Campos, and provide enough information to dismantle the whole New Christian judaiser network in Montemor-o-Velho (44).

Dr António Homem's sister D Maria Brandoa tried to defend herself as best she could, but her mind was not too reliable. The witnesses she named did not confirm her defence, and some of the articles of contradiction she presented, with Ivo Duarte's help, were not even very convincing. As the charges against her were considered as proven beyond any reasonable doubt, she was declared guilty on 13 February and sentenced to be released to the secular arm as heretic, apostate, negative and contumacious. She was informed on 5 June. Alarmed as she was, she once again claimed to be innocent, but gave up on the following day and began her confession (45). She still held back a great

deal, particularly about Dr António Homem and her nephew Valentim Quaresma, and the Inquisitors knew it. She was tortured on 8 June, but added nothing of interest. Her case was closed in the evening.

Francisco de Aguiar de Brito's case was reviewed on the morning of 3 June. The evidence against him was overwhelming and his denials did his case no good. Consequently, he was informed that he had been found guilty of heresy and apostasy and of being contumacious and negative. He was advised to confess in order to merit the Inquisitors' leniency. After nearly two years, he had exhausted his hopes. Thus, when Inquisitor Gaspar Borges de Azevedo presented additional evidence against him on 14 June, he admitted that the bill of indictment was generally accurate and he was indeed guilty. He explained how he was persuaded to judaize and named various people, including Miguel da Fonseca, André Vaz Cabaço and Diogo Lopes da Rosa. He asked to be heard again on the following day, and gave D Miguel de Castro more details. To his surprise, the latter told him that his confession was unsatisfactory and incomplete, and presented him with more evidence, advising him to confess everything. He could do no more for the prisoner, who had just been declared to be an impenitent, diminuto and false confessant, convicted on the available evidence, and sentenced to be released to the secular arm. Francisco de Aguiar de Brito was notified on 16 June, his hands were tied up, and he was left with the Jesuit Father Alvaro Camelo, who would counsel him about spiritual matters.

What Father Camelo told him will never be known, but it worked. Francisco de Aguiar de Brito asked at once to be heard again, and was taken to Archdeacon Bento de Almeida, to whom he confessed his involvement with André de Avelar, Crispim da Costa, António Dias da Cunha and others. As he was led to his cell, he asked to be taken back, and this time he mentioned the Fellowship and made a sketchy description of the 1616 Yom Kippur ceremony:

"estando todos com milhores vestidos, tendo alguns dos circunstantes humas correas atadas pella cabeça siruindo hum dos circunstantes de sacerdotte tendo huma mitara na cabeça, e fazendosse no dito to ieiun muitas ceremonias e circunstancias de que por ora não esta lembrado pello aperto com que se ue".

He was taken to his cell, but asked to be heard again and named Henrique de Arede and his children as active judaisers. His confession was resumed at his request on 17 June before Deputy António da Silveira, who was on duty at the time. All that was left for him to confess was Dr António Homem's role in the congregation. When he asked

for another audience on the same day, it was felt that he would make good his omission. He was heard by none other than the Licentiate Martin Afonso Mexia, Bishop Mexia's nephew, to whom he revealed all he knew about the Lente. Francisco de Aguiar de Brito thus saved his life and his case was closed in time for next day's auto (46).

The auto de fé which took place in Coimbra's City Square on 18 June was presided over by Sebastião de Matos de Noronha and incorporated no less than 139 people. António Dias de Almeida, António de Oliveira, Ascenso Dias "o Rato" (47), Manuel Soares, Vicente de Arês, Pedro Cabral Colaço, Manuel de Seixa (48) and Father Diogo da Mata were sentenced to perpetual gaol and penitential dress. Diogo Lopes da Rosa, António Leitão "o Corcovado", D Maria Brandoa and Vicente de Arês's wife Maria Henriques were given the same sentence, without remission, and André de Avelar the same, without remission and with insignia of fire (49). Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was given perpetual gaol and penitential dress with insignia of fire, without remission, and two years' penal servitude at the oars (50). Dr António Homem's cousins António Travassos Brandão and Duarte Travassos (51) had the same sentence, but with three years' penal servitude, and Francisco de Aguiar de Brito's sentence included five years at the oars (52). Various judaiser nuns were also sentenced (53). Among the six men and two women who were handed over to the secular justice for execution was the lawyer Simão do Couto, faithful to his oath of until the very end (54).

Miguel Gomes resumed his confession on 11 July, and this time he described in detail Dr António Homem's role in the Fellowship: "o ditto Antonio homem fora o Autor da confraria instituida em honra do ditto frei Dioguo, de que outrosy tem ditto, animando nas mesmas praticas a todos os circunstantes que tiuessem particular affeição e deuação ao ditto frei dioguo E o tiuessem por santo". It was Dr António Homem, he added, with Canon Fernão Dias da Silva, who announced when and where the ceremonies would take place. They brought with them the vestments they wore, and took them away after the ceremonies. He did not know where they were, he cautiously added, but guessed that they would be found in their homes. Meanwhile, he continued to build up his defence (55).

On 27 July, Francisco Gomes was again interviewed by the Holy Office. No longer a boy, he was now Friar Francisco de Jesus Maria, a Carmelite Discalced friar (56). He confirmed the main points of the statement he had made three years earlier. Dr António Homem, he said, had indeed committed the sin of mollities with him, but never that of sodomy: "nunqua o ditto Antonio homem [...] cõ elle cõsumou o ditto

peccado nefando" (57). His statement was accepted as true, and he was not questioned again.

On 31 July, Friar Egidio da Apresentação was interviewed in the College of Our Lady of the Grace, where he lived, in connection with Dr António Homem's proceedings. The former Lente of Prime of Theology, who had been chosen by Dr António Homem as a witness for the defence, was by then 84 years old, an invalid and practically blind, and could not help him. He was a very sick man, and his testimony was made useless by lapses of memory (58).

Meanwhile, Dr Jerónimo de Almeida had considered whether he should continue to pretend being innocent. The session he had on 29 August, when he was asked specific questions, had convinced him that Inquisitor Pero da Silva de Faria knew everything about him. Denying the obvious would thus serve no purpose. He began his confession on 30 August, when he was called back for another session (59). On 15 September he admitted his role in spreading the Jewish cult to the Monastery of Campos. This revelation caused his case to be handed over to Sebastião de Matos de Noronha, who questioned him on 19 September with some results. On the afternoon, the Inquisitor remarked that he only named as judaisers people whom he knew were dead or in custody, which cast serious doubts on the sincerity of his confession: "E que lhe fazem a saber que não tem feito boas contas em pertender enganar esta meza porque nella se não da perdam senam a quem de todo o Coraçam se conuerte a Nossa Sancta fee catholica". Seeing no other way out, Dr Jerónimo de Almeida admitted that his late brothers Fathers Manuel de Oliveira and João Lucas had taught him the Jewish law 18 years before. As even this was not enough, it was decided on 20 September to have him tortured. He was fully tied up on 10 October, asked to be heard, and provided the Inquisitors with a complete list of the judaiser nuns in the Monastery of Campos (60).

Dr António Homem's nephew Valentim Quaresma, who had been arrested at his father's in Oporto on 10 June and denied having judaised, began his confession on 26 October and, as expected, implicated his uncle and other relatives. On the following day, he surprised the Inquisitors by claiming that he had committed sodomy with a number of young people, mainly while he was staying at the Lente's (61). He added that Simão Barreto de Meneses had received his confession in Lisbon some time before his death. However, there was no sign of his alleged confession in the files of the Lisbon Inquisition. And worse was to come: on 7 November he took back everything he had confessed (62).

Inquisitor D Miguel de Castro, by then a Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office, was again chosen to preach the sermon in the auto de fé which took place in Coimbra's City Square on 26 November. There were 83 penitents, eight of whom were released to the secular arm (63). One of the latter was Canon Fernão Dias da Silva, as a diminute and revocant confessant. Dr Jerónimo de Almeida was luckier; he was sentenced to gaol and penitential dress in perpetuum.

Having established that António de Oliveira had withheld important evidence in his confession, the Inquisition issued a warrant for his arrest, which took place on 2 December. Luísa Mascarenhas, his wife, was arrested on the same day as a judaiser (64), as were her brothers Baltazar de Pina Cardoso and Francisco Mascarenhas, both priests in Castelo Viegas (65).

Convinced that his situation was undecided, Dr António Homem presented a 167-point defence on 8 October, in a further attempt to discredit the evidence against him for sodomy. In 23 closely-written pages, full of quotations from standard legal reference works, he again accused his enemies of having built up a conspiracy in order to destroy him. He pointed out that the witnesses for the prosecution were under age, of lowly condition, and, by their own admission, accomplices in the crime. They were either his enemies or depended on his enemies. They contradicted themselves. Their credibility was doubtful. Furthermore, the charges were unconvincing. He asked for a medical examination in order to prove this (66).

Dr António Homem's sodomy proceedings were closed on 22 December. The Inquisitors now had to decide what they were to do. The defendant had consistently denied that he was guilty of sodomy; and even if the prosecution could prove that he had committed the sin of mollities, that by itself would cause the proceedings to be suspended, as that was not within the jurisdiction of the Holy Office. Some incriminating evidence had been dismissed as technically defective, but what remained of the judicial proof meant that the case could not be dismissed. However, the Inquisitors were unwilling to sentence him,

"postoque tenha contra si oito testemunhas de sodomia completa, e outras de actos, de indicios e de fama; porque duas das dictas testemunhas se revogaram, uma em todo o que toca a sodomia completa, e outra em parte, e outra não foi reperguntada por se não achar (67), sendo perguntada pelo inquisidor Simão Barreto, a que o reu poz suspeições, que na meza se dão quasi por provadas, e outras serem de pouca idade, e não ficar a prova muito juridica, por ser

formado o processo por o dicto Simão Barreto".

Of course, the defendant could be put to torture, a procedure the Regimento do Santo Officio not only allowed but even recommended in such cases (68). Inquisitors Manuel da Cunha and Pero da Silva de Sampaio and three Deputies were in favour of that measure. Another two Deputies were in favour of sentencing him on the available evidence: Francisco de Brito de Meneses (69) suggested that he should be "Condenado a carsere perpetuo escuso e trabalhoso dos da Inquisiçam onde nunca fosse visto e nelle acabasse a uida", Friar Manuel Cabral that he should be released to the secular justice *servatis servandis*, with confiscation of his estate. The matter was again referred to the General Council of the Holy Office for a decision (70).

14 - The Execution

The Inquisitors' patience with Valentim Quaresma was nearly exhausted. He was summoned on 8 January 1624 to hear the publication of a criminal libel against him, and this brought him back to his senses. He claimed that his confession had been defective "por estar induzido do Demonio E por lhe parecer que auia perdam geral", a rumour which circulated among the prisoners. His excuses were accepted, and were followed by a *formal confession of his agostasy* (1). *By that time*, it was determined without any margin of doubt that Father Luis Arês's confession was deliberately incomplete, which made him liable to arrest as a *diminuto*. Furthermore, it was found out that he had left Coimbra without permission and had travelled as far as Portalegre. He was arrested on 17 January.

Having studied all the proposals about whether Dr António Homem should be tortured before a sentence was passed on him for sodomy, the General Council (2) decided on 16 February not to have him tortured, since the evidence the Inquisition had against him for judaism was more than enough to hand him over to the secular justice - the same punishment he would suffer for sodomy (3). It would suffice to add a mention of the sodomy charges to the final sentence (4).

By then, Miguel Gomes "o Manco" was deeply concerned about his fate. He had already written two letters to the Bishop Inquisitor General, pleading for mercy. Having consulted his counsel João do Couto Barbosa, he gave up his articles of contradiction on 22 March. On the 26th, he was sentenced to be put to torture: "todo o que poder so-

frer". This was executed on 2 April, and eventually stopped due to his physical condition. He added nothing to his confessions, to the disappointment of the Inquisitors, who hoped that he would tell them what had happened to the Fellowship vestments. His proceedings were closed on the same day.

On 20 April, Inquisitor Pero da Silva de Sampaio informed Dr António Homem that his case had been examined by learned and God-fearing people, and he had been found guilty of heresy and apostasy. He was thus advised to confess his sins (5). "E por dizer, que não tinha culpas que nesta mesa aja de cõfessar, foi outra uez admoestado em forma, e mädado a seu carcere". But on the following day, he told Inquisitor João Álvares Brandão:

"que queria tratar de sua alma e pera o melhor poder faser pedia ia desta hora lhe dessem hum confessor que o aconselhasse nas cousas que lhe conuinhão, que ainda que aconselhou muitos, no estado em que aguora se ue, não fia de ssy cousa de tanto pezo, e que allem disto tinha algumas cousas que requerer de nouo em sua causa contra a ditta sentença e pedia letrado seu procurador para poder de nouo dizer o que lhe parecesse".

Dr João Álvares Brandão, who was fully convinced of the Lente's guilt, agreed with his requests but reminded him that "o que mais lhe conuem he primeiro de tudo confessar nesta mesa inteiramente suas culpas, e o admoestão da parte de christo deos nosso senhor que assy o faça". He was giving him a chance to save his life, but in vain: "Respondeo que muitas ouses tinha ditto, que elle não tinha culpas que confessar nesta mesa, e que o mesmo christo deos, e saluador nosso tomaua por testimunha".

Dr António Homem was allowed to have a session with his lawyer on 22 April, following which he tried to have his sentence suspended, on the grounds that its form did not conform to the letter of the law and its contents included information of questionable veracity. This was rejected on the afternoon of the following day. João Álvares Brandão informed him immediately about that decision, and admonished him again to confess his guilt and who his accomplices were. The Lente replied that he had nothing to confess.

On 24 April, Dr António Homem and his counsel prepared an appeal, in eleven articles, which was rejected as irrelevant on the same day. When informed about this refusal, he asked for a confessor. This was again not granted, and he was forced to consider the situa-

tion overnight by himself. He asked for a hearing on the following day and stated that, since his appeal had been rejected by João Alvares Brandão, "que elle se sentia agrauado [...] e que aguora debita reue-rencia agrauaua do ditto despacho". He also presented his reasons in four closely-written pages, and requested that his case be examined by the General Council. On 30 April, the Inquisitor General appointed Deputy Dr António Correia and Father Francisco de Gouveia to examine the Lente's protest. They both reported back on the same day: "assentousse que não foi feito agrauo ao Reo", and it was turned down. Dr António Homem's name was added to the list of relaxados, which was then given to the Chief Warder.

On Wednesday, 1 May, Dr António Homem was informed that his last chance had been rejected. He had already lost hope, and was not surprised by the decision of the former Rector of the University of Coimbra, who had done what he could to give him a fair chance. He told the official who had brought him the news that "ia entendia que assy auia de sair a despacho, e que era bom christão e que se hia aparalhan-do pera morrer". Actually, he had already decided what he would do. If he admitted the charges against him for judaism, he would certainly save himself, but at the cost of naming every single member of his con-gregation (6). He would not do it. He now understood that he had been imprudent, drawing hostile attention to himself by carelessly giving in to his tendencies. He had sacrificed the Fellowship for the sake of his friendships, and for this he deserved a fitting punishment.

At about two in the afternoon of Friday, 3 May, the Chief Warder informed Dr António Homem that he would be released to the secu-lar arm on the coming Sunday. He was advised to consider his salva-tion and matters of conscience, for which purpose he was given the as-sistance of a confessor. His hands were tied together and he was asked to sit on a stool by the door of his cell. The Jesuit priest sat out-side, facing him, and heard him in confession.

On Saturday, 4 May, Pedro Homem de Faria had his hands tied up and was informed that he would be handed over to the secular jus-tice on the following day. And he, who had spent three years in jail denying his guilt, was afraid of dying and asked to be heard, claiming to have been enlightened by the Holy Spirit. His confession was accept-ed by Pero da Silva de Sampaio, who heard him and also questioned him further in his cell in the evening. His life was spared (7).

The auto de fé was celebrated in Lisbon on Sunday, 5 May, in the Ribeira Velha, facing the Corn Exchange (8), presided over by the



D. Fernão Martins Mascarenhas

D FERNÃO MARTINS MASCARENHAS, BISHOP INQUISITOR GENERAL
AS RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF COIMBRA (1586-1594)

Bishop Inquisitor General in person. D Fernão Martins Mascarenhas sat on a chair upholstered in velvet, under a canopy to which his high rank entitled him. To his right, in leather chairs, sat the Deputies of the General Council, among whom were Drs João Álvares Brandão and Sebastião de Matos de Noronha. The Governors of the Kingdom, D Diogo de Castro, Count of Basto, and D Diogo da Silva, Count of Portalegre (9), watched the proceedings from a window of the Treasury House. Also present were Inquisition officials, representatives of the clergy and nobility, and a large crowd, controlled by armed guards and the men of the Inquisition Bailiff.

The penitents were brought in a solemn procession from the Estaus to the Ribeira. Ahead of the procession was the pennant of the Holy Office, in red damask embroidered with gold braid (10), preceded by two Familiars in full dress and flanked by two Familiars and two Dominican friars with the rank of Qualificators. It was followed by a group of Dominicans and the members of the Brotherhood of St George, and finally by the Chief Warder, with his staff of office raised, preceding those who were about to be sentenced. There were 84 of them: 48 men and 36 women.

After those who abjured *de levi* and *de vehementi*, came those who abjured *in forma*, wearing their *sambenitos*: the men first, then the women. They were followed by a crucifix, carried by the Chaplain of the Penitential Gaol, and its guard of honour of six Familiars of the highest nobility, holding lighted torches. Those who would be handed over for execution came last. There were nine: five men, one of whom was Dr António Homem, and three women, including Dr António Gomes's wife Maria Gomes. Each one was assisted by two Jesuit priests, whose task was to persuade them to repent before they died, and thus save their souls from eternal damnation. They were accompanied by the mortal remains of Canon Mateus Lopes da Silva, who had posthumously been found guilty as charged.

A large wooden platform had been erected on the Ribeira for the ceremony, with an altar in the middle, where the crucifix would be placed. The penitents were made to sit on rough benches, placed at one end. The *auto de fé* began with a sermon. This was preached by Father António de Sousa, a Dominican friar and Deputy of the Lisbon Inquisition, who vigorously refuted the errors of the Jews, and voiced his concern about the number of judaisers in Portugal:

"Esta muita parte desta nação Iudaica tão corrupta pello judaismo, que tudo o que se lhe ajunta faz Iudeo. Misturamse por nossos pec-

cados dalguns annos a esta parte com estes Iudeos preuertidos, que destes falo, gente de melhor calidade: corromperãose, & fizerãose Iudeos como elles. Ha muito poucos annos que nos autos da Fe sayam somente Iudeos baixos, & cominheiros, vede agora o que saem nos autos da Fe, & o que neste temos presente, muitos ecclesiasticos, religiosos, bachareis, lecenciados, douctores, & lentes, aparentados com gente nobre, com a metade somente, hum quarto, & hum oitauo de christãos nouos, confitentes, & conuencidos de judaismo. E não vos pareça que são testemunhos falsos de gente preza: porque cada dia vem ao santo tribunal da Inquisição acusarse voluntariamente muitos que não tem de christãos nouos, mais que huma parte muy pequena, dizendo que se apartarão da Fe de Christo, & se passarão a crença da ley de Moyses persuadidos por parentes, & amigos que viuem na mesma crença" (11).

The Monitory was then read and the faithful asked to report any offences against the Catholic doctrine to the Holy Office. This was a preamble to the publication of the sentences, which were read by specially-appointed priests. Each penitent approached the altar as his name was called and knelt for the abjuration, repeating it with his right hand on the Gospels. He kissed the crucifix before returning to his seat.

Those who abjured were given a solemn absolution by the Inquisitor General. Among them were three penitents sentenced to perpetual gaol and penitential dress with insignia of fire, without remission, and penal servitude in the King's galleys: Miguel Gomes "o Manco" with three years, Pedro Homem de Faria with five years, and Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa "o Doutorinho", with six years (12).

After a period of silence, intended to give the negativos a last chance to confess their guilt, the sentences of those about to be handed over to the secular justice were then read. Dr António Homem's, signed by Inquisitors João Alvares Brandão, Manuel da Cunha and Diogo Osório de Castro, was the longest.

After examining the proceedings, evidence and defence of Dr António Homem, it was considered as proven that the defendant, having rejected the Catholic faith, believed in the Law of Moses as if it were still valid, and communicated his beliefs with other apostates. He had been arrested by the Holy Office and advised to confess his guilt, in order to obtain mercy, but replied that he had nothing to confess and had always been a good Christian. Therefore, he was formally accused and his defence accepted, but the witnesses he named for

his defence did not confirm it. In the meantime, a large number of people testified to the Jewish ceremonies in which the defendant took part. But although he was constantly admonished to confess, he persisted in his contumacy. The proceedings were thus allowed to continue until he was found guilty of the crime of heresy and apostasy, and of being a dogmatist of the Law of Moses. Additionally, it was shown that the defendant, although he was a scholar, a priest and a man of quality, and as such expected to lead an exemplary life, had forgotten his duty towards himself and his fellow men, committing the horrendous and abominable sin of sodomy with various persons of the male sex. The defendant had been given the opportunity to confess his guilt, but persisted in denying it.

Therefore, having taken all the above into consideration and following what the law prescribed in such cases, the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, *Christi nomine invocato*, declared the defendant António Homem to be guilty of heresy and apostasy, and condemned him as heretic, apostate, dogmatist, contumacious and negative, incurring in the sentence of major excommunication. He was excluded from the jurisdiction of the Church, deposed and degraded from Holy Orders (13), and handed over to secular justice, "a quem pedem cõ muita efficacia e instancia se aja cõ elle benigna e piedozamente, e não proceda a penna de Morte nem a effuzão de sangue" (14). In detestation of such a grave offence, the house that had been used for the Jewish ceremonies would be demolished, never to be rebuilt, and the ground itself would be covered in salt (15). A memorial would be erected on the site, as a reminder to future generations.

The penitents who had abjured were then taken in a procession back to their cells, awaiting the execution of their sentences (16). Nine people, after hearing their sentences, were made to leave the platform and were handed over to officers of the secular justice, who took them before a Court of Justice in session nearby. A magistrate was given copies of their sentences. The guilt of the condemned people having been established, the Court only passed sentence on them according to the Ordinances of the Realm. The prisoners were escorted to the sandy bank of the Ribeira for execution.

When Dr António Homem's turn came, he was degraded from Holy Orders, according to the solemn ritual prescribed by Canon Law which he knew so well from his University days. He was made to put on the liturgical vestments of a *Sacerdos Missae*, which were then removed one by one, beginning with the chasuble. Then he was clothed with the insignia of infamy, the gown of an unrepentant heretic, and a red caro-

cha (17) was put on his head. As he was tied up to the stake, he was allowed to speak to those near him. His last words were preserved for posterity:

"Ouçam-me todos, ouçam-me os que presentes estão; supposto estarem escandalizados de verem um homem, de que o mundo tinha tanta satisfação, entendendo que me apartei da lei de Christo Redemptor nosso, e Salvador do mundo: digo, e affirmo nesta hora em que estou, que sempre tive, e cri na lei de Christo firmemente, e assim o ensinei, e dei a escrever por espaço de trinta annos com muita satisfação, crendo sempre o que cre a Sancta Madre Egreja, e crendo, que em nenhuma outra ha salvação senão na de Jesus Christo Redemptor nosso, affirmando que a lei de Moyses se acabou com a vinda e morte de nosso Senhor Jesus Christo, vindo ao mundo ha 1624 annos, e por esta fe dou a vida, e por esta fe morro, e dera duzentas, se duzentas tivera, com muito gosto e vontade, em satisfação de não viver bem, e de muitos peccados, e torno a ratificar e affirmo que por esta hora em que estou, que fui sempre defensor desta lei de Christo Jesus, e assim o ensinei sempre, e o dei a escrever por espaço de trinta annos, e assim quero dizer o Credo, e peço se não escandalisem de mim pelas chagas de Christo, pois fui sempre catholico christão e peço-vos meu Senhor Jesus Christo Redemptor e Salvador nosso, Messias verdadeiro promettido na lei, queiraes nesta hora por vossa infinita misericordia e vossas sanctissimas chagas, dar-me perfectos actos de contrição e attrição, dor e arrependimento de meus peccados, por vos ter offendido com elles, que o corpo ca vos ha de ficar, e a alma e o que importa, nesta me não podem fazer mal, o corpo seja tractado quão mal for, - Nolite timere eos, qui occidunt corpus - Christo Jesus Redemptor e Salvador nosso, Messias verdadeiro, dou-vos infinitas graças por permittirdes por vossos occultos juizos viesse a este logar da infamia para que fosse meio de salvar a minha alma que e o que importa, que o mais tudo acaba" (18).

This was clear evidence that Dr António Homem had chosen to die a Catholic. He would thus escape death by fire. He was garrotted as an act of mercy, as provided for by the law. His death was swift and relatively painless. His body was delivered to the flames in the same place where Friar Diogo da Assunção had been burned alive, nearly 21 years earlier. His ashes were scattered to the winds (19). The gown he wore to the place of execution was sent to Coimbra, to be displayed in the church of the Monastery of Santa Cruz (20), where his superior knowledge had once been recognised and praised. His former pupils and fellow Lentes who went there to pray could thus behold the only mate-

rial thing that was left of him. On Saturday, 11 May 1624, Dr António Homem's Canonry was declared vacant by the University (21), and a few days later was given to Dr Pantaleão Rodrigues Pacheco, D Francisco de Meneses's friend and protégé (22).

15 - The Aftermath

The shock that Dr António Homem's execution gave to his colleague and fellow judaiser Dr Duarte Brandão, Lente of Sext, can only be guessed. The latter was not a Fellowship member but had been occasionally present at the ceremonies, and it was a matter of time before he was arrested. He decided to leave the city, which he did in late June 1624, leaving most of his belongings behind (1). His colleague Dr Francisco Caldeira, now aged 66 and a Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal, retired from the Chair of Prime of the Faculty of Law in the following year (2), considering himself fortunate for not having been identified as a judaiser (3).

Enjoying as he did the special favour of the King, D Francisco de Meneses did not feel inclined to end the visitation, although he had just been rewarded with the Bishopric of Leiria (4). He finally left on 28 October, taking with him all the documents of the visitation. His friend Friar Gregório das Chagas, who had been elected Vice-Rector two days earlier (5), requested Felipe IV on 16 November to declare the visitation concluded and order all pending matters to be wound up through the usual channels, so as to bring the expenses down to the absolute minimum. A favourable opinion was obtained from the Board of Conscience and Orders on 19 December. D Francisco de Meneses was instructed to hand over the visitation papers to the Board (6).

D Francisco de Brito de Meneses was sworn as Rector in December 1624. He found the University near bankruptcy and unable to pay the Lentes' salaries (7). Consideration was given to borrowing a sum of money from the Doctors' Fund (8), but this was rejected as improper by the Board of Conscience and Orders on 23 December (9). The Rector was ordered on 23 January to conclude the reformation, assisted by Deputies Drs Luís Ribeiro de Leiva and António Lourenço, and punish the students found guilty of misconduct. Due to financial considerations and the fact that most of the cases which had come to light had already been dealt with, he was never officially given the title of Reformer.

The last few cases relating to the Fellowship affair were wound up almost exactly a year after Dr António Homem's execution. An imposing *auto de fé* took place in Coimbra's City Square on Sunday, 4 May 1625. A total of 72 men and 117 women were sentenced (10). Five men and four women were executed, among whom were brothers Paulo and Rui de Pina Cardoso and the latter's wife Luísa Gomes. António de Oliveira was sentenced to perpetual gaol and penitential dress with insignia of fire, without remission. Father Luís Arês had a similar sentence, plus eight years' penal servitude in the King's galleys, and was suspended from Holy Orders in perpetuity (11). António de Oliveira's wife Luísa Mascarenhas (12) and son Rodrigo de Pina, Pero Cabral Colaço's son Manuel Cabral, and Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro's wife D Francisca Brandoa (13) were sentenced to perpetual gaol and penitential dress. Other penitents included Dr António Homem's nephews Estêvão Couceiro Homem (14), who had been arrested a few days earlier, and Valentim Quaresma, and Francisco Dias's daughters D Maria Madalena and D Antónia de Meneses; they were all sentenced to gaol and penitential dress *ad arbitrium*, all except Valentim Quaresma having a favourable report.

Branca Pais (15) and her accomplices in the Monastery of Our Lady of Campos were sentenced to perpetual gaol and penitential dress, were deprived of active and passive voice in their Monastery and lost their veils. Sister Clara de Santa Maria was an exception: she was given gaol and penitential dress *ad arbitrium*, in recognition of her cooperation. Also sentenced were the majority of the judaiser nuns from the Monasteries of Celas and Semide. Two of Fernão Dias da Silva's sisters met a worse fate than most of the other nuns, who were given perpetual gaol and penitential dress, and deprivation of active and passive voice in their Monasteries. Violante da Silva, prosecuted again as a *diminuta*, narrowly escaped execution and was sentenced to perpetual gaol and penitential dress with insignia of fire, without remission. Leonor da Silva refused to confess, despite the overwhelming evidence against her, and was executed as a negative.

The judaiser nuns were returned by the Holy Office to their monasteries, where they would do penance for their apostasy. But their Abbesses, concerned about their influence in the communities, refused to admit them back. Canon Law was not clear about whether the Holy Office had the power to force the Monasteries to accept them back, or whether that should be left to the diocesan Prelate (16). The Licentiate André de Burgos, who represented the interests of various Monasteries, defended their interests so vigorously that he was arrested on 14 September 1625 by the Inquisition (17). This was the beginning of a long dispute between the Monasteries and the Church authorities (18).

Such was the popular feeling about it that the affair was not fully solved until 1640 (19).

The Coimbra Inquisition first studied the possibility of ordering the immediate arrest of Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia on 4 March 1625. There were three independent testimonies against him, which was enough to have him arrested with confiscation of his estate, and the evidence was aggravated by rumours that he was involved in the latest campaign for another General Pardon. There was also the danger that he would take over what remained of Dr António Homem's congregation. However, the arrest was postponed until additional evidence could be obtained. Dr Vaz de Gouveia was an internationally famous jurist and had influential friends, both in Lisbon and in the Court of Madrid. Besides, he was not likely to admit his guilt unless the evidence against him was irrefutable (20).

A Royal letter dated 12 April 1625 informed the University that Felipe IV had decided to appoint Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia for the Chair of Prime of Canon Law, "que uagou por condenação e morte de Antonio Homem". This was confirmed by a Royal Provision of 28 April (21). He was finally arrested on 27 February 1626 (22). His meticulous care in not being involved in collective judaiser activities did not spare him that ordeal (23). He had taken leave of the University in order to be sworn in as Archdeacon of Vila Nova de Cerveira in the Cathedral of Braga (24), and was on his way to that city when he was detained in Oporto (25).

Dr Francisco de Castro was already Inquisitor General when Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia was sentenced in the auto de fé of 17 August 1631 (26). He abjured de vehementi, was given fixed residence in Coimbra and fined 200,000 réis (27). However, he was not ipso facto deprived of the Chair of Vespers of Canon Law, which caused some concern. Not only would it be unseemly for someone whose orthodoxy of faith was open to serious doubts to teach the Sacred Canons, but there was the real danger that the students would boycott his lessons. A Clastrum Plenum decided to inform Felipe IV about "as muitas rezõis, que ha, para que não torne a ler na Universidade" (28). This was little more than a formality, because it was clear that the University's interests demanded his compulsory retirement, and the King understood it (29). Dr Velasco (he changed his name after being sentenced) accepted this philosophically, and moved to Lisbon, where he kept lodgings by St Dominic's church, practically next door to the Inquisition headquarters (30). As far as is known, he never visited Coimbra again.

Epilogue

Dr António Homem, the praeceptor infelix (1), entered Portuguese history as the best-known victim of the Inquisition. His reputation as sapientissimus and the greatest authority in Canon Law the University ever had survived his execution (2).

It is said that an attempt was made by some New Christians to celebrate Dr António Homem's memory by forming a so-called Brotherhood of St Anthony the Martyr (3), but the ever-vigilant Inquisition soon put an end to those plans. The Archbishop of Lisbon, D Miguel de Castro (4), was informed of their intentions and denied them the permission they requested (5). The Lente's brother Gonçalo Homem de Almeida was luckier in Brazil. He organised a Fellowship of the Toura for charitable purposes among the New Christians of Bahia, and hung a portrait of his late brother, pictured as St Anthony, in his private chapel (6).

Dr António Homem's case had catastrophic results for the New Christian community he wanted to lead. For all intents and purposes, all New Christians, even those who were true Catholics, were considered to be secret judaisers by the Old Christian majority (7). Reconciled New Christians found there was very little hope of their being accepted back in the Old Christian society. The sincerity of their repentance was more often than not doubted.

The New Christians never had another opportunity to organise themselves and preserve their ancestral traditions. They could only stay and be assimilated, or keep the Law of Moses in a foreign country - a step that many were unwilling, or unable, to make (8). They gradually merged with the Old Christian majority and practically disappeared as a separate ethnical group (9). Coimbra never had a synagogue again.

There is, however, an interesting postscript to the Fellowship affair. On 27 September 1624, Miguel Gomes "o Manco", a prisoner aboard the galley "Madalena", petitioned the Inquisitor General to allow him to receive treatment for his ailments elsewhere. Although he had been a very poor confessant, D Fernão Martins Mascarenhas gave him two months' suspension of penal servitude on 24 October, on the surety of 200 cruzados. Miguel Gomes was subsequently granted further extensions to his leave, and was finally released on 1 July 1626, after paying a fine of 40 cruzados. He was not troubled again by the Inquisit-

ion, and with good reason. He left the country as soon as he could and joined the Marrano community of Amsterdam, where he supported himself as a lawyer (10) and adopted the orthodox Jewish faith, being known as the Licentiate Daniel de Cáceres (11). Menasseh ben Israel, who became his friend, valued his opinion so much that he gave him copies of his books for approval (12). Daniel de Cáceres eventually married a Portuguese New Christian, Branca de Pina, still related to Tomé Vaz and a former disciple of Uriel da Costa (13).

Miguel Gomes' son Samuel de Cáceres was born in 1628 and studied with the learned Saul Levi Mortera, proving his worth as his disciple. Having become a rabbi, he edited the Spanish translation of the Bible, and married a sister of the philosopher Baruch de Spinoza (14). He was related to a Simão de Cáceres, who moved to London before 1656 (15), became a pillar of the local Jewish community and a champion of its rights, and died there in 1704. By that time, Dr António Homem, his Fellowship and his execution had virtually fallen into oblivion.

N O T E S

INTRODUCTION

(1) - Six years after the battle of Alcácer Quibir, there were still about 2,000 prisoners waiting to be ransomed, despite the allocation of great sums of money by Felipe II for that purpose. Pope Gregory XIII's bull *Dolore cordis intimo*, issued on 1 August 1584, granted various spiritual rewards to those who would assist in the repatriation of the prisoners. The first Commissary of the Bull of the Holy Crusade (until 1584) was D Afonso de Castelo Branco, later Bishop of Coimbra.

(2) - Coimbra's Spanish garrison was affected by the general poverty. Their salaries were constantly in arrears. On 27 March 1593 D João da Silva, Count of Portalegre, borrowed 160,000 réis from the University in order to pay them (AUC, *Receita e Despesa*, 1592-1593, fl. 56v). On 7 July of the same year, the University lent the garrison commander, Don Juan Carvajal, 40,000 réis for the same purpose (*ibid.*, fl. 62v). The loan was repaid in 1596 (AUC, *Receita e Despesa*, 1595-1596, fl. 26v, 57v). The crisis was not limited to Portugal. The Lente of Theology Friar Egidio da Apresentação, who was sent to the Spanish Court in 1606 on University business, witnessed identical shortages in Spain (AUC, *Acordos da Fazenda*, 1602-1610, fl. 81v).

(3) - One such example was an election for the Chair of Instituta in 1609. A vacancy was announced on 9 March, and six candidates were accepted on the 19th (AUC, *Processos das Cadeiras*, Vol. 1, Lib. 2, fl. 145-145v). To the Rector's amazement, they soon began accusing one another of corruption and bribery, naming witnesses to confirm their allegations. An enquiry was held and revealed that all were guilty.

(4) - Because of corrupt practices, the teachers for the more important Chairs were often appointed by the King, as Protector of the University, instead of elected. In the words of a Royal letter dated 9 July 1626: "a Experiencia tem mostrado, que de se prouerem [Chairs] por opposição, e uotos, na forma ordinaria, resultão graues Inconuenientes, inquietações, e sobornos, que impedem o principal intento, com que se permitião as opposições, leuando as Cadeiras, não os mais dignos, e milhores letrados, mas os que mais negoção, e sobornão, cometendosse muitos prejuros, e falcidades".

(5) - "E por o preuizo grande que se segue de os lentes com sua autoridade persuadirem os estudantes ao que querem, e os Officiaes com o poder de seus officios promettendo liberdades, mando especialmente aos dittos Lentes e officiaes sob pena de perderem huma terça de seus Salaris nam sobornem, por os oppositores, nem emcommendem sua justiça em publico, nem en secreto" (AUC, *Aluará de Reformação dos Estatutos*, 1612, Point 78).

(6) - This phenomenon was called Sebastianism after King Sebastião I, the youthful successor to King João III, whose unchecked craving for glory ended tragically in the battle of Alcácer Quibir in August 1578 - which ultimately led to the ascension of Felipe II of Spain to the Portuguese throne (see AZEVEDO, João Lúcio de - "A evolução do sebas-

tianismo", in *Arquivo Historico Portuguez*, Vol. X (1916), p. 379-438, and VAN DEN BESSELAAR, Joseph - *O Sebastianismo - História sumária*). Sebastianism showed a marked influence of Jewish beliefs, and actually predated King Sebastião. A curious episode in Spanish history may be linked to its origins. In the early 16th century, in the closing stages of the rebellion known as the "germanias valencianas", a mysterious adventurer who called himself "El Encubierto" and claimed to be Prince Don Juan, son of the Catholic Kings, led a breakaway group of rebels until he was murdered by two of his followers in May 1523. In Portugal, the origins of Sebastianism can be traced back to the rhymes of Gonçalo Eanes "o Bandarra", a cobbler from Trancoso whose interpretations of the Scriptures showed marked influence from the Kabbalah (RODRIGUES, Adriano Vasco and RODRIGUES, Maria da Assunção Carqueja - "As trovas do Bandarra - Suas influências judaico-cabalísticas na mística da Paz universal", in *Revista de Ciências Históricas*, Vol. II (1987), p. 185-221). Bandarra, who apparently was of Old Christian ancestry, was prosecuted by the Inquisition in 1540, and severely reprimanded and forbidden to speculate about the Scriptures. Bandarra's 'prophecies' enjoyed considerable popularity among the New Christians for well over a century. The Sebastianist ideology became so typical of the Portuguese mind that Lord Tyrawayley, who was sent to Portugal in 1762 as a military adviser, is said to have exclaimed in despair: "What can be expected of a nation, one half of which is looking out for the Messiah, and the other half, for Don Sebastian who has been dead for two centuries?" (A.P.D.G. - *Sketches of Portuguese life, manners, costume, and character*, p. 103). Bandarra's work was also well known in Spain. Bachelor Felipe de Nájera, prosecuted by the Toledo Inquisition in 1605, knew quite a few of them by heart, and frequently quoted them to other judaisers (AHN, Toledo Inquisition, Legajo 168, No. 591).

(7) - This was so widespread that the chronicler Pero Rodrigues Soares wrote: "porque se não reuoluia o mundo senão en todas quererem ser santas auendo aiuntamentos de beatas pelas igrejas deputandose a quais eram mais santas tratando de seus enleuamentos e raptos [...] não auia cidade uila nem aldeya onde não ouuesse huma santa" (SOARES, Pero Rodrigues - *Memorial...*, p. 260-285). This phenomenon was by no means exclusive to Portugal. For an analysis of its equivalent in Spain, see CUETO RUIZ, Ronald - "La tradición profética en la Monarquía Católica en los siglos 15, 16, y 17", in *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, Vol. XVII (1982), p. 411-444.

(8) - The earliest known document which refers to the Judiaria Velha, the charter of donation of the Royal Baths by Prince D Afonso Henriques to Archdeacon D Telo, is dated December 1130 (LOUREIRO, José Pinto - *Toponímia de Coimbra*, vol. 1, p. 251). This ghetto was apparently disbanded circa 1362, and replaced by the Judiaria Nova. When the City authorities moved the prostitutes ("mancebas solteiras") from the Figueira Velha estate to the proximity of Santa Justa in 1436, the latter protested so vigorously against the outrage of working "acerca da Judaria que he assaz desonesto", that the Infant D Pedro, Duke of Coimbra, wrote to the City Council on 6 February 1437, pointing out that their complaint was fair and that they should be resettled elsewhere (PIMENTA, Belisário - *As cartas do Infante D Pedro à Câmara de Coimbra (1429-1448)*, p. 17-18). The Council appears to have done little, if anything, about it.

(9) - On 9 February 1600, the Licentiate António de Orta de Cáceres, who had been Prior of Santa Justa for nearly twenty years, made a new entry on his register of deaths, concerning a Manuel Lopes, from Oporto, "casado cõ huma cristã noua do porto que sahio neste auto proximo passado" [of 19 December 1599]. Manuel Lopes, who lived in Ana Fernandes's inn "do fundo da rua direyta", had died without Sacraments and was buried on the previous day. The Prior added that the man "morreo dentro de quatro dias sem me chamarem para cõfissão ne para sacramento algum [...] e este custume he muito âtiguio nesta freguisia de não chamarem ho prior para hos sacramentos e se ho chamão he em tempo que ia não aproueyta". Another man had died a few days earlier in the same inn, again without the assistance of a priest (AUC, Obitos de Santa Justa, fl. 192v-193).

(10) - The great theologian Friar Martinho de Ledesma, an Inquisitor in Coimbra, was of the opinion that the baptism administered under duress was not sacramentally valid (quoted in ARRAIS, Friar Amador - Diálogos, Dialogue III, Chapter III). He based himself on St Thomas Aquinas, St Isidore of Seville, and the decisions of the IV and VIII Toledo Councils. Although it was lawful for a King to have their subjects forcibly baptised, it should not be done; the converts would be poor Christians at best, or consciously false Christians at worst (see Dialogue II, fl. 41v et seq). This opinion, however, was not universally accepted. As the Spanish Inquisitor Selaya wrote to King João III on 30 March 1528, "avnque forçados recibieron gran beneficio en recibir el Sacro Bautismo, y a quien fuerçan con su bien, no se puede dezir forçado, y segun doctrina de catolicos, no se puede consentir que ninguno aya de apostatar, avnque sea bautizado por fuerça, si la fuerça, es condicional" (ANTT, Santo Oficio, Drawer 2, Bundle 1, No. 46).

(11) - Such was the King's interest in absorbing the Jews into Portuguese society that an ordinance issued before March 1499 outlawed any weddings between New Christians (ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Manuel I, Vol. 16, fl. 16v), with penalties for transgressors (for one such example, see *ibid.*, Vol. 17, fl. 107). They were even allowed to choose any Christian surname they liked, even from the nobility, which was forbidden to Old Christians (Ordenações Filipinas, Lib. V, Tit. XCII, Par. 9). On 20 May 1497 they were granted a twenty-year period during which no enquiries would be made about their religious behaviour, and this was extended for a further sixteen years on 21 April 1512. The complete equality between Old and New Christians in civil matters was promulgated on 1 March 1507. However, very few positive results were obtained, and Manuel I was forced to consider the establishment of an Inquisition as early as 1515.

(12) - "Dizeyme, se nesta Cidade entrara hum homem apestado sem o saber a justiça, nem o Regimento da Cidade, & entrara pelas praças, & pelas ruas, & pelas Igrejas, & pelas casas, & com todos fallara, & com todos tratara, & com todos conversara, que fora de nos? Aos dous dias esta Cidade estava abrazada. Pois esta cegueyra Judaica he huma peste, se andar entre nos fingida, & encuberta, & solapada: coytdado de ti Portugal! que sera de ti? em que pararas?" (MENDONÇA, Father Francisco de - Sermam que pregou [...] no auto publico da fe que se celebrou na praça da Cidade de Evora Domingo 8. de Junho de 1616, p. 27).

(13) - Owing allegiance to no one but themselves, they could easily, and often did, give financial support to the enemies of the Spanish Crown - in the Low Countries, Brazil and Portugal, for example.

(14) - In the words of Jacob Shatzky, "El marrano católico era un católico sin fe y un judío sin judaísmo, pero eso sí: un judío con ansias de ser judío" ("Ideologias del judaísmo español, in Davar, No. 12 (June 1947); quoted in Enciclopedia Judaica Castellana, Vol. 7, p. 293).

(15) - A few New Christians did try to circumcise their children for a time, and cases are known until the 1570s. Other New Christians had their sons circumcised abroad. It is not correct to say that the practice of circumcision fell into disuse because there were no skilled circumcisers (Mohalim); the father of the infant, or any adult male for that matter, may perform the operation, and even women may do so if no men are available (Encyclopedia Judaica, Vol. 5, col. 570). Some New Christians were circumcised immediately after they died. In his Sumário de todas as pascoas, festas e ceremonias judaicas, assim da lei escripta, como do seu Talmud e mais Rabinos, João Baptista de Este wrote: "a gente da nação destes Reynos, por não terem commudidade de circuncizar a seus filhos em vida o fazem na morte, para obcervar este preceyto, que he o principal de todos" (REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos - "Costumes judaicos descritos por um converso", in Biblos, Vol. III (1927), p. 18-29).

(16) - The knowledge of the Hebrew language had practically disappeared among the Portuguese New Christians by the mid-16th century, but many Jewish prayers survived in more or less accurate Portuguese translations, and were handed over from parents to children, or copied from the sentences read in the autos de fé (see, for example, ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5050). Orthodox Jewish prayer books did occasionally enter Portugal, although their circulation was strictly limited (see RÉVAH, I S - "Fragments retrouvés de quelques éditions amstello-damoises de la version espagnole du rituel juif", in Studia Rosenthaliana, Vol. II (1968), p. 108-110).

(17) - The Pater Noster or Lord's Prayer was generally adopted by the New Christian judaisers, as it had nothing against the Jewish faith. Crispim da Costa stated that "quando estaua soo nam rezaua orações de xpistãos mais, que a do Padre nosso: por nam conter cousa que desdiga da lej de Moyses e Culto do Deos do Ceo" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5688, 3 March 1620). They did not know Cyprian's opinion, which he expressed in his tractate De Oratione Dominica: "Haec vox [Pater Noster] Iudaeos perstringit, et percutit [...] in Iudaeorum exprobrationem Christiani quando oramus, Pater Noster dicimus". He meant that a Christian who recited the Lord's Prayer called God "Our Father", Father of the Christians, and not of the Jews: "Iam non possunt Patrem vocare, cum Dominus eos confundat, et redarguat dicens, vos ex patre diabolo estis".

(18) - This was not always the case. Leonor Coutinha, aged 35 (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No. 9124), and Leonor Marques, aged 34 (Processo No. 8455), both from Vila Flor, were converted by a Jew "que

veo da terra dos judeus a tirar esmola pera o azeite das sinagogas". Both abjured de levi on 23 August 1570.

(19) - "Ouuireis vos muitas velhas dogmatistas, que não sabem ler, nem escrever, que nunca tomarão na mão a Biblia: estas ouuireis vos cōtar patranhas" (MENDONÇA, Father Francisco de - Sermão qve [...] pregou no Acto da Fee, que se celebrou na mesma cidade [Coimbra] Domingo 25. dias do mes de Nouembro do anno 1618, fl. 11). This, it was said, was because they were unlearned and superstitious. Women were "mais notaueis as superstições judaicas, & se tem visto mais exemplos que o confirmem morrendo em sua pertinacia mais numero que o dos homens, & he a razão que como o crime de heregia he erro de entendimento, & ellas naturalmente o tenham menos, são muito mais sujeitas a heregias principalmente a estas do judaismo que consistem em superstições & ceremonias a que muito são dadas" (MATOS, Vicente da Costa - Breve discurso contra a heretica perfidia do Iudaismo, fl. 134). It was not surprising, then, that the knowledge they had and passed on was flawed: "e senão dizeime essas vossas ceremonias Iudaicas, que guardaes, donde as tirastes? Da Escritura? Bem parece, que nunca a lestes; & pollo menos que nunca a entendestes, ora crede a quem a lee, & a quem com a graça diuina a entende. Todas essas ceremonias, que fazeis não tem pes, nem cabeça: quanto mais fundamento solido na Escritura. Não na entendeis" (MENDONÇA, Father Francisco de - op. cit., fl. 11v).

(20) - Rabbi Yokhanan, a Talmud authority, taught that the redemption of Israel would come when God's Chosen People observed the sabbath in the appropriate way (Shabbath 118b).

(21) - The "Deos vivo que fez o ceo e a terra, ho mar e as areas" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 8735; there are many known variations).

(22) - The seven penitential Psalms, traditionally sung at Lent, were Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129 and 142 of the Vulgate (Jewish 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130 and 143). The Gloria Patri was a doxology added by St Augustine, which was omitted by the judaisers because it implied the belief in the Holy Trinity, a concept which was abhorrent to a Jew.

(23) - The Messianic idea was widespread in Portugal and Spain since the first half of the 16th century. The hopes of the New Christians were aroused in late 1525 by a Jewish adventurer who called himself David Reubeni and wanted to raise an army, with the help of the Christian Kings, for the conquest of Jerusalem. Reubeni, the "judeo do çapato" (i.e. of the Sabbath), was honourably received by the Portuguese authorities and was even granted an audience with King João III, but his influence on the New Christians was so great that he became a potential danger for internal stability, and he was forced to leave. His disciple Diogo Pires, a Portuguese New Christian who left his post of Court clerk to follow him under the name of Solomon Molcho, took over Reubeni's mission after his arrest by the Holy Office (he was released to the secular arm by the Llerena Inquisition on 8 September 1538). The escalation of Messianic hopes continued throughout the 17th century and culminated with the appearance of Shabbetai Zevi (1626-1676), a Jew from Smyrna who succeeded in creating the largest Messianic movement ever (see Encyclopedia Judaica, Vol. 14, col. 1219-1253). Such was his prestige that his movement survived his apostasy for decades

(he adopted the Moslem faith in September 1666).

(24) - Julio Caro Baroja believed that the Spanish New Christians in the first half of the 16th century were almost completely integrated in the Christian religion, and by the second half of the same century were already "en pugna por alcanzar honores y dignidades y muy mezclados con cristianos viejos" (CARO BAROJA, Julio - Inquisición, brujería y criptojudaismo, p. 32-33). The situation was different in Portugal. The New Christians were "gente da nação", as opposed to true-born Portuguese, and the sincerity of their Christian beliefs was often doubted. This was not very different with the offspring of mixed marriages; large numbers of convicted judaisers were only a half, a quarter, or an eighth New Christians. It was not until it became apparent that the personal satisfaction of judaising was not worth the risk that the New Christians gradually fitted into the society in which they lived.

(25) - As early as 1567, Inquisitor General the Cardinal Infant D Henrique believed that marriages between New and Old Christians would be beneficial to the former's religious convictions (MEA, Elvira Azevedo - Sentenças da Inquisição de Coimbra, p. XLIV). Truly enough, many Old Christians were not really against marrying a New Christian; but the latter's family could be expected to disapprove of the marriage. In 1572, Ana Fernandes, aged 32, from Seia, charged with judaising, alleged in her defence that she did so to appease the anger of her relatives, who hated her for having married an Old Christian without their approval (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 3863). Some Old Christians resented being shunned by the New Christians. According to Luisa Nunes, from Coimbra, "os christãos velhos tinham grande paixão porque os christãos novos cazavam com as christãs novas e que elles não aviam de quebrantar ha sua lei que lhes mandava que cazassem com as parentas" (Processo No 8719). Fifty years later, it was the Old Christians who reacted against mixed marriages: "Porque como se podia conseruar bem huma familia, sendo hum casado de huma ley, outro de outra? Mofinos casamentos de Portugal, aqui estam as molheres, & la ficam os maridos, dous casados em hua casa, hum Iudeu, & outro Christão, que ha de vir a ser dos filhos, senam o que vemos nos autos? [...] se algum sangue bom se ajunta com vosco nam basta hum oytavo da vossa naçam pera o encherdes todo de ferrugem?" (RESSURREIÇÃO, Friar António da - Sermam que pregou [...] No Auto da Fee que se celebrou na mesma Cidade [Coimbra] a seis de Maio de 1629, p. 5, 23).

(26) - The enmity between Jews and Christians dates back from the very first years of the Christian faith, and found an early expression in parts of the Talmud (tractates Sanhedrin and Sotah), and later in the curious pamphlet known as Toledot Yeshu and in the Sepher haZohar. Many anti-Christian works were written by Jewish authors, notably during the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The best-known examples are Profiat Duran's Al Tehi kaAvotheka and Kelimmat haGoyim, Yitzhak ben Abraham Troki's Khizzuk Emunah, Khasdai Crescas' Bittul Ikkarei haNotzerim, and Shemtob ben Yitzhak ibn Shaprut's Even Bokhan.

(27) - In Portugal, there were many known outrages against the symbols of the Christian faith, and many others went undiscovered. Some were even perpetuated in New Christian tradition. Guiomar Nunes, the widow of an Old Christian, "hia judiar a capella de Nossa Senhora sita no

monte da freguesia de São Bartholomeu de Tadim e levava hum crucifício de baixo da roupa e o arrastava pella dita capella". In 1600 she was caught in the act in another church (GUERRA, Luís de Bivar - Um caderno de Cristãos-novos de Barcelos, p. 88). She died in custody and was executed in effigy in September 1602. The very same act was recorded four centuries later in the village of Argozelo, a well-known judaiser community (PAULO, Amílcar - Os Criptojudeus, p. 49).

(28) - These are neatly summed up in Friar Francisco de Torrejoncillo's Centinela contra judios, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios, particularly in Chapter 11 ("De las diferencias que ay de Judios, señalados por Providencia Divina"), p. 169-172. On the other hand, the Jewish aversion of the Gentile (Goy) is well documented in numerous passages of the Talmud (Sanhedrin 57a, 58b, 59a; Baba Bathra 54b; etc).

(29) - The New Christians were often ashamed of being known for what they were: "não ha quem se não corra de ser desta nação, saluo se perdeo a vergonha" (MENDONCA, Father Francisco de - Sermão qve [...] prego no Acto da Fee, que se celebrou na mesma cidade [Coimbra] Domingo 25. dias do mes de Nouembro do anno 1618, fl. 8v). Many convicted judaisers insisted that they were good Christians and had been forced to confess what they had not done. Luisa Sanches, a 35-year old market trader who was arrested in 1569, told everyone who would listen that she had confessed because of the torture she had endured, and because her companion was a witch who cast a spell on her in order to make her confess. In actual fact, she was never tortured (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 7726). A letter written by the Inquisitor General on 27 November 1597 mentioned that many reconciled New Christians told their Jesuit confessors "nas confissões sacramentais, como sempre foi seu costume, que nunca foram Judeus e que tudo o que tinham confessado no Santo Officio era falso", and advised the Inquisitors to explain to the Jesuits "que manhosa he esta gente, e as invenções que buscão por todas as vias pera se acreditar e desacreditarem o Santo Officio" (ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Officio, Codex 365, fl. 9-9v).

(30) - A list of the New Christians who contributed to the 246,000 cruzados "para a finta que a gente de nasção comprou em juro a fazenda Real nos milhões da Croa de Castella", preserved in the BGUC, includes 539 people whose profession was specified. Of these, 19 were physicians, 10 surgeons, 18 pharmacists, and 76 others had a University degree (69 Licentiates, 12 of whom practised as physicians, and 7 Doctors) - a total of 123; 32 were traders, 30 shopkeepers, and 36 old clothes' dealers - a total of 98; 18 were surveyors; 3 were scribes or clerks; and most of the remainder were artisans, including 57 cobblers, 30 blacksmiths, 26 candle-makers, 19 goldsmiths, 19 tailors, 18 tanners, 17 wool-trimmers and 13 wool-combers, 14 joiners and 8 soap-makers. There was even one pig farmer - but only two farmers (compare with CARO BAROJA, Julio - Los Judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea, Vol. I, p. 353-357). A similar pattern existed in the late Middle Ages: in the 14th century, most Portuguese Jews were tailors, cobblers, blacksmiths, old clothes' dealers, goldsmiths and joiners (VASCONCELOS, José Leite de - Etnografia portuguesa - Tentativa de sistematização, Vol. IV, p. 132-134).

(31) - In Canon Law, inquisitio or enquiry is one of three ways for a

magistrate to be informed of an offence, the other two being the accusatio and the denuntiatio.

(32) - It was an established principle since the Codex Theodosianus that, as the Christian religion was the greatest wealth a people could have, it was that people's right to protect it by law. St Augustine, noting that any heresy is essentially intolerant, concluded that the repression of heresies was an act of legitimate defence of the true Faith. There was also a parallel in contemporary thinking between human and divine *lèse majesté*. If the King ruled by the grace of God, the defence of God's Majesty was also that of the King's Majesty.

(33) - The Inquisition had jurisdiction over the crimes of heresy and apostasy (the New Christian judaisers were considered as such) as well as bigamy, witchcraft and sodomy. The Portuguese society of those times saw the repression of the judaisers as an act of self-defence, as was clearly expounded by Vicente da Costa Matos in Chapter XIII of his *Honras christãs nas afrontas de Iesu Christo*: "De como Deos nosso Senhor pellos peccados secretos do judaismo castiga manifesta, & publicamente este Reyno com fomes, com guerras, & doenças" (fl. 105-106). The wrath of God could only be appeased by punishing the heretics.

(34) - "Although much has been said of the persecution of the Jews by the Inquisition, as a matter of fact, orthodox Jews were specifically mentioned in the laws of the Church as being free from all persecution. This was only natural. In the first place a Jew or any infidel who had never admitted Christianity could not be charged with heretical beliefs. In the second place, a confession, an admission, any statement made by an infidel was valueless from a Christian standpoint as it was not made under the oath of the cross. In the third place, in the eyes of the Church, such unbelievers were beyond the pale of the Church" (VERRILL, A Hyatt - *The Inquisition*, p. 150-151).

(35) - See CARO BAROJA, Julio - *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*, Vol. II, p. 231-237. Father Juan Alonso Polanco (1516-1577), one of the earliest collaborators of St Ignatius and the first historian of the Society, was a New Christian from a wealthy Marrano family of Burgos (SICROFF, Albert A - *Les controverses des statuts de 'pureté de sang' en Espagne du XVe au XVIIe siècle*, p. 271, 273, 278-280). The distinguished theologian Diego Laynez (1512-1565), who was elected General of the Society in 1558 as the successor to St Ignatius, came from a Marrano family of Almazán in Soria province.

(36) - From the very beginning. St Ignatius's own nephew, Father Antonio Araoz, complained to his uncle on 21 December 1545 that the number of New Christian entrants was inconvenient for the Society's reputation (CARO BAROJA, Julio - *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 234-235). It is true that New Christians were debarred from membership in the Society of Jesus in 1593, a measure which was generally confirmed in 1608; but the New Christian infiltration of the Jesuits was hardly affected. As far as 16th century Portugal was concerned, "a entrada de cristãos novos na Companhia [...] quase a podemos classificar de calamidade nacional" (RODRIGUES, Francisco - *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, Tom. II, Vol. I, p. 336).

(37) - It began in 1588, when Luis de Molina, a Jesuit theologian, published a treatise on *Concordia liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis, divina praescientia, providentia, praedestinatione, et reprobatione, ad nonnullos Iae partis D. Thomae articulos*. The doctrine expounded therein, the *scientia media*, which he had learned from his teacher Pedro da Fonseca and subsequently developed, became known as Molinismo, and was attacked from the beginning by Dominican theologians.

(38) - As an example of how politics, religion and petty interests influenced this rivalry, see AZEVEDO, João Lúcio de - "Os Jesuítas e a Inquisição em conflito no Século XVII", in *Boletim da Segunda Classe da Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa*, Vol. X (1915-1916), p. 319-345.

CHAPTER 1

(1) - Moisés Boino was the son of Abraham Boino or Bueno, who lived in Oporto, and subsequently in Coimbra, in the days of Kings Afonso V and João II (ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Afonso V, Vol. 2, fl. 57 and Vol. 35, fl. 36). On 3 May 1446 the Regent Infant D Pedro granted him the right to ride a mule, which was forbidden to Jews. Existing records also mention his son-in-law Salomão Cohen, a physician, who was born in Lisbon but lived in Coimbra circa 1459 (*ibid.*, Vol. 35, fl. 36).

(2) - They were a girl of unknown name and three youths: Miguel, Fernando and Jorge. With the exception of the girl, who chose her mother's surname, they adopted the surname Vaz.

(3) - ANTT, Chancelaria de D. João III, Vol. 2, fl. 22v-23.

(4) - He received the revenues of The King's Customs and of the Almo-xarifado of Coimbra, and was Paymaster of the Bishopric, the Chapter of the Cathedral and the Monastery of Santa Cruz. He eventually went into partnership with his son António Vaz for the revenues of the Customs of Entre Douro e Minho (northwestern Portugal), Aveiro, and the mouth of the river Mondego.

(5) - His guests included the Infant D Fernando, Duke of Guarda and Trancoso and King Manuel I's son; D Teodósio, Duke of Bragança, and his son D João, Duke of Barcelos; D Afonso, Archbishop of Lisbon; and the Bishops of Coimbra and Lamego (cf. ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 4643). When Jorge Vaz settled in Coimbra, he lived for a time in the Rua do Corpo de Deus, before acquiring a house in the Rua da Santa Sofia. The site of the latter was chosen in 1543 by King João III for the construction of the University College of St Thomas, which was to be run by the Dominicans. Architect Diogo de Castilho surveyed it in February 1543 and gave it the value of 21,000 réis, which were subsequently paid to Jorge Vaz by the Dominican Provincial (AUC, Colégio de S. Tomás, Doc. 1-27).

(6) - Jorge Fernandes's case was transferred to the Lisbon Inquisition and he was handed over to the secular arm. His *Processo* could not be found in the ANTT.

(7) - The date of his arrest is uncertain; the initial folios of Processo No 4643 are missing. It is known that he left Coimbra and was captured near Albergaria-a-Velha, over 30 miles north of the city. His case was transferred to Lisbon, because the Coimbra Inquisition was still being organised, but also in order to ensure impartiality. Jorge Vaz's defence was very thorough. He tried to prove that various of his servants and slaves, who could have testified against him, hated him and were his enemies. He suggested that the Inquisitors assigned to his case were biased. He submitted endless lists of articles of contradiction. And he added that the alleged offences, if they had ever taken place, dated back to the period before the last General Pardon, and thus could not be tried. His articles of contradiction covered so many possibilities that the Inquisition decided that the charges were not fully proven. Jorge Vaz abjured de levi, paid 30 cruzados (12,000 réis) to charity, and was advised to be more careful in the future (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 4643). He took the warning seriously and was never bothered again. His wife Brites Lourenço, who had also been baptised as an adult, was not prosecuted.

(8) - They were Miguel Vaz, Dr António Homem's paternal grandfather; and Canon Simão Vaz, Dr Heitor Vaz, António Vaz, Catarina Vaz and Filipa Vaz. These were the children who survived; others died young.

(9) - Simão Vaz died in 1561, at the age of 59, and was buried in Santiago church, close to his house, instead of the chapel of St Peter the Martyr, due to parish rights.

(10) - Dr Heitor Vaz went to the University of Salamanca at the age of 14, and returned to Coimbra with a Doctor's degree in Law. Although he had a speech defect ("a lingua muito embaraçada), he chose to pursue a legal career. King João III made him a circuit magistrate (Juiz de Fora) in Vila Franca and then in Leiria, where he had been a Corregedor. He represented the New Christians of Coimbra during negotiations with the Crown about a projected general pardon. He married his niece Mór Pais in 1534, and had ten children (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1073, passim). One of them, Dr Trajano Vaz, worked as a physician in Montemor-o-Velho, where he was in touch with the local judaiser families and indoctrinated his children in the Jewish faith. One of the latter, Francisco de Sá, was named as a judaiser by Dr Jerónimo de Almeida (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 8133, 4 September 1623).

(11) - Dr Heitor Vaz and his family lived together with his older brother Canon Simão Vaz (He was entered in the 1567 tax roll as living in the Calçada, and paid 600 réis). When Simão Vaz died in 1561, leaving his estate to his brother Miguel Vaz's children, Dr Heitor Vaz altered the testament in his favour. The fraud was eventually discovered; he was arrested on 15 December 1565 and taken to the city Castle, which in those days served as prison for the more distinguished offenders. The Oporto District Court found Dr Heitor Vaz not guilty, apparently due to insufficient evidence, but he was not released. The Coimbra Inquisition, which had been collecting evidence against him as a suspected judaiser, was by then ready to prosecute him. He was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Holy Office on 29 August 1566, and asked for an audience on 6 September. He confessed that, some years before, he

had ceased to believe in the divinity of Christ and had even told certain New Christian friends of his that he was a Jew at heart and wished to emigrate and judaize openly. Although Dr Heitor Vaz's confession was not entirely satisfactory, he was given the benefit of doubt. He was sentenced to gaol and penitential dress in perpetuum, without remission, "e levara o dito habito deferencado dos outros" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1073, 5 October 1567).

(12) - The auto de fé took place in Coimbra's Old Square, a few yards from Dr Heitor Vaz's house, and the sermon was preached by his brother António Vaz's former master, Bishop Friar João Soares. Dr Heitor Vaz's sentence was commuted to reclusion in the Monastery of Our Lady of the Grace, in Coimbra, by the Inquisitor General, Cardinal Infant D Henrique. Dr Heitor Vaz was dispensed from reclusion and wearing his penitential gown on 9 December 1569, and he was ordered to pay 50 cruzados "para ajuda da Sostentação dos presos pobres da Inquisição". His lack of prudence caused him to be arrested again; he abjured de levi on 12 September 1574 (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1073).

(13) - After their wedding in 1528, Guiomar Brandoa and Miguel Vaz settled in Coimbra. She was related to Duarte Brandão (1440?-1512), a famous Jewish adventurer and contemporary of his great-grandfather Moisés Boino, who was known as Edward Brandon (or Brampton) in England, fought in the War of the Roses, was knighted by Richard III (the first Jewish knight in English history), rose to Governor of Guernsey, and returned to Portugal in 1487. He then purchased the titles of Lord of Buarcos, Donatory of the Estuary of the Mondego and of the Salt-Pans of Tavadede, and Purveyor of the Chapels of King Afonso IV. He was the founder of the Brandão family - the "Brandões de Inglaterra".

(14) - The Almojarife or Inspector of Taxes was an agent of the Treasury in charge of receiving certain rents, renting selected Crown properties, and paying the public expenses resulting from Royal favours. Miguel Vaz was confirmed in the office of Almojarife by a Royal Charter of 4 July 1537, which allotted him the yearly income of 5,000 réis (ANTT, Chancelaria de D. João III, Lib. 24, fl. 155v).

(15) - Juiz das Jugadas dos Direitos Reais. The jugada was a tax which certain lands, to which the King had granted a Charter, had to pay to the Crown, generally in wheat, maize, wine and linen. Miguel Vaz's salary in this magistracy was one moio of wheat per year (ANTT, Chancelaria de D. João III, Lib. 24, fl. 156)

(16) - They were Jorge Vaz Brandão, Jerónimo Vaz Brandão and Luís Brandão, and Isabel Brandoa, Ana Brandoa and Brites Brandoa.

(17) - ANTT, Chancelaria de D João III, Vol. 70, fl. 113.

(18) - He was the administrator of the chapel of the Fellowship of God's Faithful, founded by Dr Jorge Henriques, Isabel Brandoa's husband, in Santa Justa church. When Dr António Velho, Purveyor of the Bishopric, visited the church on 9 December 1600, he ordered Jorge Vaz Brandão to repair the altar "nos fieis de Deus por que choue na Capella E retabollo e esta pera Cair" ([Visitações] da igreja de sancta Justa desta Cidade, 9 December 1600). This still had not been done five

months later, when the Bishop of Martyria visited the church, and Jorge Vaz Brandão was accordingly fined 2,000 réis (ibid., 26 May 1601). Dr António Homem took over the administration of the chapel after his father's death (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 16225, 14 July 1620; cf. [Visitações] da igreja de sancta Justa desta Cidade, 18 May 1616).

(19) - D Isabel Nunes de Almeida was an Old Christian from Aveiro, the daughter of Gonçalo Homem, a wealthy and influential man, and Helena de Almeida. The date of her wedding is not known, but she was already married to Jorge Vaz Brandão by 1553. On 24 June of that year, she was godmother to a baby girl born to Estêvão Arês and Jorge Vaz Brandão's sister Ana Brandoa (AUC, Tomo 1^o dos Baptizados na Igreja de Santa Crus [...] Liuro 1^o, fl. 38v).

(20) - Isabel Vaz was released on 9 August and restricted to the city and suburbs of Coimbra, but was dispensed from further penance on 31 October 1570. Against all expectations, she continued to judaise. Her situation was made far worse when she was called before the Inquisitors on 28 February 1573, in order to ratify her previous statements. She admitted that she had judaised, but denied everything she had confessed about Guiomar Brandoa and other New Christians. She was arrested. Her great-grandchildren Diogo and Manuel de Arede did their best to prove that Isabel Vaz was senile and no longer responsible for what she said. She was examined by a variety of physicians and clerics, statements were taken from warders and prisoners, and it was concluded that she was generally sane and responsible. She was released to the secular arm on 21 October 1576 (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9594).

(21) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9172. Miguel Vaz was 52 at the time of his arrest.

(22) - The Aredes were a New Christian family which judaised almost in its entirety. This Iseu de Arede was the great-aunt of Henrique de Arede, whose rôle in Coimbra's judaiser community will be detailed later.

(23) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2519. Ana Brandoa's prison sentence was commuted on 15 April 1569 to a fine of 40,000 réis, intended to relieve the needs of poor prisoners of the Holy Office.

(24) - An Old Christian from Montemor-o-Velho, Francisco Travassos was the husband of Guiomar Brandoa's daughter Brites Brandoa.

(25) - Luís Brandão asked her by letter to return; a summons had been issued for her and his own estate was being inventoried, in order to subtract and confiscate her share. Guiomar Brandoa returned to Coimbra on 17 September 1572 and stayed overnight in the house of another son-in-law, Estêvão Arês, the Old Christian husband of her daughter Ana Brandoa. On the following day, Luís Brandão told her what she should do and how she could defend herself before the Inquisitors (see ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 3739, passim).

(26) - She claimed to owe the Crown "hum côto e sete centos mil Réis das rendas sos almoxarifados desta cidade e daveiro.hos quais teue por

arrendamento e ella Re. se obrigou per hum cõtrato a pagar has ditas rendas da cadea" (Point 5 of her defence of 23 December 1572; ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 3739).

(27) - The Coimbra merchant Bernardo Ramires masterminded a network of bribery which enabled vital information to be passed on to New Christian prisoners. On 18 February 1577, 37-year old warder Manuel Leitão admitted that he had been bribed by Luis Brandão and other New Christians to give information and foodstuffs to certain prisoners, Guiomar Brandoa included (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 8452). He abjured de vehementi and was sentenced to penal servitude at the oars for an indefinite time. One of his accomplices, warder Mateus Pires, spontaneously confessed his guilt and was sentenced in 1575 to abjure de levi and to one year's exile (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1196). Notary Baltazar Fernandes, who had been involved in the operation, was given three years' penal servitude at the oars. Bernardo Ramires was arrested in 1577, abjured de levi and was sentenced to eight years' deportation to Brazil; but he proved that he was the only support of an unmarried sister and was allowed to remain in Coimbra (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 8921). Manuel Leitão escaped from his galley, with other prisoners, when Felipe II's troops entered Lisbon in 1580. He was finally arrested in 1584, and sentenced to penal servitude at the oars for life (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 258).

(28) - An example: "ella tem filhos e filhas que ouue de seu marido e lhe saião casamentos de pessoas christãos novos muito ricos e com os quais podião muito bem casar, e ella por ser muito inimiga de christãos novos e por deseiar mesturarse com christãos velhos hos casou e fez casar com christãos velhos" (Point 2 of her defence of 23 December 1572; ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 3739).

(29) - Luis Brandão was in 1575 the executor and paymaster of D João de Lencastre, Marquis of Torres Novas (AUC, Livro de notas de António Martins, 1575, fl. 85), and was appointed University Paymaster in 1582. He was replaced by Henrique Fernandes, also a judaiser, in July 1586. Luis Brandão was eventually arrested by the Évora Inquisition, and abjured de vehementi. His proceedings were unfortunately lost. He was University Syndic in Lisbon when he died in the autumn of 1594.

CHAPTER 2

(1) - They had ten children in all, four boys and six girls, six of whom reached adulthood. Their first-born child (circa 1552) was Matias Homem Brandão. He was followed by Maria, who was baptised on 2 March 1553 but did not survive. Next was another girl, Antónia, baptised on 25 December 1556, who died as a baby. Pedro Homem was born circa 1558, and D Maria Brandoa in 1560. She was followed by Helena, baptised on 1 June 1561, who did not survive, and then by Marcelina and António, in 1564, D Guiomar de Almeida circa 1568, and finally by Gonçalo Homem, baptised on 16 March 1572. The three baby girls who died as infants were omitted from the genealogies of the Inquisitorial proceedings, as neither Dr António Homem nor D Maria Brandoa remembered them. Their existence was established by our research in the existing registers of

births of Santa Cruz parish (AUC, Tomo 1^a dos Baptizados, Liuro 1^a).

(2) - AUC, Tomo 1^a dos Baptizados [of Santa Cruz], Liuro 1^a, fl. 102v). One of the godfathers was D António de Castelo Branco, Lord of Pombeiro [da Beira] (a village about 15 miles east of Coimbra), related to the Furtado de Mendonça family and distantly related to Jorge Vaz Brandão. The first of the two godmothers was D Leonor Sotomaior, the first wife of Manuel Homem, the illegitimate brother of Dr António Homem's mother. It was customary in the 16th century to have infants baptised on the eighth day after their birth (Constituições Synodaes, Tit. 2, Const. II). However, these babies' delicate health may have delayed the ceremony.

(3) - By the time Dr António Homem was arrested, in 1619, very few people remembered the existence of Marcelina (cf. the testimony of Maria Fernandes, aged 65, dated 23 December 1620, in ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421). It was only proved by a copy of the certificate of baptism. The registers of deaths of Santa Cruz parish for this period are incomplete, and no mention can be found about Marcelina's demise. In any case, it was common practice not to write down the deaths of infants, or even children under seven, for whom no divine offices were said.

(4) - This advice was carefully followed by Dr António Homem: "não estando na mão delle reu escolher os parentes de que havia de nascer, mas somente os com que devia de tractar, e communicar, trabalhou sempre de se desviar, e apartar dos que tinham parte com a gente da nação, ainda dos mais honrados, e qualificados, não os vendo, nem conversando, nem dando occasião a se deixar visitar delles, tractando pello contrario mui particularmente com os da parte de sua mãe, honrando-se somente delles, e por essa razão tomou o seu nome de Homem". (Point 30 of Dr António Homem's defence of 27 July 1620; ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421). His brothers and sisters did the same.

(5) - One of his friends at primary school, Manuel Duarte Salazar, testified in his favour after his arrest. An Old Christian, the Licentiate Manuel Duarte Salazar was born in 1566, married Leonarda Gomes, and became a successful lawyer and a member of the Brotherhood of Mercy (Misericórdia) in Coimbra. He was elected magistrate (Ouvidor) of the Chapter's estates (Coutos) on 23 May 1612 (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 118v-119) and Procurator of the Bishopric on 15 May 1615 (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 19v-20). He was relieved of the latter post on 26 March 1621 (ibid., fl. 214v).

(6) - Guiomar Brandoa abjured de levi on 12 September 1574. She was arrested again in 1578 and sentenced on 14 August of that year to pay 2,780 réis of legal costs (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 3739).

(7) - On 13 December 1574, Jorge Vaz Brandão was authorised by the King to serve as executor of the Almoxarifado of Coimbra. This saved his family from poverty. 1575 was a year of famine; crops failed, food reserves were partially exhausted, and the University had to close in April and May and send students home, in order to reduce the number of people to be fed in the city. Jorge Vaz Brandão retained the offices of Juiz das Jugadas and executor of the Almoxarifado until 21 January

1591, when he relinquished both in favour of his son Matias Homem.

(8) - The New Christians paid 250,000 cruzados for the pardon, but in exchange were allowed to leave the country at will and sell their properties, and were exempted from confiscation for heresy and apostasy for the next ten years. Many New Christian judaisers settled in Spain, where the Inquisition was less rigorous at the time, before the pardon was suspended in 1579.

(9) - The first known death attributed to the plague, that of Roque Pires, a saddle-maker, took place in the parish of Santa Cruz on 19 October 1579. By January 1580, there were several cases in the borough of Celas.

(10) - The Board of Conscience and Orders (Mesa da Consciência e Ordens) was created by King João III in December 1532 as the Mesa da Consciência, to assist him in matters pertaining to his conscience which fell outside the competence of the judicial and Treasury authorities. It was later empowered to deal with the matters of the three Military Orders (Christ, Avis and Santiago). During the Philippine period, the Board represented the King in various matters and issued charters, provisions and licences in his name. Felipe III gave it new regulations on 23 August 1608.

(11) - This honour greatly pleased Felipe II. He knew that certain Lentes of the University had supported other candidates to the Portuguese throne, and on 26 September 1580 had even ordered the Rector to dismiss the Dominican Friar Luis de Sotomaior, Lente of Scripture, and the Augustinian Friar Agostinho da Trindade, Lente of Scotus, for having openly supported the pretender D António, Prior of Crato. In the event, the former was allowed back in the University due to his great theological knowledge. Friar Agostinho later taught Theology in the University of Toulouse.

(12) - Dr António Homem's maternal grandfather Gonçalo Homem was D Manuel de Quadros's cousin.

(13) - D Manuel de Quadros's main task was the reformation of the University Statutes. He left the University in January 1584; the project was transferred to Lisbon in November, under the direction of Cardinal Archduke Alberto, Viceroy of Portugal, and D Manuel de Quadros was given the assistance of Archbishop D Jorge de Almeida, Rector D Nuno de Noronha and Dr Paulo Afonso. D Manuel de Quadros was made Bishop of Guarda in 1585 and the committee was temporarily disbanded. Rector D Fernão Martins Mascarenhas took over the final stages of the project in late August 1586 with the assistance of Dr António Vaz Cabaço, Lente of Prime in the Faculty of Law, who completed it. The Statutes were accepted by the University on 12 May 1592, and subsequently revised, being presented in their definitive form on 23 February 1598 (FIGUEIROA, Francisco Carneiro de - Memórias da Universidade de Coimbra, p. 117-120, 123-124).

(14) - The castles of Arganil and Coja were given in 1120 to the Chapter of the Cathedral of Coimbra, and transferred to the diocese in 1394, in exchange for other lands. On 25 September 1472, King Afonso V

awarded D João Galvão, Bishop of Coimbra, the title of Count of Arganil, for his assistance in the conquest of the North African forts of Arzila and Tangier. The Lordship of Coja was given to the Bishops of Coimbra on 9 February 1547. For centuries thereafter, the Bishop of Coimbra was officially referred to as Bishop-Count, as well as Lord of Coja and High Sheriff of Avô (although the bishopric lost all de facto jurisdiction over the latter coutos on 19 July 1790). The privileges connected with the title of Count of Arganil were extinguished by the Decrees of 16 May and 13 August 1832, and the titles themselves were quietly dropped after the Second Vatican Council.

(15) - Crispim da Costa was born in Lisbon in 1573; his parents, both New Christians, were Jorge da Costa, an accountant (Tratador dos Câmbios Reais) from Lamego, and Ana Rodrigues. His uncle Luís da Costa was an incumbent priest in the church of St Mary of Macave in Lamego. Crispim da Costa left the College of Arts at about 15 and registered in the Faculty of Theology, graduating as a Bachelor on 23 March 1590 and as a Licentiate on 1 June 1591. His first dignity in the Church was as the parish priest of Casal Comba, where he stayed for about 18 months (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5688, 1 March 1620).

(16) - The Cathedral school was directed by a Canon with the dignity of Schoolmaster, and was open to all boys who showed some promise. Most of its pupils were choristers or servants of the Bishop and Canons.

(17) - A wealthy merchant from Aveiro, Henrique Fernandes was a full-blooded New Christian, who descended from Jews who had voluntarily embraced the Christian faith before King Manuel I's enforced conversion. He replaced Luis Brandão as Paymaster on 5 July 1586 (AUC, Escrituras da Universidade, Vol. 8 (1584-1591), Lib. 1, fl. 131v-141v), and his contract was renewed in 1591. The post of Paymaster was given to Filipe Lopes da Fonseca in 1594, but Henrique Fernandes recovered it on 27 April 1598 (AUC, Escrituras da Universidade, Vol. 12 (1598-1600), Lib. 1, fl. 2-10), and was sworn in on 18 May (AUC, Conselhos, 1597-1598, fl. 99). He did not renew his contract when it expired in 1602.

(18) - No picture or engraving of Dr António Homem is known to have survived. There is no mention of him in the four-volume Dicionário de iconografia portuguesa. However, according to Vol. I of Penitenciados pelas Inquirições de Portugal, a four-volume manuscript collection of sentences preserved in the ANTT, Dr António Homem "Era um homem alto, bem disposto" (see TEIXEIRA, António José - António Homem e a Inquirição, p. 301).

(19) - It was also in 1585 that he first tried to win a teaching post in the Faculty of Canon Law. He was second, Bachelor Sebastião de Sousa being appointed for the substitution of a Catedrilha. However, he was allowed to give a series of lectures on "De successionibus ab intestato" on 1 October 1586 (AUC, Conselhos, 1585-1586, fl. 5v, 18).

(20) - AUC, Matrículas do Colégio das Artes, 1586, fl. 16.

(21) - The lawyer Diogo Rodrigues was the father of Henrique de Arede, Ana da Costa's father.

- (22) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5997, 14 July 1622.
- (23) - Dr Cristóvão João missed the first six lectures of the Christmas term, being replaced by Bachelor Miguel da Maia, and also on 8 and 10 January, being replaced by Bachelor António Homem (AUC, Conselhos, 1589-1590, fl. 7). He missed a total of 26 lectures between 11 January and 16 February (ibid., fl. 17v).
- (24) - Luís Arês, Vicente de Arês's younger brother, was baptised on 11 August 1575. His godfather was D Luís de Castro, son and heir of the fourth Count of Monsanto (hence the choice of his Christian name).
- (25) - Ana and Isabel Brandoa were sisters of António Homem's father. Unlike Ana Brandoa, Isabel was never prosecuted by the Inquisition.
- (26) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1845, 23 March 1623.
- (27) - Luís Arês seems to have had second thoughts about the decision he made. When he left Coimbra in 1592 and enlisted for military service in the East Indies, he confessed to a Carmelite friar in Lisbon that he had judaised for the last couple of years. The Carmelite, who lacked the proper authority to give him absolution, told him to go to the Holy Office, which he was too scared to do. The friar, considering that the journey that Luís Arês was about to undertake would put his life at risk, absolved him, on condition that he would confess his sin to the Inquisition as soon as he could. Luís Arês never did so (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1845, 23 March 1623).
- (28) - Although the confiscation of Jorge Vaz Brandão's estate began in 1591, he had already lost some property: the Toll Gate, which he had rented from the Council for 5,000 réis a year, was repossessed for use as the city jail (AMC, Vereações da Câmara, Vol. 36 (1597-1598), fl.183 and Vol. 40 (1602-1603), fl.6v). Some houses belonging to Jorge Vaz Brandão were auctioned on 5 June 1593 for 450,000 réis, to pay for his debts of the 1588-1590 period to the Treasury. His relative poverty is indicated by the fact that he only paid 100 réis in the 1604 tax levy. The confiscation proceedings were a protracted business. A Royal letter of 16 September 1613 informed the City Council that Dr António Rodrigues Sardinha had been appointed Crown Procurator in Coimbra for the express purpose of executing the remainder of the estate of Jorge Vaz Brandão and his guarantors, assisted by the district Corregidor.
- (29) - As the head of his family, Jorge Vaz Brandão tried now to secure a stable future for his children. A legal instrument dated 21 January 1591, which confirmed an early draft of 4 April 1587, transferred the offices of executor of the Almojarifado and Juiz das Jugadas to his son Matias Homem. This was done in order to improve the latter's standing before his wedding to D Violante de Sequeira, an Old Christian lady of noble descent.
- (30) - A New Christian from a wealthy judaiser family, Manuel Rodrigues Navarro first registered in the University at the age of 23, on 24 April 1580, eight days after young António Homem, whose friend he would soon become. They had a great deal in common: their Jewish an-

cestry, their dedication to studying, and even their sexual preferences, although Manuel Rodrigues Navarro also had an interest in easy women: he fathered a bastard on Leonor Lopes, a mulatto slave of his, who was born in 1583 and was named João Rodrigues (he was brought up in his household as a servant and was instructed in the Law of Moses). Manuel Rodrigues Navarro was confirmed in the Chair of Instituta in November 1594. In late December he married D Francisca Brandoa, also a New Christian judaiser, the sister of Duarte Pires Brandão, a wealthy Lisbon businessman. She gave him five legitimate children, all of whom naturally judaised: Simão, Duarte, Filipe, Maria and Catarina.

(31) - His career was not without occasional setbacks. When the Chair of Codex was declared vacant on 23 February 1596, Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro presented himself as a candidate on 28 February. The scrutiny began on 16 March and the winner was announced on 20 March. The Chair was given to Dr Mendo da Mota de Valadares (AUC, Processos das Cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib. 1, fl. 84, 86v, 96v-104v).

(32) - André de Avelar studied in the Universities of Salamanca and Valladolid, and was incorporated in the University of Coimbra as a Bachelor, Licentiate and Master in Arts on 2 May 1592 (AUC, Autos e Graus, 1591-1592, fl. 24).

(33) - He was initiated in the Jewish faith in Lisbon, at the age of 16, by his maternal aunt Brites Lopes (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2209, 21 March 1620). His wife Luísa de Faria, however, was an Old Christian. André de Avelar took Holy Orders after her death (believed to have taken place in 1596), and at the same time persuaded all his children to judaise.

(34) - With the retirement of Diogo Coutinho, Clerk of the University treasury, the posts of University librarian and proof-reader, which he had held, were declared vacant. André de Avelar was preferred in principle to his opponent Jerónimo de Sampaio, beadle of the Faculties of Canon Law and Law, but neither was chosen because the University books were disorganised and there was no accommodation which could serve as a library. The writer Pedro de Mariz, son of the University printer António de Mariz, was later chosen, and gradually organised the library. André de Avelar eventually replaced him on 22 August 1598, being preferred to a son of Diogo Coutinho (AUC, Conselhos, 1597-1598, fl. 103).

(35) - AUC, Conselhos, 1590-1591, fl. 9-12v, 20v-21v.

(36) - AUC, Actos e Graus, 1591-1592, fl. 32v.

(37) - Dr Luís Correia became a friend of Dr António Homem's and later helped him when he was in financial trouble. He is known to have lent money to another six students (between 6,000 and 9,000 réis each; OLIVEIRA, António de - A livraria de um canonista do século XVI, p. 147). When Rector D Fernão Martins Mascarenhas was appointed Bishop of the Algarve on 3 January 1594 and could not afford the expenses of moving house, Dr Luís Correia lent him 940,000 réis, a huge sum, on 14 August 1594. He may have been the richest Lente of his time. He had two ecclesiastical benefices, in Esqueira and Redondo respectively, a pension of 100,000 réis in the diocese of Miranda and one of 50,000 réis

in that of Viseu, and 50,000 réis from his Canonry in Évora (OLIVEIRA, António de - op. cit., p. 71-72). His library, with some 900 volumes, probably was Coimbra's largest (an inventory appears in BGUC Codex 489, fl. 24-40).

(38) - AUC, *Autos e Graus*, 1591-1592, fl. 34-35. D Dionísio da Misericórdia was subsequently elected Prior of the Monastery of S Vicente de Fora, in Lisbon.

(39) - The green colour was the symbol of "a Castidade, de que deuem ser obseruantes os que estudão pera gouernar a Igreja" (*Applausos da Uniuersidade A Elrey Nosso. Senhor. D. João o IIII*, fl. 7).

(40) - AUC, *Autos e Graus*, 1591-1592, fl. 38.

(41) - In 1592, Dr António Homem participated in eight examinations, five of which as a sponsor. The third student he sponsored, on 14 May, was his cousin Duarte Travassos (who was a lawyer in Montemor-o-Velho when he was arrested as a judaiser in 1621). The registers of *Autos e graus* preserved in the AUC show that Dr António Homem sponsored 482 students between 1592 and 1619, and took an active part in the examinations of another 316.

(42) - He missed two lectures during the Easter term "por lhe morrer huma tia", probably Ana Brandoa (AUC, *Conselhos*, 1592-1593, fl. 28).

(43) - The Almotacé was an official who controlled weights, measures and prices in the market. Dr António Homem was elected on 1 July 1593 for the July-September period (AUC, *Conselhos*, 1592-1593, fl. 81v-82), and on 1 July 1598 for two months (AUC, *Conselhos*, 1597-1598, fl. 99v).

(44) - AUC, *Processos das Cadeiras*, Vol. 1, Lib. 1, fl. 12v-22.

(45) - He missed four lectures during the Christmas term of 1593-1594, "duas quando perdeo a cadeira e duas que leo o bacharel. Manuel duarte por elle" (AUC, *Conselhos*, 1593-1594, fl. 6). One of his pupils was D Francisco de Meneses, who would later be Rector of the University.

(46) - A victim of poliomyelitis at the age of ten, Miguel Gomes could not walk without his crutches.

(47) - Miguel Gomes registered in the Faculty of Law on 1 October 1596. He graduated as a Bachelor on 27 July 1602 and a Licentiate on 19 July 1605.

(48) - Dr António Homem was in turn replaced by his friend, Bachelor Miguel da Maia. The latter also replaced him when he missed another lecture "por anoiado da morte de hum thio seu [Luís Brandão] syndiquo que era desta Uniuersidade na Corte de lysboa" (AUC, *Conselhos*, 1594-1595, fl. 10).

(49) - AUC, *Matriculas*, 1594-1595, fl. 35v. He registered in the Faculty of Canon Law on 1 October 1595 (AUC, *Matriculas*, 1595-1596, fl. 7) and graduated as a Bachelor on 10 July 1600.

- (50) - AUC, Conselhos, 1594-1595, fl. 13.
- (51) - AUC, Processos das Cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib.1, fl. 78-79v. He missed all lectures between 3 and 13 February, "por quanto a sua cadeira trienal esteue vaga" (Conselhos, 1594-1595, fl. 17).
- (52) - He was paid 12,000 réis on 9 September 1595 for this assignment (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1594-1595, fl. 66v).
- (53) - AUC, Conselhos, 1594-1595, fl. 24v.
- (54) - AUC, Conselhos, 1595-1596, fl. 96v. He replaced Dr Cristóvão João, whose ailing health made him unsuitable for the post; and was in turn replaced by Dr Luís Correia in 1596-1597. Both were his senior colleagues. Dr António Homem was Deputy on another six occasions: 1598-1599, 1599-1600, 1605-1606, 1609-1610, 1613-1614 and 1618-1619.
- (55) - In late November 1596 (on the 26th?); "E estes se lhe pagarão porque seruo per falecimento do doutor Christouão joão ate acabar o anno que acabou por S. Martinho" (i.e. Monday, 11 November 1596; AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1596-1597, fl. 41). Dr Cristóvão João died early in November.
- (56) - In October 1596 (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1595-1596, fl. 67).
- (57) - For this assignment, Dr António Homem was paid 6,000 réis on 15 October 1596 (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1595-1596, fl. 67v).
- (58) - The order was placed in October 1596 (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1595-1596, fl. 44v; see also AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1596-1597, fl.58).
- (59) - AUC, Conselhos, 1596-1597, fl. 4v.
- (60) - AUC, Processos das Cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib. 1, fl. 140-140v. The Chair of Clementines was declared vacant on 13 January 1597.
- (61) - Although he missed no lectures until late July 1597 (AUC, Conselhos, 1596-1597, fl. 4v, 13, 20v). Dr António Homem had to work harder than expected. During the first two terms of the 1597-1598 scholastic year, beginning on 30 September 1597, he lectured Sext in the absence of Dr Diogo de Brito (AUC, Conselhos, 1597-1598, fl. 6, 14v). Besides his health problems, he had other causes for concern, particularly his finances. He is known to have borrowed from Dr Luís Correia 23,000 réis, giving him various items as security, which could well be his mother's jewels: "Humas contas de granosinhos dazeuiche por acabar, as cabeças de cada huma goarnecidas douro, com huma pera douro chea dambar com huma perola", valued at 12,880 réis; "Hum ramal de perolas com hum passarinho de ouro e huma perola no peito", valued at 5,870 réis; and "Humas contas cheas de pastilhas", valued at 6,740 réis (AMC, Testamentos, Vol. 1, fl. 12v; also OLIVEIRA, António de - A vida económica e social de Coimbra de 1537 a 1640, Part I, Vol. II, p. 80, and OLIVEIRA, António de - A livraria de um canonista do século XVI, p.71-72).
- (62) - Dr Navarro had been promoted to Lente of the Three Books on 16 April (AUC, Processos das Cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib. 1, fl.160v-161v). He

was assisted by the Clerk of the University Treasury, and was eventually paid 2,800 réis for the four days he spent on that assignment.

(63) - He also owned a farm at Pereira, not far from Coimbra, where he was more at ease to receive his judaiser friends, some of whom would become members of the Fellowship of St Diogo: Dr António Gomes, André de Avelar, António Correia de Sá, and others. He was also visited by Old Christian friends now and then; two of these were Rui de Albuquerque, Secretary of the University and a friend of Dr António Homem's, and Bento da Cunha Perestrelo, lord of the majorat of Papo de Perdiz.

(64) - Probably a victim of the 1598 famine, if not of the plague epidemic of the following year. It is no longer possible to identify the girl and find the date of her death, let alone its cause.

(65) - It was not outrageous for a 34-year old bachelor to have such an affair, but nothing in what is known of Dr António Homem's life suggests that this episode could have a factual basis. Besides, there is not a word about it in the diocesan visitations. Because of its extraordinary nature, this rumour was very persistent. It surfaced again during the 1619 visitation. On 11 May 1619, Francisco Tavares, a 25-year old Law student, stated that he had been told by Francisco Vaz, the University proof-reader, that the Lente "deshonrrara em sua casa huma moça e nella lhe morrera e a enterrara secretamente" (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 16). During the Lente's sodomy proceedings, when he tried to prove his innocence on the grounds that he was impotent and as such could not have had intercourse, this rumour was used as evidence to the contrary. Isabel Francisca, "molher parda" and a tenant of his, stated that "o Reo tomara huma moça dôsella filha de marguarida dias uiuua uesinha naquelle tempo do ditto Reo, e contra uontade da mãj deflorara a dita moça e a emprenhou tendo a em sua casa muitos dias te que caindo o Reo em huma doença a mãi do dito Reo fes lancar a dita moça fora que se recolheu em casa da dita sua mãj marguarida dias, onde falleceo antes de parir". This would have happened, she claimed, around 1606-1607, which is obviously wrong, as the Lente had left the Santa Justa estate by 1598 (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 7 December 1620). Since the girl's mother was probably dead as well in 1620, there was no way to disprove this statement.

(66) - According to the Church, a homosexual relationship defied God's law and thus was an open act of rebellion against the Divine Majesty. The Constitutions of the Bishopric sentenced a convicted sodomite to degradation from Holy Orders and perpetual deportation to a monastery, or, in the case of a layman, penal servitude in the galleys for ever; he would be released to the secular arm upon a second conviction (Constituições Synodaes do Bispado de Coimbra, Tit. 35, Const. III, fl. 198v-199). The Ordinances of the Realm sentenced any person convicted of sodomy to death by burning, with confiscation of his estate (Ordens Filipinas, Lib. V, Tit. XIII; this followed the main lines of Pope Gregory IX's Decretals and Lib. XLVII and XLVIII of Justinian's Digest). Any person convicted of mollities would be sentenced to penal servitude at the oars (Par. 3), and a single witness would suffice to secure a prosecution (Par. 7). But, in practice, only the most serious cases were prosecuted. This traditional leniency has been continued in the latest (1982) version of the Portuguese Criminal Code. Mollities

("indecent assault" in English law) is punishable if it involves the corruption of minors under 16 or an outrage to public morals (Art. 207), but only if the complainant insists on a prosecution (Art. 211-1); except, in theory, where a boy under 12 is involved (Art. 211-2).

(67) - See LIMA, Luís de Torres de - *Compendio das mais notaveis covasas que no reyno de Portugal acontecerão*, fl. 106-106v). Even so, "os Portugueses posto que são mui atentados nas cousas que tocão a suas hōras não são ciosos das molheres, mas as tratão com muita honra & cortesia" (LEÃO, Duarte Nunes de - *Descrição do Reino de Portugal*, fl. 139). The secondary importance given to heterosexual relationships was not exclusive to Portugal in this period. In England, for example, "the emotion we should now term romantic love was treated with a mixture of suspicion, contempt and outright disgust by virtually all pundits" (FRASER, Antonia - *The weaker vessel. Woman's lot in seventeenth-century England*, p. 27). On the other hand, boys were the embodiment of purity: "nam ha cousa mais fermosa, que hum moço casto, nem cousa mais edionda, que hum moço torpe; que Deos ama mais os mininos, do que as mininas virgens, & que por isso estes tem no Ceo mais gloria que ellas; porque os cento quarenta e quatro mil Virgens, que Sam Ioam vio no Ceo, todos eram mininos, & que so estes podem cantar aquelle Cantico de pureza, que mais agrada ao Cordeiro de Deos" (GUSMAO, Father Alexandre de - *Arte de crear bem os Filhos na idade da Puericia*, p. 218).

(68) - The essays of Plato, Aristotle and Cicero were widely known. The examples of Achilles and Patroclus, Alexander the Great and Hephaestion, Hadrian and Antinous, were openly admired. There was even a biblical precedent, which carried some weight in a deeply religious society: David's friendship with Jonathan. "thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women" (2 Samuel 1, 26).

(69) - It must not be forgotten that there was a marked social distinction between students and non-students in 17th century Coimbra, which continued with minor alterations until well into the 20th century. The non-student was nicknamed "Futrica", an abbreviation of "filho de tricana", with the connotation of 'child born out of wedlock'. The boys adopted by the students - "gaiulos" or "salatinas" in University slang (CASTRO, Amílcar Ferreira de - *A gíria dos estudantes de Coimbra*, p. 150, 173), were promoted in the social scale from their environment to that of the University, with definite material and intellectual advantages. What happened between students and boys was a materialisation of their affection, which did not corrupt them - in the sense that they grew up to marry and have children of their own - and, because of their natural innocence, did not leave them with a sense of guilt. Unless, of course, they were subjected to prosecution.

(70) - For example, Dr António Homem was given 8,000 réis on 28 May 1598 "pello trabalho que teue em arezoar hum foro dizimal da vniversidade" (AUC, *Receita e Despesa*, 1597-1598, fl. 60v). On 11 February 1599 he was given 10,000 réis for "certos arezoados que fes" (AUC, *Receita e Despesa*, 1598-1599, *ibid.*, fl. 48), and 32 alqueires of wheat on 30 March 1599 "pello trabalho na asistencia do trigo que se uendeu" (*ibid.*, fl. 51). And he had been appointed to teach Sext as a substitute on 30 September 1597 (AUC, *Conselhos*, 1597-1598, fl. 25v).

(71) - Rector António de Mendonça left the University on 15 September and was appointed President of the Board of Conscience and Orders. His successor, D Afonso Furtado de Mendonça, had been nominated for the Rectorship in the previous July, but was not sworn in until 28 October.

(72) - He was appointed Deputy in August 1597, replacing his friend and patron Dr Luís Correia, and was himself replaced by Dr Francisco Dias in the following October. His colleagues were Friar Egidio da Apresentação (Theology) and Dr António da Cunha (Law).

(73) - During the Christmas term of 1597-1598, Dr António Homem missed fifteen lectures due to illness (AUC, Conselhos, 1597-1598, fl. 5v).

(74) - He rented from Manuel de Melo a house which had formerly been used by D Catarina Soares, and lived in it until 1605. His mother's relatives D Diogo and D Filipe Lobo were his guests for long periods.

(75) - A New Christian from a family whose defect of blood was wiped out by a Brief of Pope Sixtus V in 1585, Dr Rui Lopes da Veiga was the son of Dr Tomás Rodrigues da Veiga (1513-1579), a former Lente of Prime of Medicine and personal physician to Kings João III and Sebastião, and the great-grandson of Master Tomás, the Converso physician to the Catholic Kings Fernando and Isabel, and his wife D Constança Coronel, also a New Christian. His uncle Simão Rodrigues de Évora emigrated to Antwerp and was the scion of the noble family of the Counts of Leiteberg. Dr Tomás Rodrigues da Veiga was a sincere Catholic. Ten of his eleven children followed the Church, including the Jesuit Father Manuel da Veiga, who taught in Lithuania and Bohemia, and the Augustinian Dr Pedro da Veiga. The eleventh was Dr Rui Lopes da Veiga, whose son Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga (1566-1656) rose to Crown Prosecutor under King João IV, but is better known as the author of the *Fastigina*, a witty account of his visit to the Court of Valladolid.

(76) - AUC, Conselhos, 1597-1598, fl. 135-136.

(77) - Dr António Homem missed no lectures during the Easter and last terms of that year (AUC, Conselhos, 1597-1598, fl. 14v, 17v).

(78) - In some villages, the number of deaths in 1598 was comparable to that of 1599, the year of the plague, and sometimes even higher. For example, the parish of Miranda do Corvo, which was seriously affected by the plague, had 50 deaths in 1598 and 47 in 1599.

(79) - A man was sentenced privately in March. We could find no data about an auto de fé which reportedly took place in February. What is certain is that Inquisitor Bartolomeu da Fonseca, who had just been appointed Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office, was transferred to the Coimbra Inquisition in that month, with instructions to solve a dispute with the City Council and speed up a large number of pending cases. He took lodgings in the Monastery of Santa Cruz, opposite the Inquisition building, and remained in the city until 1601.

(80) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 7 (1592-1601), fl.104. Felipe II's letter was dated 13 April 1599. The laws de puritate sanguinis were firmly established in the Old Testament (e.g. in Deuteronomy 7 and 23,

and Ezra 9). The Estatuto de Limpieza of the Cathedral of Toledo was given it by Archbishop Siliceo (Juan Martínez Grijeco) in 1547 and was confirmed by Pope Paul III on 18 May 1548.

(81) - Miguel da Fonseca was born in Viseu in 1557. His father was the New Christian merchant Simão Gomes, born and bred in that city, and his mother Maria Cardosa, an Old Christian from Lamego. He moved to Lisbon in his teens, and subsequently to Coimbra, where he married an Old Christian, Catarina Travassos, from Montemor-o-Velho. He lived in the Rua de Jorge Barbosa, not far from Jorge Vaz Brandão's house.

(82) - The post of Clerk of the University Treasury belonged to Diogo Coutinho, and reverted to his daughter D Maria da Costa by special privilege after his death in May 1598. Instead of saving it for her husband when she married, she gave it up in favour of Miguel da Fonseca (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 355, passim)

(83) - He had been persuaded to judaize by his friend Henrique de Arede (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 355, 6 March 1620).

(84) - When Dr Cristóvão João died in November 1596, his Doctoral Canonry was given to Dr Luís Correia by a majority of votes, but his opponents, in particular his colleague Dr Diogo de Brito de Carvalho, appealed against that decision. Dr Luís Correia eventually left for Lisbon in order to handle his case personally. He was staying with his niece D Isabel de Leão, the widow of Bernardo de Mazuelos Carrillo, when he died, his business still unfinished. His Canonry was given to Dr Diogo de Brito on 24 April 1599.

(85) - Also elected were Friar Egidio da Apresentação for Theology, Dr António da Cunha for Law and Dr Pedro Alvares for Medicine. Due to the epidemic, the term of office of all Deputies was extended until St Martin's day of 1600. Dr António Homem continued to be the substitute Lente of Sext throughout the Christmas term, but replaced Dr Sebastião de Sousa, Lente of Decretum, from 1 to 15 October, and was himself replaced in the Chair of Sext by Dr Domingos Antunes during that period. He only missed two lectures because of illness (AUC, Conselhos, 1598-1599, fl. 5).

(86) - AUC, Conselhos, 1598-1599, fl. 117v-118.

(87) - D Afonso de Castelo Branco fell ill in October. On the 30th of that month, the Chapter decided that special prayers would be said for his recovery (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 7 (1592-1601), fl. 113). Fearing that he would not survive, the Bishop-Count chose as his Coadjutor his friend Friar Angelo Pereira, a Doctor in Theology, Qualificator of the Holy Office and a former Prior of the University College of Our Lady of the Carmel. This was confirmed by Pope Clement VIII on 14 May 1600, who gave Friar Angelo Pereira the title of Bishop of Martyria in partibus infidelium, traditionally reserved for Coadjutor Bishops of Coimbra. Ironically, the latter died on 20 June 1614, nearly a year before D Afonso de Castelo Branco, whom he was to replace.

(88) - AMC, Vereações da Câmara, Vol. 37 (1598-1599), fl. 16-16v. The Bishop-Count, still recovering from his illness, departed to his coun-

try estate at Lavos at an early stage of the epidemic. However, he donated 60,000 réis a month for the upkeep of St Sebastian's hospital.

(89) - Rector D Afonso Furtado de Mendonça anticipated a Royal decision. On 29 April 1599, the Governors of the Kingdom asked him to lend the City Council 40,000 réis "com toda a breuidade" (AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1596-1602, fl. 117v-118).

(90) - AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1596-1602, fl. 111v-112. He was one of two Deputies of the Treasury Board for that year. As the vacancy for an agent of the University was still open and no suitable had yet been found, Dr António Homem was appointed on 14 November 1598 to act as an agent until further orders, and was given 80,000 réis for his expenses "do officio de agente" (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1598-1599, fl. 40v).

(91) - "[...] não ha ia nenhum que uenha ouuir lições indo os mestres cada dia a sua hora para lerem suas lições" (AUC, Conselhos, 1598-1599, fl. 121-121v).

(92) - She was Leonor, daughter of Pero Gonçalves da Torre, an unmarried girl in the service of University Conservador Heitor de Faria (Obitos da Sé, Vol. I, fl. 105).

(93) - Another three people (including a woman) were sentenced in private on 27 April.

(94) - This was made in accordance with the Statutes of the Cathedral (see MADAHIL, António Gomes da Rocha - A Visitaçam geral do estado espiritual desta See de Coimbra, de 1556, p. 106-113).

(95) - The 1,000 cruzados were entrusted to Dr Gabriel da Costa, who paid it in small amounts to the City authorities as they needed it. On 3 July, Dr Gabriel da Costa was requested by the City Council to transfer what was left of the loan - 140,250 réis - to Francisco Fernandes, who was subsequently elected Procurator of the Craftsmen and appointed trustee of the money on 18 August.

(96) - Dr Gabriel da Costa, Lente of Theology, had been elected Choirmaster of the Cathedral on 9 March 1598 and sworn in on 19 November (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 7 (1592-1601), fl. 115).

(97) - The staff of St Peter's College was also housed in the same farm. Coincidentally, the Rector was a former scholar of St Peter's. The parish of Almalaguês was not spared by the plague. There were 40 recorded deaths in 1599, against 21 in 1598 and 17 in 1600. The first casualty of the plague died in the hamlet of Nogueiras on 11 June. It was believed that the plague was spread by refugees from Coimbra (one was a Miguel Dias, who died at Almalaguês on 14 August). Ribeira de Beira was not spared either (a daughter of clerk Simão Leal died there on 27 August 1599), but only had two victims.

(98) - All Treasury Board records between 3 June and 4 September, for example, are in Dr António Homem's handwriting.

(99) - He was not always in the safety of the farm; plague or no pla-

gue, there were duties to be performed. For example, on 21 August 1599 Dr António Homem was given 8,000 réis "da ida que fes ao redôdo" (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1598-1599, fl. 58v).

(100) - No new cases of the plague had been detected in the city since 21 July. Over 2,000 patients were treated in the St Sebastian camp, and the epidemic claimed about half of them (FRANCO, Father António - *Imagem da virtude em o Noviciado da Companhia de Jesus no Real Collegio de Jesus de Coimbra*, Vol. II, p. 502, 510, 516). The requiem masses for the victims were so many that the priests took years to celebrate all of them. In Santa Justa parish, "os officios dos deffunctos do tempo da peste de que Deus nos guarde não estão de todo compridos" as late as 14 April 1605 (AUC, [Visitações] da igreja de sancta Justa desta Cidade, Vol. I, fl. 50-50v).

(101) - He was given 160,000 réis for expenses (AUC, *Acordos da Fazenda*, 1596-1602, fl. 125v). Having spent beyond that sum, he was refunded 28,700 réis on 3 November 1599 (AUC, *Receita e Despesa*, 1598-1599, fl. 61).

(102) - AUC, *Acordos da Fazenda*, 1596-1602, fl. 128v-129v. Dr António Homem visited twenty churches. Disputes were settled or referred to the Bishop, irregularities were noted and corrected as practicable, and urgent repairs were made or contracted for. On 9 November 1599, Dr António Homem reported to the Treasury Board that he had contracted Domingos Gaspar, a "carpinteiro & entretalhador" from Lamego, to make all the necessary repairs in the University churches in the bishopric of Lamego (AUC, *Acordos da Fazenda*, 1596-1602, fl. 130).

(103) - He was granted 20,000 réis on 13 November 1599 "para correr cõ os negocios da agencia da universidade" (AUC, *Receita e Despesa*, 1599-1600, fl. 61). On 4 December he was asked to survey a land in Taveiro and see whether a ditch should be made; his report was approved on 7 December (AUC, *Acordos da Fazenda*, 1596-1602, fl. 132v).

(104) - AUC, *Conselhos*, 1598-1599, fl. 128-129.

(105) - AMC, *Vereações da Câmara*, Vol.38 (1599-1600), fl. 11v-12, 14v-18. Dr Vicente Caldeira de Brito, who represented the University in the City Council, obtained from the Governors of the Kingdom a reversal of that decision, and was given 31,000 réis on 19 August 1600 to cover his expenses (AUC, *Acordos da Fazenda*, 1596-1602, fl. 148). The University reopened on 4 February 1600.

(106) - 51 men and 48 women were sentenced; a man and a woman were executed in carne, and two men and three women in effigy. A man and a woman had been sentenced in private on 21 September.

CHAPTER 3

(1) - Friar Diogo was born in Viana de Caminha (now Viana do Castelo) circa 1570. His father, Jorge Velho Travassos, was born in Cantanhede and raised in the household of D Pedro de Meneses, Lord of of the town; he lived in Aveiro for some time, and there he married Maria de Olivei

ra, an Old Christian, who gave him at least seven children. His family was a respectable one; Branca Travassos, related to Friar Diogo's paternal grandfather Nuno Velho, married Pero da Costa Travassos, Clerk of His Majesty's Chamber. Jorge Velho Travassos eventually entered the Civil Service as Steward of The King's Customs in Viana de Caminha. Friar Diogo was baptised in Aveiro, where his mother's relatives lived (the exact date of his baptism is not known, because most of Aveiro's 16th century parish records were lost). He was taught the Christian doctrine in Braga, and received the Confirmation in Viana from the illustrious Friar Bartolomeu dos Mártires, Archbishop of Braga. He became a Capuchin friar in 1591, at the age of 21. Later enquiries established that neither of his parents were known to have New Christian ancestry, although it was rumoured that Friar Diogo's paternal great-grandfather, Bernardo Dias, from Lorbão, was a Jew who had been baptised as an adult. Friar Diogo's allegation, made on 20 June 1602, that his mother descended from the children of Abraham was a product of his imagination. All the details in this chapter about Friar Diogo da Assunção were taken from ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 104.

(2) - Diogo de Sousa, son of the late Jorge de Sousa and D Francisca de Sousa, was born at Cadafais, five miles from Alenquer, in 1562, and was of noble lineage. He was unmarried, lived in Cadafais with his widowed mother, and was Knight Commander of the church of Saint Mary of Castelo Bom (bishopric of Lamego) in the Order of Christ. Friar Diogo probably did not know that the patron saint of the Cadafais parish was Our Lady of the Assumption, an interesting coincidence.

(3) - He was in the third cell facing the courtyard, in the company of four Old Christians: Pero Domingues, 40, a former warder in the Coimbra Inquisition, arrested on charges of corruption (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 6094); António Gomes Gorjão, 33, charged with bigamy; Miguel Hernández de Luna, 40, from Granada, suspected of having followed Moslem practices in Tangier (Processo No 2874); and Michel Fiquet, 32, a seaman from the bishopric of Rouen who had been arrested in Brazil for suspected heresy (Processo No 2873).

(4) - It was Friar Marco de la Torre's Quaestionarium consiliationis simul et expositionis locorum difficilium. It was returned on 22 February 1601 as being of no interest; it had no handwritten notes, and Friar Diogo, when questioned about it, replied "que hera liuro paruo".

(5) - This Friar Sebastião could not be identified from the materials in Friar Diogo's proceedings. Coincidentally, the most elusive member of Dr António Homem's synagogue was a Friar Sebastião, Crispim da Costa's brother, who was a Franciscan friar in the Monastery of St Francis by the Bridge, in Coimbra, and, to our knowledge, was never prosecuted.

(6) - On 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 and 12 November 1602.

(7) - According to his letter, appended to Friar Diogo's Processo, the idea had come to his mind in the previous summer, but he was prevented from acting upon it by a serious bout of malaria which put his life at risk. He was bled nine times and spent months in bed, and did not recover until Advent.

(8) - Cf. Acts 23, 8: "For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess both".

(9) - Expert psychiatrist Prof. Dr. Luis Augusto Duarte-Santos, Professor Emeritus of Coimbra's Faculty of Medicine, made an appraisal of Friar Diogo's case, at our request, using the original documentation. In his learned opinion, the Friar was clearly suffering from a mental disease characterised by megalomania, delusions of persecution and psycho-motor excitation, alternating with periods of depression and self-accusation. It appears that Friar Diogo may have suffered from what is commonly, if not very accurately, called paranoia. "In the developed disease the predominant feature is a completely consistent and systematised set of delusions, usually related to persecution, grandeur, personality, or status, which are maintained and supported with such persuasive detail and such unassailable logic as to be extremely convincing" (MacQUEEN, Dr I A G - Family Health. Medical Encyclopedia, p.356).

(10) - "Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye" (Acts 7,51).

(11) - Late in July 1603, Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco was informed that Felipe III had appointed him Viceroy of Portugal, replacing D Cristóvão de Moura, who had been dismissed on 20 July. The Bishop-Count arrived in Lisbon on 18 August and began his term of office on the 22nd, but was allowed to resign on 26 December 1604.

(12) - The General Council of the Holy Office was represented by Drs Marcos Teixeira de Mendonça and Rui Pires da Veiga. Also present were Inquisitors Manuel Alvares Tavares and António Dias Cardoso, and four Deputies, including the Licentiate Heitor Furtado de Mendonça and D Francisco de Bragança, who would soon be Reformer of the University.

(13) - Friar Martinho do Amor de Deus, the Franciscan historian, after discussing, not always within strict accuracy, the tragic outcome of the Friar Diogo case, added: "Mas vejamos depois deste caso outro tão diuerso para vivamente contemplarmos os Divinos segredos: porque no mesmo dia, a hora, e tempo, em que morreo este infeliz com huma sentença tão vil, e morte desgraçada, e tão infame, hum irmão seu da Religiosa, e illustre Companhia [of Jesus - presumably Father Manuel Trá vassos] acabou a vida no martyrio pela Fe, ambos abrazados em o fogo, este tão diabolico, e aquelle no divino" (AMOR DE DEUS, Friar Martinho do - Escola de penitencia, caminho da perfeição, estrada segura para a vida eterna. Chronica da Santa provincia de S. Antonio da regular, e estrita observancia da ordem do Serafico Patriarca S. Francisco, no Instituto Capucho neste Reyno de Portugal, p. 870).

(14) - And even after his execution. On 10 December 1603, Pedro da Esperança Ribeiro, a hermit, reported to the Lisbon Inquisition that the Franciscan Friar António de Abrunhosa had told him that the Inquisitors did what they wished, not what was right, and that Friar Diogo "era doudo" (BAIAO, António - "A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brazil", in Archivo Historico Portuguez, Vol. VIII, p. 439).

(15) - However, the idea of martyrdom was more Christian than Jewish: the Kiddush haShem (sanctification of the Name) did not necessarily

imply death. According to the Talmud (Yoma 85b), one should live for the Law rather than dying for it, a rabbinical comment on Leviticus 18, 5 ("Ye shall therefore keep my statutes, and my judgments: which if a man do, he shall live in them: I am the Lord"). All the same, many New Christian judaisers believed that each new martyr was a witness to the imminent coming of the Messiah.

CHAPTER 4

(1) - Pope Clement VIII's jubilee, which was to attract some three million pilgrims to Rome, did not arise a great deal of interest in the city. Not many people had the means, or the strength, to make such a long pilgrimage.

(2) - The University Treasury Board decided on 8 January 1600 to give him 140,000 réis "pera corer com os negoçoos da agencia e comprimento das vizitações [of the churches] & pagar as cedas e retrozes que vyerão de castella" (AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1596-1602, fl. 134v) - this despite the fact that he owed the University Treasury 81,035 réis, which were eventually paid back in two instalments (33,333 réis were deducted from his salary in April 1602, and 47,702 réis were directly paid some time later). The 140,000 réis were given him on 10 January 1600 (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1599-1600, fl. 64v). He received the additional sum of 50,000 réis on 25 January 1600, which had been allocated to his agency on the same day (AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1596-1602, fl. 135v), and another 40,000 réis on 8 February (ibid., fl. 137). And on 3 May, Paymaster Henrique Fernandes was instructed to give him 20 alqueires of wheat as a reward for his services (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1599-1600, fl. 35).

(3) - The Constituições Synodales do Bispado de Coimbra, following the decision of Session 21 of the Council of Trent, stipulated "Que nenhum seja provido a Ordens Sacras sem titulo de Beneficio, ou patrimonio sufficiente" (Tit. VIII, Const. IV).

(4) - ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1598-1603, fl. 37v-38.

(5) - AUC, Actos e Graus, 1599-1600, fl. 91.

(6) - However, he was released from the duties of a Deputy on 11 November, and replaced by Dr Sebastião de Sousa, Lente of Decretum (AUC, Conselhos, 1600-1601, fl. 29'29v).

(7) - He missed nine lectures at the end of the Christmas term (AUC, Conselhos, 1600-1601, fl. 4).

(8) - He still attended a University Council meeting on 19 January 1601 about a projected legal settlement with the Monastery of Santa Cruz (AUC, Conselhos, 1600-1601, fl. 108-109v), but was subsequently replaced by Bachelor Luis Ribeiro de Leiva (ibid., fl. 8v).

(9) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 7 (1592-1601), fl. 170-171. Fernão Dias da Silva, who was not yet a Canon, was in Rome at the time, with

his uncle Dr Teotónio Nunes, who was also appointed agent; and was represented in Coimbra by his brother Marçal Nunes, Procurator of the Chapter. Having completed their assignments, the three were dismissed on 9 July 1603, but Marçal Nunes was given back his post on 28 July, as there was urgent business to be concluded.

(10) - A citizen and a Gentleman of the Royal Household, despite his Jewish blood, Rodrigo Aires was a former Paymaster of the Chapter, and had been appointed University agent in Rome on 14 July 1598, being confirmed as such on 26 August of the same year. All his children were judaisers. Although Francisco da Silva was not a cleric, he (and his brothers) had served the Chapter on various occasions, and he was later appointed Paymaster of the Revenues of the Chapter. By 1602 he had replaced his father as University agent.

(11) - AUC, *Acordos do Cabido*, Vol. 8 (1601-1609), fl. 1-2.

(12) - But Francisco da Silva would eventually be University Paymaster.

(13) - He missed a University Council meeting on 7 May (AUC, *Conselhos*, 1600-1601, fl. 110v-111v). He was chosen on 30 September to lecture Sext as a substitute, being himself replaced in the Chair of Clementines by Dr Domingos Antunes; but the University Council decided that "enquanto elle não ler por sua indisposição lea o bacharel Luis ribeiro de leiua" (ibid., fl. 14v). He only gave four lectures in October, and missed all lectures from 1 November until the end of term (AUC, *Conselhos*, 1601-1602, fl. 3v-4).

(14) - 49 men and 65 women were sentenced, of whom one man and three women were executed, and another woman was executed in effigy.

(15) - Coimbra's first Assistant Postmaster was Apostolic Notary Diogo Coutinho, who was appointed by Felipe II in 1582. He died in May 1598 and was replaced in June by Manuel da Fonseca, a Familiar of the Holy Office, who resigned in 1602 in favour of Matias Homem. The latter remained as Assistant Postmaster until his death in 1610, and was replaced on 4 November of that year by João Ferreira, a friend of Postmaster General Luís Gomes da Mata's (FERREIRA, Godofredo - "Assistentes do Correio-Mor do Reino em Coimbra", in *Guia Oficial dos CTT*, Nos. 296 (April 1966), p. XXI-XXIV, and 297 (May 1966), p. XVII). Luís Gomes da Mata came from the Elvas Coronel family, a branch of the Old Christian Coronel family of Segovia; his original name was Luís Gomes de Elvas, changed by Royal Charter of 18 February 1600. When Luís Gomes da Mata was appointed Postmaster General of the Kingdom in 1605 by purchase, there was some uncertainty about how his powers overlapped those of Matias Homem in the Coimbra district. An agreement was reached between both parties on 29 August 1606, and Matias Homem's duties were accordingly redefined.

(16) - Dr António Homem's maternal grandmother, Helena de Almeida, was the natural daughter of Gonçalo Gil de Almeida, Prior Comendatário of Vagos, and Isabel Anes, an unmarried woman, both Old Christians. Her father had another natural daughter, Marquesa, the result of his love affair with a Moorish servant, Catarina, but the lineage which produced Dr António Homem was demonstrably free from Moorish blood.

The Lente proved this successfully by producing Matias Homem's evidence, which was appended to his proceedings, and no further mention was made of this allegation. Helena de Almeida married Gonçalo Homem, also an Old Christian, by whom he had a son, conceived before the wedding: Manuel Homem, who married D Leonor Sotomaior, an Old Christian lady who eventually was Dr António Homem's godmother.

(17) - 37 men and 45 women were sentenced; four men and three women were executed, and another two men were executed in effigy. A single man had been sentenced privately on 5 April.

(18) - AUC, Processos das Cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib. 2, fl. 39.

(19) - The Licentiate Henrique de Arede was born of Diogo Rodrigues and Joana de Arede in an traditionally judaiser family. He was perhaps the wealthiest man in Coimbra; he was taxed in 40,000 réis in the 1613 finta, far more than any other taxpayer.

(20) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 8 (1601-1609), fl. 25. D Francisco de Castro was sworn in as Dean on 13 December 1602, and retained his deanery when he was appointed Rector of the University in July 1605, but his duties were given to Dr Diogo de Brito (ibid., fl. 86v). He was eventually replaced as Dean by Francisco Pinto Pereira, who made his profession of faith on 28 April 1608 (ibid., fl. 159).

(21) - Henrique Fernandes was replaced during 1603 by Pero Soares, the University Receiver, as an interim measure. Henrique de Arede was contracted as Paymaster in November 1604.

(22) - Maria Gomes did not remain there. She moved to Antwerp, where she married her cousin Francisco Gomes Henriques, a full New Christian and a judaiser like her. The latter's father was João do Porto, her mother's brother. Henrique Fernandes's family had been under suspicion for some time, and their situation worsened during 1603. Following a heated argument with the Licentiate Diogo Nabo Pessanha, Juiz de Fora of Aveiro, in September of that year, his son Dr Duarte Henriques left the country with her unmarried sister Filipa Rodrigues. They settled in Bordeaux, where the latter married António Mendes, an expatriate New Christian from Oporto. Dr Duarte Henriques, who had obtained his Doctor's degree in Medicine in Coimbra on 22 July 1595, eventually became a teacher in the University of Paris. Henrique Fernandes's cousin Tomás da Fonseca, aged 55, confessed on 10 November 1603 that both the Paymaster and his son Fernando Alvares "o Buco" were judaisers. By that time, Henrique Fernandes had already left for Bordeaux, in the company of his daughters Brites Gomes and Isabel Nunes. Diogo Nabo Pessanha was charged in 1605 with accepting bribes from New Christian judaisers in order to let them emigrate. He was found guilty and sentenced to abjure de levi and to ten years' deportation to Angola (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 609).

(23) - From Duarte da Fonseca's statement dated 19 June 1619. Duarte da Fonseca was the 21-year old son of Luis Nunes da Fonseca, an old friend of Henrique Fernandes and a New Christian judaiser. He left the country with his family in 1605 and lived as an orthodox Jew in Bordeaux, Venice and Damascus, returning to Portugal in June 1619 on busi

ness. He presented himself to the Inquisition, thinking he could thus be left undisturbed. He was arrested as a simulated confessant, and transferred to Lisbon in August 1620, being sentenced in November of the following year. Henrique Fernandes found it difficult to adapt to orthodox Jewish practices. Unwilling to return to Portugal, he moved to Valladolid, where he died, ostensibly as a Catholic, but still maintaining relations with judaisers within Portugal.

(24) - On 2 December 1602, Dr Sebastião de Sousa, Lente of Decretum, was promoted to the Chair of Vespers, which had been vacated on 31 October when Dr Francisco Dias took over the Chair of Prime.

(25) - AUC, Processos das Cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib. 2, fl. 40v-46v.

(26) - AUC, Actos e Graus, 1602-1603, fl. 53-53v. Gonçalo Homem registered for the coming scholastic year on 25 June 1603.

(27) - Yet, from the point of view of the Halakhah, the legal system of Judaism, Dr António Homem could not even be considered as Jewish, because his mother was an Old Christian: "Thy son by an Israelite woman is called thy son, but thy son by a heathen woman is not called thy son" (Kiddushin 68b). The tractate Kiddushin ("acquisition") dedicates its chapter 3 to the doubtful cases arising from blemished descent and concludes that the status of the children born from intermarriage follows that of their mother. In simple terms, Jewishness is transmitted through the mother's side.

(28) - AUC, Aduertencias de direito em fauor da Justiça da Universidade no feito de aução do mosteiro de Sancta Cruz de Coimbra. This may have helped Dr António Homem win an important concession. On 6 September 1603 the payment of his debt to the University Treasury, which had caused it to place an embargo on his salary, was postponed at his request (AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1602-1610, fl. 16v).

(29) - Dr Sebastião de Sousa was given 10,000 réis on 7 January "em satisfação dos arezoados que fes", in addition to 20,000 réis which he had previously been paid (Receita e Despesa, 1603-1604, fl. 83v). Dr Francisco Dias was given 30,000 réis on 15 January for the same reason (ibid., fl. 84). Dr Mendo da Mota de Valadares, Lente of Vespers of Law, was also involved in the proceedings. He was chosen on 23 August 1603 to represent the University before Felipe III, for which purpose he consulted the Universities of Salamanca and Valladolid, and remained in the Spanish Court until 26 November 1605.

(30) - Da Universidade de Coimbra contra os conegos e conuento de .S. crus, sobre as cousas que o conuento tras usurpadas a Universidade, dated "Conimbricae Idib. Decemb. Anno 1603". An autograph copy, 77 folios long, exists in the AUC.

(31) - It was a busy time for Dr António Homem. He did not lecture between 7 and 10 January "por se ir para fora, E dia das onze mil uirgens não leo" (AUC, Conselhos, 1603-1604, fl. 21). During the Easter term, he did not lecture until 14 February, and missed all lectures after 13 March, "em que se foi para lixboa a seruiço da Vniversidade", being penalised "nas duas partes das 24 lições que deixou de ler es-

tando em Valhadolid e dellas so lhe remitira quatro mil réis" (ibid., fl. 26). He was again sent to Lisbon after the Easter break, returning on 1 June (ibid., fl. 31v). On 23 April he was given 30,000 réis "pelo trabalho que teue nas arezoadas que fes sobre as causas que corem com o mosteiro de Santa crus" (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1603-1604, fl. 90). University Receiver Pero Soares was instructed on 27 April to entrust the Licentiate Gaspar Alvares with 40,000 réis, to be taken to Dr António Homem in Lisbon, "pera se gastarem em negoçoos da Universidade" (AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1602-1610, fl. 26). The Lente was sent another 10,000 réis on 4 May (ibid., fl. 27).

(32) - His expenses were higher than expected. He was refunded 6,700 réis on 14 September (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1603-1604, fl.108). Note also that, on 17 July, the Treasury Board examined his petition "em que pedia satisfação dos rezoados que fes sobre a igreja de oliueira de frades & dos sumaryos que fes na informação da demada que a universidade tras cõ Santa cruz", for which he was awarded 20,000 réis (AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1602-1610, fl.29v-30; Receita e Despesa, 1603-1604, fl. 102v). On 30 July he was given 11,700 réis owed him "das porpinas dos autos grandes argumentos e padrinhos no tempo que esteue em Lixboa" (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1603-1604, fl. 103v). Dr António Homem rendered the accounts of his assignment on 29 July (AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1592-1610, fl. 29v).

(33) - A Tercenary was a clergyman who received a third of the income of a Canon. This terciaria was created by Pope Paul III in 1539 (Estatutos da Universidade, Lib. I, Tit. XVIII), and was declared vacant through the demise of Mestre Miguel Vaz Pinto on 7 December 1601. Although Pope Clement VIII had decreed that New Christians would not be eligible for any dignities, canonries or prebends in a Cathedral (Brief Decet Romanum Pontificem of 18 October 1600), André de Avelar was proposed for that vacancy by the University Council on Christmas eve, as a reward for his services. A Royal letter dated 31 October 1603 dispensed him from enquiries de puritate sanguinis, on the grounds that the Pope had made no specific mention of the dignity of Tercenary in the Brief (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1602-1608, fl. 35). Finally, a Royal letter of 22 November 1603 officially presented him as a candidate for the dignity of Tercenary.

(34) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 8 (1601-1609), fl. 44.

(35) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 8 (1601-1609), fl. 44v-45.

(36) - Rector D Francisco de Castro later commented that D Francisco de Bragança, then a Deputy of the Board of Conscience and Orders, was "muito tempo impedido em suas indisposições" (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1608-1609, fl. 25, about a consultation dated 25 August 1609).

(37) - He was a Deputy of the Lisbon Inquisition, having been appointed on 30 September 1599 and sworn in on 5 November of the same year.

(38) - D Francisco de Bragança was chosen by a Royal letter dated 31 December 1603, from various candidates proposed by the University. A Royal Provision dated 14 July 1604 granted him 120,000 réis for tra-

vel expenses, which were paid on 4 September (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1603-1604, fl. 106v). He also had the salary of 400,000 réis, which were paid on 2 April 1605 (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1604-1605, fl. 49). The reformation was extended by three months, for which D Francisco de Bragança was paid 240,000 réis in four instalments between 20 April and 23 June (ibid., fl. 50v, 53, 54v, 57-57v). Finally, he was paid 147,000 réis on 12 October for his work during that month and November (ibid., fl. 73). On 8 November 1608 he was granted another 400,000 réis by the King, out of the revenue of the University (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1607-1608, fl. 105). The clerk of the reformation was Manuel Godinho de Castelo Branco, Clerk of the Royal Chamber, who was appointed on 6 July 1604 with the salary of 800 réis a day and 40,000 réis for travelling expenses. Also appointed on the same day was accountant Gaspar Ribeiro de Sousa, who had served in the same capacity in the previous visitation. D Francisco de Bragança was also assisted by Vicente Vaz Ramos, clerk of the City Council, and after the latter's death by Damião de Aguiar (later Chief Chancellor of the Kingdom). Notary public Agostinho Maldonado, who also served as University accountant, was clerk of the visitation for a time, for which he was paid 30,000 réis on 15 April 1606 (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1605-1606, fl. 60v).

(39) - Treasury clerk Miguel da Fonseca was given 16,000 réis on 21 September "pera moadar fazer quinze redes de palha pera as caualgaduras do reformador" (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1603-1604, fl. 108), and another 14,000 réis on 26 October for other expenses (ibid., fl. 113). The latter sum was not spent, "porque tudo gastou de sua casa". Miguel da Fonseca was given 4,000 réis on 30 October 1604 "em sastifação dos seruiços que fez no comprar a palha trigo seuada E comserto das casas do Reformador" (ibid., fl. 113v).

(40) - AUC, Conselhos, 1604-1605, fl. 154-157v. D Francisco de Bragança was made a Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 25 October 1604, before his arrival, which gave him a supplementary amount of authority; but he was not sworn in until 2 February 1605.

(41) - AUC, Conselhos, 1604-1605, fl. 106-107.

(42) - D Francisco de Bragança informed the University Council on 17 December 1604 "se seria bem fazerse huma calçada desde a porta trauesa do terreiro donde vão para os asougues ate abaixo das casas donde viueo o doutor Nuno da fONSEQUA", which was approved, and ordered "que se faça hum alpendre da banda de fora do terreiro para as encaualgaduras, E que se ponhão cadeas de ferro a porta do terreiro da banda de dentro, para não entrarem Encaualgaduras dentro no terreiro, E que se tapem os arcos do terreiro para recolhimento da madeira de sepulchro" (AUC, Conselhos, 1604-1605, fl. 111v-112). On 29 December his proposal for the construction of two additional classrooms was also approved, subject to the availability of funds (ibid., fl. 112-112v).

(43) - Henrique de Arede was dismissed by the Chapter at his own request on 28 December 1602 (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 8 (1601-1609), fl. 25).

(44) - D Pedro de Castilho, Bishop of Leiria, was appointed Inquisitor General on 24 February 1604.

(45)- A Royal letter sent from Valladolid on 13 December 1604 informed him that, notwithstanding the objections put forward by the Portuguese Prelates and Inquisitors, Felipe III had decided, "por justas causas e considerações de seruiço de Deus e meu", to grant the New Christians a General Pardon, which he was to implement without delay. Furthermore, he would report personally to the King about any unscheduled measures he would have to take. Felipe III was right in expecting D Pedro de Castilho's opposition. The latter, accused of not having followed his orders as instructed, wrote to the King on 3 November 1605 to justify himself, in which task he succeeded. He even persuaded the King not to alter certain Inquisitorial practices, reminding him that the Crown could not interfere in purely ecclesiastical affairs.

CHAPTER 5

(1) - *Causas e razões que no Conselho geral do santo officio da Inquisição deste Reino e senhorios de Portugal pareceo a os deputados delle aqui assinados que deuião dar e inuiar a El Rey nosso senhor por conseruação e augmento de nossa santa fee Catholica e ley evangelica*, BGUC Codex 480, fl. 142. This document was written in Lisbon and dated 2 December 1600.

(2) - Rodrigo de Andrade, a merchant who lived in the Rua das Pedras Negras, in Lisbon, was a cousin in the second degree of Dr Rui Lopes da Veiga, Lente of Prime of Law, a New Christian but a sincere Catholic, whose son António da Veiga married his daughter Beatriz de Andrade. However, Rodrigo de Andrade was a judaiser, as were his wife Ana de Milão and their children, four boys and two girls. Ana de Milão inherited her family's judaiser tradition. She was 58 when she was arrested on 5 February 1602 during her husband's absence in Valladolid. The latter appealed to Clement VIII to have his wife's proceedings transferred to the Holy See, which was immediately opposed by the Inquisition (see AGS, Legajo F-435). The Pope asked the General Council of the Holy Office on 4 June 1602 for a transcript of the evidence against her; this was prepared but probably was never sent, as it was appended to Ana de Milão's proceedings (cf. SALOMON, H P - *Portrait of a New Christian - Fernão Alvares Melo (1569-1632)*, p. 42-44, 203). Rodrigo de Andrade eventually settled in Antwerp, where he lived as a Catholic, perhaps not to compromise his previous assignment, and died there in 1605. Ana de Milão was released in 1605, thanks to the General Pardon (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processos Nos 14409 and 16420), emigrated to Antwerp in the autumn of 1606, and died there in 1613. Most of her children judaised openly in Antwerp, Hamburg, Rome and Venice.

(3) - There were three main objections to a general pardon: whether the relapsed should be included in it, whether clemency would produce more results than severity, and whether it was lawful to accept money in return for it. The opinion of the Junta of Portugal on how to reply to these objections was written in Valladolid on 22 February 1602 and approved on 18 March by Friar Gaspar de Córdoba, who was appointed by the Duke of Lerma to examine it (AGS, Legajo F-435).

(4) - King Sebastião I's law of 30 June 1567, confirmed on 1 June 1572, made it illegal for the New Christians to leave the Kingdom and

sell their property. This was cancelled on 21 May 1577, in exchange for financial support to the Alcácer Quibir expedition. Cardinal D Henrique, the next King, issued a Charter on 18 January 1578, forbidding the New Christians from leaving their area of residence during a visitation by the Holy Office and the following six months. Felipe II restored the main dispositions of the 1567 law on 26 January 1587.

(5) - The official excuse was that the promise had been made without consulting other Portuguese city and town authorities. Felipe III accepted it and dispensed them from paying on 30 November 1601.

(6) - Recently arrested were two of Henrique Fernandes's sons, Fernando Alvares "o Buco" on 19 April 1604 (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6897) and Manuel Henriques (Processo No 7290) on 5 July; and the lawyer Sebastião do Quintal (Processo No 7140), from an influential New Christian family, on 30 June.

(7) - The agreement with the New Christians was confirmed by a Royal Charter issued in Valladolid on 1 February 1605. Additionally, lavish bribes were given to the leading courtiers, so as to gain their support. The Duke of Lerma, who was sympathetic in principle to the pardon, was said to have received 50,000 cruzados; it was also rumoured that his favourite, D Rodrigo Calderón, on whose advice he often relied, had Jewish blood. Another 60,000 cruzados were allegedly spent on the members of the Council of Portugal in Madrid. The "service" would be paid through a special tax (finta) imposed on the Portuguese New Christians. However, many of them were not enthusiastic about paying an extra tax, regardless of its significance. A committee was established to collect the money from 6,000 registered New Christian families, and a Provision of 23 April 1605 gave Royal protection to its officials in case of assault or injury. In Coimbra, Diogo Lopes da Rosa and Francisco de Almeida, both of whom would later join the Fellowship of St Diogo, were appointed as finta collectors. As numbers of New Christians were leaving to avoid paying, a Charter of 5 June ordered the local authorities to forbid their departure, unless they had paid or left adequate surety. A Charter of 21 June stipulated that no New Christians would be exempted from paying. But, due to pressure from business quarters, a Charter of 27 December 1606 dispensed wives or widows of Old Christians and daughters of Old Christian fathers from paying. In the end, most of the money was never paid.

(8) - One of the prisoners who benefited from the pardon was José Soeiro (Joseph ben Israel), who subsequently emigrated to the Netherlands with all his family, including a year-old boy who would become famous as Menasseh ben Israel.

(9) - SOARES, Pero Rodrigues - Memorial..., p.392. A number of arrests were made, and two commoners were punished with deportation to Brazil for five and ten years respectively.

(10) - Among the prisoners who were released were Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro's father Simão Rodrigues Navarro and brothers Licentiate Lopo Rodrigues Navarro and João Rodrigues Navarro. All three had been arrested in 1603.

(11) - They included the lawyer Sebastião do Quintal and his brother Pero do Quintal; Francisco Lobo, a tenant farmer who would later be involved in Dr António Homem's congregation; and Henrique Fernandes's sons Fernando Alvares "o Buco" and Manuel Henriques. Following his release, the latter worked for a time in Lisbon as a physician and eventually left the country. Fernando Alvares continued to judaize in secret and was re-arrested in connection with Dr António Homem's congregation. Sebastião do Quintal's subsequent conduct was irreproachable. On 10 February 1610, the Chapter of the Cathedral agreed in principle to contract him and his colleague (and fellow judaizer) the Licentiate Henrique Pais, of Oporto, as its procurators, "por serem grandes letrados E que seria bom tellos peiados para que assim não aconselhassem nem procurassem contra os negocios deste Cabido que ordinariamente vão a Relação do Porto" (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 22). Henrique Pais was later chosen until December 1611, with a salary of 2,000 réis a year (ibid., fl. 26).

(12) - SOARES, Pero Rodrigues - op. cit., p. 392. The City Council discussed the matter of public security on 4 February 1606: "por quanto a cidade Estaua mal prouida de quadrilheiros para acudirerem aos aruidos E prenderem os malfeitores e ladrões se acordou que se elegesem os quadrilheiros que fosse necesarios por as freguezias". They would be exempted from other Council duties (AMC, Vereações da Câmara, Vol. 29 (1605-1606), fl. 156-156v).

(13) - The Conservador was appointed by the King; his duties were the defence of the privileges of the University and the maintenance of law and order among the student population. The Desembargador Cristóvão Machado de Miranda was Corregidor of Tomar when he was appointed Conservador of the University for a three-year period on 9 December 1600; his term of office was extended on 17 June 1602.

(14) - He was immediately replaced by the Desembargador Amador Gomes Raposo and was suspended for three months. Dr Manuel Veloso da Veiga was sworn in as the interim Conservador on 28 March (AUC, Conselhos, 1604-1605, fl. 67-67v), and was elected Vice-Conservador for six months on 8 October (AUC, Conselhos, 1605-1606, fl. 76-76v). However, Cristóvão Machado de Miranda remained in Coimbra during 1605, and was given 10,000 réis on 10 September 1606 as payment for the extra work he had with the reformation (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1605-1606, fl. 74v). By that time, the University Council had already elected his successor, the Licentiate Bernardo da Fonseca, a former Purveyor of the city of Guarda, on 28 July 1606 (AUC, Conselhos, 1605-1606, fl. 120-120v); he was sworn in on 29 March 1607 (AUC, Conselhos, 1606-1607, fl. 73-73v). Cristóvão Machado de Miranda was transferred to the Oporto District Court in 1612 (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1611-1613, fl. 112).

(15) - Henrique de Sousa Tavares was Governor of the Oporto District Court. He was assisted by the Desembargadores Fernando Aires de Almeida, Corregidor of the Criminal Proceedings of the Oporto Court, and Si não do Vale Peixoto. A copy of his report, dated 10 December 1605, exists in BNL Pombaline Collection Codex 653, fl. 467-476. Henrique de Sousa's second-born son Vasco de Sousa was Rector of the University in 1618.

(16) - He continued to lecture as if nothing was happening (see AUC, Conselhos, 1604-1605, fl. 13v, 17v). He also attended all the University Council meetings as Deputy of his Faculty.

(17) - A Bachelor Formado since 9 June 1603, Gonçalo Homem had registered on 25 June 1603 and 20 October 1604 in anticipation of his Licentiate's degree. He was a judaiser long before he emigrated to Brazil, which was confirmed by his cousin Vicente de Arês (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5997, 6 February 1623). Gonçalo Homem arrived in Brazil in the autumn of 1605, and was employed by António Cardoso de Barros, the son of Cristóvão de Barros, Governor of Rio de Janeiro, as his business solicitor. He was then known as the Licentiate Gonçalo Homem de Almeida. He married Maria de Sá, also a New Christian judaiser. After a time as a magistrate (Ouvidor) in the Captainship of Rio de Janeiro and adviser to Governor Diogo Luís de Oliveira, he moved to Bahia, where he was syndic of the City Council and discreetly judaised. By early 1612 he was no less than Promotor of the Ecclesiastic Justice, when he was heard as a witness by Father Henrique Gomes, Provincial of the Jesuits, who had been commissioned by Inquisitor General D Pedro de Castilho to hold an enquiry on judaiser activities in Brazil (a copy of the enquiry, dated 30 March 1612, was appended to Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 13852). Years later, when the Augustinian Friar António Rosado was sent to Pernambuco as a Commissary of the Holy Office, Gonçalo Homem befriended him and even received him in his estate, thus warding off any suspicions (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition, Caderno do Promotor N^o 15, passim). He related himself to other prominent New Christian families through the marriage of his children. A grandson of his, António Teles de Almeida, born in Bahia on 26 June 1652, took Holy Orders, for which he obtained a dispensation de puritate sanguinis from Pope Clement X. His maternal grandmother was a full New Christian, Catarina Vitória, daughter of Manuel Gomes Vitória and Branca Serrão.

(18) - AUC, Conselhos, 1604-1605, fl. 8v-9v.

(19) - AUC, Processos das Cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib. 2, fl. 79v-81. The dispute was not immediately settled. Dr António Homem requested the University Council on 28 February to declare an end to it, and Dr Sebastião de Sousa, Lente of Vespers of Canon Law, was appointed for that purpose (AUC, Conselhos, 1604-1605, fl. 11v).

(20) - The list of debtors was compiled by University accountant Agostinho Maldonado on 24 December 1605, on instructions from the Reformer.

(21) - Royal letter to D Francisco de Castro, written from Aranjuez on 30 April 1608 (also in AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1602-1610, fl. 133-133v). A later letter, written from Lerma on 31 July 1608, appointed the Rector, Friar Egidio da Apresentação and Dr Baltazar de Azeredo as keepers of the money in the name of the University. The originals of both letters are preserved in the AUC.

(22) - Also as a result of the visitation, Miguel da Fonseca, clerk of the University Treasury, was penalised for accounting irregularities. He appealed, and the revision of his case took two years. Although his guilt was generally proven, he was not dismissed because of the good

references he was given by the Rector himself (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, fl. 4v). And in fact, the University Treasury Board granted him "as reçoês das duas geiras que ce recolherão, dos primeiros dous anos" on 20 February 1618, as a reward for his services "E proceder E seruir a Vniversidade com muita uerdade E zello E pouquo selario" (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1617-1618, fl. 60).

(23) - Felipe III granted D Afonso Furtado de Mendonça 800,000 réis, out of the revenue of the University, as a further reward for his services. This was paid between 28 May and 5 July (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1604-1605, fl. 55-56, 58-58v).

(24) - AUC, Provas de Curso, 1605, fl.84-85. Gabriel da Costa was born in Oporto circa 1581. He left the University on 19 February 1601 and returned on 7 November 1604. A brother of his, Jácome da Costa Brandão, was given power of attorney by Diogo de Pina and his family on 22 October 1613 (Livro de notas, 1612-1613, fl. 167-167v; Dr Eduardo Maia Mendes's collection). Diogo de Pina was one of the children of Dr António Homem's relative Tomé Vaz, and the Pina and the Costa Brandão families were good friends. It is probable, although it cannot be proved with absolute certainty, that Dr António Homem had some influence in the spiritual evolution of this inquisitive young man, who was to be a pupil of his until 1608. Gabriel (Uriel) da Costa was undoubtedly influenced by someone during his studies in the University. Pinharanda Gomes, in his foreword to Samuel da Silva's Tratado da imortalidade da alma, suggested Dr Francisco Caldeira (which is unlikely, as he was a Lente in the Faculty of Law and a very discreet judaiser), although he does mention Dr António Homem (p. XVII-XVIII).

(25) - "[...] contra os quais se não procedeo particularmente por selhes não saber os nomes e por andarem nas noites em que cometerão os ditos excessos embuçados e disfarçados Com espingardas alabardas E outras armas E não poderem ser conhecidos" (AMC, Registo das Provisões da Câmara, Vol. 10 (1601-1606), fl. 354v-356).

(26) - AUC, Registo das Provisões e Alvarás, Vol. 1, fl. 373v-374v. On 6 August 1605 the Rector addressed an extraordinary Council, with only Friar Egidio da Apresentação and Drs Gabriel da Costa and Baltazar de Azeredo present - all Old Christians. They decided to appeal to the Crown, and Friar Egidio was asked to go to Lisbon and present the case to Henrique de Sousa, an aide to Viceroy D Pedro de Castilho. The lost privileges were returned to the University in May 1607. Although no students were punished for their participation in the riots, 26 commoners were identified and punished: four to hanging (three of whom escaped), others to deportation, and a number to flogging and penal servitude in the galleys.

(27) - AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1604-1605, fl. 60 (also AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1602-1610, fl. 51v). Dr Sebastião de Sousa was given an equal amount of money (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1604-1605, fl. 59v).

(28) - AUC, Conselhos, 1604-1605, fl. 128v-131.

(29) - AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1602-1610, fl. 56.

(30) - AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1604-1605, fl.66v (also AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1602-1610, fl. 56v). On 21 October, Dr António Homem was paid another 2,240 réis to cover additional expenses he had had (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1604-1605, fl. 74v).

(31) - AUC, Conselhos, 1605-1606, fl.46v-47. His colleagues were Friar Antão Galvão (Theology), Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro (Law) and Dr Gonçalo de Paiva (Medicine).

(32) - The exact date of Jorge Vaz Brandão's death is not known, but Dr António Homem missed four lectures "pella morte de seu pai" during the Christmas term (AUC, Conselhos, 1605-1606, fl. 3v).

(33) - University clerk Simão Leal, for example, testified that Jorge Vaz Brandão was "homem uerdadeiro", although he was a New Christian (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 16255, 24 November 1620).

(34) - The rôle should have been passed on to Matias Homem, Jorge Vaz Brandão's eldest son; but he had married an Old Christian, D Violante de Sequeira, his duties as Assistant Postmaster of Coimbra kept him too busy, he lacked the essential qualities of a leader, and may have been uninterested in such a role, although he apparently did believe in the Law of Moses (according to his nephew Valentim Quaresma; ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5051, 26 October 1623). His other son, Pedro Homem, followed uncles Matias, Manuel and Gregório Homem to India as a soldier, and died there. Thus the leader's rôle fell naturally on Dr António Homem. Moreover, he had legally become the head of the Brandão household, and took care of her widowed mother and his eccentric sister D Maria Brandoa. It seems that Jorge Vaz Brandão had prepared him since after the 1599 epidemic. Although a dutiful son, Dr António Homem limited his contacts with his father to the absolute minimum. Secretary Rui de Albuquerque, who visited him as a young man in those days, noticed that the Lente "fazia mal a seu pay e não fallaua com elle porque Continuando elle [...] sendo moço em casa da Mãe do ditto Antonio uia que o pay não entraua onde elle estaua nem queria que lhe fallassem nelle" (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 16225, 28 May 1621). D Filipe Lobo, who was often a guest of Dr António Homem's, recalled that he "nem com seu pae corria bem declarando que dexaua de o fazer por ser Christão nouo" (ibid., 26 May 1621). This behaviour was certainly intentional, and was meant to allay any suspicions of judaising; Rector D Afonso Furtado de Mendonça had written as recently as April 1600 that the Lente had "obrigações de pai [...] a quem acode com muita honra" (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1598-1603, fl. 37v).

(35) - There had been various limited attempts to organise the New Christian judaisers since the mid-16th century. On 8 June 1542, Bachelor Simão Nunes, a New Christian of Covilhã, reported to the Lisbon Inquisition the existence of a synagogue in nearby Fundão, led by a Fernão Nunes, who eventually left for Corfu but died on his way. On 30 March 1543, Rodrigo Bernardes told the Inquisition that most of the people of Vinhais, in northeastern Portugal, were New Christian judaisers: only three or four, out of a population of about fifty, were known to be Old Christians. The judaiser majority, who felt secure in that remote village, met in the house of Francisco Lopes, an old man

who was said to be a former rabbi, and hardly disguised their reverence for the Sabbath (BAIÃO, António - "A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brazil", in *Arquivo Historico Portuguez*, Vol. VI (1906), p. 108, 113). Twenty years later, on 12 October 1563, António Tomé, messenger of the Pinhel judicial authority (Correição), reported the existence of Jewish prayer services in the town of Marialva, organised by the Licentiate Simão Dias, a former Procurator of the Correição (BAIÃO, António - op. cit., in *Arquivo Historico Portuguez*, Vol. VII (1907), p. 144).

(36) - This belief was common to most Portuguese judaisers of that time. 26-year old Paulo de Lena, a fanatical judaiser who will be mentioned later, criticised the New Christians who accepted Christ as the true Messiah as follows: "não poderão elles esperar que deus os ajuntasse [...] la aonde elle fora seruido". This was reported to the Inquisitors by Paulo de Lena's cell-mate José de Sá (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 11444, 7 August 1618).

(37) - The veneration of a martyr was not unique in Marrano tradition: Dr Juan de Ubeda, a Córdoba physician who was sentenced to death in Andalusia in 1572 for trying to revive the messianic idea, praised the judaisers executed in Córdoba and Murcia as martyrs of the Law of Moses (BLAZQUEZ MIGUEL, Juan - *Inquisición y criptojudaismo*, p.143,173).

CHAPTER 6

(1) - AUC, *Escrituras da Universidade*, Vol. 14 (1604-1608), Lib. 2, fl. 137v-138v. The money would be paid in three instalments: 30,000 réis immediately, 20,000 réis during the construction, and the remainder on completion. The agreement was witnessed by António de Azevedo Barreiros, who will be mentioned again, and Dr António Homem's valet Pero Martins da Costa.

(2) - Dr Francisco Caldeira's return to the Jewish faith was rather unexpected; his lineage had been free from suspicions of judaising for decades. The Caldeira family was founded by Andrés Alvarez, an Asturian New Christian who was given the status *de puritate sanguinis* by King João III, and his wife (and cousin) D Brites Caldeira. He adopted the nickname Caldeira after founding in Lisbon a majorat in the Rua da Caldeira, and later called himself Caldeirão as a personal tribute to the noble Castilian family of Calderón. His first-born son Manuel Caldeira, a Knight of the Order of Christ like himself, a Gentleman of the Royal Household and Steward to King João III, was High Treasurer of the *Almoxarifes* of the Kingdom and married his niece Guiomar Caldeira, who gave him fifteen children. Dr Francisco Caldeira was one of them. After lecturing *Instituta* in Coimbra from 8 May 1587, he went to the University of Salamanca, where he was in charge of the Chair of Vespers in 1601 and soon rose to that of Prime. By that time, he was already married to his cousin D Leonor Manuel.

(3) - AUC, *Processos das Cadeiras*, Vol. 1, Lib. 2, fl. 96v-97v. Felipe III gave him the Chair of Vespers of Law in the University of Coimbra on 16 November 1605. Because of his reputation as a jurist, he was granted the same salary as a Lente of Prime and a magistracy in the Court of Appeal, with leave to attend Court proceedings in August only.

Additionally, his son Pedro Caldeira was given a knighthood in the Order of Christ. After the latter's death in 1618, Felipe III granted on 25 January 1619 a similar knighthood to another of Dr Caldeirão's sons, Rodrigo Caldeira (AUC, Processos das Cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib. 3, fl. 99v-100). Dr Francisco Caldeira's administrative skills were appreciated from the beginning. He was elected for the University Treasury Board as Deputy of his Faculty for 1606-1607 and 1607-1608.

(4) - The house was rented from Manuel Ferreira, from Soure. Dr António Homem moved in 1609 to a neighbouring house, opposite the University College of St John the Evangelist, which had previously been rented to the Bailiff of the Clerics, and lived there until 1614.

(5) - AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1602-1610, fl. 73v. He was given 10,000 réis for his expenses on 22 March (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1605-1606, fl. 58v). It was a short visit; he was already back on 8 April (AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1602-1610, fl. 76v). He missed four lectures (AUC, Conselhos, 1605-1606, fl. 14).

(6) - Melchior Vaz Correia graduated as a Bachelor in Canon Law on 25 June 1604, and Dr António Homem sponsored him in his Formatura on 26 June 1608. He was interviewed on 14 February 1621 as a defence witness in the Lente's proceedings. He was by then Vicar General of the Comarca and Administration of Valença do Minho.

(7) - The Benedictine Friar Gonçalo de Moraes entered the Monastery of St Michael of Refojos de Basto in 1577, at the age of 14, studied Theology in the University of Coimbra and by 1590 was General of his Order in Portugal. He was confirmed as Bishop of Oporto on 26 June 1602. A pious and charitable prelate, he was also an energetic guardian of the Church's rights, which caused him some problems with the civil authorities. He died in October 1617.

(8) - Tomé Vaz, then aged 54 and a distinguished lawyer, also worked in the Oporto District Court. He was well known in Coimbra, where he had lived until 1589, and was a friend of several New Christian judaisers in the city. One of them, Francisco da Silva, gave him power of attorney on 23 January 1607 (AUC, Livro de notas de Agostinho Maldonado, 1605-1607, fl. 206-206v) and on 8 December 1609 (Livro de notas de Agostinho Maldonado e Manuel Bernardes da Cruz, 1609, fl. 185-185v).

(9) - Tomé Vaz had been persuaded to judaise by his father-in-law Henrique Fernandes Pina "o Velho". Filipa de Pina had judaised since at least 1603 (according to her son André Nunes de Pina; ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5690, 16 May and 7 July 1619).

(10) - He was empowered by the University Treasury Board on 20 June to conclude an agreement with the Bishop "sobre a fabrica das igrejas conforme aos mais contratos" (AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1602-1610, fl. 83).

(11) - AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1602-1610, fl. 90.

(12) - On 8 February 1606, the University Treasury Board accepted Henrique de Arede's request for taking as his partners in office his son-in-law Francisco de Andrade and Simão Rodrigues Navarro, from Moura.

(AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1602-1610, fl. 69). The latter was Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro's father, who had been arrested in 1603 as a judaiser and owed his freedom to the General Pardon.

(13) - AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1605-1606, fl. 73v. Dr António Homem's expenses were actually higher; he was refunded 4,000 réis on 23 February 1607 (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1606-1607, fl. 50-50v).

(14) - An Old Christian, Luís de Lemos da Costa was a Knight Commander of the Habit of St Stephen, and Surveyor and clerk of the Chamber of Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco. He had two brothers: Paulo da Costa de Lemos, who never married, and Father Leandro de Lemos, a Jesuit. He married Branca Nunes de Queirós, a New Christian judaiser from Évora, whose mother Aldonsa Nunes had been prosecuted by the Inquisition.

(15) - Catarina Vogada had recently been persuaded by her mother Branca Nunes to judaise, and kept it secret for some time. She was distantly related to Dr António Homem's sister-in-law D Violante de Sequeira, whose close friend she was, and was also a friend of Crispim da Costa's. She first knew Crispim da Costa as a friend of her father's, who was, like him, in the Bishop's household, and told him that she was a judaiser circa 1607. He probably was the first person, after her mother, to know about it (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5704, 26 March 1620).

(16) - António de Azevedo Barreiros, a Knight of the Order of Christ, was the son of Manuel de Azevedo Barreiros and Maria Pais de Castelo Branco. His mother was a distant relative of Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco, whom Luís de Lemos served.

(17) - AUC, Livro de notas de Agostinho Maldonado, 1605-1607, fl. 234-236v. Catarina Vogada moved to Lisbon with her husband in 1614, after her mother's death. There she remained until 1617 and was confirmed in the Jewish faith by her maternal aunts Isabel Nunes, a spinster, and Maria da Rosa, married to António Marques, an Old Christian tenant farmer. At the time of her arrest on 25 March 1620, Catarina Vogada had given her husband five children: Maria, aged 6; Luís, aged 5; Manuel, aged 4; Inácio, aged 2; and a 6-month old baby.

(18) - The Alterations evolved as the result of the actions of Fra Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623), also known as Paolo Servita, a famous scholar who was suspected by the Holy Office of having Protestant sympathies. As the official theologian of the Republic of Venice, he became involved in a dispute with Paul V about matters of discipline. Europe's greatest theologians were enlisted to defend the Holy See with their writings. A gradual reconciliation began in April 1607, thanks to the mediation of Henry IV of France and the diplomatic efforts of Cardinal François de Joyeuse, Archbishop of Rouen.

(19) - The Pope thanked Father Francisco Suárez, "theologum eximium", through the brief *Quam sit magnus* of 2 October 1607 (VASCONCELOS, António de - Francisco Suárez (Doctor Eximius), p. XLV).

(20) - Dr António Homem was to state in Point 13 of his defence, dated 27 July 1620: "mandando Sua Santidade ao Bispo Dom Affonso de Castel-

branco que lhe enuiasse da Universidade algumas allegações de direito sobre as Alterações de Veneza, o dito Bispo o encomendou a elle Reu., que em breues dias fez hua larga informação em fauor da see Apostolica, que enuiada a Roma respondeu o Cardeal Euzebio ao mesmo Bispo que Sua. Santidade uira e folgara de uer o papel do Reu., assy por ser doc to, como por ser o primeiro que de Portugal fora a Roma".

(21) - Dr Alvaro Vaz became well known in Coimbra when his colleague Dr Cosme Lopes openly accused him of being unworthy of teaching in the University, because of his Jewish origins. In actual fact, Dr Alvaro Vaz descended from a judaiser family; his grandfather was arrested by the Évora Inquisition and died in custody, and his father Pero Alvares was sentenced to perpetual gaol and penitential dress. Dr Alvaro Vaz himself was married to D Brites de Solis, from a distinguished New Christian family. Although he was suspected of being a judaiser, he was never prosecuted by the Inquisition for lack of evidence.

(22) - AUC, Processos das Cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib. 2, fl. 107v-112v.

(23) - AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1602-1610, fl. 109v-110.

(24) - Dr Francisco Caldeira was given the same amount, for the same reason (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1606-1607, fl. 61; also Acordos da Fazenda, 1602-1610, fl. 112). The settlement was confirmed on 1 August by Felipe III, and by the Holy See in early 1611 (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1610-1611, fl. 57).

(25) - AUC, Gabriel Pereira Collection, Drawer 3, Briefcase 2, No. 30 (see also AMC, Registo das Provisões da Câmara, Vol. 11 (1606-1610), fl. 98v-100).

(26) - The old Monastery was in an advanced state of decay. The nuns had been moved to temporary lodgings in the Bishop's estate at S Martinho do Bispo, but these were obviously inadequate.

(27) - The Bishop-Count had already spent 45,000 cruzados (18,000,000 réis), and the total expense was estimated at 60,000 cruzados.

(28) - He was given the right to fill in five places in the Monastery, but gave up two of them, as an act of courtesy towards the Bishop.

(29) - The deed was drawn up by notary public Agostinho Maldonado, who went to S Martinho do Bispo for that purpose, and signed by D Ângela de Sá, Prioress of the Monastery, and the leading nuns, as well as by three witnesses: Father Gaspar Pacheco, Chaplain of the Monastery, the Licentiate Tomé de Xerez, of the Bishop's household, and Dr António Homem. A formal contract was signed on 30 September, Luis de Lemos da Costa representing D Duarte de Castelo Branco (AUC, Livro de notas de Agostinho Maldonado, 1607-1608, fl. 139-146). A copy was given to Luis de Lemos for the Bishop's archive. The contract was rewritten, with minor variations, on 20 November 1609 (AUC, Livro de notas de Agostinho Maldonado e Manuel Bernardes da Cruz, 1609, fl. 150v-161).

(30) - AUC, Livro de notas de Agostinho Maldonado, 1607-1608, fl. 97v-99. The witnesses were again Father Gaspar Pacheco, Tomé de Xerez, and

Dr António Homem.

(31) - Dr António Homem's sister D Maria Brandoa was staying at this time in the Monastery of Santa Ana as a guest *causa educationis*, by order of Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco. An unattractive, short-sighted girl with bulging eyes, she tended to be somewhat eccentric at times, and in fact remained under the Lente's power until his arrest. She shared a cell with Sister Maria Vieira, who was never suspected of judaising. During her stay in the Monastery, she confessed her beliefs to a New Christian nun, Grácia dos Anjos (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1858), and to her own niece, Mónica Correia, a judaiser who served the Monastery as a lay helper. The latter, who subsequently married an Old Christian, Manuel Ferraz Camelo, was arrested on 5 October 1621 and began her confession on the same day.

(32) - It was traditional of many households to allow their servants to go home, to help their families at harvest time. Coincidentally, this was the time when the Dia Grande or Great Day took place. Dr António Homem's mother already lived with him, but it is not known whether she went away to her relatives in Aveiro. If she did not, then there was no way she could ignore her son's preparations. Could she, a faithful Catholic, ever be an accomplice to an act of apostasy? The Lente's sister D Maria Brandoa admitted that she occasionally baked *bolo de água* ("water cake", in actual fact unleavened bread), having seen her mother do it for Jorge Vaz Brandão (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 7440, 15 September 1620). The answer will never be known.

(33) - The holiest festivity for an orthodox Jew was Pesach or Passover. For a New Christian judaiser, who lived in Gentile territory and had a much deeper concern for his personal salvation, Yom Kippur, the Dia Grande or Great Day, the Day of Atonement, was the holiest festivity. Dr António Homem followed - and eventually developed - this Marrano tradition, which had indeed a sound scriptural foundation: Yom Kippur was the only day when it was lawful for a High Priest to enter the Sanctum Sanctorum.

(34) - The Jewish religious calendar is extremely complex (see Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, p. 501-508). Yom Kippur took place on the tenth day of the lunar month of Tishri (usually in September, but occasionally in October); the first day of Tishri was Rosh haShanah, New Year's day. For simplicity, the Marranos calculated Yom Kippur as the tenth day after the New Moon of September, but this was known to the Inquisition, and regularly mentioned in the sentences read in autos de fé. This was why some judaisers celebrated Yom Kippur on the 11th day of Tishri, out of precaution (SCHWARZ, Samuel - "Os cristãos-novos em Portugal no Século XX", Separata de Arqueologia e História, Vol. IV, p. 31). Dr António Homem knew that André de Avelar's *Chronographia ov Reportorio dos Tempos* had tables indicating the phases of the moon for every month of the year (fl. 339-350v), and decided to use these as a basis for his own religious calendar. According to André de Avelar's statement of 5 March 1623, the Dia Grande was celebrated "ordinariamente na lua noua de setembro" - not on the tenth day after the New Moon - "caindo a dita lua de quinze do ditto mes por diante e quando a lua noua cahia antes dos quinze emtam celebrauão o ditto ieium no ultimo de setembro E as uezes o celebrauão no primeiro de outubro". Unortho-

dox as it was, this method made it almost impossible for an outsider to determine in advance the date of a ceremony. A curious example of a non-standard dating of Yom Kippur may be found in the 2nd edition of the Consultations of Rabbi Jacob haLevi and Responses of Rabbi Jacob ben Israel haLevi (Venice, 1632-1634). It is mentioned there that Uriel da Costa's mother Sara da Costa (formerly Branca da Costa) "come no autentico dia de Kippur e jejua no dia que, segundo os calculos do filho, supõe ser o Kippur verdadeiro" (VASCONCELOS, Carolina Michaëlis de - "Uriel da Costa. Notas relativas à sua vida e as suas obras", in Revista da Universidade de Coimbra, Vol. VIII (1922), p. 275 and 326). Living in a Jewish environment, Uriel da Costa had ready access to the traditional religious calendar. Did he choose to reject it on the authority of Dr António Homem's practice? This is yet another vital question which will never be answered.

(35) - Miguel Gomes once thought of following the priesthood, and even received the prima tonsura and minor Orders. He decided not to marry, believing that his role in Dr António Homem's congregation required chastity on his part. There is documentary evidence to prove that the families of Miguel Gomes and Uriel da Costa were in good terms. A merchant of Oporto, Bento da Costa Brandão, better known as Uriel da Costa's father, made a partnership with two colleagues and on 29 August 1607 chartered the caravel "Nossa Senhora do Rosário" to pick up cargo in Pernambuco. On 11 September, Bento da Costa accepted being the guarantor of the money and goods to be received in Brazil by his sons Miguel and João from an António da Fonseca, a debtor of the "Licenciado fernão daluares morador na vylla de aveiro" (Private archive of Dr Eduardo Maia Mendes (Oporto), Livro de notas de João de Azevedo, 1607-1608, fl. 11-13; see also BASTO, Artur de Magalhães - "Nova contribuição documental para a biografia de Uriel da Costa", in O Instituto, Vol. 81 (1931), p. 425-463). This "fernão daluares" was Miguel Gomes's older brother Fernando Alvares "o Buco", a prosperous merchant who earned his nickname due to having business in Pernambuco (Brazil).

(36) - António Dias de Almeida confessed having judaised as a teenager. Circa 1580, when he was not yet 17, he moved to Coimbra to study Latin in the College of Arts, and stayed in the house of his sister Isabel Lopes, the wife of the Licentiate Francisco Pires de Morais. It was she who persuaded him to judaise, and taught him the basic tenets of the Law of Moses (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9108, 29 August 1620). This did not prevent him from obtaining a benefice in St Bartholomew's church, although he did not follow the priesthood. He married an Old Christian lady, continued to follow the Law of Moses, and converted all his children as they reached adolescence.

(37) - José Coutinho Botelho was the son of Simão Borges do Cabra, an Old Christian, and Branca Brandoa, a New Christian who converted him to the Jewish faith. He inherited from his father the office of clerk of the Orphans of the City, for which he gave as surety on 18 April 1600 his house, valued at about 500 cruzados (AUC, Livro de notas de Agostinho Maldonado, 1600, fl. 46-47). He was married to Madalena Couceira, an Old Christian, and had no children.

(38) - A veteran judaiser, Diogo Lopes da Rosa was a friend of Canon António Dias da Cunha and Crispim da Costa.

(39) - The notary Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, then aged 47, had recently decided to judaize. During a visit to his sister D Luísa in Vagos, near Aveiro, he visited Manuel de Arede and his wife Leonor de Caminha. Manuel de Arede told him "que bem deuia saber, como por parte de sua mãe era da nação dos xpristãos novos, E que bem uira, Como era pobre, e necessitado, E que isto era mal que tinham os xpristãos uelhos: pello que se queria ter remedio, E que elles, o ajudassem, deuia pasarse a lei de Moyses, e ser Judeu, como elles eram". He accepted his advice, and was introduced to Dr António Homem's circle by the Aredes (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2121, 5 September 1619).

(40) - Francisco de Andrade was a full-blooded New Christian. His father was Alvaro Fernandes de Andrade, from Lisbon, and his mother was Catarina Duarte, sister of Manuel de Arede's wife Leonor de Caminha. Francisco de Andrade was born in Lisbon in 1573 and moved to Coimbra with his family circa 1585. By then he was already a judaizer; his mother Catarina Duarte had instructed him in the Jewish faith. He studied Latin and registered in the Faculty of Law on 8 October 1593, but did not graduate. His last registration was dated 14 December 1602.

(41) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 3147, 18 July 1622.

(42) - He was so busy that he did not intervene in any graduation ceremonies until 10 December 1607, although he had sponsored 17 students between late April and late July of that year. One of the Lentes who were given additional duties at this time was Dr Francisco Caldeira. On 7 October 1608 he was given 10,000 réis for the services he rendered as a Deputy in the past two years, "fora da obrigação de seu officio" (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1607-1608, fl. 100v-101).

(43) - Dr António Homem missed three lectures in late 1607 and two during the Easter term, due to official business (AUC, Conselhos, 1607-1608, fl. 3v, 8).

(44) - On 16 February 1608, Friar Egidio was given 20,000 réis for his journey to Lisbon, where the University had business with the Viceroy (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1607-1608, fl. 79), and another 5,000 réis on 28 March (ibid., fl. 84v). He was away for 25 days. On 15 April, he received 20,000 réis for another official journey to Lisbon (fl. 86), and 22,740 réis on 30 May, the latter sum including the payment for "os autos que uenceo" (fl. 88v).

(45) - AUC, Colégio de S. Pedro. Capelas, Vol. 2, fl. 74v. On 12 April the Chapter of the Cathedral agreed to support fifty poor people, who would receive a vintém a day "pello tempo que parecesse" (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 8 (1601-1609), fl. 162).

(46) - D Francisco de Meneses was 36 at the time and a Licentiate in Canon Law. His performance in this task was so satisfactory that he was elected Rector of St Peter's College on 31 October for a year. This was not the first time that D Francisco de Meneses had held a post of some responsibility. He had been elected Councillor of his Faculty on 10 November 1605 for a year (AUC, Conselhos, 1605-1606, fl. 25).

(47) - D Vicente Nogueira's biography deserves a monograph of its own. A summary of his life and achievements appears in an appendix.

(48) - He was sponsored by Dr António Homem's friend Dr Francisco Dias, Lente of Prime of Canon Law (AUC, Autos e Graus, 1607-1608, fl.56v-57).

(49) - D Vicente Nogueira was an active sodomite. His eclectic tastes knew no class barriers; his known partners included Spanish grandees, choirboys, students and lackeys. His amazing lack of inhibitions make it hard to understand how he was not arrested until much later. At this time, he maintained intimate relationships with University student Tomé Vieira and 14-year old schoolboy Manuel Rodrigues.

(50) - Gabriel da Costa's father, Bento da Costa Brandão, a respected merchant and a Gentleman (Cavaleiro Fidalgo) of the household of the Infanta D Isabel of Austria, Felipe II's daughter, despite his Jewish parentage, was a sincere Catholic for all of his life. His wife Branca da Costa, also a New Christian, was still open to Jewish influences. Gabriel da Costa registered in the University of Coimbra as a pupil of Instituta on 19 October 1600. For some reason (perhaps the crises of conscience which had troubled him for some time), he interrupted his studies on 19 February 1601 and went back to Oporto. He returned to the University on 4 November 1604, this time as a student of Canon Law, and came to know Dr António Homem better.

(51) - Bento da Costa Brandão died as a Catholic on 20 May 1608, in the parish of Our Lady of Vitória in Oporto.

(52) - He did register again on 12 December 1608, much later than the Statutes allowed, but soon returned to Oporto. There he obtained the post of treasurer in the collegiate church of Cedofeita, but did not take Holy Orders. On 5 March 1612 he married Francisca de Castro, a New Christian from Lisbon.

(53) - Unlike Dr António Homem, who maintained until the end that the after-life was the one that really mattered, Gabriel da Costa ended up by denying it and following the Sadducean belief in death as an eternal sleep. But that would happen later. At this stage, he was convinced of the truth of the Law of Moses, as understood and followed by the New Christian judaisers; that is to say, an unorthodox version of the Jewish faith, which ignored the rabbinical tradition. His studies of the Old Testament were complemented by the beliefs of his cousin Branca de Pina, a relative of the Licentiate Tomé Vaz's wife Filipa de Pina. His next step was predictable. In the early spring of 1615, before late April, Gabriel da Costa emigrated with his mother and brothers Jácome, Miguel and João da Costa Brandão, and settled in Amsterdam as practising Jews. He took for himself the name Uriel; his mother became Sara, and his brothers Abraham, Mordechai and Joseph respectively. They all dedicated themselves to commerce, and by 1616 Uriel had business in both Amsterdam and Hamburg, and spent most of his time in the latter city. His brothers were easily integrated in Amsterdam's Jewish community; Joseph da Costa Brandão even became related to the influential Abendana family. However, Uriel was soon disenchanted with the ritualism of the synagogue, and was imprudent enough to attack the rabbinical traditions in writing. He was consequently accused of apos-

tasy and of being an Epicurean, and excommunicated. His tragic end is well known. For a good summary of his life and writings, see VASCONCELOS, Carolina Michaelis de - "Uriel da Costa. Notas relativas à sua vida e às suas obras", in Revista da Universidade de Coimbra, Vol. VIII (1922), and in particular I S Révah's series of articles in the Annuaire du Collège de France, 1967-1968 to 1972-1973.

(54) - Paulo de Lena was a New Christian from Leiria, the son of Pedro Dias. He obtained the degrees of Licentiate in Arts on 7 May 1608 and in Medicine on 27 July 1616. He was arrested in January 1617.

(55) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6869, 24 September 1621. Paulo de Lena had already been sentenced by that time.

(56) - Valentim Quaresma was a dark-haired, slender and intelligent boy who readily attached himself to his uncle. His mother was Dr António Homem's sister D Guiomar de Almeida.

(57) - Dr António Homem's influence may have been felt in other ways. Valentim Quaresma later confessed having committed sodomy with various people when he was 17 to 20, mainly in the Lente's house. His first partner was probably the latter's page boy Tomé da Fonseca, who shared his bed with him. He also claimed to have committed sodomy with Dr António Homem's servant António; Matias Homem's brother-in-law Alexandre de Sequeira Mascarenhas; Gaspar Soares, nephew of Canon Álvaro Soares Pereira; and various boys aged between 8 and 12 (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5051, 27 October 1623).

(58) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5051, 26 October 1623.

(59) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5688, 16 March 1620. Francisco da Costa had judaised earlier, influenced by his uncle António da Costa. The latter, "que viuia por sua fazenda" in Lisbon, was a brother of his father Jorge da Costa, and a judaiser like him. Crispim da Costa had revealed his secret beliefs to other people before that date: to Catarina Vogada, then unmarried and herself a recent convert to Judaism, earlier in that year; and in 1607 to Mór Soeira, a New Christian spinster with whom he "tinha conuersaçam" (ibid., 15 March 1620).

(60) - André Vaz Cabaço's father, Francisco Vaz Cabaço da Costa, was an Old Christian and a citizen of Coimbra; Dr António Vaz Cabaço, Lente of Prime in the Faculty of Law and a Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition, was his uncle on his father's side. He received the Jewish faith from his half New Christian mother Maria de Belém, and married Ana Ribeiro, who was a quarter New Christian and a judaiser.

(61) - Pero Cabral Colaço was the son of Pero Cabral da Costa, who was Clerk of the City Council from 1560. Although his father was an Old Christian and he was himself married to an Old Christian, Joana do Amaral, he had been converted to the Jewish Law by his half-sisters Inês and Vicência Cabral, daughters of Dr António Homem's great-aunt Catarina Vaz.

(62) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 3147, 24 October 1622. Manuel Gomes "o Tasquinha" was born in Coimbra, his father being Pero

Gomes, an Old Christian. He studied Latin and Arts before registering as a pupil of Instituta on 16 October 1604. He went to the Faculty of Canon Law in the following year, but left the University before graduating. His last registration was made on 13 October 1612.

(63) - Some time in 1606, Manuel Gomes visited André Vaz Cabaço and his wife. "E estando todos tres a proposito delle confitente hir com humas contas nas mãos, e andar rezando por ellas lhe disse a dita Anna Ribeira que pera que era tantas contas e tanto rezasse, que tanto auia de ter assy como assy, que o bom era ter Crença na lej de Moyses, que era a boa e nella so auia saluação, e não na de xpisto porque tudo o que continha a lei de xpisto era mentira, e falsidade, E que elle confitente pella parte que tinha de xpistão nouo" - his mother was a New Christian - "tinha obrigação, Crer na dita lej, E em Deos dos Ceos somente, E a elle so se auia de Emcomendar e Rezar". André Vaz Cabaço laughed and approved his wife's explanation (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5639, 18 October 1621).

(64) - His nickname may have been hereditary, as it was also given to Simão Lopes's brother Diogo Dias and his sisters Filipa Duarte, Paula Ferreira and Jerónima Ferreira, popularly known as "as Choroas".

(65) - Simão Lopes later stated that Dr António Gomes "posto que nam era seu parente era tanto como seu pai, nam somente por ser seu mestre de medicina, mas tambem por ser mui particular seu amigo e o ter em lugar de filho, e que elle confitente nunca sahia de sua casa, e receitaua com elle, E o mandaua curar em seu nome quando o uinham chamar pera algum enfermo" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2544, 9 March 1620).

(66) - Simão Lopes's mother Filipa Duarte was a full New Christian, whose mother Maria Antónia, her aunt Catarina Lopes and other close relatives had been sentenced as judaisers. His brother Diogo Dias, a worker in silk, was also a judaiser, as were their three unmarried sisters (Filipa, aged 30, Paula, 28, and Jerónima, 20), who lived with Diogo Dias in his house in the Calçada.

(67) - Dr António Gomes also befriended a handful of Medical students who shared his religious beliefs. One was Paulo de Lena, then 18, a slim young man from Leiria who already showed some talent and replaced Dr António Gomes in fifteen lectures during 1615-1616 (AUC, Conselhos, 1615-1616, fl. 7v, 12). Dr António Gomes's intuition was right in both respects. Paulo de Lena, who was arrested in January 1617, was a dedicated judaiser and a skilled physician. He was transferred to the Lisbon Inquisition on 5 March, and proved to be a difficult prisoner: his "mao termo, que sempre teue nestes Caceres, inquietandoos auisando os presos, e rompendo os mesmos Caceres", did not help his case. He was sentenced on 28 November 1621 (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 11444) and emigrated to Rouen in 1623.

(68) - Simão Barreto was the third son of Jerónimo Barreto de Meneses, Lord of the Quinta do Sol in the province of Minho. Most of his eleven children had distinguished careers in the Church. His second son, Francisco Barreto, was Abbot of Carvalheira in the archbishopric of Braga. His fourth son, D Paulo de Santo Agostinho Barreto, an Augustinian Ca-

non Regrant, was Prior of the Monastery of the Saviour in Moreira da Maia and (in 1636-1638) Prior General of the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra. His eighth and ninth sons were friars of the Orders of St Augustine and St Bernard respectively. Two of his daughters were nuns.

(69) - He was appointed substitute Lente of Vespers on 30 September, and replaced in the Chair of Decretum by Dr Domingos Antunes.

(70) - On 15 January 1609, Simão Barreto was noted as having missed four lectures during the Christmas term, "por estar anoiado por a morte de seu irmão" (AUC, Conselhos, 1608-1609, fl. 18). In early 1609 he missed lectures on the days of the election for the Chair of Instituta (ibid., fl. 22v). The Conselho de Multas of 8 August 1609, which covered the last term of that year, does not mention him, nor do those which followed. Simão Barreto remained in the Faculty of Canon Law, being elected aide to its Deputy for 1609-1610 and Councillor for 1610-1611. He obtained his Licentiate's degree on 29 July 1610, but gave up trying to rise in the hierarchy of the University. He left in 1611 and started building up a career with the Inquisition, where he was extremely successful.

(71) - Dr António da Cunha's health was giving him some trouble when he left in early January 1607. On 26 January of that year, the University Council elected Dr Francisco Caldeira to replace him until the summer holidays (AUC, Conselhos, 1606-1607, fl. 71).

(72) - Dr Francisco Caldeira was given the Chair of Prime on 21 February, but at first he did not accept it, "antes trataua de se ir desta vinversidade e pedira para isso per uezes licença a Sua Magestade", which was refused, as the University could not do without his services (AUC, Processos das Cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib. 2, fl. 134v-135).

(73) - A Royal letter dated 31 August 1608 granted him a yearly supplement of 40,000 réis "em quãto ler a dita cadeira" (AUC, Processos das Cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib. 2, fl. 135-135v). But Dr Francisco Caldeira was still less than pleased about his career in the University. In early 1610 he was even put under arrest for the "mao termo de que usou [...] e desacato que fez ao Conseruador da Uniuersidade". He immediately appealed to Felipe III, who asked the Board of Conscience and Orders for a report. Due to the King's wishes and also because Dr Caldeira was considered "benemerito por suas letras e pela utilidade que de sua lição se recebe", the Board decided on 20 April 1611 that he should receive half of the salary to which he was entitled during the time he was under arrest. He was paid 123,000 réis owed him on 17 July 1611 (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1610-1611, fl. 75v). On 23 July, the fine he had paid was cancelled and he was refunded 37,500 réis (fl. 76v); and on 30 July he was paid a compensation of 80,000 réis (fl. 77).

(74) - AUC, Processos das Cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib. 2, fl. 136-136v. Dr Navarro appealed to the Board of Conscience and Orders, but all he could obtain was a pay increase of 30,000 réis a year, according to a ruling dated 1 May 1610. The Board considered that "lhe prenderão pol-la Inquisição a muitos parentes e a hum irmão que sayo pelo perdão geral", and that he, "sendo lente toma rendas e foi por uezes culpado nas deuassas de onzena". He would have to prove that he mended his

ways before he could expect a greater reward (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1608-1610, fl. 55v).

(75) - Gregório da Silva Soares was the son of António da Silva, also Secretary and Master of Ceremonies of the University. When the latter died, his son petitioned the University, on 4 May 1607, to have him appointed for the place his father left, because he "tinha muitos filhos e pouca fazenda que lhe deixar". His request was accepted. António da Silva also had two daughters: Guiomar da Rocha, who was a widow by 1601, and Mónica de Santo Agostinho, a nun in the Monastery of Santa Clara of Santarém, who was still alive in 1633.

(76) - AUC, Conselhos, 1608-1609, fl. 70-70v.

(77) - Rui de Albuquerque was an old friend of Dr António Homem's, as were his father Dr Diogo de Albuquerque and his uncles, Augustinian Friars Agostinho and Jerónimo. He graduated as a Bachelor in Canon Law on 14 July 1607 and as a Bachelor Formado on 28 July 1609. Dr António Homem's friend António Cabral was the nephew of another Augustinian, Friar Manuel Cabral, himself a friend of Rui de Albuquerque's uncles.

(78) - AUC, Conselhos, 1608-1609, fl. 70v-71. Gregório da Silva had been allowed to leave the property of the posts of Secretary and Master of Ceremonies to his children, but they were still too young to take them up. D Madalena de Vilhena was thus entitled to propose a suitable person of her choice to fill in her late husband's vacancy until their children came of age.

(79) - AUC, Conselhos, 1608-1609, fl. 71v. Rui de Albuquerque was appointed for six months, pending confirmation by Felipe III, and was given another six months on 1 September 1609 (ibid., fl. 73v). The King confirmed the appointment on 4 March 1611. Rui de Albuquerque was made proprietary Master of Ceremonies on 31 May 1627 (AUC, Conselhos, 1626-1627, fl. 109-110v). On 21 July, Gregório da Silva's son João da Silva claimed the post of Secretary, which his father had held (ibid., fl. 67v-68), and was elected Secretary on 5 October (ibid., fl. 117).

(80) - His other servant was Manuel Dias Delgado, also an Old Christian, accepted on the recommendation of Dr Cid de Almeida, who was a guest of Dr António Homem on several occasions. Manuel Rodrigues Cardoso, who was 20 at this time, "baixo e delgado do corpo de barba e cabelo louro aluo e vermelho do rosto", was a disappointment: he was arrested on his master's orders for theft (in the University jail, his privilege as a member of a Lente's household), and Dr António Homem himself conducted the prosecution. Shortly afterwards, the Lente hired an apprentice clerk, 16-year old João Escaulim, "aluo e couado do rosto e bem assombrado", a Flemish youth who had been recommended by Pedro Talésio, Master of Music of the University. Manuel Rodrigues Cardoso, who in 1619 was in the employment of Apostolic Collector Ottavio Accoramboni, told his friend Damião de Sousa Falcão, a Canon Law student, that Escaulim had left the Lente's household because of his sexual advances (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 38v-39v).

(81) - António Correia de Sá's New Christian mother was D Isabel Coronel, daughter of Chief Physician Dr Leonardo Nunes and niece of Dr Am-

brósio Nunes, later Chief Surgeon. His brother Dr Francisco de Sá was Lente of Vespers in the Faculty of Law and his Father's brother Dr Jorge de Sá Sotomaior was Lente of Vespers of Medicine. His wife D Filipa was an Old Christian lady from an upper-class family.

(82) - D Isabel Coronel's ancestors included King Manuel I's physician Master Nicolau Coronel, ennobled on 6 May 1499, the nephew of Hernán Pérez Coronel (formerly Rabbi Meir Melamed), who was no less than the son-in-law of Hernán Núñez Coronel (Abraham Senior), a former Chief Rabbi of Castile. Another ancestor was Pablo Núñez Coronel (d. 1534), who taught Hebrew in the University of Salamanca and collaborated with Cardinal Cisneros in the latter's monumental Complutensian Polyglot Bible. A relative of hers was Agostinho Coronel Chacon (d. after 1665), who lived in Bordeaux in 1640-1644 and subsequently in Rouen, and was appointed Consul of Portugal in London at the time of the English Restoration. This Coronel family should not be confused with the noble Old Christian family of Coronel (or Cornel), which existed in Portugal since the 12th century.

(83) - Although not a University official, António Correia de Sá had been appointed executor of the debts of the late Paymaster Henrique Fernandes on 6 September 1605 (AUC, Conselhos, 1604-1605, fl. 75).

(84) - Francisco da Silva did not wish to be noticed at that particular time. He was negotiating with Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco a contract for the Bishopric's Prebendaria, which was finally signed on 14 October (AUC, Livro de Notas de Agostinho Maldonado e Manuel Bernardes da Cruz, 1609, fl. 127-132v).

(85) - Most documents refer to Miguel Gomes's house as being in the Terreiro das Olarias (Potters' Terrace) or Largo das Olarias (Potters' Square), an alternative name for the same place. However, his tenant's agreement distinctly mentions a house "nesta cidade na Rua da moeda della junto Ao terrejro das olarias". The house apparently had an entrance facing the Square, and another in the Rua da Moeda.

(86) - The house had three floors, including one at ground level, and an attic. Miguel Gomes initially had the first floor, which consisted of three large rooms. The ground floor was occupied by Pero Martins, a tanner ("surrador"), the only one of his neighbours to be mentioned by name in the tenancy agreement. The top floor and the attic were rented to other people, all of whom moved out at this time. Miguel Gomes then kept the first floor as his living quarters and the upstairs rooms for his servants; the ground floor was partly used as a storage area and partly as a stable. The yearly rent was 6,300 réis, with a deposit of 27,210 réis, "os quais elle mandara gastar nas bemfeitorias das ditas casas [...] por estarem muito denificadas" (AUC, Livro de notas de Agostinho Maldonado e Manuel Bernardes da Cruz, 1609, fl. 86v-87v). In order to guarantee vacant accommodation for students, landlords were not allowed to rent property for longer periods than nine years; agreements for ten years or more would be considered null and void (Estatutos da Vniversidade, Lib. II, Tit. XXXI, Par. 15). Miguel Gomes's agreement was renewed for another nine years on 1 November 1618.

(87) - AUC, Conselhos, 1609-1610, fl. 27-27v.

(88) - See Estatvtos da Vniversidade, Lib. I, Tit. XVIII. The vacancy was due to the promotion of Dr Diogo de Brito to a Canonry in Lisbon on 14 March 1609 (AUC, Conselhos, 1608-1609, fl. 117-118).

(89) - AUC, Conselhos, 1609-1610, fl. 126v. D Francisco de Meneses had just (on 22 July 1609) graduated as a Doctor in Canon Law. Dr António Homem knew him well: D Francisco had been his pupil, and had been examined by him for his Licentiate's degree on 24 July 1604 (AUC, Actos e Graus, 1603-1604, fl. 67-68).

(90) - Dr António Homem's half New Christian ancestry was in principle an objection to his being accepted. However, Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco, who sponsored him, obtained from the Holy See an apostolic dispensation de puritate sanguinis, based on the fact that he was "geralmente bem reputado no credito de letras Custumes e de bom exemplo de uida e recolhimento com grande nome de insigne letrado na sua faculdade em todo este Reino e fora delle". Dr António Homem's copy of the dispensation was appended to his proceedings (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421).

(91) - Theology was represented by Dr Gabriel da Costa, Law by Dr António Lourenço and Medicine by Dr João Bravo Chamiço. As was customary in the University Council, Dr António Homem was given an aide: Bachelor Simão Barreto de Meneses. Ten years later, he would be the Lente's prosecutor in the Holy Office.

(92) - This was accepted by the Board of Conscience and Orders on 1 October 1609. At the same time, the Board reminded Felipe III that "não tem hoje esta faculdade [of Canon Law] lente que não seja de nação hebra, tratandose nella muitas materias da fee; e se as cadeiras houuerem de uagar, são elles tão poderosos em sobornar que difficultosamente poderão os xpistãos uelhos levar cadeira concorrendo com elles" (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1608-1610, fl. 27).

(93) - Dr Domingos Antunes de Abreu, Lente of Sext, replaced him in the Chair of Decretum. Dr António Homem was at that time in Lisbon, on personal business, and Dr Cid de Almeida, to whom he had given power of attorney, was sworn in on his behalf on 18 February 1610 (AUC, Processos das Cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib. 2, fl. 147v-148).

(94) - AUC, Conselhos, 1609-1610, fl. 120v-121.

(95) - They were Drs Domingos Antunes, Friar Egidio da Apresentação, Baltazar de Azeredo, Francisco Caldeira, Gabriel da Costa, Francisco Dias, António Gomes, Luis Ribeiro de Leiva, Manuel Rodrigues Navarro and Marcos Teixeira. Dr António Gomes was having some problems at the time concerning his New Christian origin. He eventually had to handle the matter himself, and left for Lisbon on 17 May 1611, leaving Dr Martin Gonçalves Coelho, Lente of Method, in his place. He was still in the capital by the end of the term, but he succeeded in defending himself. He was appointed Lente of Prime on 13 December 1614, by which time he was involved in the Fellowship of St Diogo. His problems returned with the 1616 visitation.

(96) - AUC, Conselhos, 1609-1610, fl. 121v.

(97) - AUC, Liuro do Cabido [...] onde se tresladão os titollos dos beneficiados, fl. 119v-120.

(98) - AUC, Liuro do Cabido [...] onde se tresladão os titollos dos beneficiados, fl. 120v-121; also AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 38v. Dr António Homem first signed the acts of a Chapter meeting on 3 September (ibid., fl. 43-43v).

(99) - António Dias da Cunha's parents were Lopo Dias da Cunha, a New Christian physician from Oporto, and Inês Henriques, who was directly related to the famous Jewish family of Bentalhado. Both were judaisers and taught their beliefs to all their children. Four of Inês Henriques's brothers were distinguished Jesuits; one of her cousins was a Duarte Fernandes, who lived in Amsterdam as a Jew under the name of Yeoshuah Habilho and was a major organiser of the Portuguese Jewish community in that city. He was also the maternal grandfather of the philosopher Baruch de Spinoza. António Dias da Cunha helped Dr António Homem put together his congregation, provided the garments used in the ceremonies, and made his farm in Coselhas available for cult meetings.

(100) - It is not known exactly when he fell ill but he was not unwell on 6 July, when the Treasury Board studied his request "em que pedia a Universidade por merce o mãodase contar em toda a segunda terça e isto por respeito dos seruiços que fizera em Lixboa em alegações & embargos aserqua das casas e demãdas que a Universidade tinha & agencia que teue sobre o contrato que se fes com os padres da companhia". His request was granted (AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1602-1610, fl. 175).

(101) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 24 November 1620.

(102) - Dr João Bravo Chamiço also taught Surgery at that time. As a consequence of D Francisco de Bragança's reformation, it was recommended that Surgery should be separated from Anatomy, but this was not implemented until February 1612. The first Lente of Surgery was Manuel Alves de Serpa, a graduate of an unidentified Spanish university, who was appointed on 24 October 1613 in preference to the New Christian Licentiate Simão Bocarro, who was over 50 by then, and "distrahido e embaraçado em rendas e contractações que devem impedir muito a quietação e emprego do tempo que as letras requerem". Dr João Bravo was also University representative in the City Council, and as such he was directly involved in the early autumn in a dispute with the Jesuits about the water supplies they wanted to use, against the city's interests (BRITO, A M da Rocha - "Uma grave questão de higiene na Câmara seiscentista de Coimbra", in Arquivo Coimbrão, Vol. XI, p. 348-384).

(103) - He recovered just in time to lecture in the following October, and missed no lectures during the whole of the Christmas term (AUC, Conselhos, 1610-1611, fl. 20v).

(104) - The Lente knew that he could not take appropriate care of his nephews - one of them, Estêvão, was a baby, having been baptised in St Christopher's church some weeks before his father's death - and had to

find a preceptor for them. An acquaintance of his, Luis da Costa, a cobbler, suggested a Father António Nunes for that post, but the latter was soon dismissed for negligence. One of Luis da Costa's children was 3-year old Bento, who became a choirboy in the Cathedral in February 1618 and a close friend of Dr António Homem's shortly afterwards. As for D Violante de Sequeira, she eventually quarrelled with the Lente because he scolded her for an alleged relationship with Francisco de Morais da Serra, her cousin in the second degree, and moved to the Rua das Parreiras, in the parish of the Sé, around 1613. She could afford it: as the widow of an Assistant Postmaster, she had a yearly pension of 50,000 réis diverted from Coimbra's postal revenue, and her widow's status gave her a substantial tax reduction. She later moved to the Rua das Fangas in St Christopher's parish, next door to António de Oliveira, Dr António Homem's most eager disciple in the Fellowship. Unclassified documents which we found in the AUC prove that D Violante de Sequeira was still alive in 1641.

(105) - New Deputies and Councillors were elected on 11 November for 1610-1611. Dr António Homem was replaced as Deputy of his Faculty by Dr Luis Ribeiro de Leiva, and his aide Simão Barreto de Meneses was elected Councillor. Also elected Councillor (for Theology) was Bachelor D Diogo Lobo, a relative of the Lente's mother and godfather of Matias Homem's son Estêvão (AUC, Conselhos, 1610-1611, fl. 17v).

(106) - The ecclesiastic archives being incomplete, the date of Dr António Homem's ordination was unknown until now. A manuscript booklet (*Ordens particulares que o senhor Dom Affonso de Castel branco [...] deu pelas temporas da santa Luzia*), which we found among some papers in the AUC, allowed us to date his ordination as having taken place in the College of Jesus on 18 December 1610. Dr António Homem is one of several people to have received Orders de Evangelho, i.e. of a Deacon. His name was crossed over at a later date, undoubtedly after his arrest in 1619. He received Priest's Orders on 16 March 1612.

CHAPTER 7

(1) - They were paid 6,000 réis each on 15 February (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1610-1611, fl. 56v).

(2) - Dr António Homem was appointed Secretary on 11 April (AUC, *Acordos do Cabido*, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 75), replacing Archdeacon Bento de Almeida, who had been elected on 19 April 1610 (*ibid.*, fl. 27v). The latter took over from the Lente in July 1612.

(3) - The bad weather persisted until the early spring (cf. AUC, *Acordos do Cabido*, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 80v-81).

(4) - Dr António Homem missed two lectures "por estar anoiado pella morte de sua mãe e huma dellas foi bescora de ramos" (AUC, Conselhos, 1610-1611, fl. 36v). About the exact date of her death, see CAPPELLI, A - *Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo dal principio dell' Era Cristiana ai nostri giorni*, p. 60.

- (5) - AUC, *Acordos do Cabido*, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 79-79v.
- (6) - Francisco de Pina Perestrelo was married to D Juliana and lived in St Martin's parish in Montemor-o-Velho. Two of their children are known: Jorge, baptised on 3 September 1606, and Inácio, baptised on 8 August 1611.
- (7) - The Arch of D Filipa connected the house of the Perestrelo family with the one where the Viscount of Bahia lived in the 19th century. It was erected in the 16th century and demolished in August 1893.
- (8) - It was a good site as well: close to both the Cathedral and the University, and at convenient distance from the Santa Cruz and Santa Justa areas, where his fellow judaisers lived. Dr António Homem had many improvements made to the house and its garden, and did not move in until 1614.
- (9) - AUC, *Conselhos*, 1611-1612, fl. 4v. Dr António Homem was temporarily replaced as Chapter secretary by Archdeacon Bento de Almeida.
- (10) - AUC, *Acordos do Cabido*, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 91v-92.
- (11) - San Diego de Alcalá was a Franciscan friar who died in 1463 and was canonised by Sixtus V on 2 July 1568. The proceedings had the support of Felipe II, whose first-born son Don Carlos (1545-1568) had recovered from a serious accident in 1562 through his intercession (see Arrigoni's *Oratio in canonizatione sancti Didaci*, Rome, 1588).
- (12) - The canonisation of the 14th century Queen had been first considered in 1576 (VASCONCELOS, António de - *Evolução do culto de Dona Isabel de Aragão*, Vol. II, p. 528-530).
- (13) - D Francisco de Castro, recently appointed President of the Board of Conscience and Orders, took leave of the Rectorship in the *Claustum* of 14 May. D João Coutinho was sworn in as the new Rector on 31 May (AUC, *Conselhos*, 1610-1611, fl. 132v-133v).
- (14) - D Martim Afonso Mexia was Bishop of Leiria since 1605 and had been involved in serious disputes with his Chapter for the past few years. This occasionally made him spend some time in Coimbra, where he came to know Dr António Homem as an expert in Canon Law; and they soon became friends. They had much in common, among which was an interest in New Christian Messianic sects. The Bishop was born in Campo Maior, where the New Christians caused a great deal of concern to the authorities in the 16th century: the town was a major centre of support for the enigmatic David Reubeni, whose dream of restoring the Jewish Kingdom in the Palestine with the help of the Christian princes stirred up the imagination of thousands of New Christians.
- (15) - Francisco Vaz Pinto was a former Schoolmaster of the Cathedral of Coimbra, rising to Dean of the Chapter of the Cathedral of Oporto and Choirmaster in that of Lamego. He was a Deputy of the Junta of the Bull of the Holy Crusade since 1610, and by 1619 the Commissary General of the Bull. He was also Chief Chancellor of the Kingdom.

(16) - On 12 December, Felipe III appointed three procurators to represent him in the canonisation proceedings. They were Father Francisco Suárez and Friar Egidio da Apresentação, respectively Lentos of Prime and Vespers of Theology, and Dr João de Carvalho, Lente of Digestum Vetus in the Faculty of Law.

(17) - He missed no lectures during the second and third terms of 1611-1612 and the first term of 1612-1613 (AUC, Conselhos, 1611-1612, fl. 8v, 12v, 18v).

(18) - Dr António Homem was genuinely interested in the success of the canonisation proceedings of a Queen who had the same Christian name as his late mother and, moreover, was compared to Queen Esther by contemporary poets (RODRIGUES, Manuel Augusto - "Três poesias hebraicas do século XVI em louvor da Rainha Santa Isabel", in Arquivo Coimbrão, Vol. XXVI (1972-1973), p. 53-62). He is known to have had icons of the Holy Queen ("huns passos da Rainha Sancta") in his bedroom (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 230). Queen Isabel was canonised by Urban VIII on 25 May 1625, the feast-day of the Most Holy Trinity. Dr António Homem had been executed by then, and, not unexpectedly, his contribution to the cause was not acknowledged.

(19) - The players were all boys who were friendly with Francisco de Sousa: "hum filho de hum alfaiate seu visinho, que lhe parece que se chama Andre, que ora he canonista [...] e hum filho da forneira que esta defronte das casa que foram de Gomes de Figueiredo, que ora he Theologo; e hum filho do barbeiro, que mora no fim da rua dos Sapateiros, entrando para Sansam; e Manoel Vaz, moço do Choro, e outros patifões da terra" (Point 78 of his defence of 27 October 1620; ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421).

(20) - According to the Constitutions of the Bishopric (Tit. VIII, Const. VI), a deacon who served his ministry well for a year, submitted the necessary documents, including "instrumentos de vita, & moribus", and passed an examination, would be admitted to Priest's Orders, provided that they lived in such a way "que se possa esperar delles exemplo de boa vida, & obras". Dr António Homem's private life was not yet known to be a cause for exclusion.

(21) - Francisco Pessoa's canonry was declared vacant on 2 December 1594, shortly after his death. A couple of days later, it was given to João Rodrigues Banha, who took possession of it on 9 December 1594 and made his profession of faith on the 30th (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 7 (1592-1601), fl. 33v-34, 37). A native of the Algarve, João Rodrigues Banha was granted a few days off duty on 6 March 1597, in order to escort his mother Isabel Rodrigues and his sister Isabel Banha to Coimbra, where they settled (ibid., fl. 89). Isabel Banha had recently married the influential citizen João Aranha Chaves. The Canon's father, Vasco Anes, died in the city on 28 February 1599, possibly a victim of the plague. It is known that João Rodrigues Banha was not among the Canons who left for Vila Nova de Monsarros during the epidemic. The exact date of his death is not known. The Chapter records show that, on 22 May 1617, he was dispensed from taking part in the procession of the Most Holy Sacrament "uista sua doença" (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 131v). His Canonry was given to António Alva-

res on 27 July 1620 (ibid., fl. 204v-205).

(22) - This was against the Constitutions of the Bishopric: "ordenamos, & mandamos a todos os colladores, que por direyto, costume, ou privilegio da Santa Se Apostolica, tem poder para prover beneficios de qual quer qualidade, que sejam, & aceytar renunciaçoens delles: que não aceytem renunciação alguma, que se faça em suas mãos com condição, ou declaração, que se proveja a certa pessoa nomeada (Constituiçoens Synodaes do Bispado de Coimbra, Tit. XXX, Const. III).

(23) - The exclusion of people of Jewish or Arab blood from the governing bodies of cathedrals was established for centuries, but it was Clement VIII who regularised this practice. His Brief *Decet Romanum Pontificem*, dated 18 October 1600, decreed that any person who descended from a Jewish family, from his father's or mother's side, or both, up to and including the seventh degree from the date of conversion, would be excluded from canonries, prebends and other dignities in cathedrals, collegiate churches or parish churches. This was extended by Paul V to include clerics of regular Orders ministering to laymen (Brief In Beati Petri of 18 January 1612).

(24) - Both were known judaisers, and were released due to the General Pardon. Not altogether unexpectedly, Francisco Cardoso de Oliveira was also a judaiser; this was confirmed by Tomé Vaz (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 4650, 21 September 1619).

(25) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 113-113v.

(26) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 119v-120. The letter was read to the Chapter on 26 May; Dr António Homem was already back but did not attend this session.

(27) - Point 13 of the "sospeiçoens que se intentarão ao senhor Bispo dō Afonso de Castelbrãco" (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 141-147). The matter "do filho de tomas rodriguez" was later tried by the Tribunal of the Apostolic Legacy, and still had not been solved on 13 November 1614, when the Chapter met to discuss what should be done (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 6).

(28) - He had been asked by the Hieronymite Monastery of S Marcos to sort out an old problem concerning the rights of advowson of the churches of St Mary of Sobral and St Mary of Velosa in the bishopric of Guarda. Although he did not solve the dispute, which was still under legal consideration forty years later, his brief was so authoritative that the Monastery archivist who filed it in 1766 added the note: "ain da podera muito bem servir" (AUC, Mosteiro de S Marcos, Cabinet 6, Bundle 2, No. 37).

(29) - Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 116. He was relieved from the post of Secretary on 30 April 1612 (effective from July), and replaced by Archdeacon Bento de Almeida (ibid., fl. 115).

(30) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 123v-124v. Dr António Homem was not present.

(31) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 124v-125.

(32) - There had been problems between D Francisco de Bragança and Rector D Francisco de Castro. Instructions on how to conduct the reformation were sent on 27 August 1612 (AUC, unclassified papers).

(33) - André de Avelar's extension of his teaching contract, despite his age, was not only due to his having lectured for twenty years (AUC, Registo das Provisões, Vol.1, fl. 408-409), to the satisfaction of the University (AUC, Processos das Cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib. 3, fl. 11v), and the favourable report sent to the King by Rector D João Coutinho, but also because there was no one to replace him at short notice.

(34) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 5394, 19 November 1621. António Gomes, "homem sesudo e fora de travesuras" (according to witness Miguel Barreto, *ibid.*, 6 July 1619), had always been careful not to associate with New Christians outside his family circle. He was invited to join the Fellowship by his friend Diogo Lopes de Sequeira.

(35) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5821, 14 November 1621. The use of ceremonial vestments by the New Christians was certainly unusual, but not unique. During a diocesan visitation to Monção (northern Portugal) in July-August 1570, a Cristóvão Coronel was reported as having worn them for a private ritual of desecration. Witness Fábio de Araújo, for example, stated that "em casa do dito Coronel estaua posta huma mesa, na qual estauão postas toalhas E dous castiçais com dous cirios acesos cada hum de sua banda, E estaua o dito xpistouão Coronel Vestido numa vestidura baça, não sabe de que cor, E era assí como marella, o qual xpistouão Coronel com humas azoragues que parecião ser de couro deu duas azoraguadas num crucifixo que estaua sobre a dita mesa defronte delle". This was confirmed by other witnesses (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9733, 30 July 1570).

(36) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5821, 14 and 15 November 1621. José Coutinho also mentioned "hum liuro que chamão talmud, que lhe pairesse que era parte Hebraico e parte em Castellano" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6931, 27 November 1621). The Inquisitors certainly knew that the Talmud is an encyclopaedic collection of tracts which could not possibly be abridged in one book; but they still did not question the defendants' statements. We could find no explanation for this until recently. António Correia de Sá and José Coutinho probably read the words "Talmud Torah" ('study of the Law') on the book. The Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam, Bet Yahakob ('House of Jacob'), included an Yeshiba or religious school which produced handwritten prayer books for communities in the 'lands of idolatry', Portugal and Spain. These were marked with the words "Talmud Torah Bet Yahakob". This would confirm the existence of contacts with the Portuguese Jewish communities in the Low Countries, and perhaps also with Venice, where a synagogue called Talmud Torah existed (Corfu, where a lamp burned in honour of Friar Diogo, was under Venetian rule).

- (37) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 130-132.
- (38) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 135v-139.
- (39) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 139v-140.
- (40) - His gesture was not worthless. The text of the complaint was "uisto e emendado diminuido e acrecentado em partes segundo pareceo ao Cabido", and signed again on 21 October (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol.9 (1609-1614), fl. 141-147).
- (41) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 140. The chosen experts were Friar Gregório das Chagas, Lente of Theology, Friar Baltazar Pais and Friar Salvador, Rector of St Martin's. D Francisco de Meneses had been promoted to Inquisitor on 17 September 1611, and had since dedicated much of his spare time to writing an extensive comment on the 1552 Regimento of the Holy Office, which had considerable influence in the making of the 1613 Regimento. The original copy of D Francisco de Meneses's work is preserved in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Amsterdam (Codex Hs.Ros.629).
- (42) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 141-147. It was true that D Afonso de Castelo Branco, although very strict in religious matters, maintained unusually good relations with many New Christians, whom he believed were sincere Catholics. Most of them, however, were judaisers, including his private secretary Manuel Martins, his protégé Crispim da Costa and his Almoxarife Jorge Fernandes Machado. The latter's children, all judaisers, included three girls who professed in the Monastery of Santa Ana with the Bishop's blessing - Luísa Machada, Maria de Matos and Francisca das Chagas - and their younger brother Francisco Machado. The latter took Holy Orders, obtained a benefice in the church of St Mary of Alcáçova in Montemor-o-Velho, and was living in Santiago de Cacém, in the province of Alentejo, when he was arrested by the Évora Inquisition in April 1622.
- (43) - With the exception of António Dias da Cunha, no Canons of New Christian ancestry were present.
- (44) - In October 1613, a tentative solution was put forward through an arbitrator, Father Manuel de Lima, Rector of the College of the Society of Jesus; but peace was not established until early March 1614, with concessions from both sides.
- (45) - He lectured Vespers until 2 March, and subsequently Prime until the end of the Easter term, a total of 27 lectures (AUC, Conselhos, 1612-1613, fl. 25).
- (46) - Traditional Jewish usages and rituals were well known. The Monitories and the sentences read in autos de fé informed the common people about them, and scholars had access to many reliable sources, including rabbinical comments. Many of these were quoted in contemporary theological works. Let us consider the example of Friar Luís de Sotomaior, whom Dr António Homem knew well: it was in the latter's house that an agreement was signed, whereby the University lent the Friar 600,000 réis to finance the publication of his comment to the Song of

Songs. Friar Luís de Sotomaior quoted Rabbis Aben Esdras, David Kimchi, Eliezer, Leo Hebraeus, Moses the Egyptian and Solomon, as well as the Chaldean Paraphrasis, the Babylonian Talmud, the Targumim of Onkelos and Jerusalem, and the Kabbalah. Dr António Homem's colleague and enemy Dr Gabriel da Costa quoted, among others, Rabbis Abraham, Isaac, Hoseas and Samuel. Most Jewish theological and liturgical works could only be consulted by special permission from the Diocesan authorities, but Dr António Homem's duties in the Faculty of Canon Law gave him the right to obtain that permission. It was certainly not through ignorance that he cast aside the orthodox Jewish liturgy.

(47) - The details given in the Pentateuch were supplemented by those which appeared in Ecclesiasticus, the Books of the Maccabees and other religious books, as well as in Flavius Josephus's works. Dr António Homem had access to *Los siete libros de Flavio Josefo los quales contienen las guerras de los Iudios, y la destruccion de Hierusalem y del templo* (Antwerp, 1557) and *Dell'antichità dei Givdei Libri XX* (Venice, 1580) - copies of both still exist in the BGUC - and probably to a contemporary edition of *Contra Apionem*.

(48) - Strictly speaking, the Jewish faith has no dogmas. Every Jew is born into God's covenant with the people of Israel, and thus needs no formal statement of beliefs to be considered as a Jew. However, as contacts with other peoples increased, Philo of Alexandria and other Jewish sages recognised the need for a basic profession of faith. Rabbi Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides, 1135-1204) summed up the Jewish beliefs in thirteen principles, which were set down in his commentary on the Mishnah as an introduction to Sanhedrin 10, and were still authoritative in the 17th century. It is not known whether Dr António Homem was acquainted with Maimonides, whose *Sefer haMitzvot* (Book of the Commandments) was highly esteemed by Torah scholars; but the latter's work was certainly known in the University of Coimbra, and, coincidentally or not, the Lente's doctrine was in general agreement with the Thirteen Principles.

(49) - It has been suggested that the concept of a Confraria or Fellowship was strictly Catholic, but this is clearly not so. In the 15th century, the larger Jewish communities - Lisbon, Coimbra and Santarém, among others - had Confrarias for charitable purposes. They were headed by a rabbi, assisted by a procurator, and were responsible for helping the poor, providing dowries for orphan brides, ransoming the Jewish captives, and providing medical assistance to those in need. The physician Salomão Cohen, who was the son-in-law of Dr António Homem's great-great-grandfather Moisés Boino, served the Confraria of Coimbra for some time in the second half of the 15th century (TAVARES, Maria José Pimenta Ferro - *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, Vol. 1, p. 354-355).

(50) - A half New Christian farmer from the parish of Taveiro, Francisco Rodrigues belonged to a family closely related to Old Christians. His parents were António Rodrigues "o Bate-lhe o Fuzil" and his second wife, Madalena Francisca, an Old Christian; he was married to another Old Christian, Isabel de Sousa, from the parish of Samuel, near Montemor-o-Velho; and their only daughter, Maria de Sousa, was married to an Old Christian, João de Valadares, clerk to the local vicar. However,

António Rodrigues was a confirmed judaiser, who had been reconciled in 1599 and instructed his son in the precepts of the Jewish Law (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2459, 5 and 14 March 1620).

(51) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5818, 24 November 1621.

(52) - The inscription fee was between 300 and 500 réis. The yearly fee varied according to what each member wished to give.

(53) - The membership book was described by André Vaz Cabaço as being "de mea folha e de pergaminho liso branco por fora com humas fitas de cores, e no ditto pergaminho estauão feitos huns risquos não lhe lembra se heram de ouro se de amarello". The book was shown him by Canon Fernão Dias da Silva, in whose possession it was (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5818, 3 December 1621). Diogo Lopes da Rosa described it thus: "hum liuro emquadrado em hum pergaminho branco de bezerro muito liso com fitas verdes e amarellas E as folhas delle não se lembra bem se erão douradas se amarellas" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2283, 6 November 1621). A similar description was given by Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 12494, 11 February 1623).

(54) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2544, 21 October 1621.

(55) - Henrique de Arede shared the office of University Paymaster with his son Dr Francisco Gomes and son-in-law Francisco de Andrade (AUC, Conselhos, 1612-1613, fl. 64). Henrique de Arede served the Chapter as Paymaster until 1602, and was appointed Receiver of its revenues on 7 December 1610, in the absence of Paymaster Marcos de Figueiredo, who had been suspended for unsatisfactory performance (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 57v-59). Marcos de Figueiredo was reinstated as Paymaster on 28 March 1613 (ibid., fl. 169v-170v). Henrique de Arede and Francisco de Andrade were contracted as Provosts by the Monastery of Santa Cruz on 22 March 1614 (AUC, Livro de notas de Agostinho Maldonado e Pedro Lopes, 1613-1615, fl. 172v-179).

(56) - His ignorance was understandable. Henrique de Arede was ostensibly a good Catholic; he was a member of the Fellowship of St Bartholomew's church and of that of Our Lady in Santiago church, and had never had any problems with the Inquisition (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 385, 14 June 1619).

(57) - António Correia de Sá stated that a password used to announce the Yom Kippur ceremony was: "Amanha temos um ganha-perde; cheguese Vossa. Merce. para ele cedo" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5821, 3 December 1621).

(58) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5818, 3 December 1621. Miguel Gomes had previously lived in his father's house in the Runa (Rua da Sota), a quiet back street near the Portagem.

(59) - The surviving records of Santa Cruz parish include the dates of the baptism of five of Simão Gonçalves's children: António on 15 March 1590 (Lib. II, fl. 143v), Madalena on 8 July 1592 (ibid., fl. 156v), Maria on 24 September 1594 (Lib. III, fl. 11), Clara on 6 July 1597

(ibid., fl. 35), and Francisco on 14 November 1599 (ibid., fl. 45v). Francisco Geraldês was his only surviving son, whom he converted to the Jewish law and taught his barber's trade.

(60) - Simão Gonçalves's father was a French architect, Guillaume Gérard, who had gone to Portugal in the retinue of Infante D Luís, in the 16th century, and eventually married Isabel Duarte, a half New Christian from Alhandra. Simão Gonçalves was born in Peniche, and went to Coimbra in his late teens as a servant of Dr Francisco Rodrigues Fróis, who would eventually be Lente of Vespers of Theology; his sister Joana Duarte married in Peniche and stayed there. After leaving Dr Francisco Rodrigues's household, Simão Gonçalves made a living as a barber.

(61) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5632, 9 August 1621.

(62) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 187v. Compare with the following, dated 13 April: "em cazo que saisse eleito crispim da Costa [...] em algum officio da Caza uisto não o ter o Cabido nem o auer por Conego que o senhor presidente e o secretario entre sim pudessem cassar a dita eleição e nomeassem em seu lugar outro capitular qualquer que lhe bem parecesse" (ibid., fl. 174).

(63) - The reasons for this change are rather obvious. Crispim da Costa owed his nomination to his patron D Afonso de Castelo Branco; but, once he was accepted in the Chapter, he shifted his support to the old Bishop's adversaries, notably Dr Gabriel da Costa and Canon António Lopes da Maia. Dr António Homem was shocked with this display of ingratitude (cf. Points 56 to 58 of his defence of 21 November 1620; ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 16225).

(64) - The Deputies for 1613-1614 were Friar Francisco Carreiro (Theology), Dr António Homem (Canon Law), Dr António Lourenço (Law) and Dr Baltazar de Azeredo (Medicine).

(65) - Dr Francisco Gomes's Provost's contract was signed on 9 December 1613 (AUC, Livro de notas de Agostinho Maldonado e Pedro Lopes, 1613-1615, fl. 49v-55) and confirmed on 16 January 1614 (ibid., fl. 73-74). Dr António Homem was present on both occasions as a witness.

(66) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 203-204.

(67) - His conditional acceptance was dated 8 January 1614 (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 204v-205). A contract was drawn up on 16 January (ibid., fl. 212).

(68) - António de Oliveira was Rodrigo Aires's son and the older brother of Canon Mateus Lopes da Silva. He married Luísa Mascarenhas, of the Pina family of Montemor-o-Velho, and also a judaiser; their dowry contract was dated 17 July 1602 (AUC, Livro de notas de Agostinho Maldonado, 1602, fl. 109-111).

(69) - António de Oliveira described the gaias or guaias as follows: "Alevantaram os olhos ao ceo e punham as palmas das mãos alevantadas em compostura, abaixando a cabeça ate aos peitos, ja inclinando-a a huma e outra parte" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9435, 6 Sep

tember 1622). Less than a century earlier, however, *guaia* (or *guai*) was an interjection of grief, used by Spanish and Portuguese Jews alike (see BAROJA, Julio Caro - *Los Judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea*, Vol. I, p. 440, and COROMINAS, Joan - *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Vol. II, p. 822-823).

(70) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9435, 26 August 1622.

(71) - AUC, *Acordos do Cabido*, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 224v.

(72) - AUC, *Acordos do Cabido*, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 234.

(73) - On 30 July 1614. Valentim Quaresma hoped to follow an academic career; he even replaced his uncle for short periods in later years. Dr António Homem's arrest made him give up his studies. When he was arrested in 1623, he lived with his father, Dr Manuel de Elvas Quaresma. Valentim's older brother Jorge Quaresma was luckier. He graduated as a Bachelor in Canon Law on 11 July 1614 and made his *Formatura* on 30 April of the following year, being sponsored by Dr António Homem on both examinations. And, although he was a judaiser, like his brothers and his mother, he was never arrested.

(74) - Francisco de Aguiar de Brito normally lived in Coimbra. The Copeira farm was rented by his father-in-law, Belchior Limpo de Abreu, who paid the yearly rent of twenty almudes of wheat to the University and 45 almudes of wine to the Monastery of Santa Cruz. When Belchior Limpo died, leaving his family in poverty and a debt of 600,000 réis to the University (ANTT, *Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*, 1598-1603, fl. 52v), Francisco de Aguiar de Brito undertook to repay that sum in instalments, in exchange for the tenancy of the Copeira farm, on condition that he would support his mother-in-law D Isabel de Campos while she lived. The latter, who was a half New Christian and received limited financial help from Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco (*ibid.*, fl. 53), stayed in the farm, where she was joined by Francisco de Aguiar de Brito and his family in the summer and autumn.

(75) - His father, Jerónimo de Aguiar de Brito, was an Old Christian, but his mother, D Isabel, was a New Christian and a covert judaiser.

(76) - He did attend Mass and frequently took Holy Communion, and had an outward devotion to the Hours of Our Lady. When he was arrested on 6 October 1621, Chief Warder Miguel de Torres Ferreira found on his person "humas oras de nossa Senhora" and little else. He also contributed to the upkeep of his parish church. His neighbours, with the exception of António Dias de Almeida, did not suspect that he was a judaiser.

(77) - His wife was D Antónia de Campos, a quarter New Christian who was generally believed to be an Old Christian. Hers was a respectable family: her father, Belchior Limpo, was a University official who enjoyed the privileges that his position entailed; and her sister D Maria de Campos was married to an Old Christian, Marçal de Macedo, a citizen of good standing. Francisco de Aguiar de Brito never allowed his five children to learn about his judaiser activities, and even told

them not to play with António Dias de Almeida's children (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9456, 21 October 1621).

(78) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9435, 6 September 1622.

(79) - The house was soberly furnished. Two rooms were more carefully arranged: the study, where the Lente installed his ever-expanding library, and his bedroom, which he showed to some young friends of his. His bed had a canopy on four posts, as was the fashion of those days; the ceiling paintings represented Joseph's dreams ("no tecto da dita camara estauão pintados os sonhos de Ioseph", recalled Father Diogo da Mata on 20 March 1623); and there were scenes of the Holy Queen on the wall panels (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 230).

(80) - The trumpet represented the shofar of the orthodox Jews. The Sephardim or Peninsular Jews blew it three times (as compared with a single blow among the Ashkenazim or Eastern Jews), but only at the end of the ceremony. This was well known to any scholar of Dr António Homem's day. It is not known why he chose to blow the shofar at the beginning of the main ceremony. Perhaps to call his congregation into another room; or to underline his role as High Priest, taking his inspiration from Judges 3, 27: "And it came to pass, when he was come, that he blew a trumpet in the mountain of Ephraim, and the children of Israel went down with him from the mount, and he before them".

(81) - Dr António Homem's general source of inspiration regarding the ceremonial vestments was Exodus 28.

(82) - When D Miguel de Castro asked André de Avelar how were priests chosen, the latter replied that he was not sure, but thought that they were selected by Dr António Homem for their scholarship and dedication in private interviews. In his own case, he did not consider himself particularly qualified, but had been given the dignity of a priest for solving various liturgical problems, for instance, "acerca das luas quando cahiam pera se cellebrarem as paschoas e festas dos judeus, e outras coussas tocantes a sua sciencia" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2209, 20 March 1623).

(83) - The various ceremonies were described in detail by many witnesses, with the minor differences to be expected from people coming from different backgrounds. They may be compared with the orthodox Jewish services: heads covered, tephilim worn, readings from sacred texts, the Avodah or poetical description of Temple worship, confession of sins, general blessing; the ceremony ended when the first star appeared in the sky. António Correia de Sá later stated that the Fellowship members kissed Dr António Homem's feet at the end of the ceremonies: "lhe beijauão o pé o que faziam a elle dito Antonio homem em reconhecimento da perminencia e dignidade que tinha de maior Rabino da lei de Moyses" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5821, 14 November 1621). This was quite possibly true: one kissed a King's or nobleman's hand, but only the Pope - the High Pontiff - had his feet kissed. As a High Priest, the Lente was entitled to the same homage, in the eyes of his congregation.

(84) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9435, 24 September 1622;

transcribed in Appendix 5.

(85) - Luís Arês went to India as a soldier in the armada of High Captain D Luís Coutinho, which sailed from Lisbon on 4 April 1593; he was 19 at the time. He had a distinguished military career, first in the conquest of Ceylon, then on the Malabar coast, and finally in the second siege of Chaul, where he was knighted by Cosme de Lafetá, Captain General of the siege and former master of the galleon "São Simão", the only ship of the 1598 armada of the Indies to have left Portugal - the estuary of the Tagus was then controlled by Earl Cumberland's ships. Luís Arês left the army in 1604 or 1605 and became a Dominican friar, subsequently receiving Holy Orders. His return to Portugal was rather adventurous. Rui Lourenço de Távora had sailed from Hormuz aboard the nau "Cabo", leaving D Jerónimo de Azevedo as Viceroy; evaded Dutch corsairs off the Cape of Good Hope; and made a stop in Angola before setting off for Lisbon (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1845, 15 February 1622).

(86) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 2-2v.

(87) - A Royal Charter issued on 17 October 1614 and presented to the University on 28 November appointed Dr António Homem for the Chair of Prime, Dr Domingos Antunes for Vespers, Dr Luís Ribeiro de Leiva for Decretum, and Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia for Sext (AUC, Processos das cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib. 3, fl. 59-59v)

(88) - Drs António Homem and António Lourenço were rewarded on 7 November with 10,000 réis each for the extra work they had during their terms of duty as Deputies (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1613-1614, fl. 80v).

(89) - He had already missed two lectures before Easter. This time he was replaced by his pupil, Bachelor Francisco Gomes, until 28 November (Conselhos, 1614-1615, fl. 4v). The latter was later Lente of Clementines, and became a Franciscan friar on 7 January 1633.

(90) - Manuel Mexia Fouto and D Clara Galvão had four children. Martim Afonso Mexia was the first-born, followed by Jorge, Lopo and D Maria Clara. Lopo Mexia became Friar Martinho, a Carmelite Friar; D Maria Clara Mexia married Pedro Gonçalves Centeno. Jorge's fate will be mentioned later. Martim Afonso Mexia registered as a student of Instituta on 15 December 1612 and as a Canon Law student on 15 October 1614. He was already a Canon in the Cathedral of Lamego and Archdeacon of Riba Coa when he acted as the representative of his uncle at the time of the latter's appointment as Bishop of Coimbra. He apparently had no homosexual tendencies, as he was named in 1619 as one of a number of students who frequented the nuns of the Monastery of Santa Ana (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 268v). He was later a Deputy of the Lisbon Inquisition.

(91) - Martim Afonso Pereira was the son of Pedro Mexia Fouto. He registered as a student of Instituta on 14 October 1613 and as a Law student on 15 October 1614. Although not given to the sin of mollities, he was not unaware of the mores of certain of his colleagues (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 41v-42). Martim Afonso Pereira graduated as a Bachelor in Law on 14 January 1619, and remained in the

city, being elected scholar of St Paul's College on 26 February 1620. He was the executor of Bishop Mexia's testament, and was later granted a Knighthood of the Order of Christ. He died quite young, on 1 January 1631, and was buried in the Monastery of Santo António dos Olivais.

(92) - As a judaiser, the Lente would find Bishop Mexia's nickname rather ironical. It was a pun on his surname: "o Mexias", the Messiah.

(93) - Dr António Homem already had a relationship with his page boy Tomé da Fonseca, aged 13, whose father, Diogo da Fonseca, from Vagos (near Aveiro), was a friend of his. He also had occasional intimacies with other boys. But Jorge Mexia was obviously in a different class: of noble descent, educated, well-mannered, and affectionate.

(94) - If one is to believe Jorge Mexia's statement, Dr António Homem first committed the sin of mollities with him shortly after they became friends, in a vineyard just outside the city, on Montarroio hill (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 23 June 1620). The Lente was so dedicated to Jorge that he disregarded the most elementary rules of common sense. A former mulatto footman of his, Manuel Carvalho, testified that Dr António Homem stayed for three or four days with Jorge Mexia, then nearly 15, in a farm he owned near St Lazarus's hospital, on the northern approach to Coimbra, and both slept in the same bed (ibid., 20 December 1619). This was confirmed by page boy Manuel Henriques, who was 12 at the time and was also intimate with his master; but Manuel added that there was only one bed in the farmhouse, shared by all (ibid., 21 and 22 December 1619).

CHAPTER 8

(1) - AUC, Conselhos, 1614-1615, fl. 76v.

(2) - Simão Barreto had been in charge of a Catedrilha of Canon Law for a short time in 1608-1609, being subsequently replaced by Miguel Soares Pereira, then a Licentiate.

(3) - AUC, Conselhos, 1614-1615, fl. 79-80.

(4) - Simão Barreto was not completely wrong. Miguel Soares was a protégé of Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco, who was favourably impressed with his potential. He also had the support of Francisco da Silva, who was soon to become Paymaster of the Bishopric, and of the latter's father-in-law, the influential citizen Cristóvão de Sá, both of whom openly campaigned on his behalf. Also, Drs António Homem and Manuel Rodrigues Navarro, who voted in the election, were generally believed to be sympathetic to Dr Miguel Soares Pereira. The latter's career justified the trust D Afonso de Castelo Branco gave him: he was appointed Choirmaster of the Cathedral of Braga, then Agent in Rome, where he was between 1623 and 1626, and finally Bishop of Miranda.

(5) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 11v-13. The validity of his appointment was questioned after the death of his sponsor, Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco, due to Fernão Dias da Silva's

Jewish blood, but the matter was settled in the latter's favour by the Apostolic Collector (ibid., fl. 22v, 35v, 52-53, 54v-55).

(6) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5821, 12 October 1621.

(7) - André Vaz Cabaço was visited by Fernão Dias da Silva during Holy Week; "e estando ambos na sua sala asentados uindo elle confitente a falar nos officios daquella somana parecendolhe bons & uerdadeiros como quem andaua ia com a consciencia remordida o ditto Fernam dias lhe disse que não fosse paruo que hera graça tudo fora da ley de Moyses". He further stated that "o dito Conego lhe disse que todos os da nação ou que tinham alguma cousa della nesta Cidade uiuiam na ley de Moyses e a guardauam e a tratauam com elle" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Proces so No 5818, 3 December 1621).

(8) - The dependence of the Spanish Court on the New Christian financiers grew with Felipe IV and his valido the Count-Duke of Olivares (for details, see BOYAJIAN, James C - Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain, 1626-1650, passim).

(9) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl.18v-19. Two days earlier, on 10 May, he had been the godfather of Helena, daughter of two judaisers: Dr Francisco Gomes "o Doutorinho" and Iseu de Arede.

(10) - The first Monastery of Santa Ana, founded in 1174, was abandoned in 1556 because of the damage caused by seasonal flooding. The nuns were temporarily housed in São Martinho do Bispo. A new Monastery was erected in the Eira das Patas common, by order of Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco, and was inaugurated on 13 February 1610.

(11) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 19-19v. The remainder were Archdeacon André de Pinho, who was subsequently elected Provisor of the Bishopric sede vacante; Sebastião Teixeira de Vahia, the Cathedral Schoolmaster; and Nicolau Leitão, Treasurer of the Chapter. The inventory was made by the District Judge of Coimbra. Dr António Homem's friend Luis de Lemos da Costa was appointed executor of the late Bishop's testament. The Lente was busier than usual at the time. His governess, Maria João, died on 8 May and was buried in the cloister of the Cathedral; and, as was proper, he supervised the funeral arrangements (AUC, Titulo dos defunctos desta freguesia da See, fl. 263). Meanwhile, a vacancy was declared open for Paymaster of the Bishopric. Francisco Dias became a candidate on 30 May, and was contracted for three years on 5 June (AUC, Livro de notas de Agostinho Maldonado e Pedro Lopes, 1614-1615, fl. 160-167).

(12) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 19. D Afonso de Castelo Branco was buried in the church of the Monastery of Santa Ana, and his tomb was rebuilt in 1635 by his niece Madre Maria de Menezes, then the Prioress. It was transferred to the cloister of the Old Cathedral in January 1908.

(13) - From the early years of the rule of Felipe III, the Apostolic Nuncio of Spain and Portugal stayed in Madrid, and Portugal was allocated an Apostolic Collector General with powers of a Nuncio. Ottavio Accoramboni, Bishop of Fossombrone, was Collector General between 1614

and 1620.

(14) - AUC, *Acordos do Cabido*, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 19.

(15) - Diogo Salazar, who passed *nemine discrepante*, was sponsored by Dr Luís Ribeiro de Leiva. His insignia of a Bachelor were imposed on him after the examination, Dr António Homem being then present in his quality of *Lente of Prima*.

(16) - According to Francisco Talésio, the *Lente* was at his window when he saw him pass by in the street. He called him up, not knowing who he was; asked him his name and whose son he was, and was pleased to find that the boy liked him. He kissed and hugged him, "e lhe fes desatacar as balonas dos calções, pera lhe uer as pernas e os botões das mangas pera lhe uer os braços, e lhe deu hum uintem [20 réis], pedindolhe que fosse muitas uezes a sua casa". Francisco did visit him again, with the knowledge and consent of his parents, either by himself or accompanied by the *Lente's* page boy Manuel Henriques. Francisco claimed that Dr António Homem committed sodomy with him on three separate occasions, but did not explain when or how their relationship had ended, nor even why he had never told anyone about their intimacies until after the *Lente's* arrest (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 6 January 1620).

(17) - A talented musician, Pedro Talésio was given possession of the Chair of Music on 19 January 1613 (AUC, *Processos das Cadeiras*, Vol. 1, Lib. 3, fl. 10v-11v). Although his first official appointment in Portugal was dated 30 June 1593, when he was made Master of the Chapel of the Hospital of All Saints, in Lisbon, he already was in the capital in 1591, as D Manuel da Câmara's Music teacher.

(18) - While his *Arte de Cantochão* was being printed, Pedro Talésio was given leave by the Rector to visit a daughter of his, who was a nun in Lerma. He left during the summer holidays, but his return was delayed by a malignant fever (probably typhus) which put his life at risk. He was replaced during the Christmas term by Father Manuel Ca-breira, who was paid a third of his salary (AUC, *Conselhos*, 1615-1616, fl. 8v), and resumed his duties after the New Year.

(19) - Pedro Talésio was not very well paid: 50,000 réis a year plus a boarding allowance, less than a junior teacher in the Faculty of Canon Law. Not surprisingly, he sometimes had financial problems. Dr António Homem was known to help his friends in need, and was never accused of usury. It was only natural that Pedro Talésio and his wife Vicência da Silveira, who were aware of Francisco's friendship with the *Lente*, never objected to it; quite the contrary. Vicência da Silveira sent Francisco to Dr António Homem's house at least once, to borrow some money from him. And the boy returned to his parents' with the money, was loaned without interest - but the *Lente* allegedly committed sodomy with him.

(20) - Although António Correia de Sá's father and his own wife were Old Christians, that did not prevent him from judaizing and converting his five children. He even wanted his son Luís de Sá to marry a wealthy New Christian girl, the daughter of his friend and fellow judaiser,

the Licentiate Henrique Pais, of Oporto; but Luis left home and married an Old Christian lady. Francisco and his sisters remained in the Quinta da Giralda, a rural estate situated by Carregais hamlet, in the parish of Taveiro, which he administered on behalf of his father. The Quinta was the property of the University College of the Most Holy Trinity, and António Correia de Sá held its lease, for which he paid a yearly rent (foro) to the College. The Quinta was confiscated after his arrest, and auctioned on 12 January 1623; it was bought for 550,000 réis by Nicolau Leitão, Treasurer of the Cathedral.

(21) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5818, 23 November 1621.

(22) - António Leitão, nicknamed "o Corcovado" - 'the hunchback' - because of his spinal deformity, never married and had no natural children. He was persuaded to follow the Jewish faith around 1608 by his colleague Sebastião do Quintal, a veteran judaiser. At that time, António Leitão shared a house with two clerics, Father Mateus Fernandes, bursar of Santiago parish church, and Father Miguel Henriques, Chaplain of the Cathedral. He was still living with them when he was arrested.

(23) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5821, 15 November 1621; see also Processo No 6931, 26 November 1621. Francisco Serrão was born in Moura, Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro's home town, of New Christian judaiser parents, and married Luisa Serrão, also a judaiser. Both had relatives living in the Low Countries as orthodox Jews. However, Francisco Serrão later claimed that he had been persuaded to judaise circa 1607 by his late sister Catarina de Oliveira (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2468, 22 March 1620). António Correia de Sá claimed that Francisco Serrão obtained a copy of Friar Diogo's icon for his private devotions (Processo No 5821, 15 November 1621).

(24) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5818, 23 November 1621.

(25) - Although António Correia de Sá had judaised circa 1609, it was not until around 1615 that he converted Luis, his eldest son, to the Law of Moses, perhaps because he would be married during that year and would leave home. Luis's brothers and sisters were converted within the next couple of years (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5821, 11 October 1621).

(26) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 29 October 1621.

(27) - This opinion was shared by Miguel Gomes "o Manco", who later told Luis de Sá that he had listened in Lisbon to a certain Coelho, "grande sacerdote da lej", who also confirmed young people in the Jewish faith, and knew several rabbis in various parts of the country, "mas que todos reconheciam o dito doctor Antonio homem" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 29 October 1621). Even so, Luis de Sá did not meet the Lente again: "entam se escandalizou delle lhe meter as mãos no pescoso entendendo que elle queria peccar com elle: porquanto estaua muito mal jmfamado no peccado de molicias mas que o dito doutor o não cometeo pera isso em outra forma alguma" (ibid., 31 October 1621). Actually, the Lente preferred boys in their early teens, and Luis de Sá was 22 at the time.

- (28) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5821, 14 November 1621.
- (29) - The book was described by him as being of about the size of a breviary, "de pasta por fora dourado E duas correas de dous palmos E meo de compridas, E de tres dedos de largo que tinhão hus coyrois douro a Roda E cousa de quatro dedos antes da ponta sahia de cada principio dellas outra perna que fazia hum meo .X. na ponta E nas pontas do mesmo X. estaua hum modo de nominas mais delgado do mesmo couro, e pōtas as ditas duas correas sobre o dito liuro". A curious way to use the tephilim! He was told to stand up, and "lhe fizeram, que chegasse com as mãos as nominas E pontas das ditas correas" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 29 October 1621).
- (30) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 29 October 1621.
- (31) - D Afonso Furtado de Mendonça remained at the head of the diocese for less than three years. He was appointed Archbishop Primate of Braga in 1618.
- (32) - Crispim da Costa had been a member of the household of the late Bishop D Afonso de Castelo Branco; his patron's death forced him to look for accomodation elsewhere. This house was made available to him by the Chapter, through the influence of Canon António Lopes da Maia.
- (33) - D Martim Afonso Mexia had been transferred from the bishopric of Leiria to that of Lamego in late 1614, but did not take possession of the latter until 28 August 1615.
- (34) - The Bishop was chosen to undertake the visitation on 17 October 1615, but his appointment did not become effective until this time. He left Lisbon, where he was then, on 13 February. The visitation did not begin at once. Bishop Mexia spent some time in Coimbra with the canonisation proceedings of Queen Isabel, returned to Lamego on 23 March, and was back in the University in late May.
- (35) - Bishop Mexia was subsequently given two more months in order to conclude his task. A Royal Charter dated 6 August 1616 granted him an additional 1,000 cruzados to cover travelling expenses; they were paid on 25 September (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1615-1616, fl.78v). This sum being insufficient, he requested from the Board of Conscience and Orders another 1,000 cruzados. His request was approved on 16 May 1618 but the money was never paid, due to bureaucratic problems.
- (36) - A former Corregidor of Viseu, Dr Martim de Carvalho was paid 28,800 réis on 8 March "para ajuda do custo [...] como escrivão da uizita", of which 8,800 réis were a repayment of previous expenses (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1615-1616, fl. 58v-59). His salary, 800 réis per day, was the same as that of the Reformer's accountant, Jerónimo de Acha. Both were given a bonus of 30,000 réis on 29 October (ibid., fl. 81v-82). Dr Martim de Carvalho remained in Coimbra and became the Conservador of the University.
- (37) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2283, 25 January 1622.
- (38) - This Jew, whose name we were unable to find, was an official of

the Corfu synagogue, where a lamp burned in honour of Friar Diogo da Assunção. As a shaliach or messenger, he took back with him a certain amount of money collected from Fellowship members for that purpose. According to Diogo Lopes da Rosa, the money was collected by Francisco Rodrigues "o Bate-lhe o fuzil" and passed on to the Jew by Miguel Gomes: "ueyo a casa delle confitente francisco rodriguez o batelho [...] E lhe pedio huma esmolla para a Alampada que ardia em huma Sinagoga sua na ilha de Curfu porque todos os da nação pagauão pera ella o que cada hum queria, E elle confitente lhe deu duzentos reis, E perguntando ao dito francisco rodriguez por cuia uia hia este dinheiro para aquellas partes, o sobredito lhe disse que miguel gomes o encaminhou" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2283, 6 November 1621). An important Jewish centre, Corfu was a protectorate of Venice since 1386 and remained under Venetian rule until 1797, when it was conquered by the French. The Corfu Jews were mainly of Eastern origin, but were later joined by considerable numbers of refugees from Spain and Portugal. The 16th century Franciscan Friar Pantaleão de Aveiro visited Corfu on his way to the Holy Land. There he saw a "muyto grande, & bem concertada Synagoga" and was invited to attend a circumcission, which he did not describe in his book, "por não dar motivo a alguns ju deos do nosso tempo, a que com curiosidade, ou sua perfida obstinação, queirão saber, o que lhe não pertence" (Itinerario da Terra Sancta, p. 15-18). The Corfu Jews were not restricted to a ghetto until 1622, when their large number made it advisable. There were over 500 Jewish families and four major synagogues at that time. Rabbinical studies flourished in Corfu. Rabbi Moses haKohen, a distinguished talmudist and Yeshiba leader, lived there in the late 16th century; one of his best-known works, the Mi-Kamokah, was recited on Yom Kippur ("Mi-Kamokah be-Alim Adonai" - "Who is like unto thee, o Lord?", Exodus 15, 11).

(39) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5818, 22 November 1621.

(40) - Ascenso Dias, nicknamed "o Rato" (the mouse), was born in Aveiro circa 1596 from António Dias and Maria Lopes, both New Christians. He had two brothers and three sisters: António Dias, living in Salreu with his wife Maria Cardosa, an Old Christian; Beatriz Nunes, the widow of Jerónimo da Veiga, an Old Christian, who lived in António Dias's house with her children Maria, 14, and Diogo, 12; and André Dias, Guiomar Dias and Isabel Dias, all single and living at their father's. Ascenso Dias obtained the degree of Licentiate on 2 July 1619.

(41) - His uncle Ascenso Dias, a merchant in Aveiro, married to Maria Rodrigues, also a New Christian, was arrested by the Holy Office, as was his aunt Guiomar Dias, married to André Dias, an Old Christian and rent-charge collector (Rendeiro dos Cais) in Aveiro harbour. Ascenso Dias claimed that both "sahiram soltos & liures" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2115, 20 September 1620), but this was not quite true. Ascenso Dias, a hat maker, abjured de levi on 19 December 1599. We could not confirm Guiomar Dias's fate.

(42) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2115, 4 and 17 March 1622. According to Vicente de Arês, Miguel Gomes explained that he taught the Law because it was his duty as a priest, adding that Dr António Homem "representava o sumo sacerdote, que antigamente em Jerusalem fazia o sacrificio no templo, E que assy eram tambem obrigados os que

faziam o officio de sacerdote a ensinar as outras pessoas a Crença da ley de Moyses, E as Ceremonias que Conforme a ella auiam [de] se fazer" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5997, 15 July 1622).

(43) - Miguel Gomes later told Ascenso Dias that his father had taught him "auia muitos annos dizendolhe que se auia de escolher para ser sacerdote hum homem que fosse solteiro", this being why he had chosen not to marry (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2115, 18 March 1622). This was clearly at variance with the orthodox Jewish practice; there was no rabbinical tradition of priestly celibacy.

(44) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2115, 17 March 1622.

(45) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 29 October 1621.

(46) - The Pentateuch or Jewish Law, the Torah, was pronounced "Toura" in Portuguese. The word could also mean 'a cow', if understood as the feminine form of 'touro', a bull. Hence the choice of a cow or calf as the symbol of the Law of Moses for the initiates. The Inquisitors knew this. Estêvão de Arês da Fonseca stated that his stepmother Maria Henriques kept a locked box with "hum uulto piqueno de marfim que representaua ser boj, touro", which she used for private worship. The Inquisitor in charge of his case wrote on the margin of the folio "Toura" (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 3070, 3 February 1621). There are mentions of a calf in some 16th century proceedings. Maria Monteiro, aged 14, stated on 22 April 1595 that she had once seen Rodrigo Fernandes and António Lopes, both New Christian penitents from Castelo Branco, worshipping a calf. During a short enquiry that followed, Father Francisco Dias Velasco, Chaplain to His Majesty, was interviewed on 21 August and expressed some doubts about the veracity of Maria Monteiro, although she was in fact a reliable witness (BAIAO, António - "A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brazil", in *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, Vol. IX (1914), p. 472-473). Much later, in 1634, Grácia Mendes, a 12-year old New Christian girl, was reported to have said that her mother had taught her to pray to the "boizinho de ouro" or golden calf (ANTT, Évora Inquisition, Caderno do Promotor No. 146/3/6, fl. 420).

(47) - Strange as it seemed to the Inquisitor who received Luís de Sá's statement, he was telling the truth. He later added that the silver plate where the calf was placed "era grande e toda lissa, sem feitiço algum, E que a dita Bezerra estaua em pee sobre ella E que o que era o fesioso, E traseira da dita Bezerra sobraua da dita salua" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 3 November 1621).

(48) - As early as 7 October 1614, a Royal letter suggested that the University should obtain Duarte Brandão's services, "por ser sogeito de boas letras" (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1613-1615, fl. 133). Another letter, dated 17 July 1615, granted him a conduta or temporary Chair of 80,000 réis a year for a three-year period, "dentro nos quaes se uera [...] se responde as esperanças que delle ha" (ibid., fl. 147). He was given the privileges of a Lente on 22 March 1616, with leave to keep his Chair until further notice.

(49) - AUC, Conselhos, 1615-1616, fl. 9v-10. A charter of confirmation was issued on 8 June and presented to the University on 26 July (ibid.,

fl. 13v-14).

(50) - He did not begin to lecture until late in that year, and only gave five lectures during the Christmas term (AUC, Conselhos, 1616-1617, fl. 3v). The Easter term was slightly better: he gave twelve lectures but then left the University, ostensibly due to illness (ibid., fl. 10). He left the University on 6 May 1617 due to illness and "não auer mais que des dias de lisõis" (ibid., fl. 13v), and did not return until the Easter term of 1619, during which he missed no lectures at all (AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 7v); but he left again on 19 June (ibid., fl. 11v). Perhaps he earned considerably more as a lawyer. According to the University Statutes (Lib. III, Tit. XVIII), the Lentes were not allowed to practise Law, except during the summer holidays (July to September). A consultation of the Board of Conscience and Orders, dated 23 January 1620, criticised his record as a teacher: "por ser muito pouco o que nella [the University] faz o dito Duarte Brandão, nem auer esperança que o fara pela pouca curiosidade que tem mostrado ao exercicio de lente e nunqua hir a Uniuersidade senão tarde e depois de muitas uezes se lhe dizer que o faça, no que bem mostra fazer aquele officio mais por cumprimento que por uontade nem inclinação" (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1620-1622, fl. 27). Dr Duarte Brandão was given the Chair of Sext on 23 February 1623, although he was not sworn in until 14 December; and almost immediately began lecturing Vespers as a substitute. He tried to dedicate more time and effort to his career, but soon the fear of being arrested by the Inquisition made him cut it short.

(51) - Dr António Homem and Bishop Mexia were friends, but it was clearly because of the Lente's attachment to Jorge Mexia that he - a very busy man and not a Deputy of the visitation - collaborated with the Bishop, "e o ajudaua com seus pareceres nas mesmas materias da visita", as Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro's son Simão de Sousa would later complain, when he accused the Lente of personal enmity. His friendship with Jorge Mexia was rather distasteful to his New Christian colleagues and made him lose their support. Both Dr Navarro and André de Avelar's son Luís blamed him for what they saw as his contribution to the visitation. Luís de Avelar, who had graduated as a Bachelor in Canon Law on 25 June 1614, was suspended from the University and banned from Coimbra for a couple of years, which he spent in the village of Ançã. His last registration in the University was dated 15 October 1619.

(52) - A known omission in Canon Pereira's list is not without interest. According to page boy Manuel Henriques's testimony, one of Dr António Homem's young friends was 15-year old Gaspar Soares, Canon Pereira's nephew (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 19 January 1620). Gaspar is known to have had a close relationship with the Lente's nephew Valentim Quaresma (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5051, 27 October 1623). Canon Pereira died less than a year later, on 20 April 1617.

(53) - Canon Pereira's letters and statement were appended to ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421.

(54) - Following Dr Navarro's arrest, his wife D Francisca Brandoa and their children went to live with her son-in-law Paulo de Pina and his

wife D Brites de Sousa, both judaisers, in their estate in Lares. D Francisca Brandoa was left in some financial distress; she only paid 40 réis in the 1617 tax levy. Dr Navarro's younger brother Dr Lopo Rodrigues Navarro, wishing to help him in his proceedings, went to Coimbra in the autumn of 1616, where he was jailed as the guarantor of over 200,000 réis that Dr Navarro owed to the Bishop. He remained in custody until July 1617, when he was released by order of Rector D João Coutinho. Lopo Rodrigues Navarro, a famous lawyer and Crown Prosecutor in Évora, was arrested in 1618 with his wife D Leonor Rodrigues; he confessed his guilt and was reconciled, but his wife was released to the secular arm in Évora on 19 March 1619.

(55) - A fellow judaiser, António de Oliveira, later stated that Dr Navarro was present at a Passover ceremony which took place in March 1614 in Dr António Gomes's house (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9435, 26 August 1622).

(56) - The extra work involved in organising the ceremony made him miss a Chapter meeting. On 7 September 1616, the Chapter decided by majority vote not to penalise him "por não uir a Cabido sendo chamado cõ descôto" (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 98v).

(57) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2544, 21 October 1621.

(58) - Canon António Dias da Cunha was obviously not aware of the Jewish tradition of wearing tephilim for morning prayers on all days of the year, except on Sabbaths, Yom Kippur, and other scriptural holy days. António Correia de Sá described the tephilim as follows: "tinhão de largura dous dedos, E de comprimento dous palmos pouco mais ou menos, E que lhe parece que estauão guarnecidas mas não se lembra de que, E que as ditas nominas erão quadradas do tamanho de huma moeda de real feitas do mesmo couro, E não sabe o que tinhão dentro" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5821, 16 November 1621). The Rabbis interpreted Deuteronomy 6, 8 as referring to the use of tephilim: "And thou shalt bind them [God's commandments] for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes". Their importance in rabbinical tradition was such that it was said that God Himself donned tephilim on hearing I Chronicles 17, 21 (Talmud, Berakhot 6a, 62)!

(59) - From Father Diogo da Mata's statement dated 20 March 1623. His Processo was lost, but this statement may be found in ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2209.

(60) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2283, 5 November 1621.

(61) - An incumbent priest in the church of S João de Almedina, Father Diogo da Mata was born in 1580 of António da Mata and Ana Henriques. His New Christian mother taught him the basic precepts of the Jewish Law, and André de Avelar persuaded him to join the Fellowship, which he did, "entendendo que o ditto André do auellar por ser homem uelho e bem entendido o aconselhaua bem no caminho de sua saluaçam". Father Diogo da Mata was arrested on 16 March 1623.

(62) - António de Oliveira described the High Priest's mitre as having three golden plates "ouadas do tamanho de hum ouo, huma das quaes fi-

caua no meio da testa, e cada huma nas fontes ficando a do meio mais leuantada conforme a hum dos capitulos do exodo em que deus mandou que se puzessem aquellas laminas eminens fronti e a dita lamina do meio tinha tres nomes distinctos com Adonai cada hum em sua regra e as duas laminas das fontes tinham os nomes das doze tribus em letras latinas" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9435, 9 November 1622).

(63) - From Father Diogo da Mata's statement dated 20 March 1623 (in ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2209).

(64) - The 1616 ceremony was perhaps the most important of all. Seven Fellowship members left us a description of it: António Correia de Sá (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5821, 14 to 16 November 1621), André Vaz Cabaço (Processo No 5818, 23 and 24 November 1621), Diogo Lopes da Rosa (Processo No 2283, 5 November 1621), Ascenso Dias "o Rato" (Processo No 2115, 17 March 1622), Miguel da Fonseca (Processo No 355, 11 and 12 November 1621), Father Diogo da Mata (on 7 April 1623), and Miguel Gomes "o Manco" (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 11998, 24 October 1622).

(65) - The Inquisitorial Monitories and Edicts of Faith had omitted all mentions of tephilim since the late 16th century, as they were no longer in use. One of Uriel da Costa's propositions against the rabbinical traditions was against the use of the tephilim, which he saw as a superfluous, man-made precept (SILVA, Samuel da - Tratado da imortalidade da alma, p. 169-173).

(66) - Talmud, Pesach 54a.

(67) - Talmud, Yoma 9b.

(68) - Talmud, Shabbat 12b.

(69) - Malachi 4, 4-6: "Remember ye the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments. Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord: And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse". The role of Elijah as the precursor of the Messiah, which was also accepted by the Christians (see Matthew 17, 10-12 and Mark 9, 11-13), is well documented in Diaspora tradition.

(70) - Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro was arrested before he openly defied Dr António Homem's leadership. It is questionable, however, whether the other Fellowship members shared his doubts.

(71) - Besides the accusations made by Canon Álvaro Soares Pereira, several people interviewed in the course of Bishop Mexia's visitation referred to Dr António Homem as having committed the sin of mollities. One was the Lente's footman Manuel Carvalho, who was dismissed afterwards and testified in 1619 against his former employer. At this time, however, the accusations were not substantiated. And yet, Dr António Homem had already, on two occasions, made some advances to João Velho Lobo, the 21-year old nephew of his neighbour Dr António Velho, Pur-

veyor of the Bishopric, when he paid him courtesy visits (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 109-109v). Outraged as he stated he was, and having heard that the Lente was "mui deuasso" in the sin of mollities, João Velho told no one about this at the time.

(72) - Both the charge sheet and Dr António Homem's autograph defence were appended to the 1619 Autos e diligencias de inquirição, and are the only original documents of the 1616 visitation to have survived.

(73) - It was a heavy fine (equivalent to four months' wages), but not the heaviest the junta of the visitation imposed. That money may well have been allocated to Deputy Friar Egidio da Apresentação, in order to subsidise the publication of a treatise he wrote on the "defensão da purissima Conceção da Virgem". He was given 100,000 réis by the University on 17 September 1617, out of the money "que para a Universidade resultar das condenações da Junta do Bispo de Lamego".

(74) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 23 December 1620.

(75) - Bishop Mexia's choice was a lucky one for Dr António Homem, who was one of the few close friends that Father Francisco Suárez had in the University (Deputy D João Pereira, a former neighbour of the Lente's, confirmed this on 12 July 1623). Furthermore, Father Suárez was "incapaz de dizer ou escrever uma palavra, que offendesse a ninguém; sempre muito composto, transigente, modesto, generoso" (VASCONCELOS, António de - Francisco Suárez (Doctor Eximius), p. 56). In a letter to his friend, Inquisitor D Rodrigo da Cunha, sent on 2 July 1616, he mentioned "una ocupacion tocante a la visita que aqui se a hecho, bien contraria a mi gusto, y inclinacion" (VASCONCELOS, António de - op. cit., p. 72).

(76) - The Bishop corresponded with Dr António Homem until before the latter's arrest. In 1618, the Lente was asked to solve a legal dispute concerning a benefice at Penude, near Lamego, in Bishop Mexia's diocesis (COSTA, M Gonçalves da - História do Bispado e Cidade de Lamego, Vol. III, p. 496).

(77) - Dr António Homem's former maidservant Isabel Jorge stated that he gave Jorge Mexia "algumas peças, como pastilhas e Agnus dei, encastados em pao santo e prata" as farewell presents (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 15 January 1620). The Lente's distress can be measured by his subsequent behaviour. Desperately trying to find someone who could replace Jorge, he began showing interest in the choirboys he often met in the Cathedral; the first were Manuel Fernandes and Manuel de Almeida, both 14. He also became attached to a few students, including António de Faria, 12, and Francisco Gomes, 13, and continued a relationship with his page boy Manuel Henriques, then 13.

(78) - ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1608-1610, fl. 98v.

(79) - Dr António Gomes gave his last lecture on 31 October 1616, and was replaced by Dr João Bravo Chamiço, Lente of Vespers. On 7 July 1617 he asked to be replaced as Chapter physician by his friend Francisco de Almeida, which was not immediately granted (AUC, Acordos do Cabido,

Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 133. He was reinstated in his Chair by Royal Provision in September 1618 (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1617-1618, fl. 318), but eventually moved to Spain, where he was arrested in July 1623 by the Toledo Inquisition and abjured *de vehementi*. His wife Maria Gomes stayed behind, only to be executed on 5 May 1624 in Lisbon. Years later, the possibility arose of Dr António Gomes trying to obtain his Chair back. A Royal Letter of 22 September 1628 acknowledged the fact that he had not been banned from teaching when he abjured, and instructed Rector Francisco de Brito de Meneses to allow him to lecture Prime if he claimed his Chair until 15 November, otherwise the Chair would be vacated. In any case, any claims that Dr António Gomes might have to the Chair of Prime were so preposterous that they were not discussed in Council. Dr Manuel de Abreu, Lente of Crisibus and acting Lente of Prime, was given the property of the latter Chair on 30 January 1632.

(80) - His guilt as regards the sin of sodomy may not have been fully proven; otherwise he could have been handed over to the Inquisition. Perhaps the fact that he was a married man with legitimate and bastard children helped Bishop Mexia believe that perhaps he was not guilty. Dr Navarro himself wrote to Felipe III: "estou tam certo de minha inocencia, em todos os cargos que se me deram principalmente no de sodomia, e mollicies que de minha livre vontade peço a Vossa. Magestade me nam de outros juizes" (SIMAO, António de Sousa e Vasconcelos - "O Doutor Manuel Rodrigues Navarro, jurista e cristão-novo", in *Miscelânea Histórica de Portugal*, No. 3 (1983), p. 42).

(81) - Dr Navarro's wife D Francisca Brandoa, also a judaiser, was not arrested until November 1621. She stayed in Coimbra for a time with her children, including three girls, Filipa, aged 9, Maria, 7, and Catarina, 5. She was helped by Father Manuel Carvalho, Chaplain of the University Chapel and a half New Christian judaiser from Beja, "o qual ensinava a suas filhas a ler E a principio de canto". D Francisca Brandoa was living in her estate at Lavos, near Montemor-o-Velho, when she was arrested. Father Manuel Carvalho was arrested as a judaiser on 7 August 1626 and began his confession on the 8th. Following his reconciliation, he left the country and settled in the Netherlands as an orthodox Jew. He is known to have married there.

(82) - Dr Navarro lectured until 6 June 1616, and was subsequently dismissed from his Chair by decision of the visitation (AUC, Conselhos, 1615-1616, fl. 15v). His immediate punishment, which was not applied to members of the nobility because of the public humiliation it implied, was called "de baraço e pregão": a rope was tied round the convicted offender's neck, his hands were tied up, and he was paraded through the main streets of the city, stopping at certain public places to be flogged and have his sentence read to the surrounding crowds. A junta was formed to make an inventory of Dr Navarro's confiscated estate, the University being represented by Vice-Conservador Dr Martim de Carvalho. The money found in Dr Navarro's house was deposited with silversmith António Ferreira, who lived in the Calçada. Subsequently, 900,000 réis were allocated to the University, to cover the expenses of the visitation; 800,000 réis were ordered to be distributed to the farmers and peasants who had suffered from Dr Navarro's usury; and the remainder was given to the Hospital of St Anthony of the Portuguese in Ma-

drid (the interest on the amount received was still being received in 1637). Dr Navarro's estate seems to have been administered irregularly (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl.184v-185v). As late as 1640, a procurator of the administrators was still in Alentejo "executando e uendendo fazendas do confiscado".

(83) - Dr Navarro was to have been deported to the island of Príncipe. He was escorted to Lisbon, where he remained until late March 1617. He escaped before his ship sailed, and eventually reached Italy in the disguise of a friar, where he was assisted by Dr Pedro Gomes Porto, a former magistrate from his home town, Moura, who had gone to Rome in order to judaize and made a small fortune as a banker. With his backing and that of other influential Jews, Dr Navarro was able to resume his career, and lectured in the Universities of Bologna and Naples.

(84) - These included Bachelor Manuel de Vila-Lobos, Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro's nephew and allegedly one of his sexual partners. His graduation record, dated 25 May 1616, was crossed over by order of the Junta of the visitation (AUC, Actos e Graus, 1615-1616, fl. 92). Two students from Vila do Conde, Lopo de Sousa and Manuel de Faria, found guilty of indulging in sodomy and mollities with Dr Navarro, were expelled from the University and deported to Angola for eight years. Also sentenced for mollities was Dr António Homem's old friend Dr António Cabral, Lente of Instituta, who lost his degree and his Chair, and was expelled from the University in perpetuum (cf. BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 14).

(85) - One of these was 17-year old Simão de Sousa, Dr Navarro's first born son. He was a covert judaizer, who left Portugal when close relatives of his were arrested, lived in Italy for a time, and finally settled in Thessaloniki as a practising Jew.

CHAPTER 9

(1) - Letter dated 15 April 1617 (VASCONCELOS, António de - Francisco Suárez (Doctor Eximius), p. 74-75).

(2) - D Martim Afonso Mexia's proposal about the appointment of new Lentes, prepared with the assistance of D João Coutinho, was presented on 7 March 1617 (see COSTA, M Gonçalves da - História do Bispado e Cidade de Lamego, Vol. III, p. 67).

(3) - Father Francisco Suárez wrote to D Rodrigo da Cunha on 10 May to discuss his holiday plans: "El verano se va entrando mucho, y aunque aqui toda via haze fresco, quando menos pensemos se entraran las calmas, y los impedimentos de aqui no lleuan termino de acabarse, y así me determino de ronper con ellos, y partirme de aqui, como le hare pla ciendo a Dios a los .19. y a mas tardar a los .20. deste". He intended to go to Alentejo, via Tancos and Lisbon (VASCONCELOS, António de - Francisco Suárez (Doctor Eximius), p. 75-76). He was in Lisbon between 6 June and 30 July (ibid., p. 76-79).

(4) - He missed eight lectures, and was replaced at his request by his nephew Bachelor Valentim Quaresma (AUC, Conselhos, 1616-1617, fl. 9v).

(5) - André Gonçalves, aged 38, was interviewed on 3 May in the presence of the Bishop himself. He accused a priest of having a concubine, two sisters of keeping a brothel, and a student of having intercourse with a certain girl; but said nothing about the Lente's moral or religious deviations, either out of loyalty for his master or because he knew nothing about them - although Canon Alvaro Soares Pereira had named him in May 1616 as a witness to his master's homosexual activities (AUC, Liuro da deuassa da Visitação [...] este anno de 1617, fl. 132v-134). And the Constitutions of the Bishopric instructed a Visitador to enquire "Se ha alguma pessoa, que seja culpada em o peccado nefando, ou infamado nelle" (Tit. XXVIII, Const. XIV), and to report any such case to the Bishop for further action (Const. XV).

(6) - The Franciscan Monastery of Our Lady of Campos was founded in 1503 to replace a 15th century house of rest, and had a relatively short existence. It was subjected to flooding from the Mondego river, and suffered badly during a flood in 1620. The community eventually moved to a new monastery at Sandelgas in May 1691, and that of Our Lady of Campos was allowed to become a ruin.

(7) - Briolanja Travassos's father was the late Francisco Travassos, an Old Christian from Montemor-o-Velho. She was the sister of Duarte and António Travassos, both of whom were sentenced by the Inquisition.

(8) - A full New Christian, Branca de São José, or Branca Pais as her name was in the secular world, was born in Lisbon circa 1562. Following the death of her husband Lopo Pais, a half New Christian lawyer, in about 1592, she decided to become a nun, together with her daughter, who would become Sister Isabel do Paraíso (cf. ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2304).

(9) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2304, 24 March 1625.

(10) - Dr Jerónimo de Almeida was born in Montemor-o-Velho in 1562 and was a quarter New Christian: his father, João Lucas, was an Old Christian, and his mother, Francisca Brandoa, still related to Dr António Homem, was a half New Christian. Although he was a Doctor in Canon Law, he never had to use his degree, as he lived quite comfortably off his country estate. He claimed that his older brothers Manuel de Oliveira and João Lucas, both priests, had converted him to the Jewish faith circa 1605 (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 8133, 19 September 1623); but it is more likely that he was influenced by his mother, as was customary in judaiser families of that time. He had two sisters in the Monastery of Our Lady of Campos, Filipa de Jesus and Isabel da Cruz; the latter had already died when he was arrested on 5 June 1623.

(11) - Filipa da Fonseca, aged 48, Grácia de Pina and Joana de Pina.

(12) - They were D Catarina da Silva, aged 32, and Ana Francisca da Silva, Ana da Madre de Deus, Apolónia de S Miguel, Francisca da Cruz, Francisca da Silva, Margarida do Presépio, Maria da Conceição, Maria Henriques, Maria Manuel and Maria de Oliveira.

(13) - The knowledge of this was restricted to very few members of the

Fellowship. Simão Lopes "o Chorão" was the first to admit it (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2544, 21 October 1621).

(14) - Manuel Soares lived "por sua fazenda" in the Rua das Solas with her wife Maria de Oliveira, an Old Christian, their 1 1/2 year old son Bento, his brother António Soares, and his sister Maria Soares, who was married to Manuel Nunes, an Old Christian clerk, and had a baby girl. Manuel Soares also had an estate in Pereira, which he had inherited from his father Filipe Soares, a half New Christian. According to University printer Diogo Gomes Loureiro, his paternal grandmother, Catarina Rodrigues, "tiuera amisade illicita com lourenço de faria Prior da villa de Pereira do qual teue dous filhos e huma filha, e sempre forão tidos E auidos por xpistãos nouos por parte da dita sua mãe que ouuio sempre diser que era natural desta cidade da geração dos Burros mortos de alcunha" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6650, 26 May 1622). Although Filipe Soares was married to an Old Christian, Francisca Nunes, he apparently passed on the general principles of the Law of Moses to his son Manuel. It is not known whether the latter's brothers Friar António Soares, a Franciscan in Salamanca, and Filipe Soares, an incumbent cleric in Obidos and aide to Apostolic Collector Otavio Accoramboni, also judaised.

(15) - Miguel Gomes was right in trusting him. Unlike several other Fellowship members, Manuel Soares did not tell the Inquisitors about its activities until he was about to be sentenced, and even then he withheld important details, although he was tortured.

(16) - When Friar Agostinho de Castro, then in Coimbra, was appointed Archbishop of Braga in 1587, Manuel de Seiza's parents asked him to accept the ten-year old boy as his page. He remained in Braga until his fifteenth birthday, when he was sent to Coimbra for his secondary studies. There he lived in the house of the Licentiate Baltazar Velloso, an Old Christian cleric. And in 1604 he married an Old Christian (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2308, 1 September 1622).

(17) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2308, 5 January 1623.

(18) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 29 December 1619.

(19) - André Vaz Cabaço, Manuel Soares and Simão Lopes "o Chorão" described the ceremony and listed nearly thirty people who were present. All three agreed that Dr António Homem was not there.

(20) - "O dito Diogo lopez estaua rezando por hum liuro que era a modo de hum Breuiario grande a historia dos Machabeus, e declarou o que as lições diziam, exortando a guarda da lei de Moyses, e quanto importaua guardarena sempre, e nisto gastaram ate horas de meio dia em que elle Confitente se ueio pera Caza, e não sabe o que mais se passou" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6650, 21 February 1623).

(21) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5818, 23 November 1621. Most details were confirmed by Manuel Soares (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6650, 21 and 22 February 1623).

(22) - Dr João de Carvalho's former Chair of Digestum Vetus was given

on the same day to Dr António Lourenço.

(23) - Felipe III's letter, dated 21 November 1617, informed the University of his interest in having the dogma of the Immaculate Conception proclaimed by the Holy See, and asked for support from the University of Coimbra. Friar Egidio da Apresentação, Friar Francisco Carreiro and D André de Almada were asked by the Council to write a letter to the Pope about that matter, which would be examined in a *Clastrum Plenum* before being sent to Secretary of State Francisco de Lucena in Madrid. Dr António Homem's opinion was second only to the Rector's in importance (AUC, Conselhos, 1617-1618, fl. 116v-117v).

(24) - The Inquisition had been collecting abundant information about judaiser activities in northwestern Portugal for some time, and the visitation was organised as part of a large-scale operation intended to dismantle existing judaiser communities. Inquisitor Sebastião de Matos de Noronha was put in charge of the visitation, and was given as his bailiff on 14 December 1617 the Coimbra Inquisition Commissioner, Brás do Canto, whose brother Jácome Carvalho do Canto was an official of the General Council of the Holy Office (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition, Codex 664, fl. 1-2). A Royal Provision of 30 November 1617 requested the Oporto City Council to receive Sebastião de Matos de Noronha with the honours due to his rank, and to assist him as necessary. However, the Inquisitor began his enquiries in the town of Aveiro, and did not move to Oporto until later. He soon had a dispute with the City Council, due to his insistence in using the municipal gaol for the Inquisition prisoners. The matter was referred to Felipe III by Diogo Lopes de Sousa, Governor of the Oporto District Court (see Royal letter of 20 June 1618).

(25) - AUC, Conselhos, 1616-1617, fl. 74v-75v. See *Estatvtos da Univeridade*, Lib. II, Tit. IV for details of how the Rector was elected.

(26) - Also proposed, but not chosen, were Francisco de Brito de Menezes (who would be Rector in 1624) and D Diogo Lobo, whom Dr António Homem favoured. A Licentiate in Theology, Vasco de Sousa was elected in 1615 as the Chapter's representative in the Court of Madrid (AUC, *Acordos do Cabido*, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 53v). He was given a *Magistral Canonry* in Coimbra on 17 September of the same year and was sworn in by proxy, in the person of Canon João de Vilas Boas (*ibid.*, fl. 51v-52). The latter also made the profession of faith on his behalf on 3 December 1615 (*ibid.*, fl. 63v), as Vasco de Sousa was still in Madrid.

(27) - AUC, Conselhos, 1617-1618, fl. 119-119v.

(28) - AUC, Conselhos, 1617-1618, fl. 124v-126.

(29) - AUC, Conselhos, 1617-1618, fl. 120v-121v.

(30) - BNL, *Autos e diligencias de inquirição*, fl. 214v-223; ANTT, *Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421*, 2 January 1620.

(31) - An Old Christian, Diogo de Beja was the son of the late Jerónimo Juzarte (Bento Arrais de Mendonça's cousin) and Antónia de Andrade, and the grandson of Manuel Cordeiro, who had been city Sheriff. He was

in the 5th class of the College of Arts by 1619, and lived with his mother, grandmother and his two brothers: Manuel de Beja, aged 15, who was also known to commit the sin of mollities with his friends (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 31 December 1619), and Bento Juzarte, aged 10. He should not be confused with another Diogo de Beja, son of João de Beja Perestrelo, who was three years older (he was baptised in Santa Justa church on 8 August 1598) and also had a younger brother called Manuel de Beja, who was baptised in the same church on 4 March 1601 and was thus 19 at this time.

(32) - BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 250v-252; ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 11 January 1620.

(33) - From the statement of Bachelor Manuel Ribeiro Pacheco, dated 10 May 1619 (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 13).

(34) - This resolution was recorded on 11 May (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 163v). Dr António Homem was still involved in this affair on 13 July 1619 (ibid., fl. 189v). Pero Lopes de Quadros, from Tavadede, was the son of Fernão Gomes de Quadros, a cousin of Dr António Homem's maternal grandfather. The dispute was an old one. On 28 August 1615, the Chapter gave Dr António Homem thirty days' leave "para elle os tomar quando quiser", in exchange for a legal brief on that subject (ibid., fl. 46v).

(35) - See, for example, the statements of page boy Manuel Henriques (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 19 January 1620), chambermaid Isabel Jorge (ibid., 15 January 1620), and lackey Gaspar Cordeiro (ibid., 30 December 1619). But these were not necessarily all true. 21-year old Gaspar Cordeiro, for example, was himself quite friendly with Tomé da Fonseca and a bad influence on him. He persuaded the boy to steal some olive oil and silver cutlery, which would have cost Tomé da Fonseca his job, if his father, Diogo da Fonseca, had not begged Dr António Homem not to dismiss him as a thief. In the end, the Lente even forgave Diogo da Fonseca the 30,000 réis he had lent him, "em satisfação do seruiço, que Thome, seu filho, fez a elle" (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 16225, 14 July 1620). And Tomé da Fonseca, who appears to have esteemed his master's favours, had a teenage boy's intense jealousy of the favours he accorded to others, which may have unfavourably affected his statements (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 3 January 1620). Unlike most of Dr António Homem's servants, who found employment in the city after his arrest, Gaspar Cordeiro did not, and returned to his village of Porto de Mós (ibid., 17 September 1622: "em porto de Mos donde he natural").

(36) - He was given 12,000 réis on 16 May "pela iornada que fez a montemor o uelho onde foi tomar posse do prazo da carapinheira que uagou por morte de João carualho por quanto no tomar d'elle teue muito trabalho, risco e inconuientes e asim por respeito do tempo em que foi de noute caminhando toda ella e auer partes ariscadas e poderozas que tentarão de a empedir na qual posse teue bom soseso" (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1617-1618, fl. 72v-73).

(37) - He was given 21,000 réis on 8 October "para hum negocio de segredo do ceruiço de Sua Magestade" (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1617-1618,

fl. 93).

(38) - Felipe III decided that he should have "pagamento de seu ordenado como conseruador de propiadade, assim do tempo que tem ceruido de uice conseruador como daqui por diante". He was paid 54,434 réis on 8 December (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1618-1619, fl. 53v).

(39) - Conselhos, 1617-1618, fl. 137v-138v. Friar Egidio was actually chosen as Vice-Rector just before Vasco de Sousa died, in order to expedite some urgent pending matters, with the support of Drs António Homem, António Lourenço, Fabrício de Aragão, João Bravo Chamiço and D André de Almada, as well as Secretary Rui de Albuquerque. The unusual haste in his appointment caused some scandal among the teaching staff, but without good reason: Vasco de Sousa was unconscious for the last two days, and the dispositions of the Statutes (Lib. II, Tit. IV, Par. 5) were generally followed.

(40) - AUC, Conselhos, 1617-1618, fl. 139-139v.

(41) - Points 140 and 141 of his defence of 27 October 1620 (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421).

(42) - Estêvão's cousin Valentim Quaresma stated that the boy complained at the time "que por fora lhe chamauão Judeu e elle folgaua antes de o ser que Christão e que não queria ir a escolla por as orassoens e douctrina xpistam que o mestre lhe ensinaua" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5051, 9 February 1624). Estêvão had been converted by Dr António Homem and instructed by the Lente's sister D Maria Brandoa. He later recalled that his uncle recommended "que tudo o que fizesse das obras de xpistão, fosse com tenção de guardar a lej de Moyses" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2669, 29 April 1625).

(43) - Bento Rodrigues was accepted as a choirboy on 15 February 1618, at the age of 11 (he would be 12 in the following March); his father Luís da Costa, a cobbler by trade and an old acquaintance of Dr António Homem's, accepted responsibility for any damage caused to Chapter property by his son (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 150-150v). Bento Rodrigues gave detailed evidence of his relationship with the Lente, and claimed that he had committed sodomy with him on three occasions (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 3 January 1620).

(44) - According to the University Statutes (Lib. III, Tit. XXII), the Lentes who lectured for twenty consecutive years after obtaining their Doctor's degree were entitled to retirement as Lentes of their current Chairs, provided they had held the same for the past five years. Dr António Homem obtained a favourable report from Vice-Rector Friar Egidio da Apresentação, and the Board of Conscience and Orders approved his request on 6 September, subject to Royal confirmation (AUC, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciencia e Ordens, 1618-1619, fl.314). However, Felipe III turned down his request on 4 December, "uisto ser sua assistencia necessaria naquella Uniuersidade". Dr António Homem repeated his request in August 1619.

(45) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2544, 10 November 1621.

(46) - He had been indicted by physician Francisco Rodrigues, a New Christian like him. Luís Lopes da Cunha was the son of Lopo Dias and Inês Henriques, both judaisers. Inês Henriques's brother, the Jesuit Father Henrique Henriques, was a distinguished teacher of Philosophy and Theology in Córdoba and Salamanca and the author of a *Theologiae moralis summa*: "hombre de apacible exterior y suave trato, pero falso y taimado como nadie" (ASTRAIN, Father Antonio - *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus en la Asistencia de España*, Vol. III, p. 359-361). Among her twelve brothers and sisters were three distinguished Jesuits.

(47) - Not wishing to accuse his aged mother of having taught him the Law of Moses, Luís Lopes da Cunha stated that he had been persuaded to judaize by Jewish classmates when he was a medical student in the University of Padua, where he obtained a Doctor's degree. It was a plausible excuse and was accepted at face value. He further stated that he married a New Christian lady, Florença Dias, on 24 November 1614, an easily verifiable fact; "e loguo no mesmo dia estando ambos na cama se deram conta hum, ao outro, de como criam, e uiuam na lei de Moisses" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2894, 6 September 1618). Both Luís Lopes da Cunha and his wife proved to be good confessants, and were sentenced on 25 November. Florença Dias, incidentally, was the cousin of Baruch de Spinoza's mother Ana Débora de Spinoza, being the niece of the latter's father Henrique Garcês.

(48) - Paulo Lopes da Cunha, a 35-year old banker and contractor, was married to Tomé Vaz's daughter Catarina de Pina. He was arrested on 19 September, together with his mother Inês Henriques, and spontaneously confessed his guilt on 26 September.

(49) - Friar Sebastião was Crispim da Costa's brother, and came from the Monastery of St Francis by the Bridge. If he was arrested, which we cannot confirm, his proceedings were lost.

(50) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5818, 3 December 1621.

(51) - Francisco da Silva was contracted as University Paymaster on 10 November 1616 for a four-year period (AUC, *Receita e Despesa*, 1616-1617, fl. 1).

(52) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 30 October 1621. Luis de Sá was of the opinion that Miguel Gomes's brother Fernando Alvares "o Buco" had arranged to have them shipped abroad.

(53) - The scheme was described by José Coutinho as follows: "foi perguntado quem era o que guardava as uestes sacerdotais e liuros e onde ficaram ao tempo de sua prisão e En que se recolham = Disse que algum tempo antes que elle Confitente fosse prezo, ouuio diser que se mandaram a caza de francisco da silua sendo ainda uiuo, pera as mandar fora do Reino, E que o dito francisco da silua disse a elle confitente depois disso que ia as tinha mandadas, e perguntandolhe elle confitente como as mandara ou se forão uistas, o sobredito lhe dissera que por não serem uistas e irem com mais segredo se meteram com outra mercaderia em hum caixão que auia tido asucar e depois de pregado fora leuado a alfandega e despachado nella pagando os direitos delle como se fo

ra caixão de asucar E que nesta forma fora tudo embarcado pera flandes segundo sua lembrança e posto que não he lembrado ao certo por que por to sahio, he lembrado que era ou porto ou lisboa, E que por essa causa miguel guomes remeteo ao dito francisco da silua correspondensia nos ditos portos e hia assistir a elles pesoalmente por causa da demanda que trazia com as freiras de Sancta Anna" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6931, 15 February 1621). 'Flanders' should not be taken literally. The Scheldt river was closed to commercial traffic between 1609 and 1621, access to Antwerp was suspended, and Amsterdam or Rotterdam were used as alternative ports. José Coutinho's testimony is imperfect, which is not surprising, referring as it does to a secret operation. However, it can be considered as reliable; parts of it were confirmed by other Fellowship members.

(54) - From D Maria Madalena's statement dated 7 January 1625 (in ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5765). She was arrested on 18 November 1624, D Antónia de Meneses in February 1625.

(55) - António Dias da Cunha had been already been indicted by Tomé Vaz, but his arrest was directly caused by the confession of his brother Dr Luis Lopes da Cunha. He was 57 at the time, and had served the Cathedral for 33 years. His estate was inventoried by Dr Martim de Carvalho, with notary public Amaro da Costa as his clerk. On 21 August 1620, the Chapter rented his former house to Canon Manuel de Mesquita Pimentel, pending a decision from the Royal Treasury about who was its legal owner (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl.206). Due to problems in sorting out the tax situation, the house was reallocated to Canon Nicolau Monteiro on 6 September 1621 (ibid., fl. 221v). The matter was still unsolved on 17 February 1623 (ibid., fl. 256v-257).

(56) - Shortly after António Dias da Cunha's arrest, Canon Fernão Dias da Silva and his brother Marçal Nunes, who had been away on Chapter business, returned to Coimbra and visited their cousin Maria Henriques in the Monastery of Celas. They were openly concerned about their own future. Marçal Nunes even told her "que se souberam que prenderão Conegos da See de Coimbra pello sancto officio que não ouuera de entrar nesta Cidade" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6791, 10 March 1623). They were right: their arrests were only months away.

(57) - The Chapter met on 16 September to discuss the eventual fate of António Dias da Cunha's estate. It was concluded that it rightfully belonged to the Chapter, as it was built up from the "frutos E distribuições da Mea Conezia E Conezia desta Se de que foi prouido. Os quais Em cazo que seia declarado por Hereje, Elle não podia fazer seus a die comissi Criminis, por perder o Beneficio ipso iure, E com muito mais Rezão se se declarar que elle antes de ser prouido, ia tinha Encorrido no dito Crime de Herezia, porquanto em tal cazo por ser inhabil, E Estar Excomungado Era notorio que não podia ter titulo algu dos ditos beneficos" (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 171v-172).

(58) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol.10 (1614-1625), fl. 172v-173. Canon João Borrvalho was eventually sent to Rome to speed up the proceedings, and remained there until 1622. He presented his accounts to the Chapter on 22 July 1622 (ibid., fl. 239-239v).

(59) - He was questioned about his genealogy on 8 October, and again on 26 October about his activities, on which day he confessed having judaised in 1608 or 1609. He did not admit his role in the Fellowship ceremonies until months later (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 3901, 28 June 1619).

(60) - D Ana da Cunha, aged 23, was a half New Christian who had married at the age of 16, and had been persuaded to judaise a couple of years later by her husband, his brothers and sisters, and her father-in-law. They had three children: Mateus, aged 5 1/2, Filipa, aged 4, and André, aged 2 1/2. She voluntarily confessed her guilt on 10 November and named her husband and her father-in-law's family as judaisers.

(61) - Tomé Vaz was one of several prisoners to be transferred from Oporto. He had been accused by ten people, including four of his own children: two sons and two daughters, Grácia da Conceição and Bernarda do Espirito Santo, both nuns in the Monastery of St Bernard in Arouca. All his children were sentenced as judaisers. His wife Filipa de Pina was posthumously charged with heresy and apostasy as late as 1638.

(62) - Dr Diogo Fernandes Salema was born in Lisbon of Diogo Fernandes Salema and D Susana de Lemos, and was an old friend of the Lente's enemy Dr João de Carvalho; he took over his Chair when the latter had to be away from the University in October 1611, and was confirmed as a substitute teacher for another two months on 10 November 1611 (AUC, Conselhos, 1611-1612, fl. 34). Dr Diogo Fernandes Salema's role was duly appreciated by St Peter's College: he was elected Rector on 31 October 1619 (AUC, Colégio de S. Pedro. Capelas, Vol.3, fl. 3), a post that he had already held in 1615-1616. However, he was married in Lisbon and resigned his rectorship on 9 January 1620, being replaced by Dr Miguel Soares Pereira (ibid, fl. 5-5v).

(63) - D Afonso Furtado de Mendonça had been Rector for nine years and thus had a superior knowledge of University affairs; but he was about to be made Archbishop of Braga and was not available (see Royal Letter of 16 October 1618). His appointment came on 12 November, and by the following March he was already in Braga.

(64) - His appointment was made official on 15 November (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 2v-3).

(65) - From António de Faria's statement dated 11 May 1619 (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 19v-20). António de Faria never joined the teaching staff of the University.

(66) - Witness António Dias da Araújo confirmed this (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 19 December 1620).

(67) - SOARES, Pero Rodrigues - Memorial..., p. 416-417. André de Avelar wrote a Discurso Astronomico & Astrologico do cometa que apareceu por novembro de 1618 em Coimbra, followed by notes on the same subject by his son Luís de Avelar (BA Codex 46.VIII.16). The latter's work was printed separately in 1619 with the title Nox Attica hoc est. Dialogvs de impressione metheorologica, et cometa anni Domini 1618. Various authors wrote essays of limited interest about the comet.

(68) - Unlike most of his companions in the Fellowship of St Diogo, he stubbornly refused to admit his guilt. He was nearly handed over to the secular justice on two occasions, and confessed most of what he knew on 11 November 1623, when faced with execution.

(69) - Maria Henriques was a good friend of Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia, Dr António Homem's colleague in the Faculty of Canon Law, with whom she shared her belief in the Jewish faith. Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia also had a contact in the Monastery of Santa Ana: Sister Vitória da Cruz (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1349), the sister of known judaisers Sebastião and Pero do Quintal, who were released at the time of the General Pardon. She had another three sisters in the Monastery - Ana do Quintal, Isabel do Quintal and Maria da Apresentação - and a fourth, Clara de Figueira, in the Monastery of St Bernard in Cós. They were all judaisers.

(70) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9334, 10 March 1623.

(71) - They were all released on 26 November. Dr Luís Lopes da Cunha and his wife had a favourable report and were treated accordingly; the former was dispensed from further penance on 4 January 1619. Diogo de Pina had his sentence commuted to spiritual penances on 26 February.

(72) - His mother Branca Rodrigues was sentenced on the same day. Francisco Rodrigues Vila Real, aged 39, "grosso Rujvo Rosto vermelho e cõ algumas verrugas", had been denounced to Inquisitor Sebastião de Matos de Noronha during the latter's visitation to the diocese of Oporto. He was arrested on 15 July 1618, and voluntarily began his confession on 23 July. The Vila Real was one of the most distinguished New Christian family, and many of its members were sentenced as judaisers. João da Costa Vila Real, a Lisbon merchant, arrested on 23 August 1703 (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 2366), later emigrated to England, where his granddaughter Elizabeth da Costa Vila Real married William, second Viscount Galway, on 12 August 1747. A branch of the same family settled in Livorno in the mid-17th century, and counted among its descendants Benjamin Disraeli.

(73) - At that time, Miguel Gomes was already taking precautions for the event of his being arrested. António Correia de Sá recalled that "tanto que falou cõ a mulher de francisco de Carseres segundo disse que era pasando por Coinbra estando prezo o marido pello Santo officio", Miguel Gomes was afraid of being found out and shipped out part of his belongings via Aveiro and Buarcos (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5821, 29 August 1622).

(74) - Dr António Homem still had no reason to think that he would not escape arrest, and was making plans for his retirement. On 21 November he leased from the City Council half of the casa da charola (Charola was the framework used to transport the Most Holy Sacrament in the procession of Corpus Christi), next door to his own, which he intended to refurbish and use as an extension to his house. He also had a room in his house redecorated by an acquaintance of his, Pedro Álvares Pereira, whose 14-year old son Manuel Pereira he liked (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 252-253).

(75) - He still missed three lectures and was replaced by his nephew Bachelor Valentim Quaresma (AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 4v).

(76) - The Venda da Costa, between Leiria and Coimbra. João da Cunha first registered in the University as a pupil of Instituta on 6 October 1618, and as a Law student on 5 October 1619. When interviewed by the Reformer on 23 May 1619, he stated that it was Tomé da Fonseca who was involved in this incident (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 44-46). João da Cunha was a precocious young man; witness Branca Anes recalled that he had "ruim conuersação", at the age of 14, with a woman who was sentenced in the 1616 visitation for immorality (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 9 December 1620).

CHAPTER 10

(1) - AUC, Liuro dos baptisados, casados & defunctos desta freguesia da see, fl. 274. An Old Christian, Joana Jorge had been assisted in her duties by housemaid Maria João; the latter died on 8 May 1615.

(2) - AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 80-81.

(3) - The Board of Conscience and Orders nominated two candidates for this post on 16 November 1618: the Licentiate António Cardoso, former District Magistrate in Nisa and Sintra and Treasury Magistrate in Évora, and Dr Martim de Carvalho Vilas-Boas, Conservador of the University, who had been the clerk of the previous visitation. The former declined to accept the post, and the latter was rejected by D Francisco de Meneses, who disliked him, in favour of Agostinho de Aguiar. The King accepted his choice, "pella confiança que nelle tenho que no de que o encarregar, o fara como cumpre a meu seruiço" (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 3v-4v).

(4) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 12 January 1620.

(5) - On the same day, André Nunes de Pina was moved to the Casa da Galé, which he shared with another four prisoners. However, "por duuidas diferenças e inquietações, que com elle tinham seus Companheiros", he was put in the new Casa da Murta on 14 June, with two companions.

(6) - He later admitted that his mother Filipa de Pina had taught him the Law of Moses before Fernão Pais did (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5690, 16 May 1619). However, it was so obvious that he was deliberately holding back information that he was charged with being a heretic, apostate, diminute, simulator, and a false confessant (ibid., 28 August 1619). Following the publication of the proof of Justice, he stated that he would present no articles of contradiction, and declined the use of a lawyer (ibid., 15 September 1619). Torture was the next logical stage in his proceedings.

(7) - Manuel de Arede was a man of substance, who "uiuia de tomar rendas, e prebendas" and had some property, including a house in Vagos, near Aveiro, which he had acquired some 36 years previously, before joining King Sebastião's forces in the Alcácer Quibir expedition. He

was first questioned on 4 June, and chose Ivo Duarte as his counsel on 3 July. However, on the 11th he asked to be given Dr Simão de Basto in stead; the latter was Henrique de Arede's lawyer since 14 June. This change of mind was due to an ingenious scheme he had devised to communicate with other prisoners, which was reported by Tomé Vaz's son António Vaz, Manuel de Arede's cell-mate, on 9 July. The old man used a mixture of soot and olive oil as ink, a little stick as a pen, and the wrappings of rice and seasoning as paper, and left messages in his cooking-pot, which were taken by corrupt kitchen hands to other prisoners. It was thus that Manuel de Arede was informed that Iseu de Arede and Maria da Costa had confessed, and received instructions from his wife Leonor de Caminha, who gave him ideas about what he could say in his defence. When Simão Barreto accused Manuel de Arede of illegal communication with other prisoners, the old man was so confused that he not only admitted it but also began his confession (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6074, 12 July 1619).

(8) - Leonor de Caminha, 60, was first questioned on 19 March and immediately began her confession. Iseu de Arede, 31, asked for a hearing and confessed her guilt, claiming that her father had having converted her some ten years earlier (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1323, 23 March 1619).

(9) - 46-year old Francisco de Andrade was Paymaster of the Monastery of Santa Cruz. Although he began by denying his guilt, he became convinced that it was useless to deny the evidence and began his confession on 15 July, naming most Fellowship members - without actually mentioning it. His reluctance in telling more made him be tortured, but very little was achieved, and his excuse of having a defective memory was accepted (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2458, 4 March 1620).

(10) - Unlike her husband, Catarina Duarte immediately asked for a hearing and began her confession on 19 March, naming the Aredes and various other New Christians as judaisers.

(11) - 36-year old Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa (nicknamed "o Doutorinho", perhaps because he was short) was at that time Paymaster to the Chapter, having been appointed on 12 March 1617 (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 123v). The latter discussed the implications of his arrest "tocantes a nossas rendas e fazenda" on 19 March 1619 (ibid., fl. 181).

(12) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 385, 30 April 1619. The Arnado ("land covered in sand") was a common land outside the north-bound gates of Coimbra where the executions of judaisers and other heretics used to take place. The common criminals were hanged in the Conchada area (where Coimbra's main cemetery is currently situated), or in the Agua das Maias place by the river, towards the hamlet of Loreto, north of the Arnado.

(13) - It was an unusually harsh winter. On 28 March, there was a very heavy snowfall in Lisbon, "com tão grandes e rigorosos frios, quais se não tinham visto auia muitos annos, sendo couza de que se não lembraua nenhum antigo ver outro tal" (BGUC Codex 156, fl. 89v).

(14) - Pero Lopes de Gouveia had been suspicious of Miguel Gomes's activity for some time. He often saw many New Christians in his house, "E era tanto o concurso desta gente da nação em Casa do Reo que elle testemunha se espantava E escandalisava de ver o muito trato que o Reo tinha com tanta gente da nação, posto que nunca uio faser ao Reo cousa que fosse contra nossa Santa fee, ainda que nam uia ao Reo muito deuto porque quando estava na igreja tudo era conuersar e fallar, nam estando com a deçencia deuida" (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 3147, 3 November 1620).

(15) - Not many people took notice of this arrest. There was an auto de fé in St Michael's Terrace on the same day, under the presidency of Simão Barreto. 47 people were sentenced, but there were no executions. António Gomes "o Sapo" was single and lived at his father's. He denied his guilt, was charged on 20 June, and was transferred to Lisbon on 31 March 1620.

(16) - Confiscation - "sequestro de bens" - was not to be literally understood. His goods and chattels would be inventoried and entrusted to persons of good standing, who would be made responsible for them until the prisoner was sentenced. Only then would the confiscation be made, in favour of the Royal Treasury or any other official body.

(17) - Francisco de Almeida was physician of the Jesuits at the time, and was "tido em Coimbra por homem de muyto exemplo" (ANTT, Santo Officio, Codex 1506, fl. 67).

(18) - 39-year old Francisco Gomes "o Ruivo" did not confess until 26 November 1621, when he was told that he would be handed over to the secular arm. He claimed to have been converted by António Dias de Almeida and his sons.

(19) - No arrest warrant was ever issued. Due to the exceptional circumstances of the Fellowship case, the Coimbra Inquisition issued a list of suspects, who were taken in as they were found.

(20) - Diogo de Arede was captured in his country estate, in the parish of Our Lady of the Grace, in the village of Ega. His brother Manuel da Costa was arrested in his farm, the Quinta da Rocha, on the same day. His sister Maria da Costa, João Arês Cabral's wife, had been taken in from her home in Redinha on 19 March. Diogo de Arede was first questioned on 28 May and began his confession on 26 September.

(21) - With the exception of the Fellowship register, which was hidden by the Pina family in Montemor-o-Velho. This was confirmed by D Joana de Oliveira (in ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 25, 2 May 1624).

(22) - BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 229v-232. Francisco Pinto de Faria lived in the Rua do Corpo de Deus with his widowed mother (his late father was Alvaro de Faria), and, on his own admission, committed the sin of mollities with other youths, including André da Cruz and 14-year old Jerónimo Vahia, nephew of Dr Sebastião Vahia, the Cathedral Schoolmaster (ibid., fl. 223).

(23) - During his fourth session, Tomé Vaz stated that he had first

judaised some 36 years before, around 1583. For some reason, he added, he did not persist in following the Law of Moses at that time (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 4650, 29 April 1619).

(24) - Archdeacon Bento de Almeida was also elected for the same post (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 184v).

(25) - The Reformer had the power to question any teacher or student of either the University or the College of Arts. The records (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição) list a total of 280 people questioned between 2 May 1619 and 2 March 1621: 18 teachers, 201 students (3 Theology, 85 Canon Law, 48 Law, 22 Medicine, 43 others), 14 University officials and 47 non-students. Other statements were taken, but not committed to paper, for reasons of secrecy.

(26) - The accusations of immorality were almost invariably related to homosexual acts. It is not known why D Francisco de Meneses was particularly concerned about these cases. Did he want to harm Dr António Homem, whom he knew since 1616 that he was particularly vulnerable in this respect? When the Lente claimed in his defence that the Reformer had questioned witnesses specifically about him, he may have meant that he was trying to obtain evidence about his sexual preferences: "perguntando na vizita directamente pello Reu na mesma materia das culpas deste processo [i.e. sodomy], affeiçoando as testemunhas per modo de sugestão a que dissessem contra o Reu. [...] chegaua a dizer as testemunhas que dissessem liurementemente na mesma materia das culpas deste processo contra o Reu. porque ja o tynha bem encrauado" (Points 4 and 5 of his defence dated 27 October 1620; ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421). The first cases of homosexuality to appear in the visitation records were reported on 2 May 1619 by the very first person to be interviewed, 18-year old Luís Fernandes Teixeira (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 5-5v).

(27) - The Reformer did give some attention to the University's finances. On 12 September 1620, D Catarina de Sá paid João Bernardes 4,500 réis "que se montarão nos quadernos que escreueo nas contas que o senhor Reformador tomou desde ho Sam martinho de 612 ate 18 de feureiro de 619 dos gastos que ce fizerão contra estatuto do que se fizerão dous treslados hum que emuiu a sua Magestade E outro que ficou para Execusão delles quando asi sua Magestade aia por seu siruiso E de outo cadernos E meio que outro sim escreueo de treslados E papeis pertencentes a Rui dalbuquerque Sacretario desta Universidade que por ordem da junta tresladou" (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1618-1619, fl. 70v).

(28) - BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 13-13v.

(29) - BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 18-19.

(30) - BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 15v-16.

(31) - BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 26-27.

(32) - A Royal visit to Portugal had been promised for years, but was postponed for various reasons. Now, however, new taxes imposed on Portugal had caused some agitation among the people, and it was hoped

that the visit would help restore confidence in the Crown. On 23 March 1619, Felipe III informed D Diego de Silva y Mendoza, Marquis of Alenquer and Duke of Francavilla, that he would leave Madrid in April. The visit was financed by a special tax (finta).

(33) - Among the numerous people who watched the triumphal arrival of the King was Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia, who was in Lisbon on personal business, having been granted two months' leave by the University on 1 June (AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 10). He was in the house of the Licentiate Manuel Alvares Sampaio. Felipe III presided at the Cortes which took place in Lisbon in July 1619, mainly for the purpose of having the three Estates of the Kingdom accept the Crown Prince (later Felipe IV) as the successor to the Throne of Portugal. The inaugural speech was made by Dr Nuno da Fonseca Cabral, who had taught in the Faculty of Law in 1600-1604. Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia subsequently informed the University that he would not return to Coimbra for the time being, as he was "muito doente"; his letter was read to the University Council on 9 November (AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 14-14v). His illness was short, as he was back in Coimbra in early January.

(34) - PERES, Damião - História de Portugal, Vol. V, p. 266-267.

(35) - Having consistently denied his guilt, he was formally charged on 10 June, and was subsequently given Dr Simão de Basto as his lawyer (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 385, 14 June 1619).

(36) - BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 38v-39v. Also, on 14 June, João Velho Lobo, the 24-year old nephew of Dr António Homem's neighbour and rival Dr António Velho, stated that the Lente had twice tried to commit the sin of mollities with him (ibid., fl. 108v-109v).

(37) - BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 44v-45v. Cristóvão Dinis de Sousa was interviewed by the Reformer on 22 June 1619.

(38) - BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 101v-103. He claimed to have been told about Dr António Homem's private life by Father João Moutinho Vilela, aged 35, a former Canon in the Cathedral. The latter was interviewed on the same day and confirmed what Gonçalo Alvo Godinho's allegations (ibid., fl. 103-104v).

(39) - The proceedings of the reformation were well advanced. By request from D Francisco de Meneses, it was decided on 8 July "auer iunta sobre as Cousas da reformação [...] tres ouses cada semana scilicet segunda quarta e sesta pella menham das sete oras de pella menham por diante" (AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 90v-91).

(40) - A short-tempered and resentful man, Dr João de Carvalho, then aged 46, had been hostile to Dr António Homem for years. A friend of his, Manuel da Fonseca, had been dismissed by the Lente's brother Matias Homem, then Assistant Postmaster of Coimbra. Manuel da Fonseca left the city, and thus Dr João de Carvalho lost a valuable supporter in the University elections, who even lent him money on occasions.

(41) - From Point 7 of Dr António Homem's defence of 27 October 1620 (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421).

(42) - Ascenso Dias was penalised for one year. Miguel Gomes left us a probable clue for his failure. He claimed that the latter was his enemy, "por elle Reu. auizar a seu pay de como andaua distraido E não estudaua, E estaua amancebado, por respeito do que lhe faltaua seu pay as uezes cõ o necessario prouimento o que o dito. Asenço dias uindo a saber, se afastou do Reu. correndo de antes cõ elle, E lhe tirou a falla cõ odio, E se mostrou muy queixoso do Reu." (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 11998, 18 July 1622). Miguel da Fonseca confirmed this: "por occasiam do dito Accenso dias se desconfiar delle cõfitente auer zombado cõ elle acerqua de huma molher cõ que o dito Accenso dias andaua amancebado" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 355, 20 August 1621).

(43) - Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was put in the third cell of the upper corridor, facing St Bernard's, in the company of an Old Christian prisoner, Domingos da Fonseca. They were both transferred to the new cell in the lower floor on 17 September, which they shared with Father Manuel Carneiro, an Old Christian. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was moved to his previous cell on 23 September, because it was thought that he might communicate through the back wall with the Casa da Murta, where his brother-in-law André Nunes de Pina had been placed.

(44) - According to Miguel Gomes, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was "Homem falto de Juizo, E entendimento E por isso zombarem delle, chamandolhe por desprezo, E por sua incapacidade o Esterqueira" (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 3147, 28 August 1620).

(45) - He began his confession during his first interrogation (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2121, 5 September 1619).

(46) - Bishop Mexia, who was in Lisbon at the time, was invested by proxy on the afternoon of Friday, 6 March 1620. He was represented by his nephew Martim Afonso Mexia, Archdeacon of Riba Coa and a Canon in the Cathedral of Lamego, who had also been a good friend of Dr António Homem's (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 200v).

(47) - ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa de Consciência e Ordens, 1618-1619, fl. 375.

(48) - Diogo de Beja was 19 at the time. Unfortunately for the Lente, the young man had had intimate relations with several people, which he suspected were already known to D Francisco de Meneses (one of these was Gaspar de Seixas, the beadle of the Faculty of Medicine, who had committed sodomy with him). His only hope of salvation was to confess, which he did on 16 August; and added that Dr António Homem had asked him "que sendo elle chamado a esta deuassa pera testemunhar nella, que não quisesse fallar nelle, nem diser o que tinham passado, porque era deshonorarse assi, e a elle". He claimed to have committed the sin of mollities with him about twenty times. After Dr António Homem's arrest, he accused him of committing sodomy with him around 1617 (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 11 January 1620). By then he was himself in jail for homosexuality; his arrest warrant had been issued on 3 January 1620 (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 318v).

(49) - Two weeks earlier, his friends António Nogueira and Manuel Vaz had told him "que forão chamados a esta deuassa, e que nella forão perguntados pellas pessoas que soubessem auerem comettido o peccado de molicies e que pois elles negarão tudo, assi o fisesse elle declarante, se tambem o chamasse a ella" (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 215).

(50) - BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 215-217.

(51) - BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 229v-231. Francisco Pinto de Faria also incriminated a few boys and young men, among whom was António Dias de Almeida's son Pero de Sequeira, who, he claimed, had asked him "auera dous meses pouco mais ou menos que se fosse chamado A esta uisita não dissesse elle declarante delle Pero de Sequeira cousa alguma se por uentura a sabia". Francisco Pinto de Faria even indicted his close friend André da Cruz, who lived in the ground floor of his mother's house in the Rua do Corpo de Deus and had committed mollities with him for over a year (compare with André da Cruz's statement, *ibid.*, fl. 214v-223). His confession may have been prompted by fear of being punished; but, as far as Dr António Homem was concerned, the boy may have resented his interest in other young people. According to his statement, "lhe pareceo a elle declarante mal indo la por outra ves ver ao dito Doutor fallar e diser a hum criado do Doutor Antonio Lourenço, a que não sabe o nome bem assombrado que he hum dos que agora tem, diserlhe que fosse la pella porta trauesa que as ditas casas tem". Francisco Pinto de Faria was interviewed again in connection with Dr António Homem's sodomy proceedings, and stated that the Lente, "ficando ambos sos por rogos, e força," (curiously, he had never mentioned force before) "fes tirar os calções, a elle testemunha, e lhe meteo seu membro uiril por entre as pernas, por diante", a technique described with few variations by most other witnesses (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 2 January 1620). He later claimed that Dr António Homem had committed sodomy with him on one occasion (*ibid.*, 9 January 1620). He was interviewed again three years later, by which time he was Friar Alberto de Santa Teresa, a Carmelite Discalced friar, and repeated the same allegation, with some embellishments: Dr António Homem, he said, had threatened "que se não consentia nisso lhe auia de mandar atirar a espingarda e elle declarante cõ medo consentio no ditto peccado de sodomia porque era entam moço" (*ibid.*, 17 July 1623).

(52) - BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 250v-251v.

(53) - BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 252v-253.

(54) - A citizen of Coimbra and a Familiar of the Holy Office, Simão Leal was married to a half New Christian, Maria de Moraes, who was arrested in 1621 as a judaiser. He was the clerk of the City Council in 1625, and died on 5 June 1633, aged 75.

(55) - He was appointed for two months "se tanto durar o empedimento do proprietario Simão leal" (AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 39).

(56) - D Francisco de Meneses had opposed Dr Martim de Carvalho's appointment as Conservador from the very beginning. A Royal letter dated 1 June 1619 ordered the Reformer to have him sworn in, but Felipe III

was not obeyed at once. He wrote again to D Francisco de Meneses on 19 July: "Hey por bem, e uos mando que lhe deis posse do dito cargo". His subsequent reluctance in obeying could be plausibly explained by the evidence he was gathering against Dr Martim de Carvalho.

(57) - His complaint was carefully worded: "como algumas partes se lhe forão queixar, que não tinham escrivão para tratarem de sua iustissa, perquanto se tinha intentado suspeiçoes a Antonio de goueia que he o outro escrivão" (AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 40-40v).

(58) - AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 40v-41.

(59) - AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 41v.

(60) - On 23 August, Dr António Homem deposited with D Catarina de Sá 20,000 réis "para seguir humas sospeioeis com que uem ao doutor dom francisco de meneses" (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1618-1619, fl. 23). His money was returned to him on 5 November, because his complaint was upheld (ibid., fl. 78v). This procedure followed the dispositions of the University Statutes (Lib. II, Tit. XXVI).

(61) - The Royal Charter was issued in Lisbon on 12 August by the Board of Conscience and Orders and arrived in Coimbra a few days later.

(62) - "A este conselho [Clastrum Plenum] pertencera a determinação do recebimento que se me deue fazer, ou a Rainha, Principe, ou Iffante, quando a Vniuersidade forem, ou quando ella comigo, ou com as taes pessoas Reaes ouuer de tratar algum negocio".

(63) - AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 93-94v. Dr António Homem would repeat this signature only a couple of times before his arrest.

(64) - AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1610-1622, fl. 139v-140. Dr António Homem may not have had time to meet the Bishops. The Treasury Board decided on 19 November "que se mandem citar os bispos de miranda e eluas & que o sindico acuda a isto & que se fação contas em que se peça a sua magestade que escreua aos bispos" (ibid., fl. 147).

(65) - Felipe III was in Lisbon at this time; he did not leave until 29 September. However, there is no indication that Dr António Homem tried to meet him. In any case, the matters which concerned him would have to be dealt with through the appropriate channels, rather than the King; or the Lente could use influential friends. D João de Lencastre, for example, who had been appointed Chief Chaplain on 2 March of that year, was a former pupil of his.

(66) - He named various members of the Arede and Pina families, but said nothing about Dr António Homem or the Fellowship of St Diogo. His confession was ratified on 9 September, and added to on 16 and 18 September. He was questioned twice on 20 September, naming the Lente and Mateus Lopes da Silva in the first session and other Fellowship members in the second session; but did not mention its existence (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2121).

(67) - AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1610-1622, fl. 140.

(68) - Wishing to obtain as much support as possible, Dr António Homem decided to visit D António Mascarenhas, Dean of the Royal Chapel, and known to be sympathetic to the New Christians. He was about to enter the Dean's house, accompanied by his relative D Filipe Lobo and Dr Francisco Caldeira, who was also in Lisbon at the time, when he was angrily rebuked by Friar Vicente Pereira, who deeply resented the Lente's interference in his appointment (Point 35 of his defence of 27 October 1620; ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421).

(69) - André Nunes de Pina was 23 at the time of his arrest, and as such under legal age, which was 25. He was thus given Simão Fernandes as his curator or guardian, as provided for by the law.

(70) - The fact that he had been with Diogo Lopes de Sequeira for a few minutes, without any supervision, made Simão Barreto, always a meticulous Inquisitor, to start an enquiry in order to determine whether the two brothers-in-law had agreed what they would confess. This was made even more important by André Nunes de Pina's evidence against Dr António Homem. The enquiry took place on 26 October, and all the prisoners and Inquisition personnel involved in the incident were questioned, until Simão Barreto was convinced that André Nunes de Pina's evidence was trustworthy. The 46 folios of the enquiry were appended to Dr António Homem's proceedings (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 26 October 1619).

(71) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5690, 17 September 1619.

(72) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2121, 20 September 1619.

(73) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 4650, 21 September 1619.

(74) - AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 95. Rui de Albuquerque had good reasons to worry: the Reformer was trying to have him dismissed for corruption. Worse was to come: his wife D Maria Leal, although no more than a quarter New Christian, was a secret judaiser; she was arrested and reconciled on 28 November 1621.

(75) - AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 98v-100.

(76) - Mateus Lopes's house, by the Arch of D Filipa, had been rented by his brother Francisco da Silva, and he moved in after the latter's death. His arrest took place "da huma ora pera as duas da tarde" (AUC, Livro do celleiro da See de Coimbra [...] de: 1619, fl. 265); the warrant had been issued by the General Council of the Holy Office on 1 October. He was put on the fourth cell of the upper aisle, facing St Bernard's, and was given two companions who would also help him if necessary. Mateus Lopes da Silva had been worried about the possibility of being arrested for some time. In late 1618 he bought a twin-barrelled flintlock pistol from António de Sousa, a student living in the Rua do Quebra-Costas, by the Cathedral, through the latter's friend and neighbour Father Sebastião Pinto (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl.76). Mateus Lopes's estate was inventoried by Simão Barreto de Meneses on 8 October 1619; his library, which had some 1,300 books, not counting those on loan to his friends, was handed over to

D Miguel de Castro for safe-keeping. Mateus Lopes had been unwell for months. When Miguel da Fonseca visited him in the first half of 1619, "a tratar de fazer as contas da prebenda da Universidade que auia traido o dito francisco da silua seu irmão", he found him "deitado na Cama maldespoto" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 355, 14 August 1621). Mateus Lopes's lung disease eventually killed him; he died in custody on 21 May 1620.

(77) - An Old Christian, João Borges had earned the respect of his contemporaries during the 1599 plague epidemic, at the age of 34. Unlike the city physician, Dr Marcos de Oliveira, he never left Coimbra, and cared for the sick with great dedication. On 14 July 1599, the City Council appointed him to replace Dr Marcos de Oliveira, who had just been dismissed. He continued to visit the sick during the plague outbreaks of 1601-1602, with some risk to his life. On 9 July 1604 he was elected physician to the Chapter of the Cathedral, replacing the Licentiate Manuel Rodrigues, who was too busy to continue in that post; his salary was 10,000 réis, increased to 16,000 réis on 9 November 1605. João Borges's indiscretion, which involved D Maria de Vasconcelos and other nuns in the Monastery of Santa Clara, whom he visited on duty, was reported to Simão Barreto by Dr Martim Gonçalves Coelho on 8 October. An immediate enquiry was made, and Mateus Lopes himself confirmed that he had said those words, but he meant to say that he had nothing to confess. Since João Borges had meant no harm, and had a very good service record with the Holy Office, he suffered no worse than an admonition, which was given in private by Simão Barreto on 2 January 1620 (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6071).

(78) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 11986, 26 August 1623. This D Miguel de Castro should not be confused with his uncle, Archbishop of Lisbon, who had a similar name. When Pedro Homem de Faria recalled this episode, he called D Miguel de Castro an Inquisitor, which indeed he was at that time, having been appointed on 20 June 1622, but not when he had this talk with André de Avelar. He would not speak as he did if he were an Inquisitor, or even a Deputy; it would be a serious breach of regulations.

(79) - Although he was present at the 16 October Treasury meeting, he was absent on 22 October, 26 October and 29 October. He was back on duty on 5 November, but was again absent on the 12th, 19th and 26th, by which time he was no longer a Deputy of the Treasury. According to the Statutes, a teacher had to be appointed to replace him during his illness. A young but respected scholar of St Paul's College, Dr Luís Álvares da Rocha, requested that appointment from D Francisco de Menezes. The latter replied "que se espantava de elle querer ler em hua Universidade em que todos eram infames", i.e., homosexuals! He still granted him that wish, and Dr Luís Álvares da Rocha gave twelve lectures before the end of the term (AUC, Conselhos, 1619-1620, fl. 6v). He later exchanged the University for a career with the Holy Office.

(80) - See Regimento do Sancto Officio, Tit. IV, Cap. IV.

(81) - Dr António Homem, stated Jacinto Pereira de Sampaio with some exaggeration, "estava [...] tam infamado que nenhum estudante, honrrado, se atreuia entrar em sua casa, porque, como se sabia de algum que

nella entrasse, logo o tinham em maa conta na uniuersidade" (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 10 December 1619). The first witness to be interviewed in the sodomy case, Jacinto Pereira de Sampaio was 19 at the time; he took Holy Orders and later became a Canon.

(82) - According to Chapter 20 of the Regimento of the General Council of the Holy Office, "Os inquisidores não mandarão prender pessoas graves (como senhores, de titulo, ou pessoas religiosas) principalmente sendo pessoas notaveis, nem pessoas que pela qualidade dellas ou por serem muitas haja a sua prisão de fazer alvoroço, ou movimento grande em alguma cidade ou villa, sem fazer primeiro saber e mandarem as culpas ao Inquisidor Geral e ao Conselho, onde se determinará o que se deva fazer nos taes casos (isto se entenderá não havendo perigo na tar dança) porque havendoo então poderão os inquisidores proceder a prisão com terem muita consideração aos inconvenientes que della se podem seguir".

(83) - Dr Cristóvão Mouzinho was away from 3 November 1619 until 14 February 1620 (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1620-1622, fl. 51v), and missed 46 lectures during the Christmas term (AUC, Conselhos, 1619-1620, fl.6v). He had been interviewed on 22 July 1619 (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 180v-184v).

(84) - He was replaced by Dr Domingos Antunes de Abreu on 9 November (AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 27v-28; see also AUC, Acordos da Fazenda, 1610-1622, fl. 196). The other Deputies were replaced on the same day: Dr Francisco Caldeira (Law) by Dr António Lourenço, and Friar Francisco da Fonseca (Theology) by Friar Vicente Pereira.

(85) - Dr Fabricio de Aragão missed the whole of the 1618-1619 scholastic year "per estar doente" (AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 4v, 7v, 11). When he was interviewed by D Francisco de Meneses on 19 October 1619, in the course of the visitation, he was ill and mostly confined to bed (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl.303-307). He could not resume lecturing until March 1620 (Conselhos, 1619-1620, fl. 6v, 12, 16v), and was interviewed again on the 27th of that month (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 361-364v). His condition worsened on 27 February 1621 (AUC, Conselhos, 1620-1621, fl.8v), and he died on 3 July.

(86) - Dr Fabricio de Aragão was not involved in the Fellowship of St Diogo, but was a New Christian, and as such liable to suspicions of judaism. By collaborating with the Reformer, he obtained a degree of safety; and, truly enough, he was not harassed by the Inquisition. But the Reformer suggested his compulsory retirement: "que se deue aposentar Fabricio daragão, homem da nação, por o pouco fruito que faz com sua lição" (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1620-1622, fl. 27v).

(87) - Dr Pantaleão Rodrigues Pacheco was interviewed on 18 May 1619 (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 30v-32), and Dr António Lourenço on 2 October of the same year (ibid., fl. 270-274). The Reformer appointed Dr Pantaleão Rodrigues Pacheco as interim Conservador, and gave him an additional 15 days on 19 April 1620 (AUC, Conselhos, 1619-1620, fl. 47-47v). On 4 May he was made Conservador for six

months and was given a secretary, Manuel Correia (ibid., fl. 47v-48).

(88) - Dr Domingos Antunes was interviewed on 1 August (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 198v-202) and accused Dr António Homem of buying and selling votes in University elections, and receiving bribes. Perhaps he hoped to replace him in the Chair of Prime?

(89) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 29 December 1619.

(90) - AUC, Conselhos, 1618-1619, fl. 67-68. It was the last time that Dr António Homem acted as a Deputy of his Faculty.

(91) - Estatvtos da Vniversidade, Lib. I, Tit. XIII, Par. 3-4.

(92) - That is to say, incurring in a punishment for breaking their oath. At the beginning of the first term, students and teachers alike swore on the Gospels to be present at the University festivities and processions. As their attendance in the latter was "sub praestito iuramento", they were colloquially known as préstitos.

(93) - At the time of his arrest, he had given twenty lectures since the beginning of term (AUC, Conselhos, 1619-1620, fl. 6v).

(94) - St Catherine of Alexandria was the patron saint of studies, and as such was honoured by the University (Estatvtos da Vniversidade, Lib. I, Tit. XIII).

(95) - D Diogo Lobo and his older brother D Filipe Lobo lived in Dr António Homem's house between 1598 and the death of the latter's father in 1605. The sons of D Jerónimo Lobo, a former prisoner in the battle of Alcácer Quibir and Trinchante of Kings Sebastião, Cardinal D Henrique and Felipe II, they were related to the Lente's mother. Dr António Homem even proposed D Diogo Lobo as a candidate to the rectorship in 1618 (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 246v-247). D Diogo Lobo seems to have suspected nothing about his host's sexual preferences and covert judaism; but he supplied two important witnesses for the prosecution, in spite of having good reasons to be grateful to him. One was 17-year old Agostinho de Faria, his former servant (ANNT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 12 January 1620); the other his nephew João de Brito, aged 16, who claimed to have had intimacies with Dr António Homem when he was about eight years old (ibid., 17 January 1620). D Diogo Lobo, who held the dignity of High Prior of Palmela, became an Inquisitor in Évora on 6 December 1625, and was later offered the bishopric of Lamego, which he did not accept. D Filipe Lobo inherited the dignity of His Majesty's Trinchante, which he retained under Felipe III and IV; was Knight Commander of S Miguel de Vila Franca (in the Archbishop of Braga) in the Order of Christ; and pursued a successful military career, serving in Africa and India before he was appointed Governor of Macau. He died in Goa. D Filipe Lobo owed Dr António Homem the considerable sum of 110,000 réis when the latter was arrested (ANNT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 14 July 1620).

(96) - There was no arrest warrant, as Simão Barreto de Meneses himself admitted. He wrote on the Lente's dossier: "Este preço estando decretado foi ao santo officio, e pareceo iustis de causis, que deuia

ficar, pello que não ouue mandado de prisão" (in ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, undated and unnumbered folio).

(97) - The Keeper of the Schools, António Dias, who was loyal to the Reformer, was immediately behind Dr António Homem, as required by the ceremonial of the *préstitos*, and could restrain him at once, should the *Lente* try to run away.

(98) - He was taken through the Fountain Gate ("Porta da Bica"), which was connected with the Rua da Santa Sofia through a short alley and led to the Chief Warder's quarters.

(99) - The arrest was the main conversation topic in Coimbra for days. Most people were uncertain about the reasons for it. Student Jacinto Pereira de Sampaio was interviewed two weeks later and stated that he had heard other students "praticar na causa de sua prisão, e uariar nella, disendo huns, que fora pello peccado nefando, e outros que pello crime de heresia" (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 10 December 1619). But a month later, 19-year old Friar Pedro de Sousa, a former friend of Dr António Homem's, already stated that it was commonly said that he was arrested as a sodomite (*ibid.*, 19 January 1620).

(100) - The decision was referred to Felipe III. His advisers pointed out that a Provision dated 24 January 1582 gave the *Misericórdia* power to admit or expel its members without any need for higher authority, and the King approved it on 24 March 1620. The decision was implemented on 17 May 1620.

(101) - António Rodrigues, who escorted Dr António Homem to Lisbon, stated that shouts of "Morra o Cam de Antonio homem" were heard, and were reported to him by António de Meneses, a mulatto slave of D Francisco de Meneses (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 19 December 1620). But there were also people who were sorry to see the *Lente* arrested. His former chambermaid Isabel Jorge, who was probably related to housemaid Joana Jorge and served him between 1613 and 1618, had few reasons to like her master: Dr António Homem "a trataua muito mal [...] dandolhe muitas pancadas, tanto que por ella testemunha o não poder sofrer lhe fogio de casa", and was employed by Dean Francisco Pinto Pereira. Yet she wished him no harm, "e que lhe pezou muito com a sua prisão" (*ibid.*, 15 January 1620). The *Lente* was genuinely missed by many pupils. One of them, whom it is no longer possible to identify, wrote on his notes of his teacher's lecture on *De Concessione Praebendae*: "acabou aqui que forão 23 de nouembro de 619. E prenderão aos 24 a tarde indo com o prestito de Sancta Caterina ao Carmo. E leo por diante nesta materia o senhor Doutor Luis de Leiuia, por lho pedirem os estudantes, E a lição de uespera. Seja Deus servido darlhe conhecimento de seu Erro E que se salue; E a nos nos tenha da sua mão" (BGUC Codex 2110, fl. 143-143v).

(102) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1845, 20 January 1623.

(103) - A former University Vice-Conservador and nephew of Dr Rui Pires da Veiga.

(104) - Points 18-19 of Dr António Homem's defence of 11 October 1621

(ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421).

(105) - This letter was appended to ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421.

(106) - Manuel Fernandes Guterres was an acquaintance of Dr António Homem, and had been contracted to make various alterations in his house.

(107) - A visitation to the Coimbra Inquisition which began in January 1628 (ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, Codices 70, 71, 71A) revealed serious irregularities, such as the unauthorised use by certain Treasury officials of articles confiscated from sentenced New Christians. It was proven that a New Christian goldsmith, Pero Mendes "o Moço", just released from the Inquisition jail, was commissioned by brothers Pedro Homem de Resende and João de Resende to engrave their own coat of arms onto various silver items, some of which had belonged to Dr António Homem. As a result of the enquiry, the Tribunal of the Public Treasury in Coimbra was disbanded on 26 May 1629. The office of Judge of the Treasury in Coimbra was restored on 6 April 1633, but Judges would now be appointed for three years and assisted by four Deputies nominated by the University. Pero Mendes "o Moço" belonged to a family of distinguished goldsmiths. His father, Pero Mendes "o Velho", was arrested as a judaiser on 4 June 1623. His turn came on 14 April 1625; he immediately confessed and was sentenced on 4 May to perpetual gaol and penitential dress, together with his father, aged 80, his mother Catarina Lopes, 70, and his sisters Filipa Gomes, 41, Isabel Baptista, 40, and Maria Nunes, 30, who had the same punishment (although Filipa Gomes was sentenced without remission and her penitential gown had insignia of fire). Pero Mendes "o Moço" was released on 23 May and restricted to the city and suburbs of Coimbra. When he was interviewed about the Resendes in August 1630, he had been dispensed from perpetual gaol and was living in Braga (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 4212). He returned to Coimbra, where he died on 15 December 1633.

(108) - She paid the ridiculously low sum of 15,000 réis for the house, which had cost the Lente 320,000 réis and had been considerably improved by him. Not surprisingly, there was talk of corruption and fraud, which may have been true, even though the Lente owed Pedro Homem de Resende 6,000 réis. It was said that God punished them for their dishonesty: Isabel de Almeida died shortly afterwards in that house, more exactly on 12 March 1626, and was followed on 3 November 1627 by D Brites de Resende, Pedro Homem de Resende's wife, who died of childbirth. The next death, on 1 March 1628, was that of Pedro Homem de Resende himself. The house remained the property of João de Resende. Shortly after the house was auctioned, D Catarina de Almeida, a nun in the Monastery of Celas, whose tutor Francisco de Pina Perestrelo had sold it to Dr António Homem, sued the Treasury and the Lente, claiming that the house was rightfully hers, having been given her by her brother Gabriel de Almeida when he professed in the Society of Jesus. She further claimed that Francisco de Pina Perestrelo had no proper authority to sell it, and the sale itself was null and void because she and her brother were orphans and under age, and the transaction had not been reported to Judge of the Orphans Manuel Serrão. She insisted that the real value of the property was at least 1,000,000 réis, plus 90,000 réis for the garden, and demanded that Dr António Homem gave her the

house and paid her damages for years of unlawful occupation. The Lente was faced with this preposterous demand in prison, but was lucky in that Francisco de Pina Perestrelo was able to prove that the sale was perfectly legal, made with proper authority and in the presence of the Corregidor, and the only obligation he had was the payment of 1,000 réis a year to the Monastery of Celas, according to an agreement made on 28 August 1585 between João de Beja Perestrelo, the proprietor of the house, and Dr Martín de Azpilcueta Navarro, whereby the former would provide for the sustenance of the latter's niece D Maria de Azpilcueta, a nun at Celas. The said Monastery would receive the yearly grant of 1,000 réis after her death (AUC, Escrituras do Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Celas, Vol. 9, fl. 35-42).

(109) - The library had cost Dr António Homem over 2,000 cruzados (or 800,000 réis), a very considerable sum. A few books supplied by bookseller Nicolau Carvalho were still unpaid at the time of the Lente's arrest. According to our research, its inventory, which was thought to have been lost, is somewhere in the ANTT, but we could not locate it in time for the present thesis.

(110) - "[...] por o que ualião soo os aparelhos", as Dr António Homem stated in Point 16 of his defence of 8 October 1623 (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421). It would be interesting to know how he knew this; he was not allowed to receive news from the outside.

(111) - Dr Luís Ribeiro de Leiva, Lente of Decretum, was teaching Vespers as a substitute, and did not become the proprietary Lente of that Chair until 23 February 1623. Following Dr António Homem's arrest, he taught both Prime and Vespers for a time.

(112) - Dr Domingos Antunes continued to read Prime until 28 November 1620, when he fell seriously ill. He was replaced by Dr Luís Ribeiro de Leiva from 9 December, and the latter did not give up the substitution of Prime until the Easter term of 1622, after which he went back to his Chair of Decretum.

(113) - Felipe III's interest in the matter was such that the Royal Provision replying to D Francisco de Meneses's letter was dated 5 December. The King's opinion was that "o Referido na dita carta esta bem ordenado, - E no que toqua a prouisão das substituições das cadeiras se va continuando na forma em que esta sem se vagarem acabados os dous meses emquanto eu não tomar outra resolução pella consulta que da minha mesa da consciencia se me tem feito, por asy parecer conuiniente ao bõ estado e quietação dessa Vniversidade". On 16 December, the Deputies of the Junta were instructed by the King to study the suspicions or objections presented by Drs António Homem and Martim de Carvalho against the Reformer, and decide by themselves whether they should be accepted (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 457v-458v). These had already been sent to Felipe III; on 10 December 1619, João Bernardes, beadle of the Faculty of Medicine, was paid 800 réis "pellos quatro quadernos que fez de letera de postila sobre as suspensões com que uierão o doutor antonio homem, e martim de Carvalho, a elle dito Senhor Reformador, que se remeterão a Sua Magestade" (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1619-1620, fl. 53-53v). The Board of Conscience and Orders recommended on 23 January 1620 that Dr Luís Ribeiro de Leiva

should be appointed for Dr António Homem's Chair, as the Reformer's choice of Dr Diogo de Brito was inadequate, the latter being too old to lecture (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1620-1622, fl. 26).

(114) - Point 15 of Dr António Homem's defence of 8 October 1623 (cf. also ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 8 October 1621).

(115) - AUC, Autos e Graus, 1618-1619, fl. 40. António Coelho de Carvalho had been appointed Deputy on 14 March 1619. He left the Holy Office for the magistracy in November 1621, and rose to King's Counsel and ambassador in France under King João IV.

(116) - Regimento do Santo Officio, Tit. X, Cap. III. António Rodrigues, who was acquainted with Dr António Homem before his arrest, was interviewed as a witness for the defence (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 19 December 1620).

(117) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 20 December 1619.

(118) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 21 December 1619.

(119) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 29 December 1619.

CHAPTER 11

(1) - ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1620-1622, fl. 25v; BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 316v-317.

(2) - Friar João Aranha had been a sick man for months. He missed all lectures of the Christmas term until 18 November 1619 and did not lecture at all during the Easter term, being occupied with the reformation. He was still unwell in the third term, but the eleven lectures he missed were due to his presence in the Chapter of his Order (AUC, Conselhos, 1619-1620, fl. 6, 11v, 16). He died on 18 October 1620 and was replaced as Deputy on 22 October by his colleague Friar Gregório das Chagas, Lente of the Catedrilha of Scripture (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 407-407v).

(3) - He was thus given so much work to do that he was excused from lecturing until 26 March (AUC, Conselhos, 1619-1620, fl. 12).

(4) - BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 318v.

(5) - Tomé da Fonseca and Bento Rodrigues on 3 January, Francisco Tálésio on 6 January, Francisco Gomes on 7 January, Manuel Henriques on 8 January, Francisco Pinto de Faria on 9 January, and Manuel de Lemos and Diogo de Beja on 11 January. Bento Rodrigues celebrated his 14th birthday in March 1620 and went to Lisbon shortly afterwards, where he stayed with an uncle, a cobbler like his father. He confirmed his previous statement when he was interviewed by the Lisbon Inquisition (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 5 May 1620). He did not return to the Choir of the Cathedral, and was replaced on 14 May 1621

(AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 216).

(6) - Although he was not lifted up, as had previously been decided, "por ser muito uelho e fraquo" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6074, 13 January 1620). When new evidence was obtained against him, it was decided to have him tortured again. He was tied up in the presence of Simão Barreto but the supposedly cruel Inquisitor took pity on him: "por ter os dedos jnda emprastados E doentes da outra diligencia [...] E ser muito velho e doente", he was untied and sent back to his cell (ibid., 10 March 1620). After two minor interrogations, his proceedings were closed on 24 March.

(7) - A Royal letter dated 12 February 1620 instructed the Reformer to send to the Court of Madrid a detailed report about the expenses incurred until then, and gave instructions about how to sentence those who had been indicted during the reformation.

(8) - A friar of the Order of St Bernard, Friar Francisco Carreiro had retired on 3 June 1611. He died in Coimbra later in that year.

(9) - On 24 February 1620 (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1620-1622, fl. 37-37v).

(10) - On 11 March (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 461v).

(11) - On 28 February (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl.459).

(12) - On 11 March (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 461). He was replaced by Francisco de Mendonça, Rector of the College of Arts, on 20 May (ibid., fl. 463). Meanwhile, the Reformer was in constant touch with the Board of Conscience and Orders and the Court of Madrid. On 10 December 1619 University messenger Agostinho Dias was paid 3,700 réis for two journeys to Lisbon, and a messenger who arrived from Lisbon with Royal documents received 1,750 réis (AUC, Receita e Despesa, 1619-1620, fl. 53-53v). Agostinho Dias was given 11,080 réis on 18 April 1620 for two journeys to the Court of Madrid (ibid., fl. 62v), and on 30 April was paid 2,600 réis for a journey to Lisbon concerning Secretary Rui de Albuquerque's proceedings (ibid., fl.62v-63). Another 7,400 réis were paid on 11 June for another journey to Madrid about the same matter (ibid., fl. 65), and 6,380 réis on 14 October for yet another journey to the Spanish Court (ibid., fl. 77).

(13) - Simão Barreto felt he had to justify the unusual harshness of the torture: "não tinha ditto de sua Mãi nem de suas irmaãs freiras, que era a diminuição principal. por isso se chegou ao cabo cõ elle" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 3901, 29 January 1620).

(14) - It was decided on 1 February to sentence him to perpetual gaol and penitential dress. The General Council changed this on 7 February to perpetual gaol and penitential dress without remission.

(15) - Due to insufficient evidence, Canon Manuel Teles was never arrested. He died on 4 May 1625 and was buried in the hermitage of Our Lady of Loreto, where he had reserved a tomb (AUC, titulo dos defunctos desta freguesia da See, fl. 288v).

- (16) - Regimento do Santo Officio, Tit. IV, Cap. XII.
- (17) - Julião Pinheiro, aged about 50, and Nicolau Monteiro, aged 34, were interviewed by Simão Barreto de Meneses on 25 February 1620 (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5688).
- (18) - Secretary Rui de Albuquerque was suspended from his duties, and was at the time in Lisbon with António de Gouveia, clerk of the Conservatória, preparing his defence. Bernardo Correia de Lacerda was elected on 17 February 1620 to replace him (AUC, Conselhos, 1619-1620, fl. 46).
- (19) - AUC, Conselhos, 1619-1620, fl. 76-77.
- (20) - Felipe III confirmed D Francisco de Meneses's authority through two letters, dated 28 February and 11 March respectively (AUC, Conselhos, 1619-1620, fl. 77v, 80).
- (21) - Bento de Almeida, then aged about 40, was Archdeacon of the Vouga, one of four Archdeacons subordinated to the Cathedral of Coimbra. His father, João Soeiro, had died on 13 March 1619. Bento de Almeida, who was by then Provisor of the Bishopric Sede Vacante, was in charge of a visitation to Coimbra's parishes between April and July 1619.
- (22) - Dean Francisco Pinto Pereira had been assigned to the Fellowship case. He died on 28 February 1625 (Liuro dos baptisados, casados & defunctos desta freguesia da see [...], fl. 288).
- (23) - The minutes of this interview were added to Crispim da Costa's proceedings (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5688).
- (24) - AUC, Liuro do celleiro da See de Coimbra [...] de:1619, fl. 271.
- (25) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5688, 1 March 1620. That was not quite true: Crispim da Costa soon admitted that he had lost his belief in the Christian faith twelve years earlier, under the influence of a close friend of his, the Bishop's secretary Manuel Martins (ibid., 14 March 1620). The latter, who was another of D Afonso de Castelo Branco's New Christian protégés, had not been detected as a judaiser when he died circa 1613.
- (26) - He admitted having judaised circa 1608, under the influence of Henrique de Arede, but claimed that he knew no Jewish prayers and denied ever having taken part in ceremonies (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 355, 6 and 15 March 1620).
- (27) - 50-year old Vicência de Arês, a half New Christian, was married to João de Parada, an Old Christian from Tentúgal who later went to India. She was a friend and cousin of Dr António Homem's sister D Maria Brandoa, who lived with her for a time. Her case was given to D Francisco de Soveral, who found that she was less co-operative than expected. She began her confession on 12 July 1621.
- (28) - Miguel da Fonseca was tortured on 21 March 1620, but the pro-

ceedings were suspended "por auer muito tempo que estaua atado e ser uelho e mui pessado, e ter dito de sua molher e de quatro pessoas com que não estaua indiciado E estar so diminuto em Simão lopes que não he seu parente de que verosimelmente se pode esquecer" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 355, 21 March 1620). His case was closed on 24 March.

(29) - António Dias de Almeida shared his cell with two other prisoners. José Coutinho was initially by himself, but was given a companion on 16 March.

(30) - AUC, Liuro do celleiro da See de Coimbra [...] de:1619, fl. 352.

(31) - He was the only Fellowship member to admit that he knew a version of the Shema Yisrael: "Deitouse Moçê sobre as suas faces, E disse Sabba, Israel, Adonai, Allogueno, Adonai, Aga, Esmollagua, a minha boca o digua, a minha alma o receba" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2468, 22 March 1620).

(32) - He was heard again on the afternoon of 22 March at his request, and mentioned, among others, the Aredes and Miguel da Fonseca. He was sent back to his cell but asked to be heard again, and added the names of Canons Fernão Dias da Silva and Mateus Lopes da Silva, and others. When Gaspar Borges de Azevedo compiled his genealogy on 24 March, Francisco Serrão added a few more names. And all the people he named were genuine judaisers.

(33) - There was no evidence against her. She was questioned on 23 and 24 March, and stated that her mother had converted her when she was eight, and that her parents taught her to call Jesus "Allá" and the Virgin "Le Marilem" (perhaps taken from "Issa ben Mariam", Jesus's name in the Coran) - an interesting expression of contempt for both Christians and Arabs. She was absolved and sent home; her statements were appended to ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 614. A Memorial submitted by the New Christians in 1629 claimed that Branca had been promised toys and new clothes if she testified against her father (ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, Bundle 7, No. 2645, fl. 175). This is another of the untruths which abound in the pamphlets written against the Inquisition. Branca's collaboration was unnecessary, as the evidence against her father sufficed to have him arrested. And Francisco Serrão was a good confessant.

(34) - Luísa Serrão denied the accusations, was charged, and chose Ivo Duarte as her counsel on 25 August 1621. The latter may have persuaded her that there was no point in denying the obvious. She asked for a hearing on 1 September 1621 and made a rather incomplete confession. She was twice sentenced to be tortured, but she avoided the torment on the second occasion by making a full confession (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 614, 6 September and 9 November 1621).

(35) - Although Vicente de Arês lived in the Rua da Figueira Velha, he also had a house in the village of Ranhados, where he was arrested with other judaisers. He was not isolated, as his case was not considered to be very important, and was not questioned until 16 July. Maria Henriques, his wife, was also arrested.

(36) - Catarina Vogada, then 34, was a half New Christian from her mother's side; her husband was an Old Christian. They had five children: Maria, aged 6; Luis, 5; Manuel, 4; Inácio, 2; and a six-month baby.

(37) - D Maria Brandoa stated "que não tinha moues nem bens de rais nem possuia fazenda alguma; por estar debaxo da mão de seu jrmão, o doutor Antonio homem; e que não tinha mais que o que elle lhe daua" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 7440, 8 July 1620). António Leijtão "o Corcovado" confirmed that she was "molher de pouco Entendimento E como tonta E desasisa E como a tal a tinha o dito seu irmão fechada Em huma caza donde não sahia por não ser molher de governo" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1656, 11 May 1622).

(38) - D Maria Brandoa, or D Maria de Almeida as she called herself, after her mother D Isabel de Almeida, was 60 at the time. She was put in the first cell of the upper aisle, facing Santa Cruz, with two companions, but was later moved to one of the balcony cells, due to overcrowding. There they met her old acquaintance Sister Isabel do Quintal, from the Monastery of Santa Ana.

(39) - Although the Inquisitors knew she had a great deal to confess, she consistently denied her guilt. She was interrogated on 15 and 30 July and 15 September. As there were other, more important prisoners to be questioned, she was left undisturbed for the next two years, during which time she never asked for an audience. Her case was resumed on 9 September 1622, and she began her confession on 6 June 1623 (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 7440).

(40) - António Dias da Cunha escaped as soon as he could, and headed for Italy. He wrote from Rome to the Inquisitor General on 3 June, asking him to review his case. He accused Simão Barreto of being prejudiced against him, protested against the severity of the torture he had to endure, and claimed that his confession was false. However, there could be no doubt about the accuracy of his confession; it agreed with the evidence and could be confirmed by independent sources. António Dias da Cunha's case was not reviewed. His letters were appended to ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 3901. His canonry was given to Inquisitor João Alvares Brandão on 5 January 1621 (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 211v).

(41) - Diogo de Arede was dispensed from further penance on 22 December 1620, against payment of a fine of 20,000 réis. Since he could not afford this, he requested the Inquisitor General to dispense him from paying, which was granted on 26 September 1621. He eventually returned to Ega, where his daughter Ana was born in March 1624.

(42) - Diogo Lopes da Rosa subsequently lived for a time from charity: Inquisition officials gave him alms on wednesdays and sundays. His sentence was commuted to spiritual penances on 26 February 1621, upon payment of a fine of ten cruzados.

(43) - Some time later, Manuel de Arede, Leonor de Caminha, Iseu de Arede, Diogo de Arede, Francisco de Andrade, Manuel da Costa and Maria da Costa requested the Holy Office to have them examined and then dis-

pensed from having to attend catechism lessons "porque eles são pessoas que ueuião onRada mente na dita cidade e nela e seus aRedores estauão ja mesturadas com cristãos uelhos, E cristãs uelhas da prinsipal gente da dita cidade", which was indeed true. However, their joint petition (appended to ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5701) was refused. Iseu de Arede died on 31 March 1621 in a penitential cell of the Coimbra Inquisition. Manuel de Arede was already free when he died on 20 April 1622, and was buried in St Peter's Monastery in Coimbra.

(44) - Crispim da Costa was still alive by 31 May 1623, when the Holy Office ruled that the confiscation of his estate would be restricted to the items and revenue obtained in the six years and eight months before that date (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5688). No more is known about him.

(45) - Tomé Vaz was notified on 17 December that his sentence had been commuted to spiritual penances. Some of his books were also returned. He died on 30 August 1621 and was buried in Santa Justa parish church (AUC, Obitos de Santa Justa, 1609-1626, fl. 152v).

(46) - André de Avelar's punishment was suspended on 23 June, but he had lost his Terceñaria in the Cathedral on the 12th in favour of the Licentiate António Vaz Fróis, who was sworn in on 13 August (AUC, Acor dos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 205-205v). The Chair of Mathematics was given to Friar Pedro de Meneses, OSB, on 8 April 1624.

(47) - Although Catarina Vogada's estate was confiscated, there was a discreet agreement between her father Luís de Lemos and the Treasury, and some of it was apparently returned (see ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Officio, <codex 70, fl. 2).

(48) - Although he had not presented any defence to the proof of Justice published on 13 March, his omission was not considered serious, and his proceedings were closed on 15 March. Unexpectedly, he asked for a hearing two days later and concluded his confession (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5690, 17 March 1620).

(49) - They were subsequently notified in writing; Misericórdia door-keeper António Pereira delivered the notices to their addresses. Most would eventually be sentenced as judaisers. Their seats in the Misericórdia were declared vacant on 25 June 1620. António de Gouveia, who served as Commissioner of the Brotherhood, obtained a Royal Provision exempting him from the exclusion order, and was reinstated. The acts of this meeting (preserved in the AMIC) were signed by Purveyor D Miguel de Castro and eleven members, among whom were Manuel Duarte Salazar, Dr António Homem's boyhood friend; University clerk Simão Leal, whose wife was a secret judaiser; and Dr Tomás Serrão de Brito, Lente of Medicine and later Inquisition physician. The latter's son João Serrão (baptised on 1 July 1608) was himself prosecuted by the Holy Office in 1636.

(50) - AUC, Conselhos, 1619-1620, fl. 9v-10v, 12. By this time, Drs Domingos Antunes and Luís Ribeiro de Leiva were already teaching Prime and Vespers respectively as substitutes. The latter took over the Chair of Prime when Dr Domingos Antunes fell ill after 28 November 1621, but

went back to Vespers when the latter resumed his lectures before the Christmas break. These changes were not without problems. Dr Diogo Mendes Godinho, the substitute Lente of Decretum, refused to be downgraded to the Chair of Clementines, which was then given to Francisco Rebelo da Silva and Francisco Gomes. Dr Duarte Brandão excused himself, and the afternoon Catedrilha was given to Manuel da Cunha and others.

(51) - Her choice of Ivo Duarte was probably due to the fact that he was a friend of André Vaz Cabaço and got on well with his New Christian colleagues, although he worked for the Holy Office. The case was concluded on 18 August 1621, and Mateus Lopes was found guilty of heresy and apostasy; but D Catarina de Sá refused to give up. She appointed the Licentiate Damião Rodrigues on 6 August 1621 as her counsel and gathered more evidence in favour of her brother-in-law. The case was reviewed by the General Council on 18 April 1624, but the previous sentence was confirmed. Mateus Lopes was executed in effigy.

(52) - The dispute was to have been judged by Friar Vicente Pereira and Agostinho de Aguiar. Since both were known friends of D Francisco de Meneses, Dr Martim de Carvalho refused to accept them. The Board of Conscience and Orders then appointed Dr Francisco Caldeira, who, as a New Christian, could well have been sympathetic to the Conservador; but the King informed Dr Caldeira that no action was to be taken.

(53) - Dr Pantaleão Rodrigues Pacheco's term of office was extended for 15 days on 19 April 1620 (AUC, Conselhos, 1619-1620, fl. 47-47v), and for a further six months on 4 May (ibid., fl. 47v-48).

(54) - Due to the intricacies of the case, the Reformer did not comply with the King's orders at once. In fact, seeing his authority as Conservador threatened by D Francisco de Meneses, Dr Martim de Carvalho appealed to the Board of Conscience and Orders, but lost the appeal. As a last resource, he wrote to Felipe III, who asked the Reformer for an explanation on 28 January 1620 (AUC, Conselhos, 1619-1620, fl. 70v-71v). Dr António Lourenço was appointed Conservador for two weeks on 29 July, due to Dr Pantaleão Rodrigues Pacheco being unavailable (ibid., fl. 50v); and was made Vice-Conservador on 6 August (ibid., fl. 52-52v). Finally, a Royal letter dated 20 October ruled that the University had no legal powers to suspend the Conservador or force him to obey its decisions.

(55) - Having been advised by her confessor, the Rector of the College of Jesus, D Joana made a voluntary addition to her confession (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1768, 2 May 1624). João de Andrade had already been sentenced and was not available for questioning, but Rui de Pina, then in custody, was interrogated about these ceremonies. Predictably, he denied everything (his denials would eventually cost him his life), but he gave himself away in his articles of contradiction, where he named practically every person who had been present in Isabel da Costa's house (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1823, 14 May 1624).

(56) - Jorge Mexia had interrupted his studies. He was 18 by December 1619, when he was said to have enlisted in the Army (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 30 December 1619). He had, in fact, de-

cided to follow a military career.

(57) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 23 June 1620. It was the last time that Jorge Mexia was directly involved in Dr António Homem's proceedings. His subsequent life was not uninteresting. He pursued a military career and rose from the ranks to Captain of a Galleon. He never married, but left a natural son, Manuel Mexia Fouto, who was later made a Knight of the Order of Christ. The latter's mother was a Maria Vaz, daughter of Jorge Vaz (unrelated to Dr António Homem) and Isabel Antónia, of the parish of Tresói, near Mortágua (FELGUEIRAS GAIO, Manuel José da Costa - Nobiliário de famílias de Portugal, Vol. XXI, p. 127). The manuscript index of the Chancellery of the Order of Christ, which we consulted in the ANTT, mentions only one Manuel Mexia Fouto, who was given the habit of Christ on 13 October 1627 and was knighted on 1 May 1628. If this is Jorge Mexia's illegitimate son, then he must have been no older than six when he was knighted; but very young children were occasionally knighted by special dispensation.

(58) - Two of his daughters soon followed: Maria de Figueiredo, and on 30 August Luisa de Almeida, Simão Lopes "o Chorão"'s wife. His other two children were arrested in 1621: Pero de Sequeira, aged 18, on 12 April and Jerónima de Almeida, aged 30, on 25 May. The latter was married to an Old Christian, João Martins Cabaço, and lived in Alcobaça.

(59) - In the second interrogation, the prisoner was questioned in genere. If he persisted in denying the charges, he was admonished and questioned in specie (Regimento do Santo Officio, Tit. IV, Cap. XII). The defendants were treated according to their station. As a Lente and a Canon, Dr António Homem had the right to sit on a high-backed chair (ibid., Tit. V, Cap. III).

(60) - Simão Barreto had been transferred to the Lisbon Inquisition in December 1619, in order to continue with Dr António Homem's proceedings, but remained in Coimbra to question witnesses. His appointment in Lisbon was made official on 20 June 1620.

(61) - Regimento do Santo Officio, Tit. V, Cap. VIII.

(62) - Regimento do Santo Officio, Tit. IV, Cap. XXXIII.

(63) - His dedication to the Jewish Law was such that he was the only Fellowship member to perform ritual fasts in custody (see ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 11998, 4 March 1621). His proceedings were unfortunately lost; certain statements are known through references in other Processos.

(64) - Point 17 of Dr António Homem's defence of 11 October 1621 (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421). This was definitely illegal (cf. Regimento do Santo Officio, Tit. IV, Cap. XVI, Tit. V, Cap. IV, and Tit. VI, Cap. II).

(65) - Dr António Homem's social rank entitled him to a companion, who would act as his valet. 29-year old Jerónimo da Fonseca, a New Christian merchant from Oporto, was arrested in October 1618 and transferred to Lisbon on the 18th of that month. He should have never been put in

the same cell as the Lente; his aunt Filipa de Pina was married to the latter's relative Tomé Vaz. Dr António Homem stated that "tendolhe perdido [to Simão Barreto] assi em Coimbra como aqui em Lixboa que o não mesturasse com guente de nação pello evidente periguo de sua comunicação, E o dito geral odio que todos della lhe tem, disendolhe que disto tinha particular cuidado; o fez como de preposito pello Contrario dando lhe das portas adentro o maes trabalhoso & pereguoso companheiro que no Cacere podera achar [...] que hauia poucos dias estiuera alienado do Iuiso tam impaciente & incapas de ouir boôs conselhos como se tinha visto" (points 54 and 63 of his defence of 27 February 1623; ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421). Jerónimo da Fonseca confirmed that he had been "muy infermo da cabeça, & falto de juizo" (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 7882, 16 November 1621).

(66) - This would eventually cost him his life. Exhausted by his concerns and travels, Simão Barreto died in the summer of 1621.

(67) - The 25-year old physician António Lopes was from Aveiro, but lived in nearby Santiago de Beduido. As Ascenso Dias feared, he asked for a hearing shortly after his admission, and began his confession before Sebastião de Matos de Noronha. His co-operation was easily explained. António Lopes's wife Violante Pimentel, an Old Christian, was once a maid of Deputy D Diogo Lobo, and persuaded her husband to confess everything if he were arrested, as her former master would in return look favourably on his case. D Diogo Lobo kept his word.

(68) - She was Violante Lopes, also a judaiser, the widow of António João, an Old Christian (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2115, 15 September 1620).

(69) - The Licentiate André de Burgos lived in the Rua da Moeda, not far from the house of notary public Agostinho Maldonado and from a baking oven which belonged to his colleague Ivo Duarte. He was quite successful as a lawyer; on 13 March 1623 he was even chosen to be Procurator to the Chapter, to assist Ivo Duarte, also a Procurator, who was too busy (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 260). Unfortunately for the Chapter, he was not the ideal choice; he "procuraua contra beneficiados da casa, sendo auogado desta comunidade". He was advised by the chapter on 30 August "que sendo procurador do Cabido como he, o não seja daqui por diante cõtra os particulares delle" (ibid., fl. 273). He still did not perform his duties satisfactorily; the Chapter discussed on 29 December whether to dismiss him, but decided not to do so for the time being (ibid., fl. 278v). André de Burgos had other problems in his mind. He had some Jewish blood, and his application for membership of the Misericórdia, submitted in 1624, was turned down for that very reason. On learning about this decision, he wrote to Dean Bento Pereira de Melo, asking to be dismissed from his duties, which was granted on 30 December 1624 (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol.10 (1614-1625), fl. 298v).

(70) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 3147, 21, 26 and 28 August 1620.

(71) - It soon became obvious that António Dias de Almeida had a great deal more to confess. He was thus advised to tell everything, for his

own good (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9108, 7 November 1620). On 9 November he chose as his counsel the overworked Ivo Duarte.

(72) - There was not a single vacant cell at the time; he was put between two gratings at the bottom of a staircase, where he spent ten days. He was transferred to the sixth cell of the lower aisle, facing Santa Cruz, on 10 September, joining another three prisoners.

(73) - António Dias "o Rato" was not prosecuted until 1631. Ascenso Dias's uncle Ascenso was apparently not bothered again, but his wife Maria Rodrigues was arrested in 1626.

(74) - He was questioned on 20 September by Gaspar Borges de Azevedo about his genealogy, and then left in his cell until he changed his mind and made a confession. The Inquisitors knew he was not an important member of the Fellowship, and there were many other defendants to be questioned. He was interrogated again eight months later, but only because he had assisted New Christian prisoners in passing messages to other inmates and had done so himself (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2115, 15 May 1621).

(75) - Father Luís Arês did this about a dozen times between October 1620 and June 1621, and Manuel Soares and a couple of other Fellowship members attended two such ceremonies in May 1621 (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 29 October 1621).

(76) - See Regimento do Santo Officio, Tit. IV, Cap. XXXVIII to XL.

(77) - Henrique de Arede was in the second cell of the lower aisle, facing Santa Cruz. He had suffered from poor health for some time, and was confined to bed since late July 1620.

(78) - He was buried in a courtyard ("quintal dos loureiros"), facing St Bernard's, pending the final sentence on his case.

(79) - On 12 January 1621, Henrique de Arede's children Dr Francisco Gomes, António Gomes and Filipa Duarte, his nephew Miguel Pais and her granddaughter Justa da Costa, all under Inquisitorial arrest, were subpoenaed to defend Henrique de Arede's honour, good name and estate. Henrique de Arede was found guilty as charged on 27 April, and was released in effigy on 28 November 1621. His bones were delivered to the flames in the Arnado, as he had foreseen.

(80) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 18 November 1620. Francisco Gomes was interviewed again over two years later (ibid., 27 July 1623).

(81) - One of his accusers was Manuel Ribeiro Pacheco, interviewed by D Francisco de Meneses on 10 May 1619 (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 13v-14).

(82) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 24 November 1619.

(83) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 7 December 1619.

(84) - After an interval of several weeks, Francisco Dias was questioned again in February 1621, by which time he had decided on a course of action which would lead him to his execution. In the meantime, his 27-year old son Francisco Dias was arrested (on 30 December), and named his father in the first session he had, on 19 January 1621, as having converted him to the Law of Moses about 5 or 6 years earlier.

(85) - The Spanish Inquisition regulations recommended the examination of a suspected judaizer's private parts, in order to determine whether he was circumcised (cf. WILLEMSE, David - Un "Portugués" entre los castellanos. *El primer proceso inquisitorial contra Gonzalo Báez de Paiba, 1654-1657, Vol. I, p. XLIX*). The same procedure was not unknown in Portugal: in January 1651, for example, the prisoner Duarte da Silva, a banker, was examined by two physicians for that purpose (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 8132). However, this was usually restricted to defendants who could have been circumcised abroad.

(86) - According to the astrological beliefs of those times, melancholy was a characteristic of the natives of the Earth signs (Taurus, Virgo and Capricorn). Dr António Homem's sign was Cancer, a Water one, and he should thus be phlegmatic (GERSAO VENTURA, Augusta Faria - "Estudos vicentinos. *Astronomia - Astrologia*", in *Biblos, Vol. XIII (1937), p. 69*). 16th-17th century physicians took Astrology very seriously. João Borges could, of course, be speaking in non-technical terms, meaning to say that Dr António Homem was a sad man, given to depression.

(87) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 19 December 1619.

(88) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 23 December 1619.

CHAPTER 12

(1) - BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 465v-466.

(2) - ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1620-1622, fl. 68v-69v. The King did take note of this recommendation, and asked D Francisco de Meneses on 10 February 1621 to terminate the reformation "sem se alargar muito" (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 466v). A similar recommendation was sent on 19 February (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1620-1622, fl. 76v). The Reformer complained about the Board's interference in University affairs, with the result that the King recommended to the Board on 19 March 1622 "que se não intrometa por uia alguma" with the reformation (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 469v).

(3) - The records of these students were crossed over in the University books. Not all were guilty of mollities. A number were punished for dishonesty and corruption (see, for example, AUC, Actos e Graus, 1616-1617, fl. 90v; 1617-1618, fl. 70, 71, 78 and 104; 1618-1619, fl. 38v, 41, 44, 46v, 55, 90, 92 and 97v).

(4) - Estêvão de Arês da Fonseca studied in the College of Arts but progressed no further. A rather adventurous man, he was said to be "de sasisado e sem Honrra Primor nem Verdade ynquieto e turbulento e mal

yntencionado" (by witness Gabriel Rodrigues; ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 3070). He married Isabel Tomás, the sister of his step-mother Maria Henriques, and settled in Ranhados, which he left in early 1620, for fear of being caught by the Inquisition. After a couple of months in Seville, he went to Lisbon, where he was arrested (ibid., 16 January 1621).

(5) - Dr Manuel Veloso da Veiga reported this to the Holy Office (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2121, 22 December 1620). His testimony was confirmed by his clerk Francisco Pinto (ibid., 13 January 1621).

(6) - However, he did not admit the existence of the Fellowship until 21 October. He later described its ceremonies in detail (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2544, 10 November 1621).

(7) - Francisco Dias chose Ivo Duarte as his counsel on 15 February, and prepared three lists of articles of contradiction with his assistance. He gave up defending himself after 19 March.

(8) - The hunger strike was short, but its novelty made the Inquisitors question Francisco Dias's sanity. Physicians Dr António Sebastião and João Borges confirmed that the prisoner was sane and had no infirmity which would prevent him from eating if he so wished (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 4752, 10 March 1621). Surgeon Gonçalo Dias supported their diagnosis (ibid., 11 March 1621).

(9) - A man of adventurous temperament, Pedro Homem de Faria was 23 at the time of his arrest. He had some military experience: he was the Ensign of a Company which deployed to Buarcos in 1618 due to the possibility of an attack by Moorish pirates. He enlisted in Coimbra in mid-1619 and received 4,800 réis as advance pay. He eventually went to Lisbon, but the fleet he was supposed to join, four naus under High Captain Nuno Alvares Botelho, had already sailed. He remained in Lisbon, waiting for a place on a ship, and was arrested there.

(10) - Six support galleons, under Admiral D António Teles de Meneses, sailed on 27 March 1621.

(11) - This was Fernando Alvares "o Buco", whose madness was subsequently exposed as feigned.

(12) - António Dias de Almeida was admonished on various occasions, resumed his confession on 28 January and continued it on 6 February, but still held back vital information. His case was suspended until the torture session (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9108, 11 February 1621).

(13) - The Diocesan Prelate had the right to be present at torture sessions, but in practice he did not often exercise this right. If D Martim Afonso Mexia was interested in what António Dias de Almeida might say about his friend Dr António Homem, he was disappointed.

(14) - António Dias de Almeida was exceptionally unlucky. The prosecution continued to receive detailed evidence against him. He was twice tortured, and his proceedings were three times closed, but this was

still not the end of it. He named Dr António Homem at last on 12 August, his case was again closed on the 14th and he was placed on the waiting list for the next auto de fé. But his hopes of being sentenced in the near future were shattered. On 8 November, Gaspar Borges de Azevedo questioned him specifically about the Fellowship, and he denied everything. He was formally charged on the following day (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9108, 9 November 1621).

(15) - Maria Gomes stated on the same day of her arrest that she had been persuaded to judaize by the "Choroas" sisters (Francisco Dias nieces Filipa Duarte, Paula Ferreira and Jerónima Ferreira).

(16) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5819, 10 March 1621.

(17) - The Chapter considered that Manuel Duarte Salazar was a busy man and advised "quasi todas as comunidades de que nos E com quem nos tinhamos duuidas e demandas" (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl.214v). André Vaz Cabaço received a salary of 8,000 réis. His services were apparently less than satisfactory. The Chapter complained on 24 September "do uagar cõ que corria a causa que o Cabido tem cõ o fisco sobre os bens dos beneficiados que forão desta Se, os quais sairão conuencidos", and transferred this assignment to Canon Nicolau Monteiro (ibid., fl. 227). By then, André Vaz Cabaço had already been named as a judaiser, which the Inquisitors in the Chapter knew.

(18) - The auto de fé took place on 28 November 1621. Three sodomites were handed over to the secular arm.

(19) - On the other hand, the Lente's career was finished, regardless of the outcome of the proceedings. It was settled that "ja não convem que o Doutor António Homem [...] torne a ler ainda que saia muito bem, o que se não espera" (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1620-1622, fl. 72). Consideration was also given to the dismissal of other New Christian teachers, Drs Domingos Antunes and Faício de Aragão - "porque pelo que se tem visto da gente da nação não ha que esperar nem confiar nella" (ibid., fl. 25).

(20) - A report from Coimbra Inquisition notary António Mendes informed that various documents mentioned by Dr António Homem in his defence, which should have been in his house, had disappeared. They included all the letters he had received from the Holy See, Bishops and other Church authorities, charters of nobility of the Homem family, and papers about the lineages of the Homens and the Brandões (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 27 March 1621). The documents showing that Dr António Homem's mother was free from Moorish blood were found, and were added to his proceedings.

(21) - This was not a deliberate act of cruelty: "Assim procede o piadoso, justo, & santo tribunal da Inquisição: huma, & muitas amoestações: mais, & mais promessas de misericórdia: dilatar as vezes as sentenças, & serem as prizoões de muitos annos, pera aueriguar melhor verdades, & dar tempo a pertinazes conuencidos, pera que conheção suas culpas, & tratem da emenda dellas" (SOUSA, Friar António de - Sermam que [...] pregou no Auto da Fe, Que se celebrou na mesma Cidade [Coimbra], domingo cinco de Mayo do anno de 1624, fl. 15).

(22) - Miguel da Fonseca's illegitimate daughter Margarida, aged 20, was arrested on 15 July, confessed everything on the same day and was not even formally charged. She had judaised, but not very seriously; she lived with her mother, who was an Old Christian, and thus was not at ease to follow the Jewish rituals.

(23) - His case was declared closed on 6 August, but he was not sentenced due to new evidence being received. He added to his confession on 11 August, and on the 14th he voluntarily confessed almost everything that was expected of him. However, he did not admit his involvement in the Fellowship ceremonies until much later (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 355, 10 November 1621).

(24) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 13 July 1621.

(25) - The prison was so overcrowded that he was put in isolation "entre as portas do Carcere na escada por quatro dias por não auer a Caza acomodada onde estiuessa". He was put in the Casa da Galé with another two prisoners on 14 August and stayed there until 20 November, when he was transferred to the Casa da Murta with several prisoners awaiting the coming auto de fé.

(26) - His wife, 60-year old Maria de Oliveira, and their only son, Francisco Geraldés, 22, also a barber, had been arrested on 3 August, and he knew they would soon tell everything they knew. As a matter of fact, Francisco began his confession on the very same day of his arrest - his mother did not confess until the following day - and on 9 August he named both his parents as judaisers.

(27) - Simão Gonçalves's case was mentioned in a Memorial written in 1629 in favour of the New Christians, but the writer could not help writing a series of lies about him: he supposedly was an Old Christian and had been persuaded by the Inquisitors to accuse of judaising all his New Christian customers! (ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, loose papers, Bundle 7, No. 2645, fl. 175).

(28) - A half New Christian judaiser and a silk-worker by trade, Ivo Fernandes had been introduced to him by Miguel Gomes "o Manco". He was 31 when he was executed on 18 June 1623 as a diminuto confessant.

(29) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 5 October 1621.

(30) - António de Oliveira was placed in isolation. However, 28-year old Luís de Avelar was not considered to be a security risk, and was put in the first cell of the aisle facing St Bernard's, with two Old Christian prisoners. Luís de Sá joined him there on 22 September, and on 25 November both Luís de Avelar and Luís de Sá were moved to the inner Casa da Murta, awaiting the auto de fé.

(31) - Luís de Sá did not know it, but a warrant had already been issued for his arrest (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 13 September 1621).

(32) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 2 October 1621.

(33) - D Maria was 28 at the time and had a two-year old daughter, Ursula. She had been instructed in the Jewish faith some ten years earlier by her mother Maria de Morais, Simão Leal's wife, who also converted her sister Arcângela, then 15. D Maria admitted having practised some Jewish rites at home without being found out by her Old Christian husband and servants.

(34) - He asked for a hearing on 11 October and began his confession, which he continued on various sessions, but he denied any knowledge of the Fellowship ceremonies. He chose Ivo Duarte as his counsel on 12 November, and presented 17 articles of contradiction of the following day, which were rejected *ex causa*. As a consequence of this failure, António Correia de Sá confessed most of what he knew about the ceremonies on 14 November, naming Dr António Homem as the leader of the Fellowship. His incomplete confession prompted the Inquisitors to have him tortured, but he told everything he was holding back after being tied up (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5821, 17 November 1621).

(35) - António Correia de Sá taught them orally and by translating a small book from Latin. The whole family made about thirty ordinary fasts (mondays and thursdays) at the Quinta da Giralda, whenever it was feasible, but ceased this practice altogether in 1619 (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 23 September 1621).

(36) - Luís de Sá's case was handled by *Sebastião de Matos de Noronha*, although the latter was replaced by Gaspar Borges de Azevedo for a few days in late September. Luís de Sá was heard on 27 September (twice), and also on 28 and 30 September (twice), 1 October (twice), 2, 5, 11 and 12 October, almost invariably at his request.

(37) - It was the first of eight interrogations. He admitted having been instructed in the Jewish faith by his father two weeks later (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6869, 8 October 1621).

(38) - António Leitão was questioned in *genere* on 19 February and in *specie* on 1 and 2 February, always denying his guilt. He was charged with heresy and apostasy on 28 counts, and chose as defence counsel his former colleague Ivo Duarte, whose skill he trusted (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1656, 19 April 1621).

(39) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 11 October 1621.

(40) - Apart from maintaining his legal practice, André Vaz Cabaço was Syndic of the City Council, and Procurator of the Chapter and of the Monasteries of Ceira and Lorvão. His sister Brites da Conceição was a nun in the latter Monastery.

(41) - André Vaz Cabaço's estate was inventoried on 6 October. His furniture and Law books were entrusted to Nicolau Carvalho, the University printer, for safe keeping. André Vaz Cabaço was questioned in *genere* on 15 October, and denied the charges. On 26 October he was taken out of isolation and moved to the Casa da Galé. This may have influenced him to decide to confess.

(42) - Francisco de Aguiar de Brito was placed in isolation in the second cell of the upper aisle, facing St Bernard's. He denied his guilt from the beginning, and built up with lawyer Ivo Duarte's assistance a list of 206 articles of contradiction (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9456, 18 May 1622). He began his confession in June 1623.

(43) - Simão Leal was living in Oporto when he became acquainted with Maria de Morais; she was 12 then and the daughter of Francisco Fernandes, a New Christian worker in silk (who had died when she was six), and Ana Lopes, probably an Old Christian. The wedding was contracted without delay, although it was not consummated until four years later. They had at least three children: Maria, born in 1593, Arcângela, born circa 1605, and a third girl, who died of the plague on 27 August 1599.

(44) - He was made a Familiar in 1588, and moved to Coimbra in 1590. By 1600 he was Procurator to the City Council.

(45) - These included Miguel da Fonseca, Francisco Serrão, António Correia de Sá, André Vaz Cabaço and other judaisers, for various reasons. Maria de Morais had in fact been named by Miguel da Fonseca's wife Catarina Travassos and daughter Maria Cardoso.

(46) - She initially denied the charges against her, but later changed her mind and stated that she had judaised six years earlier, "mouida de algum sangue mao, que tem ou de curiosidade por ouvir nos Autos da fee, ler as cousas que os Judeus faziã, imaginando que por aquelle caminho, tinha a saluação mais certa" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1877, 21 October 1621). She finally admitted that she had been converted some 28 years earlier by Antónia Rodrigues, the wife of Manuel António, a shearer, both New Christians (ibid., 4 November 1621; Antónia Rodrigues had already been reconciled by the Holy Office). She voluntarily provided a good amount of information on other judaisers on the next few days, and her proceedings were closed on 18 November. Her daughters D Maria de Morais and Arcângela de Morais, whom she had converted (ibid., 30 October 1621), were both prosecuted.

(47) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 16225, 8 October 1621.

(48) - This was not quite correct. Simão Barreto was indeed related to D Francisco de Meneses, but their kinship was remote, dating back from his great-great-grandfather Gonçalo Nunes Barreto, who married D Inês de Meneses.

(49) - Another four prisoners were eventually put in his cell. None of them were involved in the Fellowship affair.

(50) - Manuel Soares was first questioned on the afternoon of 20 October but had nothing to say. He stated that he was a quarter New Christian on his father's side "mas que elle se tem em conta de xpristão velho". He was not questioned until February 1622.

(51) - Manuel Gomes, then aged 37, had been named by Miguel da Fonseca and Simão Lopes "o Chorão". The Inquisitors rightly assumed that he would be a good confessant, and decided not to isolate him. However, their choice of companions was questionable, as both Francisco de Sá

and António de Almeida were connected with the Fellowship. They thus had plenty of time to discuss what they could safely omit in their confessions. Manuel Gomes began his on the afternoon of 18 October, continued it for a number of sessions, and said nothing about the Fellowship ceremonies until advised to hold nothing back by D Francisco de Soveral. He then described a typical ceremony in detail, taking great care not to mention Dr António Homem (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5639, 9 November 1621). This was disregarded and his proceedings were closed in time for the next auto de fé.

(52) - Ana de Faria was 28 at the time of her arrest, had entered the Monastery of Santa Ana at the age of 21 and professed at 22. She had been named by Luis de Sá (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 28 September 1621), and this was considered sufficient to have her arrested, "uisto a testemunha ser de maior qualidade e mui bom confitente, e auer enformação que tinha amizade naquelle Mosteiro e seu Paj Antonio Correa com a dita denunciada".

(53) - Tomásia de Faria was the wife of António Pinheiro Tormenta, the Old Christian clerk of of the Correição Chancellery. She was 40 at the time of her arrest, and by all accounts had a difficult temper. She did not get on well with her brother Pedro Homem de Faria, admittedly an adventurous young man, and "delle praguiiava dizendo que hera hum douto e hum besta" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5438, 23 October 1621). And it was rumoured that she had an affair with a nephew of her husband's, Francisco Tormenta.

(54) - Violante do Céu's co-operation earned her special treatment. She was lodged for a few days in the Chief Warder's quarters "por não auer Caza acomodada onde podesse estar". She was later moved to the sixth cell of the upper aisle, facing St Bernard's, where she was kept in isolation; but she was eventually given two companions.

(55) - An arrest warrant had been issued on 6 September 1621, but the Inquisitor General decided on 13 September to await further evidence. This was supplied by Luis de Sá (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 27 September 1621), and the warrant was validated on 5 October. Pero Cabral Colaço was put in isolation in the fourth cell of the new lower aisle. Since the City Council could not function without a clerk, City Chancellor Diogo de Carvalho Pinto was elected to serve as an interim measure (AMC, Vereações da Câmara, Vol. 45 (1620-1624), fl. 142-142v). Diogo de Carvalho was elected Alderman on 16 January 1624, and the office of clerk was temporarily given to Simão Leal, the former Procurator General of the City, until a new clerk could be elected (ibid., fl. 265v-266). Diogo de Carvalho was the oldest serving Alderman in 1666.

(56) - They included Violante da Silva, 36, Grácia dos Anjos, 40, and Maria de Matos, 32. The latter's sisters Luisa Machada, 36, and Francisca das Chagas, 25, would be arrested on 25 November; they both confessed in the first session they had, on 23 and 29 December respectively. Maria de Matos's and Luisa Machada's proceedings were entrusted to Sebastião de Matos de Noronha.

(57) - When Felipe IV ascended to the throne, the New Christians had

immediately renewed their efforts to obtain a General Pardon. The new Monarch seemed willing to listen to their grievances; he gave orders to suspend the forthcoming autos de fé in Portugal. The Portuguese Inquisition sent Simão Barreto de Meneses, one of its best and most experienced men, to the Court of Madrid, and gave him authority to oppose the New Christian project as best he could. In spite of fierce opposition from certain courtiers, he succeeded: Felipe IV authorised the autos de fé, and the Bishop Inquisitor General was officially notified about it on 3 November. However, the stress and inconvenience Simão Barreto experienced during this assignment was too much for him, and he died during the summer of 1621. There was rejoicing among the New Christians when his death became known; various penitents claimed that the late Inquisitor had extracted false confessions by force - Simão Barreto was well known for his irascible temper. André de Avelar knew about his death before his second arrest and tried to use it to his advantage. The exact date of Simão Barreto's death is not known; Coimbra's parish records for that period make no mention of it, which may indicate that he died away from the city. On 13 October 1621, his brother, the Licentiate Francisco Barreto de Meneses, a Canon in the Cathedral of Elvas, applied for a Canonry in Viseu which was made vacant in late September through the death of Simão Barreto. The application was made through his friend and colleague in the Cathedral of Elvas, Inquisitor Sebastião de Matos de Noronha (AUC, Conselhos, 1621-1622, fl. 74-74v). Francisco Barreto was an Inquisitor in Evora when he was made a Canon in Elvas; his application was filed by proxy on 9 January 1620, and he was represented by Simão Barreto (AUC, Conselhos, 1619-1620, fl. 86v-87). He was later a Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office, and succeeded D Francisco de Meneses as Bishop of the Algarve in November 1636. He died in Lisbon on 4 November 1649.

(58) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2209, 25 to 27 October 1621.

(59) - António Travassos was 54 and his brother Duarte Travassos, a lawyer, was 52. They were related to Dr António Homem on the side of their mother, Brites Brandoa, Jorge Vaz Brandão's sister. Duarte Travassos was not generally known to be a judaiser. When Father Afonso Filipe, Prior of the parish of the Salvador, died on 18 November 1611, Duarte Travassos was the executor of his testament (AUC, Obitos da freguesia de S Martinho de Montemor-o-Velho, Vol. 1, fl. 264).

(60) - Sebastião de Matos de Noronha remarked that the worship of a calf would be idolatry for a Jew, and advised Luis de Sá to tell the truth. The latter insisted that he had told the truth, and could find no explanation for this (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 31 October 1621). He even added a few details to his description (ibid., 3 November 1621). Luis de Sá was indeed telling the truth. Ascenso Dias "o Rato" also mentioned the calf as an object of worship, described it, and added that it belonged to Miguel Gomes (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2115, 17 March 1622).

(61) - They were, for a time at least, in a cellar in Miguel Gomes's house. The Inquisitor wrote on the margin: "Não se achou rasto d'isto fazendosse diligencia". In Luis de Sá's opinion, Miguel Gomes's brother Fernando Alvares "o Buco" had disposed of them. He certainly had

kept Miguel Gomes's ceremonial clothes as Judge of the Fellowship: "huma capazinha de tafetta preto com capello [...] E huma gorra de veludo negro, a qual era de dobra toda [...] E huma varinha muito delgada quebradiça com encaixos de prata" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 30 October 1621).

(62) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 615, 30 October 1621. No one else mentioned this book, the existence of which is doubtful; it may have been no more than a rumour. Similar works did appear in the Portuguese Jewish communities in central Europe; one such book was Saul Levi Mortera's *Tratado da verdade da lei de Moisés*, written in 1659, which shows a fairly good knowledge of the New Testament on its author's part.

(63) - One of these was Maria de Moraes, Simão Leal's wife, whom she knew as a judaiser since at least 1612 (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1877, 1 November 1621).

(64) - A few days later, she was transferred to the third cell in the upper aisle, facing Santa Cruz, and was given three companions. D Francisca Brandoa was a difficult prisoner. Her companion Maria Mendes complained that she had scolded her "Com roins palauras" for having confessed, "tratandoa muito mal, porque a fasem meter em hum Canto e não a deixão chegar a grade, dandolhe repostadas" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2665, 5 January 1622). D Francisca Brandoa narrowly avoided her execution, refused to confess until 5 October 1624, and was sentenced on 4 May 1625.

(65) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2209, 8 November 1621.

(66) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 8576, 12, 13 and 16 November 1621.

(67) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 5394, 19 and 20 November 1621.

(68) - Simão do Couto was born in a judaiser family, although his mother was an Old Christian. His father Simão Dias and his paternal uncle Dr Francisco Dias, Lente of Prime of Canon Law, were both judaisers. Simão do Couto lived in the Calçada with his Old Christian wife, Brites de Palma, and their six-year old daughter when he was arrested.

(69) - He was put in the fourth cell of the lower aisle, facing Santa Cruz, with another five companions, one of whom was (for a time) Father Luís Arês, also a Fellowship member. He began by denying the charges, but a year later decided to confess, which he did in great detail. He named most Fellowship members as judaisers, with the exception of Dr António Homem, but gave no description of any ceremonies. This was accepted, as he was not a full member and there was no conclusive evidence that he had been present at a ceremony (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2308, 24, 26 and 29 November 1622, 5, 13 and 23 January 1623, 10 and 20 February 1623).

(70) - He stated that a Spanish New Christian called Domingo Rodriguez, a silk merchant whom he met in Ceuta, where he was at the time, had

persuaded him to judaise circa 1602 and taught him the precepts of the Law of Moses, which he followed while he stayed there. When he returned to Portugal, he gradually forgot the Jewish rituals. However, circa 1607 he became acquainted with Marçal Nunes, who made him judaise once again and claimed that "não auia pessoa que tiuesse Raça de xristão nouo nesta Cidade com quem não comonicasse as cousas da ley de Moyses" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5818, 22 to 24 November 1621).

(71) - Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia was not generally thought to be a judaiser, perhaps because he was a haughty man and had few friends in Coimbra. He had been reported during the 1619 visitation as indulging in sodomy (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 103v-104), but no action was taken, as this testimony lacked corroboration. Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia was again named as a judaiser in 1623 by Sister Maria Henriques, a nun in the Monastery of Celas. Due to various considerations, he was not arrested until 1627.

(72) - José Coutinho had been found guilty on the available evidence on 14 July, and the verdict was confirmed by the General Council on 18 August. The appearance of new evidence saved him from being released to the secular arm. After several admonitions, he finally had a talk with his counsel Ivo Duarte, and presented more articles of contradiction, which he gave up on 14 November, on the latter's advice.

(73) - He later named many other people, including Miguel Gomes "o Manco" and Dr Francisco Gomes "o Doutorinho" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6931, 22 to 24 November 1621).

(74) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6931, 27 November 1621. José Coutinho was one of a number of prisoners who confirmed the existence of "hum liuro que chamão talmud".

(75) - He still held back certain details of which he thought the Inquisitors were unaware, but it did not work. Deputy Manuel da Cunha visited him in his cell and advised him to tell the whole truth. He took his advice and on 27 November asked for an audience and gave some details about the Fellowship ceremonies. However, his description of the 1616 Dia Grande ceremony, the most impressive ever held, as an informal gathering without High Priest, lesser priests and vestments was so inadequate that it is amazing to note that Fernão Dias da Silva hoped to be considered as a good confessant. He was questioned on various occasions during 1622 and 1623 and did name a considerable number of people, but deliberately omitted some important details, and the Inquisitors finally decided that his so-called conversion was false. He was handed over to the secular arm for execution as a diminuto. His five sisters, all nuns, were equally sentenced. They were Violante da Silva from the Monastery of Santa Ana; Leonor Nunes, Maria da Silva and Brites Nunes da Silva, from the Monastery of Semide; and Simoa da Silva, from the Monastery of Cós (she was the last one to be sentenced, abjuring de vehementi on 14 March 1627).

(76) - Francisco Dias had been found guilty of heresy and apostasy on 30 April 1621 and sentenced to be released to the secular arm as "conuicto, confesso, impenitente, uariante e reuogante". The sentence was confirmed by the General Council on 21 June, but was temporarily sus-

pended due to the publication of additional evidence, in the hope that the defendant would change his mind. Orders were given to execute the sentence on 22 September, but this was again postponed. After the publication of additional proof of Justice on 8 November, it became obvious that Francisco Dias was not willing to admit his guilt, and the decision was made to have him included in the forthcoming auto de fé.

(77) - This revelation was soon known everywhere in the Peninsula. An obscure Portuguese writer who was in Madrid at the time, the Licentiate Vicente da Costa Matos, was so thoroughly shocked by what he saw as a stain on his country's honour that he began at once writing a book against the judaisers - the celebrated *Breve discvrso contra a heretica perfidia do iudaismo*. He specifically mentioned these autos de fé: "se virão tão estupendas abominações confessadas dos mesmos, quaes nunca antes desda morte de Christo, nem ainda entre os infieis onde castigados de Deos, não tem animo para igualar as que entre o melhor do mundo na escola da disciplina Christaã fazião de ordinario; pois se sabe por Autos publicos, & sentenças lidas, que tinham os apostatas Iudeus naturaes della, synagoga onde fazião as ceremonias Iudaicas reprouadas da Igreja, & entre si summo Sacerdote a que respeitauão, & se Vestia nas vestiduras pontificaes que a Escritura relata; Sacerdotes em cujas mãos jurauão ao modo Iudaico de morrer, como algum malauenturado, que o justo juizo da Igreja queimou, & a que tinham dedicado dia particular" (p. 106-107 of the 1668 reprint). The book was a success, and earned its author the bitter hostility of the New Christians, who even accused him before the Inquisition of stirring up racial hatred. Vicente da Costa Matos mentioned this in a sequel to his book, *Honras christãs nas afrontas de Iesv Christo*, published in 1625: "huns me dauão figas nas costas,quãdo passaua por elles, outros queimauão liuros, & os mercauão para isto, outros os comprauão, & os escondião logo [...] Os Iudeus por infamar o intento que tiue neste negocio desiam que o fizera com odio, sendo a pura verdade que tudo o que desejo he emenda em crime tão atrocissimo" (fl. 93-94).

(78) - Miguel da Fonseca was released on 30 November and restricted to the city and suburbs of Coimbra, with orders to attend mass, sermons and religious instruction at Santa Justa church. About three years later, he was allowed to move to Lisbon with his son João da Fonseca, where he continued his religious instruction at St Lawrence's church. He was dispensed from further penance on 17 May 1625, and returned to Coimbra with his son. He is thought to have died there.

(79) - Simão Leal felt no less shame than Maria de Morais did. She was released on 1 December and restricted to the city and suburbs of Coimbra, as was to be expected. Her estate was confiscated, and she had to live from charity, "por lhe o dito seu marido lhe não dar nada". Her sentence was commuted to spiritual penance on 12 February 1622.

(80) - André Vaz Cabaço was still in a penitential cell on 3 December 1621, when Sebastião de Matos de Noronha interviewed him. He was released shortly afterwards and restricted to the city and suburbs of Coimbra, and was dispensed from further penance on 4 January 1622. Although his estate had been confiscated, he was given back some of his books as a special concession. His poverty forced him to sell them to Nicolau Carvalho, the University printer, for some 30,000 réis. But the

favours he received could not blot out the shame he felt for being disgraced in public. When he visited his old friend Canon Manuel Toscano, one evening in the summer of 1622, he told him that he had never Judaized, and there was no Fellowship of St Diogo; he had confessed because he saw himself accused by so many witnesses. Manuel Toscano, who may have wanted to believe him, did not report the matter to the Inquisition at the time, as was expected of him; but his conscience was troubled and he eventually reported it. No action was taken, because there was no other testimony about this (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5818, 11 July 1623).

(81) - Ana de Faria's sentence was given a favourable report. She did not return to her Monaster when she was released. She was entrusted to Maria dos Reis, a widow living in the Montarroio estate, who was instructed to keep her until she was taken away by her mother's relatives (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 8576, 15 January 1622).

(82) - Simão Gonçalves was released on 30 November and given fixed residence in Coimbra, but he very nearly put himself at risk. Friar Simão da Assunção, of the Order of St Peter of the Third Franciscan Order, reported that Simão Gonçalves had told him "que iurara falso na Mesa do santo officio contra sua pessoa [...] E que tambem mandara pedir huma esmolla aos frades de sam Bernardo do Collegio desta Cidade cujo barbeiro auia sido E que os dittos frades lha não quizeram dar; E que elle ditto Simão gonçalvez estaua muito arrependido de não accusar, na meza do Santo officio hum frade da ditto ordem de sam Bernardo que hera meo xpistão nouo" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5632, 18 January 1622). This may have cost him a postponement of his release. Sebastião de Matos de Noronha informed him on 15 February that his fixed residence had been commuted to spiritual penance, and warned him that he would be released to the secular arm if he ever went back to the Jewish faith. He was dispensed from wearing a penitential gown on 28 December.

(83) - José Coutinho asked to continue his confession on 7 December, and subsequently added to it (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6931, 11, 14 and 15 December 1621). This did not affect his sentence. He was transferred on 20 December to the Limoeiro, Lisbon's civilian prison, awaiting his transfer to the first available ship. José Coutinho's office of clerk of the Orphans was given to Bento Arrais de Mendonça, who was proposed by the City Council on 1 February 1622 and confirmed by the King on 15 March, and by Royal charter on 19 March. This choice was disputed by citizens Aleixo Borges de Andrade, who had served as the substitute clerk for six months, and André Serrão da Cunha. The dispute took longer than expected, but Bento Arrais finally obtained a sentence in his favour on 5 July 1623. By that time, he had other problems in his mind: his wife Luísa de Seíça, 44, a half New Christian, had been arrested by the Inquisition on 21 November 1621, and escaped being handed over to the secular arm by deciding to confess her guilt on 5 June 1623. She was sentenced on 18 June 1623 and died on 26 May 1630 without issue. On 4 February 1632 Bento Arrais de Mendonça married D Maria Perestrelo, daughter of João de Beja Perestrelo and still related to him, who gave him a son, Manuel. Bento Arrais died on 2 August 1639.

(84) - Five men and three women were released to the secular arm, including three sodomites. Another three men were executed in effigy.

(85) - Estêvão de Arês da Fonseca emigrated as soon as he could; first to Spain, and in 1628 to Bayonne, where he contacted the large Portuguese Jewish community and met Dr Nicolau Lopes Vila Real, who had been sentenced in the same auto de fé as he had. He was circumcised, travelled through the Low Countries and France, and finally returned to Spain. On 15 May 1635, aged 38 and possibly wishing to settle down at last, he voluntarily presented himself to the Holy Office in Madrid to confess his apostasy and receive absolution. His statement was included in the proceedings of Francisco Dias Mendes Brito (AHN, Toledo Inquisition, Legajo 142, No. 184-6).

(86) - A report dated 13 September 1622 confirmed that he was still in Lisbon at that time.

(87) - Having convinced the Jesuits of the penitential cells that he was sincerely converted, António Gomes petitioned the Inquisitor General to be given temporary leave, in order to beg for alms in the towns of Pereira and Ega, where he had friends. He was given three months on 30 July 1622, on condition that he should bring back with him certificates from the local parish priests. He seems to have disappeared, as the certificates were not appended to his proceedings.

(88) - Jerónimo da Fonseca Pina made a partial confession, but subsequently recanted and denied all the charges. He was informed on 8 November that he would be released to the secular arm as convicted, negative, and revocant, and finally confessed everything (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 7882, 16 November 1621). His sentence was commuted to spiritual penances on 18 April 1624, upon the payment of 20,000 réis for the upkeep of poor prisoners.

(89) - Paulo de Lena should also have been sentenced March to two years' penal servitude at the oars, but this was eventually pardoned. His estate was confiscated and he was left in financial difficulties, made worse because he had to support his unmarried sister Hipólita (sentenced at the same time) and the children of his other sister Bárbara de Lena, whose husband Manuel de Fontes, a lawyer, had also been arrested. Paulo de Lena boldly decided to earn his living as a physician, although he had no authority to do so. He disposed of his penitential gown, bought himself a mule and began practising medicine, only months after being released - and with a sentence of penal servitude temporarily suspended. He was arrested on 16 December 1622, but suffered no worse than a rebuke, "por ser tam perto da festa do Natal". He was arrested again on 1 February and 19 May 1623, for the same reason, and was twice reprimanded. His sentence was eventually commuted to a fine of 15 cruzados (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 11444, 22 August 1623). Paulo de Lena left the country and settled in Rouen, where he remained in touch with Portuguese affairs through the Consulate and Crown agents, and indulged in some intelligence gathering for Portugal after the 1640 Restoration (COELHO, José Ramos - Manuel Fernandes Vila Real e o seu processo na Inquisição de Lisboa, p. 45). However, for some reason, he was never able to integrate himself in Rouen's Portuguese Jewish community. There he remained, neither a Catholic nor an

orthodox Jew, until his death.

(90) - Some of António Correia de Sá's reports were appended to his proceedings. His usefulness did not end there. He was asked to try and find out what had happened to the vestments used in the Fellowship ceremonies, and duly reported that Miguel Gomes "o Manco" must have shipped them abroad, "por ter trato Em diuersas partes E mandar toda sua fazenda que pode Embarcada por aueiro E por buarcos". According to a New Christian tenant farmer of Montemor-o-Velho, Francisco Fernandes Nunes, whom he had approached for information, "aquilo nunca se podia saber onde Estaua porque não Estaua ja no mundo" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5821, 29 August 1622). This confirmed in general terms the data supplied by José Coutinho (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6931, 15 February 1621). According to a note included in Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia's proceedings (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6978), António Correia de Sá died in Madrid circa 1625 and was confessed in articulo mortis by the Franciscan Friar Diego de San Vicente.

CHAPTER 13

(1) - António Dias de Almeida's wish not to reveal anything else about the Fellowship cost him another year in prison and a full torture session, but he was sentenced without having told everything he knew. Sebastião de Matos de Noronha questioned him on the morning of 13 February, and Gaspar Borges de Azevedo after lunch; he provided six folios of second-rate information and stated that he did not wish to present any articles of contradiction. He was questioned again a year later.

(2) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 11998, 25 and 26 January 1622.

(3) - "Whosoever he be of thy seed in their generations that hath any blemish, let him not approach to offer the bread of his God. For whatsoever man he be that hath a blemish, he shall not approach: a blind man, or a lame, or he that hath a flat nose, or any thing superfluous, or a man that is brokenfooted, or brokenhanded, or crookbackt, or a dwarf, or that hath a blemish in his eye, or be scurvy, or scabbed, or hath his stones broken" (Leviticus 21, 17-20).

(4) - Inquisitor Sebastião de Matos de Noronha resumed his interrogation after an eight-month interval (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2115, 22 January and 22 February 1622).

(5) - He obviously preferred to be heard by D Miguel de Castro, rather than Sebastião de Matos de Noronha. He asked for new hearings on 5, 8 and 17 March, to continue his confession, always before D Miguel de Castro, who questioned him on 18 March and again on 2 and 14 April. Ascenso Dias's case was subsequently handed over to Sebastião de Matos de Noronha, who questioned him on 19 and 22 August, with disappointing results. He was accused of being a false confessant, and was admonished on 27 August and 3 September. He tried to prepare some articles of contradiction but eventually gave them up. His next interrogation took place four months later (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2115, 9

January 1623).

(6) - He chose the Licentiate Paulo Rebelo as his counsel on 5 March, but the articles of contradiction he submitted were not confirmed. He changed to the Licentiate Francisco Tavares on 7 April 1623, as Paulo Rebelo was away, but the former soon excused himself as being too busy and was replaced on 2 August 1623 by the Licentiate Francisco Nogueira da Silva. Pedro Homem de Faria was a difficult prisoner: "elle desjn-quietaua o carcere E os prezos, E prezas delle batendo e fazendo abece", and Inquisitor Pero da Silva de Sampaio had to threaten him with a minimum of fifty lashes, unless he improved his behaviour (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 11986, 15 May 1623). As a desperate measure, Pedro Homem de Faria tried to have Inquisitors D Miguel de Castro and D Francisco de Soveral replaced on the grounds of personal enmity, but failed (ibid., 26 August 1623). He began his confession on 4 May 1624.

(7) - Vicente de Arês was not questioned for the whole of 1621, nor did he ask for a hearing. His refusal to confess was not changed by the publication of fresh evidence against him (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5997, 22 February and 9 July 1622). His reasons for changing his mind a few days later will never be known.

(8) - Although he had proved to be more responsive with D Francisco de Soveral, his case was given back to Gaspar Borges de Azevedo and S bastião de Matos de Noronha. The former questioned him on 2 September about his beliefs, and the latter on 9 September about various points, including the Fellowship ceremonies. Vicente de Arês, who was not expecting it, asked for time to think and was granted four days. Actually, he was not questioned until 16 September; but this time he claimed that he had nothing else to say. He added a few more details on 17 September, after he was charged, and this was found acceptable. After a final session, Vicente de Arês was advised to report to the Holy Office anything else that he could recall (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5997, 16 December 1622), and his proceedings were closed on 30 December. They were reopened only a few days later.

(9) - AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 241v. Dr Luis Ribeiro de Leiva was a Doctoral Canon since March 1621.

(10) - His choice was unfortunate; Ivo Duarte was busier than ever. Bishop D Martim Afonso Mexia died on 29 August, and Ivo Duarte was chosen on 5 September as one of three Desembargadores of the Chapter sede vacante (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 273v-274v).

(11) - Dr António Homem knew João Alvares Brandão from the latter's days as an Inquisitor in Coimbra, and certainly before the opening of Queen Isabel's canonisation proceedings in 1612; he was transferred to the Lisbon Inquisition shortly afterwards. A Provision from D Fernão Martins Mascarenhas informed him that he would replace Simão Barreto de Meneses in Dr António Homem's proceedings (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 16225, 21 June 1621).

(12) - Dr João Alvares Brandão began with the sodomy proceedings. The first witness related to the Fellowship case to be interviewed was Ca-

tarina Vogada. She was heard in the hermitage of Our Lady of the Footprint, near Foz de Arouce, where she lived with her husband António de Azevedo Barreiros (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 16225, 21 October 1622).

(13) - Even as a student, Simão Barreto was known to be short-tempered. Matias Pereira, a half New Christian who descended from the famous cosmographer Pedro Nunes on his mother's side and was arrested as a judaiser on 31 May 1623, had such violent arguments with him that he ended up in the University prison for over three months.

(14) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 15 and 16 September 1622.

(15) - Violante de Faria began her confession on the same day of her arrest (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6004, 17 October 1621), and added to it in subsequent sessions. However, the Inquisitors were so overworked that her case was given a relatively low priority. After a session on 2 March 1622, during which she gave the names of various judaiser nuns in her Monastery, she was not questioned until that day.

(16) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6004, 23 September 1622. She added to her confession on 27 October and 4 November, but still left out a great deal. However, her case was not considered important enough for a stricter line of questioning, and it was soon closed.

(17) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 11998, 31 October 1622.

(18) - Actually, Canon Mateus Lopes da Silva was not Manuel de Seíça's brother. The latter was from Montemor-o-Velho and a friend of the Pina and Travassos families.

(19) - Branca Pais was assisted by her sister Brites Mendes, aged 50, her own daughter Isabel do Paraíso, aged 31, and another three nuns, Sister Maria Madalena, a 30-year old New Christian, and two half New Christians, Sisters Clara de Santa Maria, 40, and Maria do Presépio, 37. At least another fourteen nuns took part in the meetings; all were eventually arrested and sentenced. Although Branca Pais never admitted it to the Inquisitors, there can be no doubt that she was directly inspired by the Fellowship of St Diogo, which she knew through Canon Mateus Lopes da Silva and Dr António Homem's relative Dr Jerónimo de Almeida. There is no evidence that Sister Briolanja Travassos and her mother Brites Brandoa (Dr António Homem's cousin and aunt respectively), who frequently visited the Monastery, knew about the Fellowship.

(20) - Sister Clara de Santa Maria confessed that she had been told by Branca Pais "que o Sam diogo que ella mandara pintar de baixo do nome de Sam Diogo, d'alcala, era frei diogo, o que morreo queimado viuo, pelo Santo officio em lisboa, dizendo que elle era hum dos maiores martires que tinha a lei de Moizes pois dera a uida por ella: e que tambem a jmaigem de nossa Senhora que estaua junto delle que tambem ella mandou pintar debaixo do nome de nossa Senhora, hera a rainha hester, dizendo que se ecomendassem aquelles santos, e que tambem mandara pintar a dita Brittes mendes Sua jrmã, e retratar aos pes de Sam joam e da rainha hester, cõ as mãos aleuantadas, e Com ueo pretto, e en trai-

jos de freiras" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 212, 21 April 1625).

(21) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 16225, 22 December 1622.

(22) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5997, 6 February 1623.

(23) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6650, 4 February 1623.

(24) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6650, 21 February 1623. Manuel Soares was tortured on 2 March, but this time he told nothing. His proceedings were closed on the same day, and he was sentenced to gaol and penitential dress in perpetuum. Even so, he was still questioned twice (ibid., 27 March and 1 June 1623).

(25) - Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa added little to his confession. He spent one and a half years in prison, during which he was rather severely tortured (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 12494, 20 March 1624), but was sentenced without having mentioned his High Priest.

(26) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2209, 5 March 1623.

(27) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2209, 20 March 1623.

(28) - D Francisco de Meneses did not even spare his closest aides. In August 1621, his clerk Agostinho de Aguiar de Figueiroa left Coimbra for a couple of days without his leave. He was summarily dismissed (which the King approved on 14 September 1621; BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 468v), and was immediately replaced as clerk of the reformation by Treasury Board accountant Pero Soares, although the latter was not sworn in until 8 November 1621 (ibid., fl. 473).

(29) - Point 54 of his defence of 28 February 1623 (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421).

(30) - Besides his duties as Inquisition lawyer, Ivo Duarte was also Procurator to the Chapter; but he was so overworked that he had to concentrate on his New Christian clients, whom, incidentally, he defended quite efficiently. On 13 March 1623, the Chapter met "pera se tratar de procurador, porque o lecenciado Ivo duarte era só E não podia com todo o trabalho per auerem muitas causas". It was decided to appoint a second Procurator, and the choice fell on the Licentiate André de Burgos, who was given a salary of 8,000 réis per year (AUC, Acordos do Cãbido, Vol. 10 (1614-1625), fl. 260).

(31) - After reviewing his case, the Inquisitors recommended his release to the secular arm on 27 March, but the General Council decided that Diogo Lopes de Sequeira still had much to tell, and on 24 May ordered him to be tortured instead. He was put to torture on 29 May, and after being lifted up once, he confessed everything he had previously omitted. His case was wound up three days later (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2121, 1 June 1623).

(32) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9334, 10 March 1623.

(33) - He was repeatedly admonished, as new evidence against him was presented. He twice submitted lists of articles of contradiction, which led to the fruitless questioning of some witnesses or were not received *ex causa* (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1845, 12 and 27 January 1623).

(34) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1845, 23 March 1623.

(35) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6791. Maria Henriques was related to Canon Fernão Dias da Silva, whose mother was her maternal aunt Grácia Nunes. She claimed to have judaised in 1599. She had left the Monastery of Celas because of the plague and moved to the house of her sister Margarida Henriques, who lived in Alcobaça with her husband Diogo Mendes; both were New Christian judaisers, as was their son Tomás Henriques, a student who lived in Fernão Dias da Silva's household. During the nine months she spent there, she was taught the Jewish doctrine and rituals by New Christian girls of the neighbourhood. Maria Henriques followed the Jewish precepts in her Monastery whenever she could, and persuaded other New Christian nuns to do the same.

(36) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1845, 17 May 1623.

(37) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 20 May 1623.

(38) - André de Avelar's case was reviewed on 31 March and his confessions found to be unsatisfactory. It was recommended that he be put to torture, which was confirmed by the General Council (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2209, 24 May 1623).

(39) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2209, 20 May 1623.

(40) - Including his brother António de Oliveira, his uncle Tomé Vaz and his cousin André Nunes de Pina. Additionally, his brother Mateus Lopes da Silva's guilt had been established, and two daughters of his, D Antónia and D Maria Madalena, were under suspicion, as was a sister, D Catarina da Silva, a nun in the Monastery of Celas (all three would later be arrested). Furthermore, Francisco da Silva's role in the Fellowship of St Diogo was already known to the Inquisition (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5765).

(41) - His closest relatives were also summoned. His sister D Catarina da Silva and brother António de Oliveira, both reconciled by the Holy Office, did not wish to be involved. His first-born son, D João da Silva, married to D Isabel Melléndez da Silva and living in Ciudad Rodrigo, were eventually represented by proxy. As Francisco da Silva was dead, his proceedings were given relatively low priority. It was not until 13 March 1626 that Ivo Duarte was chosen to defend Francisco da Silva; he had already defended Francisco da Silva's brother Canon Mateus Lopes da Silva. Ivo Duarte gathered evidence to prove that Inquisitors Simão Barreto de Meneses, Sebastião de Matos de Noronha and Gaspar Borges de Azevedo, who had questioned the witnesses for the prosecution, were biased against Francisco da Silva (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5765, 27 May 1626). His evidence was partially upheld, and the witnesses questioned by the first two Inquisitors were re-examined. By then, D Catarina de Sá had married D João de Azevedo,

and her father Cristóvão de Sá, a respected citizen of Coimbra, had taken over her responsibilities as curator of her children Cristóvão, Lourenço, D Maria, D Antónia and D Madalena (they had another child, D Guiomar da Silva, a nun in the Monastery of Santa Clara). Francisco da Silva was found guilty of heresy and apostasy on 28 July 1626, and sentenced to be released in effigy to the secular arm. His estate was confiscated in favour of the Treasury and Royal Chamber. D Catarina de Sá, who was seriously impoverished by that decision, appealed at once, but her appeal was turned down (ibid., 14 August 1626).

(42) - The accusatory libel already had clear references to the ceremonies (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1656, 11 May 1622). António Leitão unwillingly confirmed the evidence by naming many Fellowship members in his articles of contradiction (ibid., 19 April and 11 May 1622, 21 January and 9 March 1623), a fact which Gaspar Borges de Azevedo, as an expert Inquisitor, could not fail to notice.

(43) - It was clear that his confession was incomplete. His proceedings were accelerated, so as to have him sentenced in the auto de fé scheduled for mid-June (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 1656, 6 to 8 June 1623). As time was short and his co-operation was not wholly satisfactory, he was tortured on 9 June and named at last Dr António Homem, whom he had known as a fellow judaiser for the last ten years. His case was closed on 12 June, but he added a few more details on the 13th. He had confessed almost everything he knew.

(44) - 61-year old Dr Jerónimo de Almeida was under suspicion for some time. When the first arrests of judaisers took place in Montemor-o-Velho, he was reported to have moved to Quiaios for a time, and it was said that he had deposited his money in the Monastery of Our Lady of Campos, "entregue a huma irmã sua freira", Filipa de Almeida (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 8133, 2 May 1623). Dr Jerónimo de Almeida had assisted the Abbess, Branca Pais, in building up a conventicle around the cult of Friar Diogo da Assunção, and in the indoctrination of some of the nuns. He was also in touch with the most influential judaisers in his town: the Pina and Travassos families, the Licentiate João Viegas, physician to the Monastery, and his 19-year old son Manuel Viegas, a student. The latter was arrested on 8 November 1623 and began his confession immediately after his admission. His 50-year old father, arrested on 10 November, confessed four days later.

(45) - Her first confession was a long way from the whole truth. She claimed that she had been persuaded to judaise in 1615 or 1616 by a New Christian relative of hers, Branca Lopes, the wife of Dr Bartolomeu Filipe, who lived in the Rua das Padeiras and had died before her arrest (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 7440, 6 June 1623). She later said that Leonor de Caminha and Iseu de Arede had converted her circa 1606 (ibid., 7 June 1623). She never did admit that there was a judaiser tradition in her family.

(46) - ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9456, 14 to 17 June 1623.

(47) - Ascenso Dias, out on 27 June, was granted a month's leave on 11 November at his request "parahir pedir huma esmola a Cidade de Lixboa". His subsequent fate is unknown.

(48) - Manuel de Seiça was dispensed from further punishment on 5 September 1624. He was arrested ten years later, on 1 March 1634, charged with bearing false testimony against the Fonseca family of Montemor-o-Velho, New Christians "odiados da gente da naçam por sua ma lingoa e natureza" (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2308, 13 March 1634). He readily confessed his guilt, and would have been sentenced to perpetual gaol and penitential dress without remission, ten years at the oars and a public flogging *citra sanguinis effusionem* if he had not died in custody on 24 April 1634, of an infection caused by cutting himself while shaving.

(49) - André de Avelar was made ready to be transported to the penitential cells in Lisbon on 20 June, under the escort of Inquisition Commissioner Brás do Canto. He was accompanied by his daughters Mariana do Deserto and Violante de Faria, who were sentenced at the same time but would not remain with him for long. No more was ever heard of the former Lente of Mathematics. He probably died in custody.

(50) - He was transferred to the city jail on 20 June until an escort could be found to take him to the galleys. It is not known when he was transferred or whether he survived those two years.

(51) - António Travassos Brandão, now aged 56, was released on 26 June and restricted to the city and suburbs of Coimbra, pending his transfer to the first available galley. No more is known about him. On the same day, his brother Duarte Travassos, who had been kept in his cell "pera cô elle se fazerem algumas dilligencias", asked for an audience, because "elle com agonia da morte em que se viu lhe não lembravão algumas pessoas", who came back to his mind "agora que se ue fora deste perigo". His statement made no difference to his sentence.

(52) - He was interviewed by Friar João Marmeleiro on 23 June, and taken to the city jail on the 26th, where he would await transfer to the first available galley. He was still there when his five years' penal servitude were commuted to ten years' deportation to Angola (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9456, 22 December 1623). It was an unexpected act of mercy; he could live there in comparative freedom and could be joined by his wife and children.

(53) - They included: with gaol and penitential dress *ad arbitrium*, Apolónia de S Miguel and Margarida do Presépio from the Monastery of Celas, and Mariana do Deserto, Violante de Faria, Filipa de S Paulo, Francisca das Chagas and Luisa Machada from the Monastery of Santa Ana; with perpetual gaol and penitential dress, Maria de Oliveira from Celas and Violante da Silva from Santa Ana. They all suffered the perpetual loss of their veil and active and passive voice in their Convent, and ineligibility for any office in their Order. Violante de Faria had a favourable report and was released on 30 June.

(54) - Simão do Couto denied the charges until the end, but was found guilty. He was notified on 16 June that he would be released to the secular arm, and was given the Jesuit Father Manuel Fagundes for spiritual counselling. The latter could not make him change his mind (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9996, 16 June 1623).

(55) - Miguel Gomes was informed on 3 August that his lawyers were very busy and felt they could not dedicate enough time to his defence. He was advised to choose another counsel, and appointed the Licentiate João do Couto Barbosa, who helped him compile a new list of articles of contradiction on the same day (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 11998, 3 August 1623).

(56) - Francisco Gomes professed in 1621 in Coimbra but was soon transferred to the Carmelite Discalced Monastery in Cascais, west of Lisbon. There he met Friar Alberto de Santa Teresa, better known to us as Francisco Pinto de Faria, who had accused Dr António Homem of sodomy and never changed his statement.

(57) - He added that he had accused the Lente of having committed sodomy with him "por estar muito perturbado, quando o denunciou, e por ser moço de catorse ou quinze annos [...] e por o ditto simão barreto apertar muito com Elle declarate, dizendo, que não era possiuel ter o ditto Antonio homem cõ elle as dittas mollicias, sem cõsumarem o ditto peccado nefando, e outras pallauras semelhantes" (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 27 July 1623).

(58) - He died on 8 February 1626, at the age of 87, and was buried in the church of the College of Our Lady of the Grace.

(59) - He claimed that he had been converted by his friend Manuel de Seiça, also from Montemor-o-Velho, as recently as 1615. His confession was very unsatisfactory: he claimed that he knew no Jewish prayers and gave unconvincing, stereotyped replies. And when he was questioned in specie, he said he could remember nothing else (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 8133, 30 August and 4, 6 and 9 September).

(60) - His proceedings were closed on 23 October and he was put in the list of penitents for the next auto de fé. He was subsequently heard by Pero da Silva de Faria at his own request, and named a few more judaisers (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 8133, 13 November 1623), but this had no effect in his sentence.

(61) - According to his statement, he also tried to commit sodomy on three separate occasions with an 8-year old boy, Simão, the son of a cobbler who lived by the New Gate, but could not consummate it. He also indulged in the same sin during his holidays at his parents' estate in Vagos. Around 1617 he committed sodomy with his 12-year old servant Miguel (although he later denied it) (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5051, 26 October 1623).

(62) - Inquisitor D Miguel de Castro took pity on him and did not accept his revocation, in the hope that he would reconsider. But on 9 November Valentim Quaresma asked for an audience and changed his mind again, making a partial confession. He said his revocation was made "tentado do Demonio que o Ceguara representando lhe o estado Perigoso do ueneno que trazia dentro em si, o qual asombrara tambem a elle Reo [...] o ueneno de que dis que anda assombrado per interuallos o alleanaua do juizo e lhe tinha perturbados algus dos sentidos corporaes". On 4 December he once again denied his guilt, claiming that he con-

fessed "estando lezo do iuizo por rezam do ueneno que tinha que lhe dauam pancadas na Cabeça". On 11 December he claimed that a priest, António Alvares, then under arrest by the Holy Office, had given him poison in wine a couple of years previously - but continued to answer the questions the Inquisitors asked him clearly, and gave no reason for having accused people with whom he was not indicted. On 15 December he changed his tactics and refused to answer questions; he was given a few lashes by the Chief Warder, and then asked to be heard, but said nothing of interest. He did not confess until after the New Year (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5051, 8, 9 anmd 18 January 1624).

(63) - 36 men and 47 women were sentenced, of whom four men and four women were executed in carne, and two women in effigy.

(64) - She had been indoctrinated by her parents. However, her 80-year old father, Baltazar de Pina da Fonseca, claimed on 2 April 1624 that it was António de Oliveira who had converted him and his children, Luísa Mascarenhas included (a transcript of his statement was appended to ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9278).

(65) - They were not connected with the Fellowship of St Diogo. Both confessed, and were privately sentenced on 23 May 1625.

(66) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, 8 October 1623.

(67) - This was Tomé da Fonseca, who, on 3 January 1620, had accused Dr António Homem of having committed the sin of sodomy with him. A letter, dated 16 September 1622, sent by Father André dos Santos Delgado, curate of the church of Santiago in the town of Vagos, and appended to ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 15421, informed that Tomé da Fonseca had gone to Brazil with Governor General D Diogo de Mendonça, "ceruindo de alferes duma Companhia [...] do dito guernador".

(68) - Regimento do Santo Officio, Tit. IV, Cap. LII. See also Ordenações Filipinas, Lib. V, Tit. XIII, Par. 8: "E em todo o caso, em que houver culpados destes peccados, ou taes indicios, que conforme a Direito bastem para tormento, sera o culpado mettido a tormento, e perguntado pelos companheiros, e por outras quaesquer pessoas, que o dito peccado commetterão, ou sabem delle".

(69) - D Francisco de Brito de Meneses would be the next Rector of the University. His older brother Diogo de Brito died in July 1588 in Felipe II's Invincible Armada. His younger brother Vicente de Brito de Meneses, a Knight Commander of the Order of Christ, was High Captain of the nau "S Bartolomeu", which was lost in 1626.

(70) - See Regimento do Sancto Officio, Tit. IV, Cap. LIV.

CHAPTER 14

(1) - Valentim Quaresma's alleged mental disturbances never bothered him again. His proceedings were closed on 4 November (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5051, 4 November and 5 December 1624)

(2) - The General Council was headed by the Bishop Inquisitor General and composed by Dr João Alvares Brandão, Gaspar Pereira, Sebastião de Matos de Noronha and Francisco de Gouveia.

(3) - The Regimento do Santo Officio da Inquisiçam of 1613 specified that those found guilty of sodomy, heresy and apostasy were to be handed over to the secular justice (Tit. II, Cap. III; for the crime of sodomy, see also Tit. V, Cap. VIII). According to the Ordinances of the Realm, the punishment for both heresy (Lib. V, Tit. I) and sodomy (Lib. V, Tit. XIII) was death by burning.

(4) - He could, of course, be sentenced without having confessed, as the evidence against him was proven. The only proviso was that the Inquisitors should satisfy themselves that neither the witnesses for the prosecution nor their relatives were personal enemies of the defendant (Regimento do Sancto Officio, Tit. IV, Cap. LIX).

(5) - If he confessed, and did so unreservedly, he would be received back in the Church (Regimento do Sancto Officio, Tit. IV, Cap. LXII).

(6) - See Regimento do Sancto Officio, Tit. IV, Cap. LXII. The Lente did not know, of course, that practically every member of his congregation was already known to the Inquisitors.

(7) - ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No 11986, 4 May 1624.

(8) - The Terreiro do Trigo. The auto de fé took place near the house of Jorge Seco, a tradesman. The Ribeira Velha had been a ghetto until the late 15th century. The old synagogue was adapted as the headquarters of the Lisbon Misericórdia, and still exists as the church of Our Lady of the Conception.

(9) - D Diogo de Castro, second Count of Basto, was the nephew of D Miguel de Castro, Archbishop of Lisbon and a former Viceroy of Portugal, and the father of D Miguel de Castro the younger, Inquisitor in Lisbon (formerly of Coimbra), who had been in charge of the proceedings of various Fellowship members. D Diogo da Silva, fifth Count of Portalegre, often stayed in Coimbra, where he had a house, and probably knew Dr António Homem personally.

(10) - The pennant had embroidered on it a cross, flanked by an olive branch to its left and a drawn sword to its right, and the motto of the Holy Office, taken from Psalm 73, 22: "Exsurge, Domine, et judica causam tuam" (KJV Psalm 74, 22: "Arise, o God, plead thine own cause"). This was replaced on the reverse side by "IVSTITIA ET MISERICORDIA" (Justice and Mercy).

(11) - SOUSA, Friar António de - Sermam que [...] pregou no Auto da Fe, Que se celebrou na mesma cidade [Coimbra], domingo cinco de Mayo do anno de 1624. The sermon, which was not initially intended for publication, was printed in 1624 as a 32-page leaflet.

(12) - Francisco Fialho, master of the galley "Madalena", signed on 17 May 1624 a receipt (appended to ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition Processo No

12494), certifying the delivery of five penitents. They included Miguel Gomes, Pedro Homem de Faria, Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa and José Coutinho, who had been in Limoeiro prison since December 1621, awaiting a galley which would take him aboard.

(13) - A cleric was answerable to Church law, rather than civil or criminal law. If he committed a crime which deserved the death penalty, according to secular law, it was necessary for the Church to deprive him from the status and privileges that Holy Orders gave him, so that he could be punished. Pope Pius V's Constitution *Horrendum illud* reserved degradation for clerics who had been found guilty of "crimines atroces", including heresy, apostasy and sodomy.

(14) - The formula which requested the civil authorities not to execute a heretic was a legal disclaimer required by contemporary jurisprudence; the Inquisitors were not empowered to give death sentences.

(15) - The destruction of the houses where heretic assemblies had taken place was an established practice, provided for in chapter 179 of Gratian's *Forenses*, several apostolic constitutions and an edict of the Emperor Frederic II, dated 22 February 1239 and first applied to the Albigensian heresy.

(16) - *Regimento do Santo Officio*, Tit. IV, Cap. LXVI, LXVII.

(17) - A kind of hat resembling a tall mitre ("mitra scelerata"). In Portugal, its name was due to the fact that it resembled the body of a cockroach ("carocha"). It was called "coroza" in Spain (see COROMINAS, Joan - *Diccionario critico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Vol. I, p. 907).

(18) - His last words were included in a manuscript miscellany, compiled by Father Luís Montez Matoso (1701-1750), an antiquarian of some merit (SILVA, Inocêncio Francisco da - *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez*, Vol. V, p. 308), and preserved in BPADE Codex CVII/1-4.

(19) - A convicted heretic was automatically sentenced to death. However, if he declared his wish to die in the Catholic faith, he would be strangled, his body burned and his ashes scattered, so that nothing would remain which could become a relic to his followers. Heresy did not end with death. An unrepentant heretic's body profaned the ground where it was buried, and it should be exhumed and burned (*Decretals*, 12, X, III, 28 and 8, X, V, 7).

(20) - See *Regimento do Santo Officio*, Tit. IV, Cap. LXVII.

(21) - AUC, *Conselhos*, 1623-1624, fl. 103-103v.

(22) - AUC, *Conselhos*, 1623-1624, fl. 103v-105v.

CHAPTER 15

(1) - Dr Duarte Brandão is known to have lectured until 29 June 1624

(AUC, Conselhos, 1623-1624, fl. 17). Some of his books were left with Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia, and were inventoried when the latter was arrested. The remainder were confiscated and inventoried, but by the time they were handed over to Paulo de Carvalho, a scholar of St Peter's College, for safe keeping, a number were already missing. Dr Duarte Brandão was never arrested. He settled in Madrid, where he worked as a lawyer and an expert in successional law, and died in 1644.

(2) - Dr Caldeirão should have retired earlier. A Royal Provision of 28 January 1619 requested him to lecture for another six years, following which he would be given leave to retire on a full pension.

(3) - He was first named as a judaiser by André de Avelar (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2209, 25 August 1622), and later by D Francisca Brandoa (Processo No 2665, 5 February 1625); additional evidence was subsequently obtained. An arrest warrant was issued in 1631, and he abjured de vehementi in Lisbon on 22 March 1632. His Processo was unfortunately lost.

(4) - D Francisco de Meneses was not invested in the dignity of Bishop of Leiria until December 1625. It was understood that he would not remain in his bishopric for long; his success against the judaisers in Coimbra guaranteed his re-assignment to where he would be more useful to the Holy Office. The Algarve was an obvious choice.

(5) - AUC, Conselhos, 1623-1624, fl. 109-111. He was expected to perform the duties of a Rector, until a new Rector was appointed.

(6) - ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1623-1624, fl. 294. D Francisco de Meneses, who had other matters in his mind, paid scant attention to this. The Board of Conscience and Orders complained on 13 March 1625 that he still had not returned any documents (ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1625-1627, fl.15v). D Francisco de Meneses was invested in the dignity of Bishop of the Algarve in December 1627.

(7) - The expenses of the reformation totalled a staggering 37,000 cruzados (14,800,000 réis). Additionally, the University owed the Royal Treasury 1,200,000 réis, as the legal guarantor of Paymaster Henrique de Arede, whose estate had been confiscated. Many sentenced judaisers owed money to the University and could not pay. The situation was made even more desperate by the University's inability to find a suitably qualified person for the office of Paymaster, which meant that a significant proportion of the University revenue could not be collected.

(8) - The Doctors' Fund was created on 20 September 1568 to provide scholarships for thirty medical students of Old Christian stock, each of whom would receive 20,000 réis a year. Felipe III gave it a new Regulation on 7 February 1604: the number of students was raised to 33 (the original 30 plus two from St Paul's College and one from St Peter's College), each one of whom would receive 24,000 réis per year, or 40,000 réis in the case of the three College scholars. The revenue of the Doctors' Fund was invariably in excess of the amount spent, and there always was a comfortable balance in the Fund. This was occasionally used for loans to the University.

(9) - ANTT, Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1623-1624, fl. 297. The debt to the Treasury was eventually cancelled.

(10) - Among the reconciled were four relatives of Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro: Paulo de Pina's wife D Brites de Sousa, sentenced to perpetual gaol and penitential dress; her brother-in-law Amaro de Pina, sentenced to perpetual gaol and penitential dress without remission, with insignia of fire, and five years' penal servitude at the oars; Rui de Pina's daughter Maria de Pina, aged 16, sentenced to gaol and penitential dress ad arbitrium with an unfavourable report; and Dr Navarro's bastard son João Rodrigues, aged 40, sentenced to gaol and penitential dress ad arbitrium, with a favourable report.

(11) - Six years later, on 10 May 1631, he was transferred to Coimbra under arrest, by order of the General Council of the Holy Office. His case was reviewed and on 1 September he was dispensed from further penance, on account of his age (he was 60) and health problems.

(12) - Luisa Mascarenhas's case gave the Inquisitors an unexpected problem: "Como ella he aparentada com muitas familias de fonsecas cardosos pinas e pintos deste Reino se lhe poserem na sentença que tem parte de xristã nova a que o pouo atenta tanto Pode prejudicar muito as ditas familias", which were Old Christian, as Dr João Alvares Brandão remarked (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9278, 4 April 1625). It was decided to describe her in the sentence as the wife of António de Oliveira, a New Christian, omitting the fact that she had "parte de xristã. nova".

(13) - D Francisca Brandoa claimed to have been converted circa 1609 by her cousin Francisco Rodrigues, from Braga, who later emigrated to Flanders (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 2665, 5 October 1624). The Inquisitors decided to accept her obvious lie, in the light of the abundant true information which she later supplied.

(14) - Estêvão Couceiro Homem was 15 when he was arrested by Commissioner Brás do Canto on 28 April 1625. Being a minor, he was given as his guardian Chief Warder Miguel de Torres Ferreira. He immediately asked for an audience and was heard on the following day by Archdeacon Bento de Almeida. He confessed everything, including his uncle's role in his conversion, and was accordingly treated with leniency. His sentence, drawn up on the same day, had a favourable report, a sign that the boy held nothing back - at least concerning his having judaised. Dr António Velho's nephew João Velho Lobo, a Canon Law student and an incumbent priest of the church of Our Lady of Alcáçova in Montemor-o-Velho, stated on 14 June 1619 that it was said that Dr António Homem committed mollities with "hum sobrinho seu que tem en casa, por nome Esteuão Homem" (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 109v).

(15) - Being unable to prove her innocence, Branca Pais began her confession on 24 March 1625, and her proceedings were concluded on 2 May. She was released on 6 May and restricted to the city and suburbs of Coimbra, and was given temporary accommodation in the Inquisition building. She was transferred to the recolhimento prepared for the judaiser nuns in Coimbra on 2 March 1627. There she spent a few years until she

was arrested on 23 November 1632, charged with having given false testimony against two nuns. The accusatory libel was published on 20 April 1633, but she was not interested in building up her defence. Old and infirm, she died in custody on 19 February 1634. She was posthumously found guilty, and was sentenced to six years' reclusion in a monastery with penitential dress.

(16) - At about this time, Inquisitor General D Fernão Martins Mascarenhas was visited by Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia, who happened to be in Lisbon (as he often was) and probably wanted to know how good his standing was with the Holy Office. The Inquisitor General, who knew that he had been denounced as a judaiser but did not wish him to suspect it, discussed the problem with him and even asked him to write his legal opinion about what to do with the penitent nuns (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6978, *passim*).

(17) - André de Burgos had proposed to transfer the whole proceedings to the Crown (Juiz dos Feitos de El-Rei), which had serious political implications. He did not know he was already under suspicion. Simão do Couto revealed that André de Burgos had once told him "que tinha parte da nação e por esse respeito o lançarão fora da Companhia", and admitted that he followed the Jewish Law (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 9996, 15 April 1625). André de Burgos had indeed spent nine years with the Jesuits in Évora and received minor Orders, but left and continued his studies in Coimbra, where he married an Old Christian lady, D Maria da Cunha. André de Burgos had already had some problems regarding his ancestry. An enquiry which followed his application for membership of the Misericórdia showed that his father, Cristóvão de Burgos, a bookseller in Lisbon, had some Jewish blood, and as such had paid a special tax levied on the city's New Christians. His grandfather, Andrés de Burgos, a Castilian who worked as a printer in Évora, was commonly said to be a New Christian. André de Burgos asked for an audience on 15 September 1625, declared his strictly Catholic beliefs and explained his point of view to Inquisitor Francisco Cardoso de Torneio. His case was referred to the Inquisitor General, who decided that he should be severely reprimanded and suspended from any legal dealings with the Holy Office. He was released on 11 October 1625. Additional evidence was later obtained against him, but he was not prosecuted (de tails from ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6860).

(18) - The nuns were installed in vacant houses in St Christopher's Street in January 1626, by order of Bishop D João Manuel, and supported by the Monasteries. The Abbesses sent a petition to Felipe IV in early 1630, explaining their argumentation (a copy appears in BGUC Codex 535). Two of the penitent nuns reacted to their predicament in an unexpected way. Beatriz Nunes da Silva and Maria da Silva, sisters of Canon Fernão Dias da Silva, sued their former Monastery of Semide and demanded the return of their dowries and revenues from the date of their release until then. Against all expectations, the magistrates found in their favour. The entire revenues of the Monastery were sequestrated by Court order, causing extreme financial distress to the community. The Mother Prioress obtained a loan of 100,000 réis from the Chapter of the Cathedral on 31 March 1632 (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 11 (1625-1635), fl. 313v-314; also Livro de notas de Manuel Bernardes da Cruz, 1631-1632, fl. 86-88).

(19) - A Brief issued by Pope Urban VIII on 5 March 1634 exempted the Monasteries of Celas, Santa Ana and Santa Clara from receiving the 30 penitent nuns, although they would be expected to support them wherever they lived, until a monastery could be found to take them in.

(20) - This decision was confirmed by the General Council of the Holy Office on 18 March 1625. Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia was first named as a judaiser by António Correia de Sá (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 5821, 22 November 1621), and later by his friends Sister Maria Henriques and Father João Nunes. António de Oliveira named him as a member of Dr António Homem's congregation (Processo No 9435, 10 March 1625); and Sister Vitória da Cruz, whom he used to visit in the Monastery of Santa Ana, also testified against him (Processo No 1349, April 1625). The prosecution obtained further evidence against him after his arrest, mainly from New Christian students. Although he had been accused of sodomy as early as 1619 (BNL, Autos e diligencias de inquirição, fl. 103v-104), no action was ever taken in this respect.

(21) - Dr António Homem's canonry was eventually given by Felipe IV to Dr Pantaleão Rodrigues Pacheco, who had just been given the Chair of Prime. The latter was provisionally sworn in on 24 October 1626 (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 11 (1625-1635), fl. 36-37), and was given possession of his Canonry on 21 November.

(22) - See BAIÃO, António - *Episódios dramáticos da Inquisição Portuguesa*, Vol. 1, p. 167-200. Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia gave thirty lectures before his arrest (AUC, *Conselhos, 1625-1626*, fl. 11).

(23) - It was established during his proceedings (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6978) that he maintained no friendly relations with any New Christians, with the exception of Dr Duarte Brandão. Although he had no known Old Christian friends, he was in good terms with many, and even borrowed Law books from the Inquisition lawyer Ivo Duarte; a couple were inventoried with his library at the time of his arrest.

(24) - Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia's application for that dignity had been endorsed by none other than Inquisitor General D Fernão Martins Mascarenhas, who knew that it was a matter of time before his arrest was ordered. According to Dr Bartolomeu de Monte Agudo, Deputy and Promotor of the Lisbon Inquisition, the Bishop Inquisitor General agreed to support Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia's petition because he did not wish to arouse his suspicions (ANTT, Coimbra Inquisition Processo No 6978, 15 May 1631).

(25) - His library was entrusted to Sebastião César de Meneses, Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition. It was later said that he had published a manuscript on ecclesiastical hierarchy, written by Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia, under his own name (BAIÃO, António - *A devassa de 1628 à Inquisição coimbrã*, p. 6-11). This was a groundless rumour; Sebastião César's first published work was the *Summa Politica*, a 188-page political treatise dedicated to the House of Bragança, printed in Lisbon in 1649 (and reprinted in Amsterdam in 1650 by Simão Dias Soeiro, a Portuguese Jew closely related to Menasseh ben Israel).

(26) - It took place in Coimbra's City Square; 93 men and 154 women were sentenced, of whom three men and three women were executed in carne, and a man and a woman in effigy. Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia owed his survival to the extraordinary efforts made on his behalf by his brother Pedro Alvares de Gouveia, High Sheriff of Ferreira, who had never been suspected of judaizing.

(27) - Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia's case was subsequently exploited by the Jesuits in their opposition to the Holy Office. The New Christians claimed that Sister Vitória da Cruz had told her Jesuit confessor that she had been forced to bear false testimony against him. The Jesu it even obtained a written statement from her, which he handed over to Sebastião César de Meneses. The latter dutifully sent it to the Inquisitor General, who ordered an enquiry. Although there was no evidence to support Vitória da Cruz's claims, her testimony had never been essential to the proceedings, and Dr Vaz de Gouveia's guilt was reasonably established through other testimonies (ANTT, Santo Ofício, Codex 1459, fl. 62).

(28) - AUC, Conselhos, 1630-1631, fl. 71v (see also BRAGA, Teófilo - História da Universidade de Coimbra, Vol. II, p. 644-645).

(29) - Felipe IV ordered on 14 October 1633 that Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia should retire in the Chair of Vespers on full pay, retaining the honours and privileges he would enjoy if he continued to lecture in the University, including the fees due to him for each major examination he would be entitled to attend. This meant, in fact, that the University would support him for life. And Dr Velasco intended to get as much as possible from the University: three months after being sentenced, on 15 November 1631, he demanded his salary for the 1625-1626 scholastic year, which was still owed him. The University deducted his debts from his salary and only paid him 13,306 réis, on 27 May 1632. Dr Velasco was more successful in 1636: he requested the University to pay him the fees of the minor examinations, which was granted, "porquanto a mesma universidade por conueniencia sua pedira a sua magestade que o supplicante não lesse" (AUC, Processos dos Professores, GOUVEIA, Dr Francisco Vaz de, loose documents).

(30) - Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia was rehabilitated by King João IV for his services to the Portuguese Crown as a jurist (partly because of his book *Iusta acclamação do serenissimo Rey de Portugal Dom João o IV*, printed in 1644). He was a Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal when he died in Lisbon in 1659.

EPILOGUE

(1) - The *Lente* was most frequently called the "Auctor, Doctor or Praeceptor Infelix" (see TEIXEIRA, António José - António Homem e a Inquisição, p. 7), but not exclusively: Praeceptor damnatus, for example, appears in BGUC Codex 2056.

(2) - The notes taken by students during Dr António Homem's lectures were censored after his arrest and found to be doctrinally perfect. BGUC Codex 2096, for example, includes the following note, dated 4 Oct

ober 1621: Podemse ter, ler, e comunicar estas postillas não obstante ser o autor herege". Dr António Homem's name on the title was crossed over. These notes continued to be used well into the 18th century, simply because they could not be surpassed.

(3) - BNL, Moreira Collection, Codex 863, p. 80.

(4) - D Miguel de Castro, Archbishop of Lisbon, was the son of D Fernando de Castro, first Count of Basto, and was Viceroy of Portugal between July 1615 and April 1617. He should not be confused with his nephew D Miguel de Castro, who was Inquisitor in Coimbra and Lisbon.

(5) - TEIXEIRA, António José - António Homem e a Inquisição, p. 302.

(6) - His activities were reported to the Inquisition by several witnesses (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition, Caderno do Promotor No 15, passim), but, to our knowledge, he was never prosecuted.

(7) - They were also accused of spreading homosexuality. This theme was first expounded in Vicente da Costa Matos's influential *Breve discurso contra a heretica perfidia do Ivdaismo* (fl. 92v-98v). Curiously, the energetic leader of a Marrano revival in early 20th century Portugal, Captain Artur Carlos de Barros Basto (1887-1961), was a homosexual (the *Encyclopedia Judaica* discreetly mentions "certain faults of character", without specifying which; Vol. 4, col. 261). This eventually led him into trouble with the law, and contributed in no small way to the failure of his ambitious plans.

(8) - Many New Christians did leave the country. Those who could went to Amsterdam, Italy and elsewhere; a larger number did not travel farther than Spain. The latter soon came to the attention of the Spanish Inquisition, and many were subsequently prosecuted as judaisers. Other Portuguese Marranos found a new home among the London Jewish community. Most adopted orthodox Judaism, but some found it difficult to accept circumcision, which had fallen into disuse in Portugal for generations and had a definite overtone of mutilation or loss of manhood to the average Portuguese. The 1684 census of the London Jewish community listed five families of Portuguese "who are not circumcised" (HYAMSON, Albert M - *The Sephardim of England. A history of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish community, 1492-1951*, p. 33-34).

(9) - Descendants of the Arede and Rosa families can be found in rural areas near Coimbra, but they completely ignore their judaiser ancestry. A few small New Christian communities remain in existence in the more remote parts of northern and central Portugal. Although they have not been persecuted, nor even discriminated against to any significant degree, since the early 19th century, their members are secretive and reluctant to discuss their beliefs with outsiders. They still recite 16th century prayers against persecutions (PAULO, Amílcar - *Os judeus secretos em Portugal*, p. 96-97, and CANELO, David Augusto - *Os últimos judeus secretos*, p. 78). The Israelite Community of Oporto tried to bring the remnants of the New Christians back to the orthodox Jewish faith, but the results it obtained were disappointing.

(10) - Circa 1632, he was licensed by the city authorities to practise

Law, together with Portuguese immigrants Luís Brandão and Duarte Nunes Vitória. The latter was still related to Uriel da Costa.

(11) - See RÉVAH, I S - *Les origines juives de quelques jésuites hispano-portugais du XVIIe siècle*, p. 94. Miguel Gomes's choice of name was probably due to the fact that one of his friends in Aveiro was a New Christian judaiser of Oporto called Francisco de Cáceres, who fled in 1618 to escape arrest; and it was a good choice under the circumstances, as one of the founders of the Sephardi Jewish community in Amsterdam was Moisés de Cáceres. The *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Vol. 5, col. 3-4) mentions a Francisco de Cáceres as Daniel de Cáceres's father, but this was clearly impossible; Francisco de Cáceres was only a few years older, having been born in 1580.

(12) - It is known that Miguel Gomes gave his approval to the first part of Menasseh ben Israel's *Conciliador* (1632) and *De la fragilidad humana* (1642). The latter mentioned Friar Diogo da Assunção in Chapter XVII of his *Miqweh Yisrael, Esto es, Esperança de Israel* (Amsterdam, 1650), but made no reference to the Fellowship of St Diogo, although the case was definitely known in Amsterdam and Miguel Gomes could have given him first-hand information. This omission was perhaps due to the fact that Dr António Homem ostensibly died as a Christian.

(13) - Branca de Pina lived in Oporto with her mother Leonor de Pina, the widow of Dr Manuel Francisco, a New Christian physician. They were arrested on 11 October 1618, admitted Gabriel (Uriel) da Costa's involvement in their conversion, and Branca de Pina was reconciled on 28 November 1621, over a year after her mother. She eventually settled in Amsterdam and judaised openly.

(14) - See RÉVAH, I S - "Histoire de la famille de Spinoza au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle", in *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, VIe Section, 1964-1965* (p. 135-138) and *1965-1966* (p. 136-138).

(15) - In 1656, Simão (Jacob) de Cáceres and Antonio Fernández (Abraham Israel) Carvajal leased a plot of land at Mile End, to be used as London's first Jewish cemetery. Both were reported to the Lisbon Inquisition on 15 March 1659 (ANTT, Lisbon Inquisition, *Caderno do Promotor N° 36, fl. 698*). Although said to belong to a Portuguese New Christian family, Carvajal was born in the Canaries and lived in Rouen for some time, before settling in London.

Conclusions

It is difficult for us to realise the importance given by the average 17th century man to the problem of his eternal salvation. It was generally accepted that man was called to a supernatural life, and could earn it through his obedience to God's Law. For an Old Christian, God's Law was that of Christ, as taught by Holy Mother Church. The answer was often not so easy for a New Christian.

Many New Christians were truly converted to Christ's faith; they agreed with their Old Christian neighbours about the only path to salvation. But others still kept their ancestral faith. They denied Christ with their hearts and minds, and Moses with their mouths. Their enforced duplicity gave them a marked concern for personal salvation, a concept which, incidentally, was alien to rabbinical thinking. If they denied both Christ and Moses, neither would save them. Salvation would only come through obedience to the Law of Moses, the Law of their ancestors. It would depend on following the Jewish rituals as closely and as often as possible, and on confessing to one another the acceptance of the ancient Law as the only true and valid one. The knowledge of the precepts and ceremonies of the Law of Moses was usually handed down from parents to children, or was acquired from close relatives. In a way, family ties replaced more or less effectively the traditional rabbinical schools.

There were many who believed that the religion one claimed to follow mattered little. Respect for the Law of Moses and faith in the coming of the Messiah would suffice to obtain salvation. A Talmudic comment on Jeremiah 31, 34 taught that the coming of the Messiah would save all mankind. Truly enough, 16th and 17th century New Christian judaisers were ever willing to listen to a self-proclaimed Messiah. Who was to say, they argued, that David Reubeni - or Luis Dias - was not the one they awaited? Their failure did not dishearten them. Was it not said that each martyr released to the secular arm hastened the coming of the Messiah?

Dr António Homem's initiative must be understood within this context. At first sight, he seems to have discarded the belief in the coming of the Messiah. Thousands of folios in over seventy Processos have not a single direct or indirect mention of this in what is reported about the Lente's teachings. Yet there can be no doubt that the Messianic idea was very much in his mind. He certainly did not consider himself as a Messiah; his Aaronic priesthood excluded him from such a

claim; but he apparently saw himself as the precursor and herald of the Messiah - a second Elijah.

What Dr António Homem tried was to fulfil two basic requirements for the coming of the Messiah: the gathering of the Jews and the restoration of Temple worship. Curiously, this line of enquiry was neglected by the Inquisitors, who saw his Fellowship of St Diogo as yet another underground synagogue, which had to be dismantled in the shortest possible time. For lack of solid evidence, we can only speculate whether he was expecting a self-proclaimed Messiah or identified the Messiah with the whole of the New Christian people, which would fulfil the Messianic prophecies by following its religious leaders.

It was a fact that the New Christians were constantly persecuted by the Holy Office, but, he explained, this was God's punishment for having forsaken the Law of Moses: "nenhuma dellas guardava a lei de Moyses, mais que por comprimento, e que nem a sabiam nem entendiam". Whoever kept the Law would be rewarded by God, both temporally and spiritually; and if the Inquisitors persecuted the faithful, "contudo permitiria Deos que elles como iniustos acabassem e os da nação como justos crecessem E que quando não fosse neste mundo seria no outro que era o que mais importava".

Dr António Homem's teachings stressed the need for spirituality. The Sabbath and the Jewish ceremonies should be kept, but it was enough to keep them in one's heart; "bastava trazer no coração o desejo de satisfazer a obrigação dos preceitos da dita lei". If he agreed that the New Christians were living in a latter-day Babylon, he did not encourage the longing for an earthly Promised Land. His Jerusalem was a spiritual one, which could well be in Portugal. By maintaining their faith in the Law of Moses and following their religious leaders, the New Christians would recover the protection of the Lord, and would then be able to live in peace and worship Adonai wherever they were.

Obedience to the priests of the Law was necessary: "que se governassem os observantes da lei de Moyses, pellos sacerdotes da dita lei, que a sabiam, e que seguissem todos seu parecer". It was every priest's duty to teach the Law. This was summed up in the Decalogue, and such was its importance that even the Christians accepted it. For Dr António Homem, the Law of the Jews differed from that of the Christians in that the Sabbath was kept and the veneration of images was rejected. All the rest were judicial precepts, intended for the People of Israel, or dietary laws which did not apply to the New Christians, living as they did in a Christian land. Only the priests were expected

to know them. The faithful should do no more than "tellos no coração, e ueneralos como preceitos de Deos, com proposito de os guardar com tempo, occasião e lugar".

Dr António Homem gave no importance whatever to circumcision, the visible sign of the Lord's Covenant with Abraham and his seed, which, according to Spinoza, was in itself sufficient to ensure the survival of the Jewish people. According to a rabbinical comment on Jeremiah 31, 35, the covenant of circumcision was so important that heaven and earth were held only by its fulfilment; and a comment on Ezekiel 32, 34 taught that the uncircumcised would be consigned to Gehenna. The Lente could have explained his omission by quoting Deuteronomy 10, 16 and 30, 6, and Jeremiah 4, 4, and saying that 'circumcision of the heart' was all that God demanded, but there is no evidence that he ever did so. This was, in fact, the only Jewish precept that he never mentioned. Such an important omission was certainly deliberate, and could well be connected with Dr António Homem's sexual preferences. His former pupil Uriel da Costa's criticism of the ritual of circumcision had clearly sexual overtones.

Be that as it may, it was Dr António Homem's tendencies which ultimately caused the failure of his experiment. His affair with Jorge Mexia led him to collaborate with the boy's uncle in the visitation to the University, thus losing the support of influential judaisers, whom he unwittingly put at risk. His infatuation with a number of boys adversely affected the opinion that Coimbra's most respectable people had of him, and was the basis for Simão Barreto de Meneses's loathing of him. His reputation may even have hastened his arrest.

For all that, his proceedings were conducted strictly within the Inquisitorial law. There is not the slightest trace of irregularity. He was given every possible facility to build up his defence. His lawyers were very competent and helpful. The Inquisitors in charge of his case - even Simão Barreto, who hated him - were fair. After all, their own salvation was at stake. They could harm their immortal souls if they gave in to earthly passions.

Dr António Homem was found guilty of heresy and apostasy, and rightly so; the evidence leaves no doubt about his covert beliefs and activities. It is arguable whether he was indeed guilty of sodomy, but it mattered little in practice; the penalty was the same he would suffer as a judaiser.

He failed, but he was an outstanding leader. The loyalty he

inspired can be measured by the fact that three members of his congregation - Francisco Dias, Simão do Couto and Fernão Dias da Silva - did not betray him and were executed; another two - Mateus Lopes da Silva and Henrique de Arede - died in custody without having accused him and were executed in effigy. Eight Fellowship members were twice prosecuted as false confessants: they had tried to hide their knowledge of the ceremonies and of their leader from the Inquisitors. Eight were sentenced to perpetual gaol and penitential dress with insignia of fire and without remission, the heaviest sentence, short of release to the secular arm, which the Holy Office could pass; and six of these were also sentenced to penal servitude in the galleys. There were also twenty three sentences of perpetual gaol and penitential dress, eight of which without remission. A few defendants were tortured, but still did not admit the existence of the Fellowship of St Diogo, let alone Dr António Homem's rôle in it. Those who spontaneously betrayed him were very few indeed. This is all the more remarkable, considering that he was not always a pleasant man. As Dr António Gomes told António de Oliveira in 1614: "ainda que a asperesa de sua condição o não fizesse amavel, com tudo o auião de amar de Coração, pois era figura do grande Sacerdote Aram". And this they did, as best they could, for as long as they could.

והוא רחום יכפר עון ולא ישחית ודרבה להשיב אפו ולא
יעיר כל חמתו ה' הושיע המלך יענינו ביום קראנו

GENEALOGIES

(Underlined names indicate prosecuted judaisers)

DR ANTÓNIO HOMEM'S FAMILY

1

- N1 Mestre Moisés Boino, son of Mestre Abraham Boino; merchant and physician; married Isabel Lopes, xn. She was baptised in 1496, as a widow, with all her children.
- 2 Fulana Lopes, married Fulano Monteiro (probably the former Salomão Cohen, physician); had a child, Miguel Vaz Monteiro, who went to Flanders in 1566
 - 2 Miguel Vaz, died in 1517 and was buried "no degrau pegado com a abside da capela-mor do Mosteiro de S Domingos"
 - 2 Fernão Vaz, died in 1522
 - 2 Jorge Vaz (see # 1 N2)
- N2 Jorge Vaz, who married Brites Lourenço, xn, baptised as an adult.
- 3 Miguel Vaz (see # 1 N3)
 - 3 Simão Vaz, Canon of the Cathedral of Coimbra; born in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, in 1502; died in 1561; was buried in Santiago church, Coimbra
 - 3 Catarina Vaz (see # 2 N3)
 - 3 António Vaz (see # 3 N3)
 - 3 Filipa Vaz, married Mestre Jorge, physician, from Aveiro; died on 1 December 1530
 - 3 Dr Heitor Vaz, baptised in Santiago parish, Coimbra in 1508 (see # 4 N3)
- N3 Miguel Vaz, married in 1528 Guiomar Brandoa, xn, daughter of Luís Brandão and Ana Velha, who was baptised in Oeiras parish in suburban Lisbon and lived with her parents in Alfornel farm (Benfica), near Lisbon, before her wedding. Miguel Vaz died in 1546.
- 4 Jorge Vaz Brandão (see # 1 N4)
 - 4 Luís Brandão (see # 5 N4)
 - 4 Jerónimo Vaz Brandão, Doctor in Canon Law, Ouvidor of the Duke of Aveiro, University Syndic circa 1594; married his cousin in the second degree Maria Brandoa
 - 4 Isabel Brandoa, married Dr Jorge Henriques, xn, Procurator in Coimbra; had two children, Miguel and Rafael, who died young
 - 4 Ana Brandoa, born in 1541 (see # 6 N4)
 - 4 Brites Brandoa (see # 7 N4)
- N4 Jorge Vaz Brandão, married D Isabel Nunes de Almeida, xv, daughter of Gonçalo Homem and Helena de Almeida.
- 5 Matias Homem, born circa 1552 (see # 8 N5)
 - 5 Maria, baptised in Santa Cruz parish, Coimbra, on 2 March 1553, died as an infant
 - 5 Antónia, baptised in Santa Cruz parish, Coimbra, on 25 De-

- ember 1556, died as an infant
- 5 Pedro Homem, went to India and died there
- 5 D Maria Brandoa, born in 1560, died unmarried
- 5 Helena, baptised in Santa Cruz parish, Coimbra, on 1 June 1561, died as an infant
- 5 Marcelina, baptised in Santa Cruz parish, Coimbra, on 7 July 1564, died as an infant
- 5 Dr António Homem, baptised in Santa Cruz parish, Coimbra, on 7 July 1564, Lente of Canon Law, executed on 5 May 1624
- 5 D Guiomar de Almeida (see # 9 N5)
- 5 Gonçalo Homem de Almeida, baptised in Santa Cruz parish, Coimbra, on 16 March 1572; Bachelor in Canon Law on 10 July 1600, Bachelor Formado on 9 June 1603; went to Brazil, where he practised Law and married Maria de Sá, xn, with issue

2

- N3 Catarina Vaz, twice married - first to António Fernandes das Póvoas, with two children:
 - 4 Jorge das Póvoas, Canon of the Cathedral of Coimbra
 - 4 D Aldonsa das Póvoas (see # 10 N4)
 then to Pero Cabral da Costa, Clerk of the Coimbra City Council (see also # 19 N3)
 - 4 Vicência Cabral, nun in the Monastery of Santa Clara, Coimbra
 - 4 Inês Cabral
 - 4 Bartolesa Cabral, married Dr Jorge de Sá, xn, physician and Lente of Medicine
 - 4 Dr Francisco da Costa Cabral, married Guiomar Correia, xv

3

- N3 António Vaz, Paymaster of the Bishopric of Coimbra and Chapter of the Cathedral of Coimbra, married Leonor Rodrigues, xn.
 - 4 Tomé Vaz, born in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra in 1551 (see # 11 N4)
 - 4 Rui Vaz (see # 12 N4)
 - 4 Jerónima Vaz Soares (see # 13 N4)
 - 4 D Joana de Castro, married the Licentiate Manuel da Costa, lawyer, from Estremoz, had a child, D Leonor da Costa, baptised in 1599
 - 4 Miguel Vaz de Castro
 - 4 Filipa Vaz, twice married - first to unknown man, without issue, then to Miguel de Sousa, xn; both emigrated to Antwerp
 - 4 Guiomar Vaz (see # 14 N4)
 - 4 Jorge Vaz de Castro (see # 15 N4)

4

- N3 Dr Heitor Vaz, Doctor in Law by the University of Salamanca; married his niece Mór Pais in 1534.
 - 4 Jorge Vaz, Master of Arts on 22 November 1559, Bachelor Formado in Theology on 10 July 1564 and in Canon Law on 10

March 1565

- 4 Fernão Pais, Bachelor in Law on 8 July 1558
- 4 Trajano Vaz, Bachelor in Arts on 27 February 1558, Licentiate in Arts on 29 April 1559, Master in Arts on 20 July 1559; studied Medicine in 1559-1565, First Attempt 9 July 1562; practised as a physician in Montemor-o-Velho, where he married Joana Zuzarte de Mascarenhas; a known son of theirs was Vasco de Oliveira
- 4 Simão Vaz, studied Arts in 1558-1559 and Canon Law in 1560-1561 and 1573-1579, but did not graduate
- 4 Violante Vaz
- 4 Brites Pais
- 4 Ana Pais
- 4 Branca Pais
- 4 child, died as an infant
- 4 child, died as an infant

5

- N4 Luis Brandão, Paymaster of D João de Lencastre, Marquis of Torres Novas, in 1575, of the University of Coimbra in 1582; twice married - first to Margarida Brandoa, from Lisbon, his cousin in the second degree (sister of his sister-in-law Maria Brandoa), without issue; then to Esperança Mendes, xn.
 - 5 Maria Brandoa, who died unmarried
 - 5 Pero Brandão, married D Luzia, xv

6

- N4 Ana Brandoa, twice married - first to Dr Cosme Lopes, xn, physician:
 - 5 Guiomar
 - 5 João
 - 5 Joana
 then to Estêvão Arês Sodré, xv, citizen of Coimbra, son of Gomes Arês and Ana Lopes Sodré (see also # 17 N4):
 - 5 Vicente de Arês Sodré (see # 18 N5)
 - 5 Vicência de Arês, married João de Parada, xv, without issue
 - 5 Maria Pessoa, baptised on 24 June 1553, married Francisco Pinto, clerk of the Coimbra Fiscal Board, without issue
 - 5 Agostinho
 - 5 Gomes Arês, studied in College of Arts; died unmarried
 - 5 Estêvão Arês, who went to India and died there
 - 5 Luis Arês, baptised on 11 August 1575 in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra; soldier in the East Indies, then Dominican priest

7

- N4 Brites Brandoa, xn, married Francisco Travassos, xv, son of Diogo Fernandes and Briolanja Travassos, from the parish of Alcáçova of Montemor-o-Velho; he died on 28 April 1598, she on 29 October 1621 "de hum accidente".
 - 5 Duarte Travassos, Bachelor in Canon Law on 14 July 1590,

Bachelor Formado on 14 May 1592 and then Licentiate; worked as a lawyer in Montemor-o-Velho

- 5 António Travassos Brandão
- 5 D Maria Brandoa, married Luís Pereira de Eça; she died on 31 March 1612; had a child, Luís Pessoa
- 5 Briolanja Travassos, nun in the Monastery of Campos

8

- N5 Matias Homem, Assistant Postmaster of Coimbra, married D Violante de Sequeira, xv, sister of Alexandre de Sequeira Mascarenhas.
 - 6 Estêvão Couceiro Homem, baptised in St Christopher's parish, Coimbra, in 1610
 - 6 girl, died young

9

- N5 D Guiomar de Almeida, married Dr Manuel de Elvas Quaresma, Corregidor of the Civil Courts, in Lisbon, on 19 July 1572.
 - 6 Francisco Quaresma
 - 6 Jorge Quaresma, born in Lisbon, Bachelor in Canon Law on 11 July 1614, Bachelor Formado on 30 April 1615
 - 6 Valentim Quaresma, Bachelor in Canon Law on 30 July 1614, registered in the University until 1619-1620
 - 6 D Isabel de Almeida, married Manuel Pereira de Miranda, xv, and settled in Lisbon

10

- N4 D Aldonsa das Póvoas, married Gil de Castro, xv.
 - 5 Simão de Castro, Canon of the Cathedral of Coimbra (had a natural daughter, D Jerónima)
 - 5 Diogo Fogaça, born in Coimbra, Bachelor in Canon Law on 13 May 1582, Bachelor Formado on 15 March 1584, Abbot near Braga (had a natural daughter, Guiomar Fogaça)
 - 5 D Catarina de Castro, married António Pereira de Miranda, xv, lived in Quinta do Valdoeiro, near Vacariça

11

- N4 Tomé Vaz, Bachelor in Law on 2 June 1576, Licentiate in 1581 (?); lived in Coimbra until 1589, then moved to Oporto, where he married Filipa de Pina, xn, daughter of Henrique Fernandes de Pina "o Velho" and Aldonsa Nunes, from Oporto.
 - 5 Diogo de Pina, born in 1595
 - 5 André Nunes de Pina (see # 16 N5)
 - 5 Tomás Nunes de Pina, married Simoa Ferreira, half xn, from Oporto, daughter of Silvestre Fernandes, tailor, and Marta João
 - 5 Aldonsa Nunes (Sister Bernarda do Espírito Santo), nun in the Monastery of Arouca
 - 5 Grácia de Pina (Sister Grácia da Conceição), nun in the Monastery of Semide
 - 5 António Vaz de Castro
 - 5 Catarina de Pina (see # 21 N5)

12

- N4 Rui Vaz, studied Law and Canon Law, Bachelor Formado in Law on 18 June 1568, Licentiate in Law, practised law in Lisbon; twice married - first to Inês Mendes, xn:
- 5 Jorge Vaz
 - 5 Friar Vicente Vaz, of the Third Franciscan Order, who went to India, where he died
- and later to Luzia de Andrade, half xn:
- 5 Friar Álvaro de Andrade
 - 5 girl of unknown name, who emigrated to Seville

13

- N4 Jerónima Vaz Soares, married Mateus de Sequeira da Cunha, xv, from Condeixa-a-Nova (former emigrant in Peru), son of Gaspar Rodrigues de Pina and Francisca de Sequeira, from Figueiró do Campo.
- 5 D Luísa Soares, married Simão da Fonseca de Vasconcelos, xv, from Lisbon, Almojarife of São Brás; had two children, Catarina and Mariana
 - 5 Miguel de Sequeira, married in India, where he died
 - 5 Bartolomeu de Sequeira, died unmarried in India
 - 5 D Francisca
 - 5 António da Cunha, drowned in England
 - 5 D Ana da Cunha, married her cousin André Nunes de Pina (see # 16 N5)
 - 5 Manuel de Sequeira Salazar, born in Montemor-o-Velho, Licentiate in Canon Law; married D Isabel, xv, emigrated to Peru
 - 5 Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, baptised in 1560 in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra; Apostolic notary; married Maria Pinta de Figueiredo, xv, from Tentúgal, without issue

14

- N4 Guiomar Vaz, married Simão Jorge, xn, merchant, from Oporto.
- 5 Diogo Rodrigues, born in Oporto, Bachelor in Law on 16 June 1595, Bachelor Formado on 2 May 1597, Licentiate in Law
 - 5 Brites Vaz
 - 5 Joana Rodrigues

15

- N4 Jorge Vaz de Castro, Contractor of Sisas of the Seven Houses, from Lisbon: twice married - first to Maria da Silva, half xn, from Lisbon, who emigrated to Seville and died there:
- 5 António Vaz, student in 1599, Bachelor in Arts on 16 March 1602
 - 5 Mécia de Andrade, went to Seville with her mother and married there a Portuguese xn from Santa Marinha
 - 5 a girl, went to Seville with her mother
- and then to Isabel Nunes, xn, from Lisbon, without issue.

16

- N5 André Nunes de Pina, married his cousin D Ana da Cunha (see # 13 N4).
- 6 Mateus, born in 1613
 - 6 Filipe, born in 1614
 - 6 André, born in 1616

17

- N4 Estêvão Arês (see also # 6 N4) after the death of his wife Ana Brandoa married Francisca Pessoa Bonicha, xv, on 22 May 1582.
- 5 D Maria, baptised on 5 February 1585
 - 5 D Antónia Arês, baptised on 11 August 1587, married Luis de Sá Sotomaior (see António Correia de Sá's family, # 2 N3)
 - 5 João Pessoa, baptised on 2 July 1590, went to India, where he died
 - 5 Brites Arês, married André Cabreira de Mendonça, xv, Clerk of the Royal Rights in Coimbra, without issue

18

- N5 Vicente de Arês Sodré, Executor of the Comarca of Pinhel, three times married - first to his niece Ana da Costa de Arede (see Arede family, # 1 N3):
- 6 Justa da Costa, born in 1590 (see # 22 N6)
- then to D Maria da Fonseca, xn, daughter of Tomás da Fonseca and Genebra Nunes, from Coimbra:
- 6 D Luísa
 - 6 Estêvão de Arês da Fonseca, baptised on 24 June 1596, settled in Ranhados, where he married Isabel Tomás, xn, sister of his stepmother Maria Henriques, from Estremoz but living in Ranhados
- and finally to Maria Henriques, xn, without issue.

19

- N3 Pero Cabral da Costa (see # 2 N3), after his wife Catarina Vaz's death, married Margarida de Vide, sister of Dr Manuel Colaço, a magistrate. Margarida de Vide, as a widow, married José Coutinho.
- 4 Pero Cabral Colaço (see # 20 N4)

20

- N4 Pero Cabral Colaço, Clerk of the Coimbra City Council, married Joana do Amaral, xv, from Tentúgal.
- 5 Manuel Cabral, born in 1605
 - 5 Maria, baptised on 16 April 1606
 - 5 Gabriel, baptised on 27 November 1611
 - 5 Margarida, baptised on 2 February 1613

21

- N5 Catarina de Pina, married Paulo Lopes da Cunha, xn, from Oporto,

born in 1583, son of Lopo Dias da Cunha and Inês Henriques (see Canon António Dias da Cunha's family, # 1 N1).

- 6 Lopo, born in 1610
- 6 Henrique
- 6 Tomé
- 6 Filipe
- 6 Jacinto
- 6 Miguel

22

- N6 Justa da Costa, married Sebastião Cabral, xv, from Coimbra.
- 7 Leonor, born in 1606
 - 7 Estêvão Nogueira, born in 1608
 - 7 Maria, born in 1612
 - 7 Isabel, born in 1615
 - 7 Jerónimo, born in 1617

D ISABEL NUNES DE ALMEIDA'S FAMILY

1

- N1 Diogo da Costa Homem, xv, married lady of unknown name, xv.
- 2 Gonçalo Homem
- N2 Gonçalo Homem, married lady of unknown name, xv.
- 3 Gil Homem
 - 3 Brás Homem
 - 3 Jorge Homem
 - 3 Manuel Homem
 - 3 Gonçalo Homem
- N3 Gil Homem, twice married - first to Maria Nunes Cardoso, xv, from Gafanhão (Lafões), daughter of João Nunes Cardoso and Catarina Nunes de Gouveia, living in Aveiro:
- 4 Gonçalo Homem
- then to Catarina Soares Lopes, xv, daughter of Lopo Rodrigues, from Tavadede:
- 4 Friar Bento Homem, Dominican friar, professed in Aveiro on 26 December 1537
 - 4 Gil Homem (see # 2)
- N4 Gonçalo Homem, married Helena de Almeida, xv, natural daughter of Gonçalo Gil de Almeida, Prior Comendatário of Vagos, and Isabel Anes, xv, from Vila da Feira district.
- 5 D Isabel Nunes de Almeida, married Jorge Vaz Brandão (see Dr António Homem's family, # 1 N4).
 - 5B Manuel Homem, xv, Lord of Salgueiro, Captain of the Fleet of the Shores of Aveiro; twice married - first to D Leonor Sotomaior, xv, then to Inês Coelha, xv, from Salgueiro

2

- N4 Gil Homem, Treasurer of the House of India, married D Margarida da

Cunha, xv, widow of Acúrsio Mascarenhas.

- 5 João Homem da Costa, twice married, with issue
- 5 Friar Manuel Homem, Hieronymite friar
- 5 Dr Sebastião da Costa Homem, Corregidor of the Court, married D Isabel Pereira, with issue

N5 João Homem, Treasurer of the Warehouses, married lady of unknown name, xv.

- 6 Matias Homem, went to India
- 6 Manuel Homem, went to India
- 6 Gregório Homem, went to India
- 6 João Baptista Homem, Captain of Infantry, died in battle of Alcácer Quibir
- 6 D Maria de Andrade, married Pero de Sousa de Carvalho
- 6 D Joana de Andrade, married Pero de Castro

RODRIGO AIRES'S FAMILY

1

N1 Francisco Rodrigues, xn, married Catarina Aires, xn.

2 Rodrigo Aires

N2 Rodrigo Aires, xn, Knight of the Royal Household, Paymaster of the Revenues of the Bishopric, married Guiomar de Oliveira, xn, daughter of Mateus Lopes and Isabel de Oliveira.

- 3 António de Oliveira, born in the parish of Sé, Coimbra, in 1582 (see # 2 N3)
- 3 Mateus Lopes, died aged 14
- 3 D Isabel da Silva, married Fernão de Sousa de Abreu, xv, from Elvas, where they settled; without issue
- 3 Francisco da Silva (see # 3 N3)
- 3 D Helena da Silva, nun in the Monastery of Celas, Coimbra
- 3 D Catarina da Silva, born in 1591, nun in the Monastery of Celas, Coimbra
- 3 Mateus Lopes da Silva, born in 1592, Canon in the Cathedral of Coimbra, died on 21 May 1620
- 3B Joana de Castro, half xn, married António Coelho, xv, from Pombal

2

N3 António de Oliveira, studied Latin in Coimbra, married Luisa Mascarenhas in 1602 (see Pina family, # 2 N2).

- 4 D Joana de Pina, born in 1605
- 4 Rodrigo de Pina, born in 1608
- 4 Agostinho de Pina, born in 1610
- 4 D Catarina, born in 1612
- 4 D Maria, born in 1614

3

N3 Francisco da Silva, married D Catarina de Sá e Sousa, xv, daughter

of Cristóvão de Sá, xv, citizen of Coimbra. Francisco da Silva died in Coimbra in early September 1618; D Catarina married D João de Azevedo in 1625.

- 4 D Maria Madalena da Silva, baptised on 10 February 1606
- 4 D Antónia de Meneses, baptised on 19 February 1607
- 4 João da Silva, born in 1610, went to Ciudad Rodrigo, where he married D Isabel Melléndez de Silva
- 4 D Guiomar da Silva, born in 1611, nun in the Monastery of Santa Clara, Coimbra
- 4 Cristóvão de Sá, born in 1612
- 4 D Madalena, born in 1614
- 4 Lourenço de Sá, born in 1616

ANTÓNIO DIAS DE ALMEIDA'S FAMILY

1

- N1 Belchior Dias, xv, a cooper by trade, married Catarina Lopes, xn.
 - 2 António Dias de Almeida, born in Coimbra in 1563 (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 Francisco Dias, born in Coimbra in 1565 (see # 2 N2)
- N2 António Dias de Almeida, half xn, Bachelor in Canon Law on 19 June 1591, Bachelor Formado on 15 July 1591, lawyer in Coimbra; twice married - first to Isabel da Barca, xv:
 - 3 Rodrigo de Almeida, died in India
 - 3 Martinho de Almeida, died in India
 - 3 Jerónima de Almeida, married João Martins Cabaço, xv, from Alcobaça
 - 3 Maria de Figueiredo
 - 3 António de Almeida, born in 1599
 - 3 Isabel da Barca, born in 1593
 - 3 Luisa de Almeida, married Simão Lopes "o Chorão" (see Simão Lopes "o Chorão"'s family, # 1 N3)
 and then, in 1600, to Isabel Pinheira, xv:
 - 3 João de Almeida, born in 1601
 - 3 Pero de Sequeira, born in 1602
 - 3 Brites, baptised in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, on 8 October 1605, died young
 - 3 Lourenço, baptised in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, on 10 November 1607
 - 3 Catarina, baptised in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, on 21 January 1610
 - 3 Manuel
 - 3 Francisco

2

- N2 Francisco Dias, half xn, worker in silk; married Maria Gomes, half xn, born circa 1579.
 - 3 Maria de Moraes, born in 1589
 - 3 Manuel, "que he desajujsado", baptised in Coimbra on 5 July 1590

- 3 Francisca, baptised in Coimbra on 15 January 1593, died young
- 3 Francisco Dias, a cutler by trade, born in 1594
- 3 Úrsula dos Santos, born in 1598
- 3 Leonor dos Anjos, born in 1599
- 3 António Dias, born in 1602, studied in the College of Arts
- 3 João Dias, born in 1606

DR JERÓNIMO DE ALMEIDA'S FAMILY

1

- N1 Lucas Eanes, xv, married Filipa Gonçalves "a Cavaleira", xv; lived in Montemor-o-Velho.
 - 2 João Lucas (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 Lucas Eanes, twice married, with issue
- N2 João Lucas, xv, from Montemor-o-Velho, married Francisca Brandoa, half xn, from Montemor-o-Velho (see # 2 N1).
 - 3 Dr Jerónimo de Almeida, baptised in Madalena parish, Montemor-o-Velho, in 1562 (see # 1 N3)
 - 3 Father Manuel de Oliveira
 - 3 Father João Lucas
 - 3 Filipa de Jesus, nun in the Monastery of Campos
 - 3 Isabel da Cruz, nun in the Monastery of Campos
- N3 Dr Jerónimo de Almeida, Bachelor in Canon Law on 15 July 1586, Licentiate on 5 January 1593, Doctor on 29 July 1601; married D Guiomar da Fonseca de Vasconcelos, xv, without issue.

2

- N1 Manuel Brandão, xn, married Isabel de Oliveira, xv, both from Tentugal.
 - 2 Guiomar de Oliveira, died unmarried
 - 2 Francisca Brandoa (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 Clara de Oliveira, married Garcia Lobo, without issue
 - 2 Friar Jerónimo Brandão, a Franciscan friar
 - 2 Diogo Brandão

RODRIGO DE ANDRADE'S FAMILY

1

- N1 André Rodrigues de Évora [de Andrade], xn, son of Dr Rodrigo da Veiga and Juliana de Meneses, married a New Christian lady.
 - 2 Rodrigo de Andrade (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 Diogo Rodrigues de Andrade (see # 2 N2)
- N2 Rodrigo de Andrade, xn, merchant, from Lisbon, married Ana de Milão, xn, daughter of Francisco Rodrigues Milão and Brites Gomes.

- 3 Francisco de Andrade, born in 1565 (see # 1 N3)
 - 3 Beatriz de Andrade, married António da Veiga, xn, son of Dr Rui Lopes da Veiga and cousin of Rodrigo de Andrade
 - 3 Manuel de Andrade, born in 1583
 - 3 Jorge de Andrade, born in 1585 (see # 2 N2)
 - 3 Branca de Andrade, born in 1587, married Diogo Teixeira de Sampaio
 - 3 André Rodrigues de Andrade, born in 1588, twice married - first with Catarina de Andrade, xn, then with her niece Violante Jorge de Andrade, xn, with issue; lived in Rome
- N3 Francisco de Andrade, xn, married Branca Jorge, xn, daughter of Manuel Jorge Ramires and Violante Mendes. He died in Venice in 1621.
- 4 Jorge Rodrigues Jorge
 - 4 Francisco Dias Jorge, born in 1590
 - 4 Violante Jorge de Andrade (see # 1 N3)

2

- N2 Diogo Rodrigues de Andrade, xn, married his cousin Ana Rodrigues de Évora, xn, and settled in Antwerp.
- 3 Manuel de Andrade
 - 3 Grácia de Andrade, married her cousin Jorge de Andrade (see # 1 N2), with issue
 - 3 Branca de Andrade, married Nicolau da Veiga, xn, with issue; lived in Seville

THE AREDE FAMILY

1

- N1 Lourenço de Arede, xn, from Moura, married Isabel Gomes, xn, also from Moura.
- 2 Joana de Arede, born in Moura (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 Iseu de Arede, born in Moura (see # 2 N2)
- N2 Joana de Arede, xn, married the Licentiate Diogo Rodrigues, xn, a lawyer, son of Francisco Alvares and Isabel Vaz, from Coimbra.
- 3 Henrique de Arede (see # 1 N3)
- N3 Henrique de Arede, twice married - first to Justa da Costa, xv, from Coimbra, in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, on 13 April 1567:
- 4 a boy, died young
 - 4 a boy, died young
 - 4 Ana da Costa de Arede, married Vicente de Arês Sodré (see Dr António Homem's family, # 18 N5)
- then to Filipa Duarte, xn:
- 4 Diogo de Arede, born in Coimbra in 1575 (see # 1 N4)
 - 4 Manuel da Costa, born in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, in 1581 (see # 3 N4)
 - 4 Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa, born in Coimbra in 1583 (see # 4 N4)
 - 4 António Gomes "o Sapo", baptised in St Bartholomew's pa-

- rish, Coimbra, on 11 July 1584
- 4 Catarina Duarte, baptised in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, on 1 November 1586 (see # 5 N4)
- 4 Maria da Costa, married João Arês Cabral, xv, from Vagos; lived in the Quinta da Redinha; had one girl, born in 1616
- N4 Diogo de Arede, xn, renter; married Isabel da Silva Serrão, xv, from Ega, where they settled.
- 5 Manuel, born in 1611
- 5 Henrique, baptised in Ega on 29 July 1613
- 5 Paulo, baptised in Ega on 9 October 1615
- 5 Maria, baptised in Ega on 22 February 1618
- 5 Ana, baptised in Ega on 25 March 1624
- # 2
- N2 Iseu de Arede, xn, married Bachelor Miguel Vaz, xn, merchant, brother of the Licentiate Diogo Rodrigues (see # 1 N2).
- 3 Manuel de Arede, born in 1551 (see # 2 N3)
- 3 Diogo de Arede, died unmarried
- N3 Manuel de Arede, xn, married Leonor de Caminha, xn, born in Lisbon in 1561.
- 4 Miguel Pais, married Maria de Faria, xn
- 4 Iseu de Arede (see # 4 N4)
- # 3
- N4 Manuel da Costa, xn, married D Maria de Sá Sotomaior, xv; lived in the Quinta da Rocha, near Coimbra.
- 5 Jorge de Sá Sotomaior, born in 1608.
- 5 Henrique de Sá da Silveira, born in 1610.
- 5 Duarte de Sá Sotomaior, born in 1611.
- 5 D Serafina de Sá, born in 1612.
- # 4
- N4 Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa "o Doutorinho", xn, married Iseu de Arede, xn, (see # 2 N3; she died on 31 March 1621).
- 5 Helena, baptised in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, on 10 May 1615
- 5 Duarte, baptised in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, on 15 February 1617
- # 5
- N4 Catarina Duarte, xn, married Francisco de Andrade, xn, born in Lisbon in 1573, son of Alvaro Fernandes de Andrade and Catarina Duarte (sister of Leonor de Caminha; see # 2 N3).
- 5 João, baptised in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, on 21 September 1612
- 5 Maria, baptised in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, on 20 August 1615
- 5 Isabel, baptised in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, on 6 July 1618

FRIAR DIOGO DA ASSUNÇÃO'S FAMILY

1

- N1 Nuno Velho, xv, Cavaleiro Fidalgo, from Tentúgal; married Leonor Bernardes, and died in Tangier.
 2 Jorge Velho Travassos (see # 1 N2)
- N2 Jorge Velho Travassos, xv, from Cantanhede, married Maria de Oliveira, xv, daughter of Pero de Oliveira and Leonor Ribeira, from Aveiro.
 3 Friar Diogo da Assunção, born in Viana de Caminha, baptised in Aveiro; Capuchin friar, executed in Lisbon on 3 August 1603
 3 Pero Velho Travassos, married Ana da Rocha, from Viana
 3 Fernão Velho
 3 António de Oliveira
 3 Father Manuel Travassos, a (Jesuit?) priest
 3 Nuno Velho Travassos, soldier in India and Ceylon
 3 João Velho Travassos, soldier in India and Ceylon

ANDRÉ DE AVELAR'S FAMILY

1

- N1 Galaaz de Avelar, xn, from Lisbon, married Violante Fernandes, xn, daughter of Jorge Fernandes, merchant, from Lisbon.
 2 Jorge de Avelar, married Ana de Azevedo, xv, from Arruda, without issue
 2 André de Avelar (see # 1 N2)
 2 Diogo de Avelar, died unmarried in India
 2 Ambrósio de Avelar, unmarried, died in the siege of Malacca
 2 Tomé de Avelar, renter of Duke of Aveiro, married D Isabel de Melo, without issue
 2 D Catarina de Avelar (see # 3 N2)
 2 Ana Lopes de Avelar, married Francisco Vaz de Sousa, without issue
 2 Antónia de Avelar, nun in Monastery of Santa Ana, Coimbra
- N2 André de Avelar, xn, born in Lisbon, studied in Salamanca and Valladolid, Lente of Mathematics in the University of Coimbra; married Luisa de Faria, xv, from Torres Vedras; took Holy Orders as a widower; Tercenary of the Cathedral of Coimbra.
 3 Tomásia de Faria, born in 1581 (see # 2 N3)
 3 Mariana do Deserto, nun in Monastery of Santa Ana, Coimbra
 3 Ana de Faria, born in 1592 in the parish of Salvador, Coimbra, nun in Monastery of Santa Ana, Coimbra
 3 Luís de Avelar, born in 1593, Master in Arts
 3 Pedro Homem de Faria, baptised in the parish of Salvador, Coimbra, on 8 August 1596

- 3 Violante de Faria, born in 1597, nun in Monastery of Santa Ana, Coimbra

2

- N3 Tomásia de Faria, half xn, born in 1581, married António Pinheiro Tormenta, from Pontével, Chancellor of the Correição of Coimbra.
- 4 Francisco de Faria, born in 1606
 - 4 Luísa, born in 1608
 - 4 Isabel, baptised in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, on 11 December 1610
 - 4 Diogo, born in 1611
 - 4 Margarida, born in 1616
 - 4 António, born in 1618

3

- N2 D Catarina de Avelar, married the Licentiate Diogo Fernandes Osório, Knight of the Order of Santiago and Procurator of the Crown of Portugal in Castile, and settled in Madrid, where both died.
- 3 Fernando Osório, Jesuit priest
 - 3 Manuel Osório, professed in Order of Our Lady of the Grace with the name of Friar Agostinho Osório
 - 3 Licentiate Francisco Osório, abbot of San Pablo church in Salamanca
 - 3 Galaz Osório, Captain of Castilian Infantry, married D Maria de Abreu, xv, in Lisbon, without issue

FRANCISCO DE AGUIAR DE BRITO'S FAMILY

1

- N1 Jerónimo de Aguiar de Brito, xv, married D Isabel, xn.
- 2 Francisco de Aguiar de Brito (see # 1 N2)
- N2 Francisco de Aguiar de Brito, married D Antónia de Campos, a quarter xn, daughter of Belchior Limpo de Abreu, xv and D Isabel, half xn, from Quinta da Copeira, near Coimbra.
- 3 Jerónimo, born in 1608
 - 3 Manuel, born in 1609
 - 3 Isabel, born in 1610
 - 3 Maria, born in 1612
 - 3 António, born in 1613

ANDRÉ VAZ CABAÇO'S FAMILY

1

- N1 Francisco Vaz Cabaço da Costa, xv, from Coimbra, married Maria de Belém, half xn, daughter of Filipe Lopes, xn, a tailor, and Isabel Fernandes, xv, from Arouca. He died in 1599.

- 2 André Vaz Cabaço, born in Santa Justa parish, Coimbra, in 1573 (see # 1 N2)
- N2 André Vaz Cabaço, Bachelor in Canon Law on 22 June 1594, Bachelor Formado on 19 February 1601, lawyer in Coimbra; married Ana Ribeira, a quarter xn.
- 3 Francisco, baptised on 22 April 1605, died as an infant
 - 3 Maria de Belém, born in 1606
 - 3 Ana da Costa, baptised on 7 September 1607
 - 3 Bernardo, born in 1610

THE CALDEIRA FAMILY

1

- N1 Andrés Álvarez Caldeira, xn, from Asturias, married his cousin Brites Caldeira, xn; lived in Lisbon.
- 2 Manuel Caldeira (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 Leonor Caldeira (see # 2 N2)
- N2 Manuel Caldeira, Gentleman of the Household of the Infanta D Maria, Knight of the Order of Christ, Steward of King João III, Procurator of the Infanta D Maria in France and Flanders; married his niece D Guiomar Caldeira (see # 2 N2).
- 3 Dr Francisco Caldeira (see # 1 N3)
 - 3 André Caldeira, Gentleman of the Royal Household, Knight Commander of S Fagundo; married D Catarina da Silva, daughter of Lopo Furtado de Mendonça and D Luísa da Silva
 - 3 Rodrigo Caldeira, married D Catarina de Noronha, daughter of D João de Noronha, without issue
 - 3 Paulo Caldeira (see # 4 N3)
 - 3 João Caldeira, married D Catarina Corte-Real, without issue
 - 3 Duarte Caldeira, Captain in Angola
 - 3 Bento Rodrigues, died in India
 - 3 Duarte Caldeira
 - 3 Father António Caldeira
 - 3 D Leonor Caldeira (see # 3 N3)
 - 3 D Filipa, nun in the Monastery of Odivelas
 - 3 D Jerónima
 - 3 D Maria Manuel
 - B3 António Caldeira, married to lady of unknown name
 - B3 Luís Caldeira
 - B3 D Brites Caldeira, Lady in Waiting to Infanta D Maria, married João Trigueiros
- N3 Dr Francisco Caldeira, born in Lisbon in 1559; Gentleman of the Royal Household, Lente of Law in the Universities of Salamanca and Coimbra, Chief Magistrate of the Court of Appeal; married his cousin D Leonor Manuel. Died in 1635.
- 4 Rodrigo Caldeira (see # 1 N4)
 - 4 André Caldeira, married D Francisca de Brito, widow of João de Brito and daughter of Dr Pedro da Silva, High Chancellor of India, and D Inês Ferreira

- 4 Friar Manuel Caldeira, of the Augustinian Order
 - 4 Friar António Caldeira, of the Augustinian Order
 - 4 Pedro Caldeira, died unmarried
 - 4 D Guiomar Caldeira, nun in the Monastery of Odiveelas
 - 4 D Brites Caldeira, born circa 1615, died unmarried
- N4 Rodrigo Caldeira, Knight of the Order of Christ, married D Joana da Veiga (see # 3 N3).
- 5 Francisco Caldeira da Veiga (see # 5 N5)
 - 5 Sebastião da Veiga Cabral, Gentleman of the Royal Household, Knight Commander of Our Lady of the Assumption of Bailão and St Bartholomew of Rabal in the Order of Christ, Colonel (Mestre de Campo) in Trás-os-Montes; twice married - first to D Maria Figueiroa, daughter of António da Ponte Galego and D Maria Nogueira de Figueiredo, from Bragança, and later to D Maria de Castro, daughter of Francisco Colmeiro de Moraes and D Maria da Silva, with issue from both marriages
 - 5 D Joana, died unmarried
- # 2
- N2 Leonor Caldeira, married Bento Rodrigues, xv, Cavaleiro Fidalgo, Squire of the Royal Chamber and Steward of the Treasury under King João III.
- 3 Guiomar Caldeira (see # 1 N2)
 - 3 Fernão Rodrigues Caldeira (see # 2 N3)
- N3 Fernão Rodrigues Caldeira, lived in Ciudad Rodrigo; married a lady of unknown name.
- 4 D Leonor Manuel (see # 1 N3)
- # 3
- N3 D Leonor Caldeira (see # 1 N2), married Jerónimo da Veiga Cabral, bastard son of Tristão Vaz da Veiga, Lord of the Majorat of Lumiar.
- 4 Tristão Vaz da Veiga, Captain of the Lisbon Garrison (Ordenanças), married his cousin D Maria Trigueiros, daughter of João de Trigueiros, with issue
 - 4 D Joana da Veiga (see # 1 N4)
- # 4
- N3 Paulo Caldeira, married D Ana de Noronha, daughter of João de Noronha.
- 4 Manuel Freire Caldeira, married D Clara de Sousa, daughter of D Francisco de Noronha, with issue
 - 4 D Mariana de Noronha, married João de Figueiredo
- # 5
- N5 Francisco Caldeira da Veiga Cabral (see # 1 N4), married D Mariana Bembo de Sousa, daughter of Fabrizio Bembo, from Cremona (Italy), and D Maria de Sousa.
- 6 D Maria Teresa da Veiga Cabral, married Thomas Hart, from

- England but living in Lisbon
 6 D Joana Caldeira, died unmarried
 6 D Isabel Caldeira, died unmarried

MIGUEL DA FONSECA CARDOSO'S FAMILY

1

- N1 Simão Gomes, xn, merchant, from Viseu, married Maria Cardoso, xv, from Lamego.
 2 Miguel da Fonseca Cardoso (see # 1 N2)
- N2 Miguel da Fonseca Cardoso, born in Viseu in 1557, married Catarina Travassos, xv, from Montemor-o-Velho.
 3 João da Fonseca, born in 1598
 3 Maria Cardoso, born in 1602
 3B Margarida da Fonseca, born in 1601

SIMÃO DO COUTO'S FAMILY

1

- N1 Francisco Dias, xn, from S Martinho do Bispo, married Isabel Dias, xn.
 2 Simão Dias (see # 1 N2)
 2 Diogo Dias, "pregador theologo"
 2 Dr Francisco Dias (see # 3 N2)
 2 António Henriques (see # 2 N2)
- N2 Simão Dias, xn, tenant farmer in S Martinho do Bispo, married Maria Francisca, xv, daughter of Francisco Pires and Branca Anes.
 3 Simão do Couto, born in Taveiro circa 1570; Bachelor in Canon Law on 18 July 1594, Bachelor Formado on 16 January 1600; lawyer in Coimbra; married Brites de Palma, xv, with issue
 3 Manuel Dias, married Isabel de Macedo, xv, with issue; lived in Vila Pouca
 3 Ana do Couto
 3 Maria do Couto, married Manuel Francisco, xv, with issue

2

- N2 António Henriques, xn, clerk, married Jerónima Manuel, xv.
 3 Maria Henriques (see # 2 N3)
 3 André Henriques, married Justa Correia, xv, without issue
 3 Antónia de Oliveira, unmarried, lived in Peniche
- N3 Maria Henriques, married Pero Fernandes, xv.
 4 Jorge Fernandes, born in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, in 1590; primary schoolteacher in Pé de Cão
 4 Ivo Fernandes, worker in silk, married Maria Pomba, xv, with issue

- 4 Maria da Conceição, nun in the Monastery of Celas, Coimbra
- 4 Antónia dos Anjos, unmarried

3

- N2 Dr Francisco Dias, Lente of Prime of Canon Law in the University of Coimbra; twice married - first to lady of unknown name, then to D Maria de Sousa, xv:
 - 3 D Madalena de Sousa, born in 1617
 - 3 Francisco de Sousa

CANON ANTÓNIO DIAS DA CUNHA'S FAMILY

1

- N1 António Dias, xn, from Lamego; married a New Christian of unknown name.
 - 2 Lopo Dias da Cunha, born in Oporto (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 girl, married, without issue
 - 2 girl, married, without issue
- N2 Lopo Dias da Cunha, xn, physician; married Inês Henriques, xn, from Oporto (see # 3 N1).
 - 3 António Dias da Cunha, born in Oporto in 1560; Bachelor in Arts on 25 June 1581, Licentiate on 5 May 1582, Master on 17 June 1582; Bachelor in Canon Law on 5 July 1585, Bachelor Formado on 25 June 1587; Canon in the Cathedral of Coimbra in 1587
 - 3 Ângela Henriques (see # 2 N3)
 - 3 Filipa de S Francisco, born in Oporto in 1568; nun in the Franciscan Monastery of the Madre de Deus, Monchique
 - 3 Isabel da Assunção, nun in the Franciscan Monastery of the Madre de Deus, Monchique
 - 3 Maria da Paz, married the Licentiate Luís Gomes de Leão, xn, had a daughter, Inês Henriques de Leão
 - 3 Grácia do Espírito Santo, born in Oporto in 1578; nun in the Franciscan Monastery of the Madre de Deus, Monchique
 - 3 Luís Lopes da Cunha, born in Oporto in 1580; degrees of Licentiate in Arts and Medicine validated by the University of Coimbra on 9 July 1607; physician; married Florença Dias, xn
 - 3 Paulo Lopes da Cunha, born in Oporto in 1583; banker; married Catarina de Pina, daughter of Tomé Vaz (see Dr António Homem's family, # 21 N5).

2

- N3 Ângela Henriques, xn, twice married - first to the Licentiate António Machado, physician, from Torres Novas:
 - 4 Francisco Machado, Law student
 and then to Cristóvão Lopes, xn, merchant, from Viana do Castelo, without issue

3

- N1 **Mestre Simão Lopes**, xn, frm Oporto, physician; married Isabel Henriques, xn, from the Bemtalhado family of Oporto.
- 2 **Father Manuel Lopes**, born in Oporto in 1525; a Jesuit from 1545; Rector of the College of Jesus in Alcalá in 1556; Provincial of the Jesuit House in Toledo in 1565-1568; Praepositus of the Jesuit Houses of Toledo and Burgos; died in Alcalá on 10 February 1603
 - 2 **Jorge Lopes**, lived on S Miguel island, Azores
 - 2 **Marcos Lopes**, married D Luísa de Castelo Branco, lived on S Miguel island, Azores
 - 2 **Father Henrique Henriques**, born in Oporto in 1536; a Jesuit in 1552-1593, then a Dominican, and again a Jesuit in the early 17th century; died in Tivoli on 28 January 1608
 - 2 **Inês Henriques**, born in Oporto circa 1538 (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 **Father Garcia Lopes**, a Jesuit in the Province of Castile
 - 2 **Father Bento Lopes**, a Jesuit in the Province of Castile
 - 2 **Father Miguel Lopes**, Canon in the Cathedral of Oporto
 - 2 **João Lopes**, founded the College of the Jesuits in Ponta Delgada, Azores
 - 2 **Brites Henriques**, nun in the Monastery of S Bento, Oporto
 - 2 **Grácia Lopes**, married Alvaro Anes, merchant and banker in Oporto, with issue

MIGUEL GOMES "O MANCO" 'S FAMILY

1

- N1 **Dr Duarte Henriques**, xn, physician, from Aveiro, married Isabel Nunes, xn, from Aveiro.
- 2 **Henrique Fernandes** (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 **Helena Nunes**, married Francisco Nunes Cardoso, xn, merchant, from Viseu
- N2 **Henrique Fernandes**, xn, married Branca Gomes, xn (see # 2), emigrated to Bordeaux in 1603, then to Valladolid, where he died.
- 3 **Duarte Henriques**, born in Aveiro in 1566, Bachelor in Arts on 23 March 1589, Licentiate on 19 May 1590, Master on 7 October 1590; Bachelor Formado in Medicine on 15 March 1594, Licentiate on 20 June 1595, Doctor on 22 July 1595; physician; emigrated to Bordeaux in 1603, became a teacher of Medicine in the University of Paris
 - 3 **Fernando Alvares "o Buco"**, born in Aveiro in 1573, Bachelor Formado in Law, merchant in Aveiro; married Branca Gomes, xn, with issue
 - 3 **Manuel Henriques**, born in Aveiro in 1578, Licentiate in Arts on 3 June 1595, Master in Arts on 23 July 1595, Bachelor Formado in Medicine on 23 July 1601; physician, practised in Lisbon
 - 3 **Miguel Gomes "o Manco"**, born in Aveiro in 1579, Bachelor in Law on 27 July 1602, Bachelor Formado on 19 July 1605

- 3 Maria Gomes, emigrated to Bordeaux in 1602 then to Antwerp and married her cousin Francisco Gomes Henriques, xn, merchant (see # 2 N2)
- 3 Brites Gomes, married António Francisco da Costa, xn, merchant, from Escarigo, emigrated to Bordeaux
- 3 Isabel Nunes, emigrated to Bordeaux, where she married a Fernchman
- 3 Filipa Rodrigues, born in 1587, emigrated to Bordeaux in 1603, married António Mendes, xn, from Oporto

2

- N1 Fernão Alvares, xn, merchant, from Aveiro, married Brites Gomes, xn.
 - 2 Branca Gomes (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 Clara Gomes, married Fernão Gomes, xn, merchant, from Aveiro; emigrated to Bordeaux
 - 2 Violante Gomes, married Francisco Bentalhado, xn, merchant, from Oporto
 - 2 João do Porto, merchant
 - 2 Gabriel Alvares, merchant, married Francisca Rangel, said to be xv, emigrated
 - 2 João Gomes, died unmarried in India
- N2 João do Porto, merchant, from Aveiro, married Filipa Tomás, xn.
 - 3 Paulo Gomes, merchant, died in Le Havre
 - 3 Miguel Gomes, merchant
 - 3 Fernando Alvares Porto, merchant
 - 3 Francisco Gomes Henriques, merchant, emigrated to Anvers and married there (see # 1 N2)
 - 3 Brites Gomes, married
 - 3 Violante Tomás, married

SIMÃO LOPES "O CHORÃO" 'S FAMILY

1

- N1 Duarte Dias, xn, married Maria Antónia, xn.
 - 2 Filipa Duarte (see # 1 N2)
- N2 Filipa Duarte, xn, married Simão Rodrigues, half xn, from Coimbra, worker in silk.
 - 3 Filipa Duarte "a Choroa", born in 1579
 - 3 Paula Ferreira "a Choroa", born in 1581
 - 3 Simão Lopes "o Chorão", born in 1585 (see # 1 N3)
 - 3 Isabel Lopes, died unmarried
 - 3 Maria Ferreira, married to João Carvalho, xv, silk merchant, from Coimbra
 - 3 Diogo Dias "o Chorão", born in 1595, worker in silk
 - 3 Jerónima Ferreira "a Choroa", born in 1599
- N3 Simão Lopes "o Chorão", half xn, physician in Coimbra; married Luisa de Almeida (see António Dias de Almeida's family, # 1 N2).
 - 4 baby girl, born in Coimbra in February 1619

THE PINA FAMILY

1

- N1 Rui de Pina, xv, married Maria Cardoso, half xn, both from Montemor-o-Velho. She died on 5 December 1599.
- 2 Alvaro de Pina Cardoso (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 Baltazar de Pina da Fonseca, born circa 1544 (see # 2 N2)
 - 2 D Isabel de Pina (see # 3 N2)
- N2 Alvaro de Pina Cardoso, married Andresa de Andrade, xn, daughter of Paulo Rodrigues and Grácia de Andrade, both xn from Montemor-o-Velho (see # 4). Alvaro de Pina Cardoso died on 9 May 1610, Andresa de Andrade on 21 November 1599.
- 3 Luis de Pina, born in 1571, died on 29 November 1585
 - 3 Rui de Pina Cardoso, born in 1575 (see # 6 N3)
 - 3 Paulo de Pina Cardoso, born in 1577; studied Canon Law in 1598-1599, married D Brites de Sousa [Navarro], xn, and had three children, the first of whom was born in 1617; lived in farm in Lares, parish of Alhadas, but their children were not baptised there
 - 3 Amaro de Pina [Cardoso] (see # 7 N3)
 - 3 Miguel de Pina, unmarried, died in Lares on 25 April 1605
 - 3 Gabriel de Pina, died on 24 February 1600
 - 3 D Grácia de Pina, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 18 May 1589, nun in the Monastery of Semide
 - 3 D Joana de Pina, nun in the Monastery of Semide
 - 3 D Sebastiana de Pina, nun in the Monastery of Campos
 - 3 D Maria de Pina, nun in the Monastery of Semide
 - 3 Isabel da Fonseca (see # 8 N3)
 - 3B Miguel de Pina, had by Maria da Silva, xv?, from Lares

2

- N2 Baltazar de Pina da Fonseca, a quarter xn; a gentleman (Moço Fidalgo); married Maria Mascarenhas, a quarter xn, daughter of Jorge Fernandes Malafaia, xv, and Maria Mascarenhas, half xn, from Castelo Viegas, where they settled.
- 3 Manuel de Pina de Brito (see # 9 N3)
 - 3 Luisa Mascarenhas, born in Castelo Viegas in 1578, married António de Oliveira, xn (see Rodrigo Aires's family, # 1 N2)
 - 3 Father Baltazar de Pina Cardoso, born in 1582, priest of the Third Order of St Peter; lived in Castelo Viegas
 - 3 Father Francisco Mascarenhas, born in Castelo Viegas in 1584; lived in Castelo Viegas
 - 3 D Antónia Mascarenhas, born in Castelo Viegas in 1587, married Bento da Cunha Perestrelo, xv, from Condeixa, with issue

3

- N2 D Isabel de Pina, married Manuel de Pina de Melo, xv, from Monte-

mor-o-Velho.

- 3 Bernardo de Melo, soldier in India
- 3 D Juliana de Melo, married Francisco de Pina Perestrela, xv, from Montemor-o-Velho; they had at least one son, Inácio de Melo, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 8 August 1611, died on 31 May 1620
- 3 D Filipa de Melo, nun in the Monastery of Campos

4

- N1 Paulo Rodrigues, xn, married Grácia de Andrade, xn, daughter of Jorge Vaz and Florença Dias, from Montemor-o-Velho; lived for a time in Coimbra.
- 2 Andresa de Andrade (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 Manuel de Andrade, married Florença Dias, xn, with issue; emigrated to the Kingdom of Naples and lived both in Ascoli and in Naples; he died in Seville
 - 2 Filipe Rodrigues de Andrade (see # 5 N2)
 - 2 Madalena de Andrade, married Diogo de Faria, part of xn, without issue
 - 2 Maria de Andrade, nun in the Monastery of Campos
 - 2 Branca de Andrade, nun in the Monastery of Campos

5

- N2 Filipe Rodrigues de Andrade, xn, from Montemor-o-Velho, twice married - first to Inês Alvares, xn:
- 3 João de Andrade (see # 10 N3)
 - 3 Brás de Andrade, born in Montemor-o-Velho in 1586, emigrated to the Kingdom of Naples, where he married his cousin D Antónia, xv
 - 3 Grácia do Espírito Santo, nun in the Monastery of Campos
 - 3 Maria Madalena, nun in the Monastery of Campos
- then to Isabel da Costa, xn:
- 3 D Sebastiana da Costa, born in Montemor-o-Velho in 1604; married her cousin Manuel de Pina de Brito, part of xn (see # 2 N2)

6

- N3 Rui de Pina Cardoso, Moço Fidalgo, twice married - first in Ceuta to D Inês, xv, who gave him a girl who died as an infant; then to Luisa Gomes (see Manuel de Seica's family, # 1 N2), on 27 February 1604.
- 4 D Maria de Pina, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 2 June 1609
 - 4 Rui de Pina, born in 1612
 - 4 Mateus de Pina, born in 1613
 - 4 Miguel de Pina, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 28 September 1616
 - 4 girl, born in 1622

7

- N3 Amaro de Pina [Cardoso], married D Joana de Lemos, xv, daughter of

Agostinho Negrão, from Montemor-o-Velho, on 28 November 1608.

- 4 Manuel, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 26 July 1611
- 4 Maria, born in 1612, died in Montemor-o-Velho on 13 June 1626
- 4 child, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 19 March 1617
- 4 Francisca, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 17 September 1619
- 4 João, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 2 June 1622

8

N3 Isabel da Fonseca, married António de Azurara "o Loução", xv, from Montemor-o-Velho. The latter died in Montemor-o-Velho on 13 June 1626.

- 4 Gaspar de Azurara, born in 1605, later lived in Tentúgal
- 4 Maria de Azurara, born in 1605
- 4 Alvaro, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 17 December 1606
- 4 Rodrigo, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 5 February 1609

9

N3 Manuel de Pina de Brito, married his cousin D Sebastiana da Costa (see # 5 N2). The latter was living in Vila Flor (Archbishopric of Braga) at the time of her arrest.

- 4 Tomé, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 19 July 1617
- 4 child, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 13 April 1619
- 4 Baltazar, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 2 May 1622

10

N3 João de Andrade, xn, from Montemor-o-Velho; married Maria Vaz, xv.

- 4 Maria, born in 1616
- 4 Miguel, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 1 October 1620
- 4 Manuel, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 2 June 1622

THE QUINTAL FAMILY

1

N1 António Dias, xn, Receiver of the Monastery of Santa Cruz, married Justa do Quintal, xn, from Coimbra.

- 2 Henrique do Quintal (see # 1 N2)
- 2 Manuel do Quintal, notary public in Coimbra, married Bran-

- ca Nunes, both went to Rome and died there
- 2 Isabel do Quintal, married the Licentiate Simão de França, from Santarém
 - 2 Violante do Quintal
 - 2 Catarina do Quintal
- N2 Henrique do Quintal, merchant in silk, married Leonor de Miranda, xn, in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, on 17 March 1558.
- 3 Agostinho do Quintal
 - 3 Manuel do Quintal, pharmacist
 - 3 Sebastião do Quintal, studied in the University of Salamanca in 1577-1578, went to University of Coimbra, Bachelor in Law on 13 July 1583, Bachelor Formado on 16 May 1585, then Licentiate; lawyer in Coimbra
 - 3 Pero do Quintal, baptised in St Bartholomew's parish, Coimbra, on 10 July 1572; worker in silk
 - 3 António Gomes
 - 3 Ana do Quintal, nun in the Monastery of Santa Ana, Coimbra
 - 3 Isabel do Quintal, nun in the Monastery of Santa Ana, Coimbra
 - 3 Maria da Apresentação, nun in the Monastery of Santa Ana, Coimbra
 - 3 Vitória das Chagas, nun in the Monastery of Santa Ana, Coimbra
 - 3 Justa do Quintal
 - 3 António do Quintal, Bachelor in Canon Law on 13 July 1588, Bachelor Formado on 5 December 1591
 - 3 Marçal do Quintal, Licentiate in Arts on 17 May 1597, studied Medicine in 1596-1597; deceased before 1604
 - 3 Jerónimo do Quintal, died in Rome
 - 3 Diogo do Quintal
 - 3 Justa do Quintal

ANTÓNIO CORREIA DE SÁ'S FAMILY

1

- N1 António Correia de Sá Sotomaior, xv, Corregidor of the Court, married D Isabel Coronel, xn (see # 3 N1).
- 2 António Correia de Sá (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 Dr Francisco de Sá, Lente of Vespers of Law, unmarried
- N2 António Correia de Sá, born in Lisbon in 1566; married D Filipa, xv, from Coimbra.
- 3 Luís de Sá Sotomaior (see # 2 N3)
 - 3 D Serafina de Sá, born in 1595
 - 3 Francisco de Sá Sotomaior, baptised on 1 October 1598
 - 3 D Juliana de Sá, baptised on 4 February 1601
 - 3 D Ângela de Sá, born in 1605

2

- N3 Luís de Sá Sotomaior, born in Coimbra in 1593; twice married -

first to D Isabel de Faria, xv:
 4 girl, born in 1615
 then to D Antónia Arês, xv:
 4 D Mariana, born in 1618
 4 António de Sá, born in 1619

3

- N1 Leonardo Nunes, xn, Licentiate in Medicine, Chief Physician of the Kingdom; married a New Christian lady.
 2 D Isabel Coronel, born in Lisbon (see # 1 N1)
 2 Agostinho Nunes, Captain of Army, died unmarried in India
 2 Domingos Nunes, soldier, died unmarried in India
 2 Jerónimo Nunes, Captain of the Shores of Lisbon, died unmarried
 2 Friar Gregório Coronel, friar of the Order of Our Lady of the Grace, lived in Rome
 2 Ambrósio Nunes (see # 3 N2).
- N2 Ambrósio Nunes, xn, Doctor in Medicine, Chief Surgeon of the Kingdom, married D Ana, xv.
 3 D Estêvão Nunes, Lente of Canon Law in the University of Salamanca, married
 3 Friar Alonso Nunes, Carmelite Discalced friar in Castile
 3 D António Nunes
 3 D Francisco Nunes, lived in Lisbon

MANUEL DE SEIÇA'S FAMILY

1

- N1 Francisco Fernandes, xn, married Fulana Rodrigues, xn, both from Coimbra.
 2 Simão Fernandes, married Isabel Portugal, xv, with issue
 2 Mateus Rodrigues (see # 1 N2)
 2B Rui Lopes, xn, had on Clara Rodrigues (see # 2 N1); married Andresa Lopes, xn, with issue; lived in Montemor-o-Velho
- N2 Mateus Rodrigues, xn, married Isabel Lopes, xn (see # 2 N1); lived in Montemor-o-Velho.
 3 Father Mateus Rodrigues
 3 Friar Lourenço, a Capuchin friar in Aragon
 3 Manuel de Seïça, born in Montemor-o-Velho in 1578 (see # 1 N3)
 3 Luísa Gomes, married Rui de Pina Cardoso (see Pina family, # 6 N3)
- N3 Manuel de Seïça, xn, married D Catarina Juzarte, xv, lived in Montemor-o-Velho.
 4 D Madalena, born in 1607
 4 D Helena, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho,

- on 29 November 1608; died as an infant
- 4 D Isabel, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 3 May 1610
- 4 Mateus, born in 1612
- 4 Antónia, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 8 June 1615; died as an infant
- 4 Gaspar, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, in October 1616
- 4 Diogo, baptised in Montemor-o-Velho on 29 September 1619; died as an infant
- 4 Manuel, baptised in St Martin's parish, Montemor-o-Velho, on 21 August 1621

2

- N1 Fulano Gomes, xn, from Lisbon, married Clara Rodrigues, xn, from Coimbra; settled in Montemor-o-Velho.
 - 2 Isabel Lopes (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 Francisca Rodrigues, married Iñigo Fernández, xn, with issue

FRANCISCO SERRÃO'S FAMILY

1

- N1 Dr João Serrão, xn, physician in Aveiro; married Brites Lopes, xn.
 - 2 Catarina de Oliveira, died in Torres Novas
 - 2 Francisco Serrão, born in Moura in 1575 (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 Branca de Oliveira, married Dr Agostinho Nunes da Costa, physician in Lisbon, with issue
 - 2 Inês de Oliveira, "mente capta"
- N2 Francisco Serrão, married Luisa Serrão, xn, from Lisbon, daughter of Diogo Dias, from Mértola, and Branca Serrão, from Tavira and sister of Dr João Serrão (see # 1 N1).
 - 3 Branca, born in 1608
 - 3 Luís, born in 1610
 - 3 Brites, born in 1613
 - 3 João, born in 1615
 - 3 José, born in 1619

MANUEL SOARES'S FAMILY

1

- N1 Filipe Soares, half xn, from Pereira, married Francisca Nunes, xv.
 - 2 Manuel Soares (see # 1 N2)
 - 2 Friar António Soares, Franciscan friar in Salamanca
 - 2 Filipe Soares, born in 1598, incumbent priest in Obidos
 - 2 António Soares
 - 2 Maria Soares, married Manuel Nunes, Clerk of the Sisas, with issue

N2 Manuel Soares, born in Pereira; Bachelor in Law on 17 July 1615,
Bachelor Formado on 15 February 1619; married Maria de Oliveira,
xv, from Pereira.
3 Bento, born in 1619

GLOSSARY AND NOTES

The following Portuguese words were translated to their nearest equivalent in English:

Adjunto	Deputy [of visitation]
Alcaide	Sheriff
Alcaide dos Cárceres	Chief Warder
Alcaide-Mor	High Sheriff
Alvará	Charter [Letter Patent]
Arcipreste	Archpriest
Azemel	Muleteer
Beneficiado	Incumbent
Caminheiro	Messenger
Cancelário	Chancellor [of University]
Capelão-Mor	Chief Chaplain
Capitão-Mor	High Captain
Chanceler	Chancellor [of State]
Chanceler-Mor	High Chancellor
Chantre	Choirmaster
Cirurgião-Mor	Chief Surgeon
Colegial	Scholar [of College]
Comarca	Province [administrative]
Comendador	Knight Commander
Conduário	Provisional teacher
Confitente	Confessant
Confraria	Fellowship
Contador	Accountant
Contraditas	Articles of contradiction
Corregedor	Corregidor
Correição	Province [judicial]
Cura	Curate
Curador	Curator [guardian]
Ecónomo	Bursar
Escrivão	Clerk
Escrivão dos Contos	Accountant
Escudeiro	Squire
Esmoler	Almoner
Fábrica	Upkeep [of church or chapel]
Fazenda	Treasury [Revenue]
Feitor	Steward
Fidalgo	Gentleman [of nobility]
Finta	Special tax
Fisco	Treasury [Taxation]
Físico-Mor	Chief Physician
Foral	Charter [of a town]
Guarda do Cartório	Keeper of the Archive
Guarda da Livraria	Keeper of the Library
Homem de pé	Footman
Irmandade	Brotherhood
Juiz do Fisco	Judge of the Treasury
Juiz de Fora	District Judge
Junta da Fazenda	Treasury Board
Meirinho	Bailiff

Meirinho-Mor	Chief Bailiff [of Court]
Mesa	Board
Mesteres	Craftsmen
Mestrado	Mastership
Mestre de Campo	Field Commander
Mestre-Escola	Schoolmaster
Misericórdia	Brotherhood of Mercy
Mordomo	Warden
Morgado (property)	Majorat
Morgado (person)	Landed proprietor
Notário	Notary public
Opositor	Candidate to a Chair
Padroados Reais	Royal Estates
Porcionista	Portionist
Prebendeiro	Paymaster
Priorado	Priory
Priorado-Mor	High Priory
Prioste	Provost
Procurador da Coroa	Crown Prosecutor
Provedor	Purveyor
Provisão	Provision
Recebedor	Receiver [of revenue]
Regimento	Regulation
Rendeiro	Tenant farmer
Sirgueiro	Worker in silk
Sisa	Property tax
Solicitador [of Inquisition]	Commissioner
Surra	Pressure group
Suspeições	Articles of suspicion
Tabelião	Notary public
Tercenário	Tercenary
Vedor	Surveyor
Vereador	Alderman
Vice-Cancelário	Vice-Chancellor [of University]
Vigário	Vicar
Visitador	Visitor

A University teacher was (and still is) called a Lente, which literally means 'reader'. Other titles are untranslatable: for example, Conservador, the University law enforcement officer; and Vereador do Corpo da Universidade (literally, Alderman of the University Corps), a Lente who represented the interests of the University in the City Council.

The magistracy in early 17th century Portugal followed a well defined *cursus honorum*. University graduates began as magistrates in the Oporto District Court (Tribunal da Relação), and would be promoted to Magistrates (Desembargadores) and Chief Magistrates (Desembargadores dos Agravos) in the Court of Appeal (Casa da Suplicação). The highest rank was that of King's Counsel (Desembargador do Paço), a member of the King's Justice Board (Mesa do Desembargo do Paço).

The Portuguese currency unit of the time was the real (plural réis). Among the coins in use were the vintém (20 réis), the tostão (100 réis), and the cruzado (400 réis).

Fanchono - This word was used in Portugal in the 16th and 17th centuries to denote a homosexual, and was derived from the Italian word *fanciullo*, 'young boy'. Similarly, the Portuguese word *puto* originally meant 'homosexual, male prostitute' (LAPA, Manuel Rodrigues - *Cantigas d'Escarnho e de mal dizer dos cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses*, p. 508 and appendix, p. 85; also BLUTEAU, Rafael - *Diccionario da lingua portugueza*, Vol. II, p. 266; COVARRUBIAS Y OROZCO, Sebastián de - *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, fl. 152; and COROMINAS, Joan - *Diccionario critico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Vol. III, p. 929-930). Due to natural evolution, *puto* currently means 'young boy'. The word's obsolete meaning persists in Brazil (FERREIRA, Aurélio Buarque de Holanda - *Novo dicionário da língua portuguesa*, p. 1161) and in Galicia (RODRIGUEZ GONZALEZ, Eladio - *Diccionario enciclopedico gallego-castellano*, Vol. III, p. 207).

Marrano - The word *marrano* has often been linked with an old Castilian word meaning 'pig'. For Sebastián de Covarrubias y Orozco, *marrano* was "el rezién convertido al Christianismo, y tenemos ruin concepto del por averse convertido fingidamente [...] Quando en Castilla se convirtieron los judios que en ella quedaron, una de las condiciones que pidieron fué que por entonces no les forçassen a comer la carne del puerco, lo qual protestavan no hazerlo por guardar la ley de Moysen, sino tan solamente por no tenerla en uso y causarles nausea y fastidia [...] algunos quieren se aya dicho *marrano* de la palabra caldea o sira *maran-atha*, que vale *Dominus venit*, con que davan en rostro a los judios que esperavan y esperan hasta oy el prometido" (*Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española*, fl. 540v-541). Covarrubias also listed *marrana* as "la carne del puerco fresca" (fl. 541). Other origins have been suggested: for example, the Arabic word *mharam* (forbidden), as pork is forbidden to both Moslems and Jews (FERREIRA, Aurélio Buarque de Holanda - *Novo dicionário da língua portuguesa*, p. 893). Some hebraists tried to find less objectionable explanations (e.g. GONZALO MAESO, David - *El legado del judaismo español*, p. 265). However, there is now little doubt that *marrano* has consistently meant 'pig' (see FARINELLI, Arturo - *Marrano (storia di un vituperio)*, in *Studi letterari e linguistici* (Firenze, 1911), perhaps the definitive monograph on the subject). According to Joan Corominas, it was "indudablemente aplicación figurada de *marrano* 'cerdo', vituperio aplicado, por sarcasmo, a los judios y moros convertidos, a causa de la repugnancia que mostraban por la carne de este animal". And a comparison is made with the words for 'pig' in the Balearic, Provençal and Piacenza dialects (COROMINAS, Joan - *Diccionario critico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Vol. II, p. 272-275). Moreover, in present-day Covilhã, where many people of New Christians origin still live, the Jews are called *bácoros* (piglets); and in most of northeastern Portugal, a young pig is called a *marrão*. The word was frequently used in Spain, and was also known in Italy (see Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, I, 26). The Jews called their ostensibly converted brethren *Anusim*, or "forced ones" - but not always: in the late 15th century, Jews who adopted the Christian religion were called *Marranos* by the Jewish authorities (see *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Vol. 18, fl. 31v-32, Vol. 23, fl. 86v-87, etc).

New Christian - The converted Jews, the "novamente baptizados" or *Conversos*, were generally known as New Christians ("*Cristãos Novos*"). This

designation appears in Paul III's Bull *Cum ad nil magis*, which created the Portuguese Inquisition: "christiani novi nuncupati". The expression "gente da nação dos Cristãos Novos", shortened as "gente da nação", was also very common, and was preferred by the New Christians.

COIMBRA

17th century Portugal was divided into six provinces: Entre Douro e Minho, Trás-os-Montes, Beira, Estremadura, Alentejo and Algarve. There were eighteen cities and important towns, three Archbishoprics (Braga, Lisbon and Évora) and eleven Bishoprics (Coimbra, Guarda, Elvas, Lamego, Leiria, Miranda, Oporto, Pinhel, Portalegre, Silves and Viseu). The provinces were divided into Comarcas (administrative units) and Correições (judicial units). After the reorganisation of 12 March 1533, the province of Beira had six Comarcas: Aveiro, Castelo Branco, Coimbra, Guarda, Lamego and Viseu. The Comarca of Coimbra had 19 vilas or small towns - Ançã, Arganil, Buarcos, Cantanhede, Cernache, Góis, Lousã, Mira, Miranda [do Corvo], Montemor-o-Velho, Penacova, Pereira, Pombeiro, Redondos, Santa Cristina, Selavisa, Serpins, Tentúgal and Vila Nova de Anços - and a concelho (small administrative unit) - Carvalho - in addition to the city of Coimbra itself (LEÃO, Duarte Nunes de - *Descrição do Reino de Portugal*, p. 5-6).

The city of Coimbra comprised the Cidade or Almedina (the city proper, within the castle walls), the Arrabalde (the lower city, outside the walls), and two Boroughs (Burgos): Celas and Santa Clara. San to António dos Olivais and Tovim, now suburban estates, were then hamlets to the east of the city. There were nine parishes: Salvador, Santa Justa, S Bartolomeu (St Bartholomew), S Cristóvão (St Christopher), S João de Almedina (st John of Almedina), Santa Cruz, S Pedro (St Peter), Santiago (St James), and Sé. The Borough of Celas belonged to the parish of the Sé, and Santa Clara was divided between Sé and S Bartolomeu. Coimbra had about 9,000 inhabitants, one tenth of whom were students (SILVA, Armando Carneiro da - "Evolução populacional coimbrã", in *Arquivo Coimbrão*, Vol. XXIII (1968), p. 228-230).

The oldest known engraving of Coimbra, reproduced here, was published by Georg Braun and Franz Hohenberg in *Ciuitates Orbis Terrarum* (Amsterdam, 1572). It was probably done from a sketch made in situ and is acceptably accurate.

The original captions read:

Illustris ciuitatis CONIMBRIAE in Lusitania
ad flumen Mundam effigies

- A - Regia, in qua sunt publicae scholae omnium facultatum.
(The University was installed in the former Royal Palace of the Alcáçova).
- B - Antiquum castrum.
(A good representation of the older castle walls).
- C - Porta quae dicitur castris.
(The New Gate, one of five known gates of the castle).
- D - Aquaeductus copiosissimae aquae a rege Sebastiano constructus.
(The aqueduct, built by King Sebastião)
- E - Templum maius sedis Episcopalis.
(The Cathedral and its cloisters).

Septentrion

Plus eris civitatis CONIMBRIÆ in Lusitania
aut flumen Tundam effigies



non Comitatus Palatinum
non Ducatus officio



A. regia in qua sunt publicæ scholæ omnium facultatum. B. antiquior castrorum. C. porta que dicitur castri. D. aquæ ductus copiosissime a rege Sebastianus constructus. E. templum nunc sedis Episcopalis. F. columnæ æque Romanarum. G. templum S. Christophori. H. porta Alveline. I. Collegiū Iesuitarum. L. scholæ Iesuitarum veteri literarum quæ adhuc edificatur. A. templum coram Christi. N. et nubi s. tonitrui. O. sordidum templum quod templum Interiorum dicitur. R. fontis. Q. fontis fortis. P. area que vocatur Portagem. S. caput monasterii sancte Crucis canonice regulæ. T. fontis copiosus. U. fontis platee sancte Cruxis. X. hic fuit olim Collegiū Iesuitarum vix hanc hęc docentur in eo dicitur scilicet maiores. nunc vero caeteri Inquisitionis. Y. Collegiū Carmelitarum. Z. Collegiū Dominicanorum. aa. Collegiū Augustinianorum. bb. Collegiū predicatorum. ubi cepit apostolus edificari est crepuit. sed in vaporibus nixus lacus quod videtur esse. et illiusdem fluminis dicitur esse edificari. cc. Templum sancte Julice. ad portam marmoream. quod fons. ee. hinc Julia in qua erat coenaculum sancte Anne. sed in illiusdem fluminis arena. ff. Monasterium sancte Francis. arena sordida quasi obruta. gg. Monasterium sancte Clare. hinc hinc hoc loco fuit. hh. via sancte Sophiae. et porta vulgum nunc. ii. in mare arum quod dicitur Calcaya a Portu galice. ul. cepit in portu. ll. curtes palatii. mm. vicia fuit olim



Flumen Tunda
vulgo Mondego

- F - Columnae antiquae Romanorum.
(Remains of a supposedly Roman building).
- G - Templus S. Christophori.
(St Christopher's parish church).
- H - Porta Almedinae.
(The Almedina Gate).
- I - Collegium Iesuitarum.
(The College of Jesus, on the Couraça dos Apóstolos).
- L - Scholae Iesuitarum bonarum literarum quae adhuc aedificatur.
(The College of Arts).
- M - Templum corporis Christi.
(The church of the Body of God, in the Rua do Corpo de Deus).
- N - Templum S. Joannis.
(This is actually St Bartholomew's parish church. St John's was the church of the Monastery of Santa Cruz).
- O - Supradictum templum aliud templum Misericordiae.
(Santiago parish church, with the Misericórdia building built over it).
- P - Forum.
(The City Square, shown much smaller than it actually was).
- Q - Fons fori.
(The Square fountain. The pillory next to it was omitted).
- R - Porta quae vocatur Portagem.
(This so-called Portagem Gate was actually the Arco de Jorge Vaz).
- S - Templum monasterii Sanctae Crucis canonicorum regularium.
(A not very accurate representation of the church of the Monastery of Santa Cruz).
- T - Fons Sampsonis.
(Samson's fountain, situated in the Largo de Sansão).
- V - Fons placeae sanctae Crucis.
(Santa Cruz fountain, situated in Santa Cruz Terrace).
- X - Hic fuit olim Collegium Iesuitarum ubi bonae literae docebantur et dicebatur scholae minores, nunc vero carcer Inquisitionis.
(The Inquisition building, with St Michael's Terrace facing Santa Cruz. This was the former site of the Augustinian Colleges of St Michael and All Saints).
- Y - Collegium Carmelitarum.
(University College of Our Lady of the Carmel).
- Z - Collegium Bernardinorum.
(University College of St Bernard).
- AA - Collegium Augustinianorum.
(Actually, the University College of the Third Franciscan Order).
- BB - Collegium Praedicatorum ubi templum amplissimum aedificari est coeptum, sed propter vapores noxios lacus qui ibidem est, et illuiones fluuii desitum este aedificari.
(The site where a Dominican monastery was to have been built).
- CC - Templum sanctae Justae.
(Santa Justa parish church).
- DD - Pons marmoreus amplissimus.
(The bridge, which could not really be called "amplissimus").
- EE - Insula in quae erat coenobium sanctae Annae, sed propter illuiones fluuii dirutum.
(The remains of the old Monastery of Santa Ana).
- FF - Monasterium S. Fracisci arena fluminis quasi obrutum.
(The Monastery of St Francis by the Bridge, already endangered by

- seasonal flooding).
- GG - Monasterium Sanctae Clarae Virginis hoc loco situm.
(The Monastery of Santa Clara. Its remains are now called "Santa Clara a Velha", as a new Monastery was built in the 17th century).
- HH - Via Sanctae Sophiae, et porta eiusdem nominis.
(St Margaret's Gate, at the end of the Rua da Santa Sofia).
- II - Via mercatorum quae dicitur Calcaga a Portagem usque ad templum misericordiae.
(The Calçada, Coimbra's main business street).
- LL - Turres palatii Episcopi iuxta forum Scholasticorum.
(The Bishop-Count's Palace, next to Salvador church).
- MM - Comitum Palatium juxta forum.
(The Paço do Conde, the house of the Count of Cantanhede).
- NN - Domus hospitalis.
(The Royal Hospital).

The addresses of various persons mentioned in the text are known from tax rolls and notarial records. These are:

1 - Calçada -

António Dias de Almeida. His house was three floors high on the side of the Calçada, and five floors high in the back, facing the City Square, which, then as now, was at a much lower level. The building had an estimated value of between 300,000 and 400,000 réis.

Pero Cabral Colaço.

Francisco de Aguiar de Brito. His house was "de dous sobrados", opposite that of António Dias de Almeida.

Diogo Lopes de Sequeira.

Simão do Couto.

Ivo Fernandes. The back of his house faced the City Square, by St Bartholomew's church.

Sebastião do Quintal.

Pero do Quintal.

Manuel do Quintal, pharmacist.

Tomé Borges, notary public.

2 - City Square -

Simão Leal. His house was opposite Santiago church, near the entrance to the Rua dos Sapateiros.

Pero Mendes "o Velho", goldsmith.

3 - Couraça -

Dr Pantaleão Rodrigues Pacheco.

4 - Rua do Cais -

Henrique de Arede.

Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa "o Doutorinho".

Francisco de Andrade.

5 - Rua do Colégio Novo (by the Arco de Dona Filipa) -

Dr. António Homem.

Francisco da Silva (and Mateus Lopes da Silva).

Crispim da Costa.

6 - Rua do Corpo de Deus -

Marçal Nunes.

Manuel Duarte Salazar, lawyer.

Pero Mendes "o Moço", goldsmith.

Gonçalo Dias, surgeon.

7 - Rua do Coruche -

Diogo Lopes da Rosa.

Francisco de Almeida.

Dr Simão de Basto, University syndic and Inquisition lawyer. His house was at the beginning of the Calçada.

8 - Rua das Covas -

António Dias da Cunha. His house was "na entrada da Rua das Couas".

Dr Francisco Caldeira.

9 - Rua Direita -

Jorge Fernandes Mascarenhas "o Andorinho".

10 - Rua das Fargas -

Dr Francisco Dias.

Dr António Gomes.

11 - Rua da Figueira Velha -

Vicente de Arês.

12 - Rua do Forno do Marmeleiro -

André Vaz Cabaço. His house was by the Rua do Corpo de Deus.

13 - Rua de Jorge Barbosa -

Jorge Vaz Brandão.

Miguel da Fonseca Cardoso. His house was at the corner with the Largo das Olarias.

Rui de Albuquerque, University Secretary.

Bento Arrais de Mendonça, citizen.

14 - Rua do Matemático -

André de Avelar. His house was by the Salvador parish church.

15 - Rua da Moeda -

Miguel Gomes "o Manco". His house was at the end of the street and had an entrance facing the Largo das Olarias.

André de Burgos.

Pero Lopes de Gouveia, notary public.

16 - Rua da Santa Sofia -

António Correia de Sá.

Paulo da Costa, Inquisition Commissioner.

Onofre de Figueiredo, Inquisition Commissioner.

Brás do Canto, Inquisition Commissioner.

António Moreira, Inquisition Bailiff.

João de Beja, citizen.

17 - Rua de S Cristóvão -

António de Oliveira.

Dr Manuel Rodrigues Navarro. His house was opposite St Christopher's church.

18 - Rua dos Sapateiros -

Simão Gonçalves "o Malhado". His house was at the end of the street, near the Terreiro de Santa Cruz.

19 - Rua das Solas -

Manuel Soares.

20 - Rua da Sota (the Runa) -

Henrique Fernandes.

21 - Rua de Tinge-Rodilhas -

Agostinho Maldonado, notary public.

22 - Largo das Olarias -

Manuel Bernardes da Cruz, notary public.

Gaspar de Seixas Cabral, University beadle.

23 - Terreiro de Santa Cruz -

José Coutinho Botelho.

Ivo Duarte, lawyer.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX 1

THE UNIVERSITY SYLLABUS ACCORDING TO THE 1591 STATUTES

Tit. V. das cadeiras que ha de auer, & o que se ha de ler nellas, e o sallario que tem.

Avera sempre nesta Vniuersidade as cadeiras seguintes de Theologia, huma de prima, em que se lera o texto do mestre das sentenças (1), no qual o lente disputara, & tratara todas as questões necessarias, & nunca lera em ella Sentenciario particular, & auera por anno duzentos & cincoenta mil reis.

Outra de vespera, em que se lerão sempre as partes de sancto Thomas (2), & auera por anno cento & outenta mil reis.

Outra de terça em que se lera a sagrada Scriptura (3), & auera por anno cento & trinta mil reis.

Outra de noa antes da de vespera (4), & auera por anno cem mil reis.

As quaes cadeiras serão auidas pellas mayores da faculdade.

Auera mais tres cathedrilhas de Theologia, huma de Durando (5) que se lera depois da cadeira de terça, & auera de ordenado cada anno cincoenta mil reis. Outra de Scriptura, que se lera da huma as duas da tarde, & se o cathedratico de terça ler o testamento nouo, lerseha nesta cathedrilha o velho, & assi pello contrario, & auera de ordenado cincoenta mil reis. Auera huma cathedrilha de sancto Thomas, que se lera depois da de vespera, & auera por anno cincoenta mil reis: & parecendo bem que se lea nesta cathedrilha algumas vezes Grabiell, o Reitor & conselho de conselheiros o poderão ordenar (6).

Canones.

De canones auera sete cadeiras, huma de prima, em que se lerão as Decretas (7), & tera por anno trezentos mil reis.

Outra de vespera, em que se lerão tambem as Decretas, & tera por anno duzentos & trinta mil reis.

Outra de terça, em que se lera o Decreto (8), & tera por anno cento & corenta mil reis.

Outra de noa, que sera antes da de vespera, em que se lera o Sexto das Decretas (9), & tera por anno cem mil reis.

Outra de Clementinas (10), que se lera depois do decreto, & tera por anno setenta mil reis.

Estas cadeiras acima se auerão por mayores na faculdade.

Auera mais duas cathedrilhas, nas quaes se lerão Decretaes, hũa dellas se lera pella menhaã a hora que se le as Clemêtinãs, & a outra depois da lição de vespera, tera cada huma por anno sessenta mil reis.

Leis.

De leis auera oito cadeiras, huma de prima, em que se lera o Esforçado (11), & tera por anno trezentos mil reis.

Outra de vespera, em que se lera o digesto nouo (12), & tera por anno duzentos & trinta mil reis.

Outra de terça, em que se lera o Digesto velho (13), & auera por anno cento & trinta mil reis.

Outra de noa, que se lera antes da de vespera, & sera dos tres livros do Codego (14), & auera por anno nouenta mil reis.

Estas se auerão por mayores na faculdade.

Auera duas cadeiras menores de Codego, huma se lera depois do Digesto velho, outra depois da lição de vespera, & auera cada huma por anno sessenta mil reis.

Auera duas cadeiras de instituta, huma se lera pella menhaã a hora de terça, outra a tarde antes da lição de vespera, & auera cada huma por anno corenta mil reis.

Medicina.

De medicina auera seis cadeiras, em que se lerão as materias seguintes: na cadeira de prima em todo o curso de seis annos se lera conuem a saber o Tegno de Galeno, & os livros de locis affectis nos tres primeiros annos, & ao quarto anno os livros de morbo & symptomate, & ao quinto os dous livros de differentiis febrium, & ao sexto os tres livros de simplicibus, terceiro, quarto, & quinto com huma breue declaração dos simpleses, & tera por anno duzentos & vinte mil reis (15).

Outra de vespera, na qual em cinco annos se lerão as materias seguintes: os Aphorismos de Hippocrates em dous annos: o nono ad Almansorem, que he a practica, no terceiro anno: no quarto & quinto os livros de Hippocrates de ratione victus, Epidemias, & prognosticos, & tera por anno cento & sessenta mil reis (16).

Outra de Auicenna que se lera antes da lição de vespera, na qual em cinco annos se lerão as materias seguintes cõuem a saber nos tres primeiros a Fen prima quarti, & a quarta primi, & nos outros dous annos a Fen prima primi, & secunda primi, & tera por anno cem mil reis (17).

Outra de noa de Anatomia, em que se lerão os livros de Galeno, de vsu partium, a qual se lera da huma as duas, ou depois da lição de prima na hora da cathedrilha mayor, como parecer mais conueniente em cõselho de Rector & cõselheiros: & juntamente o lente desta cadeira fara anatomia de membros particulares, seis vezes cada anno, & tres geraes: pel

las particulares leuara mil reis por cada huma, & pellas geraes dous mil reis: & assi em humas como em outras, & no modo de ler a dita cadeira se guardara o regimento que pera isso lhe sera dado pello Rector & conselho, & auera por anno cem mil reis.

Estas cadeiras se auerão por maiores na faculdade.

Auera mais duas cathedrilhas de Galeno, na mayor se lerão as materias seguintes conuem a saber os livros de crisisibus, & diebus criticis em dous annos: os livros de naturalibus facultatibus de pulsibus ad tyrones, & de inaequali intemperie nos outros tres annos (18), & tera esta cathedrilha por anno quarenta mil reis.

Outra cathedrilha se lera depois da lição de vespera, & nella se lerão as materias seguintes conuem a saber, os livros de methodo medendi começando do septimo ate o duodecimo, & o livro de sanguinis missione em dous annos, & os livros de temperamentis & a arte curatiua ad glauconem, & o livro quos & quando purgare conueniat nos outros tres annos (19), & auera por anno quarenta mil reis [...]

Mathematica.

Auera huma cadeira de mathematica por ser sciencia importante ao bem commum do Reino, & nauegação, & ornamento da Vniuersidade. O lente della sendo mestre em artes precedera aos mestres não regentes, posto que seja mais moderno em grao, & leuara propinas nos autos como os doctores, & mandarseha vagar pondose edicto em Salamanca, Alcala, & em Lisboa: & não sendo mestre em artes assentarseha abaixo de todos os lentes não doctores, nem mestres, & não leuara mais propina que como hum mestre em artes, & auera por anno outenta mil reis.

Musica.

Auera huma cadeira de musica, & o lente della lera duaslições no dia, depois da lição de terça lera canto chão, & depois da de vespera câto de orgão & contraponto (20). Vagara cada tres annos, & auera por anno cincoenta mil reis.

Artes.

Auera quatro cursos de artes, & cada hum dos regentes auera por anno de sallario oitenta mil reis.

Lingoas.

A cadeira de Hebraico auera por anno sessenta mil reis.

A cadeira de Grego auera por anno outros sessenta mil reis.

A primeira & segunda regra de Latinidade auera cada huma por anno cem mil reis.

Terceira, & quarta regra, auera cada huma por anno oitenta mil reis.

A quinta, & sexta regra, tera cada huma por anno sessenta mil reis.

A septima, & octaua, auera cada huma por anno sessenta mil reis.

A nona, & decima, auera cada huma por anno sessenta mil reis.

Duas cadeiras, de ler, escrever e cõtár, auera cada huma por anno trinta mil reis [...].

NOTES

- (1) - The *Mestre das Sentenças* was Petrus Lombardus (ca. 1100-1160), Bishop of Paris, who taught in the University of the same city. He was known by that name because of his main work, *IV Libri Sententiarum*, a compilation of principles defined by St Augustine and other Doctors of the Church.
- (2) - St Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* was divided in *Partes*.
- (3) - The *Cadeira Grande* - literally, "Great Chair" - of Scripture.
- (4) - The Chair of Scotus. Its name was taken from Duns Scotus's textbook.
- (5) - The Chair of Durandus, where the work of Guillaume Durant was studied.
- (6) - The *Catedrilha* of Gabriel (*Gabriel Biel*, a commentator of Petrus Lombardus).
- (7) - The *Decretals*, a compendium of the legislation issued by the Popes, in five books, which was compiled in 1234.
- (8) - The Chair of *Decretum*. Gratian's *Decretum* was considered the foundation of Canon Law.
- (9) - The Chair of *Sext*. First published in 1289, the *Sextum* was thus called because it followed the five books of the *Decretals*.
- (10) - The *Leges Clementinae*, or laws published by Clement V, appeared in 1314.
- (11) - The *Esforçado* was the *Digestum Infortiatum*, one of the three parts of Justinian's Digest.
- (12) - The *Digestum Novum* was a collection of laws which were added to the main body of the Digest as they were rediscovered.
- (13) - The Chair of *Digestum Vetus*; this was the original part of the rediscovered Digest.
- (14) - The Chair of the Three Books, where Justinian's *Codex*, in three books, was studied.
- (15) - The various books written by Galen (129-198), the most famous doctor in the Classical Antiquity after Hippocrates.
- (16) - Hippocrates (ca. 460-377 BC), the "Father of Medicine", left a number of books which were known throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. His *Prognostica*, annotated by Galen, were adopted as a standard textbook in most European universities.
- (17) - Avicenna (Ibn Sina; 980-1037) was an illustrious Persian doctor

whose Canon Medicinæ, in five books, was studied by all medical students. Each book is divided into parts which are called Fen.

(18) - The Catedrilha of Crisibus.

(19) - The Catedrilha of Method.

(20) - The Master of Music, according to the Statutes (Lib. I, Tit. VI), was also the Master of the University Chapel, and as such was expected to examine the candidates to the chaplaincy, as regards their proficiency in music, and also to teach "canto de órgão, & canto chão" to the Chapel's choristers. Lib. I, Tit. VIII specified that there would be four choirboys "de boas vozes [...] e mudado as vozes de maneira que não siruão, os tirarão & porão outros que as tenham".

APPENDIX 2

EXTRACTS FROM THE 1613 Regimento do Santo Officio

Titulo I

I - Primeiramente ordenamos: que nas cidades, & lugares onde residir o officio da sancta Inquisição, aja ordinariamente tres Inquisidores, os quaes seram letrados, de boa consciencia, prudentes, & constantes, & os mais aptos, & sufficientes que se puderem auer: cuja vida, honestidade & honesta conuersaçam de exemplo de sua pureza, & bondade, em os quaes concorrerão todas as qualidades que se requerem, segundo forma da Bulla da sancta Inquisição: com as mais que sam necessarias pera tam grande, & importante cargo.

Titulo IV

IV - Quando se ouer de pronunciar sobre as culpas de alguma pessoa para se prender, se tera muyto auiso, & tento se as culpas são tomadas de muytos dias, ou poucos, porque sera necessario saber se as testemunhas são viuas ao tempo da prisão, porque sendo falecidas sem serem ratificadas: se se prendesse, aueria despois grande defeito na proua, segundo a practica que se tem conforme a direito, & o sequestro de bens, se não fara senão em caso de heresia, ou em casos que aja confiscação de bens pertencentes ao sancto officio, nem se sequestrarão bens possuydos por terceiro possuydor: saluo quando o dito possuydor os teuer da mão do dito preso.

V - Assi mesmo se olhara muyto a calidade das testemunhas, & o credito que se lhe deue dar, segundo a calidade do caso, & da pessoa, & os Inquisidores farão diligencia sobre o credito que deuem dar as testemunhas antes que procedão a prisão, como em negocio de tanta importancia se requiere; & o mesmo farão em todas as mais testemunhas que perguntarem, & quando se mandar pedir de huma Inquisiçam a outra o credito da testemunha, sera por remissoria, & não por carta.

XII - Os Inquisidores o mais breue que for possiuel, mandarão trazer antre si o preso, & o consolarão, & animarão que se desponha pera examinar sua consciencia, & confessar a verdade, & lhe faram tres amoestações com boas palavras em diuersas sessões, as quaes se faram commumente, & pella mayor parte, em termo de quinze dias: saluo parecendo aos Inquisidores com causa que se deue alargar mais o tempo, e na primeira sessão sera perguntado por sua genealogia em forma, declarando donde he natural, como se chama, a ydade, officio que tem, & os nomes de seu pay, may, & auos, paternos, & maternos, assi viuos como defuntos, & dos transuersaes que se lembrar, & donde erão naturaes & moradores, & os officios que tiuerão, & com quem forão casados, & se são viuos, ou defuntos, & os filhos que os ascendentes, & transuersaes deixaram, & quantas uezes foi casado, & os filhos que teue ou tem, & de que ydade são, & assi declarara de que naçam he, & se elle, ou os ditos seus parentes tem alguma raça de Mouro, ou Iudeu, & se lhe perguntara pello discurso de sua vida, onde se ha criado, & cõ que pessoas, se sabe ler, ou escrever, & se aprendeo alguma sciencia, & se andou fora deste reyno & em que partes esteue, & as pessoas cõ que conuersou, & tratou, &

se foi recõciliado preso, ou penitenciado pello sancto officio, ou he neto de relaxado, & se sabe as orações de Christão com as mais perguntas costumadas, & na mesma sessão sera amoestado, & requerido da parte de nosso Senhor Iesu Christo, que sentindo em si ter feyto, ou dito alguma cousa contra nossa sancta fe Catholica: que se reconheça, & confesse suas culpas, & a crença, & a tenção que teue: & dellas peça perdam inteiramente, declarando os complices, & todas as pessoas que sayba terem feito, dito, ou cometido alguma cousa contra nossa sancta fe Catholica, & contra o que tem, cree, & ensina a sancta madre Igreja de Roma, pera que fazendo assi, possa conseguir a misericordia que ella concede aos bõs, & verdadeiros confitentes [...]

XIII - Depois de feyta a dita genealogia, se fara a segunda sessão, em a qual sera o Reo amoestado em forma como na primeira, & perguntado in genere por suas culpas: e pella crença, & ceremonias da ley, ou secta de que esta delato [...]. Depois desta sessão se fara a terceira amoestação, em a qual sera o Reo amoestado, & perguntado em particular por cada huma das culpas que tiuer, conforme ao tempo em que as fez, & ceremonias de que esta delato, & pessoas com quem as communicou [...].

XVI - Os Inquisidores terão muyta consideraçam quando fizerem perguntas aos Reos, que seja com muyto tento, & não lhes perguntem cousa de que não estejam indiciados, ou a que elles ayão dado occasiam em suas respostas: vsando de todo o bom termo: de maneyra que o que for somente sospeyta, ou presumpçam, se lhe não de a entender que esta prouado [...]

XVIII - Os presos negatiuos se não mudarão de huma casa pera outra, nem se lhes dara companhia, saluo auendo causa pera isso & quando parecer aos Inquisidores que se lhes deue dar a dita companhia: em nenhũa maneira lha darão de pessoas das proprias terras, & lugares dõde são, nem culpados nas mesmas culpas in specie, nem parentes: mas serão acõpanha dos os taes negatiuos de alguns bõs cõfitentes, & pessoas de que se tiuer melhor conceito, & se prouera de maneira que com a companhia se não cause mais dano do que aueria sem ella [...]

XXI - Se algum preso adoecer no carcere [...] se pedir confessor se lhe dara, pessoa calificada, & de confiança, a qual jurara na mesa que tera segredo, & que se o penitente disser em confissam alguma cousa que de por auiso fora do carcere: não aceite o tal secreto: nem de semelhantes auisos, & dizendolho fora da confissão, o dira aos Inquisidores, & o auisarão, & instruyrão da forma como se ha de auer com o penitente, significandolhe, que pois esta preso por herege, se não manifestar sua heresia iudicialmente sendo culpado, não pode ser absoluto [...] quando o Reo estiver são, & teuer saude, se pedir confessor o mais seguro he, não lho dar: saluo quando tiuesse confessado iudicialmente suas culpas, & tiuesse satisfeyto aos autos, porque em tal caso, parece cousa conueniente darlhe confessor, pera que o console, & esforce; mas como não pode ser absoluto do crime de heresia, antes de ser reconciliado ao gremio da sancta madre igreja parece que a confissão não tem total effeyto, saluo se estiuer em o vltimo artigo de morte.

XXXIII - Sendo o Reo negatiuo, permanecendo em sua negatiua, depois de lhe serem feytas as perguntas, & amoestações que comprir: o Promotor vira com sua accusaçam, & a lera ao Reo, estando a parte em pe, & re-

querera que seja recebida contra o Reo, & os Inquisidores visto seu requerimento amoestaram outra vez ao Reo que confesse a verdade, porque lhe aproueitara mais dizela antes da accusaçam, que depois. E não querendo confessar receberam a dita accusaçam [...] & logo mandaram ao preso que nomee auogado, que o defenda [...] O Reo estara com seu procurador, que lido o treslado de sua accusaçam o exortara, & aconselhará a que confesse a verdade. & não diga o contrario della, nem confesse o que não tem feyto [...] & continuando o Reo em sua negatiua, o dito procurador lhe fara sua defeza [...]

XXXIV - E offerecida assi a dita defeza com o treslado do libello, os Inquisidores pronunciaram que a recebem, si, & in quantum, & que admittem as partes a proua [...]

XXXVII - Tanto que a defeza da parte for feyta, o procurador nomeara as testemunhas para a proua della, as quaes virão declaradas, & nomeadas por seus nomes, & sobrenomes, & officios porque viuem, & se tem raça de judeu ou Mouro, de modo que se possa saber quem são, & onde residem, & as testemunhas que a parte a principio nomear, essas somente se perguntaram & examinaram pera proua de sua defeza: saluo quando aos Inquisidores cõ justa causa parecer que se deuia permitir outra cousa.

XXXVIII - Tanto que se acabar de fazer a proua das partes, assi do Promotor, como do Reo, logo o Promotor requerera aos Inquisidores, que façam publicaçam dos ditos das testemunhas, & proua dada contra o Reo, & mãdem dar copia, & treslado ao dito Reo calados os nomes das testemunhas & todas as circunstancias por onde se possa vir em conhecimento dellas, conforme a disposiçam do direito, & vso e estyllo do sancto officio da Inquisiçam [...]

XXXIX - E depois de ser dado bastante tempo ao Reo pera cuydar em suas contraditas, vira a mesa com o treslado da dita publicaçam, e os Inquisidores diram ao seu procurador o que ha de fazer, & se sahiram pera a casa de fora: aonde o dito procurador considerãdo o numero das testemunhas & graueza do caso, & qualidade da proua, estando presente o Notario do sancto officio amoestara ao Reo que confese suas culpas, & não o fazendo lhe dira que lhe cumpre vir com contraditas as testemunhas da justiça & logo aly pora o procurador com a parte as contraditas, & as ordenara, & tachara, communicando com a parte as cousas que tem pera contradizer os ditos, & pessoas daquellas testemunhas, que lhe parecerem que o condenam, & testemunham contra elle [...]

XL - E feytas as ditas contraditas, & apresentadas pello Reo, os Inquisidores o mandaram vir a mesa pera que nomee as testemunhas pera proua de suas contraditas sem estar presente o seu procurador, & lhe seram lidos cada artigo por si declaradamente, & podera nomear pera proua de cada hum delles ate seys testemunhas, que sejam Christãos velhos, & que não sejam parentes do Reo dentro do quarto grao, nem familiares seus, nem pessoas infames, nem presos pelo sancto officio. E porem sendo o caso de qualidade que se não possa prouar por outras pessoas, & dizendo o Reo cõ juramento que não tem outras testemunhas, os Inquisidores as admitiram pera lhes dar o credito que se lhes deue dar, & em quanto for possivel não se recebera pera proua das ditas contraditas pessoa alguma da naçam dos Christãos nouos [...]

XLII - Quanto as contraditas, acertando o Reo nas testemunhas que o culpão: apontalas ham os Inquisidores, & mandaram prouer que as taes testemunhas do Reo contra foão, & foam, testemunhas da justiça sejam examinadas pellas contraditas contra elles postas, & os Inquisidores as receberam com suas calidades, ainda que não sejam de immizades capitães, nem de todo desfaçam o dito das testemunhas, & as examinaram por si [...]

XLVII - Quando parecer que o Reo deue ser posto a tormento, por ter cotra si indicios bastantes: os Inquisidores, e deputados estejam aduertidos que não votem no que depois do tormento se ha de determinar na causa, confessando, ou negando. Mas declararam no assento o tormento que se deue dar, & diram que de nouo se torne a ver, pera conforme ao que socceder lhe ser dada a penna que for direyto merecer, & no mesmo assento se declarara o genero de tormento que se ha de dar, & se ha de ser experto, ou não: & quantos tratos ha de auer, & querendo o Ordinario assistir ao dito tormento, o podera fazer, & assi lho diram os Inquisidores, & não vindo, nem mandando, os ditos Inquisidores faram a diligencia do tormento, como ategora fizeram.

LII - Sendo o Reo negatiuo, & conuencido pella proua da justiça, & tendo muytos complices, do mesmo delicto, posto que aja ser relaxado a justiça secular, podera ser posto a tormento, in caput alienum [...] Mas os Inquisidores deuem muyto considerar, quando se deue dar o tal tormento, porque se não dara senam em casos particulares, como em hum dogmatista que tem ensinado, & peruertido muyta gente, ou pessoa de que se espere muyto grande fructo [...]

LIV - Tratandose algum caso de substancia tão difficultoso, & duuidoso, que os Inquisidores, Ordinario, & Deputados não possam tomar resolução nelle: ou por fiquarem os votos yguaes, ou por não auer conformidade na mayor parte dos votos, ou sendo o caso em si tam duuidoso, ou tam graue, & de tal calidade, que deue ser visto no Conselho, posto que seja vencido pella mayor parte dos votos: nos dittos casos inuiaram os Inquisidores o processo ao Conselho geral com a rellação da duuida que a por escripto bem declarada, & com os fundamentos, & rezões dos votos, pera no caso se prouer como for justiça, & seruiço de Deos nosso Senhor, & o mesmo se fara.

Nos feytos dos relaxados a justiça secular antes de se dar execução nelles, inda que a relaxação seja por hum so voto.

E nos processos dos heresiarchas, & dogmatistas [...]

Em todos os feytos do peccado nefando depois de sentenciados [...]

E em todos os processos das pessoas, que por regimento do Conselho se não podem prender sem consultar o Inquisidor Geral, ou o mesmo Cõselho: que são Clerigos, Religiosos de qualquer ordem, fidalgos, pessoas de calidade, mercadores muyto ricos, e notauéis: & em todos os ditos cassos serão inuiados os ditos processos ao Conselho geral, com o assento que nelles se tomar, & fundamentos, & razeos dos votos.

LV - Quando alguma pessoa presa pello crime de heresia, & apostasia de pois de accusada se vier reconciliar, & confessar todos seus hereticos errores, ou ceremonias judaycas, que tem feytas, & assi que sabe de outras pessoas, fazendo confissão inteira sem encubrir cousa alguma, em tal maneira que os Inquisidores segundo seu parecer, & aluedrio o conheção, & presumão que se conuerte a nossa sancta fe Catholica, deuem

de receber a reconciliação em forma, com habito, & carcere perpetuo, & a penitencia, & castigo que por suas culpas merecer, sera mais riguroso, que daquelles que não forão presos, nem accusados: saluo se os ditos Inquisidores juntamente com o Ordinario, respeitando a contrição & arrependimento do penitente, & qualidade de sua confissão, por ser muyto satisfactoria, lhes parecer que se deue de dispensar na penna, & penitencia do carcere perpetuo, & habito penitencial, porque em tal caso o ditto carcere, habito, & dispensação delle, ficara ao arbitrio dos Inquisidores. E nisto podera auer assi mesmo lugar, considerando o modo com que o penitente faz sua confissam, & sinal de sua conuersam, & arrependimento, & declaraçam das culpas que fez, & dos culpados no mesmo crime, especialmente se confessa tanto que for preso, nas proprias sessões, ou depois, sendolhe lida sua accusação, & quando a confissão do dito Reo não merecer o tal fauor, sera condenado em carcere perpetuo, & se pora no assento que passado certo tempo se lembre ao Inquisidor Geral, pera que dispense no carcere perpetuo.

LIX - Sendo alguma pessoa presa accusada, & persistindo em sua negatiua ate sentença final, affirmando, & cõfessando a fe Catholica, & que sem pre foy, & he Christão, & que he innocente, & cõdenado injustamente, sendo o delicto contra o Reo compridamente prouado: o poderão os Inquisidores declarar, & cõdenar por herege, pois juridicamente consta do delicto de que he accusado, & o Reo não satisfaz como deue pera que cõ elle se possa vsar de misericordia, pois não confessa. E porem em tal caso deuem os Inquisidores muyto attentar, & aduertir nisso, & se for necessario reperguntar as testemunhas que contra o Reo ha, & torna las a examinar, o farão [...] E assi mesmo se informarão se per algum odio secreto, ou malquerença, ou sendo as taes testemunhas corrompidas, por dadiuas, & promessas, testemunharão contra o Reo [...]

LXII - Pedindo algus culpados perdão de suas culpas ate sentença definitiva inclusiu, antes de serem relaxados em auto publico a justiça secular, satisfazendo como deuem, & de direyto se requiere: vindo com puro coração, manifestando todos seus hereticos errores, & complices de modo que os Inquisidores conheçam, & lhes pareça que sua conuersam não he simulada. Em este caso serão recebidos a reconciliaçam pellos Inquisidores, & Ordinario: posto que sejam heresiarchas [...] E quando o Reo confessar suas culpas, & pedir dellas perdão depois da notificação que se lhe faz tres dias antes do auto como se contem no capitulo precedente, os Inquisidores examinarão em mesa com os Deputados as ditas confissões, & parecendo a mayor parte dos votos que o Reo fique reseruado no carcere, o poderam reseruar para depois serem examinadas suas confissões pellos sinaes, & circunstancias que em taes autos se requerem, & com os taes reseruados poderam correr os Inquisidores, chamandoos a mesa todas as vezes que for necessario, mandandoos accusar por as diminuyções & faltas de suas confissões, & despachandoos em final [...] & quando parecer que os sobreditos confitentes a que foy notificado que estauam entregues a justiça secular sejam recebidos a reconciliação, serão admitidos com abjuraçam publica, & com carcere, & habito espiritual perpetuo, & sem remissão, & leuarão ao auto o dito habito diferenciado com fogos, & seram condenados em os annos de Gales que parecer conforme a graueza de suas culpas, alem das outras penas em direito estabalecidas contra os semelhâtes, conforme a Bulla da Inquisiçam, & as dittas insignias de fogo leuaram somente aquelles a que foy notificado que estauam entregues a justiça Secular.

LXIII - Acontecendo que algum Reo negatiuo queira confessar suas culpas depois de estar no cadafalso, antes de lhe ser lida sua sentença de relaxaçam, pedindo perdão dellas, os Inquisidores o ouuirão, & lhe mandaram tomar sua confissão, & a examinarão com o Ordinario, & Deputados no mesmo cadafalso em lugar secreto, & parecendo a mayor parte dos votos, que se deve sobre estar na execuçam, poderão reseruar os taes confitentes pera depois serem examinadas suas confissões como esta dito. E estando presente no auto o Inquisidor Geral, os Inquisidores lhe daram conta do assento que nisso se tomar. E porem esta reserva dos que confessam depois de estarem no cadafalso, se fara muy raramente, & com muyta cõsideração, & por causas vrgentissimas: pella grande, & violenta presumpçam que ha de o Reo fazer a ditta confissam com medo da morte, & depois de ver, & saber as pessoas que no dito auto vam confitentes, que podiam dizer delle & não se conuerter de puro coração a fe, & quando se tratar desta reserua na mayor parte que vencer, entrara pello menos o voto de hum dos Inquisidores.

LXVI - Quando se fizer o auto da fe, a justiça secular acompanhara os penitentes, & pessoas que se ouuerem de relaxar, que yrão por sua ordem, & as justiças estaram presentes no cadafalso no tempo que lhes forem relaxados os herejes, & juntamente se lhes entregarão com os treslados das sentenças proprias assinadas pellos Inquisidores, & selladas cõ o sello do sancto officio.

LXVII - Acabado de se celebrar o auto da fe, os penitentes, & reconciliados se tormaram em procissão como forão ao carcere da Inquisiçam pera que os Inquisidores dem ordem, & entendão no mais que se deue prouer acerca dos taes penitentes, & aos reconciliados mandarão prouer de sambenitos de pano amarelo, com faixas de pano vermelho postas em Aspa pera que os tragão assi como os leuaram ao auto, & em suas sentenças de reconciliaçam se contem, & os habitos, que os relaxados a Curia secular leuarem ao cadafalso, se porão com seus nomes, como he costume, pendurados na Igreja principal, ou em hum mosteiro que mais comprir, & parecer que he mais conveniente pera que sejam vistos de todos, & de tal maneira postos que claramente se possam ler.

Titulo V

III - Os Inquisidores guardaram em tudo a authoridade que se deue ao tribunal do sancto officio, tratando as pessoas que vierem a mesa conforme a calidade dellas: & com boas palauras, & somente mandarão dar cadeira de espaldas as pessoas seguintes, a saber. Dignidades, Conegos de Ses, ou ygrejas colegiadas, Prouisores, Vigairos, & Desembargadores dos Prelados, & Relações Ecclesiasticas, Priores de Conuento ou Collegio, ou Abbades, ou Religiosos, ou Priores, ou Abbades de ygrejas Parochiaes, Fidalgos, Desembargadores, Corregedores, Iuyzes, Ouidores, Vereadores, ou Cidadães, das Cidades, ou os do gouerno de Villas notaues: Doctores, ou Lencenciados por Vniuersidade, & Bachareis formados pellas Vniuersidades approuadas, ou aos que tem priuilegio de Desembargadores, aos Secretarios del Rey, Escriuães da fazenda da Camara, assi del Rey como das Cidades, ou Villas notaues, ou pessoas nobres, & por taes conhecidas. E as mais pessoas darão cadeira raza [...]

IV - Os Inquisidores se auerão com os presos humanamente, tratandoos

côforme a calidade de suas pessoas, guardando com elles a authoridade, conueniente, não lhe dando occasiam, a que se descomponhão, nem tratarão com elles materia alguma fora de suas culpas.

VIII - Os Inquisidores conhecerão do peccado nephando de sodomia, & procederão cõtra os culpados de qualquer grao, preheminencia, & calidade que sejão, posto que exemptos, ou Religiosos, no modo, & forma como se procede no crime de heresia, & apostasia, despachandoos com os Deputados & condenandoos nas pennas que lhes parecer, & ainda nas que pella Ordenação deste Reyno estão contra os semelhantes estabalecidas, ate serem entregues a Iustiça secular, conforme ao breue de sua Sanctidade, & prouisão do Cardeal dom Henrique, que sobre este caso passou, & se ratificaram as testemunhas em forma, fazendose publicaçam dellas, calados os nomes. E pera os taes casos sera chamado o Ordinario, & os culpados yrão ao auto da fe: saluo quando parecer ao Inquisidor Geral que conuem dar nisto outra ordem, conformandose com o que sua sanctidade tem ordenado. E mandamos aos Inquisidores, & visitadores do sancto officio, que por nenhum caso aceitem denunciação contra pessoa alguma que aja cometido peccado bestial, ou de molicies: saluo quando tratando do peccado nefando, incidentemente, lhe for denunciado dos taes delictos [...]

XXI - Os Inquisidores serão aduertidos que quando fizerem amoestações aos presos por relapsia: lhe não prometão misericordia, & somente os amoestem que digão a verdade, & desencarreguem sua consciencia, porque assi lhe conuem pera saluação de sua alma, & o mesmo se guardara quando forem presos pello peccado nefando de sodomia.

Titulo VI

II - Os Inquisidores, & officiaes do sancto officio, sempre teram muyto tento, que não escandalizem cõ sua palaura aos presos, nem a outras algumas pessoas que requeiram sua justiça perante elles: nem dem a entender as partes, nem a seus requerentes directe, nec, in directe, que o despacho que se requiere depende do outro Inquisidor seu Collega, & ne d'elle, & disto terão especial cuydado, por assi cumprir a seruiço de nosso Senhor, & segredo do officio da Inquisiçam.

Titulo X

III - [O Alcaide do Carcere] tera cuydado quando os presos entrarem no carcere de saber se leuam consigo armas, ou outras algumas cousas de sospeita, ou dinheiro, pera se saber se tem que gastar [...] e se dara conta aos Inquisidores, pera nisso prouerem como conuem, fazendose tudo de modo, que as pessoas não fiquem escandalizadas [...]

Addições e declarações do regimento

XXV - Quando a pessoa que se ha de relaxar a Iustiça secular, for de ordens sacras: ha de dizer a sentença que o condenão em perdimento de seus bens, pera quem de direito pertencerem, & mandão que seja degradado actualmente com a solenidade que o direito requiere de todas as ordens que tem: & a estes taes não se porão as insignias dos relaxados, senão depois de feita a dita degradação.

APPENDIX 3

THE MONITORY OF FAITH

[This Monitory was published in Évora in 1536 by Inquisitor General D Diogo da Silva, Bishop of Ceuta. It is generally identical to those which followed in the late 16th and early 17th century]

Monitorio do Inqvisidor Geral per que manda a todas as pessoas que souberem doutras que forem culpadas no crime de heresia, & apostasia o ve não denunciar em termo de trinta dias.

Dom Diogo da Sylua per merce de Deos, & da sancta Igreja de Roma, Bispo de Septa, confessor de ElRey nosso senhor, & do seu conselho, Inquisidor mor per auctoridade Apostolica em estes reinos, & senhorios de Portugal sobre os crimes de heresia, &c. a todas as pessoas homens, como molheres, ecclesiasticos clerigos seculares, religiosos, & religiosas, de qualquer estado, dignidade, praeeminencia, & condição que sejam, isentos, & isentas, não isentos, & não isentas, vezinhos, & moradores estantes nesta cidade de Euora, & seus termos, a todos em geral, & a cada hum em especial saude em nosso Senhor Iesu Christo, que de todos he verdadeira saluação: fazemos saber aos que esta nossa carta monitoria, & mandados Apostolicos virem, ou ouuirem, & lerem, em qualquer modo que seja, ou della certa noticia ouuerem. Que nos somos informados per informação de pessoas fidedignas, & per fama publica, que nos dittos reinos, & senhorios de Portugal ha algumas pessoas assi homes como molheres, que não temendo o Senhor Deos, nem o grãde perigo de suas almas, apartados de nossa sancta Fe Catholica tem ditto, feito, commettido, & perpetrado delictos, & crimes de heresia, & apostasia contra a ditta nossa sancta Fe Catholica, tendo, crendo, guardando, & seguindo a ley de Moyses, & seus ritos, preceitos, & cerimoniaes, & tendo outras opiniões, & erros hereticos; querendo nos como por nosso officio de Inquisidor mor somos obrigados, pera gloria, hõra, & louuor de nosso Senhor, & Saluador Iesu Christo, & exalçameto da sancta Fe Catholica reprimir as ditas heresias, e arrancalas do pouo Christão, pella dicta authoridade Apostolica a nos nesta parte commettida mandamos a vos sobredittas pessoas, & a cada huma em virtude de obediencia, & sob pena de excomunhão, & vos requeremos, & amoestamos, que dentro de trinta dias primeiros seguintes, os quaes vos damos por todas as tres canonicas amoestações, repartidamente, scilicet. dez dias pola primeira, & dez pola segunda, & outros dez pola terceira, & vltima amoestação, & todos os dittos trinta dias por termo peremptorio, que vos damos, & assinamos, pera que dentro do ditto termo venhaes, & cada hum de vos venha per ante nos pessoalmente a nos dizer, & notificar qualquer pessoa, ou pessoas de qualquer estado, cõdição, grao, & praeeminencia, que seja, ou sejam presentes, ou absentes, que nos dittos reinos, & senhorios de Portugal, vistes, ou ouuistes que forão, ou são herejes, ou hereje diffamados, ou diffamadas, sospeitos, ou sospetadas de heresia, ou que mal sentirão, ou sentem dos artigos da sancta Fe, ou do sancto Sacramento, ou que se apartarão, ou apartão da vida, & costumes dos fieis Christãos; & se virão, ou ouvirão, ou sabem algumas pessoas, ou pessoa, que approuarão, ou approuão, seguirão, ou seguem erros lutheranos, que agora em algumas partes ha; & se sabeis, vigtes, ou ouuistes, que algumas pessoas, ou pessoa dos ditos reinos, & se

nhorios de Portugal, ou estantes em elles sendo Christão, seguindo, ou approuando os ritos, & cerimonias Iudaicas guardarão, ou guardão os sabbados em modo, & forma Iudaica, não fazendo, nem trabalhando em elles cousa alguma, vestindose, & ataiandose de vestidos, roupas, & joyas de festa, & adereçando se, & alimpandose as sextas feiras ante suas casas, & fazendo de comer as dittas sextas feiras para o sabbado, acendendo, & mandando acender nas dittas sextas feiras a tarde candieiros limpos com mechas nouas mais cedo, que os outros dias, dexandoos assi acesos toda a noite, ate que elles per si mesmos se apaguem, todo por honra, obseruancia, & guarda do sabbado.

Item se degollão a carne, & aues, que hão de comer a forma, & modo Iudaico atrauessandolhes a garganta, prouando, & tentando primeiro o cutelo na vnha do dedo da mão, & cubrindo o sangue cõ terra por cerimonia Iudaica.

Item que não comem toucinho, nem lebre, nem coelho, nem aues afogadas, nem inguia, poluo, nem congro, nem arraya, nem pescado, que não tenha escama, nem outras cousas prohibidas aos Iudeos na ley velha.

Item se sabem, virão, ou ouuirão, que jejuarão, ou jejuão o jejum mayor dos Iudeos, que cae no mes de Settembro, não comendo em todo o dia ate noite, que sayão as estrellas, & estando aquelle dia do jejum mayor descalços, & comendo aquella noite carne, & tigelladas, pedindo per dão huns aos outros. Outrosi se virão, ou ouuirão, ou sabem que alguma pessoa, ou pessoas jejuarão, ou jejuão o jejum da Rainha Esther por cerimonia Iudaica; & outros jejuns, que os Iudeos soyão, & costumauão de fazer, assi como os jejuns das segundas, & quintas feiras de cada semana, não comendo todo o dia ate a noite.

Item se solemnizarão, ou solemnizão as paschoas dos Iudeos, assi como a pascoa do pão asmo, & das cabanas, & a pascoa do corno comendo o pão asmo na ditta paschoa do pão asmo em bacios, & escudellas nouas por cerimonia da ditta paschoa, & assi se rezarão, ou rezão orações Iudaicas, assi como são os psalmos penitenciaes sem gloria patri, & filio, & spiritui sancto, & outras orações de Iudeos, fazendo oração contra a parede sabbadejando, abaxando a cabeça, & aleuantandoa, a forma, & modo Iudaico, tendo quando assi rezão os ataphalijs, que são humas correas atadas nos braços, ou postas sobre a cabeça.

Item se per morte de alguns, ou dalgumas comerão, ou comem em mesas baixas, comendo pescado, ouos, & azeitonas por amargura, & que estão de tras da porta por doo, quando algum, ou alguma morre, & que banhão os defunctos, & lhes calção calções de lenço, amortalhandoos com camisa comprida, pôdolhe em cima hum mortalha dobrada a maneira de cappa, enterrandoos em terra virgem, & em couas muito fundas, chorandoos com suas diteiras cantando como fazem os Iudeos, & pondolhes na boca hum grão de aljofar, ou dinheiro douro, ou prata, dizendo que he para pagar a primeira pousada, cortando lhes as vnhas, & guardandoas, derramando, & mandando derramar agoa dos cantaros, & potes quando algum, ou alguma morre, dizendo que as almas dos defunctos se vem aly banhar, ou que o Anjo Percutiente lauou a espada na agoa.

Item que lançaram, & lanção as noites de Sam Ioão Bautista, & do Natal, na agoa dos cantaros, & potes ferro, ou pão, ou vinho, dizendo,

que aquelles noites se torna a agoa em sangue.

Item se os pays deitam a benção aos filhos, pondolhe as mãos sobre a cabeça abaixandolhe a mão pelo rosto abaxo, sem fazer o sinal da Cruz, a forma, & modo Iudaico.

Item que quando nacerão, ou nacerem seus filhos, se os circuncidam, & lhe poseram, ou poem secretamente nomes de Iudeos.

Item se depois que bautizaram, ou bautizam seus filhos, lhe raparam, ou rapam o oleo, & a chrisma, que lhes puseram quando os bautizaram.

Item se algumas pessoas, ou pessoa nos dittos reinos, & senhorios de Portugal sendo bautizados, & tornados Christãos tiuerão, ou tem, & rezao, ou crem, seguiram, ou seguem a secta de Mafamede, fizeram, ou fazem ritos, preceitos, & cerimonia Mahometicas, jejuando o jejum do Rabadam, ou Ramedam, nam comendo em todo o dia ate noite saida a estella, banhando todo o corpo, & lauando o rosto, & ou ouvidos, & os pes, & as mãos, & os lugares vergonhosos, & fazendo oração estando descalços, rezando orações de Mouros, guardando as sextas feiras das quintas feiras a tarde por diante, vestindose, & ataiandose nas ditas sextas feiras de roupas limpas, & joyas de festa, nam comendo toucinho, nem bebendo vinho por rito, & cerimonia Mahometica, por guarda, & obseruancia da ditta secta: fizeram, ou fazem outros ritos, & cerimonia, assi da ley dos Iudeos, como da ditta seita de Mafamede.

Item outrosi se sabeis, vistes, ou ouuistes, que alguas pessoas, ou pessoa tenham, ou ajam tido alguma opinião heretica, dizendo, & affirmando, que não ha hy paraíso, nem gloria para os bons, nem inferno, nem penas para os maos, ou que não ha hy mais que nacer, & morrer.

Item que nam creram, ou nam crem no Sanctissimo Sacramento do altar, & que aquelle pão material dittas as palauras da consagração pelo sacerdote se torna em o verdadeiro corpo de nosso Senhor, & Salvador Iesu Christo, & o vinho em seu verdadeiro, & precioso sangue.

Item que nam crem os artigos da sancta Fe Catholica, & que negaram, ou negam alguns, ou algum delles.

Item que os sacrificios, & missas, que fazem na sancta Igreja nam aproveitão para as almas.

Item se affirmaram, ou affirmam, que o Sancto Padre, & Prelados nam tem poder para ligar, nem absoluer, ou que a confissão se não ha de fazer, nem dizer a sacerdote, mas que cada hum se ha de confessar em seu coração.

Item que disseram, ou dizem, que a alma sayda de seu corpo entra em outro, & que assi ha de andar ate o dia do juizo. E assi se disseram, ou dizem, que o Iudeo, & o Mouro cada hum em sua ley se pode salvar tambem como o Christão na sua.

Item que negaram, ou negam a virgindade, & pureza de nossa Senhora, dizendo que nam foy virgem antes do parto, no parto, & depois do parto. Ou que nosso Senhor Iesu Christo nam he verdadeiro Deos, & homem, & o

Mexias na ley promettido.

Item se sabeis, vistes, ou ouuistes, que alguas pessoas se casassem duas vezes sendo o primeiro marido, ou a primeira molher viuos, sentindo mal do sacramento do matrimonio.

Item se sabeis, vistes, ou ouuistes, que alguas pessoas, ou pessoa fizeram, ou fazem certas inuocações dos diabos, andando como bruxas de noite em companhia dos demonios como os maleficos, feiticeiros, maleficas, feiticeiras acostumam de fazer, & fazem, encomendandose a Belzebut, & a Sathanas, & a Barrabas, & arrenegando a nossa sancta Fe Catholica, offerecendo ao diabo a alma, ou algum membro, ou membros de seu corpo, & crendo em elle, & adorandoo, & chamandoo, para que lhes diga cousas, que estão por vir cujo saber a so Deos todo poderoso pertence.

Item se alguas pessoas, ou pessoa tem liuros, & escripturas para fazer os dittos cercos, & inuensões dos diabos, como ditto he, ou outros alguns liuros, ou liuro reprovados pela sancta madre Igreja.

Item se sabeis, vistes, ou ouuistes dizer que algumas pessoas, ou pessoa reconciliadas, ou reconciliada pelos ditos crimes de heresia, & apostasia, & cada hum delles tornaram a reincidir, & errar nos dittos delittos, & crimes de heresia, & cada hum delles, como ditto he.

Item se vistes, ou ouuistes que algu Iudeu de sinal, ou Mouro nestes reinos, & senhorios de Portugal procurassem, ou procurem de induzir, & prouocar algum Christão nouo, ou velho para o tornar ao Iudaismo, ou secta Mahometica.

Item que se alguma pessoa, ou pessoas souberem que algumas pessoas, ou pessoa nos dittos reinos, & senhorios de Portugal tem alguma briuia em linguoagem, que no lo venham outrosi dizer, & notificar, & os que as tiuerem que no las venham, ou mandem mostrar para serem vistas, & examinadas per nos, pera se ver se são fiel, & verdadeiramente tresladas, & como deuem.

As quaes cousas, & cada huma dellas que assi souberdes de vista, ou de ouuida, como ditto he, nos assi vireis pessoalmente, & cada hum, & cada huma viram dizer, & notificar dentro dos dittos trinta dias, & termo preemtorio.

E porem porque os Christãos nouos, que de Iudeos se tornaram, & os que delles descendem per linha de pay, ou mãe são perdoados desde doze dias do mes de Outubro do anno passado de mil, & quinhentos, & trinta, & cinco annos para ca de todos os crimes de heresia, & apostasia da Fe, de qualquer calidade, & graueza que sejam, que ate o ditto dia de doze de Outubro do ditto anno passado commetteram: declaramos per esta nossa carta, & dizemos, que dos dittos crimes, & delittos de heresia, & apostasia, que ate o ditto dia commetteram nos não venhaes dizer, nem notificar, posto caso que o saybais, visseis, ou ouuisseis, & somente dos dittos nouos Christãos, que de Iudeos se tornaram Christãos, & de seus descendentes per linha paterna, ou materna. E nos vireis dizer, & notificar pessoalmente os dittos crimes, ritos, & cerimonias Iudaicas acima dittas, expressas, & declaradas, que lhes vistes, ou ouuistes fa

zer desdo ditto dia de doze de Outubro do dito anno passado a esta parte. E passado o ditto tempo, & nam o fazendo vos, & cada hum assi, & nam vindo pessoalmête a nos dizer, descubrir, notificar as sobredittas cousas, & cada huma dellas. como soes obrigados, & cada hum, & cada huma obrigado, & obrigada, poemos em estes presentes escrittos em vos, & cada hum de vos sentença de excommunhão mayor, cuja absoluição pera nos reseruamos, cujos nomes, & cognomes, estados, dignidades, graos, & praeeminencias aqui auemos ex nunc prout extunc, & extunc prout ex nunc por referidos, & cada hum, & cada huma por requerido, & requerida para os maes procedimentos, que contra vos, & cada hum entendemos fazer, se necessario for, per nos, & nossos deputados cōselheiros, vsando de nosso officio de Inquisidor mor, segundo forma da bulla da sancta Inquisição, guardando a cada hum, & a cada huma sua justiça como nos parecer que he direito. E porque as sobredittas cousas venhão a noticia de todos, & de cada hum, a que toquem, ou tocar possam, & dello nam possam pretender, nem allegar ignorancia, mandamos passar a presente nossa carta para ser lida, & publicada neste lugar, & em todas as igrejas desta cidade, & seus termos, em modo que a todos, & a todas seja notorio, & manifesto o que ditto he. Dada na cidade de Euora sob nosso signal, & sello aos dezoito dias do mes de Nouembro. Diogo Trauaços notairo, & escriuão da sancta Inquisição a fez anno do Nascimento de nosso Senhor Iesu Christo de mil, & quinhentos, & trinta, & seis annos. A qual carta acima, & atras escritta foy publicada per mim Diogo Trauaços notairo logo o domingo seguinte, que forão dezanoue dias do ditto mes do ditto anno, estando presente o reuerendissimo senhor o senhor Cardeal Iffante de Portugal, & o reuerendo senhor Inquisidor mor, & seus deputados, conselheiros da sancta Inquisição, & outros muitos senhores do pouo.

APPENDIX 4

NOTES ON INQUISITORIAL PROCEEDINGS

"[...] fizerom vir de Roma hum fero Monstro de forma tam estranha e tam espantosa catadura que soo de sua fama toda Europa treme, seu corpo he de aspero ferro cõ mortifero veneno amasado, com huma durissima concha cuberto de bastas escamas de aço fabricada, mil azas de penas negras e peçonhentas o leuãtam da terra, e mil pees danosos e estragadores o mouem, sua figura daquella do temeroso lião toma parte, e parte da terribel catadura das serpes dos desertos de Africa: a grãdeza de seus dentes aquelles dos mais poderosos Elefantes arremedam: e o siluo ou voz, cõ moor presteza que o venenoso Basalisco mata: Dos olhos e boca continuas chamas e labaredas de cõsumidor foguo lhe saem, o pasto de que se ceua he outro cõ corpos humanos amasado, precede a Agua na ligeireza do seu voar, mas por onde passa faz cõ a tristonha sombra cerraçam, por mais claro que o Sol naquelle dia se mostre, finalmente seu rasto no que atras fica deixa huma tenebra como aquella que foi aos Egipcios dada por huma das plagas, e depois que onde seu voo encaminhou arriba, a verdura que pisa, ou aruore viçoso sobre que põe os pees, seca estragua e amurchece, e sobre ysso de raiz com o destruidor bico o arranca, e de tal sorte com sua peçonha todo aquelle circuito que comprende o deixa assolado, que como os desertos e areas de Siria onde planta nam prende nem erua nasce o converte" (1).

This 16th century Jewish view of the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition was essentially no different from the Liberal view of the same institution, expressed three hundred years later:

"A Inquisição [...] perseguia, martyrisava e queimava nos seus horriveis autos de fe os homens que por qualquer motivo, aparente ou real, punham em sobresalto a sua tyrannia, ou despertavam a cubiça dos dominadores" (2).

For some contemporary historians, the Inquisition was a repressive organisation which invoked religious principles as an excuse to confiscate the wealth of the New Christians, who were usually pious Christians and of course innocent (3).

The Holy Office of the Inquisition was simply, as its name implies, a Church tribunal, to which any Roman Catholic was answerable. Its purpose was by no means sinister:

"Tratase neste tribunal santo da aueriguação da verdade, com o may or cuydado, & diligencia que se pode imaginar: de sorte que se he possiuel em juizos humanos não auer erro, nelle se acha a verdade pura [...] Não se contentão os justos ministros deste tribunal com as prouas que de ordinario bastão para cõdenar. As prouas hão de ser mayores: as testemunhas mais examinadas: os indicios mais prouados: as conieituras mais claras: as confrontações mais euidentes: as rezões que pode auer de inimizade, & sospeição procuradas com todo o cuidado, não so quando os presos as alegão, mas em particu-

lar os proprios Inquisidores procurão, & solicitação saber se as ha, pera que os presos não possam ser condenados innocentemente. O em que consiste ser hum Inquisidor bom Inquisidor, he em aueriguar mi^lhor a culpa, ou innocencia do preso, & em ser mi^lhor procurador da sua causa" (4).

The Inquisitorial proceedings followed in broad terms the legal practices of the contemporary secular courts of law (5). Even the secrecy rules, which were intended to protect the witnesses for the prosecution by concealing their names, were not exclusive to the Holy Office (6).

In specific cases, the use of torture was authorised, just as it was in ordinary criminal proceedings (7). Life was hard for most people; many were not afraid of dying - they would only die once, and it would be soon over. But suffering was another matter. The fear of torture was often a more efficient deterrent than the fear of death; hence its acceptance by the courts of law of the time. Contrary to popular belief, there was far less recourse to torture by the Inquisition than by other contemporary courts. The methods use were precise and limited:

"en esta Inquisicion siempre se dauan los tormentos enpeçando por sentar a los rreos para la mancuerna en un estrecho asiento que es^{ta} taba fijo en la pared, a forma de banquillo, cincharle por los pechos contra la pared con una cincha de cañamo gruesa que para dicho efeto tambien estaba fija en la pared en unas aldauas de yerro; los pies se le ligauan debajo del mismo asiento en un madero que serbia como de pie del banquillo, y ligados los braços y afiançado el cuerpo con diferentes ligaduras se dauan las bueltas de mancuerna que parecian necesarias y despues dellas en las causas que conbenia se proseguia el tormento, mudando el rreo al potro donde echado en el, la cabeça en lo bajo amarrada con una argolla ancha de yerro, se le yban ligando los braços y los pies y muslos y luego se proseguia con dar los garrotes que parecian necesarios asi en los muslos como en las espinillas = este genero de tormentos se uso hasta el ano de 1648 [...] se mudo la forma del tormento puniendo al reo sentado en lo ultimo de lo alto del potro metidas las piernas por el primer escalon de la escalera de dicho potro donde esta la cincha con la qual y muchas bueltas de cordeles, queda fijo, ligansele los braços y luego los pies debajo del potro. y amarrado desta suerte se le echan laços a los dedos pulgares de los pies que se amarran al principio de la escalera del potro. y estos cordeles se aseguran con un garrote que se aprieta quando se manda, y se llama el tranpaço, echo esto se continua la mancuerna a las bueltas que conbiene = este jenero de tormento ultimo es el que nos emos quedando usando" (8).

It was the polé and the potro, which the Regimento do Santo Officio specified for the Portuguese Inquisitions. Unpleasant as they were, they could not be compared with the devices attributed to the Holy Office by imaginative writers:

"In various times and countries we hear of the rack and the wheel, of thumb-screws, iron boots, collars and girdles of inverted nails,

metal stools under which a slow fire was kindled, and similar atrocious engines, and as we gaze at these rusty emblems of infernal cruelty in various museums and collections, we shudder to think that men with minds similar to our own could have devised such horrors. [Another] mode of torture was the strapping of the prisoner on the ground with his feet, which had been greased with lard, turned towards a roasting fire, in which position of agony he might be kept for an hour" (9).

The first degree of torture in the Inquisition was of a psychological nature only: *Ad faciem tormenti*, when the prisoner was taken to the torture chamber, in the hope that the mere sight of the instruments would make him confess. There were another nine degrees, with equivalences between the pulley (*polé*) and the strappado (*potro*)

<i>polé</i>	<i>potro</i>
1. <i>Ad faciem tormenti</i>	Placed on the strappado
2. <i>Begin to be tied up</i>	<i>Loosely tied up on eight parts (12)</i>
3. <i>First strap</i>	Tightening lever on four parts
4. <i>Second strap</i>	Tightening lever on eight parts
5. <i>Tied up perfectly</i>	Begin to tighten on four parts
6. <i>Begin to be lifted up</i>	Begin to tighten on eight parts
7. <i>Lift up till libelo (10)</i>	Quarter turn on four parts
8. <i>Lift up till pulley-wheel</i>	Quarter turn on eight parts
9. <i>One trato corrido (11)</i>	Half turn on eight parts
10. <i>One trato experto</i>	Full turn on eight parts

The torture could be suspended at any stage, if the prisoner declared his wish to confess, or if the physician and surgeon on duty decided that the prisoner's health or life were in danger (13).

The secret instructions which survived indicate that the torture session was prepared with great care, in order to frighten the defendants into confessing without actually being put to torment:

"No lugar do tormento estara tudo prestes: vellas, mesa, cadeiras, fuguareiros fora da casa para espanto e para o frio, ovos, estopas e o necessario da cura a vista. Estara outra mesa na casa de fora com alcatifa e a esta mesa vira o preso no primeiro encontro e ahi sem mais ninguem que os Inquisidores e Notario hira continuando o notario no primeiro grao de tormento que he a vista da casa dos fuguareiros e mais cousas e hira devaguar procedendo e o Inquisidor amoestara que confesse antes de se ler a sentença, mostrando lhe a dispença do lugar etc. e que não aguarde que se lea e nam querendo se segue o segundo grao que he ler assento e tomar juramento que responda a ella e estara o Reu em pe ao ler; e tornarse assentar e com quietação e vaguar se lhe tornara a fazer amoestação de maneira que suspenda a applicação do proceso. O 3º grao he a vinda do ministro a que se dara juramento e se fara termo e levara para dentro da casa o preso e despira e tera dado aviso o Inquisidor que não se proceda a mais que despir e dipois de despido o chamem e hira o Inquisidor com o Notario e fara amoestação e nam estara nella mais que o alcaide de maneira que enquanto se amoestar e falar com o preso nam estara alguem presente e nam se falara com



A TORTURE SESSION

The strappado or polé, as used by a 16th century criminal court. The magistrate, sitting under a canopy, directs the session and his clerk writes down the defendant's statements. This engraving was taken from Millaeus's *Praxis criminis persecuendi* (Paris, 1541).

o preso enquanto o ministro fizer alguma cousa no tormento; e saindo fora assenara o inquisidor ao alcaide que lhe rogue e amoeste que confese como bom homem [...] Lembrese que no 3º grao tenha feito o protesto de direito nos autos e fação com severidade e horror [...] Sendo ja o fim do tormento que nam a de aver mais voltas nem tratos de polle, o inquisidor prepara como se ouvesse de hir o tormento mais avante e se saira e o ministro fara que procede mais no tormento; e por via do medico se podera diser ao inquisidor que nam atormente mais o preso que nam esta para isso e o inquisidor sem embargo disso, se saira e mandara proceder nelle e saindo o inquisidor fora, o medico como de seu poder e as furtadas, dizendo que se lhe manda que nam consinta hir o tormento com perigo de vida do preso, que para isso esta aly que o solte e sairse ha hum guarda desimulando e dizendo que vai chamar o inquisidor que se faz contra o que elle manda e entre hir e vir, hira tam devaguar que quando o inquisidor chegar, esteja solto o preso e o comesse a tomar nos braços, no que o inquisidor se irara e dira ao notario como se soltou sem sua licença e assi se acabe o tormento" (14).

Most New Christian judaisers who were arrested by the Inquisition confessed, in order to be sentenced quickly and leniently. Very often, as soon as they were released, they claimed to have confessed under torture to offences they had not committed. This undoubtedly did happen, as in any Court of Law; but only occasionally, as existing documents show (15). The facts were different: most penitents were deeply ashamed of being exposed as judaisers before their Old Christian friends and neighbours. They also wanted to excuse themselves before their fellow judaisers for having confessed.

The New Christians' accusations, however unfounded, were often the basis for reports and petitions to the Holy See. The Inquisitors, who usually were men of honour (16), were naturally offended by these accusations:

"[...] o pay entrega os filhos, a mãy as filhas, o parente os parentes; & então alegaes ao Rey, & ao Papa, que no sacro tribunal da Inquisição tudo são mentiras, & falsos testemunhos. Pregunto: quem leuanta esses falsos testemunhos? Leuanto volos eu? ou estes padres, & senhores, que estão presentes? Não por certo: vos sois os que os leuãtaes. E se isto assi he, sois a mais ma gente, que cobre o Ceo, Porque gente que leuanta tantos falsos testemunhos, a seu pay, a sua mãy, a seus filhos, irmãos, & parentes, que fara a mim, & aos outros, que não somos pays, nem mãis, nem irmãos, nem parentes, nem adherentes? Quanto mais que aquelle sacrosãto tribunal, que Deos ordenou na terra, pera apurar verdades, não admitte mentiras, nem cõsente falsidades: Nem he possiuel, que falsos testemunhos cõcordem tanto, quãto cõcordão os que dais huns dos outros: Cõcordão no lugar, no tempo, no cõplices, na crença, nas ce remonias, então quereis persuadir ao mundo, que vos prendem por falsos testemunhos? [...] E mais: Respondeime a este argumento. Esses testemunhos, ou são verdades, ou falsidades? se falsidades: vos, & os vossos as leuantaes, & assi fiquaes mentindo: se são verdades? como lhe chamaes falsos testemunhos? De modo, que nem assi, nem assi, podeis escapar de mentirosos" (17).

Significantly, this was even accepted by impartial New Christians, who had themselves been prosecuted by the Holy Office:

"Tantos livros se escreverão em Inglaterra, e em França contra este Tribunal, tão cheyos de falsidades, e invectivas, que fazem horror, a quem verdadeiramente experimentou como processa com os culpados o Tribunal da Inquisição [...] O intento com que foi fundado este Santo Tribunal foi Santo, e justo; foi para conservar a Fe na sua pureza, sem misturas de outras seitas. Em cada Livro que trata da Inquisição escrito pelos Hereges, se vem tão deffamados os Inquizidores com calumnias tão atroces, que bem se ve que somente o odio os induzio a publicalas; o contrario he notorio a aquelles que estiverão prezos na Inquisição porque declararão aos seus confidentes que so pela misericordia dos Inquizidores sahiram com vida da Inquisição" (18).

Even the Inquisitorial sentences were not so harsh as they sounded. Those which were read in the autos de fé were:

Abjuration de levi	Suspicion of heresy
Abjuration de vehementi	Strong suspicion of heresy
Gaol and penitential dress ad arbitrium	At the Inquisition's discretion
in perpetuum	Without limit
Relaxation to the secular arm	Execution by the civil authorities

Gaol usually meant that the penitent would be restricted to his or her home town for a time. Gaol and penitential dress ad arbitrium could be favorável (with a favourable report) for very good confessants, or dilatado (with an unfavourable report) for more reluctant confessants; but these reports were confidential and were thus omitted from the sentences read in the autos de fé.

Gaol and penitential dress in perpetuum could be without remission, for poor confessants, or without remission with insignia of fire, for those who confessed just before being sentenced. Both sentences could be aggravated by deportation, or a number of years at the oars in the King's galleys.

Most sentences were commuted to spiritual penances after some time, often by request from penitents believed to have been successfully brought back to the Church. They were usually dispensed from wearing their penitential gowns at the same time.

NOTES

(1) - USQUE, Samuel - Consolacão as tribulacões de Israel, Dialogue III, fl. XXVI.

(2) - "Discurso pronunciado pelo Reitor da Universidade de Coimbra, Julio Maximo de Oliveira Pimentel, Visconde de Vila Maior [...] em 16 de Outubro de 1872", in Anuario da Universidade de Coimbra, 1872-1873, p. 14-15.

(3) - This curious idea was first expounded by Ben-Zion Netanyahu and Elias Rivkin, and in Portugal by António Jose Saraiva, notwithstanding the abundant documentary evidence against it. Other modern historians tend to adopt it, mainly out of ideological principles.

(4) - SOUSA, Friar Antonio de - Sermam que [...] pregou no Auto da Fe, Que se celebrou na mesma cidade [Coimbra], domingo cinco de Mayo do ano de 1624, fl. 14v.

(5) - The Inquisition followed contemporary legal principles. For example, the presumption of innocence of the defendant until he was found guilty did not exist then. He was arrested because he was culpado, i. e., had serious culpas or accusations against him (culpado, in present day Portuguese, means 'guilty'). The Inquisition actually gave the prisoner a better chance of defending himself: unlike secular courts, it gave him a lawyer to help him prepare his defence, and, although witnesses were not cross-examined, their reliability could be questioned. Furthermore, all witnesses were sworn on the Holy Gospels, an important detail in a deeply religious society, in which perjury meant putting one's immortal soul in jeopardy.

(6) - The principle of secrecy was adopted, although not universally, during the Middle Ages, and was confirmed for the Portuguese Inquisition by Pius IV on 3 January 1560. However, it had already been incorporated in the 1552 Regimento: "os nomes das testemunhas e as circunstancias por onde as partes possam vir a conhecimento das testemunhas da justiça, tendo Respeito ao periguo e inconuenientes que se podem se gujr", would not be released to the defendant or his counsel (Chapter 42). The New Christians, who did not bother asking the Pope to forbid the use of torture in the Tribunals of the Holy Office, invariably asked for the names of the witnesses to be made known, to which the Inquisitors replied that such a decision would be detrimental to the efficiency of the Tribunal. It cannot be denied that secrecy made the work of the defence more difficult. Nor can it be denied that several witnesses who were identified as such were intimidated, assaulted or even murdered by relatives or friends of the defendants.

(7) - The use of torture was generally accepted at the time: "mui claro he em direito que os suficientemente jndiciados de terem cometido culpas se podem por a questam de tormento; e neste delicto de Heresia e apostasia aconselhão os Doctores, e dizem que he remedio mui acomodado e o que se faz e executa por authoridade do direito e comum resolução dos Doctores não he digno de culpa antes de louuor principalmente porque nos outros Tribunais se da o tormento pera os culpados confessarem as culpas e confessandoas por sua confissão sam Condemnados e castigados com a pena ordinaria do delicto, e no do Sancto Officio se lhes concede Mizericordia e absoluição das sensuras quando confessam" (Causas e razões que no Conselho geral do santo officio da Inquisição deste Reino e senhorios de Portugal pareceo a os deputados d'elle aqui assinados que deuião dar e inuiar a El Rey nosso senhor por conseruacao e augmento de nossa santa fee Catholica e ley evangelica, fl. 146-146v).

(8) - Letter from the Toledo Inquisition, dated 5 February 1654 (in WILLEMSE, David - Un "portugués" entre los castellanos. El primer proceso

inquisitorial contra Gonzalo Báez de Paiba - 1654-1657, Vol.I, p.LXXVI-LXXVII).

(9) - LINDO, Elias Hiam - The history of the Jews of Spain and Portugal from the earliest times to their final expulsion from those kingdoms, and their subsequent dispersion, p. 78-80.

(10) - The word libelo had nothing to do with the libel of Justice; it was the cross-bar of the scaffolding.

(11) - The trato consisted of letting the prisoner come down, and could be corrido when he was brought down slowly, or experto when he was allowed to fall until his feet touched the floor.

(12) - The eight parts which were tied in the potro were above and below each elbow, and above and below each knee. They were tied up with a strong rope, with a leather strap underneath to prevent it from cutting into the flesh.

(13) - ANTT, Santo Ofício, Codex 1422, fl. 7.

(14) - ANTT, Santo Ofício, Ms. da Livraria 1384, fl. 158v-159. These instructions were written by Inquisitor Bartolomeu da Fonseca.

(15) - This is confirmed by the study of trial records (Processos). Whenever a prisoner was put to torture, his dossier would include the appropriate order, detailing the kind of treatment he was to receive, the record of the torture session and the ratification post triduum of any statements made under torture. Prisoners who accused others of offences they had not committed were punished according to the law.

(16) - It is an established fact that many Inquisitors led exemplary - even saintly - lives. Most sincerely believed that what they did was not only morally right but also necessary. D Martim Afonso de Melo, who was Bishop of Guarda between 1672 and 1684, was "dotado de grandes virtudes, especialmente do zelo da pureza da Fe, de que resultava ter huma natural aversão aos Christãos novos, de sorte, que foy incansuel em procurar os meyo do seu castigo, que por isso chegou a dizer a hum Procurador delles, que quando em Portugal não houvera a Inquisição, elle havia de queimar no seu Bispado a todos os que achasse reos daquella culpa" (BARBOSA, José - Memórias do Collegio Real de S Paulo da Universidade de Coimbra, p. 155). D Martim Afonso de Melo was a Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition since 1641, and was chosen as the secretary of a Bishops' Committee "contra as calumnias dos Christãos novos, que intentarão desacreditar a venerada rectidão dos Ministros do Santo Ofício". His moral integrity earned him from King Pedro II in 1681 the task of reforming St Paul's College, where he had been a scholar during his University days.

(17) - SANTA ANA, Friar Estêvão de - Sermão do acto da fee, qve se celebrou na Cidade de Coimbra, na segunda Dominga da Quaresma. Anno de 1612, fl. 11v-12.

(18) - CASSUTO, Alvaro Leon - "Origem da denominação de Cristão-Velho e Cristão-Novo em Portugal. Manuscrito inédito de Ribeiro Sanches", in

Arquivo da Bibliografia Portuguesa, Year II (1956), No. 8, p. 262. A distinguished physician, António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches (1699-1783) was not only a New Christian but a judaiser as well, although he returned to the Catholic faith before he died.

APPENDIX 5

A SUMMARY OF DR ANTÓNIO HOMEM'S TEACHINGS

Dr António Homem did not leave a written account of his teachings. Fortunately, we have a fairly comprehensive summary of the doctrine he taught, which he expounded on various occasions to a Fellowship member, António de Oliveira, at his request.

António de Oliveira, the brother of Canon Mateus Lopes da Silva, was an enthusiastic Bible student, but also aware of his lack of formal schooling. He tried to overcome this deficiency by consulting Dr António Homem about the meaning of the Scriptures and the precepts of the Law of Moses. The Lente willingly helped him, and he committed as much as possible to memory.

Being arrested by the Holy Office, António de Oliveira eventually decided to co-operate with the Inquisitors. He asked for a Bible so as to check his references, and was allowed one in his cell on 22 and 23 September 1622. In a long statement he made on the 24th, during his fifteenth interrogation, he listed various Scripture texts used by the Lente to support his teachings, and added the comments he made, as he recalled them.

"Cuidando em suas culpas era de mais lembrado dos luguares da escretura, e das exposições e declarações delles, que o Doutor Antonio homem daua a elle declarante perguntandolhe o entendimento dos ditos luguares [...] os quaes luguares todos o dito Doutor Antonio homem, ex punha a elle declarante, so a fim de lhe mostrar, como a lei de Moyses ainda duraua, e so nella auia saluação, E que so nella auia Deos, E que nenhua outra lei o tinha E que quem guardasse bem a dita lei de Moyses sempre Deos o fauoreceria, e lhe comunicaria grandes bens assi espirituales como temporaes, como fisera a uos diguo em tempos antigos a todos aquelles que a escretura nomea por obseruantes da dita lei; E os liuraria de poder de seus inimigos como ia fisera em Egipto, liurando a seu pouo captiuo do poder de pharao, pondoo em liberdade, com destroição dos que o persegiam, sendo Moyses, e Aron seu irmão, os que en tão guiauao o dito pouo, e castigando o mesmo Egipto com aquellas sete pragas tam conhecidas na escretura onde Deos fes aquella marauilhosa diferença do seu pouo aos Egipcios que tendoos em treuas por tres dias inteiros, na parte aonde os filhos de Israel estauam não chegauam as ditas treuas, antes, gosauam de grande lux e claridade, no que Deos manifestamente mostrara que a respeito de todas as mais nações do mundo so o pouo de Israel tinha a lux da uerdade por seguir sua lei, E assi como com estas treuas, e com as mais pragas castigara Deos em aquelle tempo a pharao e a seu pouo, assi podia no tempo presente dar os mesmos castigos ou semelhantes aos que perseguissem os professores de sua lei. E pelo contrario assi como no deserto, por espaço de quarenta annos, uzou com seu pouo tam extraordinarios faoures, trazendoo sempre regalado, como pae a filho, assi tambem em o tempo presente podia fazer as mesmas merces, a quem guardasse sua lei, e a professasse, E a forma em que o dito Doutor Antonio homem, declaraua os sobreditos luguares, em confirmação do que tem dito, era.

O primeiro lugar do exodo, Assima apontado (1), dizendo que mandara Deos descalsar a Moyses para ensinar a seu pouo que em todos os actos e sacrificios, que se offeressem a Deos, se auiam de descalsar, como faziam nos actos e ceremonias que tem declarado, E que iuntamente queria deos tambem nisto mostrar que pera chegar a elle e guardar sua lei era deitar diguo era necessario deixar as coussas do mundo, descalsandosse de todos os affectos terreas pera com mais liberdade, dezeiar as cousas do ceo; E que mostraua bem o que asima tinha dito o que Deos continuara, dizer a Moyses, que era Deos seu e de seu pouo, e como tal lhe prometera auia de libertar seu pouo, e tiralo do Egipto, E que era Deos de seus paes, Abraham Jsac jacob, o qual nome teria na memoria Em todas as gerações (2), acrescentando a isto o dito Doutor Antonio homem que não podia Deos faltar com suas promesas, a quem guardaua sua lei, E que isto ainda hoie duraua como declarauam aquellas palauras do mesmo Capitulo in generatione in generationem, e a palaura in aeternum.

E o segundo, E 3º lugar, exodo 31, numero 13 logar que diz, haec dices filiis jsrael (3) declaraua nesta forma, que a guarda do sabado, era sinal entre Deos e os filhos de jsrael, E que esta obseruancia do sabado auia de ser perpetua E mui respeitada porquanto era pacto entre o mesmo Deos e seu pouo E que confirmaua mais isto com Deos dizer, como consta do mesmo liuro do exodo, escreuera a lei que dera a Moyses com seu proprio dedo (4), porque esta particularidade bem mostraua auia de ser a dita lei perpetua e nunca auia de acabar: E que a guarda dos sabados, era hum dos principaes preceitos della; E que acrescentaua a isto, o dito Doutor Antonio homem, que a uerdadeira guarda dos sabados e outros preceitos da lei, e ceremonias bastaua guardarens se no coração, porque Deos mais se satisfazia, disso que dos actos exteriores, pois Deos não estimaua sacrificios se primeiro seu pouo lhe não sacrificaua o coração, o que tambem Daud dissera no psalmo miserere mei deus nos ultimos uersos (5) nos quaes significaua esta uerdade mostrando que so a uerdade dos corações deseiaua pera si.

Ao quarto que dis, obseruabitis azima (6) expunha dizendo, que este preceito era em memoria, da saida do Egipto, o qual se auia de celebrar com ritos, e ceremonias perpetuas fazendo nella a paschoa dos pães azimos, a qual auia de durar sete dias, não trabalhando em to dos elles, Em memoria e sinal das merces que Deos fisera a seu pouo, em o libertar acrescentando a isto que a causa de serem persegidas as pessoas da nação he por não guardarem estas ceremonias que Deos tanto encommendara, porque quando se não podesse fazer na forma em que a lei dispoem por os da nação estarem entre xpistãos, onde hera necessario, não dar occasião de os notarem, nem nos comerem nem em outras coussas que a lei defendia, bastaua trazer no coração o dezeio de satisfazer a obrigação dos preceitos da dita lei.

Ao quinto que dis nec est alia natio tam grandis (7), e os mais que atras ficão apontados, dizia o dito Antonio homem que assi como Moyses dissera ao pouo, que não auia outra nação que tiuesse Deos, mais fauoravel que os jsraelitas, porque acodia a seus rogos e assistia a elles, E que não auia outra nação que tiuesse lei, e ceremonias justas senão a de Moyses, que nos não esquecessemos dellas, nem nos sahissem do coração em todos os dias da vida, e assi o aconselhaua o dito

Antonio homem a elle declarante como se fora o mesmo Moyses, E que se assi o não fizesse tomava elle per testemunha, como o mesmo Moyses tomara, o Ceo, e a terra de como elle com os mais não guardassem a lei os auia de destruir, e espalhar pello mundo, como ia fisera a seus antepassados, E que não guardando a lei auião de ficar muito poucos, e esses auião de seruir a Deozes, ou a idolos fabricados por mão dos homens, feitos de pao ou pedra, e que não uiam nem ouuiam nem palpauam, nem tinhão outro algum sentido (8): E que esta profecia e castigo de Deos se uia hoie a letra nas pessoas da nação que seguiram a lei dos xpistãos, mas que assi como estas se compriram, assi tambem ficauam ou tros, que reconheciam ao Deos dos ceos o qual era tam misericordioso, que a todo o tempo que seu pouo se conuertesse a elle o receberia não se esquecendo do pacto que fisera com seus antepassados, de sempre os amar, e sempre ser seu Deos (9): E que elle dito Antonio homem assi o encomendaua a elle declarante E tomava a Deos do Ceo por testemunha de como o desia a elle declarante pera que se lhe não imputasse a elle a culpa de o não aduirtir, porque era sua obrigação como summo sacerdote que era, e que estaua em lugar de Aron E a delle declarante, era seguir seu conselho, e obedecerlhe naquelle particular.

Ao sexto que dis haec sunt praecepta et Ceremoniae ett (10) - daua o dito Antonio homem esta interpretação disendo, Estes são os preceitos, que Deos mandou que guardasses, e eu os ensinasse, pera que te mais a Deos, e a seus mandamentos E os guardeis em todos os dias de uossa uida, pera que se uos perlongem porque assi o prometeo Deos a uossos paes, amareis a uosso Deos de todo o uosso coração e de toda a uossa alma e com toda a uossa fortaleza, e nelle tereis estas palauras e outras, e as ensinareis a uossos filhos, cuidareis nellas em caza nos caminhos dormindo e aleuantandouos, e as trareis em uossa mão como sinal e guardaiuos que não uos esqueçais do Deos que uos liurou do Egipto, a elle so temei, a elle serui, não jureis por seu sancto nome, nem amareis a Deoses alheos, pera que não caiaes em sua ira e, fazendo assi uos affirmo, que uos acheis bem em todos os dias da uida, e seruosha misericordioso, se fiseres tudo o que uos tem mandado, ao que disse o dito Antonio homem que se entendia isto se bem e uerdadeiramente guardassem a lei de Moyses, que era so a que Deos dera e queria que se guardasse porque so nella auia saluação.

E pedindo elle declarante ao dito Antonio homem, lhe declaras se em que consistia principalmente a lei de Moyses, pera a guardar, o dito Antonio homem lhe leo na Biblia o capitulo vigessimo do Exodo (11), e lho declarou dizendo que tal era a lei de Moyses, que ate os xpistãos a obseruauam pois eram os mesmos preceitos e mandamentos os da dita lei, que os mesmos xpistãos os guardauão E que como constaua do mesmo Capitolo, o essencial de toda a lei consistia naquelles preceitos do decalogo E que não se differensaua a lei dos judeus na dos xpistãos em mais que na guarda dos sabados, e no culto e ueneração das imagens, o qual Deos prohibia não consentindo que sua honrra se desse a outrem se não a elle: E que o mais que se seguia nos Capitulos adiante, eram preceitos judiciaes, pera governo daquelle pouo, dos quaes muitos são conformes a direito comum, antes delles foi tirado, E que ainda que se não podessem guardar pellas pessoas da nação por uiuerem entre xpistãos, que bastaua tellos no coração, e ueneralos como preceitos de Deos, com proposito de os guardar com tempo, occasião e lugar, E que as ceremonias e preceitos cerimoniaes, não os declaraua elle di-

to Antonio homem a elle declarante, porque a obrigação de os saber, e o conhecimento delles, tocava so aos Sacerdotes da lei, nem tambem declarava as cousas prohibidas na lei, e que se não podião comer, nem uzar, porque ainda que se quizessem guardar não podia a gente da nação fazello por estar entre xpistãos, E por a mesma rezão e por elle declarante não ser letrado, lhe não era necessario saber mais da lei que os des preceitos do decalogo.

Ao Oitauo que dis fili mi (12), antes de o dito Antonio homem declarar o dito lugar fes a elle declarante, a amoestação que se segue, a saber que faria Deos muitas merces, aos que guardavam a sua lei, se obedecessem em tudo ao sacerdote della como elle era e tomassem seu bom conselho, E que elle Antonio homem como pai e que tinha a elle declarante por filho espiritual, pois auia tomado tam bom conselho pera sua saluação, o aduirtia de ser mui obseruante na guarda da lei de Moyses, E que a obrigação de elle declarante obedecer a elle Antonio homem como Sacerdote, era hum dos preceitos da dita lei E logo comecou a declarar o dito lugar dos prouerbios nesta forma, filhos meos não uos esqueçaes de minha lei, guardai seus preceitos em uosso coração pera que uiuaes por largos annos E guardandoa em uosso coração achareis graça diante de Deos, e dos homens, tendo confiança nelle e cuidai nelle em todas uossas obras que elles uos guiara, e não seiaes sabio de uos mesmo, a declaração do qual disse o dito Antonio homem a elle declarante que se entendia so da lei de Moyses, porque como Salamão uiuia nella, não podia fallar em outra e que como tam sabio aconselhava seus amados israelitas que uiuiam na lei de Deos, exortandoos a guardala e tella em seu coração, E que fazendo assi alcansariam os bens da graça spritual, e os temporaes, E que as palauras, ne sis sapiens apud te metipsum, queriam dizer que se gouernassem os obseruantes da lei de Moyses, pellos sacerdotes da dita lei, que a sabiam, e que seguissem todos seu parecer, E que a letra se entendia, que fizessem todos como elle dito Antonio homem como Sacerdote enssinaua, sendo tam sabio, e perito na dita lei; E que com diguo e que por respeito desta obediencia alcansariam de Deos muitas merces que lhe auia prometido aos que assi o fizessem;

E que os Capitulos seguintes dos prouerbios assima postos no noueno (13), e decimo lugar (14) fora declarando o dito Antonio homem, que queria nelles Salamão enssinar que não auiam os judeus de deixar a lei de Deos, ate morrer por ella, E que o intento d'elle Antonio homem pera com elle declarante, não era mais que exortallo, a que seguisse seu bom proposito e que não deixasse nunca o bom conselho que tinha tomado, E que a este fim hiam os conselhos dos ditos Capitulos, que ali Salamão daua, E que elle Antonio homem trazia por exemplo a elle declarante pera se confirmar em seu proposito E que lhe não daua outras interpretações literaes em que auia duas uozes porque como elle declarante não era letrado, se poderia confundir com ellas, E que so tratava de declarar o que facilmente quanto a superficie da letra elle declarante podia alcansar, que o mais era espiculações que pediam outro entendimento mais cultiuado no estudo e nas letras, porque a elle Antonio homem com ter grandes letras custava muito estudo o entendel-las e alcansalas,

E disse mais que alem dos ditos luguares dos prouerbios, que tem dito explicava o dito Antonio homem outro lugar dos mesmos prouer

bios, o qual dis fugit impius nomine persequente, que he do Capitolo vigessimo octauo, dos mesmos prouerbios (15), nesta forma, foge o mao sem ser persigido, e o justo he como leão, sem medo, nem temor, E a proposito destas palauras disse o dito Antonio homem a elle declarante que lhe daria Deos hum coração tao forte como o do leão pera que não tiuesse medo algum de morrer pella uerdade da lei como o fizera ha poucos dias a frei Dioguo Martir, pella dita lei, E que na escretura auia muitos exemplos de uarões illustres, que por ella padeceram muitos trabalhos com grande esforço e uallor; E que a causa das pessoas da nação andarem atorpeladas e medrosas, e faltar nellas este animo e ualor, era porque nenhua dellas guardaua a lei de Moyses, mais que por cumprimento, e que nem a sabiam nem entendiam E que tinha elle dito Antonio homem disse tanto sentimento que era o maior martirio que podia ter nesta uida, e que se a guardavam como conuinha, lhes acodiria Deos como fizera aos meninos Sidrac Misac e Abdenago, que os liurara do fogo de Nabuchodonozor, e que assi os liuraria, de seus inimigos e das continuas persigões [sic] que tinham por respeito do santo officio da Inquisição, donde no mesmo Capitolo dos prouerbios numero quarto (16) disse o mesmo Salamão que aquelles que deixao a lei auiao a maldade E os que a guardam preualecem contra ella, E no numero sete (17) que o que guarda a lei he filho da sabedoria, E no numero uinte e oito (18), que leuantandosse os maos se esconderam os homens, e acabados elles cresceram os justos, Dizendo o dito Antonio homem que o fruto que destas palauras se podia tirar, era a inteiresa da guarda da lei de Moyses, pois todas ellas aconselhauam a elle declarante, o que mais lhe conuinha, e se uia do sentido dellas que os que deixauam a lei eram a mesma maldade E o que ganhauam seguindo, pois deixandoa eram ignorantes, e segindoa ficauam filhos da sabedoria E que guardandoa, ainda que os inimigos (Entendendo por esta palaura os jnquisidores e Ministros da mesa do santo officio) se leuantassem contra os da nação e os fizessem absentar e esconder, contudo permitiria Deos que elles como iniustos acabassem e os da nação como justos crescessem E que quando não fosse neste mundo seria no Outro que era o que mais importaua.

E que o lugar duodecimo que dis laudemus uiros gloriosos (19), declaraua o dito Antonio homem, por semelhantes palauras a saber que louassem os da nação os uarões illustres de sua lei, aos quaes Deos dera gloria pera sempre, e os fisera prudentes, e sanctos, porque guardauam seus preceitos, e que forao taes que alcansaram fama e gloria em todas as gerações de sua gente, E deixaram seu nome eternizado, a seus sucesores pera que os seus antepassados E de se encomendarem a elles de todo coração, e guardarem seus preceitos, e a obediencia que auiam de ter a elle dito Antonio homem como sacerdote;

E loguo foi continuando o dito Antonio homem trazendo [other quotes from Ecclesiasticus (20), and then Psalm 1 (21), saying] que o tiuessem bem na memoria pera o imitar, pois o caminho da saluação del-le declarante era so a guarda da lei do Deos dos Ceos.

[Quoting Joshua 1 (22), he said that] Deos lhe dissera que se esforçasse E fosse robusto e forte na guarda de sua lei; a qual dera por mão de Moyses, que não se apartasse della, hum ponto em nada, E que da sua boca se não apartasse nunca, o volume desta lei, mas de dia e de noite meditasse sempre na guarda della, o que era bom que tal fizessem todos os da nação, porque o que Deos disse a Josue, disse aos

mais: E que todos os da nação auião de trazer em seu coração escrita a dita lei, porque elle era o Volume por onde auiam de ler, de contino, na mesma lei, e de que o capitolo falaua, mormente nestes tempos, e no Reino de portugual, onde eram tam defezos os liuros em que se explicaua a lei dos judeus, e em que corria tanto perigo tellos em seu poder; E que as uozes podião seruir mais de confusão, que de edificação por serem muito poucos os que os podiao entender.

[He then quoted Psalms 18 (23), 105 (24) and 104 (25), saying that] aquelle que se conuertia a Deos, e seguia a sua lei dada por Moyses esse so se saluaua [and] exortaua o dito Antonio homem a elle declarante, a seguir a lei de Moyses, se queria saluar sua alma.

[Quoting Psalm 113 (26), he] foi declarando com explicar as merces que Deos auia feito a seu pouo, na sahida do Egipto, E mostrar como as mais gentes, os Deoses que adorauão eram paos, e pedras, como o mesmo Salamão o declara: E que a causa principal de Deos hoie não continuar com as mesmas merces, com seu pouo, he o faltar elle na obseruancia da sua lei; mas que Deos se lembraria de lhe acodir quando uisse que o auiam mais mister, e que não desconfiassem delle.

[Quoting Psalm 136 (27), the Lente said that] era maldição que o pouo de jsrael sobredito tomaua se se esquecesse da lei de Deos E que significaua a dita maldição que não tiuessem palauras, pera falar de outra lei, nem louuarem a outro Deos, senão, ao Deos dos Ceos E que estando hoie os filhos de Jsrael em terra estranha, e fora da de promissão, aonde não podiam fazer o que dezeiauam em louor da lei que professauam, pois estauam tam catiuos na Babilonia deste Reino de portugual, que auiam de fazer o que o mesmo Dauid declarou no uerso que uai adiante, si non potuero (28) que queria diser que o que Rogauam sobre si lhes uiesse se não tiuessem a lei de Deos posta sobre o coração.

[He concluded with Psalm 147 (29), which] era em confirmação da estima que Deos tinha a seu pouo, de jsrael, pois so a elle se dera a conhecer, e a elle manifestaua as grandesas de seu poder".

NOTES

(1) - Exodus 3, 5: "At ille: Ne appropies, inquit, huc; solve calceamentum de pedibus tuis; locus enim, in quo stas, terra sancta est" ("And he said, Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground").

(2) - Exodus 3, 15: "Dixitque iterum Deus ad Moysen: Haec dices filiis Israel: Dominus Deus patrum vestrorum, Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob, misit me ad vos; hoc nomen mihi est in aeternum; et hoc memoriale meum in generationem et generationem" ("And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, The Lord God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations").

(3) - Exodus 31, 13-14: "Loquere filiis Israel, et dices ad eos: Vide-

te ut sabbatum meum custodiatis, quia signum est inter me et vos in generationibus vestris; ut sciatis quia ego Dominus, qui sanctifico vos. Custodite sabbatum meum, sanctum est enim vobis. Qui polluerit illud, morte morietur. Qui fecerit in eo opus, peribit anima illus de medio populi sui" ("Speak thou also unto the children of Israel, saying, Verily my sabbaths ye shall keep: for it is a sign between me and you throughout your generations; that ye may know that I am the Lord that doth sanctify you. Ye shall keep the sabbath therefore; for it is holy unto you: every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death: for whosoever doeth any work therein, that soul shall be cut off from among his people").

(4) - Exodus 31, 18: "Deditque Dominus Moysi, completis hujusmodi sermonibus in monte Sinai, duas tabulas testimonii lapideas, scriptas digito Dei" ("And he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him upon mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God").

(5) - Psalm 50, 18-21: "Quoniam si voluisses sacrificium, dedissem utique; holocaustis non delectaberis. Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus; cor contritum et humiliatum, Deus, non despicias. Benigne fac, Domine, in bona voluntate tua Sion, ut aedificentur muri Jerusalem. Tunc acceptabis sacrificium justitiae, oblationes et holocausta; tunc imponent super altare tuum vitulos" (King James Version Psalm 51, 16-19: "For thou desirest not sacrifice; else would I give it: thou delightest not in burnt offering. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise. Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion: build thou the walls of Jerusalem. Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifices of righteousness, with burnt offering and whole burnt offering: then shall they offer bullocks upon thine altar").

(6) - Exodus 12, 17: "Et observabitis azyma; in eadem enim ipsa die educam exercitum vestrum de terra Aegypti, et custodietis diem istum in generationes vestras ritu perpetuo" ("And ye shall observe the feast of unleavened bread; for in this selfsame day have I brought your armies out of the land of Egypt: therefore shall ye observe this day in your generations by an ordinance for ever").

(7) - Deuteronomy 4, 7-8: "Nec est alia natio tam grandis, quae habeat deos appropinquantes sibi, sicut Deus noster adest cunctis obsecrationibus nostris; Quae est enim alia gens sic incluta, ut habeat ceremonias, justaque iudicia, et universam legem, quam ego proponam hodie ante oculos vestros?" ("For what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for? And what nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this day?").

(8) - Deuteronomy 4, 26-28: "Testes invoco hodie caelum et terram, cito perituros vos esse de terra, quam transito Jordane possessuri estis. Non habitabitis in ea longo tempore, sed delebit vos Dominus, Atque disperget in omnes gentes, et remanebitis pauci in nationibus, ad quas vos ducturus est Dominus. Ibiq; servietis diis qui hominum manu fabricati sunt, ligno et lapidi qui non vident, nec audiunt, nec come-

dunt, nec odorantur" ("I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that ye shall soon utterly perish from off the land whereunto ye go over Jordan to possess it; ye shall not prolong your days upon it, but shall utterly be destroyed. And the Lord shall scatter you among the nations, and ye shall be left few in number among the heathen, whither the Lord shall lead you. And there ye shall serve gods, the work of men's hands, wood and stone, which neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor smell").

(9) - See, for example, Nehemiah 1, 8-9: "Cum transgressi fueritis, ego dispergam vos in populos; Et si revertamini ad me, et custodiatis praecepta mea, et faciatis ea, etiamsi abducti fueritis ad extrema caeli, inde congregabo vos, et reducam in locum quem elegi, ut habitaret nomen meum ibi" ("If ye transgress, I will scatter you abroad among the nations; but if ye turn unto me, and keep my commandments, and do them; though there were of you cast out unto the uttermost part of the heaven, yet will I gather them from thence, and will bring them unto the place that I have chosen to set my name there").

(10) - Deuteronomy 6, 1-2: "Haec sunt praecepta, et ceremoniae atque iudicia, quae mantavit Dominus Deus vester ut docerem vos, et faciatis ea in terra, ad quam transgredimini possidendam; Ut timeas Dominum Deum tuum, et custodias omnia mandata et praecepta ejus, quae ego praecipio tibi, et filiis, ac nepotibus tuis, cunctis diebus vitae tuae, ut prolongentur dies tui" ("Now these are the commandments, the statutes, and the judgments, which the Lord your God commanded to teach you, that ye might do them in the land whither ye go to possess it: That thou mightest fear the Lord thy God, to keep all his statutes and his commandments, which I command thee, thou, and thy son, and thy son's son, all the days of thy life; and that thy days may be prolonged").

(11) - The Ten Commandments were, of course, expanded by Talmud scholars to 613 mitzvot, 248 of which were positive and 365 were prohibitions. These were copiously elaborated upon by generations of rabbis.

(12) - Proverbs 3, 1: "Fili mi, ne obliviscaris legis meae, et praecepta mea cor tuum custodiat" ("My son, forget not my law; but let thine heart keep my commandments").

(13) - Proverbs 4, 1-2: "Audite, filii, disciplinam patris; et attendite ut sciatis prudentiam. Donum bonum tribuam vobis; legem meam ne derelinquatis" ("Hear ye, children, the instruction of a father, and attend to know understanding. For I give you good doctrine, forsake ye not my law").

(14) - Proverbs 7, 1: "Fili mi, custodi sermones meos, et praecepta mea reconde tibi" ("My son, keep my words, and lay up my commandments with thee").

(15) - Proverbs 28, 1: "Fugit impius, nemine persequente; justus autem quasi leo confidens, absque terrore erit" ("The wicked flee when no man pursueth: but the righteous are bold as a lion").

(16) - Proverbs 28, 4: "Qui derelinquunt legem laudant impium; qui custodiunt succenduntur contra eum" ("They that forsake the law praise

the wicked: but such as keep the law contend with them").

(17) - Proverbs 28, 7: "Qui custodit legem filius sapiens est; qui autem comessatores pascit confundit patrem suum" ("Whoso keepeth the law is a wise son: but he that is a companion of riotous men shameth his father").

(18) - Proverbs 28, 28: "Cum surrexerint impii, abscondentur homines; cum illi perierint, multiplicabuntur justi" ("When the wicked rise, men hide themselves: but when they perish, the righteous increase").

(19) - Ecclesiasticus 44, 1: "Laudemus viros gloriosos, et parentes nostros in generatione sua" ("Let us praise the illustrious men, our ancestors, to whose generation we belong").

(20) - Ecclesiasticus 44, 20: "Abraham magnus pater multitudinis gentium, et non est inventus similis illi in gloria; qui conservavit legem Excelsi, et fuit in testamento cum illo" ("Abraham was the great father of a multitude of nations, and none other was ever found who could compare with him in glory; he kept the law of the Holy One and celebrated a covenant with Him"). Also Ecclesiasticus 45, 1: "Dilectus Deo et hominibus Moyses, cujus memoria in benedictione est" ("Moses was loved by both God and men; his memory is blessed").

(21) - Psalm 1, 2: "Sed in lege Domini voluntas ejus, et in lege ejus meditabitur die ac nocte" ("His delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night").

(22) - Joshua 1, 7: "Confortare igitur, et esto robustus valde, ut custodias, et facias omnem legem quam praecipit tibi Moyses servus meus; ne declines ab ea ad dexteram vel ad sinistram, ut intelligas cuncta quae agis" ("Only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law, which Moses my servant commanded thee: turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest prosper whithersoever thou goest").

(23) - Psalm 18, 8: "Lex Domini immaculata, convertens animas; testimonium Domini fidele, sapientiam praestans parvulis" (KJV Psalm 19, 8: "The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes").

(24) - Psalm 105, 1: "Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus, quoniam in seculum misericordia ejus" (KJV Psalm 106, 1: "O give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever").

(25) - Psalm 104, 1: "Confitemini Domino, et invoke nomen ejus; annuntiate inter gentes opera ejus" (KJV Psalm 105, 1: "O give thanks unto the Lord; call upon his name: make known his deeds among the people").

(26) - Psalm 113, 1-2: "In exitu Israel de Aegypto, domus Jacob de populo barbaro, facta est Judaea sanctificatio ejus, Israel potestas ejus" (KJV Psalm 114, 1-2: "When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange language; Judah was his sanctuary, and Israel his dominion").

(27) - Psalm 136, 5: "Si oblitus fuero tui, Jerusalem, oblivioni detur dextera mea" (KJV Psalm 137, 5: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning").

(28) - An incorrect rendering of Psalm 136, 6: "Adhaereat lingua mea faucibus meis, si non meminero tui; si non proposuero Jerusalem in principio laetitiae meae!" (KJV Psalm 137, 6: "If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy").

(29) - Psalm 147, 19-20: "Qui annuntiat verbum suum Jacob, justitias et judicia sua Israel. Non fecit taliter omni nationi, et judicia sua non manifestavit eis" ("He sheweth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any nation: and as for his judgments, they have not known them").

APPENDIX 6

KNOWN MEMBERS OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF ST DIOGO

The following people are known to have taken part in the Fellowship ceremonies, and may be considered as full members:

André de Avelar	Lente of Mathematics
André Vaz Cabaço	lawyer
António de Almeida	?
António Correia de Sá	country gentleman
António Dias de Almeida	lawyer
António Dias da Cunha	Canon in Cathedral
António Gomes "o Sapo"	merchant
António Homem	Lente of Canon Law
António Leitão "o Corcovado"	lawyer
António Lopes	physician
António Mendes	?
António de Oliveira	merchant
António Rodrigues	?
Ascenso Dias "o Rato"	student
Crispim da Costa	Canon in Cathedral
Diogo Barbosa	student
Diogo Lopes da Rosa	merchant
Diogo Lopes de Sequeira	notary public
Diogo da Mata	priest in S João de Almedina
Fernão Dias da Silva	Canon in Cathedral
Francisco de Aguiar de Brito	proprietor
Francisco de Almeida	physician
Francisco de Andrade	merchant
Francisco Dias	Lente of Law
Francisco Dias	silk merchant
Francisco Fernandes	?
Francisco Fernandes Nunes "o Ruivo"	farmer
Francisco Gomes "o Ruivo"	merchant
Francisco Gomes da Costa "o Doutorinho"	proprietor
Francisco Lobo	farmer
Francisco Rodrigues "o Bate-lhe o Fuzil"	farmer
Francisco de Sá Sotomaior	Filius Familias
Francisco Serrão	notary public
Francisco da Silva	merchant
Gaspar Nunes	student
Henrique de Arede	University Paymaster
João de Almeida	?
João da Fonseca	Filius Familias
Jorge Fernandes Mascarenhas "o Andorinho"	merchant
José Coutinho Botelho	Clerk of the Orphans
Luis Álvares	lawyer
Luis Arês	priest
Luis de Avelar	Graduate in Arts
Luis da Cunha	physician
Luis Nunes	?
Luis de Sá Sotomaior	Filius Familias
Manuel de Arede "o Torto"	merchant

Manuel da Costa	farmer
Manuel Gomes "o Tasquinha"	student
Manuel Pires	cutler
Manuel Soares	Licentiate
Mateus Lopes da Silva	Canon in Cathedral
Miguel da Fonseca Cardoso	Clerk of University Treasury
Miguel Gomes "o Manco"	proprietor
Miguel Pais	?
Pero Cabral Colaço	Clerk of the City Council
Friar Sebastião	Franciscan friar
Sebastião Gomes	merchant
Simão da Costa	physician
Simão do Couto	lawyer
Simão Gonçalves "o Malhado"	barber
Simão Lopes "o Chorão"	physician
Vicente de Arês Sodré	civil servant

Other judaisers known to have had contacts with the Fellowship, but who were not members, include:

Amaro de Pina	farmer
António Gomes	Lente of Medicine
António Pinto	pharmacist
António Travassos Brandão	merchant
Diogo de Arede	farmer
Duarte Travassos	lawyer
Fernando Alvares "o Buco"	merchant
Francisco Vaz de Gouveia	Lente of Canon Law
Jerónimo de Almeida	lawyer
João de Andrade	farmer
João Viegas	physician
Manuel Rodrigues Navarro	Lente in Faculty of Law
Manuel de Seixa	farmer
Manuel Viegas	student
Marçal Nunes	lawyer
Paulo de Pina Cardoso	farmer
Pedro Homem de Faria	student
Rui de Pina Cardoso	farmer
Tomé Vaz	lawyer
Valentim Quaresma	Bachelor in Canon Law

Judaiser nuns identified as having belonged to conventicles related to the Fellowship are:

i) Monastery of Celas, Coimbra:

Ana Francisca da Silva
 Ana da Madre de Deus
 Apolónia de S Miguel
 Catarina da Silva
 Francisca da Cruz
 Francisca da Silva
 Margarida do Presépio
 Maria da Conceição
 Maria Henriques

Maria Manuel
 Maria de Oliveira

ii) Monastery of Santa Ana, Coimbra:

Ana de Faria (- de Santo António)
 Ana do Quintal
 Apolónia de Meneses
 Filipa de S Paulo
 Francisca das Chagas
 Grácia dos Anjos
 Isabel do Quintal
 Leonor da Silva
 Luísa Machada (- da Piedade)
 Maria Matos
 Maria do Quintal (- da Apresentação)
 Mariana do Deserto
 Vitória da Cruz (- das Chagas)
 Violante de Faria (- de S João)
 Violante da Silva

iii) Monastery of Our Lady of Campos, Montemor-o-Velho:

Beatriz da Fonseca
 Beatriz Mendes
 Branca Pais (- de S José)
 Catarina da Esperança
 Clara de Santa Maria
 Filipa de Almeida
 Grácia do Espírito Santo
 Isabel Pais
 Isabel do Paraíso
 Isabel da Paz
 Margarida da Anunciação
 Margarida Nunes
 Maria de Azambuja
 Maria das Chagas
 Maria Madalena
 Maria da Paz
 Maria do Presépio
 Mariana de Almeida
 Sebastiana da Glória
 Sebastiana de Pina

iv) Monastery of Our Lady of the Assumption of Semide:

Brites Nunes da Silva
 Filipa da Fonseca
 Grácia de Pina
 Joana de Pina
 Leonor Nunes
 Maria da Silva

There were few judaiser nuns in the Monastery of Santa Clara (Coimbra). These were not so well organised as those of the other Mo-

nasteries, and were not directly connected with the Fellowship of St Diogo. Nuns known to have judaised there included:

Guiomar da Silva
Jerónima dos Anjos
Maria da Natividade

APPENDIX 7

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

1. University of Coimbra

1.1. Rectors -

CASTRO, D Francisco de - Born in Lisbon in August 1574; son of D Álvaro de Castro, Surveyor of the Royal Treasury, and D Ana de Ataíde, and grandson of the illustrious Viceroy of India D João de Castro and nephew of the King's Chaplain, Bishop D Jorge de Ataíde. Master of Arts on 13 June 1594. Warden of the Brotherhood of the University Chapel in 1594-1595. Portionist of St Peter's College. Dean of the Cathedral of Coimbra on 13 December 1602. Rector of St Peter's College in 1603. Licentiate in Theology on 4 January 1604. Confirmed as Rector of the University of Coimbra on 23 April 1605. President of the Board of Conscience and Orders in 1611-1617. Confirmed as Bishop of Guarda on 18 September 1617. Inquisitor General of the Kingdom in 1629, confirmed on 19 January 1630. Member of the Council of State on 20 December 1640. Accused of involvement in a conspiracy to depose King João IV; arrested on 29 July 1641, released and restored to his dignities in 1643. Died in Lisbon on 1 January 1653.

COUTINHO, D João - Born in Lisbon; son of Rui Gonçalves da Câmara, Count of Vila Franca, and D Joana de Gusmão. Registered in the Faculty of Canon Law in 1594 and graduated as a Bachelor on 5 July 1602, as a Bacharel Formado on 28 March 1605. Appointed Rector of the University on 16 April 1611; sworn in on 31 May. Left the University on 28 February 1618. Bishop of the Algarve in July 1618. Governor of the Arms of the Algarves. Bishop of Lamego in October 1626; was still in Algarve in late 1627, perhaps awaiting his successor D Francisco de Menezes. Archbishop of Évora on 3 December 1635; invested on 28 May 1636. Left Évora on 29 September 1638. President of the Council of State of Portugal in 1638. Retained in Madrid following the Restoration on 1 December 1640; allowed to return to Portugal in 1643 on compassionate grounds. Died in Elvas, on his way back to Évora, on 12 September 1643.

MASCARENHAS, D Fernão Martins - Born in Montemor-o-Novo in 1548; son of D Vasco Mascarenhas and D Maria de Mendonça. Studied Arts and Theology in the University of Évora, where he graduated as a Master of Arts. Portionist of St Paul's College on 2 August 1575. Incorporated in the University of Coimbra on 22 March 1576. Graduated as a Bacharel Formado in Theology on 29 July 1581. Confirmed as Rector of the University on 15 May 1586. Appointed Bishop of the Algarve on 3 January 1594; invested on 5 February 1595. Subsidised the construction of a College of Jesuits in Portimão and the rebuilding of the Franciscan Monastery of St Anthony in Tavira. Was offered the Bishopric of Coimbra and later the Archbishopric of Lisbon, but refused. Appointed Inquisitor General on 4 July 1616. Was given the dignity of Dom Prior of the Collegiate Church of Guimarães on 20 September 1618. Died in Lisbon on 20 January 1628. Was one of the greatest theologians of his age; his literary works included *Tractatus de auxiliis divinae gratiae ad actus supernaturales* (Lisbon, 1604) and the Constitutions he gave to his dio

cese in 1608.

MENDONÇA, D Afonso Furtado de - Born in Montemor-o-Novo in 1561; son of Jorge Furtado de Mendonça, Knight Commander of the Order of Santiago, and D Mécia Henriques. Dean of the Cathedral of Lisbon. Registered in the University of Coimbra in 1584. Portionist of St Peter's College in 1587, and a full scholar in 1592. Bachelor in Canon Law on 3 April 1591, Licentiate on 29 July 1594, Doctor on 30 July 1594. Rector of the University on 19 July 1597. Member of the Council of State of Portugal on 19 July 1605. President of the Board of Conscience and Orders in 1608-1609. Bishop of Guarda in August 1609; invested on 28 February 1610. Bishop of Coimbra on 5 December 1615. Archbishop of Braga on 12 November 1618; invested on 19 March 1619. Archbishop of Lisbon in January 1626; confirmed in December 1626. Governor of Portugal with powers of a Viceroy in June 1626; sworn in in September 1626. Died in Lisbon on 2 June 1630.

MENESES, D Francisco de - Born in Santarém in 1572; son of D Duarte de Meneses, Knight Commander of Santa Maria de Alcáçova of Santarém, Lord of the majorat of Alcanhões, and a former prisoner of the battle of Alcácer Quibir, and D Antónia Henriques. Franciscan novice in the Monastery of St Joseph of Ribamar of the Province of Arrábida, but left for health reasons. Appointed Choirmaster of the Cathedral of Oporto. Registered in the Faculty of Canon Law on 7 October 1593. Graduated as a Bachelor on 11 July 1602. Scholar of St Peter's College on 22 January 1604. Graduated as a Licentiate on 24 July 1604. Elected Councillor of his Faculty on 10 November 1605. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 22 November 1607. Rector of St Peter's College on 31 October 1608 for a year. Graduated as a Doctor in Canon Law on 22 July 1609. Secretary of St Peter's College on 31 October 1610. Promoted to Inquisitor on 17 September 1611. Transferred to the Lisbon Inquisition on 9 August 1617. Member of His Majesty's Council. Appointed Reformer and Rector of the University on 15 November 1618; sworn in on 18 February 1619. Bishop of Leiria in December 1625. Bishop of the Algarve, invested in December 1627. Was nominated for the Archbishopric of Évora when he died in March 1634.

MENESES, D Francisco de Brito de - Born in Lisbon; son of Sebastião de Brito de Meneses, High Captain of Malabar and later of the Lisbon garrison (Ordenanças), Knight Commander of Aguiar da Beira and a former member of King Sebastião's Council, and D Francisca da Costa. Registered as a student of Canon Law in the University of Coimbra in 1589. Graduated as a Bachelor on 31 May 1595. Scholar of St Paul's College on 10 March 1600. Graduated as a Licentiate on 22 March 1604, as a Doctor on 9 May 1604. Magistrate of the Oporto District Court and subsequently a Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal. Procurator of the Royal Estates. Deputy of the Lisbon Inquisition. Deputy of the Bull of the Holy Crusade on 10 September 1616. Placed in charge of a visitation to the Coimbra Inquisition in 1617. Rector of the University on 20 February 1624; was sworn in on 2 December 1624. Died in Coimbra on 7 January 1631 and was buried in the church of the College of Jesus.

SOUSA, Vasco de - Born in Aveiro on 1 November 1584; son of Henrique de Sousa Tavares, Lord of Miranda do Corvo and Podentes, High Sheriff of Arronches, Knight Commander of Alvalade in the Order of Santiago,

first Count of Miranda do Corvo, Member of the Council of State, and Governor of the Oporto District Court, and D Mécia de Távora. Portionist of St Paul's College on 9 August 1602. Bachelor in Arts on 19 March 1603, Licentiate on 15 May 1604, Master on 23 May 1604. Licentiate in Theology on 18 June 1613. Canon of the Cathedral of Braga and later in that of Évora. Magistral Canon of the Cathedral of Coimbra on 17 September 1615, and representative of the Chapter in the Court of Madrid. Appointed Rector of the University on 13 January 1618; sworn in on 23 March 1618. Fell ill a few weeks later and died on 25 June 1618. Was buried in the Cathedral of Coimbra.

1.2. Reformers -

BRAGANÇA, D Francisco de - Born in Oporto; natural son of D Fulgêncio de Bragança, Dom Prior of the Royal Collegiate Church of Guimarães, and Margarida Fernandes. Was brought up in the household of his uncle, D Teotónio de Bragança, Archbishop of Évora. Registered in the University of Coimbra in 1585. Portionist of St Paul's College on 21 February 1585. Graduated as a Bachelor in Canon Law on 16 June 1590, as a *Bacharel Formado* on 21 May 1592. Deputy of the Lisbon Inquisition on 30 September 1599, of the Coimbra Inquisition on 25 October 1604. Canon of the Cathedral of Évora. King's Counsel. Reformer of the University on 20 March 1604. Visitor of the Coimbra Inquisition on 2 February 1605. Member of the Council of State and of the Council of Portugal in Madrid. Commissioner General of the Bull of the Holy Crusade on 16 December 1609. Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office on 31 August 1617. Chose the College of Jesus, in Coimbra, for his retirement, and died there on 31 January 1634, by which time he was nominated for the Presidency of the Board of Conscience and Orders. His body was transferred to the Jesuit church of S Roque, in Lisbon, in 1640.

MEXIA, D Martim Afonso - Born in Campo Maior. Studied in the Colegio Mayor of Cuenca and in the University of Salamanca, where he taught Arts in 1594-1596. Graduated as a Doctor in Theology. Incumbent priest of the church of S Salvador in Elvas. Deputy of the Board of Conscience and Orders. Choirmaster of the Royal Collegiate Church of Guimarães. Appointed King's envoy in Rome in 1599, where he spent four years defending the Portuguese Inquisition against the complaints of the New Christians. He subsequently lived in Madrid. Was appointed Bishop of Leiria in 1605; was also Purveyor of the Brotherhood of Mercy in that city. Bishop of Lamego on 25 August 1614; invested on 28 August 1615, by which time he was also the Purveyor of the Brotherhood of Mercy in Coimbra. Appointed Reformer of the University on 17 October 1615. Was given the task of inspecting various Treasury departments in Lisbon in early 1619. Bishop of Coimbra in July 1619; invested in May 1620. Governor of Portugal in 1621, with D Diogo de Castro, Count of Basto, and D Nuno Alvares de Portugal. Died in Lisbon on 30 August 1623, and was buried there, in the church of Our Lady of the Carmel; his mortal remains were later removed to Campo Maior, where they rest in the chapel of Our Lady of Mercy, which he had founded.

QUADROS, D Manuel de - Born in Santarém; son of Dr André de Quadros Barreto, Surveyor of the Tagus Valley (*Provedor das Valas e Lezírias*). Bachelor in Canon Law on 25 April 1542, Licentiate on 11 May 1550. Canon of the Cathedral of Évora. Inquisitor in Évora on 22 August 1559,

in Coimbra on 27 September 1565. Magistrate of the Court of Appeal on 14 November 1565. Archdeacon in the Cathedral of Évora in 1570. Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office on 4 December 1570. Deputy of the Board of Conscience and Orders in 1572-1583. King's Counsel. Member of the Council of State. Reformer of the University of Coimbra on 9 March 1583. Bishop of Guarda in 1585. Died in Santarém in 1593.

1.3. Teachers -

1.3.1. Faculty of Theology -

ALMADA, D André de - A Jesuit priest; son of D Antão Soares de Almada and D Vicência de Castro. Portionist of St Paul's College on 20 January 1587, sworn in on 26 November 1587. Conductary teacher in the Faculty of Theology on 13 August 1604; given the privileges of a Lente on 29 April 1606. Lente of Gabriel on 8 January 1608, re-elected on 19 December 1610. Given the privileges of a major Chair on 27 August 1611. Lente of Scotus on 31 January 1613. Lente of Vespers on 4 April 1615; equalled in privileges to Lente of Prime on 14 April 1617. Retired on 18 February 1628, equalled to Lente of Prime; reinstated on 17 March and again on 8 August 1641 with the same rank. Vice-Rector of the University in 1631 and 1637. Governor and Reformer of the Statutes, with powers of a Rector, in 1638. Died in St Paul's College, Coimbra on 29 November 1642.

APRESENTAÇÃO, Friar Egidio da - Born in Castelo Branco in 1539; son of Dr Francisco Martins da Costa, a graduate of the Faculty of Law of the University of Paris, and D Perpétua da Fonseca. Concluded his secondary studies in Coimbra. Professed as a friar of the Hermits of St Augustine in the Monastery of Our Lady of the Grace, Lisbon, on 24 April 1558; lectured Theology for a time in the same Monastery. Graduated as a Doctor in Theology by the University of Coimbra. Lente of Gabriel in 1581. Felipe II offered him the bishopric of Coimbra in 1585 but he refused. Lente of Scotus in November 1586, of Vespers on 28 August 1596. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 27 February 1597. Vice-Rector of the University in 1605. Retired on 21 August 1607; reinstated on the same day. Vice-Rector of the University in 1611. Lente of Prime on 13 October 1616. Vice-Rector of the University in 1618. Elected Provincial of his Order on 6 May 1618 but did not accept. Died on 8 February 1626 at the age of 87, leaving various important theological works, and was buried in the church of the College of Our Lady of the Grace. Three of his brothers were famous: Inquisitor Dr Bartolomeu da Fonseca; Dr Diogo da Fonseca, Lente in the Faculty of Law; and Friar Roque do Espírito Santo, a Trinitarian friar who dedicated his life to ransoming Christian prisoners from the Moors.

ARANHA, Friar João - Born in Coimbra, baptised on 2 July 1556; son of Fernando Aranha and Leonor Coelho. Professed as a Dominican friar on 13 June 1581 in the Monastery of St Mary of the Victory, at Batalha. Continued his studies in Coimbra as a scholar of the College of St Thomas. Substitute Lente of Holy Scripture on 14 August 1614, confirmed on 6 September 1614; sworn in on 27 June 1615 and incorporated in the University on 10 July of the same year. Deputy of the Faculty of Theology for 1615-1616. Deputy of the 1616 visitation. Took part in the Provincial Chapter of his Order, between 12 April and 10 May 1616, in

the Monastery of St Dominic of Benfica, near Lisbon, and also in the Provincial Chapter of May 1618 in the same Monastery; was taken ill on the latter occasion before returning to Coimbra, and by late July 1618 was still convalescing. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 18 September 1618. A man of delicate health, Friar João Aranha was a celebrated humanist and preacher, fluent in Greek and Hebrew, and a disciple and friend of Friar Luis de Sotomaior, with whom he lived in the College of St Thomas. Deputy of the 1619 visitation. Died on 18 October 1620, aged 64, by which time he was Rector of his College.

BARRADAS, Dr Constantino - Born in Lisbon; son of André Henriques and Francisca Barradas. Registered in the University on 16 October 1578. Scholar of St Paul's College on 1 May 1587. Rector of his College in 1593. Lente of Gabriel on 10 February 1597, re-elected on 27 April 1600. Rector of his College in 1597. Licentiate on 1 March 1598, Doctor on 26 April 1598. Rector of his College in 1599. Bishop of Baía (Brazil) on 23 September 1602. Died on 1 November 1618.

CARREIRO, Friar Francisco - Born in his family's estate near Lamego. Professed as a friar of the Order of St Bernard in the Monastery of St Mary of Salzedas. Began studying Arts in the Monastery of St John of Tarouca. Registered in the University of Coimbra as a Theology student. Graduated as a Licentiate on 12 April 1579, as a Doctor on 26 July 1579. Lente of Gabriel by March 1587; re-elected on 13 November 1592 and 28 February 1596. Lente of Durandus on 23 December 1596; was sworn in on 17 January 1597. Given the privileges of a Lente of a major Chair on 10 March 1597. Was Rector of St Bernard's College in 1584, 1594 and 1600. Lente of Scotus on 10 May 1605. Retired on 3 June 1611. Proposed for the office of Vice-Rector in February 1620, but the election was cancelled by Royal order. Died in Coimbra later in that year, leaving four major theological works.

CHAGAS, Friar Gregório das - A Benedictine Friar. Born in Lisbon. Licentiate on 6 May 1592, Doctor on 10 May 1592; the first scholar of the University College of St Benedict to graduate as a Doctor in Theology. Lente of a Catedrilha of Theology on 4 February 1593, re-elected on 17 February 1596. In December 1594, his rival Dr Gabriel da Costa was given the substitution of Holy Scripture; when it became apparent that he was to become the proprietary Lente of that Chair (which he did), Friar Gregório das Chagas left the University in protest, and did not return until D João Coutinho was made Rector of the University and gave him back his Catedrilha, which was confirmed on 3 January 1613 (SAO TOMAS, Friar Leão de - *Benedictina Lusitana*, Vol.II, p. 437). Although Rector D Afonso Furtado de Mendonça, according to a report he wrote in 1609, thought that Friar Gregório das Chagas was not "um sujeito de grande excellencia", he admitted that he was known to be a "grande estudante e mui laboriozo [...] mostrando muita modestia, dando exemplo de bom relligiozo". Equalled in privileges to a Lente of a major Chair on 6 February 1620. Deputy of the visitation on 22 October 1620. Lente of Holy Scripture on 16 July 1621. Vice-Rector of the University on 26 October 1624. Abbot General of his Order in 1626; had previously been twice Abbot of his College. Fell ill during a visit to the Benedictine monasteries in northern Portugal in 1627; died in the Monastery of St Benedict of the Victory, in Oporto, on 31 October 1627.

COSTA, Dr Gabriel da - An Old Christian of humble ancestry, born circa 1550 in Torres Vedras; son of Jorge Gomes and Inês Alvares. Licentiate in Arts on 26 March 1575. Registered in the Faculty of Theology in 1577. Graduated as a Bachelor on 23 December 1581. Scholar of St Peter's College on 3 June 1582, where he was Vice-Rector in 1585-1586 and 1586-1587, and Rector in 1590-1591. Lente of a Catedrilha of Scripture on 24 January 1587. Licentiate in Theology on 5 June 1587, Doctor on 14 June 1587. Substitute Lente of Holy Scripture in late 1589 or early 1590, until 1591; was elected for the same substitution on 16 December 1594, and became the proprietary Lente on 3 July 1599. Choir-master of the Cathedral of Coimbra on 9 March 1598, sworn in on 19 November 1598. Magistral Canon of the Cathedral of Coimbra on 15 February 1605. Qualificator of the Holy Office on 6 July 1607. Magistral Canon in the Cathedral of Lisbon on 7 January 1614. Retired from the University on 6 August 1615. Was offered the bishopric of Funchal, but did not accept. Died in Lisbon on 6 April 1616, and was buried in the church of Our Lady of the Martyrs. Some of his works were published after his death, on the personal initiative of Inquisitor General (and former Rector) D Francisco de Castro, once his pupil and his devoted friend.

COSTA, Dr Pero da - Born in Oporto. Scholar of St Peter's College. Doctor in Theology and a Lente in the same Faculty. Magistral Canon of the Cathedral of Évora. Inquisitor in Évora. Bishop of Angra (Azores) in February 1622, but did not enter his diocese until 24 August 1625. Died on S Miguel island, during a pastoral visit, on 9 September 1625.

FONSECA, Friar Francisco da - A friar of the Order of the Hermits of St Augustine, "vir magnae virtutis, religionis, ac sapientiae". Lente of a Catedrilha of Scripture on 25 July 1609. Lente of Durandus on 31 January 1613, of Scotus on 20 October 1617. Retired in early 1629; reinstated on 19 May 1629 with the privileges of a Lente of Vespers, and again on 1 April 1636 with the same privileges. Vice-Rector of the University on a couple of occasions. Was allowed to retire on 24 September 1641 with no special privileges. Died on 14 September 1643.

FRÓIS, Dr Francisco Rodrigues - Doctor in Theology. Lente of Gabriel on 25 November 1575. Magistral Canon of the Cathedral of Braga on 10 January 1578. Lente of Scotus by March 1582. Lente of Vespers on 5 November 1586. Vice-Rector of the University in 1594. Retired on 13 December 1596. Magistral Canon of the Cathedral of Coimbra on 14 January 1602; sworn in on 26 June 1602. Died in January 1605.

GALVÃO, Friar Antão - A friar of the Hermits of St Augustine. Born in Torrão in southern Portugal. Chosen in 1582 to translate into Portuguese the Constitutions of his Order. An expert in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Taught Theology in his Monastery. Licentiate on 2 February 1596, Doctor on 16 June 1596. Lente of a Catedrilha of Scripture on 17 November 1601. Considered as "mui grande letrado ssy na Scriptura como no especulativo, mui perito nas linguas e que tem muito metodo e claridade em sua licão". Equalled in privileges to Lente of a major Chair on 6 November 1604. Died in Santarém on 20 September 1609.

GIL, Dr Cristóvão - A Jesuit priest; born in Bragança in 1552. Lectur-

ed in the University of Évora. Appointed on 25 February 1604 to replace Dr Francisco Suárez in the Chair of Prime of Theology, whenever the latter was absent or indisposed. Substitute Lente of Vespers on 6 July 1604. Died in Coimbra, in the College of Jesus, on 7 January 1608.

LACERDA, Friar Manuel de - A friar of the Order of the Hermits of St Augustine. Licentiate on 15 October 1610, Doctor on 23 February 1611. Was the losing candidate for the Chair of Gabriel on 3 June 1613, Friar Leão de S Tomas being elected; appealed to the Board of Conscience and Orders, was declared the winner, and was sworn in on 17 February 1615. Lente of Durandus on 20 October 1617. Provincial and Visitor of his Order in 1628. Equalled in privileges to a Lente of Holy Scripture on 13 May 1633. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition. Was nominated for the Archbishopric of Goa when he died, in Coimbra, on 13 November 1634.

LEAL, Dr Pero da Costa - Born in Oporto; son of João Dias. Scholar of St Peter's College. Conductary teacher without the privileges of a Lente on 9 October 1598. Lente of Gabriel on 6 February 1602, re-elected on 17 February 1605. Lente of Durandus with the privileges of a major Chair on 10 May 1605; sworn in on 28 May 1605. Magistral Canon of the Cathedral of Évora on 6 August 1612. Inquisitor in Lisbon. Bishop of Angra (Azores) on 24 August 1625. Died on S Miguel island on 9 September 1625, during a pastoral visit.

PEREIRA, Friar Vicente - A Dominican friar. Deputy of the Évora Inquisition. Lente of Prime of Theology on 10 December 1616. Deputy of the visitation on 2 January 1620. Died in the summer of 1622.

RESSURREIÇÃO, Friar António da - Born in Lisbon; son of João Lopes Soares and Maria Fernandes. Professed as a Dominican on 8 April 1588 in the Monastery of St Dominic of Azeitão, near Setúbal. Lectured Theology in the Monastery of his Order in Évora. Was present at the General Chapter of the Dominicans in Paris on 22 May 1611 with the rank of Definitor. Moved to Coimbra, where he was a scholar of the College of St Thomas and graduated as a Doctor in Theology. Substitute Lente of Prime on 8 September 1620, and proprietary Lente on 29 October 1622. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 1 October 1626. Bishop of Angra (Azores) on 10 July 1635. Died on S Miguel island on 8 April 1637 during a pastoral visitation, and was buried in the Cathedral of Angra.

S TOMÁS, Friar Leão de - A Benedictine friar and historian of his Order. Born in Coimbra in 1574. Elected Lente of Gabriel on 3 June 1613, but was not sworn in; the Chair was given to his rival Friar Manuel de Lacerda. Lente of Gabriel on 20 October 1617. Lente of Durandus, equalled in privileges to that of Holy Scripture, on 25 May 1635; equalled to Lente of Prime on 1 July 1639. Lente of Scotus on 24 September 1641, of Vespers on 11 May 1643, of Prime on 29 March 1648. Was General of his Order for a time. Died in Coimbra, in his Order's University College, on 6 June 1661, being nearly 87 years old.

SUÁREZ, Dr Francisco - A Jesuit priest, universally known as Doctor Eximius. Born in Granada on 5 January 1548; son of D Gaspar Suárez de Toledo and D Antonia Vásquez de Utiel, both members of the Spanish nobility. Professed in April 1564. Concluded his theological studies in

the College of the Society of Jesus of Salamanca in 1571. Taught in the Universities of Alcalá, Avila, Salamanca, Segovia and Valladolid, before his transfer to that of Coimbra. Lente of Prime of Theology on 14 April 1597, sworn in on 8 May 1597. Graduated as a Doctor in Theology in the University of Évora and was incorporated in that of Coimbra on 2 October 1597. Although a man of delicate health, he lectured brilliantly for many years and wrote several books on theological subjects. Retired on 17 February 1616. Died in Lisbon, in the Jesuit House of S Roque, on 25 September 1617.

TAVARES, Friar Manuel - Born in Ançã in 1544. A Carmelite friar; professed in 1560. Lente of Durandus by November 1587, re-elected on 27 November 1592 and 4 March 1596. Lente of Scotus on 23 December 1596, sworn in on 17 January 1597. Vice-Rector of the University in 1597. Retired on 9 April 1605. Provincial of his Order for a time. Died in Lisbon on 31 May 1622.

1.3.2. Faculty of Canon Law -

ABREU, Dr Domingos Antunes de - A New Christian, born in Lisbon; son of Brás Dias de Abreu. Registered in the Faculty of Canon Law on 27 October 1579. Bachelor on 14 June 1584. Lente of a Catedrilha on 22 January 1591; re-elected on 22 January 1594, 1 February 1597 and 12 May 1600. Licentiate on 29 April 1594, Doctor on 15 May 1594. Lente of Clementines on 12 January 1605, of Sext on 14 February 1605, of Decretum on 9 January 1610, of Vespers on 17 October 1614. Retired on 23 February 1623. Died in Coimbra on 18 November 1626, and was buried in St Christopher's parish church.

ARAGÃO, Dr Fabrício de - A New Christian, born in Lisbon in 1571; son of Duarte Fernandes. Lente of a Catedrilha on 12 December 1606, of Clementines on 5 November 1611. Equalled in honours and privileges to a Lente of Sext on 21 August 1615. Died in Coimbra on 3 July 1620, and was buried in St Peter's church.

BRANDÃO, Dr Duarte - A New Christian, born in Lisbon; son of Bento Dias de Santiago. Licentiate on 6 May 1605. Was a lawyer in Coimbra by 1614, when the University considered the possibility of inviting him to join its teaching staff. Appointed conductary teacher with privileges of a Lente on 21 March 1616. Doctor on 15 May 1616. Lente of Sext on 23 February 1623, sworn in on 14 December 1623; subsequently equalled in honours and privileges to a Lente of Decretum. Substitute Lente of Vespers in early 1624, and again in the late spring of that year. His last lecture took place on 29 June 1624; he absconded to escape arrest by the Holy Office. Settled in Madrid, where he supported himself by his legal practice. Died there in 1644.

CARVALHO, Dr Diogo de Brito de - Born in Almeida in 1556; son of Diogo de Brito, High Sheriff of the castle of Almeida, and Isabel Carvalha. Scholar of St Peter's College on 2 June 1589, by which time he was already in charge of a Catedrilha of Canon Law; re-elected on 17 December 1592. Licentiate on 5 October 1589, Doctor on 15 October 1589. Lente of Clementines on 19 December 1593. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 29 August 1596, and later Judge of the Inquisition Treasury. Lente of Sext on 13 January 1597. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of

Coimbra on 13 February 1599. Supranumerary Lente of Decretum on 11 January 1605. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Lisbon on 14 March 1609; left the University. Magistrate in the Court of Appeal on 13 February 1613; earned an enviable reputation as a legal expert. It was he who, in 1618, ruled in favour of D Diogo da Silva e Mendonça, Duke of Francavilla, Marquis of Alenquer and Viceroy of Portugal, on the successory rights of the majorat of Cifuentes in the Kingdom of Castile. Rector D Francisco de Meneses unsuccessfully proposed him for the Chair of Prime of Canon Law in December 1619. Was given 120,000 reis on 30 March 1624, against the dispositions of the Statutes, to finance the publication of two of his essays, *De locato et conducto* and *De rebus Ecclesiae non alienant*; this concession was due in no small measure to the references supplied by D Francisco de Meneses. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Évora on 6 May 1624. Deputy of the Junta of the Holy Crusade on 19 June 1625. Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal on 26 January 1627. Was a Deputy of the Board of Conscience and Orders when he died in 1635 at Cós, near Leiria.

COELHO, Dr Simão Torresão - Born in Figueiró dos Vinhos in 1586; son of Sebastião Torresão Coelho, Corregidor of Tomar and Accountant of the Mastership of the Order of Christ, and D Maria Vieira. Registered in the University on 19 October 1601. Graduated as a Bachelor in Canon Law on 21 May 1608. Scholar of St Peter's College on 30 October 1617. Elected guardian of the College during the summer holidays on 26 July 1619. Graduated as a Licentiate on 14 October 1620, as a Doctor on 8 November 1620. Substitute teacher of the afternoon Catedrilha in October-December 1620. After a time in charge of the infirmary of St Peter's College, he was elected Steward and Secretary of the College on 31 October 1621, and Rector on 31 October 1622. Substitute Lente of Sext in 1627-1628. Deputy of the Junta of the Holy Crusade on 20 April 1629. Prior of St Martin's church in Lisbon. Deputy of the Board of Conscience and Orders. Inquisitor in Lisbon on 31 January 1635. Was a poet of some merit; some of his poems in Portuguese and Spanish were included in Vols. II and V of *Fénix Renascida*, a famous 17th century anthology. Wrote, among other works, *Elogio de D João de Castro, Vice-Rei da Índia* (Lisbon, 1642). Died on 10 September 1642; was buried in the sacristy of St Martin's church in Lisbon.

CORREIA, Dr Luís - One of the greatest Canon Law teachers of his time, known as the *Magister Communis* because of his encyclopaedic knowledge of Common Law. Born in Lisbon in 1542. Licentiate on 27 April 1567, Doctor on 8 June 1567. Lente of a Catedrilha on 12 February 1568, re-elected on 23 February 1571. Lente of Sext on 21 April 1572, of Decretum on 28 January 1579. Shortly afterwards, he wrote a *Tratado da sucessão destes Reynos de Portugal [...]* em que da a sucessão ao Senhor D. Antonio filho do Infante D. Luiz e Sobrinho dEl Rey Dom Henrique (a copy appears on fl. 169-184 of BGUC Codex 110). Unlike many other supporters of D António, Prior of Crato, he apparently did not suffer, possibly because he was both influential and very wealthy. Lente of Vespers by October 1582. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Évora on 10 March 1584. Lente of Prime on 1 October 1586. Retired on 25 October 1591; reinstated on 4 February 1592 with the dignity of Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal. Crown Prosecutor on 23 January 1592. Was nominated for a Doctoral Canonry in the Cathedral of Coimbra in November 1596, but died in Lisbon on 13 May 1598, while dealing with

bureaucratic problems connected with his nomination. Was buried in the Monastery of St Francis in Lisbon.

DIAS, Dr Francisco - A New Christian, born in Lisbon; son of Francisco Dias and Isabel Dias. Graduated in Canon Law. Lente of a Catedrilha on 2 December 1583, of Clementines on 5 December 1587. Was already Lente of Sext by January 1588. Lente of Decretum on 26 October 1593, of Vespers on 2 December 1596, of Prime on 31 October 1602. Retired on 11 August 1608; reinstated on 9 January 1610. Died in Coimbra on 14 May 1616 and was buried on the following day in St Christopher's church, in the chapel of Our Lady of Mercy, which he had founded.

GODINHO, Dr Diogo Mendes - Born in Portel; son of Baltazar da Gama Godinho. Bachelor on 10 June 1608. Lente of a Catedrilha on 21 March 1616. Licentiate on 14 May 1616, Doctor on 23 May 1616. Lente of Clementines on 23 February 1623, of Decretum on 2 September 1625, of Prime on 30 September 1634. Retired on 27 August 1639; reinstated on 29 January 1641. Magistrate in the Court of Appeal. Died in Coimbra on 5 August 1645; was buried in the church of the University College of Our Lady of the Carmel.

GODINHO, Dr Gonçalo Alvo - Born in Oporto in 1595; son of Simão Alvo, Knight of the Order of Santiago, and Grácia Godinho. First registered in the University on 11 October 1611, aged 16. Graduated as a Bachelor in Canon Law on 31 May 1616, as a Doctor on 30 November 1620. Lente of a Catedrilha on 11 November 1625. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Oporto on 20 January 1633. Lente of Decretum on 24 November 1635. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Coimbra on 12 December 1637. Deputy of the University Treasury Board for 1638. Lente of Vespers on 31 October 1638. Followed the Portuguese cause after the Restoration. Magistrate in the Court of Appeal on 18 April 1644. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Évora on 5 January 1645. Lente of Prime on 2 October 1646. Retired from the University on 8 August 1651. Died in Coimbra in 1659.

GOMES, Dr Francisco - Born in 1586; son of António Fernandes "o Mansinha", a University bookseller. Was still a Bachelor when elected Lente of a Catedrilha on 15 May 1623. Became a Licentiate in Canon Law on 10 June 1623, and a Doctor on the following day. Accepted as a scholar of St Peter's College on 23 July 1623. Lente of Clementines by Royal Provision on 12 September 1625. Taught Decretum, Vespers and Prime on various occasions as a substitute. Rector of his College in 1631-1632. Retired in the Christmas holidays of 1632 to become a novice in the Franciscan monastery of Santo António dos Olivais. Professed on 10 January 1634, aged 47, as Friar Francisco de Coimbra (MEALHADA, Friar Manuel da - Memórias do Convento de S. António dos Olivais de Coimbra, p. 66).

GOUVEIA, Dr Francisco Vaz de - A New Christian, born in Lisbon in 1579; son of Dr Alvaro Vaz, a former Lente of Prime in the Faculty of Law, and D Brites de Solis. Registered as a pupil of Instituta on 16 October 1596. Bachelor on 21 January 1602, Licentiate on 11 May 1605, Doctor on 25 June 1606. Lente of a Catedrilha on 30 March 1607, of Sext on 28 November 1614, of Decretum on 13 March 1623, and of Vespers on 17 October 1625. Took Holy Orders. Appointed Archdeacon of Vila Nova de Cerveira in the Cathedral of Braga. Arrested as a judaiser on 27 Feb-

ruary 1626; sentenced on 17 August 1631. Compulsorily retired from his Chair on full pay on 14 October 1633. Eventually appointed Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal. Won over the support of King João IV after the Restoration, whose right to the Portuguese Throne he upheld with his *Justa aclamação do serenissimo rei de Portugal D João o IV: Tractado analytico*, printed in Portuguese and Latin. Died in Lisbon in 1659.

GOUVEIA, Dr Pedro Cabral de - Born in Lamego. Scholar of St Peter's College. Appointed conductary teacher on 2 February 1617, given honours and privileges of a Lente on 23 January 1620. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Lamego on 4 January 1621. Lente of a Catedrilha on 6 May 1622. Died in the spring of 1622.

HOMEM, Dr António Leitão - An Old Christian, born in Bragança. Scholar of St Peter's College. Deputy of the Holy Office. Substitute Lente of a Catedrilha of Canon Law on 17 August 1629, equalled to Lente of Clementines on 28 September 1631. Lente of Sext on 23 November 1635. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Viseu on 29 October 1636, of Braga on 14 April 1638. Lente of Decretum on 9 September 1639. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Coimbra on 12 June 1645. Lente of Vespers on 17 October 1646. Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal. Lente of Prime on 10 February 1653. Retired on 4 July 1659. King's Counsel. A brother of his, Dr Mateus Homem Leitão, also graduated in Canon Law and was a magistrate of the Ecclesiastic Court in Braga, and later Promotor and eventually Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition, and subsequently Inquisitor in Évora and Coimbra.

JOÃO, Dr Cristóvão - Born in Coimbra. Licentiate on 16 March 1570. Lente of a Catedrilha on 5 November 1571. Doctor on 18 November 1571. Having been away for a time, a Royal Provision of 23 January 1576 made him resume his lectures. Lente of Clementines on 15 February 1578, of Sext on 28 January 1579, of Decretum by November 1581. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Coimbra on 18 November 1581. Lente of Vespers on 30 October 1586. Deputy of the Holy Office. Died in Coimbra in November 1596.

LEIVA, Dr Luís Ribeiro de - Born in Lisbon; son of Jácome Ribeiro de Leiva, a Magistrate in the Oporto District Court, and Maria Ribeira. Registered in the University on 1 December 1592 as a student of Instituta. Graduated as a Bachelor in Canon Law on 23 May 1598. Scholar of St Paul's College on 18 February 1600. Conductary teacher on 7 September 1602, and confirmed as such on 13 August 1605 and 19 July 1608. Licentiate in Canon Law on 30 July 1604, Doctor on 21 February 1610. Lente of Sext in 1610. Rector of his College in 1611. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 19 November 1611. University Vereador in the City Council on 7 January 1612. Magistrate in the Oporto District Court in 1614. Lente of Decretum on 17 October 1614. Rector of his College in 1615. Deputy of the 1619 visitation. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Coimbra on 31 March 1621. Lectured Prime and Vespers as a substitute. Lente of Vespers on 23 February 1623, of Prime on 28 April 1625. Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal. Nominated for a Doctoral Canonry in Lisbon on 2 June 1625, but did not accept. Died in Coimbra on 20 July 1627; was buried in the church of the Jesuits, in the chapel of Our Lady of the Conception, which he had founded.

MENDONÇA, Dr Marcos Teixeira de - Born in Lamego; son of Damião Botelho and Joana Teixeira. Scholar of St Peter's College. Licentiate on 25 May 1605. Conductary teacher on 23 May 1608. Lente of Clementines on 9 January 1610. Doctor on 23 February 1610. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Évora on 14 March 1611. Inquisitor in Évora on 22 June 1617. Visitor of the Holy Office in Brazil and Angola on 30 April 1618. Bishop of Baía (Brazil) in 1620; entered his diocese in 1622. Made responsible for Inquisition matters in Brazil on 8 June 1623. Directed the defence of Baía against a Dutch fleet. Died on 8 October 1624 and was buried in the chapel of Our Lady of the Conception at Tapagipe in an unmarked grave, at his request. Must not be confused with another Marcos Teixeira, Archdeacon of the Cathedral of Évora, appointed Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office on 9 June 1592.

PACHECO, Dr Pantaleão Rodrigues - Born in Évora in 1593; son of Lourenço Pacheco and D Maria dos Reis. Doctor in Canon Law on 22 July 1619. Interim Conservador of the University in 1619-1620. Scholar of St Paul's College on 20 December 1622. Deputy of the Relação of the Treasury in Coimbra. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Coimbra in May 1624. Substitute Lente of a Catedrilha on 17 August 1629. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 25 February 1633, Inquisitor on 27 July 1634. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Lisbon on 12 June 1637. King's Counsel. Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office on 28 January 1641. King João IV chose him as an aide to D Miguel de Portugal, Bishop of Lamego and Ambassador to the Holy See, and promoted him to King's Agent in Rome in 1642. Was Bishop Elect of Elvas when he died in Lisbon on 30 December 1667. Left a natural son, D António da Conceição, born in Coimbra, who became an Augustinian friar in the Monastery of St Vincent in Lisbon, and was elected Prior of the Monastery of St George of the Mondego, near Coimbra, on 4 November 1676.

PEREIRA, Dr Miguel Soares - Born in Oporto; son of Leonardo Pereira and Susana Carneira. Bachelor in Canon Law on 27 April 1602. Scholar of St Peter's College in 1603. Licentiate in Canon Law on 21 November 1608. Lente of a Catedrilha on 23 December 1611. Doctor in Canon Law on 1 May 1612. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Lamego on 10 March 1615, of Oporto on 26 August 1620. Lente of Clementines on 2 December 1621. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition. Schoolmaster of the Cathedral of Oporto in 1632. Agent of the Spanish Crown in the Roman Curia.

SOUSA, Dr Sebastião de - Born in Lisbon; son of Fernando Afonso. Lente of a Catedrilha in early 1588. Licentiate on 5 March 1588, Doctor on 13 March 1588. Lente of Clementines on 2 January 1592, of Sext on 20 November 1593, of Decretum on 23 December 1596, and of Vespers on 2 December 1602. Died prematurely on 22 May 1608.

VALADARES, Dr Francisco Rodrigues de - Born in Vila Viçosa; son of Rodrigo Rodrigues. Scholar of St Paul's College on 10 July 1616. Abbot of Meixedo. Prior of Barcelos. Rector of his College in 1619. Licentiate on 23 October 1620. Doctor on 15 November 1620. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 20 March 1621. Lente of a Catedrilha of Canon Law on 1 June 1623; equalled in privileges to a Lente of Clementines on 2 September 1625. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Lisbon on 5 June 1626. Lente of Sext on 2 September 1633. Was offered the Chair of Ves-

pers but did not accept; and left the University in February 1635. Magistrate in the Court of Appeal. Died in early 1637.

1.3.3. Faculty of Law -

ABREU, Dr Jerónimo Pimenta de - Born in Ponte da Barca; son of Salvador de Barros de Abreu and Isabel Pimenta, brother of Dr João Pimenta de Abreu, Canon of the Cathedral of Coimbra (see later). Scholar of St Peter's College. Lente of Codex on 13 March 1601, re-elected on 7 February 1605. Licentiate on 26 May 1601, Doctor on 27 May 1601. Magistrate of Oporto District Court in 1606. Died in 1631.

ALMEIDA, Dr Cid de - Born in Moura; son of Bento Rodrigues (or Lopo Rodrigues Alvarinho?), a Gentleman Knight of the Royal Household, and Maria de Almeida. Licentiate on 30 May 1607, Doctor on 15 June 1608. Scholar of St Paul's College on 27 July 1609. Lente of Instituta on 2 March 1611. Rector of his College in 1612; re-elected in 1613 and 1614. University Vereador in the City Council in 1613. Lente of Codex on 22 March 1614. Left the University to follow the magistracy, first as a Magistrate in the Oporto District Court, then as a Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal and finally as a King's Counsel. Member of the Supreme Council of Portugal in the Court of Madrid, and of the Treasury Board of Portugal from 1631.

ARAGÃO, Dr Luís de Góis de - Born in Lisbon; son of Pedro de Góis. Scholar of St Peter's College. Bachelor on 20 July 1600. Lente of Instituta on 17 March 1610. Licentiate on 18 June 1610. Left the University to follow a legal career, and became a Magistrate and Ouvidor in the Court of Appeal.

AZEREDO, Dr Cristóvão de - Born in Guimarães; son of Cristóvão de Azeredo do Vale and Branca Coelho. Bachelor on 30 May 1608. Lente of Instituta on 9 May 1614. Scholar of St Paul's College on 18 October 1614. Licentiate on 5 February 1615, Doctor on 3 May 1615. Deputy of the Royal Treasury on 28 July 1617. Became a Magistrate in the Oporto District Court and later a Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal.

CABAÇO, Dr António Vaz - Born in Coimbra. Graduated in the Faculty of Law. Lente of Instituta on 2 March 1565, of Codex on 2 May 1566, of Digestum Vetus on 20 November 1566, of Vespers on 30 May 1576. University Vereador in the City Council in 1577 and 1580. Was already Lente of Prime and a Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal by 1581. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 19 December 1581. King's Counsel. Was also a Judge of the Royal Treasury in Coimbra and Purveyor of the Brotherhood of Mercy in the same city. Retired from the University on 8 December 1588 but subsequently assisted in the compilation of the 1591 Statutes. Died in Coimbra in 1595.

CABRAL, Dr Nuno da Fonseca - Born in Abrantes; son of Bernardo da Fonseca. Bachelor on 25 June 1593. Lente of Instituta on 2 June 1600. Licentiate on 10 February 1601, Doctor on 11 February 1601. Lente of Codex on 12 March 1601, of the Three Books on 9 January 1604. Left the University. Magistrate of the Oporto District Court, and eventually King's Corregidor.

CALDEIRA, Dr Francisco - A New Christian, also known as Dr Caldeirão. Born in Lisbon; son of Manuel Caldeira and D Guiomar Caldeira. Studied in Salamanca from June 1576 to March 1577. Registered in the Faculty of Law on 21 October 1577. Bachelor on 1 July 1581. Licentiate on 17 July 1584. Lente of Instituta in early 1587. Transferred to the University of Salamanca; was Catedrático of Vespers by 1604, of Prime in 1605. Lente of Vespers of Law in the University of Coimbra on 26 November 1605, equalled in honours and privileges to a Lente of Prime; also given the office of a Magistrate in the Court of Appeal. Sworn in on 13 March 1606. Lente of Prime on 21 February 1608; sworn in on 28 November. Promoted to Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal before retiring from the University as a respected legal expert. Arrested by the Inquisition in 1631; abjured de vehementi in Lisbon on 22 March 1632. Died in 1635.

CALDEIRA, Dr Nuno da Costa - Born in Lisbon; son of Daniel Alvares. Lente of Instituta on 18 December 1601, of Codex on 24 July 1606. Gave up that Chair in April 1608 and left for Salamanca. Eventually became a lawyer in Sevilla.

CARVALHO, Dr João de - Born in Lisbon; son of Pedro de Carvalho and D Joana de Alcanha, and brother of Francisco de Carvalho, a King's Counsel and (in 1656) Chief Chancellor of the Kingdom. Bachelor on 14 June 1595. Lente of Instituta on 4 April 1601. Licentiate on 8 June 1601, Doctor on 12 June 1601. Lente of Codex on 21 January 1604. University Vereador in the City Council in 1606 and 1610. Lente of Digestum Vetus on 16 December 1608, of Vespers on 20 October 1617. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 23 April 1626. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Coimbra on 17 August 1627. Retired from the University on 11 December 1627, but was immediately reinstated. Lente of Prime on 9 December 1630. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Évora on 22 November 1635. Judge of the Royal Treasury. Retired on 11 April 1643. Died in late 1644. He is often confused with his junior colleague Dr João Carvalho: born in Goães (Vila Real), son of Gonçalo Pires; scholar of St Peter's College on 24 April 1623, conductary teacher with the privileges of a Lente on 19 June 1627, University Vereador in the City Council in 1631 and 1632.

CASTELO BRANCO, Dr António Cabral de - Born in Celorico da Beira, in northeastern Portugal; son of Desembargador João Gil de Abreu. Bachelor on 24 May 1610. Lente of Instituta on 22 May 1615. Licentiate on 16 May 1616. Left the University in 1616.

CASTELO BRANCO, Dr Cristóvão Mouzinho de - Born in Setúbal; son of João Rodrigues Mouzinho and D Mécia Balete Pessanha. Bachelor on 18 May 1606. Lente of Codex on 20 October 1617. Scholar of St Peter's College on 30 October 1617. Licentiate on 4 January 1618, Doctor on 21 January 1618. University Vereador in the City Council on 5 January 1619; resigned and was replaced on 17 August 1619 by Dr Tomás Serrão de Brito, Lente of Medicine. Secretary of St Peter's College by July 1619, and Steward in 1619-1620. Married in February 1620. Lente of the Three Books on 23 February 1623. Became a Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal, and eventually a senior legal adviser to the Royal Treasury (Juiz dos Feitos da Coroa e do Fisco Real). Secretary of State in 1643.

COELHO, Dr António de Abreu - Born in Serpa; son of Lopo de Abreu and Leonor Dias Coxilha. Licentiate on 3 July 1618. Lente of Instituta on 24 July 1619. Doctor in November 1619. Scholar of St Paul's College on 26 February 1620. Rector of his College in 1622. Eventually left the University to follow a legal career. Became a Magistrate in the Oporto District Court and Judge of the Crown Proceedings (Juiz dos Feitos da Coroa), and later a Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal.

FIALHO, Dr Baltazar - Born in Arronches; son of Pedro Mendes and Inês Fialha. Scholar of St Paul's College on 18 October 1598. Licentiate on 24 July 1601, Doctor on 31 July 1601. Rector of his College in 1603. Lente of Instituta on 14 February 1604. Rector of his College in 1606. Lente of Codex on 4 May 1607. University Vereador in the City Council on 10 February 1607; his term of office was extended until the end of 1608. Left the University in 1612. Magistrate in the Oporto District Court and Judge of the Crown Proceedings; later Chief Magistrate and Chancellor in the Court of Appeal, and finally King's Counsel.

FIGUEIREDO, Dr Francisco Fernandes de - Born in Vila Cova de Sub-Avô; son of Marcos Fernandes. Scholar of St Peter's College. Licentiate on 5 January 1596, Doctor on 17 November 1596. Substitute Lente of a Catedrilha on 26 March 1601; proprietary Lente of the same on 1 February 1605. Magistrate of the Oporto District Court in 1607. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Evora on 10 July 1609. Died in early 1611.

LACERDA, Dr Jorge Correia de - Born in Lagos; son of Gaspar Fernandes Pereira. Scholar of St Peter's College on 22 June 1604. Graduated in the Faculty of Law. Lente of Instituta on 14 May 1608, of Codex on 19 January 1609. University Vereador in the City Council on 17 January 1609. Left the University in 1614 to become a Magistrate in the Oporto District Court. Later became a Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal. Member of the Supreme Council of Portugal in the Court of Madrid.

LOURENÇO, Dr António - Born in Beja (or Serpa?); son of Lourenço Rodrigues. Licentiate on 27 July 1601, Doctor on 7 October 1601. Scholar of St Paul's College on 14 June 1602. Lente of Instituta on 16 March 1605. University Vereador in the City Council on 1 January 1608; replaced on 30 November due to illness. Lente of Codex on 24 April 1608, of the Three Books on 12 January 1609. Rector of his College in 1609. Lente of Digestum Vetus on 20 October 1617, of Prime on 2 September 1629. Magistrate in the Oporto District Court, and later in the Court of Appeal. Died on 9 January 1630.

MANSO, Dr Estêvão da Fonseca - Born in Proença; son of Francisco da Fonseca. Lente of Instituta on 20 October 1617. University Vereador in the City Council on 5 January 1621; resumed this post on 16 November 1622, replacing Dr Francisco de Andrade Leitão. Lente of Codex on 27 March 1623. Died in 1626.

NAVARRO, Dr Manuel Rodrigues - Born in Moura in an old New Christian judaiser family; son of Simão Rodrigues Navarro. Registered as a student of Instituta on 24 April 1580. Lente of Instituta on 13 May 1591, re-elected on 2 November 1594. Lente of the Three Books on 16 April 1597. Equalled to a Lente of Digestum Vetus in honours and privileges on 12 June 1600. Lente of Digestum Vetus on 20 October 1602, of Ves-

pers on 21 February 1608. Suspended from his Chair on 6 June 1616 for usury, corruption in office, and sodomy; sentenced to deportation and the loss of his estate. Escaped and settled in Italy, where he lectured in the Universities of Bologna (between 1620 and 1627) and Naples; is thought to have died there.

PINHEIRO, Dr João - Born in Punhete (now Vila Nova de Constância); son of Fernão Dias da Mata. Lente of Instituta on 6 May 1608. Scholar of St Peter's College on 31 July 1608. Licentiate on 15 December 1608, Doctor on 11 January 1609. University Vereador in the City Council in 1611. Lente of Codex on 27 February 1613. Left the University to become a Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal; rose to King's Counsel.

VALADARES, Dr Mendo da Mota de - Born in Setúbal; son of Estêvão da Mota. Scholar of St Peter's College. Licentiate on 21 February 1595, Doctor on 16 April 1595. Lente of Codex on 20 March 1596, of Digestum Vetus on 16 March 1600, of Vespers on 28 January 1602. Member of His Majesty's Council in the Supreme Council of Portugal. Was still alive in 1624.

VAZ, Dr Alvaro - A New Christian, born in Évora; son of Pero Alvares and father of Dr Francisco Vaz de Gouveia, Lente in the Faculty of Canon Law. Studied for three years in the University of Salamanca before moving to Coimbra, where he graduated as a Bachelor in Law on 27 July 1549, as a Licentiate on 8 October 1553, as a Doctor on 8 July 1554. Lente of Instituta on 22 March 1556, of Codex on 23 July 1557. Appointed Lente of the Three Books on 25 January 1559. Was later deprived of his Chair for leaving the University for over three months without permission from the University Council. He subsequently moved to Lisbon to practise at the Bar, and became a Chief Magistrate in the Court of Appeal. He was given the Chair of Prime of Law on 22 November 1577. However, he had lost interest in an academic career, and soon returned to Lisbon, where he dedicated his spare time to writing law treatises. He died on 17 April 1593, and was buried in the cloister of the Monastery of St Dominic in Lisbon. His remains were later transferred to the chapel of Our Lady of Humility, in the same Monastery, which was founded by his widow D Brites de Solis for both.

VEIGA, Dr Rui Lopes da - A New Christian, born in Coimbra; son of Dr Tomás Rodrigues da Veiga, Lente of Medicine. University Vereador in the City Council in 1561 and 1580. Lente of Instituta on 3 December 1569. Substitute Lente of Codex on 8 February 1570; proprietary Lente on 7 May 1571. Lente of the Three Books on 24 November 1574, of Digestum Vetus on 24 December 1576, of Vespers by November 1581, of Prime on 10 December 1590. Magistrate in the Court of Appeal. Retired on 25 November 1595; reinstated on 4 September 1597. Died on 17 January 1600.

1.3.4. Faculty of Medicine -

ABREU, Dr Manuel de - Born in Crato; son of Cristóvão de Abreu. Licentiate on 30 June 1606, Doctor on 14 January 1607. Lente of Crisibus on 11 January 1618. University Vereador in the City Council in 1624. Lente of Prime on 30 January 1632.

AZEREDO, Dr Baltazar de - Born in Guimarães; son of Jorge de Azeredo

and D Mécia da Fonseca. Scholar of St Paul's College on 19 April 1579. Lente of Crisibus by 1582. Licentiate on 5 July 1582, Doctor on 30 July 1582. Lente of Avicenna on 24 December 1583. Rector of his College in 1585. Lente of Prime by 1589. Chief Physician of the Kingdom. Given the habit of the Order of Christ on 16 June 1603. Retired from the University on 4 December 1604, and reinstated on 24 January 1605. Died in 1631.

BRITO, Dr Tomás Serrão de - Born in Coimbra; son of António Serrão. Licentiate on 28 July 1607, Doctor on 29 July 1607. University Vereador in the City Council in 1616 and from 17 August to 31 December 1619. Lente of Method on 11 January 1618, of Vespers on 30 January 1632, of Prime on 20 September 1644. Physician of the Coimbra Inquisition. Died circa 1654.

CHAMIÇO, Dr João Bravo - Born in Serpa; son of Pedro Bravo. Studied Arts in Évora. Licentiate on 5 July 1594, Doctor on 28 July 1594. Substitute Lente of Anatomy on 11 March 1596, proprietary Lente on 3 April 1601. Also lectured Surgery, as was expected from the Lente of Anatomy at the time. Wrote in 1605 *De medendis corporis malis per manuum operationem*, a work of some merit which was partly based on his lectures and was well received in medical circles. Doctor to the Chapter of the Cathedral on 11 September 1606, with a yearly salary of 16 000 reis; dismissed on 4 March 1611. University Vereador in the City Council in 1610. Lente of Vespers on 13 December 1614. Retired on 24 July 1624, equalled in privileges to a Lente of Prime and with the dignity of Chief Physician of the Kingdom.

COELHO, Dr Martim Gonçalves - Born in Ribeira de Frades; son of Martim Gonçalves. Lente of Method on 21 January 1606, re-elected on 4 February 1609. Licentiate on 28 July 1606, Doctor on 30 July 1606. Lente of Anatomy on 13 December 1614. University Vereador in the City Council in 1620.

GOMES, Dr António - A New Christian, born in Alcobaça; son of Fernão Gomes. Bachelor on 6 November 1583. Substitute Lente of Method on 3 February 1584. Licentiate on 5 July 1585, Doctor on 7 July 1585. Lente of Crisibus on 6 April 1590, of Vespers on 26 March 1602. Physician of St Peter's College on 16 March 1611. Lente of Prime on 13 December 1614, sworn in on 7 February 1615. Suspended and fined as a result of the 1616 visitation to the University. The Faculty of Medicine tried to have him compulsorily retired, "asy pela informação que tinha de suas indisposições como por não hauer satisfação de suas leituras nem conuir ao proueito desta Faculdade". He was ordered in September 1618 by Royal letter to resume his lectures, but in the event was replaced by Dr João Bravo Chamiço. He left the country and settled in Madrid. Was arrested in 1623 by the Toledo Inquisition as a judaiser; sentenced to abjure de vehementi. He is believed to have died in Spain.

PAIVA, Dr Gonçalo de - Born in Lamego; son of Jácome de Paiva. Conductary teacher in the Faculty of Medicine on 21 June 1603; sworn in on 2 October 1603. Lente of Crisibus on 7 February 1604. Doctor on 2 May 1604. Equalled in privileges to Lente of a major Chair on 23 August. Lente of Avicenna on 13 December 1614.

PINTO, Dr Pedro de Barros - Born in Vila Real; son of Pero Gonçalves. Licentiate on 17 April 1586, Doctor on 11 May 1586. Lente of Method on 28 April 1589, of Crisibus on 24 February 1592, re-elected on 23 March 1596 and 5 May 1600. Lente of Avicenna on 15 April 1602. University Vereador in the City Council in 1603. Chief Surgeon of the Kingdom in 1613.

1.3.5. Others -

AVELAR, Master André de [Mathematics] - A New Christian, born in Lisbon in 1546; son of Galaaz de Avelar and Violante Fernandes. Studied in the University of Coimbra between 1567 and June 1568, and subsequently in the Universities of Salamanca and Valladolid, where he graduated in Arts and Theology. Returned to Portugal, where he married Luísa de Faria, an Old Christian lady from Torres Vedras, and specialised as a mathematician and astronomer. Lente of Mathematics on 4 January 1592. Incorporated in the University as a Bachelor, Licentiate and Master in Arts on 2 May 1592. Appointed Keeper of the University Library in March 1595, Keeper of the Archive on 22 August 1598. Took Holy Orders after his wife's death (in 1596?). Tercenarian in the Cathedral of Coimbra on 2 February 1604. Arrested as a judaiser on 20 March 1620; sentenced on 29 March 1620. Re-arrested as a diminuto on 17 October 1621; sentenced on 18 June 1623. Believed to have died in Lisbon circa 1624. His most famous work was *Chronographia ov Reportorio dos Tempos o mais copioso que te agora sayo a lvz, conforme a noua reformação do sancto Papa Gregorio XIII*, which was generally based on the *Chronografia o Repertorio de los Tiempos* of Jerónimo de Chaves (Lisbon, 1576) and was first published in 1585. The third edition of his *Reportorio* (Lisbon, 1594) was augmented with "hum tratado do Pronostico da mudança do ar, & alguns principios que tocão, assim a Philo sophia natural, como a Astrologia rustica, & com humas breues, mas muy proueitas regras pera as sementeiras, & cultura das aruores, & criação dos animaes".

TALÉSIO, Pedro [Music] - Born in Lerma (Spain) in 1568. Choirmaster of the Cathedral of Granada. Was in Lisbon in 1591, as Music teacher of D Manuel da Câmara, Captain Donatory of the island of Madeira. Master of the Chapel of the Hospital of All Saints, Lisbon, on 30 June 1593. Master of the Chapel of the Cathedral of Guarda in 1598. Master of Music of the University of Coimbra on 19 January 1613. Wrote an excellent musical treatise, the *Arte de Cantocham, com huma breue instrução pera os sacerdotes, Diaconos, Sub diaconos, e moços do coro, conforme ao uso romano*, published in 1617 with the support of D Afonso Furtado de Mendonça, Bishop of Coimbra. Taught Music in the University until his death in 1629.

2. Inquisition

BRANDÃO, João Alvares - born in Sameice, near Seia, in 1555; son of João Alvares and Maria Rodrigues, who lived in nearby Travanca. Doctor in Canon Law. Canon of the Cathedral of Lamego, and later Vicar General (1586-1589) and Provisor (1589-1590) of the diocese. Archpriest and Visitor of the district between Coa and Távora in 1589-1591 and 1595. Promotor of the Lisbon Inquisition on 27 May 1596. Deputy of the Évora

Inquisition on 16 September 1598. Inquisitor in Coimbra on 2 September 1603. Transferred to the Lisbon Inquisition on 6 May 1612; sworn in on 1 September. Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office on 30 August 1617. Member of His Majesty's Council. Nominated for the bishopric of Lamego in August 1621, but did not accept. Died on Saturday, 17 June 1628.

CARDOSO, António Dias - Licentiate in Canon Law. Canon of the Cathedral of Braga. Promotor of the Lisbon Inquisition on 9 March 1575. Deputy of the Lisbon Inquisition on 10 February 1579. Inquisitor in Coimbra on 30 January 1589, in Lisbon on 12 October 1602.

CASTILHO, D Pedro de - Born in Coimbra; the only son of the famous architect Diogo de Castilho (from an important Asturian family) and D Isabel Ilharco. Diogo de Castilho had rebuilt the Royal Palace in Coimbra, later used by the University, and part of the Monastery of Santa Cruz (BASTO, A de Magalhães - "Acerca de Diogo de Castilho, artista da Renascença coimbrã", in O Instituto, Vol. 88 (1935), p. 145-157). Graduated as a Bachelor in Arts on 24 February 1561, as a Licentiate on 23 April 1562, and studied Theology and Canon Law, obtaining the degrees of Bachelor and Licentiate in the latter Faculty on 25 June 1568 and 24 June 1572 respectively, and a Doctor's degree at a later date. He was Prior of S Salvador in Ílhavo, near Aveiro, and an incumbent priest in Celorico da Beira. Appointed Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 16 February 1575. Confirmed as Bishop of Angra on 4 July 1578, and as Bishop of Leiria on 3 June 1583. He was also Chief Chaplain of the Kingdom, President of the King's Justice Board, Dom Prior of the collegiate church of Guimarães and administrator of the Priory of Crato and of the Abbey of Alcobaça. Coincidentally, the latter had employed the architect's skills of his uncle João de Castilho. Inquisitor General on 24 February 1604. Viceroy of Portugal between January 1605 and January 1608, and from March 1612 to June 1614. Died on 13 March 1615.

CASTRO, D Miguel de - Born in Lisbon; son of D Diogo de Castro, second Count of Basto, and D Maria de Távora; nephew of the Archbishop of Lisbon of the same name. Bachelor in Arts on 8 January 1618, Licentiate on 13 January 1618. Canon of the Cathedral of Lisbon. Archdeacon of the collegiate church of St Mary of Alcáçova in Santarém. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 1 June 1620; promoted to Inquisitor on 20 June 1622. Licentiate in Theology on 11 November 1623, Doctor on 12 December 1623. Transferred to the Lisbon Inquisition on 14 December 1623. Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office on 7 January 1626. Member of the Council of State of Portugal in Madrid. Appointed Bishop of Viseu in 1633, and invested by proxy on 17 May 1634; but died in Madrid on 27 October 1634 before entering his diocese, and was buried in the Cathedral of Viseu on 13 November of the same year. Was Commissary General of the Bull of the Holy Crusade for a short time in early 1634.

CUNHA, D Rodrigo da - Born in Lisbon in September 1577; son of D Pedro da Cunha, Lord of Tábua, Councillor of State and General of the Galeys of the Kingdom. Registered in the Faculty of Canon Law on 10 October 1595. Portionist of St Paul's College on 11 April 1600. Graduated as a Bachelor on 16 May 1601, as a Licentiate on 16 June 1604, as a

Doctor on 30 July 1604. Deputy of the Lisbon Inquisition on 6 August 1608; promoted to Inquisitor on 9 February 1615. Bishop of Portalegre on 6 July 1615, entering his diocese on 15 February 1616. Transferred to the bishopric of Oporto in November 1618; invested on 14 April 1619. Nominated for the archbishopric of Braga in March 1626, confirmed on 27 January 1627. Transferred to the archbishopric of Lisbon in February 1635; entered the capital on 10 August 1636. Councillor of State and Aide to the Duchess of Mantua. Having opposed Felipe IV's plans to impose new taxes on Portugal against the laws of the Kingdom, he was summoned to the Spanish Court in May 1638, but did not change his opinion, and returned to Lisbon on 21 May 1639. Organised a Diocesan Council on 30 May 1639 to review the Constitutions of the Archbishopric. Supported King João IV in the Restoration, and was made interim Governor of the Kingdom in December 1640. Died in Lisbon on 3 January 1643.

FARIA, Pedro da Silva de - Born in Lisbon; son of Sancho de Faria, High Sheriff of Palmela, and D Antónia de Faria. Canon of the Cathedral of Évora. Deputy of the Lisbon Inquisition on 8 July 1617. Inquisitor in Coimbra on 18 February 1623, in Lisbon on 14 March 1633. Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office on 24 January 1635. Appointed Bishop of Portalegre by King João IV, but did not accept. Crown Inquisitor on 27 October 1638.

FONSECA, Dr Bartolomeu da - Born in Castelo Branco; son of Dr Francisco Martins da Costa and D Perpétua da Fonseca, and brother of Friar Egidio da Apresentação, Lente of Theology. Bachelor in Canon Law on 29 July 1561. Scholar of St Paul's College on 8 April 1566. Licentiate in Canon Law on 27 April 1567, Doctor on 1 June 1567. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition. Deputy of the Royal Treasury in Coimbra in 1569. Inquisitor and Visitator of the Goa Inquisition (India) on 10 October 1572. Deputy of the Board of Conscience and Orders. Inquisitor in Lisbon on 15 July 1583. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Coimbra in 1586. Inquisitor in Coimbra on 26 February 1587. Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office on 3 February 1598. President of the Lisbon Inquisition on 31 July 1601. Represented the General Council in the Royal Juntas of Councillors which took place in Madrid about official Inquisition business. Died on 10 February 1621 and was buried in his family vault, in the Augustinian Monastery of Our Lady of the Grace in Castelo Branco.

MENESES, Sebastião César de - Born in Lisbon; son of Vasco Fernandes César, High Sheriff of Santarém and Knight Commander of S Pedro de Lomar and S João de Rio Frio in the Order of Christ, and D Ana de Menezes. First registered in the University on 14 October 1617. Portionist of St Paul's College on 23 November 1618. Graduated as a Bachelor in Canon Law on 14 July 1622 and lectured for a time as a substitute. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 1 October 1626; promoted to Inquisitor on 18 July 1633. Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office on 2 January 1637. Supported King João IV in December 1640. Appointed Bishop of Oporto (in 1641), and later Bishop of Coimbra and Archbishop of Braga, Évora, and Lisbon, but was never confirmed by the Holy See, due to Portugal's state of war with the Catholic Monarchy. Appointed Inquisitor General on 5 January 1663, but was never confirmed. King's Counsel. Minister of State. King Pedro II banished him from the Court for being partial to the unfortunate Afonso VI, who had been forcibly

dethroned. Died in Oporto on 29 January 1672, still in disgrace.

MENESES, Simão Barreto de - Born in Ponte da Barca; son of Jerónimo Barreto de Meneses, a senior Army officer (Mestre de Campo), Bailiff General of Braga and Lord of the Quinta do Sol, and D Leonor da Silva. Registered in the University as a student of Instituta on 11 November 1598. Warden of the University Brotherhood, a charitable organisation, on 19 November 1604. Graduated as a Bachelor in Canon Law on 24 January 1605. Candidate to a Canon Law scholarship in St Peter's College on 17 May 1606; rejected as he was wealthier than the regulations allowed. Did not become a scholar of the College until 31 July 1608, and then only due to a dispensation granted him by the Collector General. Entrusted with a Catedrilha in the Faculty of Canon Law in 1608; but gave it up towards Easter, after unsuccessfully trying to be elected for the Chair of Instituta. Councillor of his Faculty for 1609. Licentiate in Canon Law on 29 July 1610. Left the University, but was still in St Peter's College in 1611; put in charge of the College infirmary on 31 October of that year. Deputy of the Évora Inquisition, promoted to Inquisitor on 7 May 1612. Transferred to the Coimbra Inquisition on 14 October 1617. Doctoral Canon of the Cathedral of Viseu on 29 November 1617, but remained in Coimbra. Transferred to the Lisbon Inquisition in December 1619, due to his involvement in the proceedings of the Fellowship of St Diogo; appointment made official on 20 June 1620. Died in the summer of 1621.

NORONHA, Sebastião de Matos de - Born in Lisbon on 21 December 1586; son of Rui de Matos de Noronha, a King's Counsel and a member of the Council of State of Portugal in Madrid, and D Filipa Cardoso. Was related to former Inquisitor General D António de Matos de Noronha, Bishop of Elvas. Registered in the University of Coimbra on 5 October 1608. Graduated as a Bachelor in Canon Law on 6 June 1612, as a Licentiate on 1 February 1614, as a Doctor on 9 February 1614. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 24 March 1614; promoted to Inquisitor on 13 March 1617. Visitor of the Coimbra Inquisition on 30 April 1620. Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office on 15 June 1622. Canon of the Cathedral of Elvas. Bishop of Elvas on 14 July 1625. Archbishop Primate of Braga on 15 September 1635. At the time of the Restoration, on 1 December 1640, he was known as pro-Spanish and a personal friend of the Duchess of Mantua, and was consequently earmarked for execution by some of the conspirators; was saved by one of its leaders, D Miguel de Almada. He was later accepted by King João IV, who knew him personally, having been his guest when, as Duke of Bragança, he married D Luísa Francisca de Gusmão. Appointed Governor of the Kingdom by suggestion of his friend D Rodrigo da Cunha, Archbishop of Lisbon, who was really trying to save his life. Out of loyalty to Felipe IV, he promoted a conspiracy against the new dynasty, which was discovered in the planning stage. Being arrested on 29 July 1641, he claimed all responsibility, recalled his oath of allegiance to Felipe IV, requested leniency for the others but not for himself, and refused to acknowledge the authority of João IV's tribunals. He was taken to the fort of S Julião da Barra, near Lisbon, where he died of grief and neglect.

ROCHA, Luís Álvares da - Born in Lisbon; son of António da Rocha and Margarida de Braga. Bachelor in Canon Law on 24 May 1610, Licentiate on 4 May 1613, Doctor on 2 April 1617. Substitute Lente in the Faculty

of Canon Law. Promotor of the Lisbon Inquisition on 17 December 1621, Deputy on 4 July 1622, and subsequently an Inquisitor. Inquisitor in Coimbra on 25 August 1635; back to Lisbon on 7 December 1643. Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office on 18 January 1656.

SAMPAIO, Pero da Silva de Sampaio - Licentiate. Dean of the Cathedral of Leiria. Inquisitor in Lisbon. Bishop of Baía (Brazil) in 1633; entered his diocese on 19 March 1634. Died on 15 April 1649.

SOVERAL, D Francisco de - Born in Sernancelhe; son of Dr Pedro de Soveral and D Maria de Almeida. Professed as a Canon Regrant of St Augustine in the Monastery of Santa Cruz (Coimbra) on 11 June 1588. Studied Theology in the University of Coimbra, where he graduated as a Licentiate on 8 July 1616 and as a Doctor on 10 July 1616. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition. Appointed Bishop of S Tomé on 23 October 1623 but was never invested as such. Transferred to the bishopric of Angola and the Congo in 1627 and arrived in Luanda on 10 August 1628, where he remained and supervised the construction of his Cathedral. Died in Massangano (Angola) on 4 January 1642.

TAVARES, Manuel Alvares - Born in Viseu; son of Diogo Alvares and Apolónia Tavares. Scholar of St Paul's College on 10 December 1572. Licentiate in Canon Law. Dean of the Cathedral of Viseu. Inquisitor in Évora on 23 January 1580, in Lisbon on 17 March 1593. Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office on 14 May 1610.

TORNEIO, Francisco Cardoso de - Born in Beja; son of Dr Manuel Alvares de Torneio and D Paula Soares. Licentiate in Canon Law. Scholar of St Peter's College. Canon in the Cathedral of Lamego. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 1 July 1617. Visitator of the Holy Office to Madeira and the Azores in 1617. Inquisitor in Évora on 28 June 1623, in Coimbra on 29 June 1625; back to Évora on 15 June 1635. Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office on 7 October 1636. Crown Inquisitor on 16 March 1657.

VEIGA, Dr Rui Pires da - Born in Vila Real; son of Francisco Rodrigues, Judge of the House of India, Mina and Guinea, and D Ana de Guimarães. Bachelor in Canon Law. Canon of the Cathedral of Évora and Vicar General of the bishopric by 1579. Deputy of the Évora Inquisition on 13 February 1585. Inquisitor in Coimbra on 30 January 1589, in Évora on 3 July 1592. Deputy of the General Council of the Holy Office on 7 August 1598. King's Counsel. Invested as Bishop of Elvas on 30 March 1613. Died in Elvas on 7 March 1616.

3. Other individuals

ABREU, Dr João Pimenta de - Born in Ponte da Barca; son of Salvador de Barros de Abreu and Isabel Pimenta, and brother of Dr Jerónimo Pimenta de Abreu, Lente in the Faculty of Law. Scholar of St Paul's College on 30 October 1594. Doctor in Theology. Magistral Canon of the Cathedral of Lamego. Magistral Canon of the Cathedral of Braga on 23 December 1599. Rector of St Paul's College in 1599, 1600 and 1602. Choirmaster of the Cathedral of Coimbra on 14 March 1613, sworn in on 19 February 1614. Deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition on 23 September 1617. Magis-

tral Canon of the Cathedral of Coimbra on 10 October 1618. Bishop of Angra (Azores) in early 1626. Died on S Miguel island on 28 September 1632, in the course of a pastoral visit.

CASTELO BRANCO, D Afonso de - Born in Lisbon in 1522; illegitimate son of D António de Castelo Branco, Dean of the Royal Chapel. Master of Arts on 8 May 1557. Scholar of St Paul's College on 2 May 1563; also taught in the College. Licentiate in Theology on 28 October 1565, Doctor on 18 November 1565. Archdeacon of Penela and personal chaplain and almoner to Cardinal Infant D Henrique, Archbishop of Évora. Magistral Canon in the Cathedral of Coimbra on 13 February 1570. Commissary General of the Bull of the Holy Crusade in 1577-1584. Deputy of the Board of Conscience and Orders. Member of His Majesty's Council. Bishop of the Algarve in 1581. Confirmed as Bishop of Coimbra on 25 August 1585. Viceroy of Portugal in 1603-1604. Died in Coimbra on 12 May 1615.

CASTELO BRANCO, D Duarte de - Son of D Afonso de Castelo Branco, Chief Bailiff of King João III, and D Isabel de Castro. He began his life in Court as page boy to the King, inherited his father's position and was later appointed Surveyor of the Treasury. He was also Knight Commander of Ulme in the Order of Christ, and Lord of the Majorat of Montalvão. After serving as ambassador in Felipe II's Court from 1571, he fought at Alcácer Quibir in 1578 and was taken prisoner, but was quickly ransomed. He supported Felipe II's claim to the Portuguese Crown, and was rewarded with the title of Count of Sabugal on 20 February 1582. When Cardinal Alberto left Portugal in 1593, he was made one of five Governors of the Kingdom. He married D Catarina de Meneses, daughter of D Bernardo Coutinho, High Sheriff of Santarém, and their first-born son, D Francisco de Castelo Branco, succeeded him as Count of Sabugal and Chief Bailiff of the Kingdom.

DIAS, Luís - Self-styled Messiah. Born in Viana do Alvaro circa 1505; son of Henrique Vaz, an inn-keeper. He left home at the age of 16 and went to Montemor-o-Novo, where he lived for years and married. He then moved to the parish of S Gião in Setúbal, where he worked as a tailor. He soon claimed that he talked directly to the Lord, and organised a private synagogue at home, where he preached to a growing number of followers from Setúbal and Lisbon. He was arrested in the summer of 1538, confessed, abjured de vehementi on 22 December and was sentenced to a four-month term in the Aljube, the ecclesiastical prison, which did not help his obsession at all. As soon as he was released, Luís Dias began presenting himself as the Messiah. He circumcised his young sons Henrique and Manuel, and claimed afterwards that they had been born thus, as was to be expected from the Messiah's children. Ignoring the most elementary rules of prudence, he visited the New Christian communities in Lisbon three or four times and persuaded many judaisers to have themselves circumcised. His preaching was so successful that he converted an Old Christian magistrate, Dr Gil Vaz Bugalho, who was related to the secular arm in Évora in 1551. His own fate, as an impenitent heresiarch, was only to be expected.

NOGUEIRA, D Vicente - Born in Lisbon in 1586; son of Dr Francisco Nogueira, an Old Christian, a distinguished lawyer and a member of the Council of State of Portugal in the Court of Madrid, and D Maria de Alçáçova, a lady of noble descent. Entered Felipe II's household as a Mo

ço Fidalgo at the age of twelve. During his stay in the Spanish Court, he became a close friend of Don Bernardino de Mendoza, Constable of Castile (1540-1604), and of Don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, Duke of Feria (1559?-1607). He was in Valladolid by 1605, but obtained his Bachelor's degree in Canon Law on 20 April 1606 in the University of Salamanca. He moved to Coimbra in the late summer. The Faculty of Canon Law elected him Councillor on 10 November (AUC, Conselhos, 1606-1607, fl. 20v-21). He registered in the University on 15 October 1607, and his degree was validated on 3 November (AUC, Actos e Graus, 1607-1608, fl. 26v-27). His only brother, Paulo Afonso Nogueira, was also single and lived in Madrid. It was rumoured, although no firm evidence was ever presented, that D Vicente Nogueira's maternal grandmother had some Jewish blood. This may have been the reason why his application to be accepted as a scholar of St Peter's College was withdrawn. D Vicente Nogueira apparently left the University before he obtained a Doctor's degree, and was in Madrid in 1609, where he committed his favourite sin with at least four people. He returned to Portugal in 1610 and stayed in Oporto, Miranda do Douro and Évora before going to Lisbon as a guest of Cristóvão de Almada. He remained there for about a month, during which he had relationships with several of his host's servants and page boys. He returned to Coimbra in the autumn and rented a house in the Rua da Moeda. His last registration in the University was dated 21 October 1610, but his mind was not in his studies. He seduced various students and the personal valet of D Luís de Meneses, Count of Tarouca. In 1612 he was a guest of Paulo de Santa Maria, in his house by the Monastery of the Most Holy Trinity, and continued to give in to his tendencies, from his host's page boy to University students. Finally, he was made a senator in the Court of Appeal, being sworn in on 13 March 1613; and was given a half Canonry in the Cathedral of Coimbra on 3 October 1613, through the renunciation of Sebastião Ferreira in his favour (AUC, Acordos do Cabido, Vol. 9 (1609-1614), fl. 190v-191), although he gave it up for a Canonry in the Cathedral of Lisbon. He settled in the capital in early 1614, but his career was soon marred by the problems his private life brought him. On 15 November 1614, he voluntarily confessed before Inquisitor D Rodrigo da Cunha that he had committed sodomy since at least 1607, when he was 21 and lived in Coimbra. He escaped prosecution, but did not change his private life. In June 1618 he (unsuccessfully) applied to become a Familiar of the Holy Office, but continued to sin at the same time. He frequently had sex with his page boy Clemente de Oliveira since 1624, when the latter was not yet 14. A brilliant scholar and jurist, D Vicente Nogueira was promoted to Magistrate of the Court of Appeal by 1626. His interest in the choirboys of Lisbon Cathedral caused his downfall. He became infatuated with 17-year old Manuel Pereira in November 1630, and twice had intimacies with him in the Chapter Hall. But the youth, who was the son of Pero Gomes Pereira, a Familiar of the Holy Office, did not like it and told his uncle Francisco Peres Godinho, who reported the matter to the Inquisition. On 27 November, fearing that he might be arrested, D Vicente Nogueira made a voluntary confession to Inquisitor Manuel da Cunha; but this time he had gone too far. He had been elected by the Chapter in May 1631 to defend the interests of the Cathedral of Lisbon in Rome, concerning a tithing dispute with the Jesuits, but was arrested on 17 June, just before his departure. The Inquisition had secured no less than 17 testimonies against him. For a sensitive man like him, the time he spent in prison was a nightmare: "eu choro lagrymas de san

gue quando me lembra o que vy naquelles horrendos carceres", he wrote eighteen years later, on 19 December 1649 (BPADE, Codex 106/2-11, fl. 527). His defence, a legal masterpiece, saved him from the secular arm. He was sentenced in private to suspension from Holy Orders and perpetual deportation to the island of Príncipe. Having lost his appeal, he was handed over to Agostinho Freire, master of the "Nossa Senhora dos Remédios", on 28 August; but never reached his destination. He landed in Brazil, where he lived for years under an assumed name as a lawyer and continued to indulge in his tendencies. He eventually returned to Spain in the company of a young boy, whom he left in Santiago de Compostela, and departed for Rome, where the love of youths was an established tradition. There he pursued a distinguished career, honoured by the highest Vatican officials and the best writers and scientists of his time, who enjoyed his patronage and extolled his virtues in their books. He was given the title of Referendary of His Holiness and was a Gentleman of the Chamber of Archduke Leopold of Austria and a member of the Council of the Two Majesties, Caesarean and Catholic. He eventually won over the protection of King João IV himself, through the good offices of his friend D Vasco Luís da Gama, Marquis of Nisa, and tried to obtain a pardon in order to be allowed back in Portugal. In this he never succeeded. He died in Rome in 1654.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manuscript sources1.1. General reference

Acordos do Cabido, Vols. 7 (1592-1601), 8 (1601-1609), 9 (1609-1614), 10 (1614-1625), and 11 (1625-1635). Coimbra, 1592-1635 [AUC].

Acordos da Fazenda, 1592-1596, 1596-1602, 1602-1610, 1610-1623, 1623-1638. Coimbra, 1592-1638 [AUC].

Actas dos Capítulos Provinciais do Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça. Lisboa, 1582-1592 [AUC].

Aluará de Reformação dos Estatutos da Uniuersidade de Coimbra. Lisboa, 1612 [AUC].

Autos e diligencias de inquirição que fes Dom Francisco de Meneses Reformador e Reitor desta Universidade pellos interrogatorios per que conforme a os Statutos reformados he obrigação inquirir, e das prouisoyns por que Sua Magestade lho cometteo. Coimbra, 1619-1624 [BNL].

Carta, que escreveo o Inquizidor geral Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas a El Rei Dom Filippe Terceyro de Portugal, estando para morrer. Lisboa, 1628 [BGUC Codex 3141].

Carta que se escreueo na era de mil e seiscentos e dous, contra o perdão dos Christãos nouos, ao Arcebispo de Euora Dom Theotonio de Bragança, indo para Valledolid com os Arcebispos de Lixboa, e de Braga, sobre o impedir o dito perdão. Lisboa, 1602 [ANTT].

Catalogo dos collegiaes que tem havido no Collegio Real de S Paulo des de o tempo da sua fundacam athe o prezente, com a memoria dos dias em que foram providos, naturalidades de cada hum, lugares que ocuparam, e postillas que na Universidade ditaram os que nesta foram lentes. Coimbra, s.d. [AUC].

Cathalogo dos Mestres da Universidade de Coimbra, e das materias por elles explicadas na Collecção de 124. Tomos de Postillas, de que o Illustrissimo e Excelentissimo Senhor Marquez de Pombal fez Mimo, e prezente a Real Meza Censoria. S.l., s.d. [AUC].

Catalogo dos Sermoens Portugueses que se tem impressos avulsos athe o Anno de 1716 que tem juntos com suma curiosidade Bernardo Gomes. Lisboa, s.d. [BNL Codex 362].

Causas e razões que no Conselho geral do santo officio da Inquisição deste Reino e senhorios de Portugal pareceo a os deputados delle aqui assinados que deuião dar e inuiar a El Rey nosso senhor por conseruação e augmento de nossa santa fee Catholica e ley evangelica: E por paz e quietação e socego dos mesmos Reynos: E pera se euitarem Escandalos, Inquietações e perturbações que se podem seguir de os da Nação serem ouvidos e respondidos em seu requerimento e pretensão e se lhes

diffirir ao que Ora de nouo pedem pera hauer perdão de Sua. Santidade sendo lhes negado tantas Vezes e con tanta Justiça, e consideraçam. Lisboa, 1600 [BGUC Codex 480].

Colégio de S Pedro. Capelas, Vols. 1 and 2. Coimbra, s.d. [AUC].

Colégio de S Pedro. Inquirições dos opositores às Becas. Coimbra, 1600-1738 [AUC].

Consultas, Pareceres, Alvarás, Memoriaes, e Cartas, que representarão a Sua Magestade, o Senhor Rey D. João 4^a, e Serenissimo Principe, o Senhor Dom Pedro, depois Rey, 2^a do Nome, o Dezembargo do Paço, o Conselho Geral do Santo Officio, o Bispo Inquisidor Geral, e os Estados Ecclesiastico, e da Nobreza. Sobre o Perdão Geral a favor da Gente de Nação. & Duas suppostas Cartas, huma escrita ao Pe. Antonio Vieira, e outra em resposta. Tudo achado no espolio de hum curiozo, falecido em Mayo de 1814. S.l., 1653-1674 [ANTT].

Contas dos Bedéis, Vol. 1 (1580-1659). Coimbra, 1580-1659 [AUC].

Controversia dos Jezuitas com A Inquizição de Portugal. Em que se mostra fulminarem, e defenderem accerrimamente o requerimento, que os Christãos Novos fizerao para obterem o perdão geral, e reforma dos estillos do Santo Officio. Guardada no Real Archivo da Torre do Tombo em o Armario intitulado Jezuitico em duas caixas, que fazem figura de Livros. Lisboa, 1768 [ANTT].

COUTO, Mateus do - Livro das Plantas, e Môteas de todas as Fabricas das Inqvisições deste Reino, e India, ordenado por mandado do Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Senhor dom Francisco de Castro Bispo Inquisidor Geral e do Conselho de Sua. Magestade. Lisboa, 1634 [ANTT].

Decreto del rei de 30 de 9embro de 1601 porque revoga o concerto que a cidade de Lisboa tinha feito de dar a el rei 800 mil cruzados para não haver perdão geral visto que para o dito concerto não ouve conhecimento das mais cidades e vilas e logares. Madrid, 1601 [ANTT].

Documentos Antigos desta Santa Casa da Misericórdia desta Cidade de Coimbra. Vols. 4 to 7. Coimbra, s.d. [AMIC].

Escrituras da Universidade, Vols. 7 (1574-1584), 8 (1584-1591), 9 (1591-1594), 10 (1594-1595), 11 (1595-1598), 12 (1598-1600), 13 (1601-1604), 14 (1604-1608) and 15 (1608-1613). Coimbra, 1598-1613 [AUC].

FERREIRA, Geraldo - O obstinado confuso. Contem a cegueira dos Judeus, erros, e obstinaçam. Coimbra?, s.d. [BGUC Codex 178].

Finta feita no anno de 1631. Duzentos e quarenta e seis mil cruzados para a finta que a gente de nação comprou em juro a fazenda Real nos milhões da Croa de Castella. Coimbra, s.d. [BGUC Codex 480].

Fundação do Collegio de Sam Pedro da Vniversidade de Coimbra. Collegiaes, & Porcionistas que forão do dito Collegio cargos, e dignidades que tiuerão na republica. Repertorios. Hum dos Collegiaes Porcionistas & Opositores as Collegiaturas. Outro dos Familiares & Opositores as

familiaturas do ditto Collegio. Por ordem de D. Diogo Lobo da Silueira, Porcionista, e Collegial, & Reitor duas uezes no mesmo Collegio. Coimbra, 1647 [BGUC Codex 1093].

Gastos da Agência da Universidade, Vol. 1. Coimbra, 1601-1711 [AUC].

Index da sustancia das cartas Aluaras e prouizois uindas aos senhores Reitores desta Universidade the o Anno 1640. Coimbra, s.d. [AUC].

Inquisição. Miscellanea de papeis varios: peças de processos, sentenças, pareceres, cartas, etc. (originais e copias). S.l., s.d. [BNL Codex 668].

Interrogações que se perguntarão aos uotantes das Cadeyras depois de dado o iuramento. Coimbra, 1567 [AUC].

Inventario do que se guarda no Armario Jezuitico que esta na Torre do Tombo no interior da Caza da Coroa fechado a tres chaves, de que tem huma o Guarda Mor, outra o Escrivão, e outra o Official mais antigo. Lisboa, late 18th century [ANTT].

Lembranças das Conesias Doctoraes da Uniuersidade (Fragments only). Coimbra, circa 1630 [AUC].

Libellos e processos de todo o genero de delictos de que se conhece nesta Inquisiçam pera se poderem por elles fazer outros; e processar, e julgar os cazos semelhantes. Evora, early 17th century [BGUC].

Liuro dos acordos, e Elleição de officiaes [do Cabido] do anno de 1603 por diante. Coimbra, 1603-1832 [AUC].

Liuro dos baptisados, casados & defunctos desta freguesia da see que começa este anno de 1606. Coimbra, 1606-1631 [AUC].

Liuro dos baptizados, casados, e defunctos desta Igreja de Santa Iusta. Coimbra, 1606-1625 [AUC].

Liuro dos Baptisados casados e defuntos que continua da era de 1626, por diante [...] Desta Igreja de S. Iusta de Coimbra. Coimbra, 1626-1634 [AUC].

Liuro dos bautizados e casados da Igreja de sã bertolameo desta cidade de Coimbra Aberto no Anno de 1558 Anos. Coimbra, 1558-1593 [AUC].

Liuro do Cabido da See desta cidade de Coimbra onde se treslidão os titollos dos beneficiados que entrão nouamente na ditto e instromentos de suas Posses Começou na era de 1598. Annos. Coimbra, 1598-1697 [AUC].

Liuro do celleiro da Se de Coimbra que começou o primeiro de Julho de Seis centos e onze, e acabara pello de Seis centos e doze, em que he celleireiro o senhor Salvador de Sousa. Coimbra, 1611-1612 [AUC].

Liuro do celleiro da See de Coimbra que comesou o primeiro de Julho do Anno de: 1619: e acaba per outro tal de: 1620: Em que foi Celleireiro o senhor Arcediago de Cea Julião pinheiro. Coimbra, 1619-1620 [AUC].

Liuro dos defuntos que fallecerão nesta freguesia [Santa Cruz] desde o Anno de 1558: athe o de 1591. Coimbra, 1558-1591 [AUC].

Liuro dos defuntos que fallecerão nesta freguesia do Real Mosteiro de Santa Cruz desde o anno de 1591 athe o anno de 1626. Coimbra, 1591-1626 [AUC].

Liuro da deuassa da Visitação, que o Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Senhor Dom Affonso Furtado de Mendouça Bispo deste bispado de Coimbra, Conde de Arganil do Conselho do stado de Sua Magestade fes na See e de maes Igrejas desta Cidade este anno de 1617. Coimbra, 1617 [AUC].

Livro, Em que esta scripta toda a fazenda e rendas que a uniuersidade de Coimbra tem, assi a que antigamente tinha na cidade de Lisboa e sua comarca, como ha que ouue das igreijas da capella de Sancta Catherina nos bispados de Lamego e Porto como tambem ha que ouue do priorado de Sancta Cruz da cidade de Coimbra. Coimbra, 1570 [AUC].

Liuro dos que falesserão nesta freguesia do Real Mosteiro de Santa Crus que principiou no anno de 1626 e findou no anno de 1664. Coimbra, 1626-1664 [AUC].

Liuro [...] da matricula do Collegio de Jesu e do real das artes desta uniuersidade de Cojmbra. Coimbra, 1570-1586 [AUC].

Livros de notas:

de António Martins, 1575;

de António Martins e Agostinho Maldonado, 1597;

de Agostinho Maldonado, 1600;

de Agostinho Maldonado, 1600-1601;

de Agostinho Maldonado, 1601-1602;

de Agostinho Maldonado e Manuel Bernardes da Cruz, 1602;

de Agostinho Maldonado, 1605-1607;

de Agostinho Maldonado, 1607-1608;

de Agostinho Maldonado e Manuel Bernardes da Cruz, 1609;

de Agostinho Maldonado, 1610-1612;

de Agostinho Maldonado e Pedro Lopes, 1613-1615;

de Agostinho Maldonado e Pedro Lopes, 1614;

de Agostinho Maldonado e Pedro Lopes, 1614-1615;

de Agostinho Maldonado e Pedro Lopes, 1615-1616;

de Agostinho Maldonado e Manuel Bernardes da Cruz, 1618-1619;

de Agostinho Maldonado e Manuel Bernardes da Cruz, 1619-1620;

de Agostinho Maldonado e Manuel Bernardes da Cruz, 1620;

de Manuel Bernardes da Cruz, 1631-1632;

de Tomé Borges, 1609-1610, 1610-1611, 1612 (2 vols.), 1613, 1613-1614, 1614, 1614-1615, 1615 (2 vols.), 1615-1616, 1617, 1618, 1619-1620, 1620-1621 [AUC].

Liuro primeiro da deuassa da vizita geral, que o Senhor Inquisidor Sebastião de Matos de noronha fes e todo o bispado de Coimbra por parte do Santo officio e comissam do jllustrissimo Senhor Bispo D. Fernam martins mascarenhas Inquizidor Geral nos Reinos, e senhorios de portugal. Coimbra, 1618 [ANTT].

Liuro Das prouisões de Sua Magestade E Cartas E Repostas do Collegio [de S Paulo] as mesmas Cartas de Sua Magestade Registos e mais lembranças pertencentes a Capella do Collegio. Ab anno Dominj 1597. Coimbra, 1597-1827 [AUC].

Livro de registo de autos de fé em Coimbra (1567-1627). Coimbra, 1628? [ANTT].

Livro dos registos da despesa e provisões dos lentes e officiaes da vniuersidade de Coimbra do anno de M.DXCIII. em diante. Coimbra, 1593-ca. 1640 [AUC].

Lyuro da Vizitação do Anno de mil e seis Centos e quinze Annos das Igrejas desta Cidade Coimbra Vizitadas pello doutor Antonio uelho protho notayro da Santa See Apostolica Prouisor de Comissão do Senhor Bispo Conde. Coimbra, 1615 [AUC].

Livro das visitasões da igreja colegiada de S. João de Almedina. Coimbra, 1591-1631 [AUC].

Liuro das visitasoens das Igrejas desta Cidade Coimbra deste Anno de 1607 visitadas pello senhor doutor Antonio velho protho notario da santa see Apostolica Prouisor em esta Cidade, e Bispado por comissão & mandado do Illustrissimo, e Reverendissimo Senhor Dom Affonso de Castel branco per merce de Deus e da santa madre Igreja de Roma Bispo Conde & do conselho de sua magestade. Coimbra, 1607 [AUC].

Liuro das Vizitasoens das Igrejas desta Cidade do Anno de mil e seis Centos e desanoue Annos Vizitadas pello Arcediago Bento dalmeida Conego prebendado da Santa See Cathedral desta cidade Coimbra deputado do santo officio e Prouisor elleito em See uacante pellos Senhores do Cabido (Incomplete). Coimbra, 1619 [AUC].

Lyuro das Visitaçoens do Anno de 1609 das Igrejas da Cydade de Coimbra visitadas pello Doutor Antonio uelho protho notario da santa see Apostolica Prouisor da ditta Cydade, e Bispado de comissão do senhor Bispo Conde etc. Coimbra, 1609 [AUC].

Livro das Visitações da Sé e Cabido. Coimbra, 1566-1630 [AUC].

MÁRTIRES, D Timóteo dos - Principio, e fundação do Real Mosteiro de Santa Crus da cidade de Coimbra: e Catalogo de todos os seus priores mores perpetuos. Coimbra, 1650-1684 [BNL].

Memorial a Su. Majestad. en bien del reino de Portugal y aun de la Cristiandad sobre el procedimiento del Obispo Don Fernando Martinez Mascareñas, Inquisidor General del dicho reino. S.l., s.d. [BNM].

Ordens particulares que o senhor Dom Affonso de Castel branco, Bispo de Coimbra, Conde de Arganil & do Conselho do estado de sua magestade ett. deu pelas temporas da santa Luzia aos 17. dias do mez de Dezembro de mil e seis centos e dez Annos no Seu Oratorio. E as sacras aos 18. de Dezembro no Collegio de Jesu:. Coimbra, 1611 [AUC].

Ordem das temporas da Cinza do Anno de 1612. Aos desaseis dias do mes

de Março de mil Seis centos e doze annos pellas temporas da Cinza celebrou o Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Senhor Dom Affonso de Castelbranco Bispo Conde e deu ordens menores na Igreja de S. yoaõ dalmedi-na. E o Illustrissimo e Reuerendissimo Senhor Dom Martim Afonso mexia Bispo de Leiria deu as ordens sacras pellas ditas temporas da Cinza na Igreja do Carmo aos desasete dias do ditto mes E Anno. Coimbra, 1612 [AUC].

Papel feito pelo Padre Antonio Vieyra da Companhia de Jezus estando em Roma. Dezemgano Catholico sobre o negocio da gente de nação Hebreã. S.l., s.d. [BGUC Codex 230].

Processos das Cadeiras, Vol. 1, Lib. 1 (1593-1600), Lib. 2 (1601-1611), Lib. 3 (1611-1623). Coimbra, 1593-1623 [AUC].

Ramilhete Curiozo tecido de varias Flores e Boninas nascidas dos melhores Engenhos Portuguezes offerecido A Coriozidade por hum Anonimo. Coimbra, 1736 [BGUC].

Razoado por parte do seruiço de Deus e de sua Magestade sobre a pretenção que trazem os Christãos nouos destes reinos e senhorios de Portugal, dauer perdão geral de suas culpas de judaismo. No qual tâbê se responde a tudo o que elles por sua parte propoem no memorial que offerecerão a Sua. Magestade. Coimbra, s.d. [BGUC Codex 450].

Razones que se ofrecen a Su Magestade por parte de los Prelados Inquisidores y Reyno de Portugal, para efecto de que Su Magestade sea seruido de no interceder por el perdon general que los de la nacion de Christianos nuevos del dicho Reyno piden a Su Sanctidad. S.l., 1601 [BNL].

Regimento do Conselho Geral da Inquisição. S.l., s.d. [early 17th century] [AUC].

Regimento do Juizo das confiscaçoens pelo crime de Heresia, & Apostasia. Lisboa, 1695 [AUC].

Regimento e Provizoens pertencentes a Mampostaria mor dos Captivos. Lisboa, ca. 1660 [AUC].

Regimento primeiro do Santo Officio Composto, por mandado do Senhor Cardeal Iffante Dom Henrique, Inquisidor Geral destes Reynos. Anno 1552. Glosado con a allegação marginal pelo Doutor Do Francisco de Mezezes, Inquisidor de Coimbra. Anno 1612. Coimbra, 1612 [BR].

Registo de Consultas da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 1598-1603, 1608-1610, 1611-1613, 1613-1615, 1618-1619, 1620-1622, 1623-1624, 1625-1627 and 1628-1630. Lisboa, 1598-1622 [ANTT].

Registo das Provisões e Alvarás, Vols. 1 and 2. Coimbra, s.d. [AUC].

Relatorio do Syndicante D. Henrique de Sousa. Lisboa, 1605 [BNL Pombaline Collection Codex 653].

Rellaçam do Estado em que ficaram as diuidas da Universidade da Refor-

mação de D francisco de Bargaça. Coimbra, 1605-1608 [AUC].

Resposta de Mem de Foyos Pereyra a o papel assima escrito, chamado de-
zengano Catholico com o Titullo de Engano Judaico, contra o dezengano
catholico de hum Autor Reo enganozo, e enganado. S.l., s.d. [BGUC Co-
dex 230].

SANTO ALBERTO, Friar Francisco de - Tratado utilissimo assim aos Con-
fessores para examinarem se os penitentes tirão, ou não fructo das Con-
fissoens, como aos mesmos penitentes para examinarem para elas as suas
consciencias, especialmente para quando as confissoens forem gerais.
Coimbra, s.d. [BGUC Codex 891].

Sentença da precedencia e antiguidade dos Collegios desta Uniuercidade
nella encorporados &c. Coimbra, 1600 [AUC].

Titulo dos defuntos da Igreja de S. Pedro. Coimbra, 1616-1631 [AUC].

Titulo dos finados [de Almalaguês]. Almalaguês, 1558-1765 [AUC].

Tombo manual da fazenda deste Collegio de nossa Senhora do Carmo de
Coimbra. Coimbra, 1637 [AUC].

Tomo 1º dos Baptizados na Igreja de Santa Crus Que contem tres liuros.
Liuro 1º do Anno de 1546 athe 1568. Liuro 2º do Anno de 1568 athe 1593.
Liuro 3º do Anno de 1593 athe 1626. Coimbra, 1546-1626 [AUC].

Treslado da petição que fizerão o reitor e padres do collegio de Nossa
senhora da graça de coÿbra para constar de suas diuidas e necessidades
do collegio, e dos testamentos que se fiserão. Coimbra, 1596 [AUC].

Varias Cortes de Portugal e Algumas Leys Antigas e Resoluçoins Regias
Copiadas De Cartorios Publicos e Memorias Respectivas A Legislação Por-
tugueza. S.l., s.d. [BGUC Codex 696].

Vereações da Câmara, Vols. 29 (1590-1591, 1605-1606), 36 (1597-1598),
37 (1598-1599), 38 (1599-1600), 39 (1601-1602), 40 (1602-1603), 41
(1606-1607), 42 (1607-1610), 43 (1610-1613), 44 (1618-1620), 45 (1620-
1624). Coimbra, 1591-1624 [AMC].

[Visitações] da igreja de sancta Justa desta Cidade. Vols. I and II.
Coimbra, 16th-17th centuries [AUC].

Also (by scholastic year):

Autos e Graus. Coimbra, 1579-1594 [AUC].

Conselhos. Coimbra, 1596-1619 [AUC].

Receita e Despesa. Coimbra, 1579-1624 [AUC].

1.2. Inquisitorial proceedings [in ANTT]

Processos da Inquisição de Coimbra:

No 25	(João de Andrade)
No 212	(Clara de Santa Maria)

No 220	(Catarina da Esperança)
No 355	(Miguel da Fonseca Cardoso)
No 385	(Henrique de Arede)
No 442	(Violante da Silva)
No 609	(Diogo Nabo Pessanha)
No 614	(Luísa Serrão)
No 615	(Luís de Sá Sotomaior)
No 775	(Paulo de Pina Cardoso)
No 1073	(Dr Heitor Vaz)
No 1321	(Manuel da Costa)
No 1323	(Iseu de Arede)
No 1349	(Vitória da Cruz)
No 1350	(Sebastiana de Pina)
No 1428	(Beatriz Nunes da Silva)
No 1515	(Maria de Oliveira)
No 1629	(Ana Francisca da Silva)
No 1656	(António Leitão "o Corcovado")
No 1768	(Joana de Pina)
No 1823	(Rui de Pina Cardoso)
No 1845	(Luís Arês)
No 1848	(Apolónia de S Miguel)
No 1858	(Grácia dos Anjos)
No 1877	(Maria de Moraes)
No 1880	(Leonor da Silva)
No 1934	(Isabel do Paraíso)
No 2115	(Ascenso Dias "o Rato")
No 2121	(Diogo Lopes de Sequeira)
No 2204	(Maria da Paz)
No 2207	(Leonor de Caminha)
No 2209	(André de Avelar)
No 2283	(Diogo Lopes da Rosa)
No 2304	(Branca Pais)
No 2308	(Manuel de Seiça)
No 2458	(Francisco de Andrade)
No 2459	(Francisco Rodrigues "Bate-lhe o Fuzil")
No 2468	(Francisco Serrão)
No 2544	(Simão Lopes "o Chorão")
No 2583	(Francisco Rodrigues Vila Real)
No 2665	(Francisca Brandoa)
No 2669	(Estêvão Couceiro Homem)
No 2838	(Francisco Lobo)
No 2894	(Luís da Cunha)
No 2930	(Sebastiana da Glória)
No 2997	(Grácia de Pina)
No 2998	(Filipa de Almeida)
No 3768	(Isabel do Quintal)
No 3901	(António Dias da Cunha)
No 4096	(Filipa da Fonseca)
No 4213	(Maria do Quintal)
No 4265	(Maria do Presépio)
No 4505	(Maria da Natividade)
No 4650	(Tomé Vaz)
No 4660	(Mariana do Deserto)
No 4752	(Francisco Dias)
No 4923	(Ivo Fernandes)

No 5051 (Valentim Quaresma)
No 5083 (João Viegas)
No 5246 (Isabel da Paz)
No 5314 (Francisco Vaz de Gouveia)
No 5438 (Tomásia de Faria)
No 5439 (Grácia do Espírito Santo)
No 5632 (Simão Gonçalves "o Malhado")
No 5639 (Manuel Gomes "o Tasquinha")
No 5675 (Maria da Costa)
No 5688 (Crispim da Costa)
No 5690 (André Nunes de Pina)
No 5701 (Diogo de Arede)
No 5704 (Catarina Vogada)
No 5765 (Francisco da Silva)
No 5816 (Vicência de Arês)
No 5818 (André Vaz Cabaço)
No 5819 (Ursula dos Santos)
No 5821 (António Correia de Sá)
No 5986 (Beatriz da Fonseca)
No 5997 (Vicente de Arês)
No 6004 (Violante de Faria)
No 6071 (João Borges)
No 6074 (Manuel de Arede)
No 6650 (Manuel Soares)
No 6791 (Maria Henriques)
No 6795 (António Travassos Brandão)
No 6797 (Maria Matos)
No 6860 (André de Burgos)
No 6869 (Luís de Avelar)
No 6897 (Fernando Alvares "o Buco")
No 6931 (José Coutinho Botelho)
No 6972 (Pero Cabral Colaço)
No 6978 (Francisco Vaz de Gouveia)
No 7064 (Ana do Quintal)
No 7140 (Sebastião do Quintal)
No 7290 (Manuel Henriques)
No 7440 (Maria Brandoa)
No 7663 (Jorge Fernandes)
No 8019 (Justa da Costa)
No 8111 (Baltazar de Pina Cardoso)
No 8133 (Dr Jerónimo de Almeida)
No 8576 (Ana de Faria)
No 9090 (Beatriz Mendes)
No 9108 (António Dias de Almeida)
No 9278 (Luísa Mascarenhas)
No 9334 (Margarida do Presépio)
No 9435 (António de Oliveira)
No 9440 (D Joana de Oliveira)
No 9456 (Francisco de Aguiar de Brito)
No 9457 (Amaro de Pina)
No 9459 (Catarina da Silva)
No 9594 (Isabel Vaz)
No 9733 (Cristóvão Coronel)
No 9996 (Simão do Couto)

Processos da Inquisição de Évora:

No 8760 (Gil Vaz Bugalho)

Processos da Inquisição de Lisboa:

No 104 (Friar Diogo da Assunção)
 No 3070 (Estêvão de Arês da Fonseca)
 No 3147 (Miguel Gomes "o Manco")
 No 3505 (Mateus Lopes da Silva)
 No 3734 (Luís Dias)
 No 3739 (Guiomar Brandoa)
 No 4241 (D Vicente Nogueira)
 No 4643 (Jorge Vaz)
 No 5394 (António Gomes "o Sapo")
 No 7882 (Jerónimo da Fonseca Pina)
 No 11444 (Paulo de Lena)
 No 11986 (Pedro Homem de Faria)
 No 11998 (Miguel Gomes "o Manco")
 No 12494 (Dr Francisco Gomes da Costa "o Doutorinho")
 No 13024 (Ana da Madre de Deus)
 No 14409 (Ana de Milão)
 No 15421 (Dr António Homem)
 No 16225 (Dr António Homem) (sewn together with No 15421)
 No 16420 (Ana de Milão)
 No 16905 (Luís Dias)

1.3. Texts written by Dr António Homem

HOMEM, António - Aduertencias de dereito em fauor da Justiça da Universidade no feito da aução do mosteiro de Sancta Cruz de Coimbra. Coimbra, 1603 [AUC].

HOMEM, António - Da Universidade de Coimbra contra os conegos e conuento de .S. crus, sobre as cousas que o conuento tras usurpadas a Universidade. Coimbra, 1603 [AUC].

HOMEM, António - Parecer sobre a provisão de uma alcaidaria-mor, feita pelo Bispo num sujeito de menor idade, chamado João de Sá. Coimbra, s. d.) [BNL Codex 1606].

1.4. Postillas dictated by Dr António Homem

De causa possessionis et proprietatis (Coimbra, 1615) [BGUC Codex 2056, 2075, 2098, 2105; BNL Codex 4140, 4141, 4144].

De censuris (Coimbra, 1605) [BNL Codex 4150].

De clavium potestate (Coimbra, 1596) [BNL Codex 4150, 4157, 4181, and 6622].

De commodato (Coimbra, 1595) [BGUC Codex 2092, 2105].

De concessione praebendae (Coimbra, 1619) [BGUC Codex 2077, 2110].

De consanguinitate (Coimbra, 1596) [BGUC Codex 2105].

De electione (Coimbra, 1603) [BNL Codex 4137].

De exceptionibus (Coimbra, 1602) [BGUC Codex 2059; BNL Codex 4161].

De his, quae vi, metusve causa fiunt (Coimbra, 1590) [BNL Codex 3939].
 De officio Vicarii (Coimbra, 1602) [BNL Codex 4161].
 De pactis (Coimbra, 1595) [BGUC Codex 2105].
 De preceptis ecclesiasticis (Coimbra, 1606) [BGUC Codex 2105, 2191].
 De praescriptionibus (Coimbra, 1600) [BGUC Codex 2105; BNL Codex 3929].
 De privilegiis et excessibus privilegiorum (Coimbra, 1612) [BGUC Codex 2052, 2056, 2096; BNL Codex 3921, 4138, 5869].
 De procuratoribus (Coimbra, 1594) [BGUC Codex 2072].
 Qui filii sint legitimi (Coimbra, 1608) [BGUC Codex 2049, 2051, 2052, 2199; BNL Codex 6641].
 Regula non debet (Coimbra, 1597) [BGUC Codex 2200; BNL Codex 3932].
 De restitutione si res aliena (Coimbra, 1600) [BGUC Codex 2105, 2122].
 De solutionibus (Coimbra, 1595) [BGUC Codex 2086, 2105].
 De temporibus ordinationum (Coimbra, 1594) [BGUC Codex 2105].

[Copies of some of the above may also be found in the AUC]

2. Printed sources

2.1. The Inquisition

ABOIM, Diogo Guerreiro Camacho de - Opusculum de privilegijs familiarium, officialium que Sanctae Inquisitionis desideratissimum nunc primum in lucem editum in quo tota fere privilegiorum materia exaratur, & omnium Privilegiatorum jus generice, & specificice examinatur, pleneque discutiuntur privilegia omnia Familiarium, Officialium que Sanctae Inquisitionis, Senatorum, monetariorum, scholasticorum, & Viduarum, & aliorum, potestas etiam eorum Conservatorum ventilatur, & plures aliae Iuris materiae involvuntur. Coimbra, 1699.

ALCAMPAR, José - O Estatismo e a Inquisição (Notas críticas ao livro 'A Inquisição Portuguesa', de António José Saraiva). Régua, 1956.

AMIEL, Charles - "Les archives de l'Inquisition Portugaise. Regards et réflexions". In Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português, Vol. XIV (1979).

ANDRÉS, M - Nueva visión de los 'Alumbrados' de 1525. Madrid, 1973.

AZEVEDO, João Lúcio de - "Os Jesuitas e a Inquisição em conflito no Século XVII". In Boletim da Segunda Classe da Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa, Vol. X (1915-1916).

AZEVEDO, Pedro A de - "Os familiares do Santo Ofício em Vila Real". In Archivo Historico Portuguez, Vol. IX (1914).

AZEVEDO, Pedro A de - "A Inquisição e alguns seiscentistas". In Archivo Historico Portuguez, Vol. III (1905).

AZEVEDO, Pedro A de - "Irregularidades de limpeza de sangue dos familiares de Vila Real". In Arquivo Histórico Português, Vol. X (1916).

BAIÃO, António - "Correspondência inédita do Inquisidor Geral e do Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício e o primeiro visitador da Inquisição no Brasil". In Brasília, Vol. 1 (1942), No. 1.

- BAIÃO, António - "A devassa de 1628 à Inquisição coimbrã". Separata do Arquivo de História e Bibliografia, Vol. 1. Coimbra, 1923.
- BAIÃO, António - "El-Rei D João IV e a Inquisição". In Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História, Series I, Vol. VI (1942).
- BAIÃO, António - Episódios dramáticos da Inquisição portuguesa. Vols. 1 to 3. Lisboa, 1936.
- BAIÃO, António - "A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brazil. Subsídios para a sua história. Livro I". In Archivo Historico Portuguez, Vols. IV (1906) to X (1916) [also as a book; Lisboa, 1917].
- BAIÃO, António - "Prelúdios da Inquisição de Coimbra". In Arquivo Coimbrão, Vol. II (1930-1931).
- BENASSAR, Bartolomé, et al - L'Inquisition espagnole. XVe-XIXe siècle. Paris, 1979.
- BENASSAR, Bartolomé - Inquisición española: poder político y control social. Barcelona, 1981.
- BLÁZQUEZ MIGUEL, Juan - La Inquisición en Albacete. Albacete, 1985.
- BLÁZQUEZ MIGUEL, Juan - La Inquisición en Castilla-La Mancha. Madrid, 1986.
- BLÁZQUEZ MIGUEL, Juan - Inquisición y criptojudaismo. Madrid, 1988.
- BLÁZQUEZ MIGUEL, Juan - El tribunal de la Inquisición en Murcia. Murcia, 1986.
- BRANDÃO, Mário - A Inquisição e os professores do Colégio das Artes. Vols. I e II. Coimbra, 1969.
- CALDAS, José Joaquim da Silva Pereira - Os regimentos da Inquisição em Portugal. Braga, 1877.
- CAMPOS, João Correia Ayres de - "Documentos para a historia do Sancto Officio em Portugal". In O Instituto, Vols. 9 (1861) to 14 (1871).
- CARO BAROJA, Julio - Inquisición, brujería y criptojudaismo. Barcelona, 1972.
- CARO BAROJA, Julio - El señor Inquisidor y otras vidas por oficio. Madrid, 1983.
- CARRASCO, Rafael - Inquisición y represión sexual. Barcelona, 1985.
- COELHO, António Borges - Inquisição de Évora. Dos primórdios a 1668. Vols. 1 and 2. Lisboa, 1987.
- COELHO, Possidónio Matias Laranjo - "O Santo Ofício no Alto Alentejo". Separata das Memórias da Academia de Ciências de Lisboa, Classe de Le-

tras, Vol. VI. Lisboa, 1955.

Collectorio das Bullas, & Breves Apostolicos, Cartas, Aluarás & Proui-sões Reaes que contem a instituição & progresso do Sancto Officio em Portugal, Uarios Indultos & Priuilegios, que os Sumos Pontifices, & Reys destes Reynos lhe concederão. Impresso per mandado do Illustris-simo, & Reverendissimo Senhor Bispo Dom Francisco de Castro, Inquisi-dor Geral do Conselho de Estado de Sua Magestade. Lisboa, 1634.

Collectorio de diversas letras apostolicas, provisões reaes, e ovtros papeis, em que se contem a Instituyção, & primeiro progresso do Sancto Officio em Portugal, & varios Priuilegios que os Sumos Pontifices, & Reys destes Reynos lhe concederão. Impresso [...] per mandado do Il-lustrissimo & Reuerendissimo Senhor Bispo d'Eluas Inquisidor Geral [D António de Matos de Noronha]. Lisboa, 1596.

Compilación de las Instrvcciones del Oficio de la Santa Inqvisiçión, hechas por el muy Reverendo Señor Fray Tomas de Torquemada Prior del Monasterio de S. Cruz de Segovia, primero Inquisidor General delos Rey nos, y Señorios de Espana. E por los otros Reverendissimos Señores In-quisidores Generales, que despues sucedieron, cerca de la orden que se ha de tener en el exercicio del Santo Oficio; donde van puestas succes-sivamente por su parte todas las Instrucciones que tocan a los Inquisi-dores: E a otra parte las que tocan a cada vno delos Oficiales, y Mi-nistros del Santo Oficio; las quales se compilaron en la manera que di-cha es, por mandado del Illustrissimo y Reverendissimo Señor Don Alon-so Manrique Cardenal de los Doce Apostolos, Arçobispo de Sevilla, In-quisidor General de España. Madrid, 1667.

CONTRERAS, Jaime - El Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Galicia, 1560-1700: poder, sociedad y cultura. Madrid, 1982.

DIAS, José Sebastião da Silva - O Erasmismo e a Inquisição em Portu-gal. O processo de Fr. Valentim da Luz. Coimbra, 1975.

DOMÍNGUEZ ORTIZ, Antonio - Autos de la Inquisición de Sevilla (siglo XVII). Sevilla, 1981.

EYMÉRIC, Nicolas - O manual dos inquisidores. Lisboa, 1972.

FARIA, Maria Isabel Ribeiro de and FARIA, Maria da Graça Pericão de - Inquisição. Colectórios, Regimentos, Sermões e Listas de Autos-de-Fé existentes na Livraria Visconde da Trindade (Inventário). Coimbra, 1977.

FARINHA, Maria do Carmo Jasmins Dias - Os arquivos da Inquisição. Lis-boa, 1988.

FARINHA, Maria do Carmo Jasmins Dias - "Ministros do Conselho Geral do Santo Oficio". In Memória, No. 1 (1989).

GARCIA-ARENAL, Mercedes - Inquisición y moriscos. Los procesos del Tri-bunal de Cuenca. Madrid, 1978.

GARCIA FUENTES, José Maria - La Inquisición en Granada en el siglo

XVI. Granada, 1981.

GRACIA BOIX, Rafael - Autos de Fe y causas de la Inquisición de Córdoba. Córdoba, 1983.

GRACIA BOIX, Rafael - Colección de documentos para la historia de la Inquisición de Córdoba. Córdoba, 1982.

GONÇALVES, Manuel Pereira - "O Franciscano Frei Diogo da Silva (1485-1541), 1º Inquisidor Geral do Reino de Portugal". In *Itinerarium*, Year XXXV (1989), Nos. 133-134.

GUERRA, Luís de Bivar - Inventário dos processos da Inquisição de Coimbra (1541-1820). Paris, 1972.

GUERRA, Luís de Bivar - "Os processos crime da Inquisição e os de habilitações do Santo Ofício como fonte histórica". In *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, Series II, Vol. 23 (1975), Tome I.

GUI, Bernard - Manuel de l'Inquisiteur. Edité et traduit par G Mollat avec la collaboration de G Drioux. Vol. I. Paris, 1926.

HERCULANO, Alexandre - História da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal. Vols. 1 to 3. Lisboa, 1985.

HERCULANO, Alexandre - "History of the origin and establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal". In *Stanford University Publications, University Series - History, Economics and Political Science*, Vol. I (1926), No. 2.

HUERGA, Alvaro - Historia de los alumbrados. I - Los alumbrados de Extremadura (1570-1582). Madrid, 1978.

HUERGA, Alvaro - Predicadores, alumbrados e Inquisición en el siglo XVI. Madrid, 1973.

JIMÉNEZ MONTESERÍN, Miguel - Introducción a la Inquisición española. Documentos básicos para el estudio del santo Oficio. Madrid, 1980.

KAMEN, Henry - La Inquisición española. Barcelona, 1980.

LEA, Henry Charles - A history of the Inquisition of Spain. Vols. 1 to 4. New York, NY, 1906-1908.

LLORCA, Bernardín - La Inquisición Española. Barcelona, 1936.

LLORENTE, Juan Antonio - Historia crítica de la Inquisición en España. Vols. 1 to 4. Madrid, 1980.

LLORENTE, Juan Antonio - Memoria histórica sobre cual ha sido la opinión nacional de España acerca del Tribunal de la Inquisición. Madrid, 1812.

LÓPEZ MARTÍNEZ, Nicolás - Los judaizantes castellanos y la Inquisición en tiempo de Isabel la Católica. Burgos, 1954.

- MAGALHÃES, Joaquim Romero - "E assim se abriu judaísmo no Algarve". In *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. XXIX (1983).
- MAGALHÃES, Joaquim Romero - "Em busca dos `tempos` da Inquisição (1573-1615)". In *Revista da História das Ideias*, Vol. 9 (1987).
- MARTÍNEZ-LLAMAS, E - *Santa Teresa de Jesús y la Inquisición*. Madrid, 1972.
- MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN, José - *La hacienda de la Inquisición (1478-1700)*. Madrid, 1984.
- MEA, Elvira Cunha de Azevedo - "Os Cristãos-Novos, a Inquisição e o Brasil - Séc. XVI". In *Revista da Faculdade de Letras - História, Series II*, Vol. IV (1987).
- MEA, Elvira Cunha de Azevedo - *A Inquisição de Coimbra no século XVI. A instituição, os homens e a sociedade*. Vols. 1 and 2. Porto, 1989.
- MEA, Elvira Cunha de Azevedo - "Nossa Senhora em processos da Inquisição". In *Revista da Faculdade de Letras - História, Series II*, Vol. I (1984).
- MEA, Elvira Cunha de Azevedo - "Orações judaicas na Inquisição portuguesa - Século XVI". In *Jews and Conversos. Studies in society and the Inquisition. Proceedings of the 8th World Congress of Jewish Studies*. Jerusalem, 1981.
- MEA, Elvira Cunha de Azevedo - *Sentenças da Inquisição de Coimbra. Vol II - Em metropolitanos de D Fr Bartolomeu dos Mártires, 1567-1582. Cartório Dominicano Português, Século XVI, Fascículo 17 (Bartholomaeana Monumenta, XIV)*. Porto, 1982.
- MENDONÇA, José Lourenço Domingues de and MOREIRA, António Joaquim - *História dos principais actos e procedimentos da Inquisição em Portugal*. Lisboa, 1980.
- MENESES, Carlos José de (alias MARQUES, Henrique) - *A Inquisição em Portugal*. Vols. I and II. Porto, 1893.
- MOCATTA, Frederic David - *The Jews of Spain and Portugal and the Inquisition*. London, 1877.
- MONTEIRO, Friar Pedro - "Catálogo dos Inquisidores, Deputados, Promotores e Notarios da Inquisição de Evora". In *Colecção de documentos e memorias da Real Academia da Historia Portuguesa*, Vol. 3. Lisboa, 1723.
- MONTEIRO, Friar Pedro - "Catálogo dos Inquisidores que tem havido na Santa Inquisição desta corte de Lisboa". In *Colecção de documentos e memorias da Real Academia da Historia Portuguesa*, Vol. 3. Lisboa, 1723.
- MONTEIRO, Friar Pedro - *Historia da Santa Inquisição do reyno de Por-*

- tugal, e suas conquistas. Vols. I and II. Lisboa, 1749-1750.
- NOGUEIRA, Jofre Amaral - "Inquisição e Cristãos-Novos", a tese e suas consequências". In *Vértice*, Vol. XXIX (1969), No. 310.
- Noticias Reconditas Y Posthumas Del procedimiento Delas inquisiciones de España e Portugal Con sus presos. Divididas en dos Partes; la Primera en Idioma Portuguez. La Segunda en Castellano; deduzidas de Autores Catholicos, Apostolicos, y Romanos; Eminentes por Dignidad, o por Letras. Obras tan Curiosas como instructivas, compiladas, y anadidas por un Anonimo. Vila Franca [London], 1722.*
- OLIVEIRA, Francisco Xavier de [Cavaleiro de Oliveira] - *Opúsculos contra o Santo Ofício*. Coimbra, 1942.
- PEREIRA, Isaias da Rosa - *Documentos para a História da Inquisição em Portugal*. Porto, 1984.
- PEREIRA, Isaias da Rosa - "Livros, livreiros e impressores na Inquisição de Lisboa nos séculos XVI e XVII". In *Miscelânea de estudos dedicados a Fernando de Mello Moser*. Lisboa, 1985.
- PEREIRA, Isaias da Rosa - "Notas sobre a Inquisição em Portugal no século XVI". In *Lusitania Sacra*, Vol. X (1978).
- PEREIRA, Isaias da Rosa - "Subsídios para a história da Inquisição em Portugal no século XVI". In *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História, Series II, Vol. 23 (1976), Tome II*.
- PEREIRA, Isaias da Rosa - "Visitações à Inquisição de Lisboa nos meados do Século XVII". In *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História, Series II, Vol. 29 (1984)*.
- PÉREZ DE COLOSIA RODRÍGUEZ, Maria Isabel - *Auto inquisitorial de 1672: el criptojudaismo en Málaga*. Málaga, 1984.
- PÉREZ RAMÍREZ, Dimas - *Catálogo del Archivo de la Inquisición de Cuenca*. Madrid, 1982.
- PÉREZ VILLANUEVA, Joaquín - *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América*. Madrid, 1984.
- PÉREZ VILLANUEVA, Joaquín, et al - *La Inquisición española. Nueva visión, nuevos horizontes*. Madrid, 1980.
- PINTO CRESPO, Virgilio - *Inquisición y control ideológico en la España del siglo XVI*. Madrid, 1983.
- PULLAN, Brian - *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670*. Oxford, 1983.
- Regimento dos Commissarios do Santo Officio, e Escrivaens de seu Cargo*. Lisboa, s.d.
- Regimento do Juizo das confiscaçoens pelo crime de Heresia, & Aposta-*

sia. Lisboa, 1695.

Regimento dos Qualificadores do Santo. Officio. Lisboa, s.d.

Regimento do Santo Officio da Inqvisição dos Reynos de Portugal. Ordenado por mandado do Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Senhor Bispo Dom Francisco de Castro, Inquisidor Geral, do Conselho d'Estado de Sua. Magestade. Lisboa, 1640.

Regimento do Santo Officio da Inqvisiçã dos Reynos de Portvgal. Recopilado por mandado do Illustrissimo, & Reuerendissimo Senhor, Dom Pedro de Castilho Bispo, Inquisidor Geral, & Visorey dos Reynos de Portugal. Lisboa, 1613.

Relaçã e lista verdadeira das pessoas que sairão no Auto da Fe que se celebrou na praça da Cidade de Coimbra em Domingo 4 de Maio de 1625. annos. Coimbra, 1625.

REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos - "Os judeus portugueses perante a legislação inquisitorial". In *Biblos*, Vol. I (1925).

REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos - "As `listas` dos condenados". In *Biblos*, Vol. II (1926).

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - *La censure inquisitoriale portugaise au XVIIe siècle*. Lisboa, 1960.

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "L'installation de l'Inquisition à Coimbra en 1541 et le premier règlement du Saint-Office portugais". In *Etudes portugaises*. Paris, 1975.

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "Les Jésuites portugais contre l'Inquisition: La campagne pour la fondation de la Compagnie Générale du Commerce du Brésil (1649)". In *Etudes portugaises*. Paris, 1975.

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "Les marranes portugais et l'Inquisition au XVIIe siècle". In *Etudes portugaises*. Paris, 1975.

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "Une opinion de l'écrivain Duarte Nunes do Leão sur la justice inquisitoriale". In *Boletim da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*, Vol. 36 (1964).

RIBEIRO, Victor - "Os testamentos do Inquisidor Bartholomeu da Fonseca". In *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, Vol. VII (1909).

RODRIGO, Francisco Xavier G - *História verdadeira da Inqvisição*. Vols. I and II. Guimarães, 1882.

RODRIGUES, Manuel Augusto - "A Inqvisição e o Cabido da Sé de Coimbra (1580-1640)". In *Arquivo Coimbrão*, Vol. XXVII-XXVIII (1980).

ROMAIN, G - *A Inqvisição. Seu papel religioso, político e social*. Póvoa do Varzim, s.d.

SALOMON, Herman Prins - "The "Monitório do Inquisidor Geral" of 1536.

Background and sources of some "Judaic" customs listed therein". In *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, Vol. XVII (1982).

SALOMON, Herman Prins - *Novos pontos de vista sobre a Inquisição em Portugal*. Porto, 1976.

SARAIVA, António José - *Inquisição e cristãos-novos*. Porto, 1969.

SARAIVA, António José - *A Inquisição Portuguesa*. Lisboa, 1956.

SOUSA, Friar António de - *Aphorismi Inquisitionis in quator libros distributis, origine Sanctae Inquisitionis Lusitanae, et quaestione de testibus singulariis in causis fidei*. Lisboa, 1630.

TAVARES, Maria José Pimenta Ferro - *Judaísmo e Inquisição. Estudos*. Lisboa, 1987.

TORGAL, Luís Manuel dos Reis - "Inquisição, aparelho repressivo e ideológico do Estado. Reflexões com base numa experiência de ensino". In *Biblos*, Vol. LI (1975).

TORQUEMADA, Tomás de - *Copilacion de las instrucciones del Oficio de la santa Inquisición, hechas en Toledo, ano de mil y quinientos y sesenta y uno*. Madrid, 1612.

Treslado avtentico de todos os privilegios concedidos pelos Reys destes Reynos & senhorios de Portugal aos Officiaes & Familiares do sancto Officio da Inquisição. Impressos per commissam e mandado dos senhores do Supremo conselho da sancta & geral Inquisição. Lisboa, 1608.

VAN DER VEKENE, Emil - *Bibliotheca bibliographica historiae Sanctae Inquisitionis. Bibliographisches Verzeichnis des Gedruckten Schrifttums zur Geschichte und Literatur der Inquisition*. Vols. 1 and 2. Vaduz, 1982.

VERRILL, A Hyatt - *The Inquisition*. London, 1931.

WILLEMSE, David - "De Inquisitie en haar aanwezigheid in de Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana". In *Studia Rosenthaliana*, Vol. XIV (1980), No. 2.

2.2. Jews and New Christians

ADLER, Elkan Nathan - *Auto de fé and Jew*. London, 1908.

AFONSO, Berta - "A diáspora judaica na zona transmontana: um processo da Inquisição de Coimbra". In *Brigantia*, Vol. 4 (1984), No. 3.

AFONSO, Berta - "Subsídios para o estudo da comunidade judaica de Moga douro no século XVII: o processo de Maria Brandoa". In *Brigantia*, Vol. 5, No. 2-4.

AGUIAR, Maria Teresa Chorão - *Subsídios para o estudo dos Judeus em Portugal nos finais do Século XVI e início do Século XVII*. Coimbra, 1956.

- ALMEIDA, Manuel Lopes de - Apontamentos para a biografia de André de Avelar, professor de Matemática na Universidade. Coimbra, 1966.
- ALVES, Francisco Manuel (Abade do Baçal) - Memórias Arqueológico-Históricas do Distrito de Bragança, Vol. V. Bragança, 1924.
- AMADOR DE LOS RIOS, José - Historia social, politica y religiosa de los Judíos de España y Portugal. Madrid, 1960.
- AMZALAK, Moses Bensabat - As orações de Israel. Lisboa, 1927.
- ANDRADE, António Alberto Banha de - "Judeus em Montemor-o-Novo", in Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História, Series II, Vol. 24 (1977), Tome I.
- AREDE, João Domingos - Judeus ou hebreus no Caramulo. Aveiro, 1948.
- AZEVEDO, Elvira Cunha - O sefardismo na cultura portuguesa. Porto, 1974.
- AZEVEDO, João Lúcio de - História dos christãos novos portugueses. Lisboa, 1921.
- AZEVEDO, João Lúcio de - "Judeus portugueses na dispersão". In Revista de História, Vols. 14 and 15 (1925).
- AZEVEDO, João Lúcio de - "Judeus portugueses em França". In Boletim da Segunda Classe da Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa, Vol. IX (1914-1915).
- AZEVEDO, Pedro A de - "Os antepassados do Marquês de Pombal". In Archivo Historico Portuguez, Vol. III (1905).
- AZEVEDO, Pedro A de - "O Bocarro Francês e os Judeus de Cochim e Hamburgo". In Archivo Historico Portuguez, Vol. VIII (1910).
- AZEVEDO, Pedro A de - "Cristãos-novos de Lisboa que estavam ausentes da cidade em 1614". In Boletim da Segunda Classe de Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa, Vol. IX (1914-1915).
- AZEVEDO, Pedro A de - "Denuncia contra os cristãos-novos de Londres e contra o embaixador português naquela corte". In Boletim da Segunda Classe da Academia de Sciencias de Lisboa, Vol. IX (1914-1915).
- BAIÃO, António - "A família do Dr. António Homem e os cónegos, com ele coniventes, a contas com a Inquisição. Estudo de processos desconhecidos". In O Instituto, Vol. 114 (1950).
- BAIÃO, António - "O matemático Pedro Nunes e sua família à luz de documentos inéditos". In Boletim da Segunda Classe da Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa, Vol. IX (1914-1915).
- BAIÃO, António - "O sangue infecto do Pe. António Vieira. Consequência dos Inquisidores terem razão ao dizer que, procedendo contra ele, pro-

cediam contra pessoa de cuja qualidade de sangue não constava ao certo". In O Instituto, Vol. 77 (1929).

BARON, Salo W - A social and religious history of the Jews. Vols. 1 to 3. New York, NY, 1937.

BARROS, Henrique da Gama - "Judeus e Mouros em Portugal em tempos passados". In Revista Lusitana, Vols. 34 (1936) and 35 (1937).

BARROS, João de - Diálogo evangélico sobre os artigos da fé contra o Talmud dos Judeus. Introdução e notas de I S Révah. Lisboa, 1950.

BASTO, Artur de Magalhães - "Nova contribuição documental para a biografia de Uriel da Costa". In O Instituto, Vol. 81 (1931).

BASTO, Artur de Magalhães - "Novos dados biográficos sobre Uriel da Costa e sua família". In O Instituto, Vol. 100 (1942).

BEN ISRAEL, Menasseh - Espérance d'Israel. Introduction, traduction et notes par Henri Méchoulan et Gérard Nahon. Paris, 1979.

BENARUS, Adolfo - Israel. Lisboa, 1924.

BLOOM, Herbert I - The economic activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Port Washington, NY, 1969.

BOYAJIAN, James C - Portuguese bankers at the Court of Spain, 1626-1650. New Brunswick, NJ, 1983.

CANELO, David Augusto - Os últimos judeus secretos. Belmonte, 1985.

CANTERA BURGOS, Francisco - Alvar Garcia de Santa María. Historia de la Judería de Burgos y de sus conversos más egregios. Madrid, 1952.

CARO BAROJA, Julio - Los Judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea. Vols. I to III. Madrid, 1961.

CARO BAROJA, Julio - La sociedad criptojudía en la Corte de Felipe IV. Madrid, 1963.

CARREIRA, António - A voz do sangue. Correção ao livro `A invasão dos judeus`. Lisboa, 1925.

CARVALHO, Alfredo de - "Os portugueses em Bordéus no século XVII". In O Instituto, Vol. 93 (1938).

CARVALHO, João Manuel de Almeida Saraiva de - Esboço de uma bibliografia analítica sobre os judeus em Portugal. Coimbra, 1973.

CARVALHO, Joaquim de - "Sobre o lugar de origem dos antepassados de Baruch de Espinosa". In Revista da Universidade de Coimbra, Vol. XI (1933).

CARVALHO, Joaquim Martins de - "Intolerancia religiosa. Expulsão de christãos novos da Misericórdia de Coimbra". In O Conimbricense, No.

2863 (2.1.1875).

CASSUTO, Alfonso - "Fernão Alvares Melo ou David Abenatar Melo". In *Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa*, Year VIII (1962), No. 29-32.

CASSUTO, Alvaro Leon - "Origem da denominação de Cristão-Velho e Cristão-Novo em Portugal. Manuscrito inédito de Ribeiro Sanches". In *Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa*, Year II (1956), No. 8.

CASTRO, Isaac Oróbio de - *Dissertação sobre o Messias*. Porto, 1947.

CIROT, Georges - "Notes sur les 'Juifs portugais' de Bordeaux". In *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. XI (1933).

COELHO, José Ramos - *Manuel Fernandes Villa Real e o seu processo na Inquisição de Lisboa*. Lisboa, 1894.

COSTA, Uriel da - *Espelho da vida humana*. Lisboa, 1910.

DOMÍNGUEZ ORTIZ, Antonio - *La clase social de los conversos en Castilla en la Edad Moderna*. Madrid, 1955.

DOMÍNGUEZ ORTIZ, Antonio - *Los judeoconversos en España y América*. Madrid, 1970.

DÓRIA, António Alvaro - *Converso e relapso*. Guimarães, 1952.

ESTE, João Baptista de - *Dialogo entre Discipulo, e Mestre Cathechizante, onde se resolvem todas as duvidas que os Iudeos obstinados costumão fazer contra a verdade da Fe Catholica, com efficacissimas razões assi dos Prophetas santos, como de seus mesmos Rabinos*. Lisboa, 1621.

FABIÃO, Luís Crespo - "O Cazo de David Curiel com o Alemão (Curioso manuscrito inédito seiscentista, da autoria dum Judeu português de Amsterdã)". In *Biblos*, Vol. XXXVIII (1962).

FARINELLI, Arturo - *Marrano (storia di un vituperio)*. Genova, 1925.

FERREIRA, João Albino Pinto - "Uriel da Costa (pensador quinhentista e portuense) redivivo no século XX?". In *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, Vol. XXV (1969), Nos. 3-4.

FERRO, Maria José Pimenta - *Os Judeus em Portugal no século XIV*. Lisboa, 1979. [See also TAVARES, Maria José Pimenta Ferro]

FONSECA, António Belard da - *O mistério dos Painéis*. Vol. II, O 'Judeu', o seu livro e a critica. Lisboa, 1958.

FREITAS, Eugénio de Andreia da Cunha e - "Os judeus portugueses e a aristocracia inglesa". In *Presença de Portugal no Mundo (Actas do Colóquio)*. Lisboa, 1983.

FREITAS, Eugénio de Andreia da Cunha e - "Tradições judio-portuguesas". In *Boletim do Douro Litoral, Series IV*, Nos. V-VI.

- FREITAS, Eugénio de Andreia da Cunha e - "Tradições judio-portuguesas. Novos subsídios". In *Boletim do Douro Litoral*, Series VI, Nos. I-II.
- FUKS, Leo and FUKS-MANSFELD, Rena G - *Hebrew and Judaic manuscripts in Amsterdam public collections. I - Catalogue of the manuscripts of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, University Library of Amsterdam. Leiden, 1973.*
- FUKS, Leo and FUKS-MANSFELD, Rena G - *Hebrew and Judaic manuscripts in Amsterdam public collections. II - Catalogue of the manuscripts of Ets Haim / Livraria Montezinos Sephardic Community of Amsterdam. Leiden, 1975.*
- GOMES, Alberto F - "Gil Vicente, D Diogo Pinheiro e os Judeus". In *Ocidente*, Vol. LXX (1966).
- GOMES, Josué Pinharanda - *A filosofia hebraico-portuguesa. Porto, 1981.*
- GONZÁLEZ, Teodoro - "La cuestión judía en la Península hasta la Inquisición". In *Actas do II Encontro sobre História Dominicana*, Vol. II. Porto, 1986.
- GONZALO MAESO, David - *El legado del judaísmo español. Madrid, 1972.*
- GONZALO MAESO, David - "Sobre la etimología de la voz 'marrano' (criptojudío)". In *Sefarad*, Vol. XV (1955), No. 2.
- GOODMAN, Paul, et al - *Isaac Abravanel. Cambridge, 1937.*
- GORDO, Joaquim José Ferreira - "Memoria sobre os judeos em Portugal". In *Historia e Memorias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa*, Vol. VIII (1823), Part II.
- GRAETZ, Hirsch - *Histoire des Juifs. Vols. 1 to 5. Paris, 1882-1897.*
- GROS, Benjamin - *Le Messianisme juif. Paris, 1969.*
- GUERRA, Luis de Bivar - *Um caderno de cristãos-novos de Barcelos. Braga, 1960.*
- HERTZBERG, Arthur - *Judaísmo. Lisboa, 1981.*
- HEYMANN, Fritz - *Tod oder Taufe. Vertreibung der Juden aus Spanien und Portugal im Zeitalter der Inquisition. Frankfurt am Main, 1988.*
- HYAMSON, Albert M - *The Sephardim of England. A history of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish community, 1492-1951. London, 1951.*
- ISRAEL, Jonathan I - "Duarte Nunes da Costa (Jacob Curiel), of Hamburg, Sephardi nobleman and communal leader (1585-1664)". In *Studia Rosenthaliana*, Vol. XXI (1987), No. 1.
- KAPLAN, Yosef - "The travels of Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam to the 'lands of idolatry' (1644-1724)". In *Jews and Conversos. Studies in society and the Inquisition. Proceedings of the 8th World Congress of*

Jewish Studies. Jerusalem, 1981.

KAYSERLING, Meyer Moritz - História dos Judeus em Portugal. São Paulo, 1971.

KENIG, Evelyne - "Branca Dias et Diogo Fernandes: Des Nouveaux-Chrétiens portugais installés au Brésil au XVIIe siècle". In Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português, Vol. XIV (1979).

LAFER, Celso - O Judeu em Gil Vicente. São Paulo, SP, 1977.

LEMONS, Maximiano - Zacuto Lusitano. A sua vida e a sua obra. Porto, 1909.

LEÓN TELLO, Pilar - Judíos de Toledo. Vols. I and II. Madrid, 1979.

LEROY, Beatrice - Die Sephardim. Geschichte des iberischen Judentums. Munchen, 1987.

LIMA, J A Pires de - Mouros, judeus e negros na história de Portugal. Porto, 1940.

LINDO, Elias Hiam - The history of the Jews of Spain and Portugal from the earliest times to their final expulsion from those kingdoms, and their subsequent dispersion. New York, NY, 1848.

LINDO, Elias Hiam - The Jews of Spain and Portugal. New York, NY, 1970.

LIPINER, Elias - "O Cristão-Novo: Mito ou realidade?". In Jews and Conversos. Studies in society and the Inquisition. Proceedings of the 8th World Congress of Jewish Studies. Jerusalem, 1981.

LORENCE, Bruce A - António Homem - A portrait in New Christian communal leadership in 17th century Portugal. Proceedings of the 1st Luso-Brazilian Colloquium on the Portuguese Inquisition (to be published). Lisboa, 1987.

MACHADO, Francisco - The mirror of the new Christians (Espelho de cristãos novos). Toronto, ONT, 1977.

MALKIEL-JIRMOUSKY, Myron - "A identificação do 'judeu' nos Painéis de S. Vicente". In O Primeiro de Janeiro, 19.1.1972.

MATOS, Vicente da Costa - Breve discurso contra a heretica perfidia do iudaismo, continuada nos presentes apostatas de nossa santa Fe, com o que conuem a expulsão dos delinquentes nella dos Reynos de sua Magestade com suas mulheres, & filhos: côforme a Escripura sagrada, Sãtos Padres, Direito Ciuil, & Canonico, & muitos dos politicos. Lisboa, 1622.

MATOS, Vicente da Costa - Honras christãs nas afrontas de Iesv Christo, e segvnda parte do primeiro Discurso contra a heretica perfidia do iudaismo. Continuada nos presentes Apostatas de nossa Santa. fe, com a conueniencia da expulsão dos sobreditos hereges, em ordem, ao serviço de Deos nosso Senhor, & ao proueito particulares deste Reyno. Lisboa,

1625.

MEA, Elvira Cunha de Azevedo - "1621-1634. Coimbra. O sagrado e o profano em choque". In *Revista da História das Ideias*, Vol. 9 (1987).

MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, Marcelino - *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*. Vols. 1 and 2. Madrid, 1956.

MIRANDE-DE BOER, M H - "An inventory of undescribed Portuguese and Spanish manuscripts in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana". In *Studia Rosenthaliana*, Vol. XX (1986), No. 2.

MORTERA, Saul Levi - *Tratado da verdade da Lei de Moisés, escrito pelo seu próprio punho em português em Amesterdão 1659-1660*. Edição facsimilada e leitura do autógrafo (1659), introdução e comentário por H. P. Salomon. Coimbra, 1988.

NEVES, Álvaro - *Bibliografia luso-judaica*. Notícia subsidiária da colecção de Alberto Carlos da Silva. Coimbra, 1913.

NOVINSKY, Anita Waingort - *Cristãos Novos na Bahia*. São Paulo, SP, 1972.

OLIVEIRA, António de - "O motim dos estudantes de Coimbra contra os cristãos-novos em 1630". In *Biblos*, Vol. LVII (1981).

OLIVEIRA, Manuel Ramos de - "Os cristãos novos nos distritos da Guarda e Castelo Branco". In *Beira Alta*, Vol. X (1951), No. I-II.

PAIM, Roque Monteiro - *Perfidia Ivdaica, Christvs vindex mvnvs Principis; Ecclesia Lusitaniae ab Apostatis liberata*. Discurso Iuridico, e Politico. Madrid, 1671.

PAULO, Amílcar - *Os criptojudes*. Porto, 1970.

PAULO, Amílcar - *A dispersão dos Sephardim (judes hispano-portugueses)*. Porto, 1978.

PAULO, Amílcar - *Os judes secretos em Portugal*. Porto, 1985.

PAULO, Amílcar - "Os marranos nas Beiras. Tradições judio-portuguesas". In *Beira Alta*, Vol. XIX (1960), No. I to Vol. XX (1961), No. II.

PAULO, Amílcar - *Os marranos em Trás-os-Montes (Reminiscências judio-portuguesas)*. Porto, 1956.

PAULO, Amílcar - "O ritual dos criptojudes portugueses (Algumas reflexões sobre os seus ritos)". In *Jews and Conversos. Studies in society and the Inquisition*. Proceedings of the 8th World Congress of Jewish Studies. Jerusalem, 1981.

PINAMONTI, Father João Pedro - *Synagoga dezenganada, traduzida da lingua italiana na portugueza por um religioso da Companhia de Jesus [ie. Father João António Andreoni]*. Lisboa, 1720.

POLIAKOV, Léon - *Historia del antisemitismo. De Mahoma a los marranos.* Barcelona, 1980.

RAMÓN ONEGA, José - *Los judíos en el Reino de Galicia.* Madrid, 1981.

REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos - "A `Consolação às Tribulações` de Usque". In *Biblos*, Vol. III (1927).

REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos - "Costumes judaicos descritos por um con verso". In *Biblos*, Vol. III (1927).

REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos - "A dispersão". In *Biblos*, Vol. II (1926).

REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos - "Finta para o pagamento do perdão". In *Biblos*, Vol. II (1926).

REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos - "Os judeus e os perdões gerais de D Manuel ao Cardeal-Rei". In *Biblos*, Vol. I (1925).

REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos - *Os Judeus em Portugal.* Vols. I and II. Coimbra, 1895-1928.

REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos - *Os judeus portugueses em Amsterdam.* Coimbra, 1911.

REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos - "Os judeus portugueses através dalguns documentos literários". In *Biblos*, Vol. III (1927).

REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos - "Os judeus portugueses sob o dominio dos Felipes". In *Biblos*, Vol. II (1926).

REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos - "Um notável `memorial` dos cristãos-novos". In *Biblos*, Vol. II (1926).

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "Autobiographie d'un Marrane. Edition partielle d'un manuscrit de João (Moseh) Pinto Delgado". In *Revue des Etudes Juives*, Vol. CXIX (1961).

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "O `Diálogo evangélico sobre os artigos da Fé contra o Talmud dos Judeus` de João de Barros". In *Etudes Portugaises.* Paris, 1975.

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "La famille de Garcia de Orta". In *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. XIX (1960).

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "Fragments retrouvés de quelques éditions antellodamoises de la version espagnole du rituel juif". In *Studia Rosenthaliana*, Vol. II (1968).

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "L'hérésie marrane dans l'Europe catholique du 15e au 18e siècle". In *Hérésies et sociétés dans l'Europe pré-industrielle, 11e-18e siècles.* Paris, 1968.

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "Histoire de la famille de Spinoza au XVIIe et

au XVIIe siècle". In *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Etudes, VIe Section*, 1964-1965 and 1965-1966.

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "Les Marranes". In *Revue des Etudes Juives*, Series 3, Vol. I (1959-1960).

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "Du 'marranisme' au judaïsme et au déisme: Uriel da Costa et sa famille". In *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 1967-1968 to 1970-1971 and 1972-1973.

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "Aux origines de la rupture spinozienne". In *Revue des Etudes Juives*, Vol. CXXIII (1964), Nos. 3-4.

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "La religion d'Uriel da Costa, Marrane de Porto, d'après des documents inédits". In *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Vol. CLXI (1962).

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "D Vicente Nogueira et la Synagogue de Rome". In *Arquivo da Bibliografia Portuguesa*, Year I (1955).

RIBEIRO, João Pedro - *Extracto de huma memoria sobre a tolerancia dos judeos e mouros em Portugal*. Lisboa, 1821.

RODRIGUES, Manuel Augusto - "A inscrição hebraica de Gouveia". In *O Instituto*, Vol. 130 (1968).

RODRIGUES, Maria Idalina Resina - "Literatura e anti-semitismo. Séculos XVI e XVII". In *Brotéria*, Vol. 109 (1979), No. 1.

ROTH, Cecil - *A history of the Marranos*. New York, NY, 1932.

ROTH, Cecil - *The ritual murder libel and the Jews*. London, 1934.

ROTH, Cecil - *Sir Edward Brampton, an Anglo-Jewish adventurer during the war of the Roses*. London, 1954.

SAA, Mário - *Uma entrevista célebre. Portugal cristão-novo ou os judeus na República*. Lisboa, 1921.

SAA, Mário - *A invasão dos judeus*. Lisboa, 1925.

SALOMON, Herman Prins - *Portrait of a New Christian. Fernão Alvares Melo (1569-1632)*. Paris, 1982.

SALOMON, Herman Prins - *Os primeiros portugueses de Amesterdão. Documentos do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo: 1595-1606*. Braga, 1983.

SALVADOR, José Gonçalves - *Cristãos-Novos, Jesuitas e Inquisição (Aspectos da sua atuação nas capitânias do Sul, 1530-1680)*. São Paulo, SP, 1969.

SANCHES, António Nunes Ribeiro - *Christãos novos e christãos velhos em Portugal*. Lisboa, 1956.

SANTA FÉ, Jerónimo da - *Tratado [...] cõtra os judeus: e que proua o*

Messias da ley ser vindo [...] Outro tratado [...] em o qual proua como o liuro do talmud he falso. Goa, 1565.

SANTOS, António Ribeiro dos - "Ensayo de huma Bibliotheca Lusitana Anti-Rabbinica, ou Memorial dos Escritores Portuguezes que escreverão de Controversia Anti-judaica". In *Memorias de Literatura Portuguesa da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa*, Vol. VII (1806).

SÃO PAIO, D António, Marquês de - "Um aventureiro português na Guerra das Duas Rosas. Duarte Brandão, Senhor de Buarcos". In *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História, Series II*, Vol. 6 (1955).

SÃO PAYO, D António, Conde de - *Subsídios para a história dos judeus portugueses nos Países Baixos*. Lisboa, 1937.

SÃO PAYO, D António, Conde de - *Novos subsídios para a história dos judeus portugueses nos Países Baixos*. Lisboa, 1938.

SCHWARZ, Samuel - "Os cristãos-novos em Portugal no Século XX". Separata de *Arqueologia e História*, Vol. IV. Lisboa, 1925.

SICROFF, Albert A - "Clandestine judaism in the Hieronymite Monastery of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe". In *Studies in honor of M J Bernadette*. New York, NY, 1965.

SICROFF, Albert A - *Les controverses des statuts de "pureté de sang" en Espagne du XVe au XVIIe Siècle*. Paris, 1960.

SIMÃO, António de Vasconcelos - "Algumas considerações a propósito de uma notícia genealógica inquisitorial". Separata da *Revista da Faculdade de Letras, Series IV*, No. 1 (1976-1977). Lisboa, 1977.

SOUSA, António de and SIMÃO, António de Vasconcelos - "O Doutor Manuel Rodrigues Navarro, jurista e cristão-novo". In *Miscelânea Histórica de Portugal*, No. 3 - 1983.

TAVARES, Maria José Pimenta Ferro - *Judaísmo e Inquisição. Estudos*. Lisboa, 1987.

TAVARES, Maria José Pimenta Ferro - *Os Judeus em Portugal no Século XV*. Vols. I and II. Lisboa, 1982-1984.

TEIXEIRA, António José - *António Homem e a Inquisição*. Coimbra, 1895 [Also in *O Instituto*, Vols. 42 (1895) to 49 (1901)].

TORGAL, Luís Manuel dos Reis - "A Restauração e os cristãos-novos". In *Revista Altitude, Series 2*, No. 4 (1981).

TORREJONCILLO, Friar Francisco de - *Centinela contra judios, puesta en la torre de la Iglesia de Dios. Con el trabajo, caudal, y desvelo del Padre Fray Francisco de Torrejoncillo, Predicador Jubilado de la Santa Provincia de S Gabriel, de Descalzos de la Regular Observancia de nuestro Serafico Padre San Francisco*. Duodecima impression. Madrid, 1736.

USQUE, Samuel - *Consolaçam as tribulaçoens de Israel*. Dialogues I to

III. Ferrara, 5313 [1513].

VASCONCELOS, Carolina Michaélis de - "Uriel da Costa. Notas relativas à sua vida e às suas obras". In *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. VIII (1922).

VASCONCELOS, José Leite de - *Etnografia portuguesa. Tentativa de sistematização*. Vol. IV. Lisboa, 1958.

VELOSO, Francisco José - "Alguns nomes de judeus portugueses dos séculos XIII a XVI". Separata da *Revista de Portugal, Series A*, Vol. XXXIV (1969). Lisboa, 1969.

VITERBO, Francisco Marques de Sousa - "Occorrencias da vida judaica". In *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, Vol. II (1904).

WILLEMSE, David - Un "portugués" entre los castellanos. El primer proceso inquisitorial contra Gonzalo Báez de Paiba - 1654-1657. Vols. I and II. Paris, 1974.

WIZNITZER, Arnold - *Os judeus no Brasil colonial*. São Paulo, SP, 1966.

WOLF, Lucien - *Report on the 'Marranos' or Crypto-Jews of Portugal*. London, 1926.

2.3. The Church and religious matters

ABRANCHES, Joaquim dos Santos - *Fontes do Direito Ecclesiastico Portuguez. I - Summa do bullario portuguez*. Coimbra, 1895.

ALMEIDA, Fortunato de - "D. Jorge de Almeida e D. Afonso de Castelo Branco, Bispos de Coimbra". In *O Instituto*, Vol. 71 (1924).

ALMEIDA, Fortunato de - *História da Igreja em Portugal*. Vols. I to IV. Coimbra, 1910-1923.

ALMEIDA, Manuel Lopes de - *Acordos do Cabido de Coimbra, 1580-1640*. Coimbra, 1973.

ALMEIDA, Manuel Lopes de - *Catálogo de manuscritos (Códices 2047-2204). Apostilas de Direito Canónico*. Coimbra, 1966.

AMOR DE DEUS, Friar Martinho do - *Escola de penitencia, caminho de perfeição, estrada segura para a vida eterna. Chronica da Santa provincia de S. Antonio da regular, e estrita Observancia da ordem do Serafico Patriarca S. Francisco, no Instituto Capucho neste Reyno*. Vol. I. Lisboa, 1740.

ANDRADE, José Maria de - *Memórias do Mosteiro de Celas*. Coimbra, 1892.

ASSUNÇÃO, Tomás Lino da - *As monjas de Semide (Reconstituição do viver monástico)*. Coimbra, 1900.

AVEIRO, Friar Pantaleão de - *Itinerario da Terra Sancta, e suas parti-*

cularidades. Coimbra, 1927.

Biblia Sacra, ad Vetvstissima Exemplaria nunc recens castigata, Romae-que reuisat. In quibus, praeter ea, quae subsequens Praefatio indicat, capita singula uersibus distincta sunt. Cum pluribus Indicibus copiosissimis, ac necessariis. Lyon, 1588.

Biblia Sacra. Vulgatae editionis Sixti V Pontificis Maximi jussu recognita et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita. Paris, 1869.

BRANCO, Manuel Bernardes - Historia das Ordens monásticas em Portugal. Vols. 1 to 3. Lisboa, 1888.

BRANDÃO, Mário - Actas dos Capítulos do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz, publicadas por... Coimbra, 1946.

CÁCEGAS, Friar Luis and SOUSA, Friar Luis de - Historia de S. Domingos particular do Reino, e Conquistas de Portugal. Vols. 1 to 3. Lisboa, 1767 (Vol. 4 was written by SANTA CATARINA, Friar Lucas de, and printed in the same year).

CARDOSO, Jorge - Agiologio Lusitano dos Sanctos, e Varoens illustres em virtude do Reino de Portugal, e suas conquistas. Vols. I to III. Lisboa, 1652-1666 (Vol. IV was written by SOUSA, D António Caetano de, and printed in Lisbon in 1744).

CARVALHO, Joaquim Ramos de and PAIVA, José Pedro de Matos - Reportório das visitas pastorais da Diocese de Coimbra - Séculos XVII, XVIII e XIX. Coimbra, 1985.

CARVALHO, José Branquinho de - As festas da canonização da Rainha Santa Isabel promovidas pela Câmara de Coimbra. Coimbra, 1952.

CASTELO BRANCO, D Afonso de - Constituições Synodales do Bispado de Coimbra. Feytas & ordenadas em Synodo pelo Illustrissimo Senhor Dom Affonso de Castel-Bráco Bispo de Coimbra, Côde de Arganil, & do Conselho delRey nosso Senhor. Coimbra, 1591.

CASTRO, Augusto Mendes Simões de - "Bispos Condes". In O Instituto, Vol. 19 (1874).

Catálogo de Manuscritos (códices 2047-2204). Apostilas de Direito Canónico. Coimbra, 1966.

CHRISTIAN, William A, Jr - Local religion in sixteenth-century Spain. Princeton, NJ, 1981.

COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz and MATOS, João José da Cunha - "O Convento velho de S. Domingos de Coimbra (Contributo para a sua história)". In Actas do II Encontro sobre História Dominicana, Vol. II. Porto, 1986.

Compendio & Sumario do Manual de Cõfissões [...] por hũ frade desta nossa Prouincia da Piedade. Braga, 1579.

COSTA, Avelino de Jesus da, et al - Santa Cruz de Coimbra do século XI ao século XX. Coimbra, 1984.

COSTA, M Gonçalves da - História do Bispado e Cidade de Lamego. Vols. I to IV. Lamego, 1977-1984.

CUETO RUIZ, Ronald - "La tradición profética en la Monarquía Católica en los siglos 15, 16, y 17". In Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português, Vol. XVII (1982).

DAURIGNAC, J M S - Santo Inácio de Loiola, Fundador da Companhia de Jesus. Porto, 1958.

DIAS, José Sebastião da Silva - Correntes de sentimento religioso em Portugal (Séculos XVI a XVIII). Tome I, Vols. I and II. Coimbra, 1960.

ESPERANÇA, Friar Manuel da - Historia serafica da Ordem dos Frades menores de S. Francisco na provincia de Portugal. Parts I and II. Lisboa, 1656-1666.

ESTEVEENS, Manuel Santos - Index dos títulos do cartório do Mosteiro de S. Marcos. Coimbra, 1950.

FERREIRA, Francisco Leitão - "Catalogo chronologico-critico dos bispos de Coimbra". In Collecção dos documentos, e memorias da Academia Real da Historia Portugueza. Lisboa, 1724.

FERREIRA, José Augusto - Fastos Episcopales da Igreja Primacial de Braga (Séc. III-Séc. XX). Vols. 1 to 4. Braga, 1928-1935.

FRANCO, Father António - Imagem da virtude em o Noviciado da Companhia de Jesus no Real Collegio de Jesus de Coimbra, na qual se contem as vidas, e virtudes de muytos Religiozos, que nesta Santa Caza forão Novicos. Vols. I and II. Coimbra, 1719.

FRANCO, Father António - Synopsis Annalium Societatis Jesu in Lusitania ab anno 1540 usque ad annum 1725. Augsburg, 1726.

GALLEGO, Melchior - Tractatus de parochorum obligatione tempore pestis. Pamplona, 1588.

GARCIA, Maria Lília Henriques - A Colegiada de Santa Maria de Alcáçova (História de uma instituição). Coimbra, 1954.

The Holy Bible... revised by His Majesty's special command [King James Version]. Oxford, 1985.

HOROZCO Y COVARRUBIAS, Juan de - Tratado de la verdadera y falsa propheta. Segovia, 1588.

Index auctorum danatae memoriae, tum etiam librorum, qui uel simpliciter, vel ad expurgatione usque prohibentur, vel denique iam expurgati permittuntur. Editvs avctoritate Illustrissimi Domini D. Ferdinandi Martini Mascaregnas Algarbiorum Episcopi, Regij status Consiliarij, ac Regnorum Lusitaniae Inquisitoris Generalis. Et in partes tres distri-

bvtus, quae proxime sequenti pagella explicata censentur. Lisboa, 1624.

Index librorum prohibitorum, cum regulis confectis per Patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos, auctoritate Sanctissimi Domini nostri Pii IIII Pont. Max. comprobatus. Lisboa, 1581.

LARRAGA, Friar Francisco - Promptuario da Theologia Moral, muyto util, e proueytozo para todos os que se quizerem expor para Confessores, & para a devida administração do Santo Sacramento da Penitencia. Lisboa, 1723.

LE BRUN, J - Santa Isabel, Rainha de Portugal. Pontevedra, 1924.

LEIRIA, Gaspar dos Reis de - Relaçam, do solenne recebimento das santas reliquias, que forão levadas da See de Coimbra, ao real mosteyro de Santa Cruz. He carta coriosa, que se escreveo da Universidade a hum amigo. Coimbra, 1596.

MADAHIL, António Gomes da Rocha - "A Crónica do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, de D. Timóteo dos Mártires". In O Instituto, Vols. 103 (1944), 106 (1945), 118 (1956) to 122 (1960).

Manual de confessores & penitentes, que clara & breuemente conte a uniuersal & particular decisão, de quasi todas as duuidas, que nas côfissões soe occorrer dos peccados, absoluições, instituições, cesuras & irregularidades: Cõposto antes por hũ religioso da ordem de S. Francisco da prouincia da piedade: E visto & em alguns passos declarado polo muy famoso Doutor Martim de Azpilcueta Nauarro, cathredatico iubilado de Prima em Canones na Vniuersidade de Coimbra. S.l., 1552.

MARQUES, João Francisco - A parenética portuguesa e a dominação filipina. Porto, 1986.

MARTINS, José Alberto Ferraz - Frei Manuel da Mealhada. Memórias do Convento de Santo António dos Olivais de Coimbra (Texto e estudo do autor e do manuscrito). Coimbra, 1974.

MÁRTIRES, Friar Timóteo dos - Crónica de Santa Cruz. Coimbra, 1958.

MENDEIROS, Monsignor José Filipe - As Ciências Sagradas no primeiro meio século da Universidade de Évora. Évora, 1960.

NOGUEIRA, Pedro Alvares - Livro das vidas dos Bispos da Sé de Coimbra. Coimbra, 1942.

OLIVEIRA, Father Miguel de - História eclesiástica de Portugal. Lisboa, 1948.

PEREIRA, Isaias da Rosa - Os livros das visitas paroquiais. Coimbra, 1965.

PONTES, Maria de Lourdes Belchior - Frei António das Chagas. Um homem e um estilo do séc. XVII. Lisboa, 1953.

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "Le colloque 'Ropicapnefma' de João de Bar-

ros". In *Etudes portugaises*. Paris, 1975.

RODRIGUES, Francisco - *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*. Vols. 1 to 7. Porto, 1931-1950.

SANTA ANA, Friar Belchior de - *Chronica dos Carmelitas descalços, Particular do Reyno de Portugal, e Provincia de Sam Felipe*. Vol. I. Lisboa, 1657.

SANTA MARIA, D Nicolau de - *Chronica dos Conigos Regrantes do Patriarcha S. Agostinho*. Lisboa, 1668.

SANTOS, Domingos Maurício Gomes dos - "O estado sanitário dos jesuítas no último quartel do século XVI". In *Revista do Centro de Estudos Demográficos*, No. 6, 1949.

SILVA, Father Luís Duarte Vilela da - *Memorias historicas da insigne e real Collegiada de Sancta Maria de Alcaçova da villa de Santarem*. Lisboa, 1817.

TEIXEIRA, António José - *Documentos para a história dos Jesuítas em Portugal*. Coimbra, 1899.

TELES, Baltazar - *Chronica da companhia de Iesu, na Provincia de Portugal*. Parts I and II. Lisboa, 1645-47.

VASCONCELOS, António de - *Evolução do culto de D Isabel de Aragão, esposa do rei lavrador Dom Dinis de Portugal (a Rainha Santa)*. Vols. I and II. Coimbra, 1894.

VASCONCELOS, António de - *A Sé Velha de Coimbra (Apontamentos para a sua história)*. Vols. I and II. Coimbra, 1930-1935.

VIDE, D Sebastião Monteiro da - *Catalogo dos Bispos que teve o Brasil Ate o anno de 1676. Em que a Cathedral da cidade da Bahia foi elevada a Metropolitana: e dos Arcebispos que nella tem havido, com as noticias que de huns, e outros pode descobrir o Illustrissimo, e Reverendissimo Senhor D. Sebastião Monteiro da Vide, quinto Arcebispo da Bahia, do Conselho de Sua Magestade, &c.* Lisboa, 1765.

ZÚQUETE, Afonso - *Leiria. Subsídios para a história da sua Diocese*. Leiria, 1945.

2.4. The University

ALMEIDA, Manuel Lopes de - *Artes e officios em documentos da Universidade*. Vol. I (Século XVII) and Vol. III (1630-1650). Coimbra, 1970-1972.

ALMEIDA, Manuel Lopes de - *Livros, livreiros, impressores, em documentos da Universidade, 1600-1649*. Coimbra, 1964.

BARBOSA, José - *Memorias do Collegio Real de S Paulo da Universidade de Coimbra, e dos seus collegiaes, e porcionistas, offerecidas a ElRey*

nosso Senhor D João o V. Lisboa, 1727.

BELTRAN DE HEREDIA, Friar Vicente - *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca - La Universidad en el Siglo de Oro*. Vols. I to VI. Salamanca, 1970-1973.

BRAGA, Teófilo - *Historia da Universidade de Coimbra nas suas relações com a instrução publica portuguesa*. Vols. I (1289 to 1555) and II (1555 to 1700). Lisboa, 1895.

BRANDÃO, Mário e ALMEIDA, Manuel Lopes de - *A Universidade de Coimbra. Esboço da sua história*. Coimbra, 1937.

CARABIAS TORRES, Ana Maria - *El Colegio Mayor de Cuenca en el siglo XVI: estudio institucional*. Salamanca, 1983.

CASTRO, Américo Ferreira de - *A gíria dos estudantes de Coimbra*. Coimbra, 1947.

CASTRO, Eugénio de - "O Pe. Francisco Suárez em Coimbra. Notas sobre alguns dos seus contemporâneos e amigos". In *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. VI (1917).

CEREJEIRA, Manuel Gonçalves - "Os ordenados dos Lentes da Universidade". In *Biblos*, Vol. II (1926).

DIAS, José Sebastião da Silva - *A política cultural da época de D João III*. Tome I, Vols. I and II. Coimbra, 1969.

ELORDUY, Eleuterio - "Relación de la vida y costumbres del P. Suárez por el P. Manuel de Veiga". In *O Instituto*, Vol. CXIV (1950).

ENTRAMBASAGUAS Y PEÑA, Joaquín de - *Grandeza y decadencia de la Universidad Complutense*. Madrid, 1972.

Estatvtos da Vniversidade de Coimbra. Confirmados por elRei Dom Philippe primeiro deste nome, nosso Senhor: Em o anno de 1591. Coimbra, 1593.

FERREIRA, Francisco Leitão - *Alphabeto dos Lentes da insigne Universidade de Coimbra desde 1537 em diante*. Coimbra, 1937.

FERREIRA, Francisco Leitão - *Notícias cronológicas da Universidade de Coimbra*. Vols. 1 to 5. Coimbra, 1937-1946.

FERREIRA, Maria Georgina - "Catálogo do cartório do Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Graça". In *Boletim do Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. II (1976).

FIGUEIROA, Francisco Carneiro de - *Memórias da Universidade de Coimbra*. Coimbra, 1937 [Also in *Anuario da Universidade de Coimbra*, 1871-1872 to 1881-1882].

GOMES, João Pereira - *Os professores de Filosofia da Universidade de Évora*. Évora, 1960.

- GOMES, João Pereira - Os Reitores do Colégio das Artes (1555-1759). Lisboa, 1956.
- GOMES, Joaquim Ferreira - Novos estudos de História e de Pedagogia. Coimbra, 1986.
- GOMES, Joaquim Ferreira - Oração de Sapiência. Os Estatutos da Universidade. Coimbra, 1987.
- LEITE, Serafim - Estatutos da Universidade de Coimbra (1559). Coimbra, 1963.
- LOUREIRO, José Pinto - "Coimbra e a Universidade". In *O Instituto*, Vol 92 (1937).
- LOUREIRO, José Pinto - "Livreiros e livrarias de Coimbra". In *Arquivo Coimbrão*, Vol. XII (1954).
- MADAHIL, António Gomes da Rocha - *Livro Verde da Universidade de Coimbra* (cartulário do século XV). Coimbra, 1940 (re-edited by the Archive of the University of Coimbra in 1990).
- MARCOS DE DIOS, Angel - "Portugueses na Universidade de Salamanca (1580-1640)". In *Brigantia*, Vol. 4 (1984) No. 4, Vol. 5 (1985) No. 1.
- MARCOS DE DIOS, Angel - "Proyección cultural de la Universidad de Salamanca en Portugal durante el reinado de los Felipes". In *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, Vol. X (1976).
- MEA, Elvira Cunha de Azevedo - "Um processo discreto: o do Dr. Cristóvão João - Catedrático de Vésperas de Cânones da Universidade de Coimbra - Séc. XVI". In *Revista da Faculdade de Letras - História*, Series II, Vol. II (1985).
- MORAIS, Francisco - *Reitores da Universidade de Coimbra*. Coimbra, 1951.
- MORAIS, Francisco and DIAS, José Lopes - *Estudantes da Universidade de Coimbra naturais de Castelo Branco*. Vila Nova de Famalicão, 1955.
- OLIVEIRA, António de - "A livraria de um canonista do século XVII". In *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. XXVIII (1967).
- RAMOS, Júlio de Sousa e PEREIRA, Marcelino Rodrigues - *Inventário do cartório do Colégio de S Tomás de Aquino de Coimbra*. Coimbra, 1986.
- Regimento do partido dos medicos e boticarios christãos-velhos. Lisboa, 1604.
- RODRIGUES, Manuel Augusto - *A cátedra de Sagrada Escritura na Universidade de Coimbra*. Primeiro século (1537-1640). Coimbra, 1974.
- RODRIGUES, Manuel Augusto - *A Universidade de Coimbra e os seus Reitores*. Para uma História da Instituição. Coimbra, 1990.

SALA BALUST, Luis - Constituciones, estatutos y ceremonias de los antiguos Colegios seculares de la Universidad de Salamanca. Vols. I to IV. Madrid, 1962-1966.

SANTOS, Maria Emilia Balio dos - A vida estudantil em Coimbra durante dois séculos (1537-1772) (thesis). Coimbra, 1952.

SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo - Portugueses no Estudo de Salamanca (1250-1550). Lisboa, 1962.

SILVA, João José de Brito e - Catálogos dos cartórios dos Colégios de S Bento e do Carmo de Coimbra. Coimbra, 1951.

STEGMÜLLER, Friedrich - Filosofia e Teologia nas Universidades de Coimbra e Évora no Século XVI. Coimbra, 1959.

VASCONCELOS, António de - Os Colégios universitários de Coimbra. Coimbra, 1938.

VASCONCELOS, António de - "Estatística das matriculas efectuadas na Universidade de Coimbra durante dois séculos (1573-1772)". In Biblos, Vol. I (1925).

VASCONCELOS, António de - Francisco Suárez (Doctor Eximius). Coimbra, 1897.

VEIGA, Manuel Eduardo da Mota - Esboço historico-litterario da Faculdade de Theologia da Universidade de Coimbra em commemoração do Centenario da reforma e restauração da mesma Universidade effeituada pelos sabios estatutos de 1772. Coimbra, 1872.

2.5. Sermons in autos de fé

AREDA, Father Diogo de - Serman que o padre Diogo de Areda da Companhia de Iesus Pregou nas Exequias, que o Sancto Officio mandou fazer na Igreja de S. Roque de Lisboa da mesma Companhia, ao Illustrissimo, & Reverendissimo Senhor Bispo Dom Fernão Martins Mascarenhas, Inquisidor geral nestes Reynos, & Senhorios de Portugal. Lisboa, 1628.

EVANGELISTA, Friar Manuel - Serman que o Padre Frei Manoel Evangelista menor filho do Seraphico Padre S. Fracisco da Sãcta Prouincia do Algarve Lector iubilado, qualificador do S. Officio fez em o auto da Fe, que se celebrou em a Cidade de Coimbra dia de S. Bento vinte, & hũ de Março de 1619. annos. Coimbra, 1619.

FAGUNDES, Father Manuel - Serman que fez o Padre Manoel Fagundes da Companhia de IESV. no avcto da Fee que se celebrou na Praça de Coimbra, Domingo 4. de Mayo, de 625. Coimbra, 1625.

HORCH, Rosemarie Erika - Sermões impressos dos Autos da Fé. Rio de Janeiro, RJ, 1969.

JESUS, Friar Ambrósio de - Serman feito no avto da Fee de Coimbra, no domingo do Ivizo em vinte e oito de Novembro do anno de 1621. Lisboa,

1622.

LEMOS, Friar Manuel de - Sermão da fee [...] Na primeyra publicação da Sancta Inquisição, que por principio de sua visita fez O muyto Illustre Senhor Sebastião de Mattos de Noronha, Inquisidor, & Visitador Apostolico na Cidade de Coimbra, & todo seu districto em Aueyro Domingo 18. de Feuereyro de 1618. Coimbra, 1618.

MENDONÇA, Father Francisco de - Sermão que fes o Padre Doutor Francisco de Mendonça da Companhia de Iesv, no Auto da Fe, que se celebrou na praça da Cidade de Coimbra a 25. de Nouembro do anno de 1618. Coimbra, 1619.

MENDONÇA, Father Francisco de - Sermam que pregou o muyto reverendo Padre Francisco de Mendonça Da Companhia de Jesus, No auto publico da Fe que se celebrou na praça da Cidade de Evora Domingo 8. de Junho de 1616. Évora, 1616.

PINHEIRO, Friar Jorge - Sermão qve o P. Fr. Iorge Pinheiro, Mestre em Sancta Theologia, & Prior do Real Conuento da Batalha, pregou no acto da Fe, que se celebrou na Cidade de Coimbra a quarta Dominga da Quaresma vinte noue de Março do Anno de 1620. Lisboa, 1620.

PONTES, Maria de Lourdes Belchior - "A oratória sacra em Portugal no século XVII, segundo o manuscrito 362 da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa". In Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa, Year VI (1960), No. 23-24.

REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos - "Sermões em `autos-da-fé`". In Biblos, Vol. III (1927).

RESSURREIÇÃO, Friar António da - Sermam qve pregov o Padre Dovtor Frey Antonio da Resurreyçam lente da cadeira de Prima de Theologia da Vniuersidade de Coimbra, Deputado do Sancto Officio: No Auto da Fee que se celebrou na mesma Cidade a seis de Maio de 1629. Coimbra, 1629.

SANTA ANA, Friar Estêvão de - Sermão do acto da fee, qve se celebrou na Cidade de Coimbra, na segunda Dominga da Quaresma. Anno de 1612. Coimbra, 1612; 2nd ed. Lisboa, 1618.

SOUSA, Friar António de - Sermam que o Padre Mestre Frei Antonio de Sovsa da Ordem dos Pregadores, Deputado do S. Officio da Inquisição desta cidade de Lisboa pregou no Auto da Fe. Que se celebrou na mesma cidade, Domingo cinco de Mayo do anno de 1624. Lisboa, 1624.

2.6. Historical references

ALMEIDA, Fortunato de - História das instituições em Portugal. Coimbra, 1915.

ALMEIDA, Fortunato de - História de Portugal. Vols. I to VI. Coimbra, 1922-1929.

A.P.D.G. - Sketches of Portuguese life, manners, costume, and charact-

er. London, 1826.

AZEVEDO, João Lúcio de - "A evolução do sebastianismo". In *Arquivo Histórico Português*, Vol. X (1916) (also separately, Lisboa, 1918).

BARROS, Henrique da Gama - *História da administração pública em Portugal*. Vols. 1 to 11. Lisboa, 1945-1954.

BRITO, Alberto Moreira da Rocha - "Finta para a vinda del Rei, 1610-1613". In *Arquivo Coimbrão*, Vol. VIII (1945).

CARVALHO, Amadeu Ferraz de - "Toponímia de Coimbra e arredores. Contribuição para o seu estudo". In *O Instituto*, Vol. 87 (1934).

CARVALHO, Francisco Augusto Martins de - *Antiga igreja ou ermida do Corpo de Deus em Coimbra. Notas varias*. Coimbra, 1918.

CARVALHO, Francisco Augusto Martins de - *Portas e arcos de Coimbra*. Coimbra, 1942.

CARVALHO, João Manuel de Almeida Saraiva de - *Diário da peste de Coimbra de 1599* (to be published).

CARVALHO, Joaquim Martins de - "A terrível peste em Coimbra no anno de 1599". In *O Conimbricense*, Nos. 2429 (5.11.1870) to 2435 (26.11.1870).

CARVALHO, Joaquim Martins Teixeira de - *Bric-à-Brac. Notas históricas e arqueológicas*. Porto, 1926.

CARVALHO, José Branquinho de - *Livro 2ª da Correia (Cartas, provisões e alvarás régios registados na Câmara de Coimbra, 1273-1754)*. Coimbra, 1958.

CASTRO, João Baptista de - *Mappa de Portugal antigo, e moderno*. Vols. I and II. Lisboa, 1753.

CORREIA, António - "Alguns aspectos da decadência nacional no Século XVII e seus reflexos na cidade de Coimbra". In *Brasília*, Vol. VI (1951).

CORTESÃO, Armando - "Os Homens (Cartógrafos portugueses do século XVI)". In *O Instituto*, Vols. 83 (1932) and 84 (1932).

CORTEZ, Eduardo Peniz Parreira - *Subsídios para o estudo da Conspiração de 1641*. Coimbra, 1947.

COSTA, António Carvalho da - *Corografia Portuguesa, e descripçam topografica do famoso Reyno de Portugal, com as noticias das fundações das Cidades, Villas, & Lugares, que contem; Varoens illustres, Genealogias das Familias nobres, fundações de Conventos, Catalogos dos Bispos, antiguidades, maravilhas da natureza, edificios, & outras curiosas observaçoens*. Lisboa, 1708.

DOMÍNGUEZ ORTIZ, Antonio - *Politica y hacienda de Felipe IV*. Madrid, 1960.

- DOMÍNGUEZ ORTIZ, Antonio - La sociedad española en el siglo XVII. Vols I and II. Madrid, 1963.
- FARIA, Manuel Severim de - "Itinerario da jornada que fez o Senhor Manuel Severim de faria chantre e Conego da See d'Evora a Miranda no anno de 1609". In Nação Portuguesa, Vols. VII (1931-1933) and VIII (1933).
- FERREIRA, Godofredo - "Assistentes do Correio-Mor do Reino em Coimbra". In Guia Oficial dos CTT, Nos. 296-297 (April-May 1966).
- FIGUEIREDO, A C Borges de - Coimbra antiga e moderna. Lisboa, 1886.
- FRIAS, Sanches de - Pombeiro da Beira. Memoria historica e descriptiva. Lisboa, 1899.
- GÓIS, Damião de - Crónica do felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel. Parts I to IV. Coimbra, 1949.
- GUERRA, Luis de Bivar - "O morgado do Papo de Perdiz". In Colectânea de estudos em honra do Prof. Doutor Damião Peres. Lisboa, 1974.
- LEÃO, Duarte Nunes de - Descrição do Reino de Portugal. Lisboa, 1610.
- LIMA, Luis de Torres de - Compendio das mais notaveis covsas que no reyno de Portugal acontecerão desde a perda de ElRey D. Sebastião ate o anno de 1627. com outras cousas tocantes ao bom governo, & diuersidade de Estados. Lisboa, 1630.
- LOUREIRO, José Pinto - "Administração coimbrã no Século XVI. Elementos para a sua história". In Arquivo Coimbrão, Vols. IV (1938-1939) to VI (1942).
- LOUREIRO, José Pinto - Casa dos Vinte e Quatro de Coimbra. Elementos para a sua história. Coimbra, 1937.
- LOUREIRO, José Pinto - Coimbra no passado. Vols. I and II. Coimbra, 1964.
- LOUREIRO, José Pinto - "Corsários em Buarcos". In Album Figueirense, Year II (1935-1936).
- LOUREIRO, José Pinto - "Enigmas da história de Coimbra". In Arquivo Coimbrão, Vol. XII (1954).
- LOUREIRO, José Pinto - "Finta para a vinda de El-Rei (1610-1613)". In Arquivo Coimbrão, Vol. XI (1952).
- LOUREIRO, José Pinto - Toponímia de Coimbra. Vols. I and II. Coimbra, 1960-64.
- MADAHIL, António Gomes da Rocha - "Algumas considerações a propósito de gravuras e litografias de Coimbra". In Arquivo Coimbrão, Vol. XI (1952).

MARTINS, Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira - História de Portugal. Vols. I and II. Lisboa, 1880.

MATOS, Gastão de Melo e - Nos bastidores da política seiscentista: D. Sebastião César de Meneses. Lisboa, 1941.

Memorial de los Cargos que resultaron contra don Antonio Mascareñas, como Diputado de la Mesa de conciencia, y Dean de la Capilla Real de Portugal, y comissario particular de muchas cosas del servicio de su Magestad en aquel Reyno, de las visitas que contra el hizo don Pedro de Castillo, Obispo de Leyria: con la respuesta y satisfacion a todos, y a cada uno dellos, y resolucion que su Magestad tomó, con parecer de los juezes nombrados para su vista, examen y determinacion [...]. Madrid, 1607.

MÚRIAS, Manuel - O seiscentismo em Portugal. Lisboa, 1923.

OLIVEIRA, António de - "O atentado contra Miguel de Vasconcelos em 1634". In O Instituto, Vol. 140-141 (1980-1981).

OLIVEIRA, António de - A vida económica e social de Coimbra de 1537 a 1640. Part I, Vols. I and II. Coimbra, 1971-72.

Ordenações e leis do Reino de Portugal: Recopiladas per mandado do muito alto catholico, & poderoso Rei dom Philippe o Primeiro. Lisboa, 1603.

PERES, Damião, et al - História de Portugal. Vols. I to VIII. Barcelos, 1928-1937.

PIMENTA, Alfredo - Elementos de História de Portugal. Lisboa, 1936.

PIMENTA, Alfredo - D João III. Porto, 1936.

PIMENTA, Alfredo - Novos estudos filosóficos e críticos. Lisboa, 1935.

PIMENTA, Belisário - As cartas do Infante D Pedro à Câmara de Coimbra (1429-1448). Coimbra, 1924.

PINHEIRO, Aida Antunes - D Sebastião César de Meneses (thesis). Coimbra, 1953.

REIS, Pedro José da França Pinto dos - Conselheiros e Secretários de Estado de Portugal de D João IV a D José I (Subsídios para o seu estudo sócio-jurídico) [thesis]. Coimbra, 1987.

Relação das Naos e Armadas da India com os successos dellas que se puderam saber, para Noticia e instrucção dos curiozos, e amantes da Historia da India. Leitura e anotações de Maria Herminia Maldonado. Coimbra, 1985 (from BL Codex Add.20902).

RESENDE, Garcia de - Chronica dos valerosos, e insignes feitos del Rey Dom Ioam II. de gloriosa memoria, Em que se refere sua Vida, suas Virtudes, seu Magnanimo Esforço, Excellentes Costumes, e seu Christianis-

simo Zelo. Coimbra, 1798.

RODRIGUES, Adriano Vasco and RODRIGUES, Maria da Assunção Carqueja - "As trovas do Bandarra. Suas influências judaico-cabalísticas na mística da Paz universal". In *Revista de Ciências Históricas*, Vol. II (1987).

SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo - *Uma estimativa da população portuguesa em 1640*. Lisboa, 1975.

SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo - *História de Portugal. Volume IV - Governo dos Reis Espanhóis (1580-1640)*. Lisboa, 1979.

SERRÃO, Joaquim Veríssimo - *Uma relação do reino de Portugal em 1684*. Coimbra, 1960.

SILVA, Armando Carneiro da - *Estampas coimbrãs. Vol. I*. Coimbra, 1964.

SILVA, Armando Carneiro da - "Evolução populacional coimbrã". In *Arquivo Coimbrão*, Vol. XXIII (1968).

SILVA, Armando Carneiro da - "Repartição das sisas desta cidade de Coimbra do ano de 1599". In *Arquivo Coimbrão*, Vol. XXVI (1972-1973).

SILVA, Francisco Ribeiro da - "A viagem de Filipe III a Portugal: itinerários e problemática". In *Revista de Ciências Históricas*, Vol. II (1987).

SILVA, José Justino de Andrade e - *Collecção chronologica da legislação portuguesa. Vols. 1 to 9*. Lisboa, 1854-1857.

SILVA, Luís Augusto Rebelo da - *História de Portugal nos séculos XVII e XVIII. Vols. 1 to 6*. Lisboa, 1860-1871.

SILVA, Luís Augusto Rebelo da - *Memoria sobre a população e a agricultura de Portugal desde a fundação da Monarchia até 1865. Parte I (1097 a 1640)*. Lisboa, 1868.

SOARES, Pero Rodrigues - *Memorial que contem todos os cazos dinos de memoria acontecidos nesta Insigne Cidade de Lisboa. Leitura e revisão de Manuel Lopes de Almeida*. Coimbra, 1953.

VAN DEN BESSELAAR, Joseph - *O Sebastianismo - História sumária*. Lisboa, 1987.

VASCONCELOS, António de - "Brás Garcia de Mascarenhas". In *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. VIII (1922).

VEIGA, Tomé Pinheiro da - *Fastigimia. Vol. III of "Collecção de Manuscritos ineditos agora dados à estampa"*. Porto, 1911.

VIEIRA, Padre António - *Cartas*. Coimbra, 1925.

2.7. Cultural references

ARRAIS, Frei Amador - Dialogos de Dom Frei Amador Arraiz Bispo de Portalegre. Coimbra, 1589.

BASTO, Artur de Magalhães - Da vida e dos costumes da sociedade portuguesa no século XVII. Porto, 1940.

CARVALHO, Alvaro Saraiva de - O biógrafo de Camões Pedro de Mariz e os seus "Dialogos de Varia Historia". Guimarães, 1973.

CASTRO, Américo - De la edad conflictiva. El drama de la honra en España y en su literatura. Madrid, 1961.

CORREIA, Vergílio and GONÇALVES, António Nogueira - Inventário Artístico de Portugal. Cidade de Coimbra. Lisboa, 1947.

CORREIA, Vergílio and GONÇALVES, António Nogueira - Inventário Artístico de Portugal. Distrito de Coimbra. Lisboa, 1947.

FATIO, Alfred Morel - "Vicente Nogueira et son discours sur la langue et les auteurs d'Espagne". In Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, Vol. III (1879).

GER SÃO VENTURA, Augusta Faria - "Estudos vicentinos. Astronomia-Astrologia". In Biblos, Vol. XIII (1937).

GUSMÃO, Father Alexandre de - Arte de crear bem os Filhos na idade da Puericia. Dedicada ao Minino de Belem, IESV Nazareno. Lisboa, 1685.

LAPA, Manuel Rodrigues - Cantigas d'escarnho e de mal dizer dos cacioneiros medievais galego-portugueses. Coimbra, 1970.

MARTINS, Mário - O riso, o sorriso e a paródia na literatura portuguesa de Quatrocentos. Lisboa, 1978.

MARTINS, Mário - A sátira na literatura medieval portuguesa (séculos XIII e XIV). Lisboa, 1977.

PINHO, Ernesto Gonçalves de - Santa Cruz de Coimbra, centro de actividade musical nos Séculos XVI e XVII. Lisboa, 1981.

PINTO, Adelina Angélica - "Isoléxicas Portuguesas (Antigas medidas de capacidade)". In Revista Portuguesa de Filologia, Vol. XVIII (1983).

RAMALHO, Américo da Costa - Estudos sobre a época do Renascimento. Coimbra, 1969.

RÉVAH, Israël Salvator - "João de Barros". In Etudes portugaises. Paris, 1975.

ROIG, Adrien - La comédie de Bristo ou l'entremetteur (Comédia do Fanchono ou de Bristo) d'António Ferreira (1562). Paris, 1973.

SILVA, A J Lopes da - Cartas de D. Vicente Nogueira, publicadas e ano-

tadas pelo Director da Biblioteca Pública de Évora. Coimbra, 1929.

TEYSSIER, Paul - "La "Comédie du Fanchono" d'António Ferreira: que signifie ce titre?" In Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português, Vol. XVII (1982).

VASCONCELOS, Carolina Michaëlis de - "Notas vicentinas". In Revista da Universidade de Coimbra, Vol. IX (1925).

VICENTE, Gil - Obras completas. Vols. I to VI. Lisboa, 1968.

VITERBO, Francisco Marques de Sousa - "Subsídios para a história da música em Portugal". In O Instituto, Vol. 83 (1932).

2.8. Varia

AGUIAR, Asdrúbal António de - "Evolução da pederastia e do lesbismo na Europa (Contribuição para o estudo da inversão sexual)". In Arquivo da Universidade de Lisboa, Vol. XI (1926).

AURAY, Henri d' - Historia de la tortura. Barcelona, 1963.

AZEVEDO, Pedro A de - "Os ciganos em Portugal no século XVI e XVII. Documentos". In Archivo Historico Portuguez, Vol. VII (1909).

BENNASSAR, Bartolomé - Recherches sur les grandes epidémies dans le Nord de l'Espagne à la fin du XVIIe siècle. Problèmes de documentation et de méthode. Paris, 1969.

BOSWELL, John - Christianity, social tolerance and homosexuality. Gay people in Western Europe from the beginning of the Christian era to the fourteenth century. Chicago, IL, 1980.

BRITO, Alberto Moreira da Rocha - "As epidemias do Século XVI e a Câmara de Coimbra". Separata de 'Actes, Conférences et Communications' do III Congresso Internacional de História das Ciências, realizado em Portugal em 1934. Lisboa, 1936.

BRITO, Alberto Moreira da Rocha - "Uma grave questão de higiene na Câmara seiscentista de Coimbra". In Arquivo Coimbrão, Vol. XI (1952).

BRITO, Alberto Moreira da Rocha - "Um higienista e climatologista desconhecido da primeira metade do século XVII - o Doutor Miguel Alves". In Coimbra Médica, Vol. III (1936), Nos. 1 and 2.

BRITO, Alberto Moreira da Rocha - "História da Gafaria de Coimbra". In Arquivos de Dermatologia e Sifiligrafia, Vol. 1 (1931), No. 1.

CORREIA, Fernando da Silva - Portugal sanitário (Subsídios para o seu estudo). Lisboa, 1938.

DAVID-PEYRÉ, Yvonne - "La peste et le mal vénérien dans la littérature portugaise du XVIe et du XVIIe siècles". In Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português, Vols. I (1969) to III (1971).

FERREIRA, João Albino Pinto - "Visitas de saúde às embarcações entradas na barra do Douro nos séculos XVI e XVII". In Documentos e memórias para a história do Porto, No. XLI. Porto, 1977.

GOMES, Bernardino António - "Apontamentos para a historia epidemiologica portugueza. Epochas das grandes epidemias que reinaram em Portugal, segundo os documentos impressos". In Gazeta Medica de Lisboa, Series I, Year 6 (1858), No. 126.

NUNES, Ambrósio - Tractado repartido en cinco partes principales, que declaran el mal que significa este nombre Peste con todas sus causas, y señales prognosticas, y indicatias del mal: con la preseruacion, y cura que en general, y en particular se deue hazer. Coimbra, 1601.

2.9. Genealogies

FELGUEIRAS GAIO, Manuel José da Costa - Nobiliário de famílias de Portugal. Vols. 1 to 28. Braga, 1940-1942.

MORAIS, Cristóvão Alão de - Pedatura Lusitano-Hispânica. Nobiliário de famílias de Portugal, 1667. Vols. 1 to 7. Porto, 1942.

SOUSA, António Caetano de - História genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa. Vols. I to XII and General Index. Coimbra, 1947-50.

2.10. Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias

ALDEA VAQUERO, Quintín, et al - Diccionario de Historia Eclesiastica de España. Vols. 1 to 4. Madrid, 1972-1975.

AVELAR, André de - Chronographia ov Reportorio dos tempos o mais copioso que te agora sayo a lvz, conforme a noua reformação do sancto Papa Gregorio XIII [...] reformado & acrescentado pello mesmo Author, com hum tratado do Pronostico da mudança do ar, & alguns principios que tocão, assi à Philosophia natural, como a Astrologia rustica, & com humas breues, mas muy proueitasas regras pera as sementeiras, & cultura das arvores, & criação dos animaes. 4th edition. Lisboa, 1602.

L'Art de vérifier les Dates des Faits Historiques, des Chartes, des Chroniques et autres Anciens Monumens, Depuis la Naissance de Notre-Seigneur, par le Moyen d'une Table Chronologique. Paris, 1770.

BLEIBERG, German, et al - Diccionario de historia de España. Vols. I to III. Madrid, 1968.

BLUTEAU, Rafael - Diccionario da lingua portugueza [...] reformado, e acrescentado por Antonio de Moraes Silva. Lisboa, 1789.

BLUTEAU, Rafael - Vocabulario Portuguez, e Latino. Vols. I to VIII. Coimbra and Lisboa, 1712-1721.

CAPPELLI, A - Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo dal prin-

cipio dell'Era Cristiana ai nostri giorni. Milano, 1983.

COROMINAS, Joan - Diccionario critico etimológico de la lengua castellana. Vols. I to III. Madrid, 1955.

COVARRUBIAS Y OROZCO, Sebastián de - Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española [...] Dirigido a la Magestad Católica del Rey Don Felipe III, nuestro señor. Madrid, 1611.

Enciclopedia Cattolica. Vols. I to XII. Città del Vaticano, 1951.

Enciclopedia Judaica Castellana. Vols. I to X. México, DF, 1948-1950.

Enciclopedia de la Religión Católica. Vols. I to VII. Barcelona, 1950-1953.

Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana. Vols. 1 to 70 plus Appendices. Barcelona, s.d.

Encyclopaedia Judaica. Vols. 1 to 16. Jerusalem, 1971.

FERREIRA, Aurélio Buarque de Holanda - Novo dicionário da língua portuguesa. Rio de Janeiro, 1975.

Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira. Vols. I to XL plus appendices and supplements. Lisboa, 1935-1989.

The Jewish Encyclopedia. Vols. 1 to 12. New York, NY, 1901-1905.

Jüdisches Lexikon. Vols. 1 to 5. Berlin, 1927-1930.

Larousse du XXe Siècle. Vols. I to VI. Paris, 1928-1933.

MACHADO, Diogo Barbosa - Bibliotheca Lusitana historica, critica, e cronologica. Vols. 1 to 4. Lisboa, 1930-1933.

New Catholic Encyclopedia. Vols. 1 to 14. Washington, DC, 1967.

PEREIRA, João Manuel Esteves and RODRIGUES, Guilherme - Portugal. Diccionario historico, chorographico, biographico, bibliographico, heraldico, numismatico e artistico. Vols. I to VII. Lisboa, 1904-1915.

SALA-MOLINS, Louis - Le dictionnaire des Inquisiteurs. Paris, 1981.

SERRÃO, Joel, et al - Dicionário de História de Portugal. Vols. I to VI. Porto, 1984.

SILVA, Inocêncio Francisco da - Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez. Vols. 1 to 22 plus appendices. Lisboa, 1858-1923.

SOARES, Ernesto and LIMA, Henrique de Campos Ferreira - Dicionário de iconografia portuguesa. Vols. 1 to 4. Lisboa, 1947-1954.

Verbo - Enciclopédia Luso-Brasileira de Cultura. Vols. 1 to 18 plus supplements. Lisboa, 1966-1987.

VITERBO, Friar Joaquim de Santa Rosa de - Elucidario das palavras, termos, e frases, que em Portugal antiguamente se usarão, e que hoje regularmente se ignorão: obra indispensavel para entender sem erro os documentos mais raros, e preciosos, que entre nós se conservão. Vols. I and II. Lisboa, 1798-1799.

Index Nominum

- Abreu, Belchior Limpo de - 216
 Abreu, Dr Domingos Antunes de - see Antunes, Dr Domingos
 Abreu, João Pimenta de - 77, 96
 Abreu, Dr Manuel de - 230
 Abrunhosa, Friar António de - 179
 Accoramboni, Ottavio - 56, 203, 220, 221, 233
 Acha, Jerónimo de - 223
 Afonso IV, King - 162
 Afonso V, King - 160, 166
 Afonso, D, Archbishop - 160
 Afonso, Dr Paulo - 166
 Aguiar, Agostinho de - see Figueiroa, Agostinho de Aguiar de
 Aguiar, Damião de - 185
 Aires, Rodrigo - 44, 181, 215
 Alberto, Cardinal Archduke - 166
 Albuquerque, Friar Agostinho de - 203
 Albuquerque, Dr Diogo de - 203
 Albuquerque, Friar Jerónimo de - 203
 Albuquerque, Rui de - 41, 43, 78, 85, 89, 115, 172, 191, 203, 236,
 244, 249, 257, 258
 Alcalá, San Diego de - 44, 208, 281
 Almada, D André de - 97, 234, 236
 Almeida, António de - 104, 118, 272
 Almeida, António Dias de - 37, 53, 99, 104, 107, 108, 112, 122, 124,
 125, 131, 137, 197, 216, 217, 243, 247, 259, 264, 267, 279
 Almeida, António Teles de - 189
 Almeida, Bento de - 77, 96, 97, 98, 136, 207, 208, 210, 244, 258,
 291
 Almeida, D Catarina de - 254
 Almeida, Dr Cid de - 203, 205
 Almeida, Fernando Aires de - 188
 Almeida, Filipa de - 284
 Almeida, Francisco de - 53, 63, 66, 81, 96, 98, 100, 116, 117, 124,
 187, 229, 230, 243
 Almeida, Gabriel de - 44
 Almeida, Gonçalo Gil de - 181
 Almeida, Gonçalo Homem de - 7, 11, 25, 28, 32, 130, 150, 164, 183,
 189
 Almeida, D Guiomar de - 164, 200
 Almeida, Helena de - 163, 181, 182
 Almeida, D Isabel de - 39, 254
 Almeida, D Isabel Nunes de - 4, 5, 12, 43, 163
 Almeida, Jerónima de - 263
 Almeida, Dr Jerónimo de - 71, 102, 128, 135, 138, 139, 161, 232, 281,
 284
 Almeida, João de - 104, 124
 Almeida, D Jorge de - 166
 Almeida, Luísa de - 263
 Almeida, Manuel de - 229
 Almeida, D Maria de - see Brandoa, D Maria

Almeida, Miguel de - 66
 Alvares, António - 209, 287
 Alvares, Fernando, "o Buco" - 41, 105, 108, 182, 187, 188, 197, 237, 267, 274
 Alvares, Francisco - 5
 Alvares, Gaspar - 184
 Alvares, Pantaleão - 75
 Alvares, Dr Pedro - 175
 Alvares, Pero - 195
 Alvarez, Andrés - 192
 Amaral, Joana do - 200
 Amor de Deus, Friar Martinho do - 179
 Andrade, Aleixo Borges de - 277
 Andrade, Alvaro Fernandes de - 198
 Andrade, Antónia de - 234
 Andrade, Beatriz de - 186
 Andrade, Francisco de - 37, 80, 101, 193, 198, 214, 242, 260
 Andrade, João de - 102, 103, 262
 Andrade, Rodrigo de - 31, 186
 Anes, Branca - 241
 Anes, Isabel - 181
 Anjos, Grácia dos - 196, 272
 Anjos, Leonor dos - 113
 Anjos, Friar Sebastião dos - 92
 Antónia, Isabel - 263
 Antónia, Maria - 201
 António, Manuel - 271
 Antunes, Dr Domingos - 91, 93, 101, 132, 175, 181, 202, 205, 218, 251, 252, 255, 261, 262, 268
 Apresentação, Friar Egidio da - 38, 47, 64, 74, 78, 138, 152, 174, 175, 189, 190, 198, 205, 209, 229, 234, 236
 Apresentação, Maria da - 240
 Aração, Dr Fabrício de - 90, 101, 236, 251, 268
 Aranha, Friar João - 64, 95, 256
 Araoz, Father Antonio - 159
 Araújo, António Dias de - 239
 Araújo, Fábio de - 211
 Arede, Ana da Costa de - 8, 167
 Arede, Diogo de - 82, 101, 163, 260
 Arede, Francisco de - 53
 Arede, Henrique de - 27, 29, 37, 41, 43, 46, 49, 51, 53, 56, 57, 80-83, 99, 109, 123, 124, 127, 136, 163, 167, 175, 182, 185, 214, 242, 258, 265, 290
 Arede, Iseu de, the elder - 5, 163
 Arede, Iseu de, the younger - 80, 101, 220, 242, 260, 261, 284
 Arede, Joana de - 182
 Arede, Manuel de, "o Torto" - 53, 66, 71, 80, 95, 100, 101, 163, 198, 241, 260, 261
 Arês, Estêvão - 8, 163
 Arês, Luís - 8, 54, 56, 92, 99, 107, 108, 115, 117, 133, 134, 140, 148, 168, 218, 265, 274
 Arês, Vicência de - 99, 107, 115, 258
 Arês, Vicente de - 7, 8, 100, 107, 111, 126, 130, 137, 168, 189, 224, 259, 280
 Aroche, Estêvão de - 109

Assunção, Friar Diogo da - 16-25, 28, 34, 48, 54, 59, 102, 128, 146,
 177-179, 224, 284, 296
 Assunção, Friar Simão da - 277
 Ataíde, D Jorge de - 7
 Augustine, St - 156, 159
 Aveiro, Friar Pantaleão de - 224
 Avelar, André de - 9, 28, 37, 39, 46, 53, 54, 75, 89, 98, 99, 101,
 112, 115, 118-122, 124, 127, 131, 132, 136, 137, 169, 172,
 184, 217, 226, 227, 239, 250, 261, 273, 285, 290
 Avelar, Luís de - 39, 115, 116, 124, 226, 239, 269
 Avila, St Teresa of - 126
 Azeredo, Dr Baltazar de - 134, 189, 190, 205, 215
 Azevedo, Gaspar Borges de - 99, 104, 117-119, 121, 128, 136, 259, 265,
 268, 270, 279, 283, 284
 Azevedo, D Jerónimo de - 218
 Azevedo, D João de - 284
 Azpilcueta, D Maria de - 255
 Bacelar, Francisco Pinto - 92
 Banha, Isabel - 209
 Banha, João Rodrigues - 45, 209
 Baptista, Isabel - 254
 Barbosa, João do Couto - 140, 286
 Barca, Isabel da - 104
 Barreiros, António de Azevedo - 36, 100, 192, 194, 281
 Barreiros, Manuel de Azevedo - 194
 Barreto, Francisco - 201
 Barreto, Gonçalo Nunes - 271
 Barreto, Miguel - 211
 Barreto, D Paulo de Santo Agostinho - 201
 Barreto, Simão - see Meneses, Simão Barreto de
 Barros, António Cardoso de - 189
 Barros, Cristóvão de - 189
 Basto, Artur Carlos de Barros - 295
 Basto, Dr Simão de - 242, 245
 Beja, Diogo de - 73, 84, 85, 94, 95, 127, 234, 235, 246, 256
 Beja, Manuel de - 235
 Belém, Maria de - 200
 Bernardes, João - 244
 Bernardes, Rodrigo - 191
 Bocarro, Gaspar - 16
 Bocarro, Simão - 206
 Boino, Abraham - 160
 Boino, Moisés - 3, 160, 213
 Borges, Francisco - 96
 Borges, João - 89, 101, 109, 110, 250, 267
 Borrvalho, João - 238
 Botelho, António - 123
 Botelho, Father António - 114
 Botelho, José Coutinho - 37, 53, 57, 60, 66, 99, 116, 122-124, 197,
 211, 237, 238, 259, 275, 277, 279, 289
 Botelho, D Luísa Perestrelo - 44
 Bragança, D Francisco de - 29, 33, 34, 46, 179, 184, 185, 206, 211
 Brandão, António Travassos - 120, 137, 232, 273, 285
 Brandão, Bento da Costa - 197, 199
 Brandão, Duarte (Edward) - 162

Brandão, Dr Duarte - 64, 101, 132, 147, 225, 226, 262, 290, 293
 Brandão, Duarte Pires - 169
 Brandão, Jácome (Abraham) da Costa - 190, 199
 Brandão, Jerónimo Vaz - 162
 Brandão, Dr João Alvares - 127, 129, 130, 141-144, 280, 288, 291
 Brandão, João (Joseph) da Costa - 199
 Brandão, Jorge Vaz - 4, 5, 12, 34, 44, 130, 162, 163, 165, 168, 191, 197, 273
 Brandão, Luís - 5, 7, 162-164, 167, 170
 Brandão, Matias Homem - 26, 27, 43, 53, 75, 164, 168, 181, 182, 191, 200, 207, 245
 Brandão, Miguel (Mordechai) da Costa - 199
 Brandoa, Ana - 5, 8, 162, 163, 168, 170
 Brandoa, Branca - 197
 Brandoa, Brites - 71, 122, 162, 163, 273, 281
 Brandoa, Francisca - 232
 Brandoa, D Francisca - 51, 120, 148, 169, 226, 230, 274, 290, 291
 Brandoa, Guiomar - 4, 5, 6, 122, 162-165
 Brandoa, Isabel - 8, 56, 134, 162, 168
 Brandoa, D Maria - 100, 113, 130, 135, 137, 164, 191, 196, 258, 260
 Bravo, Dr João - see Chamiço, Dr João Bravo
 Brito, Dr Diogo de - 10, 11, 27, 32, 33, 171, 175, 182, 205, 256
 Brito, Francisco de Aguiar de - 52, 117, 136, 137, 216, 271
 Brito, Francisco Dias Mendes - 278
 Brito, Jerónimo de Aguiar de - 216
 Brito, João de - 252
 Brito, Dr Tomás Serrão de - 261
 Brito, Dr Vicente Caldeira de - 177
 Burges, Francisco de - 20
 Burgos, André de - 107, 148, 264, 282, 292
 Burgos, Andrés de - 292
 Burgos, Cristóvão de - 292
 Cabaço, André Vaz - 39, 40, 49, 50, 53, 56, 57, 60, 72, 101, 113, 117, 122, 124, 126, 136, 200, 201, 214, 220, 228, 233, 262, 268, 270, 271, 276
 Cabaço, Dr António Vaz - 166, 200
 Cabaço, João Martins - 263
 Cabra, Simão Borges do - 197
 Cabral, Dr António - 231
 Cabral, Diogo Gonçalves - 105
 Cabral, Dr Francisco da Costa - 101
 Cabral, Inês - 200
 Cabral, Manuel - 101, 148
 Cabral, Friar Manuel - 140
 Cabral, Manuel Rodrigues - 105, 106, 114
 Cabral, Dr Pero - 101
 Cabral, Vicência - 200
 Cáceres, Father António de Orta de - 154
 Cáceres, Daniel de - 151, 296
 Cáceres, Francisco de - 240, 296
 Cáceres, Moisés de - 296
 Cáceres, Samuel de - 151
 Cáceres, Simão de - 151, 296
 Caldeira, D Brites - 192
 Caldeira, Dr Francisco - 35, 36, 40, 43, 147, 190, 192, 193, 195, 198,

- 202, 205, 249, 251, 262, 290
- Caldeira, Guiomar - 192
 Caldeira, Manuel - 192
 Caldeira, Pedro - 193
 Caldeira, Rodrigo - 193
 Caldeirão, Dr - see Caldeira, Dr Francisco
 Calderón, D Rodrigo - 187
 Camelo, Father Alvaro - 136
 Camelo, Manuel Ferraz - 196
 Caminha, Leonor de - 80, 100, 101, 198, 242, 260, 284
 Campos, D Antónia de - 216
 Campos, D Isabel de - 216
 Campos, D Maria de - 216
 Canto, Brás do - 117, 118, 120, 234, 291
 Canto, Jácome Carvalho do - 234
 Cardoso, Maria - 104, 113, 175, 224, 271
 Cardoso, António - 241
 Cardoso, António Dias - 179
 Cardoso, Father Baltazar de Pina - 139
 Cardoso, Manuel Rodrigues - 41, 203
 Cardoso, Miguel da Fonseca - see Fonseca, Miguel da
 Cardoso, Paulo de Pina - see Pina, Paulo de
 Cardoso, Rui de Pina - see Pina, Rui de
 Carneiro, Father Manuel - 87, 246
 Caro Baroja, Julio - 157
 Carreiro, Friar Francisco - 95, 215, 234, 257
 Carrillo, Bernardo de Mazuelos - 175
 Carvajal, António Fernández (Abraham Israel) - 296
 Carvajal, Don Juan - 152
 Carvalho, António Coelho de - 93, 256
 Carvalho, Dr Diogo de Brito de - see Brito, Dr Diogo de
 Carvalho, Gonçalo Pires de - 91
 Carvalho, João - 235
 Carvalho, Dr João de - 73, 80, 84, 209, 234, 239, 245, 255
 Carvalho, Manuel - 94, 219, 228
 Carvalho, Father Manuel - 230
 Carvalho, Dr Martim de - 60, 70, 74, 85, 89, 91, 102, 223, 230, 238,
 241, 247, 248, 255, 262
 Carvalho, Nicolau - 255, 270, 276, 277
 Carvalho, Paulo de - 290
 Casal, D Gaspar do - 7
 Castelo Branco, D Afonso de - 7, 13, 14, 30, 32, 36, 37, 44, 45, 47,
 53, 56, 67, 152, 175, 179, 194, 195, 204, 205, 215, 216, 219,
 220, 223, 258
 Castelo Branco, D António de - 165
 Castelo Branco, Dr Cristóvão Mouzinho de - see Mouzinho, Dr Cristóvão
 Castelo Branco, D Duarte de - 37, 195
 Castelo Branco, Manuel Godinho de - 185
 Castelo Branco, Maria Pais de - 194
 Castilho, D Pedro de - 30, 31, 185, 186, 189, 190
 Castro, Friar Agostinho de - 233
 Castro, Bernardo de - 41
 Castro, D Diogo de - 143, 288
 Castro, Diogo Osório de - 144
 Castro, D Fernando de - 73, 295

- Castro, D Francisco de - 27, 28, 29, 34, 35, 40, 42, 45, 47, 87, 148, 182, 184, 189, 208, 211
 Castro, D Luis de - 168
 Castro, D Miguel de - 89, 90, 92, 101, 109, 125, 131, 132, 136, 150, 217, 250, 261, 279, 280, 286, 288, 295
 Catherine of Alexandria, St - 91, 252
 Centeno, Pedro Gonçalves - 218
 Céu, Violante do - 118, 127, 272, 281, 285
 Chacon, Agostinho Coronel - 204
 Chagas, Francisca das - 212, 272, 285
 Chagas, Friar Gregório das - 147, 212, 256
 Chamiço, Dr João Bravo - 43, 78, 110, 205, 206, 229, 236
 Chaves, João Aranha - 209
 Cisneros, Cardinal - 204
 Clement VIII, Pope - 45, 48, 175, 180, 184
 Clement X, Pope - 189
 Coelho (rabbi) - 222
 Coelho, Dr Martim Gonçalves - 78, 81, 205, 250
 Coelho, Dr Simão Torresão - 43, 109
 Cohen, Salomão - 160, 213
 Colaço, Pero Cabral - 39, 101, 119, 148, 200, 272
 Conceição, Brites da - 270
 Conceição, Grácia da - 239
 Conceição, Maria da - 232
 Cordeiro, Gaspar - 235
 Cordeiro, Manuel - 235
 Coronel, D Constancia - 174
 Coronel, Cristóvão - 211
 Coronel, Hernán Núñez - 204
 Coronel, Hernán Pérez - 204
 Coronel, D Isabel - 203, 204
 Coronel, Nicolau - 204
 Coronel, Pablo Núñez - 204
 Correia, Dr António - 142
 Correia, Father Gaspar - 115
 Correia, Dr Luís - 9, 10, 11, 13, 43, 169, 171, 174, 175
 Correia, Manuel - 252
 Correia, Father Manuel - 18, 19
 Correia, Melchior Vaz - 35, 193
 Correia, Mónica - 196
 Correia, Paulo - 93, 94
 Costa, Amaro da - 238
 Costa, António da - 200
 Costa, Branca (Sara) da - 197, 199
 Costa, Crispim da - 7, 36, 39, 50, 52-55, 59, 66, 67, 75, 96-101, 122, 136, 155, 167, 178, 194, 197, 200, 212, 215, 223, 258, 261
 Costa, Francisco da - 39, 200
 Costa, Dr Francisco Gomes da, "o Doutorinho" - 37, 51, 53, 57, 80, 101, 111, 124, 131, 144, 214, 215, 220, 242, 265, 275, 282, 289
 Costa, Francisco Vaz Cabaço da - 200
 Costa, Dr Gabriel da - 15, 26, 176, 190, 205, 213, 215
 Costa, Gabriel (Uriel) da - 33, 38, 151, 190, 197, 199, 228, 296
 Costa, Isabel da - 102, 103, 262
 Costa, João da - 51

Costa, Jorge da - 167, 200
 Costa, Justa da - 265
 Costa, Luís da - 167, 207, 236
 Costa, Luís de Lemos da - see Lemos, Luís de
 Costa, Manuel da - 53, 260
 Costa, D Maria da - 175, 260, 261
 Costa, Paulo da - 107, 118, 127
 Costa, Dr Pero da - 122, 126
 Costa, Pero Cabral da - 200
 Costa, Pero Martins da - 192
 Couceira, Madalena - 197
 Coutinha, Leonor - 155
 Coutinho, Diogo - 169, 175, 181
 Coutinho, D João - 46, 49, 64, 70, 73, 208, 211, 227, 231
 Coutinho, José - see Botelho, José Coutinho
 Coutinho, D Lourenço - 94
 Coutinho, D Luís - 218
 Couto, Simão do - 122, 137, 274, 285, 292
 Crescas, Khasdai - 157
 Cruz, André da - 73, 82, 84, 95, 243, 247
 Cruz, Francisca da - 232
 Cruz, Isabel da - 232
 Cruz, Vitória da - 240, 293, 294
 Cumberland, Earl - 218
 Cunha, D Ana da - 77, 239
 Cunha, André Serrão da - 277
 Cunha, Dr António da - 40, 79, 174, 175, 202
 Cunha, António Dias da - 43, 46, 53, 54, 60, 66, 67, 75-77, 79, 88,
 95-98, 101, 122, 123, 127, 131, 136, 197, 206, 212, 227, 238,
 260
 Cunha, Gaspar Molina da - 17
 Cunha, João da - 79, 82, 83, 241
 Cunha, Lopo Dias da - 206, 237
 Cunha, Luís Lopes da - 75, 79, 237, 238, 240
 Cunha, Manuel da - 140, 144, 262, 275
 Cunha, D Maria da - 292
 Cunha, Father Nuno da - 109
 Cunha, Paulo Lopes da - 75, 79, 237
 Cunha, Pedro da - 9
 Cunha, D Rodrigo da - 70, 229, 231
 Cunha, Friar Teodósio da - 128, 129
 Cyprian, St - 155
 Delgado, Father André dos Santos - 287
 Delgado, Manuel Dias - 203
 Deserto, Mariana do - 118, 121, 285
 Dias, Agostinho - 257
 Dias, André - 61, 224
 Dias, António - 43, 113, 224, 253, 265
 Dias, Ascenso - 224, 265
 Dias, Ascenso, "o Rato" - 61, 62, 84, 106, 107, 125, 137, 224, 225,
 228, 246, 264, 265, 273, 279, 284
 Dias, Bernardo - 178
 Dias, Diogo - 201
 Dias, Florença - 79, 237
 Dias, Francisco - 107, 108, 110, 112, 113, 123, 124, 148, 220, 266-

- 268, 275, 276
Dias, Dr Francisco - 28, 42, 48, 174, 199, 274
Dias, Gonçalo - 109, 267
Dias, Guiomar - 224
Dias, Henrique - 4
Dias, Isabel - 224
Dias, Margarida - 172
Dias, Miguel - 176
Dias, Simão - 192, 274
Dinis I, King - 44
Disraeli, Benjamin - 240
Domingues, Pero - 20, 21, 178
Duarte, Father António - 31
Duarte, Catarina - 80, 198, 242
Duarte, Filipa - 201, 265, 268
Duarte, Isabel - 215
Duarte, Ivo - 102, 107, 125, 133, 135, 242, 259, 262, 264, 265, 270,
275, 280, 282, 283, 293
Duarte, Joana - 215
Duarte, Manuel - 170
Duarte-Santos, Prof Dr Luís Augusto - 179
Duran, Profiat - 157
Eanes, Gonçalo, "o Bandarra" - 153
Elvas, Luís Gomes de - see Mata, Luís Gomes da
Escaulim, João - 203
Escobar, Manuel de - 73
Espírito Santo, Bernarda do - 239
Este, João Baptista de - 155
Eusebio, Cardinal - 36, 195
Évora, Simão Rodrigues de - 174
Fagundes, Father Manuel - 285
Falcão, Damião de Sousa - 83, 203
Faria, Agostinho de - 79, 80, 252
Faria, Alvaro de - 243
Faria, Ana de - 118, 121, 124, 272, 277
Faria, António de - 78, 82, 229, 239
Faria, Francisco Pinto de - 82, 85, 243, 247, 256, 286
Faria, Heitor de - 176
Faria, Father Lourenço de - 233
Faria, Luísa de - 169
Faria, Manuel de - 231
Faria, Pedro Homem de - 39, 112, 126, 142, 144, 250, 267, 280, 289
Faria, Pero da Silva de - 138, 286
Faria, Tomásia de - 124, 272
Faria, Violante de - see Céu, Violante do
Felipe II, King - 6, 7, 152, 166, 174, 181, 187, 199, 208, 252
Felipe III, King - 30, 31, 33, 37, 40, 45, 56, 59, 64, 74, 77, 83, 85-
87, 94, 97, 102, 111, 166, 183, 186, 187, 190, 192, 193, 202,
203, 205, 220, 230, 234, 236, 245, 248, 252, 255, 258, 262,
290
Felipe IV, King - 33, 132, 147, 149, 220, 245, 252, 273, 292, 294
Fernandes, Ana - 154, 157
Fernandes, Baltazar - 164
Fernandes, Duarte - 27, 206
Fernandes, Francisco - 34, 35, 176, 271

Fernandes, Henrique - 7, 10, 27, 164, 167, 180, 182, 183, 187, 204
 Fernandes, Ivo - 115, 269
 Fernandes, Jorge - 4, 65, 160
 Fernandes, Manuel - 229
 Fernandes, Marcos - 50
 Fernandes, Maria - 165
 Fernandes, Father Mateus - 222
 Fernandes, Rodrigo - 225
 Fernandes, Simão - 87, 88, 249
 Fernando, D, Infant - 160
 Ferraz, Father Gaspar - 19
 Ferreira, António - 230
 Ferreira, Jerónima - 201, 268
 Ferreira, João - 181
 Ferreira, Manuel - 193
 Ferreira, Miguel de Torres - 109, 216, 291
 Ferreira, Paula - 201, 268
 Ferreira, Simão - 11
 Fialho, Francisco - 288
 Fialho, Francisco Fernandes - 14
 Figueira, Clara de - 240
 Figueiredo, Marcos de - 214
 Figueiredo, Maria de - 263
 Figueiroa, Agostinho de Aguiar de - 79, 262, 282
 Filipa, D - 203
 Filipe, Father Afonso - 273
 Filipe, Dr Bartolomeu - 284
 Fiquet, Michel - 178
 Fonseca, Baltazar de Pina da - 287
 Fonseca, Bartolomeu da - 16, 30, 174
 Fonseca, Bernardo da - 188
 Fonseca, Diogo da - 219, 235
 Fonseca, Domingos da - 87, 246
 Fonseca, Duarte da - 182
 Fonseca, Estêvão de Arês da - 111, 124, 225, 266, 278
 Fonseca, Filipa da - 232
 Fonseca, Filipe Lopes da - 167
 Fonseca, Friar Francisco da - 78, 109, 251
 Fonseca, João da - 104, 113, 124, 276
 Fonseca, Luís Nunes da - 182
 Fonseca, Manuel da - 181, 245
 Fonseca, Miguel da - 13, 37, 50, 60, 80, 99, 101, 104, 107, 113, 124,
 136, 175, 185, 189, 228, 246, 250, 259, 269, 271, 276
 Fonseca, Dr Nuno da - 185
 Fonseca, Pedro da - 160
 Fonseca, Tomás da - 182
 Fonseca, Tomé da - 71, 79, 219, 235, 241, 256, 287
 Fontes, Manuel de - 278
 Foreiro, Friar Paulo - 24
 Fouto, Jorge Mexia - see Mexia, Jorge
 Fouto, Manuel Mexia - 218, 263
 Fouto, Pedro Mexia - 218
 Francisca, Isabel - 172
 Francisca, Madalena - 213
 Francisco, Dr Manuel - 296

Franco, André - 109
 Fróis, António Vaz - 261
 Fróis, Dr Francisco Rodrigues - 215
 Gabriel, Master - 4
 Galvão, Friar Antão - 191
 Galvão, D Clara - 218
 Galvão, D João - 167
 Galway, Viscount - 240
 Garcês, Henrique - 237
 Gaspar, Domingos - 177
 Geraldês, Francisco - 215, 269
 Gérard, Guillaume - 215
 Godinho, Dr Gonçalo Alvo - 83, 245
 Godinho, Dr Diogo Mendes - 101, 132, 262
 Gomes, António - 85, 89
 Gomes, Dr António - 40, 51, 52, 53, 64, 69, 70, 100, 143, 172, 201, 205, 229, 230
 Gomes, António, "o Sapo" - 46, 81, 100, 122, 124, 211, 243, 265, 278
 Gomes, Brites - 182
 Gomes, Filipa - 254
 Gomes, Francisco - 71, 72, 91, 94, 109, 137, 229, 256, 265, 286
 Gomes, Dr Francisco - 218, 262
 Gomes, Francisco, "o Ruivo" - 81, 82, 100, 243
 Gomes, Father Henrique - 189
 Gomes, Leonarda - 165
 Gomes, Luísa - 148
 Gomes, Manuel, "o Tasquinha" - 39, 118, 124, 200, 201, 271, 272
 Gomes, Maria - 51, 100, 113, 143, 182, 230
 Gomes, Miguel, "o Manco" - 10, 37, 41, 46, 48-50, 57, 59-63, 66, 67, 71, 72, 80-82, 99, 100, 105, 107, 112, 114, 116, 120, 121, 124-126, 128, 137, 140, 144, 150, 151, 170, 197, 204, 222, 224, 225, 228, 233, 237, 240, 243, 246, 269, 273-275, 279, 286, 289, 296
 Gomes, Pero - 200, 201
 Gomes, Simão - 175
 Gonçalves, André - 65, 70, 232
 Gonçalves, Simão, "o Malhado" - 50, 114, 124, 214, 215, 269, 277
 Gorjão, António Gomes - 178
 Gouveia, António de - 101, 258, 261
 Gouveia, Francisco de - 288
 Gouveia, Father Francisco de - 142
 Gouveia, Dr Francisco Vaz de - 36, 64, 101, 122, 132, 149, 218, 240, 245, 275, 279, 290, 292-294
 Gouveia, Dr Luís Machado de - 90
 Gouveia, Pedro Álvares de - 294
 Gouveia, Dr Pero Cabral de - 114
 Gouveia, Pero Lopes de - 81, 243
 Gregory XIII, Pope - 152
 Gregory XV, Pope - 126
 Grijeño, Juan Martínez - 175
 Guterres, João - 55
 Guterres, Manuel Fernandes - 93, 254
 Habilho, Yeoshuah - see Fernandes, Duarte
 HaKohen, Moses - 224
 Henrique (Miguel Gomes's nephew) - 63

- Henrique, D, Cardinal Infant - 157, 162, 187, 252
 Henriques, D Afonso - 153
 Henriques, Ana - 227
 Henriques, Father António - 114
 Henriques, Dr Duarte - 182
 Henriques, Francisco Gomes - 182
 Henriques, Father Henrique - 237
 Henriques, Inês - 77, 206, 237
 Henriques, Dr Jorge - 162
 Henriques, Manuel - 71, 73, 94, 114, 127, 187, 188, 219, 221, 226, 229, 235, 256
 Henriques, Margarida - 283
 Henriques, Maria - 78, 133, 134, 137, 225, 232, 240, 267, 275, 283, 293
 Henriques, Father Miguel - 222
 Henriques, Tomás - 283
 Henry IV, King - 194
 Homem, Dr António - passim
 Homem, Estêvão Couceiro - 75, 148, 206, 236, 291
 Homem, Gonçalo - 163, 166, 181
 Homem, Gonçalo (Dr António Homem's brother) - see Almeida, Gonçalo Homem de
 Homem, Gregório - 191
 Homem, Manuel - 165, 191
 Homem, Matias - 191
 Homem, Matias (Dr António Homem's brother) - see Brandão, Matias Homem
 Homem, Pedro - 164, 191
 Homem, Rodrigo - 25
 Isabel, the Holy Queen - 44, 45, 223, 280
 Isabel, D - 216
 Isabel of Austria, D - 199
 Isidore of Seville, St - 154
 Israel, Joseph ben - 187
 Israel, Menasseh ben - 151, 187, 296
 Jesus, Filipa de - 232
 Jesus, Friar Jerónimo de - 21, 22, 23
 Jesus, Friar José de - 114
 Jesus Maria, Friar Francisco de - see Gomes, Francisco
 João II, King - 160
 João III, King - 3, 152, 154, 156, 160, 161, 166, 174, 192
 João IV, King - 174, 256, 294
 João, D, Duke of Barcelos - 160
 João, António - 264
 João, Dr Cristóvão - 8, 11, 168, 171, 175
 João, Leonardo - 87
 João, Maria - 220, 241
 Jorge, Isabel - 229, 235, 253
 Jorge, Joana - 79, 241, 253
 Jorge, João - 64
 Joyeuse, Cardinal François de - 194
 Juzarte, Bento - 235
 Juzarte, Jerónimo - 234
 Lacerda, Bernardo Correia de - 258
 Lafetá, Cosme de - 218
 Laynez, Diego - 159

Leal, D Maria - 249
 Leal, Simão - 85, 117, 124, 176, 191, 247, 261, 270-272, 274, 276
 Leão, D Isabel de - 175
 Ledesma, Friar Martinho de - 154
 Leitão, António, "o Corcovado" - 57, 116, 135, 137, 222, 260, 270, 284
 Leitão, Gonçalo - 99
 Leitão, Manuel - 164
 Leitão, Nicolau - 220, 222
 Leiva, Dr Luís Ribeiro de - 84, 93, 95, 101, 126, 127, 130, 132, 135, 147, 180, 181, 205, 207, 218, 221, 253, 255, 256, 261, 280
 Lemos, Father Leandro de - 194
 Lemos, Luís de - 35, 36, 194, 195, 220, 261
 Lemos, Manuel de - 256
 Lemos, Paulo da Costa de - 194
 Lemos, D Susana de - 239
 Lena, Bárbara de - 278
 Lena, Hipólita de - 278
 Lena, Paulo de - 39, 124, 192, 200, 201, 278
 Lencastre, D João de - 73, 164, 248
 Lerma, Duke of - 30, 187
 Lima, Father Manuel de - 212
 Lira, Father Bento de - 92
 Lobo, D Diogo - 79, 91, 111, 174, 207, 234, 252, 264
 Lobo, D Filipe - 174, 191, 252
 Lobo, Francisco - 188
 Lobo, D Jerónimo - 252
 Lobo, João Velho - 228, 229, 245, 291
 Lopes, António - 61, 107, 225, 264
 Lopes, Branca - 284
 Lopes, Brites - 169
 Lopes, Catarina - 201, 254
 Lopes, Dr Cosme - 195
 Lopes, Francisco - 191
 Lopes, Isabel - 3, 197
 Lopes, Leonor - 169
 Lopes, Manuel - 154
 Lopes, Maria - 224
 Lopes, Simão, "o Chorão" - 40, 52, 66, 80, 101, 111, 119, 122, 124, 201, 233, 259, 263, 271
 Lopes, Violante - 264
 Loureiro, Diogo Gomes - 233
 Lourenço, Dr António - 78, 91, 147, 215, 236, 247, 251, 262
 Lourenço, Brites - 4, 161
 Loyola, St Ignatius of - 3, 126, 159
 Lucas, João - 232
 Lucas, Father João - 138, 232
 Lucena, Francisco de - 234
 Luís, Infant D - 215
 Luna, Miguel Hernández de - 178
 Macedo, Filipa Pinta de - 82
 Macedo, Marçal de - 216
 Machado, Luísa - 212, 272, 285
 Machado, Francisco - 60, 212
 Machado, Jerónimo - 100

Machado, Jorge Fernandes - 212
 Madalena, Maria - 281
 Madalena, D Maria - 76, 148, 238
 Madre de Deus, Ana da - 232
 Maia, António Lopes da - 26, 46, 215, 223
 Maia, Miguel da - 168, 170
 Maimonides (Moses ben Maimon) - 213
 Maldonado, Agostinho - 42, 185, 189, 195, 264
 Manuel I, King - 1, 3, 154, 160, 167
 Manuel, D João - 292
 Manuel, D Leonor - 192
 Manuel, Maria - 232
 Marcelina - 5
 Maria, D - 115
 Mariz, António de - 169
 Mariz, Pedro de - 169
 Marmeleiro, Friar João - 133, 285
 Marques, António - 194
 Marques, Leonor - 155
 Marquesa - 181
 Martinho, Friar - see Mexia, Lopo
 Martins, Manuel - 212, 258
 Martins, Pero - 204
 Mártires, Friar Bartolomeu dos - 178
 Mártires, Friar Francisco dos - 21
 Martyria, Bishop of - see Pereira, Friar Ângelo
 Mascarenhas, Alexandre de Sequeira - 200
 Mascarenhas, D António - 249
 Mascarenhas, D Fernão Martins - 127, 129, 143, 150, 166, 169, 280,
 292, 293
 Mascarenhas, Father Francisco - 139
 Mascarenhas, Luísa - 139, 148, 215, 287, 291
 Mata, António da - 227
 Mata, Father Diogo da - 68, 134, 137, 217, 227, 228
 Mata, Luís Gomes da - 181
 Matos, Maria de - 212, 272
 Matos, Vicente da Costa - 159, 276, 295
 Matoso, Father Luís Montez - 289
 Melamed, Meir - see Coronel, Hernán Pérez
 Melo, André de - 11
 Melo, Bento Pereira de - 264
 Melo, Manuel de - 174
 Mendanha, Luís de - 26
 Mendes, António - 268
 Mendes, Brites - 281
 Mendes, Dr Eduardo Maia - 190
 Mendes, Grácia - 225
 Mendes, Maria - 274
 Mendes, Pero, "o Moço" - 254
 Mendes, Pero, "o Velho" - 254
 Mendonça, D Afonso Furtado de - 12, 13, 15, 25, 33, 59, 77, 174, 176,
 190, 191, 223, 239
 Mendonça, António de - 11, 174
 Mendonça, Bento Arrais de - 107, 234, 277
 Mendonça, D Diogo de - 287

Mendonça, Francisco de - 257
 Mendonça, Heitor Furtado de - 17, 179
 Mendonça, Dr Marcos Teixeira de - 30, 179, 205
 Mendoza, D Diego de Silva y - 245
 Meneses, D Antónia de - 76, 148, 238
 Meneses, António de - 253
 Meneses, D António Pereira de - 18, 20
 Meneses, D António Telo de - 267
 Meneses, Diogo de Brito de - 287
 Meneses, D Francisco de - 38, 42, 47, 50, 64, 72, 74, 77, 79, 82-87, 89-97, 101, 102, 106, 109-111, 118, 147, 170, 198, 205, 212, 244-248, 250, 253, 255, 262, 266, 271, 273, 282, 290
 Meneses, Francisco Barreto de - 273
 Meneses, Francisco de Brito de - 140, 147, 230, 234, 287
 Meneses, D Inês de - 271
 Meneses, Jerónimo Barreto de - 201
 Meneses, Manuel de Sousa de - 85
 Meneses, Maria de - 220
 Meneses, D Pedro de - 177
 Meneses, Friar Pedro de - 261
 Meneses, Sebastião César de - 293, 294
 Meneses, Simão Barreto de - 40, 55, 72, 74, 75, 77, 80, 81, 85-89, 92, 94-98, 100, 105, 106, 114, 118, 119, 127, 129, 130, 132, 138-140, 201, 202, 205, 207, 219, 242, 243, 249, 250, 252, 257, 258, 260, 263, 264, 271, 273, 280, 281, 283, 286
 Meneses, Vicente de Brito de - 287
 Mexia, Jorge - 55, 64, 65, 70, 82, 83, 87, 94, 104, 105, 218, 219, 226, 229, 262, 263
 Mexia, Lopo - 218
 Mexia, D Maria Clara - 218
 Mexia, D Martim Afonso - 45, 55, 59, 64, 69, 70, 84, 97, 208, 219, 223, 226, 228-231, 246, 267, 280
 Mexia, Martim Afonso, the younger - 55, 65, 87, 137, 218, 246
 Milão, Ana de - 186
 Miranda, Cristóvão Machado de - 32, 188
 Miranda, Francisco de - 80
 Misericórdia, Friar D Dionísio da - 9, 170
 Molcho, Solomon - 156
 Molina, Luis de - 160
 Monte Agudo, Bartolomeu de - 293
 Monteiro, Maria - 225
 Monteiro, Father Diogo - 101
 Monteiro, Nicolau - 96, 238, 258, 268
 Morais, Arcângela de - 271
 Morais, Francisco Pires de - 197
 Morais, D Gonçalo de - 35, 193
 Morais, D Maria de - 117, 124, 247, 270, 271, 274, 276
 Moreira, António - 84, 99, 114, 116, 120, 122, 135
 Mortera, Saul Levi - 151, 274
 Moura, D Cristóvão de - 24, 179
 Mouzinho, Dr Cristóvão - 90, 251
 Nájera, Felipe de - 153
 Navarro, João Rodrigues - 187
 Navarro, Lopo Rodrigues - 187, 227
 Navarro, Dr Manuel Rodrigues - 8, 12, 27, 40, 51-53, 65, 69, 70, 73,

- 120, 148, 168, 169, 171, 187, 191, 194, 202, 205, 219, 222,
226-231, 291
- Navarro, Dr Martín de Azpilcueta - 255
- Navarro, Simão Rodrigues - 187, 193
- Nogueira, António - 247
- Nogueira, Simão - 130
- Nogueira, D Vicente - 38, 41, 199
- Noronha, D Nuno de - 166
- Noronha, Sebastião de Matos de - 104, 107-110, 112, 114, 116-120, 122,
123, 127, 133, 137, 143, 234, 240, 264, 270, 272, 273, 276,
277, 279, 280, 283, 288
- Nunes, Aldonsa - 194
- Nunes, Dr Ambrósio - 203, 204
- Nunes, Father António - 207
- Nunes, Beatriz - 224
- Nunes, Brites - 71
- Nunes, Fernão - 191
- Nunes, Francisca - 233
- Nunes, Francisco Fernandes - 279
- Nunes, Gaspar - 61
- Nunes, Grácia - 283
- Nunes, Guiomar - 157
- Nunes, Isabel - 182, 194
- Nunes, Father João - 293
- Nunes, Dr Leonardo - 203
- Nunes, Leonor - 275
- Nunes, Luísa - 157
- Nunes, Manuel - 232
- Nunes, Marçal - 81, 181, 238, 275
- Nunes, Maria - 254
- Nunes, Pedro - 281
- Nunes, Simão - 191
- Nunes, Tomé - 43
- Nunes, Dr Teotónio - 181
- Nuno, Miguel - 22, 23
- Olivares, Count-Duke of - 220
- Oliveira, António de - 51, 54, 102, 115, 130, 139, 148, 207, 215, 227,
269, 283, 287, 291, 293
- Oliveira, António de (Canon) - 101
- Oliveira, Catarina de - 222
- Oliveira, Diogo Luís de - 189
- Oliveira, Francisco Cardoso de - 45, 210
- Oliveira, Gregório Rodrigues de - 22
- Oliveira, D Joana de - 243, 262
- Oliveira, Father Manuel de - 138, 232
- Oliveira, Dr Marcos de - 250
- Oliveira, Maria de - 50, 71, 177, 232, 269, 285
- Pacheco, Father Gaspar - 195
- Pacheco, Manuel Ribeiro - 82, 235, 265
- Pacheco, Dr Pantaleão Rodrigues - 91, 102, 147, 251, 262, 293
- Pais, Friar Baltazar - 212
- Pais, Branca - 71, 129, 134, 148, 232, 281, 284, 291
- Pais, Fernão - 80, 241
- Pais, Henrique - 188, 222
- Pais, Lopo - 232

Pais, Miguel - 80, 265
 Pais, Mór - 161
 Pais, Tomé - 80
 Paiva, Francisco de - 135
 Paiva, Dr Gonçalo de - 191
 Palma, Brites de - 274
 Palma, Father Manuel Dias - 97, 127, 133
 Parada, João de - 258
 Paraíso, Isabel do - 232, 281
 Paul III, Pope - 175, 184
 Paul V, Pope - 36, 194
 Pedro, D, Infant - 153, 160
 Peixoto, Simão do Vale - 188
 Pereira, Álvaro Soares - 64, 200, 226, 228, 232
 Pereira, Friar Ângelo - 163, 175
 Pereira, António - 261
 Pereira, Francisco Pinto - 47, 50, 96, 97, 110, 112, 182, 253, 258
 Pereira, Gaspar - 288
 Pereira, Manuel - 85
 Pereira, D Manuel - 128
 Pereira, Martim Afonso - 55, 65, 218, 219
 Pereira, Matias - 281
 Pereira, Dr Miguel Soares - 55, 56, 101, 219, 239
 Pereira, Pedro Alvares - 240
 Pereira, Friar Vicente - 86, 87, 94, 95, 115, 249, 251, 262
 Perestrelo, António de Beja - 107
 Perestrelo, Bento da Cunha - 172
 Perestrelo, Francisco de Pina - 44, 208, 254, 255
 Perestrelo, João de Beja - 235, 255, 277
 Perestrelo, D Maria - 277
 Pessanha, Diogo Nabo - 182
 Pessoa, Francisco - 209
 Philo of Alexandria - 213
 Pimenta, João - see Abreu, João Pimenta de
 Pimentel, Manuel de Mesquita - 238
 Pimentel, Violante - 264
 Pina, Amaro de - 135, 291
 Pina, André Nunes de - 77, 80, 87, 88, 90, 101, 193, 241, 249, 283
 Pina, Branca de - 151, 199, 296
 Pina, Catarina de - 237
 Pina, Diogo de - 77, 79, 190, 240
 Pina, Filipa de - 35, 193, 199, 239, 241, 264
 Pina, Grácia de - 232
 Pina, Henrique Fernandes, "o Velho" - 193
 Pina, Jerónimo da Fonseca - 106, 118, 124, 263, 264, 278
 Pina, Joana de - 232
 Pina, Leonor de - 296
 Pina, Maria de - 291
 Pina, Paulo de - 102, 103, 135, 148, 227, 291
 Pina, Rodrigo de - 148
 Pina, Rui de - 102, 103, 135, 148, 192
 Pina, Tomás Nunes de - 79
 Pinheiro, Julião - 96, 258
 Pinheiro, Father Luís - 24
 Pinho, André de - 26, 220

Pinto, Baltazar - 44
 Pinto, Diogo de Carvalho - 272
 Pinto, Francisco Vaz - 45, 208
 Pinto, Miguel Vaz - 184
 Pinto, Father Sebastião - 249
 Pires, Diogo - 156
 Pires, Mateus - 164
 Pires, Roque - 166
 Polanco, Father Juan Alonso - 159
 Porto, João do - 182
 Porto, Dr Pedro Gomes - 231
 Presépio, Margarida do - 78, 133, 232, 285
 Presépio, Maria do - 281
 Quadros, Fernão Gomes de - 235
 Quadros, D Manuel de - 7, 166
 Quadros, Pero Lopes de - 74, 235
 Quaresma, Francisco - 39
 Quaresma, Jorge - 39
 Quaresma, Valentim - 39, 52, 136, 138, 140, 148, 191, 200, 226, 232,
 236, 241, 286, 287
 Queirós, Branca Nunes de - 194
 Quintal, Ana do - 240
 Quintal, Isabel do - 240, 260
 Quintal, Pero do - 188, 240
 Quintal, Sebastião do - 187, 188, 240
 Ramires, Bernardo - 164
 Ramos, Vicente Vaz - 185
 Raposo, Amador Gomes - 188
 Rebelo, Paulo - 280
 Reis, Maria dos - 277
 Resende, D Brites de - 254
 Resende, João de - 93, 254
 Resende, Pedro Homem de - 93, 254
 Reubeni, David - 156, 208
 Ribeira, Ana - 40, 200, 201
 Ribeiro, Pedro da Esperança - 179
 Richard III, King - 162
 Rocha, Guiomar da - 203
 Rocha, Jacinto da - 83
 Rocha, Dr Luís Álvares da - 250
 Rodrigues, Ana - 167
 Rodrigues, Antónia - 271
 Rodrigues, António - 93, 253, 256
 Rodrigues, António, "o Bate-lhe o Fuzil" - 213
 Rodrigues, Bento - 75, 207, 236, 256
 Rodrigues, Branca - 240
 Rodrigues, Catarina - 233
 Rodrigues, Damião - 114, 118, 125, 126, 262
 Rodrigues, Diogo - 8, 126, 182
 Rodrigues, Filipa - 182
 Rodrigues, Francisco - 291
 Rodrigues, Francisco, "o Bate-lhe o Fuzil" - 49, 56, 99, 101, 213,
 224
 Rodrigues, Gabriel - 267
 Rodrigues, Isabel - 209

Rodrigues, João - 169, 291
 Rodrigues, D Leonor - 227
 Rodrigues, Manuel - 64, 199, 250
 Rodrigues, Maria - 224, 265
 Rodrigues, Pero - 65
 Rodríguez, Domingo - 274
 Roque, João - 92
 Rosa, Diogo Lopes da - 37, 49, 60, 66, 72, 80, 81, 98, 101, 107, 116,
 119, 136, 137, 187, 197, 214, 224, 228, 260
 Rosa, Maria da - 194
 Rosado, Friar António - 189
 Sá, D Ângela de - 118, 195
 Sá, António Correia de - 41, 53, 56-59, 63, 101, 115, 118, 122, 124,
 172, 203, 204, 211, 214, 217, 221, 222, 228, 240, 270-272,
 279, 293
 Sá, D Catarina de - 102, 135, 244, 248, 262, 284
 Sá, Cristóvão de - 97, 219, 284
 Sá, Francisco de - 59, 118, 124, 161, 272
 Sá, Dr Francisco de - 204
 Sá, José de - 192
 Sá, D Juliana de - 118
 Sá, Luís de - 57, 58, 63, 108, 115-118, 120, 124, 221, 222, 225, 269,
 270, 272, 273
 Sá, Maria de - 189
 Sá, D Serafina de - 118
 Salazar, Diogo - 57, 221
 Salazar, Manuel Duarte - 113, 165, 261, 268
 Saldanha, Rui Fernandes de - 50, 65
 Salema, Diogo Fernandes - 239
 Salema, Dr Diogo Fernandes - 77, 239
 Salvador, Friar - 212
 Sampaio, Jacinto Pereira de - 250, 251, 253
 Sampaio, Jerónimo de - 169
 Sampaio, Manuel Alvares - 245
 Sampaio, Pero da Silva de - 140-142, 280
 Sanches, Luísa - 158
 Santa Maria, Clara de - 148, 281
 Santa Teresa, Friar Alberto de - see Faria, Francisco Pinto de
 Santo Agostinho, Mónica de - 203
 Santos, Úrsula dos - 113
 San Vicente, Friar Diego de - 279
 S José, Branca de - see Pais, Branca
 S Miguel, Apolónia de - 232, 285
 S Paulo, Filipa de - 285
 S Tiago, Friar Diogo de - 17
 Sardinha, Dr António Rodrigues - 168
 Sarpi, Fra Paolo - 194
 Sebastião I, King - 6, 152, 153, 174, 186, 252
 Sebastião, Friar - 21, 178, 237
 Sebastião, Dr António - 100, 267
 Seco, Jorge - 288
 Seiça, Luísa de - 277
 Seiça, Manuel de - 71, 122, 128, 137, 233, 281, 285, 286
 Seixas, Gaspar de - 107, 246
 Selaya (Inquisitor) - 154

- Senior, Abraham - see Coronel, Hernán Núñez
 Sequeira, Alexandre de - 35
 Sequeira, Diogo Lopes de - 37, 53, 66, 84, 86-88, 90, 100, 101, 107, 111, 124, 133, 137, 198, 211, 246, 249, 282
 Sequeira, Pero de - 247, 263
 Sequeira, D Violante de - 35, 43, 75, 168, 191, 194, 207
 Serpa, Dr Manuel Alves de - 206
 Serra, Francisco de Moraes da - 75, 207
 Serrão, Branca - 100, 189, 259
 Serrão, Francisco - 57, 60, 61, 66, 100, 101, 124, 222, 259, 271
 Serrão, João - 261
 Serrão, Luísa - 100, 124, 222, 259
 Serrão, Manuel - 254
 Shaprut, Shemtob ben Yitzhak ibn - 157
 Shatzky, Jacob - 155
 Siliceo, Archbishop - see Grijeño, Juan Martínez
 Silva, Ana Francisca da - 232
 Silva, António da - 203
 Silva, Brites (Beatriz) Nunes da - 275, 292
 Silva, D Catarina da - 232, 283
 Silva, D Catarina de Sá e - see Sá, D Catarina de
 Silva, Damião da - 82
 Silva, D Diogo da - 143, 288
 Silva, Duarte da - 266
 Silva, Fernão Dias da - 26, 48, 53, 56, 59, 66, 67, 71, 75, 78, 81, 96, 98, 123, 131, 137, 139, 148, 180, 220, 238, 259, 275, 283, 292
 Silva, Francisca da - 232
 Silva, Francisco da - 26, 76, 82, 135, 181, 193, 204, 219, 237, 238, 249, 283
 Silva, Francisco Nogueira da - 280
 Silva, Francisco Rebelo da - 262
 Silva, D Guiomar da - 284
 Silva, D Isabel Melléndez da - 283
 Silva, João da - 203
 Silva, D João da - 104, 152, 283
 Silva, Leonor da - 71, 148
 Silva, Maria da - 71, 275, 292
 Silva, Mateus Lopes da - 44, 73-76, 88, 89, 96-98, 101, 128, 129, 131, 143, 215, 248-250, 259, 262, 281, 283
 Silva, Samuel da - 190
 Silva, Simoa da - 275
 Silva, Violante da - 71, 148, 272, 275, 285
 Silveira, António da - 136
 Silveira, Father Manuel Rodrigues da - 92, 114
 Silveira, Vicência da - 221
 Sixtus V, Pope - 174, 208
 Soares, António - 233
 Soares, Friar António - 233
 Soares, Bartolomeu Fernandes - 97
 Soares, D Catarina - 174
 Soares, Filipe - 233
 Soares, Father Filipe - 233
 Soares, Gaspar - 200, 226
 Soares, Gregório da Silva - 40, 41, 203

Soares, Friar João - 4, 162
 Soares, Manuel - 71, 130, 137, 233, 271, 282
 Soares, Maria - 233
 Soares, Pero - 182, 184, 282
 Soares, Pero Rodrigues - 153
 Soeira, Mór - 200
 Soeiro, João - 258
 Soeiro, José - see Israel, Joseph ben
 Soeiro, Simão Dias - 294
 Solis, D Brites de - 195
 Solis, Jorge Rodrigues - 31
 Sotomaior, D João Carreiro - 109
 Sotomaior, Francisco de Sá - see Sá, Francisco de
 Sotomaior, Dr Jorge de Sá - 204
 Sotomaior, D Leonor - 165, 182
 Sotomaior, Friar Luís de - 166, 212, 213
 Sotomaior, Luís de Sá - see Sá, Luís de
 Sousa, António de - 249
 Sousa, Father António de - 143
 Sousa, D Brites de - 226, 291
 Sousa, Cristóvão Dinis de - 83
 Sousa, Diogo de - 16, 17, 178
 Sousa, Diogo Lopes de - 234
 Sousa, D Francisca de - 178
 Sousa, Francisco de - 45, 209
 Sousa, Gaspar Ribeiro de - 185
 Sousa, Henrique de - see Tavares, Henrique de Sousa
 Sousa, Isabel de - 213
 Sousa, Jorge de - 178
 Sousa, Lopo de - 231
 Sousa, Manuel de - 50, 96
 Sousa, Maria de - 213
 Sousa, Friar Pedro de - 253
 Sousa, Salvador de - 46
 Sousa, Dr Sebastião de - 8, 9, 28, 34, 42, 167, 175, 180, 183, 189,
 190
 Sousa, Simão de - 226, 231
 Sousa, Vasco de - 73, 74, 188, 234, 236
 Souto, Paulo do - 10
 Soveral, D Francisco de - 88, 107, 108, 112, 114, 119, 123, 126, 258,
 272, 280
 Spinoza, Ana Débora de - 237
 Spinoza, Baruch de - 151, 237
 Suárez, Father Francisco - 36, 64, 70, 194, 209, 229, 231
 Talésio, Francisco - 57, 127, 221, 256
 Talésio, Pedro - 57, 221
 Tavares, Francisco - 82, 126, 172, 280
 Tavares, Henrique de Sousa - 32, 188, 190
 Tavares, Dr Manuel Alvares - 17, 20-23, 179
 Távora, Rui Lourenço de - 55, 218
 Teixeira, Domingos - 134
 Teixeira, Heitor - 94
 Teixeira, Luís Fernandes - 244
 Teles, Manuel - 73, 74, 96, 257
 Telo, D - 153

Teodósio, D, Duke of Bragança - 160
 Thomas Aquinas, St - 154
 Tomás, Master - 174
 Tomás, Isabel - 267
 Tormenta, António Pinheiro - 272
 Tormenta, Francisco - 272
 Torre, Friar Marco de la - 178
 Torre, Pero Gonçalves da - 176
 Torrejoncillo, Friar Francisco de - 158
 Toscano, Manuel - 277
 Travassos, António - see Brandão, António Travassos
 Travassos, Branca - 178
 Travassos, Briolanja - 71, 232, 281
 Travassos, Catarina - 99, 101, 175, 271
 Travassos, Duarte - 120, 137, 170, 232, 273, 285
 Travassos, Francisco - 5, 163, 232
 Travassos, Jorge Velho - 177, 178
 Travassos, Father Manuel - 179
 Travassos, Pero da Costa - 178
 Trindade, Friar Agostinho da - 166
 Troki, Yitzhak ben Abraham - 157
 Tyrawley, Lord - 153
 Ubeda, Dr Juan de - 192
 Vahia, Jerónimo - 243
 Vahia, Sebastião Teixeira de - 51, 220, 243
 Valadares, Dr Francisco Rodrigues de - 93
 Valadares, João de - 214
 Valadares, Friar João de - 24
 Valadares, Dr Mendo da Mota de - 169, 183
 Vasconcelos, Father António de - 24
 Vasconcelos, Damião Mendes de - 17
 Vaz, Dr Alvaro - 36, 195
 Vaz, António - 4, 77, 160, 161, 242
 Vaz, Catarina - 161
 Vaz, Filipa - 161
 Vaz, Francisco - 172
 Vaz, Dr Heitor - 4, 161, 162
 Vaz, Isabel - 5, 163
 Vaz, Jorge - 3, 4, 160, 161
 Vaz, Jorge (from Tresói) - 263
 Vaz, Manuel - 247
 Vaz, Maria - 263
 Vaz, Miguel - 4, 5, 161, 162
 Vaz, Simão - 4, 161
 Vaz, Tomé - 35, 77, 80, 82, 87-90, 101, 151, 190, 193, 199, 210, 237,
 238, 242, 244, 264, 283
 Vaz, Dr Trajano - 161
 Veiga, António da - 186
 Veiga, Jerónimo da - 224
 Veiga, Father Manuel da - 174
 Veiga, Dr Manuel Veloso da - 92, 111, 188, 267
 Veiga, Dr Pedro da - 174
 Veiga, Dr Rui Lopes da - 13, 174, 186
 Veiga, Rui Pires da - 30, 179, 253
 Veiga, Dr Tomás Rodrigues da - 174

Veiga, Tomé Pinheiro da - 174
Velasco, Dr - see Gouveia, Dr Francisco Vaz de
Velasco, Father Francisco Dias - 225
Velho, Dr António - 29, 162, 229, 245
Velho, Nuno - 178
Velo, Father Baltazar - 233
Viegas, João - 284
Viegas, Manuel - 284
Vieira, Father Manuel - 52
Vieira, Maria - 196
Vieira, Tomé - 199
Vila-Lobos, Manuel de - 231
Vila Real, Elizabeth da Costa - 240
Vila Real, Francisco Rodrigues - 79, 240
Vila Real, João da Costa - 240
Vila Real, Dr Nicolau Lopes - 278
Vilas-Boas, João de - 64, 76, 234
Vilas-Boas, Dr Martim de Carvalho - see Carvalho, Dr Martim de
Vilela, Father João Moutinho - 245
Vilhena, D Madalena de - 41, 203
Vitória, Catarina - 189
Vitória, Duarte Nunes - 296
Vitória, Manuel Gomes - 189
Vogada, Catarina - 36, 100, 194, 200, 260, 281
Xerez, Tomé de - 195
Yokhanan (Rabbi) - 156
Zevi, Shabbetai - 156