

The Departure of Duarte de Paz from Rome in the light of documents from the Vatican Secret Archive

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Abbreviations:

ASF: Archivio di Stato di Ferrara

ASV: Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican City)

BA: Biblioteca de Ajuda, Lisbon.

CDP: Corpo Diplomático Português, 16 vols. eds. Visconde de Santarém/Jaime Constantino de Freitas Moniz/Luiz Augusto Rebello da Silva/António Ferrão/Possidónio Mateus Laranjo Coelho, Typographia Real das Sciencias, Lisbon, 1862-1961.

A.N./T.T: Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais da Torre de Tombo (Lisbon)

Since the nineteenth century Portuguese historian Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877) called attention to the figure of Duarte de Paz, he has been an almost legendary figure in Portuguese New Christian historiography. He has been alternatively considered by scholars as a conniving scoundrel¹ and looked upon favorably as a

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¹ Herculano refers to him throughout his *História da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, 3 vols, Livraria Bertrand, Lisboa, 1975-1976. There is an English translation of the book by JOHN C. BRANNER of which there are three editions: *History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal*, trans. John C. Branner, Stanford University, 1926;

leader in the New Christian struggle against the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal.² It is not our intention to enter into the debate, but rather to contribute to the knowledge of a little known period in his life, namely that of his departure from Rome and his subsequent movements, availing ourselves of drafts of papal briefs held by the Vatican Secret Archive.

The circumstances involved in his departure from Rome are telling as a reflection of the complexity of the early Portuguese New Christian diaspora network and reveal just how divided that world was in spite of their common purpose which was to counteract the introduction and consolidation of the Inquisition in Portugal and, after the latter was a *fait accompli*, to try to bring individual New Christians and their families to safety in what has been called the “rescue operation”.³ The details which come out of the months leading up to and the departure of Paz from Rome itself evince

Ktav Publishing House, New York, 1972 (with a prolegomenon by Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi); AMS Press, New York, 1968, and Kessinger Publishing Company, 2003. Throughout this article we will use the cited Portuguese edition. Herculano’s depiction of Paz is followed by JOÃO LÚCIO DE AZEVEDO (1855-1933) in his book: *História dos Cristãos Novos Portugueses*, Segunda edição, Livraria Classica Editora, Lisboa, 1975, pp. 73-79. He is also portrayed in a negative way by the German Jewish historian MEYER KAYSERLING (1829-1905), in his *História dos judeus de Portugal*, trad. Gabriele Borchardt Corrêa da Silva/Anita Novinsky, Introd. Anita Novinsky, Livraria Pioneira Editora, São Paulo, 1971, pp. 189-190.

² This is the recent interpretation given by CARLOS MANUEL VALENTIM, “Duarte de Paz: um líder da comunidade sefardita portuguesa em meados do século XVI”, in *Rumos e Escrita da História. Estudos de Homenagem a A. A. Marques de Almeida*, Coordenação de Fátima Reis, Lisboa, Edições Colibri, 2007, pp. 175-190. An impartial view is that held by the British Jewish Historian, CECIL ROTH, *A History of the Marranos*, Meridian Books/the Jewish Publication Society of America, New York/Philadelphia, 1959, pp. 69-73.

³ The expression is that of Aron di Leone Leoni. See his works which deal with the New Christian network, in particular: *La nazione ebraica spagnola e portoghese negli stati estensi. Per servire a una storia dell'ebraismo sefardita*, Rimini, Luisè editore, 1992, *The Hebrew Portuguese Nations in Antwerp and London at the time of Charles V and Henry VIII. New Documents and Interpretations*, KTAV Publishing House, Inc, Jersey City, 2005 and his article written in collaboration with HERMAN PRINS SALOMON: “Mendes, Benveniste, de Luna, Micas, Naschi. The State of the Art (1532-1558)”, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol, LXXXVIII, n.º 3-4, January-April, 1998, pp. 135-211.

how that “network” was fragile and divided and at the same time resilient.

Many of the events of Paz’s life have been already spelled out in detail. The son of Mestre João de Paz who had acted as a personal physician to King Manuel I (1469-1521, king of Portugal 1495-1521), his family had considerable economic holdings in the north of Portugal.⁴ A bearer of the habit of the Military Order of Christ, an honour conferred upon him by King John III (1502-1552, King of Portugal 1521-1552), Paz had gained favour at the Portuguese court for military service in the north of Africa. At an unknown date, though it would seem that between the end of 1531 and the beginning of 1532, he left Portugal, apparently entrusted with a special mission by King John III and, against the Portuguese sovereign’s wishes, set out for Rome.

The events surrounding his departure for Rome are still uncertain. It is not known if he was already approached in Portugal by the New Christian community to act as their representative in Rome. Historians have already dealt with his duplicity during his stay there. While representing the interests of the New Christians in Portugal he continued to try to maintain a certain rapport with the Portuguese king, their persecutor, attempting to convince him that he was also serving his interests and offered to provide him with information about the goings-on in the New Christian community in Rome.⁵ Whether this was all part of a stratagem to somehow aid the New Christians or whether, in effect, as it would seem, Paz only had immediate and personal interests at heart will perhaps remain a *vexata quaestio*.

What is obvious in any case is that he was a more than able negotiator and diplomat. Shortly after arriving in Rome he was able

⁴ Biographical details about Paz’s origins can be found in VALENTIM (2007) and another article by the same author: “Tomé Pegado de Paz: espião e servidor do duque de Naxos (1552-1578)”, in *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas*, n.º 4, 2004, pp. 283-341.

⁵ HERCULANO (1976), vol. I, pp. 255-259.

to curry favour with curial circles and be privy to news as to the activities at the court of Rome. On November 4, 1532, for example, he was able to write a letter to King John III, referring to himself as *Procurador de Vossa Alteza em Roma* in which he was able to furnish the Portuguese monarch with information about Pope Clement VII's (1478-1534) impending trip to Bologna to confer with Charles V (1500-1558) which had been decided in a consistory that day.⁶ He had gained immense favour in curial circles, being esteemed by all, clerics and lay people as well, if we are to believe the words of the Portuguese ambassador to the Holy See, D. Martinho (ambassador from 1532-1536), writing in 1535.⁷ On November 16, 1535, a safe conduct was made out to Paz to continue to live freely "...in dicta Urbe et quicquis aliis locis nostris et huic Sancta Sedis..."⁸ When, in the early months of 1536, he was attacked in Rome by a group of assailants he was taken care of in Castel Sant'Angelo, apparently by the express order of Pope Paul III (1468-1549).⁹ Suspicion naturally fell upon the Portuguese king who, it was known, was enraged upon learning of Paz's dealings in favour of the New Christians and wanted to have him stripped of the habit of the Order of Jesus Christ which he bore.¹⁰ In a papal brief of December 15, 1536, Pope Paul III decreed that Paz and his family could only be judged

⁶ The document is A.N./T.T., Corpo Cronológico, Maço 49, Doc. 20 and is published in CDP, vol. II, pp. 410-411. In the consistory of November 4, 1532, it was decided that Clement VII should leave for Bologna for his meeting with the emperor on November 12th, though in his letter Paz gives the date chosen as "...o dia de Sam Martinho" which is November 11th. See PASTOR, LUDOVICO, *Storia dei papi dalla fine del Medio evo*, Vol. IV, Desclée and c. editori, Roma, 1923, p. 428. The wording of the relevant text is the following: "A jda do Papa a ver-se com o Imperador esta asentada pera o dia de Sam Martinho. Oje iiii de Novembro em consastorio se dilatou. O Papa dizem que a deseja afim de nesta viagem fazerem em Florença buum co[n]selho pera ter aquele estado seguro, mas todo o resto desta corte nom queria sair dello".

⁷ The news comes to us in a letter sent September 13, 1535, published in the CDP, t. III, pp. 245-250.

⁸ Arm. XL, n.º 53, epist. 268, fol. 243. ASV.

⁹ See HERCULANO (1976), vol. II, pp. 136-137 and AZEVEDO (1975), p. 79.

¹⁰ See AZEVEDO (1975) p. 78.

by King John III's brother, Henry, bishop of Braga (1512-1580) and his successors.¹¹ In the following year the same Pontiff confirmed Paz in the habit of the Military Order of Christ, recalling his service to Christendom against the Muslims in Africa in a brief made out on November 30, 1537, allowing him, in addition, to carry arms.¹²

Independently of his motives or actions, certain important New Christian "victories" which managed to stave off the introduction of the tribunal of the Holy Office as a fully functioning institution do seem to coincide with the arrival of Paz in Rome and his first years in the city in the form of papal documents favourable to New Christians in Portugal under the pontificates of Pope Clement VII (1523-1534) and Pope Paul III (1534-1549): the brief *Venerabilis frater* of October 17, 1532 which suspended the functioning of the tribunal of the Inquisition;¹³ the bull *Sempiterno regi* of April 7, 1533 which confirmed the suspension;¹⁴ and the bull *Illius vices* of October 12, 1535 which established a general amnesty for New Christians in Portugal.¹⁵ The ultimate success of his efforts is, of course, questionable, for the Inquisition was finally established in Portugal on May 23, 1536 during his tenure as representative of the New Christians in Rome.¹⁶

¹¹ Published in the collection of documents in eight volumes assembled by SHLOMO SIMONSOHN, *The Apostolic See and the Jews. Documents 1522-1538*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, vol. 4, 1990 as document 1811, pp. 2049-2054.

¹² Arm. XLI, n.º 8, fols. 300-301, ASV.

¹³ Published in SIMONSOHN, vol. 4, (1990) as document 1565, pp. 1840-1841 and partly published in CDP, vol. III, p. 409.

¹⁴ Published in SIMONSOHN, vol. 4, (1990) as document 1601, pp. 1856-1864, and in the CDP, t. III, on pp. 430-433.

¹⁵ Published in SIMONSOHN, vol. 4, (1990) as document 1765, pp. 1995-2008, and in the CDP, t. III, pp. 254-256.

¹⁶ The bull, *Cum nihil magis* is published in SIMONSOHN, vol. 4, (1990) as document 1787 on pp. 2028-2032. Paz's real effectiveness and his actual role in the diplomacy behind the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal are still in need of further study. Portuguese scholars have generally relied upon Portuguese published and archival sources. A more thorough understanding will have to be derived from comparing Portuguese and Vatican archival sources.

Duarte de Paz's activities in Rome coincide with the dispatching of Marco Vigerio della Rovere (d. 1560) as Papal nuncio to Portugal in September 1532, a position which he held until the beginning of January 1536,¹⁷ and with the presence in Portugal of Girolamo Capodiferro (1502-1559) from April 1537 to December 1539.¹⁸ Both had as part of their instructions from popes Clement VII and Paul III the resolution of the New Christian question and both had extensive dealings with members of the New Christian community both inside and outside of Portugal, among others, with Duarte de Paz. Paz's efforts did not then just limit themselves to the curia in Rome but extended themselves to influencing these Papal diplomats as well.

It would seem that Paz's stature as the representative of the New Christians in Rome had peaked by the beginning of 1538. During his years in Rome he had obtained the favour of the papal secretary at the time, Ambrogio Ricalcato, who fell into disgrace at the end of 1537, being arrested on account of charges of corruption.¹⁹ The correspondence between Ricalcato and Vigerio della Rovere bears out Paz's influence on Ricalcato as he instructs the latter in the correct dealings with the New Christians and the New Christian question. In March and October 1535 Paz had even personally written out the text of letters by Ricalcato to Vigerio della Rovere, which were apparently dictated to him by the papal secretary.²⁰ This

¹⁷ The circumstances of Vigerio della Rovere's mission and those of the other nuncios to Portugal for the first half of the sixteenth century have been admirably studied and documented by CHARLES-MARTIAL DE WITTE in his *La correspondance des premiers nonces permanents au Portugal 1532-1553*, 2 vols, Academia Portuguesa da História, Lisboa, 1986. He recounts the events of Vigerio della Rovere's diplomatic stay and later years in vol. I, pp. 33-55 and publishes both Vigerio della Rovere's correspondence and letters which regard his stay in Portugal in vol. II, pp. 7-183.

¹⁸ De WITTE deals with CAPODIFERRO's stay in (1986), vol. I, pp. 58-63 and publishes the correspondence in vol. II, pp. 185-397.

¹⁹ Ricalcato relieved of his functions as secretary and imprisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo on December 28, 1537. See DE WITTE (1986), vol. I, p. 410.

²⁰ Published by DE WITTE as documents 28 and 44, in (1986), vol. II, pp. 105-107 and 162-165.

relation between Paz and Ricalcato apparently continued on for several years for the correspondence with Vigerio della Rovere's replacement, Girolamo Capodiferro, is rife with instructions to negotiate benefits for the New Christians on the part of the papal secretary.²¹ After Ricalcato's fall from grace he was replaced by the pope's young grandson, Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589) who was guided in his work by his preceptor Marcello Cervini (1501-1555) who went on to become Pope Marcello II (pontificate April 9, 1555-May 1, 1555).

As had been mentioned, Paz led his struggle on two fronts: one directly in curial circles in Rome and the other through contacts with the Papal nuncios in Portugal. In the end of course they were one in the same as the end result that he sought was to influence John III's policies in Portugal. From the very beginning of Vigerio della Rovere's stay in Portugal, Paz is present in the diplomat's correspondence in which he is always mentioned as *il comandante*.²² Upon his arrival there he had to deal with the problem of the publication and the application of *Sempiterno regi* by Clement VII which was being opposed by King John III. In Portugal he apparently received instructions that Duarte de Paz would be responsible for raising funds to support the effort to have the bull enforced.²³ It would seem that Duarte de Paz promised to provide 20,000 ducats to Clement VII in exchange for the papal privileges in favour of the New Christians in Portugal.²⁴ As we have seen, that pope had con-

²¹ See the correspondence already cited in note 9.

²² See for example his first letter from Lisbon in October 1532 in DE WITTE (1986), vol. II, doc. 4, pp. 13-24.

²³ See the letter by Marco Vigerio della Rovere to Pietropaolo Carnesecchi of November 20, 1533 in DE WITTE (1986), vol. II, p. 37.

²⁴ "*Il detto comandante ha detto a Sua Santità che haveva promesso al condam papa Clemente 20,000 ducati et che Sua Santità ordinassi la vita del populo in futuro in uon da dua modi: aut committere causam si privilegia eis concissa per regem debant servari et che, trovandosi de iure che si dovessino servare, data la sententia, sé li daria detto servitio.*" Letter by Ambrogio Ricalcato to Marco Vigerio della Rovere on March 17, 1535 in DE WITTE (1986), vol. II, pp. 105-107.

sistently favoured the New Christians with bulls and briefs, to the consternation of the Portuguese king, even making out a brief on his death-bed reinforcing the general pardon to the New Christians laid out in *Sempiterno regi*.²⁵

Throughout the correspondence, Vigerio della Rovere complains, at times bitterly, about the lack of funds which are expected in order to enforce the papal measures against the functioning of the Inquisition and in favour of the general pardon of the New Christians.²⁶ It would seem that in March 1535 the representatives of the New Christians there had provided a part of the 20,000 ducats promised by Duarte de Paz, but the rest of the payment of the sum promised was incumbent upon the publishing and enforcing of the general pardon.²⁷ Vigerio della Rovere's correspondence indicates that already in 1535 there was a rift in the New Christian network between Paz and the New Christians in Portugal. In a letter written in November 1535, to Ambrosio Ricalcato, he claims that the New Christian representatives in Portugal alleged that they could not pay the sum requested and that they did not recognize Duarte de Paz as their mediator in the question of the negotiations of the privileges with Rome.²⁸ In another letter written several months later the nuntio even states that the New Christians accused

²⁵ The brief was made out on July 26, 1534. Pope Clement VII died on September 25, 1534. It is published in published in SIMONSOHN, vol. 4, (1990) as document 1669, pp. 1906-1907. A Portuguese translation of the text exists in the CDP, t. III, pp. 82-83.

²⁶ See, for example, his letter of March 5, 1535 to Ambrogio Ricalcato, in DE WITTE (1986), vol. II, docs. 25, pp. 97-99.

²⁷ In a letter of March 13, 1535 written in Evora, Marco Vigerio della Rovere claims that the New Christians had already paid 10,000 ducats and were willing to pay an additional 5,000 once the measures of *Sempiterno Regi* were enforced. See DE WITTE (1986), vol. II, doc. 26, pp. 100-101.

²⁸ This appears in a letter written from Lisbon on November 20, 1535. The following wording appears in code: "*Son già stato in pratica con questi christiani novi, quali sino a qui mi paiono molto alieni a voler compire quel che'l commendador ha promesso, allegando impotentia et che esso commendadore non haveva tal commissione?*". DE WITTE (1986), vol. II, doc. 45, p. 166.

Paz of stealing the money originally entrusted to him for his negotiations and using it instead for his personal use.²⁹

The correspondence of Vigerio della Rovere's successor is filled with the same disparaging observations regarding Duarte de Paz on the part of the New Christians in Portugal. In a letter of November, 1537 Girolamo Capodifero, writing to Ricalcato from Lisbon, claims that the New Christians were not disposed so much as to pay *un quattrino* for his services and that even after insisting upon the importance of Paz's services in Rome and the personal risk he incurred on their behalf he received a lukewarm reaction.³⁰ Two

²⁹ The letter is from Braga and written of March 1, 1536: "*Quando avisai del receipto de le di V.S. del ultimo di ottobre, li scrissi la difficoltà trovai ne la prima pratica con questa gente circa il voler attendere le promesse del commendatore. Dapoi de la quale, prima partisse de Lisbona, ne hebbi molte altre né fu rimedio, né con persuasioni né co 'l metterli timore, servato il decoro come La mi commanda, poterne cavar altro se non che fariano quanto si erano per scritto meco obligati, non potendo più et che se 'l commendatore havea promesso non era stato de lor commissione, anzi havea ciò fatto per ruinarli con N.S., promettendo quello che era certo non possevano attendere; lamentandosi di lui sopra modo che li havea robbati et che sapevano havea 4000 ducati in banco in Roma, li quali erano loro et ne facevano servitio a S.Sta che sé li pigliasse. Vista tal resolutione, gli dissi in favor del commendatore quel che mi parse: soggiogendoli, poichè credevano havea ciò fatto per ruinarli, non doveano loro adempir la sua mala volontà, come facevano, non attendendo imperò che et N.S et li sui ministri si reputariano ingannati, vedendo essi restar contenti della expeditione et mancar de li mezi l'avianò causata et procedendosi di questo modo, dubitavo ne futuro retrovassero S.Sta et tutti li altri freddi". In the same letter he also writes: "Circa il commendatore non penso siano per darli danari per li officii et se faranno alcuna cosa, credo sarà constituirli alcuna certa provisione. Et se questo si farà, procederà dal opra mia; la qual se non era, mi parevano resoluti non negociasse più cose loro, restando de lui molto scandalizati. Pur mi son sforzato lo intertenghino et si portino ben di esso loro et sia più parco nel spendere, ché si dogliono sino al cielo che habbi già speso 10.000 ducati, né possono padire quella lettera scritta a V. S. che costoro si stringono nel attendere. Però da qui in avanti sarà necessario le promesse siano in scritto et non in voce, poichè non vogliono stare se non a la scrittura". DE WITTE (1986), vol. II, doc. 47, pp. 170-173.*

³⁰ "Sarà anco a proposito a far fede ch'io scrissi la verità che La sia certa che questi christiani novi, dico li più et li maggiori, non volevano sentir fumo del commendatore et per nissuna maniera lo volevano soccorrere da un quattrino, accusandolo che li haveva fatto spendere li occhi et che non pensava senon a farli trarre, gravandosi extremamente che lui scrisse molti giorni una lettera al re de qualità che per lui non restò che non fusseno ruinati del mondo et che non volevano che sé impacciasse più in loro negotii. Et sappia V.S. che tutto questo lo causa che, non parlandosi quasi fin de Inquisitione, pare loro haverne poco de bisogno. In difesa del quale, secondo i suoi benemeriti, ho parlato con alcuni di questi tali et fattoli constare quanto li devono loro et chi verrà di loro, né anco li ho possuto far cangiare opinione, contutto che habbia mostro che li doveriano dirizzare statue et consecrarlo per haver sparso fino al proprio sangue per causa loro.

months afterwards, in another letter to the papal secretary, he claimed once again that the New Christians were averse to his handling of their affairs in Rome and no longer considered him as their representative.³¹

The disfavour in which Duarte de Paz had fallen amongst the Portuguese New Christians both at home and abroad has long been known to scholars. Deprived of the financial support of the New Christians it was evidently impossible to continue to live in Rome.³² It would seem that in January 1538 his mandate was considered over by the New Christians in Portugal and the Capodiferro, writing in that month directly to Paz, claimed that he would receive the money owed to him through Ambrosio Ricalcato on account of his efforts which the New Christians in Portugal refused to give to him.³³ He would seem to have been eclipsed by their new representative, Diogo Antonio, a cleric from Coimbra who is referred to as *militi*

Ultimamente, poichè il voler metterglielo in gratia era uno affaticarsi in vano, con questi che negotiano meco per il populo ho ragionato con più efficacia, astringendoli a riconoscerlo et premiarlo, ancorchè non fusse di piacere di tutti". De Witte (1986), vol. II, doc. 58, p. 193.

³¹ The letter is dated January 5, 1538 and written in Lisbon. Ricalco's arrest was obviously unknown to him. "*Di nuovo dico ch'io ho usato quella miglior arte ho saputo con questi christiani novi per indurli a pagar li 7.000 ducati per Sua Santità et li ho sempre trovati più obstinati, dicendo loro il commendatore haver data parola di questo non solo contra l'ordine loro, ma che pure non gli lo commisero mai". De Witte, (1986), vol. II, doc. 63, p. 215.*

³² See, for example, HERCULANO (1976), vol. II, pp. 231-232 and AZEVEDO (1975), p. 79.

³³ "*Ho fatto tutta quella diligenza che mi è stata possibile per tirar di mano a costoro li 7.000 ducati per Sua Santità et non è mai stato ordine che vogliano dire di haverli promessi, ma stanno duri come huomeni di sua testa che Vostra Signoria non bebbe mai tal ordine da loro et non li vogliono dare. Loro si obligano ben per iscritto a pagar 10.000 ducati al papa se li farà gratia quello che dimandano in certi capituli delli quali mando copia a Ambrosio et non li scrivo a Lei, perchè da Sua Santità potrà haverli tutti et considerarli maturamente et anche intendere quello più che occorre circa le altre cose particolari per le quali havevo di negoziare col re di commissione di Sua Santità per moderazione della bolla. Io li ho già scritto come havevo già cominzato a negoziarle et non ne cacciavo resolutione et potria esser che don Pedro [Mascarenbas] ne avesse a parlare costi, dove La potrà star advertita per el servitio del populo. Et io tengo certo che per haver in questo quello che desiderate sarà necessario che, alla fine, Sua Santità venga col re a mezza lama et dice che non lo fa che lei farà secondo il parer suo, perchè d'altra maniera la cosa andaria troppo a lungo. Li 2.000 ducati che mi hanno dati questi che negociano meco per il populo, rimetto a messer Ambrosio da repartirsi 700 [al signor Pierluigi Farnese] et altrettanti ad esso messer Ambrosio, 500 a Vostra Signoria et 100 a Antonio [d'Elío] et messer Hieronimo [Dandino]". Published as document 67 in DE WITTE (1986), vol. II, p. 227.*

militie Beate Maria de Roncesvalles and who was in Rome perhaps since the end of 1534.³⁴

Charles de Witte suggests that a crucial factor in Paz's decision to leave Rome was the imprisonment of Ambrogio Ricalcato and that his successors, Alessandro Farnese and Marcello Cervini, did not take kindly to his dubious *modus operandi*.³⁵ The documents published by him indicate that, in effect, for a short time Paz did make an attempt at maintaining a certain prestige in curial circles. In January 1538, for example, he wrote a letter to Alessandro Farnese offering advice as to how the pope should proceed with the Portuguese court and he revealed the details of a letter which he received with news about New Christians in the Low countries and England.³⁶ This was followed by another letter in which he offers broad advice regarding the handling of sensitive matters, in particular, how to deal with the new Portuguese ambassador to the Holy See from 1539 to 1540, Pedro Mascarenhas (1484-1555) whose arrival was already announced. He displays throughout an acute knowledge of day to day events in the Portuguese court. It was evidently an attempt to impress upon the new papal secretary how indispensable he was as an intermediary between important figures, a master of diplomacy and one with special access to news, in particular proceeding from the court of King John III.³⁷ Obviously Farnese and Cervini must have thought otherwise as Paz then decided to leave the city.

Scholars have been divided as to what Paz did after this. Both

³⁴ Diogo Antonio's arrival in Rome would seem to be borne out by the safeconduct made out for him and dated November 12, 1534 in Arm. XL, 49, fol. 285. ASV. A brief of January 6 1538 places him and his family under the direct protection of cardinal D. Afonso. Arm. XLI, 9, fol. 39-45, ASV which is published in Simonsohn vol. 4, (1990), as doc. 1849, pp. 2083-2084. On Diogo António see HERCULANO (1976), vol. II, p. 231, Kayserling, (1971), pp. 189-190 and De Witte (1986), vol. II, pp. 275-276.

³⁵ DE WITTE (1986), vol. I, pp. 386-386.

³⁶ DE WITTE (1986), vol. II, doc. 68, p. 228.

³⁷ DE WITTE (1986), vol. II, doc. 76-A, pp. 753-760.

Herculano and Azevedo claimed that he went on to Venice.³⁸ De Witte, on the contrary, basing himself on the collection of drafts of papal briefs in the Archivio Segreto del Vaticano pointed out that apparently he went on to Antwerp.³⁹

There are, in effect four briefs made out in the name of Paul III in the month of February 1538 which claim that Paz was to go on to Antwerp. The first, dated February 7, 1538, is directed to all heads of state and individuals who may encounter Paz who, it claims it travelling “...*pro negociis et rebus suis...*” along with “...*tribus aut quattuor familiaribus seu servitoribus...*”⁴⁰ The second brief, signed February 8, 1538, is addressed to Mary, Queen of Hungary (1505-1558), sister of Charles V and then governor of the Low Countries (1531-1555), to allow him to travel to Antwerp on behalf of the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber who was, at the time, cardinal Pierpaolo Parisio (1473-1545), the canonist and known protector of the New Christians in the curia, to deal with a confiscation of goods belonging to some Portuguese New Christian merchants which were valued at 20,000 ducats: “...*quoddam sequestrum super bonis ac rebus quorundam mercatorum ex novis christianis Portugalliae, summae viginti millium ducatorum auri...*”⁴¹ On the same day as the brief addresses to the governor of Flanders the draft of another brief was made out to *Cardinali Leodien*, which designates Cardinal Eherhard von der Marck (1472-1538), bishop of Liège as well as several other sees such as

³⁸ HERCULANO (1976), vol. II, p. 232 and AZEVEDO (1975), p. 79.

³⁹ DE WITTE (1986), vol. II, p. 275.

⁴⁰ The text is published as document 1 in the Documentary Appendix. I must thank Dr. Mirko Stocchi for his invaluable assistance in the transcription of the documents from the ASV which are published in this article.

⁴¹ The text is published as document 2 in the Documentary Appendix. On Parisio and the debate on the legitimacy of the forced conversion see the article by GIUSEPPE MARCOCCI: «... per capillos adductos ad pillam». Il dibattito cinquecentesco sul battesimo forzato degli ebrei in Portogallo (1496-1497)”, in *Salvezza delle anime, disciplina dei corpi. Un seminario sulla storia del battesimo*, a cura di Adriano Prosperi, Edizioni della Normale, Pisa, 2006, pp. 339-423.

⁴² *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi sive summorum pontificum, S.R.E cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series, volumen tertium saeculum XVI ab anno 1503 compectens quod cum*

Valencia,⁴² to intercede on behalf of Paz before Queen Mary to ensure that Paz is able to safely enter her state.⁴³ Lastly, on February 8 another brief was made out in favour of Paz, addressed to the heads of the states and individuals who he could encounter on his journey to Antwerp to collect the 20,000 ducats to allow his safe passage through their lands.⁴⁴

When Paz left and for how long he stayed in Antwerp we do not know. At least two independent sources also claim that Paz demanded satisfaction of a sum of money for the expenses incurred during his service as representative of the New Christians in Rome, though they differ as to the amount.⁴⁵ We can only assume that Paz was perceived with apprehension by the New Christians in Antwerp if, in fact, he ever really reached the city.

The next news we have of Paz places him in Ferrara in December 1538, where, it would seem, he remarried.⁴⁶ How long he

societas Goerresiana subsidio, eds. Konrad Eubel, Wilhem Van Gulik, *Sumptibus et typis Librariae Regensbergianae*, Monasterii, 1910, p. 221.

⁴³ The text is published as document 3 in the Documentary Appendix.

⁴⁴ The text is published as document 4 in the Documentary Appendix.

⁴⁵ Renata Segre quotes a document held in the ASF which claims that Paz demanded that the sum be exacted from (...*quibuscumque christianis novis regni Portugaliae tam in Flandria quam ubicumque existentibus*...). The source is *Not.*, matr. 455. Romano Calncetta, b. I, 28 gennaio 1540 from the ASF and is quoted in her article: "La formazione di una comunità marrana: I portoghesi a Ferrara", in *Storia d'Italia, Annali II, Gli ebrei in Italia, Dall'alto Medioevo all'età dei ghetti*, Ed. Corrado Vivanti, Giulio Einaudi editore, Torino, 1996, pp. 791-792. ARON DI LEONE LEONI published an official report on the accusations of a Portuguese New Christian, Loys Garces, who denounced several New Christian merchants in the city of Bruges on July 5 and 6, 1540 in which he claims that Diego Mendes mentioned Paz's request of 2,000 ducats as payment for his services to the New Christians in Rome: "...y que platicando con un Manuel Serrano a quien nos el dicho djego mendez se descubre le puso crecidos temores a este declarante [...] que les podia acusar e descubrir algo trayendo a consecuencia un duarte de paz que estava en Roma por negociador dellos porque pidio doss mijll ducados que dixo que avya gastado en solicitar los negocios dellos,..." Leone (2005), p. 144.

⁴⁶ This is mentioned in a letter written in Rome on December 22 by Alessandro Farnese to Girolamo Capodiferro. See DE WITTE (1986), vol. II, doc. 104, p. 338. At the time he had at least two sons from his marriage to Catarina Pegada, Tomé Pegada and João de

remained there, as in the case of his stay in Antwerp, is also a mystery. A papal brief of November 13, 1538 had offered Paz the right to travel and continue to reside in the city of Rome: “...*ad hanc Almam Urbem nostram, iustitie complementum petiturus venisti et in ea ad presens moraris et diutius permanere desiderans...*” which would indicate that he was in Rome at the time that he requested the right to continue to reside there, a privilege which would extend itself to all the territories of the Papal States.⁴⁷ Two days afterwards, on November 15, 1538, another papal brief was made out in favour of Paz, to allow him to maintain his status as a member of the Order of Christ but without having to don the habit which consisted of the distinctive cross: “...*ad gestandum crucem in vestimentis tuis et ad quedam alia observandum et agendum tenearis, tamen ob nonnullas rationabiles causas desideras in premissis omnibus liberari...*” perhaps so as to avoid being conspicuous.⁴⁸ Both briefs were undersigned by Cardinal Girolamo Ghinucci (1480-1542), the bishop of Ascoli Piceno, Worcester and Malta and Secretary of papal briefs since 1535, a known defender of the New Christians who was called by Pope Paul III to offer an solution to the theological problem of the legitimacy of the use of the Inquisition in Portugal against the New Christians and their descendents.⁴⁹

During the Spring of 1538 negotiations were under way through Girolamo Maretto, the diplomatic representative of Ercole II (1508-1559), the Duke of Este and ruler of Ferrara, to induce prominent Portuguese New Christians to leave Antwerp to settle in his lands.⁵⁰ One of the key figures among the New Christians was Diego

Paz, at least according to the testimony of Tomé in his Inquisitorial trial of 1578 in Lisbon published in Valentim (2004), pp. 316-317.

⁴⁷ The brief is published as document 5 of the documentary appendix.

⁴⁸ The brief is published as document 6 of the documentary appendix.

⁴⁹ HERCULANO (1975), vol. II, p. 69.

⁵⁰ For the background to the invitation see the article by ARON LEONE DE LEONI, “La diplomazia estense e l’immigrazione dei cristiani nuovi a Ferrara al tempo di Ercole II”, in *Nuova rivista storica*, LXXVIII (1994), fasc. II, maggio-agosto, pp. 293-326.

Mendes (died 1543), the prestigious Portuguese banker, a recognized leader of the New Christians in the port city. It would seem that one of his conditions for accepting the Duke's invitation was to be assured he would not meet Paz in the streets of Ferrara.⁵¹ The diffidence with respect to Paz was shared, it would seem, by several members of the New Christian community in Ferrara. Paz was denounced to the Duke in November 1539 by another prominent New Christian, Sebastião Rodriguez, on account of his "secret" dealings with King John III and his alleged attempts to extract money from the New Christians along with Charles V and to render their passage impossible through Spanish territories in Lombardy.⁵² Both Kayserling and Azevedo claim that he was in fact imprisoned in Ferrara on account of his actions towards his New Christian brethren.⁵³

A letter of March 10, 1540 by Pedro Mascarenhas to King John III states that Ferrara had been imprisoned by the duke of Este and that he was also banned from the court of Rome on pain of death due to defamatory letters which he sent.⁵⁴ A document inserted in the diplomatic correspondence of Mascarenhas claims to be a sentence pronounced by the *Gubernator urbis* who upheld the decision of *Benedictum de Valentibus de Treuio* who was the fiscal agent of the Apostolic Chamber in the case.⁵⁵ The sentence claims that Paz was condemned on account of some defamatory comments published in Rome: "...nonnullis enormissimis diffamationibus de quibus in libello et litteris diffamatoriis stampatis seu stampa impressis ad Urbem.."

⁵¹ SEGRE (1996), pp. 789-792.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 792.

⁵³ KAYSERLING (1971) p. 190/AZEVEDO (1975), pp. 79-80.

⁵⁴ "De Duarte de Paaz me nom veo mais anyso; e o derradeiro que tyve foy estar preso em Ferrara per mandado do duque, sobre trampas, que amtre elle e seus parentes nunca faltam. Ele nom pode vir a esta corte porque está condenado a morte polas cartas defamatoyas que aquy mandou, como a Vossa Alteza tenho feito a saber per outra". CDP, vol. IV, p. 293.

⁵⁵ The document is published as document 7 in the Documentary appendix. This copy from the BA carries no date. I must thank Professor Jadranka Neralić for transcribing the document for me and Dr. Sonia Pascoal of the BA for allowing me to obtain a copy of it.

against “...*spectabiles viros dominos Didacum Antonium vtriusque iuris doctorem et ordinis beate Marie de Ronces Valles commendatorem ac dominum Alfonso Va(..)az in Curia residentes...*” He was condemned, in addition to excommunication *late sententie* and to have his goods confiscated, to be deprived of all “...*officia et beneficia, honores et dignitates iam obtentas seu in futurum obtinendas...*” he was sentenced to be hanged “...*facturarum in patibulo suspendendum ibique exortens naturalem pati...*” We have not found the original sentence which presumably should be in the Archivio di Stato of Rome. The *gubernator urbis* from March 1538 to 1542 was Benedetto Conversini (1491-1553).⁵⁶ Herculano speculates that the reason behind the sentence could have been concern his declarations against the New Christian representatives could have implicated members of the curia who had engaged in dealings with the Portuguese agents in Rome.⁵⁷

It would seem that at some point Paz could also have been in Venice from where he composed a text providing news about New Christians in Lisbon in order to curry favour with King John III, a text which was later copied and sent to the Portuguese ambassador in Rome in the last few months of 1539.⁵⁸ Several months earlier Mascarenhas, on October 4, 1539, had sent another text to the

⁵⁶ Conversini became *Gubernator urbis* on March 21, 1538 and held the post until April 14, 1542 when he was named Governor and vicelegate in Bologna. On October 15, 1538 to his post of governor of Rome was added those of Vice chamberlain and Auditor general of the causes of the Curia of the Apostolic Chamber in accordance with a usage of the time which tended to unite the positions. See NICCOLÒ DEL RE, *La cura romana. Lineamenti storico-giuridici*, terza edizione nuovamente rifatta ed aggiornata, Edizioni di storia e letteratura, Roma, 1970, pp. 298-299. On Benedetto Conversini see the article by Gigliola Franito in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 28, Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, Roma, 1983, pp. 570-574.

⁵⁷ HERCULANO (1975), vol. II, p. 236.

⁵⁸ “*Pero Carollo me mandou de Veneza o trelado d’um esprito que lhe Duarte de Paz dera para mim, o qual nom quis dar de sua letra por ser aviso de cristãos novos de Lisboa, em que elle ha que faz grande serviço a Deos e a Vossa Alteza em m’avisar. E quer nisto tanto segredo como Vossa Alteza vera no proprio esprito que lhe com esta mando. Pero Carollo me escreve que lle vio agora em Veneza os crystãos novos que est’outro diz no esprito, os quaies está certo virem aby a fazer framqua sua pasajem e a dos outros que se esperam*”. Letter of December 2, 1539, CDP, vol. IV, p. 228.

Portuguese monarch, a copy of an original short work which was apparently directed to Pope Paul III in which Duarte de Paz at length spells out strict measures to be taken with the New Christians which he depicts in the most abject of terms. He concludes the text by offering his services to the the Holy See and to the Emperor Charles V, insisting on his intimate knowledge of the New Christian world in order to deal with them more effectively. Presenting himself as a sincere Christian, he claims that all he has done in the past was done in earnest with the express desire of serving Christ.⁵⁹

At some point Paz left Europe for the Ottoman Empire, according to Azevedo, first embracing Judaism and taking up the name David Bueno and later becoming a Muslim.⁶⁰ For its part the next news the Vatican Archive seems to offer us about Paz is the revocation of the privileges which were made out to him and his family in 1536 to not be submitted to the jurisdiction of the Portuguese Inquisition. The brief, dated October 28 1542, states that

⁵⁹ *“In quibus me submitto Sanctissimo Domino Nostro et Sancte Sedi, et fateor me quamquam ignorantissimo far questo moso di zelo di fede, e di desiderio che ho di veder andar per bona via quelli homini, dei quali io ho sempre mediante la giusticia abbraciata la sua causa.*

Et si la Sanctità di Nostro Signore et la Sacra et Cesarea Maestà vorranno mia servitù, et adoperar che io possa meter ad executione il desiderio che ho da servir a Nostro Signor Jesu Christo, et de exaltamento di nostra santa fede catholica, io li mostrerò in detto negotio cose importantissime et che sonno molto da considerar, et tutte quodammodo miraculose et tangente alla nostra santa fede.

Et circa quelli, che fugirono a Portugallo condannati in Castiglia, dirò a Sua Santità et ad Sua Sacra et Caesarea Maestà cosa giustissima et honestissima, che li piacerà molto.

Et si sarà nissuno, che dica che io, non mosso di zello della fede, come dico, ma perche detti nuovi christiani mi denegano pagare ciò che mi sono obligati, et mi perseguitano, dico questo li rispondo che quale il zelo mio sia Dio lo sa, et il mondo lo ha visto del primo di che trattai questo negotio, et il secondo è vero et di questo mi è venuto in mente uno argomento tanto forte che mi ha fatto veder chiaro quello che io sapeva et dico, cioè, che per denaro patiranno la morte, et per non perder denaro sarrano bonissimi christiani et si absteranno di peccare. Et in questo Dio mi ha fatto secondo sua molta misericordia, che i buomini da bene per le ingratitude et ingiurie fategli etiam da suoi principi diventano mali et fanno male, et io, si era malo, spero in la pietà di Christo tornar buon, e bono perbo o malo, sempre dirò in questo cose bone giuste et vere in laude et gloria di Jesu salvator nostro, al quale prego mi guarde delle insidie, falsitate et doli di detti heretic’. The entire work is reproduced in CDP, vol. IV, pp. 200-204..

⁶⁰ HERCULANO (1976), vol. II, pp. 236-237 and AZEVEDO (1975), p. 80.

not only did Paz revert to Judaism but also professed the faith of the Turks "...*prefatus Eduardus postmodum Christianam fidem abnegaverit, et non solum ad Hebraicam perfidiam redierit, verum etiam Turcarum sectam publice profiteatur et damnabiliter...*" hence warranting the consequences set out in the brief.⁶¹

It would seem that Paz lived the following years in the Ottoman Empire. José Lúcio de Azevedo claims that he wrote a letter on December 12, 1545 from Aleppo to the Portuguese ambassador in Rome, D. Afonso de Lencastre (served as ambassador in Rome from 1550 to 1555) apparently with a view to being reconciled with King John III.⁶² As José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim pointed out, the letter must have been written at least after 1551, because Lencastre was only present as ambassador in Rome after that year. He proposes that the date on the copy of the letter published by Azevedo must have been the product of the error of a copyist.⁶³

He also apparently made an attempt to reach Rome for on August 10, 1552, Pope Julius III (1487-1555, pontificate: 1550-1555) made out a safeconduct to Duarte, addressing it to him as a member of the Military Order of Christ.⁶⁴ This would seem to be the last mention of him in the documents of the Archivio Segreto del Vaticano. This document, like so many others related to Paz is clouded in mystery for we do not know if he ever availed himself of it. Years later his son, Tomas Pegado, in his Inquisitorial trial in Lisbon was to claim that he met with him in Turkey upon his arrival there 1552 where he was summoned by his father where he was to be in the employ of the Joseph Nasi (ca 1524-1579).⁶⁵ The documents from the Archivio Segreto del Vaticano shed no further light on Paz's last years.

⁶¹ The brief is published in SIMONSOHN (1990), vol. 4, as doc. 2181, pp. 2311-2311 and in CDP, vol. V, p. 123.

⁶² AZEVEDO (1975), pp. 446-447.

⁶³ JOSÉ ALBERTO RODRIGUES DA SILVA TAVIM, *Judeus e Cristãos-Novos de Cochim. História e memória (1500-1662)*, Edições APPACDM Distrital de Braga, 2003, pp. 213-214.

⁶⁴ The brief is published as document 8 in the Documentary appendix.

⁶⁵ VALENTIM (2004), pp. 316-317.

In order to have a full and comprehensive vision of Paz and his role in the Portuguese New Christian network in the early years of the struggle against the Inquisition in Portugal it is clear that scholars must draw on a number of sources both deriving from the curia and the papal court in Rome and from the Portuguese national archive in addition to other possible archival holdings. Only then will the full story of this singular individual and that of the real organization of the efforts of the New Christians in that critical moment of their history, in and outside Portugal, be able to be fully told.

DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX

Document 1

ARM. LXI. N° 9

PAULI III. BREVIUM MINUTARUM, IAN., FEB., MAR., APR.
MDXXXVIIJ, TOM. I.

Folio 189, n° 118]

Universis et singulis, quibus hae nostre littere presentabuntur, salutem.

Cupientes dilecto filio Eduardo de Paz, militi militiae Jesu Christi Portugallensis, praesentium exhibitori ad diversas christianitatis partes pro negociis et rebus suis eunti tutum, liberum ac commodum iter ubique esse, omnes et singulos principes, potentatus, res publicas, comitatus ac particulares personas hortamur et requirimus in Domino, subditis vero nostris mediate vel imediate subiectis ac personis ecclesiasticis precipimus, ut dictum Eduardum cum tribus aut quattuor familiaribus seu servitoribus suis eorumque bonis rebus ac sarcinis per omnia loca vestra, tam terra quam aqua et tam eundo quam redeundo, etiam sine alicuis oneris solutione, tuto ac libere transire permittatis et faciatis, eisque de hospitiiis ac victui necessariis pro honesto pretio, necnon de comitiva et salvo-conductu, si opus fuerit et ipse Eduardus vos requisierit, benigne provideatis. Quod erit nobis pergratum.

Dat. Romae, VIJ Febr. 1538.

Videtur posse concedi sed non possum suscribi ob chiragram.

Blos.

Document 2

ARM. LXI. N° 9

PAULI III. BREVIUM MINUTARUM, IAN., FEB., MAR., APR.
MDXXXVIIJ, TOM. I.

Folio 199, n° 127]

Reginae Mariae, viduae, gubernatrici Flandriae.

Carissimae etc.

Dilectus filius, Odoardus de Paz, miles militiae Iesu Christi Portugallensis, praesentium exhibitor, obtinuit, sicut accepimus, a dilecto filio curiae causarum Camerae Apostolicae generali auditore quoddam sequestrum super bonis ac rebus quorundam mercatorum ex novis christianis Portugalliae, summae viginti millium ducatorum auri, prout ex ipso sequestro latius et clarius continetur. Cum autem idem Odoardus Antwerpianam pro petenda ipsius sequestri executione proficiscatur petieritque a nobis, ut eum Tuae Maestati pro hoc commendare dignaremur, nos, etsi superfluum iudicamus iustitiam tuae serenitati, que iustissima est, commendare, tamen pro paterno nostro erga ipsum Odoardum amorem eum cum sua iustitia Tuae Maiestati ex animo commendamus, te in Domino hortantes et requirentes, ut in exequendo dicto sequestro eidem Odoardo benigne favere cumque, sicut nobis relatum est, potentes adversarios habeat, ei quod libere ac tuto iustitiam suam petere ac in locis tuis ob id versari possit concedere tuisque officialibus, ut idem faciant, ordinare velis. In quo facies nobis rem gratissimam.

Dat. Romae, VIIJ. Febr. 1538 a°. 4°.

Videtur posse concedi sed non possum suscribere ob chiragram.

Document 3

ARM. LXI. N° 9

PAULI III. BREVIUM MINUTARUM, IAN., FEB., MAR., APR.
MDXXXVIIJ, TOM. I.

Folio 200, n° 128]

Cardinali Leodien.

Dilecte fili noster salutem.

Commendamus charissimae in Christo filiae nostrae Mariae, Hungariae reginae viduae, Flandriae gubernatrici, dilectum filium Odoardum de Paz, militem militiae Iesu Christi Portugallensis, praesentium exhibitorem, ut quoddam sequestrum, quod pro summa viginti millium ducatorum auri super rebus ac bonis nonnullorum mercatorum ex novis christianis Portugalliae a dilecto filio curiae causarum Camerae Apostolicae generali auditore legitime obtinuit, Antverpiae sui medio favoris executioni demandari facere possit. Scientes etiam cuius auctoritatis tua circumscriptio apud ipsam Mariam reginam gubernatricem merito sit, eundem Odoardum tuae quoque circumspectioni pro iustitia commendare voluimus. Quamobrem te hortamur, ut ipsi Odoardo apud ipsam Mariam reginam pro suae iustitiae executione favere nostra causa velis. Quod erit nobis pergratum.

Dat. Rome, VIIJ febr. 1538 a°. 4°.

Videtur posse concedi sed non posum subscribere ob chiragram.

Document 4

ARM. LXI. N° 9

PAULI III. BREVIUM MINUTARUM, IAN., FEB., MAR., APR.
MDXXXVIIJ, TOM. I.

Folio 201, n° 129]

Universis et singulis principibus, potentatibus, res publicis, comitatibus, officialibus ac particularibus personis, quisbus he nostre littere presentabuntur, salutem.

Cum dilectus filius Odoardus de Paz, miles militiae Iesu Christi Portugalensis, praesentium exhibitor, sequestrum summae viginti millium ducatorum auri super rebus ac bonis quorundam mercatorum Portugalliae a dilecto filio curiae causarum Camerae Apostolicae generali auditore legitime obtinuerit, prout ex eodem sequestro clarius devotionibus vestris constabit, et pro ipsius sequestri executione ad loca vestra veniat, vos omnes et singulos supradictos hortamur et requirimus in Domino, subditis vero nostris mediate vel immediate subiectis precipimus et mandamus, ut eidem Odoardo in dicto sequestro executioni demandando omnes opportunos favores prebere et preberi facere, utque tuto ac libere iustitiam suam in locis vestris petere possit, concedere et permittere velitis. Quod erit nobis pergratum.

Dat. Romae, VIIJ febr. 1538 a° 4.

Videtur posse concedi sed non possum suscribere ob chiragram.

Document 5

Arm. XLI. N° 11

PAULI III BREVIUM MINUTARUM SEPTEMBRIS, OCTOBRIS, NOVEMBRIS,
DECEMBRIS MDXXXVIII TOMUS III.

Folio 437, n° 999]

Dilecto filio Eduardo de Pace, militi militiae Iesu Christi Portugallensis.

Dilecte fili salutem etc.

Precibus tuis super hoc nobis humiliter porrectis inclinati tibi, qui sicut accepimus ad hanc Almam Urbem nostram, iustitie complementum petiturus venisti et in ea ad presens moraris et diutius permanere desiderans, liberum ac tutum saluum conductum et omnimodam securitatem, ita quod in dicta urbe et quibusvis aliis locis nobis et huic Sancte Sedi mediate vel immediate subiectis, absque aliquo reali vel personali impedimento permanere, stare, conversari ac negociari et inde ad libitum tuum discedere, nec etiam pretextu quorumvis⁶⁶ debitorum extra urbem et loca praedicta per te hactenus⁶⁷ contractorum et delictorum ubicumque⁶⁸ commissorum detineri, aut civiliter vel criminaliter molestari seu perturbari possis auctoritate apostolica tenore praesentium ad nostrum beneplacitum cum disdicta quindecim dierum concedimus et elargimur. Inhibentes omnibus et singulis urbis et locorum praedictorum gubernatoribus et barisellis ac aliis officialibus et executoribus, ne te contra praesentium litterarum tenorem quomodolibet molestare audeant vel praesumant sed eas tibi inviolabiliter observent et observari faciat cum effectu.

Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinatibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum, etc. Romae XIII. novembris 1538 a°. 5°.

S. D. N est contentus.

Hier car. Gbi.

Fab. Vigili

⁶⁶ Follows *delictorum seu* which is cancelled out.

⁶⁷ Follows *commissorum* which is cancelled out.

⁶⁸ *et-commissorum]* added on at the margin. *sin.*

Document 6

Arm. XLI. N° 11

PAULI III BREVIUM MINUTARUM SEPTEMBRIS, OCTOBRIS, NOVEMBRIS,
DECEMBRIS MDXXXVIII TOMUS III.

Folio 447, n° 1005]

Dilecto filio Eduardo de Pace, milite militiae Iesu Christi Portugallensis.

Dilecti fili salutem.

Exponi nobis nuper fecisti, quod licet tu ex constitutionibus militiae Iesu Christi Portugallensis, quam expresse professus es, ad gestandum crucem in vestimentis tuis et ad quedam alia observandum et agendum tenearis, tamen ob nonnullas rationabiles causas desideras in premissis omnibus liberari. Quare nobis, humiliter supplicari fecisti, ut votis tuis annuere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur, quibus dictae causae ac rationes note sunt, huiusmodi tuis precibus inclinati, tibi quod donec extra dictum regnum Portugalliae permanseris ad gestandum dictam crucem in tuis vestimentis vel ad dicta alia agendum aut observandum minime tenearis, dummodo orationes et preces, quas ratione dictae militiae quotidie recitare teneris, quotidie recites et alia animam concernentia⁶⁹ facias, auctoritate apostolica tenore praesentium concedimus et indulgemus pariterque tecum super hoc dispensamus.

Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ac dictae militiae stabilimentis, usibus et naturis, etiam apostolica auctoritate confirmatis, ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

Dat. Romae a[pu]d S[anctum] P[etrum], 15 Novembris 1538 a° . 5°.

Feci verbum cum S. D. N.

Hier. Car. Ghi.

Blos.

⁶⁹ *et-facias]* added on at the margin. *sin.*

Document 7

Christi nomine inuocato pro tribunali sedentes et solum Deum pre oculis habentes per hanc nostram diffinitiuam sententiam seu pronuntiam quam de iuris | peritorum consilio pariter et assensu ferimus in his scriptis pronunciamus, sententiamus, decernimus et declaramus in causa et causas que coram | nobis inter magnificum et egregium virum dominum Benedictum de Valentibus de Treuio vtriusque iuris doctorem Sanctissimi domini nostri pape fisci et Ca | mere apostolice procuratorem fiscalem agentem ex vna et Edoardum de Paz Portugallen. de et super nonnullis enormissimis diffamatio | nibus de quibus in libello et litteris diffamatoriis stampatis seu stampa impressis ad Urbem et quamplures curiales per dictum Edoardum | contra et aduersus spectabiles viros dominos Didacum Antonium vtriusque iuris doctorem et ordinis beate Marie de Ronces Valles com | mendatorem ac dominum Alfonso Va(..)az in Curia residentes sepe et sepius per diuersos viatores transmissis et destinatis rebusque aliis in | actis cause et causarum huiusmodi latius deductis et illorum occasione reum conuentum et inquisitum, ex altera prefatum Edoardum | de Paz ex causa transmissionis et destinationis dictorum libelli et litterarum diffamatoriarum ita enormiter in dictos dominos Didacum | Antonium et Alfonso Va(..)az factarum in patibulo suspendendum ibique exortens naturalem pati ac omnium quorum bonorum con | fiscationis et excommunicationis late sententie aliasque de iure cenuras et penas incurrisse et incidisse declarandum et conueniam | dum fore et esse prout declaramus et condemnamus inhabilemque et penitus incapacem ad quecunque officia et beneficia, ho | nores et dignitates iam obtentas seu in futurum obtinendas ac infamem et publicum diffamatorem ab omnibus teneri repu | tari ac vt talem arctius euitandum fore et esse decernimus et ita pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus omni meliori modo.

Ita pronunciamus, declaramus, sententiamus, condemnamus omni meliori modo.

Benedictus gubernator Urbis.

Correspondencia de Pedro Mascarenhas, fol. 33, 49-IX-36, BA.

Document 8

Arm. XLI. N° 65.

PAULI III BREVIUM MINUTARUM IULII, AUGUSTI, SEPTEMBRIS MDLII
TOMUS III.

Folio 165, n° 535]

f. 165^r] *Dilecto filio Eduardo de Paz, militi militiae Ihesu Christi Portugalensis.*

Dilecte fili salutem, etc.

Precibus tuis super hoc nobis humiliter porrectis inclinati tibi, qui sicut accepimus ad hanc Almam Urbem nostram et alias Christianorum partes venire et permanere desideras, liberum ac tutum saluum conductum et omnimodam securitatem, ita quod in dicta urbe et quibusvis aliis locis nobis et huic Sancte Sedi mediate vel immediate subiectis absque aliquo reali vel personali impedimento, permanere, stare, conversari et negotiari, et inde ad libitum tuum discedere, nec etiam pretextu quorumvis debitorum per te hactenus contractorum et delictorum commissorum detineri aut civiliter vel criminaliter molestari seu perturbari possis, auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium ad nostrum beneplacitum cum disdicta⁷⁰ quindecim dierum⁷¹ concedimus et elargimur. Inhibentes omnibus et singulis locorum praedictorum gubernatoribus et barisellis et aliis officialibus et executoribus, ne te contra praesentium tenorem quomodolibet molestare audeant vel presumant sed eas tibi inviolabiliter observent et observari faciant cum effectu.

Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum. Rome, a[^{pud}] S[^{anctum}] M[^{arcum}], X augusti 1552 a° 3°.

⁷⁰ Follows *unius mensis* which was cancelled out.

⁷¹ *quindecim dierum*] added on at the margin. *sin.*

Ad relationem reverendissimi domini mei infrascripti⁷² attestans de mente Sanctissimi expediatur. I. card. Puteus.

Reverendissime Domine mi observatissime. S.^{mus} D. Nr. est contentus quod concedatur salvus conductus Eduardo supradicto ad beneplacitum S. S^{tis}. cum disdicta quindecim dierum, videlicet quod a die intimationis disdictae debeat exiisse urbem et dominium Ecclesiae. Humillimus servitor, Hieronimus car.^{lis} Imolen.

f. 165^v] *Pro Eduardo de Paz, milite militiae Iesu Christi Portugalensis.*

⁷² *infrascripti*] added on at the margin. *sin.*