

THE STRANGE CASE OF HECTOR MENDES BRAVO

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## THE STRANGE CASE OF HECTOR MENDES BRAVO

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ON DECEMBER 11th, 1617, the monotonous labours of the Licenciado Ruy Fernandes de Saldanha, Inquisitor at Lisbon, were interrupted by an unusual occurrence. In his audience chamber there appeared a young man, of about middle height, with big moustaches and a black beard. His name was Hector Mendes Bravo: and he had come, he said, all the way from Holland to confess his sins and to be readmitted into the bosom of the Holy Catholic Church. A full account of his previous life and misdoings followed.

He had been born — so his tale ran — about twenty-six years before at Lagos, in the south of Portugal, of New Christian parentage. His father was a merchant named Miguel Nuñez Bravo: his mother, a certain Mecia Lopes. At the age of about four years he had been brought from Lagos to Setubal, his father dying during this period. Subsequently, the family had removed to Lisbon. After a few years, Mecia Lopes had obtained royal license to go with her children to Italy.<sup>1</sup> They settled in Florence, where Bravo's younger sister, Margarida Nuñez, had died after about six months: he was at this time approximately fifteen years old.

Here, the family made the acquaintance of a certain Portuguese New Christian, Bento de Medeiros (son of Manoel de Medeiros of Lisbon and Violante Enriques), and his wife, Leonora Texeira. These two, with the assistance of others who shared their convictions, persuaded the mother (hitherto a conforming Christian) to apostatize to the Law of Moses —

<sup>1</sup> This migration was perhaps in consequence (as Bravo himself admitted at a later stage) of the arrest of one of her friends by the Inquisition, which gave her considerable apprehensions for her own safety.

revert, that is, to the ancestral religion from which her forebears had been wrenched away over a century before. Accordingly, after about a year, in 1607 or 1608, Bravo and his mother went to Venice: at that time a principal centre of the Marranos, who were there able to proclaim their Judaism with more security than in almost any other city of Italy.<sup>2</sup> Arrived here, they went to live in the Ghetto with the other Jews. With them, they had a letter of introduction from Medeiros to his brother-in-law, Garcia Ribeira, who soon brought them into touch with local Jewish life. Through the latter's intervention, certain Rabbis waited upon young Bravo and easily persuaded him (with the aid of a Bible in the Spanish tongue) to enter formally the fold of Judaism. Barely three weeks later, he was circumcised by a Portuguese surgeon named Bras Lindo<sup>2a</sup> in the presence of the regular quorum of ten persons, including the Rabbis Moses Altaras, Babli and Garzon.<sup>3</sup> From that time onward, he lived as a professing Jew, under the name of David Levi Bravo; the second name indicating that, in spite of over a century of assimilation, the memory of the semi-priestly origin of the family was not yet entirely lost.

<sup>2</sup> For the history of the Marranos in Venice, see my study: "Les Marrane à Venise" in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. lxxxix, pp. 201-223; and, for the general background, my *History of the Jews in Venice* (Philadelphia, 1930).

<sup>2a</sup> Almost certainly identical with David Lindo, a physician, who died in Venice in November 1612 (Pacifi, *Le iscrizioni dell' antico cimitero ebraico a Venezia*, 1936, I, 49 § 106).

<sup>3</sup> Moses Altaras was the author of a Spanish translation of the *Shulhan haPanim* of Joseph Caro, published at Venice in 1629 under the title *Libro de Mantenimiento de la Alma*. This was prepared, as he indicates in the preface, especially for the use of Marranos who could not read Hebrew (cf. M. B. Amzalak, *A tradução espanhola do livro de Joseph Caro . . .* Lisbon 1927; Neppi-Ghirondi, *Toledoth Gedole Israel*, pp. 235-6).

Benjamin Babli, of Pisa, who flourished at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was at one time a pupil of Leone da Modena at Venice (Blau, *Leo Modena's Briefe- und Schriftstücke*, § clxxxii).

The third person mentioned in the text, Garzon, is perhaps to be identified with Isaac Gershon, of Safed, Rabbi, author and proof-reader at Venice at this period, who was employed to correct the Ladino edition of the work mentioned above, published in 1602 under the title *Mesa de el Alma* (cf. Amzalak, *ubi supra*: Neppi-Ghirondi, pp. 145-6; Blau, p. 91, n. 11).

After four or five years, in consequence of having wounded a certain patrician in a brawl, he had gone from Venice to seek employment in Amsterdam, then rapidly becoming the greatest Marrano centre in Europe. Here he was engaged as bookkeeper in the counting-house of a Portuguese merchant named Manuel Pimentel:<sup>4</sup> and he continued to live as a conforming Jew for a further five years, both here and at Hamburg, to which city he paid a business visit of about two months.

At length, however (so his tale went), a diligent study of the Bible had induced him to consider more carefully the comparative merits of the Jewish and Christian religions, to the disadvantage of the former. The Rabbis at Amsterdam had been unable to resolve his doubts. He had thus become convinced at last of the error of his ways during the past ten years. Accordingly, he had returned to Portugal, penitent, to be received again into the bosom of the Holy Catholic Church: and he professed himself willing to submit to penance which might be imposed upon him to that end.

It might be imagined with what joy the Inquisitor received the news of the return to the Christian fold of this lost soul: accompanied as it was by a treacherous denunciation of almost the whole of the Marrano colonies at Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Venice, the three cities in which he had been resident. Natural prejudice against an informer tends to make one disbelieve the sincerity and disinterestedness of any such reconversion. In this particular instance, instinctive scepticism receives ample documentary support. This case dragged on for many months: and in its course there became unveiled a whole network of sordid intrigue and discreditable episode. The details can here be indicated only briefly.

There was living at that time in Lisbon a certain convert from Judaism named Francisco de S. Antonio. Bravo, asked whether he knew him, retaliated upon this fresh apostate, who was infringing (as it were) upon his monopoly, by giving some unsavoury details as to his life in Holland, where he had known

<sup>4</sup> Manuel Pimentel, *alias* Isaac Abeniacar, was the wealthy familiar and gaming-companion of Henri IV. of France (Barrios, *Casa de Jacob*, p. 30: Henriques de Castro, *Keur van Grafsteenen*, p. 2).

him under his original name of Abraham Ruben. He was born a Jew, a native of Fez, who for some time had been employed to teach in the elementary school of the Jewish community at Amsterdam. It was found out, however, that he had abused his position by corrupting the children entrusted to his care. Accordingly, he had fled to Antwerp, where he had been received into the Christian faith under his present devout name. This nevertheless had not prevented him from subsequently returning to Amsterdam, where he had ineffectually tried to make his peace with the community. In consequence of these disclosures, Francisco de S. Antonio was arrested.<sup>5</sup> He in his turn retaliated upon his denouncer by throwing doubt, from his own personal knowledge, on the sincerity of Bravo's own repentance. This the latter attempted to vindicate forthwith, in a most cowardly fashion, by giving evidence against a certain Alvaro (Francisco) Gomez, then in the prisons of the Inquisition on a charge of Judaising. He had known this unfortunate, he alleged, as a practising Jew at Venice, where he had been circumcised some eight years previously. Such a damning piece of information was quite sufficient to cost the victim his life, as in the present case it probably did.

Thus, by the sacrifice of another, Bravo apparently vindicated his sincerity: and the trial seemed to be drawing to its conclusion. The formal abjuration was signed: and he was to have been "reconciled" at a forthcoming auto-da-fê. But, almost at the last moment, fresh information was given against him by a certain João Christovão, who had known him in Amsterdam. From this it appeared that the penitent's departure from Holland was not unconnected with the scandal aroused by the discovery of the fact that he had been living in an immoral connection with an Englishwoman: a striking parallel to what had happened some years previous, when (as has been mentioned) he had left Venice precipitately in consequence of a brawl. There seemed every reason to believe that Bravo had returned to Lisbon, not so much through his providential re-

<sup>5</sup> See the independent record of his trial in the Inquisitional Archives in the Torre do Tombo (I omitted to note the exact reference).

conviction in the truth of the Christian religion, as because his former place of residence had become impossible for him. In consequence of this disclosure, the execution of the sentence was delayed: and it was not until the following year that Bravo appeared in his sambenito at a public auto, to be formally reconciled into the bosom of the Catholic Church.<sup>6</sup>

As for the second villain of the piece, Francisco de S. Antonio, *alias* Abraham Ruben, an adventurous career was still before him. For the moment he escaped from his troubles and was set at liberty. When, not long afterwards, the unfortunate Isaac Almosnino (a physician from Fez, who had been arrested at Goa in India on suspicion of actually being the Marrano Manuel Lopes, who had fled from Oporto to Cochin) was tried by the Inquisition at Lisbon, his fellow-townsmen was called in to interpret certain Hebrew letters which had been found in the prisoner's possession.<sup>7</sup> Subsequently, he made his way to Spain, settling first at Madrid, and then in Toledo. However, he seems to have been constitutionally incapable of keeping out of trouble. In 1624, he was arrested by the Inquisition in the last-named place, and, after a lengthy imprisonment, he was condemned.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the adventurous career of the disreputable teacher in the elementary school of the community of Amsterdam came to its end.

We have strayed, however, from the case of Hector Mendes Bravo, the principal object of this study. The story of the latter,

<sup>6</sup> For the details, see the full case (Torre do Tombo, *Inq: de Lisbõa*, proc: 12493). The documents here published in appendix comprise only the earlier and historically more important part of the *dossier*.

<sup>7</sup> See the full and very interesting case of Isaac Almosnino in the Lisbon Archives (Torre do Tombo, *Inq: de Lisbõa*, proc: 5393). In this, there are remarkable sidelights upon the conduct of the Jews of Morocco after the Battle of the Three Kings: on the history of the family, from its departure from Toledo in 1492: and above all of the travels which brought this Moroccan physician from Fez to India.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Vignau, *Catalogo de la Inquisición de Toledo*, p. 228. In view of the fact that among the papers connected with the trial a printed Hebrew alphabet is included, it seems possible that among the offences imputed to the accused was that of instructing the Marranos in their forgotten ancestral language.

though interesting, is of no peculiarly great importance in itself. The phenomenon of a renegade Marrano who returned to the religion into which he had been born, whether from conviction or of interest, is not unparalleled. Nevertheless, Bravo's account of his experiences is of unusual importance. Its historical value is unique. For the traitor was not content merely with giving an account of his own life and of his odyssey from Catholicism through Judaism back to Catholicism again. He endeavoured to curry favour with the inquisitional authorities at Lisbon by denouncing, as far as his memory served, all those of his Marrano compatriots now reverted to Judaism, with whom he had mixed during his brief period of conformity. Thus he mentions by name a couple of dozen individuals at Venice, about thirty at Hamburg, and well over one hundred at Amsterdam: all Christians by birth who had returned to the religion of their fathers and were now regularly frequenting the synagogue. In many cases, he gave information in addition about their places of origin, the names by which they were known in Jewish life, the pseudonyms which they adopted for commercial purposes in order to foil the Inquisition, and their correspondents in the Peninsula. Such lists are of immense value for the student of history: and, in the case of Amsterdam, one of such magnitude is virtually unique. On the basis of this document, it is possible to reconstruct the whole composition of these three great communities of the Marrano Diaspora at this early date in its history: a task which the present writer has already taken in hand.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Cf. my studies: "Les Marranes à Venise" in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, *ubi supra*, especially pp. 214-4: "Neue Kunde von der Marranen-Gemeinde in Hamburg" in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, 1930, pp. 228-236: and "Het Vreemde Geval van Hector Mendes Bravo" in *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, August, 1931. The Amsterdam list is too lengthy to be examined in detail at present. There are however many important identifications which can be made. Thus, for example, Simão Lopes Rosa, the first person mentioned, is none other than Abraham Farrar, poet and physician, one of the most illustrious figures in the early history of the community.

The late Mr. Lucien Wolf wrote to me in connection with this list, a copy of which I had sent him:

"Of some of these persons I have very full stories from the Inquisition Processes. I think Antonio Martins de Veigas should be *Vieira*: I have

Much else of interest occurs in this confession. There is a noteworthy account of Jewish rites and ceremonies as they were observed, especially at Venice, at this period. Though in one or two details Bravo displays astonishing ignorance, his testimony is sometimes of considerable value — as, for example, when he indicated the general use of Spanish prayer-books in the synagogue, or speaks of the custom of the women to imitate the three-day fast of Queen Esther, or informs us that no person was allowed to wear the usual *Tallith* or phylacteries in synagogue until he had been circumcised. Similarly, he denied strenuously that the Marranos of Amsterdam carried on any propaganda amongst their brethren in the Peninsula, whether through the medium of books or by personal intercourse.

Of equal interest is his account of his reconversion to Catholicism. This came about, he said, by reason of his reconsideration of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. This was, as it happens, one of the major preoccupations of the Marrano community at Amsterdam, where several works were compiled with the object of combatting the christological interpretation attached to it by the Church. Bravo's account of his mental searchings represents to some extent the trend of the local intellectual currents in this matter, with the arguments on both sides. The Jewish point of view is put forward very fairly: that the sufferings spoken of by Isaiah refer to the whole people of Israel and the tribulations through which it was even then passing. Very interesting is the

an account of his escape from Brazil in 1613. Duarte Fernandes Veiga, son of Luis Fernandes, is an interesting person. His father was the Luis Fernandes of the Antwerp secret synagogue, who was in correspondence with Rodrigo Lopes in 1593. A brother of Duarte, Manuel Rodrigues Veiga, is believed to have been identical with Jacob Tirado . . . . I find also that he was in correspondence with Fernando del Mercado in London in 1610. Another interesting story I have relates to Manuel Esteves and Manuel Cardoso Millão. After escaping from Lisbon to Brazil they had to fly from there to Amsterdam. They are said to have made the voyage concealed in a cask. The whole of the Millão family were prosecuted by the Inquisition in 1609, and Manuel's uncle, Henrique Dias Millão, was burnt at the *Auto* of April 5th 1609. In 1614 Manuel Esteves, who was then forty years old, was described in a denunciation as 'Jew and Sacristan of the Synagogue at Amsterdam.' "



sidelight we receive upon Isaac Uziel, of Fez, *Haham* of the community (who, we are told, had been in Spain). Interrogated by Bravo as to his difficulties, he told him frankly not to be a Karaite — not to doubt so much, and to believe as others believed: the very words which perhaps confronted a Uriel da Costa or a Benedict Spinoza in after years. Ultimately, Bravo got into touch with a certain Franciscan friar, Pero da Anunciação, who was in the neighborhood of Amsterdam in the disguise of a soldier (an interesting sidelight on Dutch intolerance in that persecutory age). In the quiet and secrecy of a garden, the latter expounded to him the true Christian doctrine in the matters which were troubling his mind: and through his means he ultimately returned, penitent, to Portugal.

Quite apart from all this, the confession of Hector Mendes Bravo is worthy of our consideration as a human document. We receive a considerable insight into the mental workings of an uneducated Marrano of the seventeenth century — how he might be induced to embrace Judaism, and the nature of the hold which his new religion had upon him. The story itself, despite its sordid detail, is of an interest more than the average. The account provides us with an almost complete picture of the Marrano world, as well as of the Marrano mentality, at the opening of the seventeenth century. It is published here in the confidence that, for some time to come, it can serve as a rich mine of information for this period of Jewish history.

## CONFESSION OF HECTOR MENDEZ BRAVO

YEAR 1617. INQUISITION OF LISBON

Trial No 12493

(Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo Lisbon)

*(Translated from the Portuguese)*

Confession of Hector Mendez Bravo, a native of Lagos in the Kingdom of Algarve,

On December 11th, 1617, at Lisbon, in the chancery ("casa do despacho") of the Holy Inquisition, at the morning sitting of the Inquisitor, Licenciado Ruy Fernandes de Saldanha,

There appeared before him a young man who said that his name was Hector Mendez Bravo, New Christian, that he was twenty-six years old, unmarried and a merchant's bookkeeper. He was a native of Lagos in the Kingdom of Algarve, son of the merchant Miguel Nunéz Bravo, New Christian, who had died about twenty years ago, and of Mecia Lopez, New Christian, who now lives in Venice. He stated that he had come here from Holland, in Flanders, only to accuse himself of his sins, and to ask forgiveness and mercy for them and that he regretted very much having committed them. He said this with signs of repentance. An oath of the Holy Evangelists was imposed on him that he should tell the whole truth and keep all things secret. He placed his hand on the Evangelists and pledged himself, under this bond, to do so.

He declared that at the age of about four years, he came with his parents from Lagos to Setubal, where they resided for five or six years. Hence they removed to Lisbon where his father fell ill and died. His mother (henceforth widow) lived here for a few years, at the Crucifix, behind the Old Moat, and then, with royal license, left for Italy with the witness and his younger sister, Margarida Nunéz. They settled in Florence where his sister died, six months after their arrival.

A Portuguese merchant, Bento de Medeiros, New Christian, married to Leonor Teixeira, also a Portuguese New Christian, lived in the same house where his mother was staying. He seems to have been well acquainted with her, because they entertained and had social intercourse with each other there. This man told his mother many times that she ought to go to Venice where she could live better and more freely. As these discourses never took place before the witness, it was his mother who informed him that

Bento do Medeiros and others, whom he will mention later, have advised her to go to Venice where she would live more freely. Though the witness, during all this time, or while in Portugal, never saw his mother objecting to our Holy Creed, yet he understands that persuaded by Bento de Medeiros, she embraced the Creed of the Law of Moses, some days after their arrival in Florence; he does not remember how long after this was. About a year after their arrival in Florence, in 1607 or 1608, his mother went to Venice in order to achieve her aim. In Venice, the witness, his mother and an Italian servant, called Pero Logem, son of a Portuguese man and an Italian woman, went to stay in the ghetto, i. e. the Juderia where the Jews live. Here Pedro delivered a letter from Bento de Medeiros to Garcia Ribeiro, son of Gabriel Ribeiro, a merchant in Venice, and through this letter the witness and his mother were admitted in the ghetto. After seven or eight days, some Rabbis sent by Garcia Ribeiro discussed with him, the penitent, the subject of the Law of Moses, urging him to embrace it and to abandon the Law of Christ. When he remonstrated that he was a Christian, bred and educated in the Law of Christ, and that he possessed no instruction or knowledge to reply to their arguments, he was told that being uneducated he must read the Scripture and thus learn how great his errors were. They then gave him a Bible in Spanish, which he read for some days. Ruminating in his mind what he had read in the Scripture, and because so many Portuguese there accepted the law of Moses, it appeared to him that this Law must be good and true, and that he was bound to embrace it, as salvation was in it, and to abandon the Creed of Christ. Having taken this decision he informed Garcia Ribeiro (who most of all had pressed him to embrace the Law of Moses) his mother, and other people in the Ghetto. Twenty days after his arrival in the Ghetto, he was circumcised by a Portuguese surgeon named Bras Lindo of Aveiro, and the name David Levi Bravo was imposed on him in the presence of Moyses Altaras, Rabbi Babli, Garçon and seven other men whom he does not remember. He was circumcised with a knife, the foreskin of his member cut off, while some words were pronounced which he could not understand because they were in Hebrew. From hence onward he attended the Synagogue to take a seat on a bench, the men wrapped in white mantles, with some leather strips on their heads, and other strips on their arms inscribed with letters in Hebrew characters, what they call *tafellim*.<sup>1</sup> Many have also a prayer book which contains the sacrifice of Abraham, the Psalms, the *Samâ<sup>2</sup>ha-*

<sup>1</sup> Hebrew *Tephillin* (phylacteries)

<sup>2</sup> ? Hebrew *Shema* (Deuteronomy VI.4-9).

*midad*<sup>3</sup> written in Spanish. From this book they recite their prayers three times every day. The penitent observed the Sabbath, abstaining himself from all work together with all the people assembled in the Ghetto, about 1500 souls, mostly Portuguese and some Castellians. In the course of time he observed the fasts, according to the phases of the moon, as *Kippur* in September, when he fasted one day only starting late on the foregoing day until the first stars of the following day have appeared; standing barefoot in his best clothes and tasting nothing but staying with all of them at the Synagogue. Then at night, meat or fish were consumed or whatever else anybody desired. The penitent fasted also the fast of Queen Esther, falling in February or March according to the conjunction of the moon; the men fasting one day only as Mordecai did, the women three if they wanted, not eating except at night. The day following the three of the fast a banquet in memory of Queen Esther's feast was held.

He also kept the fast of Thesabão<sup>4</sup> when Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus and Vespasian; he thinks it falls in June or July. No food was consumed until night and on the following day Lamentations like those of Jeremiah were recited and signs of mourning shown. This fast over, another one in remembrance of another destruction of Jerusalem was held in the same manner as stated above. And another fast called the Small, seven days days before Kippur, and it is also called the Small Kippur.<sup>5</sup>

The witness kept these fasts during all the time of his being a Jew, together with all the people in the said Synagogue and his mother. He has observed also the four Passovers which the Jews are wont to celebrate in obedience to and in conformity with the ceremonies of the Law of Moses. These are: Passover, called the Passover of Flowers<sup>6</sup> falling in March and lasting seven days, when unleavened bread is consumed and a feast made but no other ceremonies performed: the Passover of Huts, falling, he thinks, in October, when a hut of boughs and leaves is built with a table underneath and fowls and animals slaughtered by them consumed; this feast is also celebrated during seven days. Then

<sup>3</sup> ? Hebrew *Amida* (= "standing prayer," recited thrice daily.)

<sup>4</sup> *Tisha beAb* (9th of Ab). He obviously confuses it with the less exacting celebration of the Seventeenth of Tammuz, three weeks earlier.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably the "fast of Gedaliah" (Jeremiah cap: XLI) celebrated on the day after the New Year.

<sup>6</sup> Bravo's recollection is particularly faulty at this point: the name was applied sometimes to Pentecost. (*Pascua* was applied by Spanish Jews to all the major festivals.)

Sena Rabão,<sup>7</sup> the feast of the gift of the Law, following the Passover of Huts. Then is the day when a parchment roll written in Hebrew, called the Law, is produced and carried in festivity round the Synagogue by all the men in [new] clothes.<sup>8</sup> The fourth feast, also called Passover falls in February, when during seven days, candles are lit in memory of the building of the Temple, when but the oil for the sacrifice was found in a well.<sup>9</sup> On all these feasts he did not touch money nor could he go in a boat or do anything.

When a person died, the witness was present and saw that the corpse was washed, wrapped in a new sheet and buried in virgin soil if there was any, otherwise it was put in a coffin: however, nobody was buried on Sabbath or on any of the feasts described above. The witness has performed all these ceremonies during all the time of his living in the Ghetto of Venice, about four or five years, and many others which at present he does not remember, in company with all the people living there. He observed the Law of Moses as well as all the other persons in the ghetto who kept the Law, assembling every day in the Synagogue.

The Portuguese living there and attending the Synagogue and whom the witness knows had been baptised Christians are as follows:

His mother, Mecia Lopez.

Andre Falleiro, New Christian who lived here as a merchant at Valverde, and his wife Beatriz Gomez.

Manoel de Medeiros, New Christian from here who lived as a merchant, the witness thinks, at Valverde, and his wife Violante Enriquez.

Their son, the above-mentioned Bento de Medeiros, and his wife Leonor Teixeira.

Their other son, called Joseph, unmarried. All these were born in Portugal. The abovementioned Garcia Ribeiro, and his wife Branca de Medeiros, daughter of Manoel de Medeiros.

Antonio Fernandez Caminha, nicknamed Father Lord, who had a cloth-shop here; widower; the witness does not know who his wife was.

Anrique Fernandez and Isaac Marcos, sons of Antonio Fernandez, and the wife of Anrique Fernandez whose name he does not know, but she is a daughter of Martin Mendez, who was a merchant here in Rua Nova.

Further, the wife of Isaac Marcos whose name he does not know.

<sup>7</sup> *Hosanna Rabba*, the seventh day of Tabernacles: But Bravo's account is ridiculously confused.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. *Simchath Torah*, the Rejoicing of the Law.

<sup>9</sup> A very inaccurate description of the minor feast of Hanukah, in mid-winter, which commemorates the victory of the Maccabees.

Paschoval de Taverga, who was broker and merchant here, and his wife whose name he does not know, but she is a niece of Diogo D'Andrade whom he brought from Bordeaux; his sons and daughter by his first wife were brought from here.

Manoel Vas Pimentel, he does not know where he comes from, a merchant, and a relative of Andre Falleiro, and his wife whose name he does not know,

A son of Baltazar Enriquez Covilhão who went from here to Antwerp: he thinks that they are from Covilhão. He does not know his wife's name, but she is daughter of the said Manoel Vas Pimentel.

The abovementioned Bras Lindo.

Rafael Penso and Joseph Penso, called the Castillian Youths (?), he does not know where they come from.

Belchior Gomez, native of Bragança, and his wife whose name he does not know.

These are the Portuguese living in the Ghetto of Venice, whose names he remembers. There are many others too whom he does not know because they have changed their names, and therefore he does not mention them.

After four or five years in which the witness was living in the Ghetto he went to Holland in an English ship, in consequence of having wounded a Venetian gentleman. He disembarked at Amsterdam where he was received by some Portuguese living there. He has found here employment in the house of Manoel Pimentel, a Portuguese merchant, whom he has served as a cahsier and bookkeeper. He resided here for five years attending at the Synagogues of the town which are two in number, and a special house in which all those assembled who did not attend in time. He has performed here the ceremonies in the same way which he confessed, having done in Venice, like all the persons of Portuguese nationality who live there. He has known the following persons there:

Simão Lopez Rosa, surgeon, who lived here in Lisbon, and his wife, whose name he does not know.

Bento de Osorio, who lived here, a merchant, and his wife sons and daughters whose names he does not know.

Jaspar Roiz from here, relative of a goldsmith here, who is called Altaras, and his wife Catharina Rodriquez.

Francisco Sanches, native of Moura and his wife, whose name he does not know.

His brother in law João Nunez and his wife whose name he does not know.

Mattias Roiz, a merchant, native of Seville and his wife, also of Seville.

Francisco Vaz de Leon, Castillian, of Ronda or of Antequera.

Gabriel Roiz de Spinoza, also Castillian.

Francisco Roiz de Spinoza his cousin.

Diogo Mendez of Malaga.

Joan de Haro of Biscay and his brother Hieronimo de Haro, jeweller.

Bento Roiz, a tailor: his wife Mor Luiz and a daughter whose name he does not know. (The husband of this daughter, a tailor, has been seized by the Inquisition. It is said that he was of Thomar and the witness believes that his name was Diogo da Costa.) Two brothers of the tailor.

Bastião Roiz de Leon of Villa Nova de Portinão and his wife, sister of Diogo Lourenço de Paz who lives in Seville.

Felipe Dorta Enriquez, nephew of Diogo Lourenço, married to a sister of Miguel de Paz of Galicia.

Three unmarried brothers of Miguel de Paz, whose names he does not know. Fernandez Alvares de Mello from here, and his wife, whose name he does not know.

Diogo Nuñez Belmonte, a Portuguese, of Belmonte da Guarda, and his wife Branca Vas, sister of Diogo Dias Querido.

Antonio Gomez de Alcobça, brother-in-law of the aforementioned Diogo Nuñez.

Alfonso Lopes e Silõa, and his wife, Beatris de Solis.

Anna de Solis, wife of the late Diogo Lopes Pilatos from here, and her daughter Angela Solis, married to a son of Manoel do Palacios who also lives here. Lopo da Fonseca of Visieiu.

Another Lopo da Fonseca of Lisbon, brother of a surgeon in Antwerp, whose name he does not know.

Francisco de Paz of Pinhel.

His son-in-law Joam Cardoso, who now calls himself Miguel Cardoso to conceal his identity, and their wives.

Manoel Lopes Nuñez of Porto.

Manoel Lopes de Leon and his brothers, of Porto.

As the time was late, the session was adjourned. The witness stated that he was living here at São Cristovão in the house of the widow Branca da Costa.

He signed here with the Inquisitor.

*Francisco de Burgos*, clerk

*Hector Mendez Bravo*

*Ruy Fernandes de Saldanha.*

\* \* \*

On December 14th, 1617, at Lisbon in the chancery of the Holy Inquisition at the morning sitting of the Inquisitor, Licentiate Ruy Fernandez de Saldanha, Hector Mendez Bravo, New Christian, already in the records, was sent for. When he has appeared, an oath on the Holy Evangels was imposed on him that he should tell the truth in all things. He placed his hand on the Evangels, pledging himself under this bond to tell the truth and to keep the secret.

He said, continuing his confession, that he further remembered that beside the persons whom he had mentioned, many others live in Amsterdam. They are as follows (only the heads of

the houses were mentioned by him, and all these persons, their wives and children observe the Law of Moses, live in conformity with it and perform its ceremonies):

Francisco Roiz de Olivença, of Olivença, his wife and children; he does not know their names, but the wife is a sister of Diogo Nuñez Belmonte.

Belchior Lopez of Guarda or of Trancoso and his wife, of Villa Real.

Hieronimo Ruiz de Sousa of Porto, and his wife, whose name he does not know, but her father lives in Aveiro.

Paschoval Lopez, Castillian, he does not know where he comes from, and his wife and children.

Symão Gomez Dias of Guarda, married to a woman who is not living with him and resides in St. Jean de Luz.

Joseph Pinto of Santa Combadam, brother-in-law of Symão Gomez.

Antonio Martin Viegas, brother of Marcos Dias the apothecary who lives here in Poço de Chão, and is associated with Diogo Fernandez Rocha the silk merchant.

Antonio Roiz Frazão, of Porto or Viseu, brother-in-law of Francisco Caceres who lives in Porto.

Mathias Roiz the Younger, married to a daughter of Garcia Pimentel.

A son of Mathias Rodriquez the Elder, he thinks of Seville.

Jorge Pereira, a Castillian, he thinks of Madrid, married to a daughter of Duarte Pereira.

His uncle Duarte Pereira and his wife whose name he does not know.

Francisco Vas Pereira brother of Duarte, and his wife and eight sons.

Hieronimo Roiz Mendez, Castillian, he thinks of São Lucar and his wife.

His brother Duarte Roiz Mendez.

Francisco Goncalves Valverde, Castillian and Joam Goncalves Valverde his son, and their wives; he was in business here with Ruy Lopez de Murga and later on with Ruy Lopez Manhos.

Diogo Lopez, called 'O Sardo', of Lisbon.

Diogo Manoel, first cousin of Manoel Nunez de Mattos who lives in Amsterdam, also a Jew.

Manoel Carvalho, of Porto. He has lived many years in Brasil, he is of an advanced age and unmarried.

Francisco Lopez Rosa, son of the abovementioned Symão Lopes Rosa.

Estevão Cardoso, of Porto, a broker. He has a brother in Antwerp, called Diogo D'Aguilar, also a broker.

Lopo Ramires from here, son of the Doctor Hieronimus Nuñez, and his wife, daughter of Joam Ramires of Thomar.

Ruy Gomez of Lisbon, married to a daughter of the above Fernās Alvares de Mello.

Joam Cardoso of Porto, unmarried, son of the abovementioned Estevão Cardoso.

Francisco de Burgos, Castillian, married, and his wife and children.



- Luiz Nunez Machabeo: he does not know his origin but he is related to Manoel Drago here.
- Antonio Dias Toscano, of Mertola in Alentejo, with his wife and sister.
- Manoel Martins, Old Christian, who has been in the service of the present bishop of Algarve the Inquisitor General or of his predecessor, with his wife and children.
- Hieronimo de Andrade, of Ilha Teceira (Madeira), married to a daughter of the abovementioned Francisco Sanches.
- Francisco Gomez Henriquez, of Aveiro and his wife.
- Diego de Silva of Lisbon or of Fronteira; he thinks that he once kept a shop here, and his wife.
- Manoel Roiz Spinosa, a Castillian (he does not know where he comes from) and his wife.
- Paschoval Roiz, a silk-weaver who has been seized by this Inquisitor and his wife Leonor Cardoso and a son Nicolas.
- The lame Manoel Esteves of Viano da Caminha where his two brothers are living, and also his wife.
- Baltazar Pinel, of Lisbon, married to a daughter of Ruy Gomez da Costa.
- Diogo Gomez da Costa her brother who has been seized by this Holy Office, and his wife who is daughter of Mathias Roxo the Elder.
- Francisco Lopez d'Azevedo of Lisbon, newpew of the above mentioned Symão Lopez Rosa.
- Hieronimo Enriquez, he does not know whether he is from here or from Alfaiates; he has been living a long time in Brasil.
- Duarte Esteves de Pina from here, married to a daughter of the above-mentioned Beatris de Solis.
- Manoel Roiz de Olivença, of Villa de Olivença, and his wife.
- Antonis Nuñez Torres, of Villa Real, brother of Gaspar Nuñez of Madrid, and his wife.
- Sebastião Nuñez, brother-in-law of the abovementioned widower.
- Michael de Luna, son of the physician Montalto,<sup>92</sup> married to a daughter of Jeronimo Nuñez, the Physician, of this city.
- Manoel Cardoso, Old Christian, who has been seized by this Holy Office, a native of the Islands, and his wife, New Christian, of the Islands.
- Lopo Gomez, has been seized by this Holy Office, son of a doctor in Cascaes who is called "O Caldeirão."
- Antonio Mendez de Santa Comba, married to a sister of Francisco de Carceres of Porto.
- Symão Roiz da Costa, married to a daughter of Alexandre Antonio, who has been confectioner in Porto.
- Custodio de Paz of Alcobaça, his sister, wife and children.
- Anrique Nuñez who has here a brother, a doctor, and another one a goldsmith, the doctor's twin.

<sup>92</sup> Roth, *Marranos*. Philadelphia, 1932. Pp. 297, 311-2, etc.

Diogo Lourenço Peixoto of Lamego, married to a daughter of Diogo Lourenço of Antwerp.

Francisco Mendez do Porto, the Poet, of Porto, unmarried.

Bento Sanches, apothecary, of Alcobaça, and his wife.

Duarte Fernandez of Porto, father of Gaspar Lopez Enriques, who lives here.

Manoel Sanches who, while he was here, was cashier of Anriques Dias Millão, married to a niece of the abovementioned Duarte Fernandez.

Joam Ribeiro, lives on Indian Capital; he does not know where he comes from, but he is Portuguese, and also his wife, sister of the abovementioned Manoel Carvalho.

Francisco Mendez Trancoso of Porto or Visieu, and his wife.

Manoel Mendez Cardoso, who was contractor for playing cards here.

Solimão and his wife Catharina de Luna.

Alfonso Roiz Cardoso who kept a cloth-shop here, widower.

Manoel Mendez Crasto of Castro Daire, and his wife, daughter of the aforementioned Garcia Pimentel.

Antonio Lopez Pereira, brother-in-law of Manoel Mendes.

Francisco Nunez Homem married to a sister of Antonio Lopes Pereira.

Duarte Saraiva, he thinks of Lisbon and his wife, cousin of Duarte Dias Enriques.

Antonio Martins Viegas, already mentioned.

Vasco Gomez of Alcobaça, unmarried, and his mother Hieronima Gomez.

Diogo Gomez Duarte from here, married; he thinks that his father was burned by the Inquisition.

His brother, who has been studying printing here; he is an Epicurean or Atheist, not believing in any religion.

Duarte Fernandez Veiga of Antwerp, son of Luiz Fernandes, and his wife.

Manoel Fernandes, brother of the abovementioned Manoel Carvalho, who came from Brasil not long ago, and his wife.

Antonia Roiz, a mulatto woman from here, mother of Luiz Nunez, the goldsmith, and of Pero Ramirez.

Manoel Homem Vieira, son of Ruy Lopes Homem, unmarried.

Diogo Martins Bomdia, brother of the Carmelite friar, Martinho Bandra.

Duarte de Palacios from here, son of Manoel de Palacios, and his wife Angela de Solis, daughter of Anna de Solis.

Antonio Batelho from here, son of Manoel Batelho, who has been seized by this Holy Office, and his wife.

Paulo de Pina,<sup>10</sup> whom he believes to be of Lisbon; he has lived for many years in Brasil, and also his wife.

Manoel de Crasto son of Antam de Crasto, who has been seized by this Holy Office and his wife.

Diogo Dorta from here: has been seized by this Holy Office.

<sup>10</sup> Roth, *Marranos*, pp. 312, 312.

Francisco Dorta his brother, and their wives.  
 Francisco Coutinho, he does not know his origin, and his wife.  
 Henrique Nunez, confectioner, of Lisbon and his wife and children.  
 His son-in-law Miguel Roiz.  
 Francisco Gomez from here, son of Antam Gomez, who lives in Palourinho Velho.  
 Miguel Lopez Homem, son, or rather, brother, of Ruy Lopez Homem a merchant from here, and his wife.  
 Symão do Leam, of Porto, and his wife, daughter of Joaom de Fonseca of Coimbra.  
 Francisco de Oliveira of Aveiro and his wife and children.  
 Symao de Oliveira, of Aguiar, who has been clerk of civil causes here, unmarried.  
 Manoel de Campos, of Evora, brother-in-law of Manoel Matheus, a merchant here, and his wife, sister of Manoel Matheus' wife.  
 Manoel Cardoso Milão son of Anrique Dias Millão; his brother has been seized by this Holy Office.  
 Jorge Nuñez Enriques, who also has been imprisoned by this Holy Office for many years.  
 Bento Enriques of Lisbon, married to a daughter of Jorge Nuñez, also the wife of Jorge Nuñez.  
 Diogo Dias Ilhõa, of Lisbon, cousin of Diogo Lopes Ilhõa, and his wife, who has been imprisoned by this Holy Office; he does not know her name.  
 alvador Saraiva of the Kingdom of Galicia, and his wife.

All these abovementioned persons of the number of 119 including the atheist, and many others whose names he did not remember, if he ever has known them, live and reside in Amsterdam, observing publicly the Law of Moses, attending every day at the Synagogues of that town as has been stated, which the penitent himself has attended during the number of years which he had stated. They all treat themselves as Jews, which they are, and consider themselves as such; they perform the ceremonies of the Law of Moses, observing the Sabbath, reciting the Psalms according to their prayer book and keeping the fasts of that religion in conformity to the seasons and conjunctions of the moon on which they occur.

The witness stated farther, that beside these persons in Amsterdam, he went to Hamburg the principal port of Upper Germany and stayed there for two months for the sake of business he had there. He has seen there the persons whom he will mention, who perform and observe the ceremonies of the Law of Moses in three different Synagogues they have there: one, in the house of Rodrigo Pires Brandão, whom he believes to be of Lisbon; another, in the house of Alvaro Diniz, son-in-law of

Anrique Dias Millão; and the third in the house of Ruy Fernandez Cardoso of Lisbon. They assemble in these houses to perform all the ceremonies of the Jews as has been stated. The witness has seen these ceremonies performed by those whom he will mention and he himself has performed them together with the others. These persons are:

Gonçalo Cardoso, brother of the above Ruy Fernandez Cardoso and his wife.  
Diogo Alvares who has been merchant in Lisbon, his wife and two of his sons.

Rodrigo de Merchena from here, who now is called there Abraham Cohen de Herrera and he is minister.

His cousin, Alonso Nuñez de Herrera, and his wife.

Joam Ribeiro son of Gil Ribeiro of Setubal, born at Setubal.

Joam Gomez, Ludovico de Crasto and two more, four in all, sons of Ruy Fernandez Cardoso.

The doctor Ruy de Crasto,<sup>11</sup> nicknamed Doctor Tyrant, he is brother-in-law of Ruy Fernandez Cardoso being a brother of his wife, and also the wife of the doctor.

Three brothers, called Doctors, he does not know where they come from but they are Portuguese.

Antonio Vas of Mertola, widower.

The aforementioned Rodrigo Pires Brandão, his brother Manoel Frances, their wives and children.

Symão Diniz de Moraes, of Porto and his wife.

Diogo Soares Drago from here.

Felipe Dias Victoria of Aveiro, with three sons and two daughters.

Antonis Saraiva Coronel, he does not know where he comes from, and his wife, a native of Thomas and daughter of Joam Ramires, already mentioned.

Rodrigo Alvares de Crasto, his son-in-law.

Francisco Vas de Crasto and his wife Guiomar da Costa; he does not know where they come from, but they are Portuguese.

Pero Dias, he does not know his origin, but his father lives in the ghetto of Venice, and his wife is daughter of Enrique Nuñez of Amsterdam.

The mentioned Alvaro Diniz and his wife Beatriz Enriques.

Guiomar Gomez wife of the late Anrique Dias Millão, and mother of the abovementioned Beatriz Anriques and of another [in] India, both of them have been imprisoned by this Holy Office.

Pero de Palacios and Jacome de Palacios, brothers, of Lisbon, sons of Manoel Gomez Gallego.

The doctor Enrique Roiz, of Santa Comba, and his wife who has been imprisoned by this Holy Office; she is the daughter of Anrique Dias Millão.

<sup>11</sup> Roth, *Marranos*, pp. 230, 231.

Duarte Roiz, broker, brother of Diogo Alveras, merchant in Rua Nova at Lisbon.

Diogo Soares Drago from here and his wife.

Also the mother and children of the abovementioned Duarte Roiz.

The witness has known and dealt with the abovementioned persons, during the two months of his staying in Hamburg. He has seen them very often in the Synagogues, at one time at this, at another in others, performing (and he with them) the aforementioned ceremonies of the Law of Moses. They treated themselves as Jews and considered themselves as such.

The witness stated further that, while in Amsterdam whence he came back with the resolution to return to Lisbon in order to confess his sins and to submit himself to our Holy Catholic Creed, fifteen or twenty days before his departure, a ship with seventy-three Portuguese and Castillians arrived there. He talked with some of them, asking whence they came from and where they were going to. They told him that they came from S. Juan de Luz and that their goal was Amsterdam, and he understands that they went there in order to live according to the Law of Moses and to observe its precepts, as most of the Portuguese and Castillians living there observe them.

Questioned whether he has known in the countries of Italy, France or Flanders which he has visited, some other Portuguese, beside the abovementioned, who live according to some sect called religious which is observed by Heretics. He replied that he remembered nobody else, except a young man, whose name he does not know, son either of Diogo Lopes of Tancos, or of Francisco Costa of Tancos, or of Abrantes, a Franciscan friar. He believes that this man fled from this country because of an abominable crime he had committed. He lives at present in Amsterdam, observing the Law of Moses, attending at the Synagogue and performing there the ceremonies, as most Jews do. The witness does not remember anything more but he said that if he should remember else he would report it to this Office.

Questioned whether he knew if any of those he had mentioned, as renegades from our Holy Catholic Creed and believers in the Law of Moses, have come back or are coming back to this Kingdom and reside here: He replied that he does not know if any of the mentioned came back to this Kingdom, only that Luiz Vas Pimentel son of Bento Vas de Evora came back, as a Jew, to this Kingdom and was seized by the Inquisition. He has reconciled himself with the Catholic Faith but later relapsed and lives today as a Jew in Amsterdam. The witness has seen him, was acquainted with him and knows it.

Questioned whether all those he had mentioned by name, were

circumcised and how does he know it if they are. He replied that he understands and knows that all are circumcised because he has been present at the circumcision of some of them, and he knows that others are also, because no uncircumcised man is allowed to wear a white mantle on his shoulders or to put *tafelim* on his head or arm, but he has seen those mentioned to have done it.

Questioned whether he knew if those who reside in Amsterdam, Venice, Hamburg and other countries, visited by him, and who live according to the Law of Moses, have correspondence and dealings with merchants of this Kingdom, and what names they use for their correspondence and dealings. He replied that he knows some who have correspondence and dealings in this Kingdom and in Castille and use different names. These are:

Alfonso Lopes Chilão a Portuguese, already mentioned, who calls himself Cypriano Esterlins, and sends goods to Lisbon, he does not know to whom.

Antonio Martins Viegas: he thinks that he did not change his name, he keeps goods in Faro by arrangement with a New Christian, called Pero Machado. He knows this because he had revised his books.

Custodio de Paz, he thinks that he calls himself Francisco Pinto de Mendoc̃a and has business dealings in this town, he does not know where, I correct, he does not know with whom.

Bento Osorio who deals under his own name, with whom he does not know. He knows that Pero Gomez of Lisbon in Rua Nova, underneath the Arco dos Barretes, on the near side, deals with many of those who are in Amsterdam, but he can not remember their names.

Pero Gomez Dias a merchant, here, deals with Michael de Luna and Custodio de Paz.

In Viana Manoel or Joam Enriques deals with the mentioned Manoel Estevão. In Porto, Francisco de Carceres.

Also in Viana, Fernam de Sylva Solis deals with whom he does not remember.

Also in Porto Domingos, Lopes Victoria deals with many of the above-mentioned. He knows this from the Cargo-lists.

In Aveiro lives the father-in-law of Hieronimo Roiz de Sousa who has business relations in Amsterdam.

He does not remember anything else, but thinks that it could easily be known if when ships from Amsterdam come to Belem and to other harbours of this Kingdom, trustworthy persons are ordered to make inquiries and to inspect the lists of cargos and the addresses to which they are sent; for though some of those who send goods use different names from their own, most of them use their own names.

Questioned whether he knew if some Portuguese merchants who deal with Amsterdam have been in that town while he was

there, and if they came back to this Kingdom. He replied in the negative.

Questioned whether he knew, if Portuguese who live in Amsterdam, and especially those he had mentioned, were sending messages to their relatives in this Kingdom inviting them to come to Amsterdam. He replied in the negative, but thinks that appeals are sent that all should live according to the Law of Moses.

Questioned whether he knew if any merchant or Dutch ship-master carried tracts against the Religion for anybody of Portuguese nationality. He replied in the negative; neither does he know, if any Heretic came to this country with the intention to disseminate his errors.

Questioned if any Portuguese met by him in Amsterdam, Venice, and Hamburg has told him about others who live in this country in conformity with the Law of Moses: He replied in the negative.

Questioned if he became acquainted, since he has been here, with any merchant who was aware that he had believed in the Law of Moses: He replied in the negative.

Questioned if there is anybody or a group of persons in this town or in this Kingdom who have seen the witness in the Ghettos of Amsterdam, Venice or Hamburg: He replied that he has not met yet anybody whom he knew in those countries, neither is he aware if anybody knows him.

Questioned whether he has seen, while in Amsterdam, that Bibles in vernacular have been sent to anybody in this Kingdom: He replied in the negative.

Questioned if, while living in Amsterdam as a Jew, he has had correspondence or dealings with anybody in this Kingdom: He replied in the negative.

Questioned what was the reason why he abandoned the Law of Moses which he had embraced to save his soul, and come back to our Holy Catholic Creed: He said, that while he was living in Amsterdam, attending frequently at the Synagogue to perform the rites and ceremonies in which he put his faith, he often read the Holy Scripture. He was thinking, I correct — One day he was thinking about the contents of chap. LIII of the prophecies of Isaiah and it appeared to him that it ought not to be understood as the Jewish Rabbis understand and explain it. With this doubt in his mind he asked some of the Rabbis for an explanation of the chapter. He was told that it has to be understood as referring to whole people of Israel and its tribulations through which it was then passing. When he still did not accept the reasons they gave him, because (he said) it is impossible that

such particular circumstances told of an individual man should be interpreted as referring to a people, one of the Rabbis, called Isaac Iziel, of Fez, who has been in Spain, told him not to doubt so much and to believe as most of them do, and to avoid the opinion of the Carraim,<sup>12</sup> which is the same as to be an Heretic. He had been living amidst these doubts for two months when he had a conversation with a Flemish Catholic, a friend of his, called Joam Semic, merchant in Amsterdam. He told him about his perplexities and of his desire to meet a learned man who might explain to him this chapter. The merchant said that if he promised to keep the secret he would bring him to somebody who will satisfy his doubts, and put him on the right way. He promised to keep the secret, hoping that God might thus illumine him with the best way for His holy service. Under this promise, the merchant told him that a Franciscan friar disguised as a soldier, was living in Harlem and performing the Mass in secret for a number of people, who would guide him in what he desired to know. Thus they arranged that on the following Sunday they would go to Harlem, three leagues from Amsterdam, to meet the friar. On Sunday the witness and the merchant went in a coach to Harlem and came to the house of Joam Sars a Flemish Catholic, merchant. Here they met the friar whose name is Fray Pero de Anunciação, who was living in the Convent of S. Francisco in Lisbon forty years ago and now, though an old man, lives in Amsterdam disguised as a soldier with feathers and sword for greater safety to his person. The witness went out with the friar in the garden of the house and disclosed to him his doubts. The friar listened to them and then said that this chapter of Isaiah could not be understood but of Christ, our Lord, the true Messiah, God and Man. He ought to compare the passion of Christ with this chapter and will then perceive as in a mirror that it is speaking of Christ; and he must not let himself be misled by other explanations, which are all false. The friar exhorted him to become a true Christian, to return to the faith in Christ our Lord which he has abandoned. The witness told him that he would do it if he only knew how. The friar replied that he will guide him, and the first thing he must do is to leave Amsterdam because he will never be a good Catholic as long as he lives there. He told him further that nowhere better could he go than in the house of a Portuguese Catholic named Dom Manoel, son of Dom Antonio, in Delft, a league from Amsterdam who will give him shelter and where there will be Mass and Catholic people to converse with and that he, the friar, will stay there with him.

<sup>12</sup> I. e. Karaites.



The penitent took leave from Antonio Martins Viegas, to whom he wrote to Amsterdam that he had some business to do, and then went in the house of Dom Manuel. He stayed there a month, living as a Catholic and considered as such because he attended Mass whenever it was held. Then the friar came through Delft and the witness went with him to Rotterdam. Here he was placed by the friar under the protection of a Flemish Catholic named Gaspar Mormañ who was requested to aid him to go to Lisbon. The friar recommended the witness to go straight to his destination and, before reaching the harbour of Betlem, to write a letter to the Grand Inquisitor at this chancery of the Holy Office, informing him of the purpose of his coming. The friar assured him that he will be received with great mercy. Thus comforted, he resolved to return to faith of Christ our Lord, because it is true and good. Two months later the witness, desiring to save his soul and to abandon the errors in which he had fallen, went to Rotterdam on board a ship of a Flemish Catholic, Guilherme Rodrigo, and reached Betlem about a month ago. Arriving at the harbour, he wrote a letter to the Bishop and Grand Inquisitor, through a Flemish [gentleman], Dom Joam Alpemam, in the service of the Viceroy, whose wife travelled in the same ship from Delft. Dom Joam has told him that he would bring him a reply on the same day and asked him to come to see him after he disembarked. He disembarked after fifteen days during which the ship was lying at Betlem and went to the Bishop, who encouraged and soothed him and bade him to come back on Monday next, assuring him that he would give orders to arrange everything for his convenience. He then appeared in this office on last Monday and told the story of his life, confessing his sins which he greatly repented, and begging forgiveness and mercy for them. He grieved very much that he came so late to acknowledge his errors, from which he now entirely separated himself. His only faith is Christ our Lord and in it he wishes to live and to die. He is ready to accept whatever penance will be imposed on him.

He was told that he ought to render thanks to God for the mercy He has shown to him, by saving him from the errors in which he had fallen, and by leading him to the knowledge of His true faith. Now he has to be staunch in it because there is no other who will save him but Christ. He must reflect with care upon his sins, and if he remembers anything else, he must come and tell it; also if he knows that somebody else has committed sins against the Faith or lives separated therefrom. This he must do to discharge his conscience and for the sake of saving his soul. He should be very much encouraged and soothed because he came in this Office, of which the principle purpose is to guide the

souls towards their salvation and to use great mercy with everybody.

After the witness was told to confess entirely if he remembered anything else, the session was adjourned, because it was late. Concerning the usage, he said nothing. He was then admonished according to the law and ordered to appear here on Monday next, and appended his signature with the Inquisitor.

After the records of this and of the former session were read to him, the penitent declared that they are written in truth.

(Signed) *Francisco Burgos* clerk,  
*Hector Mendez Bravo*,  
*Ruy Fernandes de Saldanha*