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THE FONSECAS OF LAMEGO BETWIXT AND BETWEEN COMMERCE, FAITH, SUSPICION AND KIN

On September 18, 1578 a Portuguese New Christian, a descendant of the Portuguese Jews who forcibly adopted Christianity in 1497, took the stand in Lisbon before his accusers at the tribunal of the Inquisition of that city. For Tomé Pegado da Paz it was a homecoming of sorts. Pressed by his interrogators, Tomé provided them with details about his life's journey. He claimed that he had returned to the Christian world ostensibly to reconcile himself with the faith he had been raised in but later abandoned, only to find himself on trial in his homeland. His return to Portugal took place over twenty years after he had left the kingdom, apparently at the behest of his father, the infamous Duarte da Paz, a man known to historians on account of his dubious role as one of the representatives of the New Christians in Rome from 1532 to 1538, eventually settling in the Ottoman empire where he lived first as a Jew then as a convert to Islam¹.

Leaving Portugal to meet up with his father in the Ottoman Empire, in his own way Tomé Pegado da Paz emulated Duarte's path, converting first to Judaism upon reaching Turkey then to Islam. Like his father he was able to find favor with the influential and the powerful, drawing upon his role as an intermediary between East and West, navigating between languages, cultures and creeds and making of the knowledge of the goings on in the Christian and the Muslim

¹ The trial was partly published by C.M. VALENTIM in his article *Tomé Pegado da Paz: espião e servidor do duque de Naxos (1552-1578)*, «Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas», 4 (2004), pp. 283-341. It is held in the Portuguese national archive as Processo da Inquisição de Lisboa 10906, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. On the Paz family see C.M. VALENTIM, *Uma Família de Cristãos-Novos Entre Douro e Minho: Os Paz. Reprodução Familiar, Formas de Mobilidade Social, Mercancia e Poder (1495-1598)*, Unpublished Master's dissertation in Modern History presented in 2007 at the University of Lisbon. On Paz family in Rome see J.W. NELSON NOVOA, *The Departure of Duarte de Paz from Rome in the light of documents from the Vatican Secret Archives*, «Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas», 7 (2007), pp. 273-300.

worlds a prized commodity. A longtime resident in the Ottoman Empire with intimate and detailed knowledge of both the world of Iberian converts who had embraced the ancestral Jewish faith and Muslim society which oversaw it, in his trial depositions Paz flaunted his wanderings, contacts and experiences during his twenty year estrangement from Portugal.

His declarations before the tribunal provided rich descriptions of people and places, of voyages and encounters, of transformations and adaptations. Once there he curried favor with the Portuguese *converso* financier and community leader who had already been known in the most important courts in Europe, João Micas (1524-1579), who, after his flight to Turkey and subsequent embrace of the Jewish faith in 1553, was known as Yosef Nasi, a name equally known, respected and feared for his links to the court of the Sultan in which he had become enshrined as the Duke of Naxos². Nasi was, like his equally prestigious aunt Gracia Mendes/Gracia Nasi (1510-1569), a galvanizing figure among the Portuguese New Christians who had chosen to embrace the Jewish faith in the Sublime Gate³. These individuals who arrived in the Ottoman Empire, after years spent in Portugal and some of Europe's most important financial centers, had valuable information to trade and sell. One of these centers where several of them spent time in was Rome, the seat of the Roman Catholic Church and the court of a ruler who oversaw a state in its own right. Rome, especially in the sixteenth century, became a coveted destination for many throughout Europe on account of the opportunities it offered for gain, most especially through ecclesiastical institutions such as the Apostolic Chamber which required the intervention of merchant

² On Nasi see C. ROTH, *The House of Nasi: The Duke of Naxos*, Philadelphia 1948, P. GRUNEBaum-BALLIN, *Joseph Nasi, duc de Naxos*, Paris 1968, H. PRINS SALOMON-A. DE LEONE LEONI, *Mendes, Benveniste, de Luna, Micas, Nasi. The State of the Art*, «The Jewish Quarterly Review», LXXXVIII (1998), 3-4, and the following articles by J.A. RODRIGUES DA SILVA TAVIM: *O aviso anónimo sobre João Micas na coleção de S. Vicente*, «Anais de História de Além-Mar», V (2004), pp. 251-282, *Conversos: a península desejada. Reflexões em torno de alguns casos paradigmáticos (séculos XVI-XVII)*, «Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas», 6 (2006), pp. 259-295, *Jews in the diaspora with Sepharad in the mirror: ruptures, relations, and forms of identity: a theme examined through three cases*, «Jewish History», XXV (2011), 2, pp. 175-205.

³ On Dona Graça see C. ROTH, *Dona Gracia of the House of Nasi*, Philadelphia 2009, M.D. BIRNBAUM, *The Long Journey of Gracia Mendes*, Budapest 2002, A. AELION BROOKS, *The Woman who Defied Kings: The Life and Time of Doña Gracia Nasi*, Saint Paul (Minn.) 2002.

bankers in Rome and their correspondents throughout the world in places over which the Chamber had jurisdiction⁴.

This article deals with one Portuguese family of Jewish origin, the FONSECAS and their incursions into commerce in Rome. In their case, as in many others, the suspicion of somehow still adhering to the faith of their forefathers followed them from Portugal to Italy, provoking the attention of civil and ecclesiastical authorities in both places. What is at issue here is not whether the allegations were correct. Rather, the concern is how they were able to work around the existing climate of diffidence to their advantage. Ultimately, the concern of this family, as many other, was to create commercial networks which were based on the promotion of their kin. This could have been attained through constant mobility which allowed them to travel to and fro between courts, political allegiances and even between religious faiths. At times it took the form of permanence which implied settling in specific contexts to make inroads there both for themselves and their families. The case of the Fonseca family, which had family members and economic interests in places that extended from Portugal, Italy and the Ottoman Empire, is but one example of individuals who used commerce as a means of social mobility, economic gain and legitimacy in the face of the disadvantages which their *converso* origins could hold for them.

Accusations from Rome, Lisbon and Evora

In the sixteenth century, Rome and the Pontifical court was a cardinal point in European diplomacy, a place where knowledge, secrets, gossip and news was generated and exchanged. The different political factions present in the city and represented either in the Curia, among cardinals, or through diplomatic agents of various kinds, were often decisive in deciding papal policy and conclaves. Because of its position in the Italian peninsula, it was also of central importance as a place of contact with the Levant, which represented, as for all Eu-

⁴ The Apostolic Chamber was the administrative body which oversaw the finances of the universal church, which had undergone profound changes and required the services of resident merchant bankers who increasingly sought to make inroads into the city. On the Apostolic Chamber and the finances of the Pontifical State in that period see P. PARTNER, *Papal Financial Policy in the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation*, «Past and Present», 88 (1980), pp. 17-62.

rope at the time, a constant menace⁵. The Ottoman Empire was a force to contend with for all of Europe, in particular for Portugal, and the second half of the sixteenth century was a crucial period during which it sought to make inroads into the Indian ocean either directly through conquest or through its reliance on strategic alliances⁶. News on the inner workings of the Ottoman world, court intrigues, military preparations, its economic and commercial state, was gathered by an often carefully organized network of spies who worked throughout the Levant.⁷ Rome was, for Portugal, a privileged vantage point from which to gather information on the goings on in the Levant⁸.

Possibly with a view to deflecting attention from himself or as an example of the kind of crucial information he was privy to, Tomé evoked an individual he heard of though perhaps never encountered directly. The name of António da Fonseca was mentioned by him in his testimony on May 15, 1579. This «cristão-novo residente em Corte de Roma» was accused by him of sending letters to Yosef Nasi containing important information on the military preparations and planning against the Ottomans undertaken by Juan de Austria, as well as being mentioned as a constant source of information which was purveyed to the Ottoman authorities among Jews in Istanbul who belonged to Nasi's inner circle about ten years previously to his testimony⁹. In addition to António, Tomé mentioned two brothers of

⁵ For an overview of the relations of the Holy See and the Levant throughout the Middle Ages and Early Modern period see K. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, 4 vols., Philadelphia 1976-1984.

⁶ On the Portuguese-Ottoman geopolitical conflict in the Early Modern period see the articles in *Revisiting Hormuz. Portuguese Interactions in the Persian Gulf Region in the Early Modern Period*, edited by D. Couto and R.M. Loureiro, Wiesbaden 2008.

⁷ D. COUTO, *L'espionnage portugais dans l'empire Ottoman au XVIème siècle*, in *La découverte. Le Portugal et l'Europe. Actes du colloque, Paris, les 26, 27 et 28 mai 1988*, edited by J. Aubin, Paris 1990, pp. 243-267.

⁸ On the importance of the Portuguese embassy in Rome see M.A. LIMA CRUZ FAGUNDES, *Contribuição para o estudo dos correios entre Portugal e Roma no século XVI*, «Arquivos do centro cultural português», 1 (1969), pp. 463-467, and M. DO R. DE SAMPAIO THEMUDO BARATA DE AZEVEDO CRUZ, *Os diplomatas portugueses em Roma no século XVI e as informações acerca do turco e da Índia*, «Portugaliae Historica», 1 (1991), pp. 103-138.

⁹ VALENTIM, *Tomé Pegado de Paz*, p. 339. On the years previous to the formation of the Holy League and the period after the battle of Lepanto see K.M. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, IV, *The Sixteenth Century from Julius III to Pius V*, Philadelphia 1984.

his, Jacome and another whose name he could no longer remember, who had fled to the Ottoman Empire, embracing Judaism and adopting Jewish names, Jacob Aboab and Mosse Aboab respectively¹⁰. Jacome apparently had two sons, whom Paz had met in Istanbul. At least one of them, Moyses, was allegedly in regular contact with his uncle António and travelled to Rome to collect 800 cruzados from him twelve or thirteen years before for some kind of commercial operation¹¹.

The presence of Jacome da Fonseca in the Ottoman Empire had already been borne out, years before, in a letter of a Portuguese ambassador, Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos, who represented Portugal in Rome from 1550 to 1559. Writing to King John III to tell him about the death of Pope Julius III on March 23, 1555, he relates that some days before the pope's demise Jacome da Fonseca had fled to Salonica. From Vasconcelos's letter we learn that Fonseca, along with two fellow Portuguese, one António Lopez and his brother in law Simão Lopez, were accused of obtaining papal briefs in order to get people to leave Portugal: «ordenarão nesta corte huma certa alquimia de fazer expedições de pessoas dese reino»¹².

Jacome was also accused by the ambassador of shady business practices with his brother, Antonio da Fonseca who, at the time, was living in Lisbon. Vasconcelos claimed that in addition to getting people to leave Portugal they were tampering with the rate of exchange and practicing usury, obtaining a yield of 620 *reiais* for one *cruzado*, well above the current rate of exchange¹³. He also stated that it was common knowledge in Rome in the Portuguese community that both were, in fact, Jews and that they regularly meddled in ecclesiastical matters, especially dealing with ecclesiastical benefices for personal gain. They were also accused of monetary speculation, of having funds in Portugal, gathered in *oura da Mina*, which were subsequently sent on to Flanders where interest was gained on them and were subsequently sent on to Rome to their advantage¹⁴.

¹⁰ VALENTIM, *Tomé Pegado de Paz*, p. 340.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² *Corpo Diplomático Português contendo os actos e relações políticas e diplomáticas de Portugal com as diversas potencias do mundo desde o século XVI até os nossos dias*, edited by José da Silva Mendes Leal, VII, Lisboa 1884, p. 378.

¹³ Between 1539 and 1555 one *cruzado* was generally worth 500 *reiais*. See V. MAGALHÃES GODINHO, *Os descobrimentos e a economica mundial*, Lisboa 1985, 2, p. 66.

¹⁴ *Corpo Diplomático Português*, VII, pp. 378-379. On the Portuguese gold trade

A third source mentioned Jacôme's flight to the Ottoman Empire and the devious business deals with his brother. On March 20, 1575 the Apostolic collector in Portugal, Giovanni Andrea Caligari, wrote to the secretary of Pope Gregory XIII cardinal Tolomeo Gallio from Evora. In his letter Caligari provided Gallio with news about Portugal and abroad. The better part of his letter however, dealt with what kinds of religious dissent and minority groups existed in the kingdom, despite the country's outward, stalwart Catholicism. The nation, according to Caligari, was menaced from within by foreign heretics and, even more dangerously, on account of two groups native to Portugal which were insidious and tenacious: *cristiani nuovi* and *confessi*, which in his terms were falsely converted moors and Jews, the latter of which were the most dangerous on account of their economic prominence. In Portugal and abroad they asserted their economic clout by dominating international commerce. According to the apostolic collector they kept to their own *tribu*, marrying among themselves, assisted in this by António da Fonseca who obtained dispensations from consanguinity in Rome for them. He refers that years before a brother of his, whose name Caligari does not mention, dedicated himself to the same practice, enriching himself as a result over the years, before fleeing to Constantinople. He was obviously referring to António and Jacome da Fonseca, the brothers from Lamego¹⁵.

Years later, suspicion around António was to surface again. More than ten years after his death, in April 1599, a Portuguese Observant Franciscan, Francisco Goes, testified before the tribunal of the Inquisition in Rome, informing about Portuguese New Christian converts to Judaism who residing there and in Venice. He claimed to have met a man who donned the turban of a Levantine Jew in Venice and whose name was *Aboabi* in Hebrew. The man in question said he was António da Fonseca's nephew and according to Goes he had almost convinced him to present himself to the tribunal in Rome, reconciling himself to the Christian faith. *Aboabi* claimed to have already been in Rome during his uncle's lifetime and excused himself for not embracing the Catholic faith then and remaining, invoking a wife and children in the Ottoman Empire aside from his deviant ways.

based in São João de Mina (current day Elmira in Ghana) see J. PERREIRA, *Le troc de l'or à Mina pendant les règnes du roi Jean III et du roi Sébastien*, in *La découverte*, pp. 173-215, and MAGALHÃES GODINHO, *Os descobrimentos*, 1, pp. 168-182.

¹⁵ The document is published as document 1 in the documentary appendix at the end of the article.

He had returned to Italy in order to obtain an inheritance of 10,000 *scudi* from his uncle¹⁶. His father's name is not mentioned but he was possibly one of Jacome's sons evoked by Tomé Pegado da Paz years before in Lisbon. Even after death it would seem, the doubts about the Catholic orthodoxy of Fonseca's family lingered.

If we are to accept Tomé Pegado da Paz's and Francisco Gões's testimony and Vasconcelos's and Caligari's reports as valid, Jacôme had chosen to join the ranks of fellow Portuguese *conversos* in the Ottoman Empire who had chosen to embrace the Jewish faith. He had been perhaps been compelled to out of fear for a change in the favorable papal policy towards *conversos* which he could have suspected during the last months of Pope Julius III's life¹⁷. He may have been buoyed by the hope of greater gain in the Levant where he may have already had important commercial ties. Salonica in particular, by the middle of the sixteenth century could boast one of the most important, prosperous and culturally dynamic Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire, largely made up of Iberian *conversos* who had become Jews. While he was to choose to settle in the Sublime Gate his brother António was to take his place in Rome, to attain status and prestige which Jacome could only have dreamt of.

The FONSECAS of Lamego

The presence of Jacome in Rome dates from at least 1543. By that year he is alluded to as a recognized representative, agent or procu-

¹⁶ «Trovai un altro a Venetia con un turbante da giudeo levantino et diceva essere nipote di un Antonio Fonseca, quale è morto in Roma et che lui si chiamava un tal Fonseca della città di Lamego et si fa chiamare in ebreo Aboabi et costui l'havevo quasi ridotto che venisse a presentarsi qui in Roma al Santo Ufficio et haveria fatto opera che riscotesse il legato di X mila scudi lasciati da Antonio Fonseca suo zio per quanto lui diceva, oltre il ritornare alla strada del ben vivere perché haveva moglie et figliuoli, oltre la sua mala inclinatione», *Processi del Sant'Uffizio di Venezia contro Ebrei e Giudaizzanti. Appendici*, edited by P.C. Ioly Zorattini, Firenze 1992 (hereafter *Processi del Sant'Uffizio*), p. 249.

¹⁷ For the negotiations behind the arrival of Portuguese New Christians to Ancona and their establishment there see S. SIMONSOHN, *Marranos in Ancona under Papal Protection*, «Michael», 9 (1985), pp. 234-267, V. BONAZZOLI, *Ebrei italiani, portoghesi, levantini sulla piazza commerciale di Ancona intorno alla metà del Cinquecento*, in *Gli ebrei a Venezia, secoli XIV-XVIII*, Milano 1987, pp. 727-770, and *Una identità ricostruita. I portoghesi ad Ancona dal 1530 al 1547*, «Zakhor», 5 (2001-2002), pp. 5-40.

rator of the Portuguese New Christians in their struggle against the tribunal of the Inquisition in Portugal which had first appeared as a threat in 1531. As a result of this menace an often bitter diplomatic struggle between the Holy See and the Portuguese court ensued in which the New Christians, through men such as Fonseca and Duarte de Paz before him, played an important role¹⁸. A merchant, Jacome was very likely active in the spice trade¹⁹. By the 1550's Jacome was firmly ensconced in Rome as a *mercator Portugallensis Romanam curiam sequens*, a merchant and banker who had privileged dealings with the Roman Curia²⁰. Numerous notarial documents from the archives of the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber in Rome, letters of credit which sent funds from Portugal to Rome and back and deeds of various kinds, attest to his prowess in this activity and show how highly regarded he must have been as a banker and among the Portuguese in Rome²¹.

Jacome da Fonseca hailed from Lamego, a town in the north of Portugal and an episcopal see since at least the sixth century, located near the Douro river. Along with António he had at least two other brothers, Jerónimo Fernandes and Rui Fernandes, along with a sister, Isabel Nunes. The family was linked, through marriage, to the family of Jewish origin which had as its principle centre the Douro region of Portugal, that of Tomé and Duarte, the Pazes²². On the arrival of the shortlived tribunal of the Inquisition in Lamego in 1541

¹⁸ These procurators or agents are dealt with at length in A. HERCULANO, *History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal*, Prolegomenon by Y.H. YERUSHALMI, Translated by J.C. Branner, New York 1968.

¹⁹ On his dealings in the spice trade along with Pedro Furtado see J.W. NELSON NOVOA, *Portugal in Rome: Glimpses of the Portuguese New Christian representation in Rome through the Archivio di Stato of Rome*, «Giornale di Storia», 3 (2010).

²⁰ On Jacome da Fonseca in Rome see S. BASTOS MATEUS-J.W. NELSON NOVOA, *A sixteenth century voyage of legitimacy: the paths of Jacome and Antonio da Fonseca, from Lamego to Rome and beyond*, «Hispania Judaica», 9 (2013), pp. 169-192. On merchant bankers in Rome see M.M. BULLARD, *Mercatores Florentini Romanam Curiam Sequentes*, «The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies», VI (1976), 1, pp. 51-71, F. GUIDI BRUSCOLI, *Mercanti-banchieri e appalti pontifici nella prima metà del Cinquecento*, in *Offices, écrit et papauté (XIIIème-XVIIème)*, edited by A. Jamme and O. Poncet, Rome 2007, pp. 517-532.

²¹ On these and other notaries in Rome see L. NUSSDORDER, *Brokers of Public Trust. Notaries in Early Modern Rome*, Baltimore 2009, and the *Repertorio dei notari romani dal 1348 al 1927 dall'Elenco di Achille Francois*, edited by R. de Vizio, Roma 2011.

²² The family ties are discussed at length in the article by BASTOS MATEUS-NELSON NOVOA, *A sixteenth century voyage of legitimacy*, pp. 169-192.

(it was only to remain there until 1548), Furtado, a respected physician and a recognized figure among the New Christians of Lamego, was accused and tried along with several family members²³. After the arrival of the tribunal in the land became a family matter Fonseca began to actively engage in efforts to obtain, through the Roman Curia and ultimately by direct appeals to the pope himself, papal briefs which sanctioned the reversal of Inquisitorial sentences and the liberation from prisons of family members along with safeconducts for them to leave Portugal, something instrumental in allowing both Jacome da Fonseca and Pedro Furtado to go to Rome²⁴.

Once in the Eternal City Fonseca and later Furtado, who managed to leave the Inquisitorial dungeon of Lamego, were officially recognized, as early as 1545, as official representatives of the New Christians of Portugal before the Roman Curia. Jacome went on, as we have seen, to become a prestigious merchant and banker, sought after by the Portuguese both in Rome and in Portugal, for their transactions which had Rome as a center. Furtado would go on to Tuscany as one of the individuals summoned by Duke Cosimo de' Medici to assist in the dissemination of his invitation to Portuguese New Christians to settle in his state which was rendered public in January 1549 and ultimately was invited to the Duke's court as a physician, an invitation which he accepted, settling there with his family which he managed to get out of Portugal²⁵.

Family ties, commercial activities and efforts aimed at countering the tribunal of the Inquisition were all intertwined. Jacome da Fonseca, Antonio da Fonseca and Pedro Furtado were united by family bonds, economic interests and common objectives. They were to take with them into the New Christian diaspora the links which existed

²³ On Furtado see the article by S. BASTOS MATEUS-J.W. NELSON NOVOA, *De Lamego para a Toscana: o périplo do médico Pedro Furtado, cristão-novo português*, «Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas», 5 (2006), pp. 313-338.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ On the negotiations and Furtado's role see BASTOS MATEUS-NELSON NOVOA, *De Lamego para a Toscana*, pp. 313-338. On the invitation itself and Cosimo's interest in attracting Portuguese New Christians to his state see the following studies by L. FRATTARELLI FISCHER: *Ebrei a Pisa fra Cinquecento e Settecento*, in *Gli ebrei di Pisa (secoli IX-XX). Atti del Convegno internazionale. Pisa, 3-4 ottobre 1994*, Pisa 1998, pp. 89-115; *Cristiani nuovi e nuovi ebrei in Toscana fra Cinque e Seicento: Legittimazioni e percorsi individuali*, in *L'identità dissimulata. Giudaizzanti iberici nell'Europa dell'età moderna*, edited by P.C. Ioly Zorattini, Firenze 2000, pp. 217-231; *Il principe, i nuovi cristiani e gli ebrei*, in *Vivere fuori dal Ghetto. Ebrei a Pisa e Livorno (secoli XVI-XVIII)*, Torino 2008, pp. 15-68.

between them and which allowed for and gave greater impetus for common forays into business dealings and efforts in favour of fellow *conversos*, especially if they were family members.

Antonio da Fonseca in Rome (1556-1588)

From the middle of the decade of the 1540's Jacome da Fonseca's name becomes a permanent fixture in archival documents in Rome, a man to whom people turned to both in Portugal and Rome in order to help them settle their affairs, as a representative for those who could not be in the Eternal City who made sure that their transactions were carried out. Quite understandably a considerable number of his clients were clerics, intent upon obtaining ecclesiastical benefices in Portugal or abroad, and Jacome da Fonseca, with his prestige as an established merchant-banker in Rome, a middle-man, was the kind of individual who could help obtain their objectives for them²⁶.

From the 1550's onwards until Jacome's departure from the city both Jacome and António da Fonseca undersigned several letters of credit and deeds, documents which are still conserved in the archives of the Apostolic Chamber. In them Jacome appears as the procurator in Rome and Antonio as the representative in Lisbon. They were able to maintain and strengthen, over the years, mutually beneficial links between Rome and Lisbon. On 14 May 1554, for example, Fonseca signed an agreement, claiming that during previous year he had received 245 ducats at a rate of 600 *reais* per ducat from António. He used the funds to pay off a debt to one Pedro Rebello²⁷. Four days later, he made out a promissory note to António, in the presence of a notary of the auditor of the Apostolic Chamber. The money was directed to João Suarez, a cleric from the diocese of Braga; either António da Fonseca would deliver the funds personally, or his partners Diogo de Andrade and Diogo Lourenço would deposit them in Lamego at a rate of exchange of 600 *reiais* per ducat²⁸.

Jacome took his leave from Rome, apparently some days before Julius III's death on March 23, 1555. The next events are unclear. An-

²⁶ For ecclesiastical benefices in Portugal in the sixteenth century see F. DE ALMEIDA, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, edited by D. Peres, Porto-Lisboa 1968, 2, pp. 86-105.

²⁷ The document is published as document 2 in the documentary appendix.

²⁸ The document is published as document 3 in the documentary appendix.

tónio da Fonseca is already mentioned in Rome as a *mercator Portugallensis Romanam curiam sequens* in a deed made out on February 26, 1556²⁹. He arrived in the midst of the tumultuous pontificate of Paul IV (1555-1559) who began to reign on the throne of Saint Peter on May 23, the same man who, in his years as cardinal Giovanni Pietro Carafa, had overseen the creation of the tribunal of the Roman Inquisition in 1542 and whose reign was synonymous with repression, in particular against the Jews and *conversos*³⁰.

While it is unclear when António left for Rome, his social and economic ascendancy was rapid and apparently unhindered. There is no further mention of him in the published correspondence of the Portuguese ambassador, Vasconcelos, though when the new Portuguese ambassador in Rome, Lourenço Pires de Távora, took up his post in June 1559 he was regularly mentioned as a man on whom the ambassador could count on to lend him money, through his tenure in the city until he left the city in April 1562. On one occasion, writing on January 18, 1560 to King Sebastian during his regency (1557-1568), Távora asked the Portuguese monarch to allow the widow of his brother, Rui Fernandes, who has recently died, to leave Portugal and come to Rome, a measure of the regard he held towards the New Christian banker³¹. In his published correspondence, Távora, often strapped for funds, had to rely on a number of bankers in order to be able to get by in Rome, chief among them Fonseca, often claiming bitterly in his letters to the Portuguese king of his constantly being obliged to rely on the New Christian banker's assistance and Fonseca's relative forbearance in continuing to lend him money which

²⁹ The document is published as document 4 in the documentary appendix.

³⁰ Only a few months into his papacy, on July 14, 1555, he produced the papal brief *Cum nimis absurdum* which created ghettos for Jews throughout the Papal States. Some days later he initiated his project to eradicate the presence of Portuguese New Christians who had embraced Judaism in Ancona, cancelling the favourable policies of his predecessor which culminated in the burning at the stake of several of them in March 1556. A detailed account of the election and the pontificate appears in SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant*, pp. 616-720. For Paul IV's persecution of the marranos see R. SEGRE, *Nuovi documenti sui Marrani d'Ancona*, «Michael», 9 (1985), pp. 130-233.

³¹ *Corpo Diplomático Português*, edited by J. da Silva Mendes Leal, Lisboa 1884, VIII, p. 325. For an account of the Portuguese diplomatic presence in the city during the reign of king Sebastian see M. DO R. DE SAMPAIO THEMUDO BARATA DE AZEVEDO CRUZ, *As Regências na menoridade de D. Sebastião. Elementos para uma história estrutural*, Lisboa 1992, II, pp. 65-141.

was, more often than not, never paid back in time³². Upon leaving Rome Távora left Portuguese diplomatic affairs in the hands of one António Pinto, the man he had chosen as his secretary shortly after his arrival in the city, in anticipation of the arrival of the new Portuguese ambassador, Alvaro de Castro, who was to be present in the city as ambassador from August 1562 to December 1564. In his instructions to Castro which he left with Pinto upon leaving Rome, Távora indicated Fonseca as the man who was to be relied on to provide the funds in order to obtain papal bulls³³. In addition, for years he served as the administrator of the yields of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's ecclesiastical benefices in Portugal along with a Portuguese New Christian business partner, Bento Fernandes³⁴.

As a prominent merchant banker in Rome with contacts and economic interests throughout Europe, António da Fonseca must have had privileged access to all kinds of news. That an important banking house also served as a source of strategic information was not unknown. For example, from the vantage point of Venice, in the sixteenth century, the Fuggers, were able to have access to important geopolitical news which was subsequently transmitted selectively³⁵. His proximity to the resident Portuguese ambassador as the man among the Portuguese who could be counted on to obtain funds in difficult moments must have made him, in addition, constantly privy to all kinds of information both on what was going on in Rome and in other European courts. The fact that he was a banker who was constantly sought out by both Portuguese and Spanish residents of Rome or regularly used as a procurator by Iberian clients must surely have also put him into contact with people who could provide him with news of all kinds on a variety of subjects. While he has a man they could not afford to dispense with the lingering suspicion that he could be a purveyor of strategic and sensitive geopolitical and commercial news must have always followed him.

His influence in the city and among the Portuguese there was to

³² See, for example, the letters on December 4, 1560, in *Corpo Diplomático Português*, edited by J. da Silva Mendes Leal, Lisboa 1886, IX, pp. 116-117; December 8, 1560, *ivi*, p. 153; on June 18, 1561, *ivi*, p. 280, and on July 19, 1561, *ivi*, p. 310.

³³ The instructions are undated and published in *Corpo Diplomático Português*, IX, pp. 491-492.

³⁴ A.J. MORAIS BARROS, *Os negócios e a aritmética. Bento Fernandes e as redes cristãs-novas do Porto no século XVI*, in *Humanismo, Diáspora e Ciência (séculos XVI e XVII)*, edited by A. Andrade, J. Torrão e J. Costa, Porto 2013, pp. 63-65.

³⁵ COUTO, *L'espionage portugais*, p. 249.

have attained its decisive moment with his ascension to the governorship of the Portuguese national confraternity, hospice and church of Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi, the institution around which the life of the Portuguese national community in Rome was based and which could trace its history back to the fourteenth century³⁶. After being chosen as one of the twenty members of the congregation of Sant'Antonio, comprised of well to do men from the Portuguese community of the city, in 1560, he was elected to the governorship of the confraternity, the hospice and church two years later. The governor had a two year mandate, a first one in which he was principally concerned with the spiritual affairs of the institution as the *Governador moderno* and the second year chiefly as the administrator of the property and economic affairs of the hospice and church as the *Governador Antigo*³⁷. The two year governorship was a post he would hold several times until his death on February 14, 1588³⁸. He was evoked by the scholar who was responsible for the standard work on the history of the Church of Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi in Rome, Miguel d'Almeida Paile, who mentions him as one of the most important benefactors of the sixteenth century and the best administrator of the institution during that century. Ironically Paile expressed the hope that there was no relation between António da Fonseca and the man mentioned in Vasconcelo's disparaging letter from March 1555. Little could he imagine that they were one in the same³⁹.

³⁶ On the Portuguese in Rome and the Portuguese national church and hospice see J. DE CASTRO, *Portugal em Roma*, Lisboa 1939; M. D'ALMEIDA PAILE, *Santo António dos portugueses em Roma*, Lisboa 1951; A. DO COUTO OLIVEIRA, *Situação jurídica do Instituto de Santo António dos portugueses em Roma e a sua igreja*, Braga 1987; M. DE L. PEREIRA ROSA, *S. Antonio dei portoghesi: elementos para a História do hospital nacional português em Roma (séculos XIV-XX)*, «Lusitania Sacra», 5 (1993), pp. 319-378; A. PINTO CARDOSO, *A presença portuguesa em Roma*, Lisboa 2001; G. SABATINI, *La comunità portoghese a Roma nell'età dell'unione delle corone (1550-1640)*, in *Roma y España. Un crisol de la cultura europea en la Edad Moderna*, edited by C.J. Hernando Sánchez, Madrid 2007, pp. 847-874.

³⁷ On the role of the governor see D'ALMEIDA PAILE, *Santo António dos portugueses*, pp. 168-183.

³⁸ The date of his death appears on a seventeenth century of the Castilian national church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli. Apparently there was an inscription in the church which also provided his date of birth: December 25, 1515. ARCHIVIO STORICO CAPITOLINO, ROME, ms. 25499. He was governor in 1562-1563 and in 1577-1578.

³⁹ «E em 1562 as coisas claramente evolucionam, ou mudam, para muito melhor, aparecendo-nos nesse anno como Governador um homem a quem Santo António ficou devendo, António da Fonseca, banqueiro, mercador como então se dizia, esperamos que nem parente daqueles Jacome e Antonio Fonseca, trapaceiros de que Diogo

During the more than three decades of his life in Rome he was a regular and important fixture in Portuguese life in Rome during the second half of the sixteenth century. He is remembered as the prudent and dutiful administrator of the institution's affairs whose decisions such as that of selling property which belonged to the hospice and church and investing in the purchase of papal debt were to prove beneficial during his tenure as governor and whose effects were to be felt long after his death⁴⁰. Aside from the contact with the resident Portuguese ambassador as a prestigious merchant-banker in the city, as governor he must have been on intimate terms with him as, since 1539 the ambassador of Portugal occupied the role of protector of the Portuguese national hospice and church⁴¹.

He seems to have been especially close to António Pinto, a New Christian, like Fonseca, hailing from Magadouro, in the north of Portugal⁴². Pinto, who had been governor for the first time in 1559, held the post several times and appears continuously in the notarial deeds undersigned by Fonseca, often as a guarantor for several people alongside him⁴³. In Fonseca's will, drawn up on June 10, 1586, Pinto was the man who was chosen by Fonseca as his universal heir⁴⁴.

Fonseca left a permanent legacy among the Portuguese and the Spanish in Rome, not least of which was the ornate chapel of the Resurrection in the Castilian national church of San Giacomo, sculpted in fine marble with the handiwork of some of the most important painters of the moment, one of the few chapels in the church to have remained relatively unscathed through the years⁴⁵. Paid for by Fon-

Mendes de Vasconcelos se queixa, de Roma, em 1555». D'ALMEDIA PAILE, *Santo António dos portugueses*, p. 228.

⁴⁰ Ivi, pp. 230-232.

⁴¹ Ivi, pp. 147-162.

⁴² Letter of June 23, 1559 to king Sebastian published in the *Corpo Diplomático Português*, VIII, p. 153. On Pinto's New Christian origins and on Pinto see J. DE CASTRO, *Bragança e Miranda (bispado)*, Porto 1947, vol. 1, p. 134, and A. PINTO GUIMARÃES, *António Pinto. Oração académica (1555). Introdução, fixação do texto latino, tradução e anotações de António Guimarães Pinto*, «Estudos Vianenses», 44 (2010), pp. 118-119.

⁴³ He was governor in 1573-1574 and in 1579. D'ALMEDIA PAILE, *Santo António dos portugueses*, p. 243.

⁴⁴ The will was made out on June 10, 1586 though it was two years enmended later. It is to be found in ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI ROMA (hereafter ASR), *Reverenda Camera Apostolica*, busta 1232, fols. 225r-256v. On Pinto's administration of the funds see D'ALMEDIA PAILE, *Santo António dos portugueses*, pp. 243-244.

⁴⁵ On the Castilian national church of San Giacomo in Rome see J. FERNÁNDES

seca a year after the death of his wife, Antónia Luis, in 1582, it is testimony to the Portuguese banker's desire to make a lasting mark in Rome at a time when Portugal was intimately linked to Spain as they shared, from 1581 to 1640 a common monarchy after king Sebastian's disastrous foray at Ksar El Kebir in 1578.

In his will Fonseca established that António Pinto and his son Emanuele Ferdinando Fonseca were to ensure that the administration of the chapel was to remain in the hands of his descendants in Rome and that he and the other descendants of the family be buried in it as well⁴⁶. In addition, he established that masses were to be said perpetually for his soul and that of his wife's in the Castilian National church by Portuguese clerics from the Church of Sant'Antonio, a lasting testimony to his passage through the Eternal City⁴⁷. The Fonseca family would go on to constitute a fixed presence in the city, owning important palaces and property in Rome and ranking alongside some of the most prestigious families there until eighteenth century⁴⁸.

The FONSECAS between suspicion and consecration

As with many Portuguese New Christians in the Early Modern period, suspected of divided religious and political loyalties, António da Fonseca left behind him an ambiguous heritage. The suspicion of secret allegiance to his family's Jewish ancestral past as in the case of all *conversos* must have pursued him constantly in Portugal and abroad. The doubts which weighed over him from his birth due to his Jewish origins must not have simply disappeared upon his leaving Portugal even in a place like Rome where questions of purity of blood were not supposed to matter. His brother's flight to the Ottoman

ALONSO, *Las iglesias nacionales de España en Roma. Sus orígenes*, «Anthologica annua», 1 (1956), pp. 9-67, ID., *Santiago de los españoles y la archiconfradía de la Santísima Resurrección de Roma hasta 1754*, «Anthologica annua», 8 (1960), pp. 279-329, and the article by R. VÁZQUEZ SANTOS, *La iglesia de San Giacomo degli Spagnoli a la luz del manuscrito 25449 del Archivo Storico Capitolino y otras fuentes del siglo XVII*, in *Roma y España*, pp. 667-677.

⁴⁶ ASR, *Notari della Reverenda Camera Apostolica*, busta 1232, fols. 225r-226.

⁴⁷ Ivi, fols. 227r-228.

⁴⁸ On the family in Rome see the articles by C. DE DOMINICIS, *La famiglia Fonseca di Roma*, «Strenna dei romanisti», 53 (1992), pp. 159-174, and C. DE DOMINICIS-L. BORGIA, *La famiglia del palazzo Fonseca*, in *Il palazzo dell'Hotel Minerva*, introduzione di P. PORTOGHESI, Roma 1990, pp. 155-166.

Empire and his establishment there as a converted Jew was no small detail. They were hardly the credentials with which to begin a path of social ascension in Rome. Yet it was upon the heels of Jacome's departure that he arrived in Rome, an arrival and initial establishment in the city which is still shrouded in mystery.

During his stay in Rome he successfully dealt with those doubts and made a convincing case for himself as a very public Christian member of the Portuguese community there. Recognized upon his death as one of the most important members of the Portuguese community in the Eternal City, his status and activities seem difficult to reconcile with the Portuguese ambassador's accusations some thirty years before. Likewise, his public life as borne out the official documents which deal with his activities in Rome seem difficult to square with Tome Pegado da Paz's declarations on the stand in 1578.

The nagging suspicion of some degree of secret adherence to their ancestral Jewish faith followed the Fonseca family well beyond António and his brother. More than a decade after Antonio's death, in June 1599, Jerónimo da Fonseca, a Portuguese merchant who had married a daughter of Diogo Luis, Antonio da Fonseca's brother-in-law, died in Rome. The same Portuguese observant Franciscan who had raised doubts about Antonio da Fonseca's family before the tribunal of the Roman Inquisition extended his suspicions to Jerónimo. He had allegedly died without invoking Christ, omitting the mention of his name, speaking only of God in his final prayers and implorations, a testimony to his final adherence to Judaism⁴⁹. A Portuguese resident of Venice, Nuno da Costa, had told Goes that Jerónimo was as Jewish as all the other members of the Fonseca family who are living in the ghetto of Venice⁵⁰. The Fonseca family was naturally suspect as its Jewish origins were enough to warrant investigation and surveillance in spite of all the trappings of a Christian identity which could be donned and cultivated.

The lingering doubt on the part of religious authorities extended to Fonseca's business associates and colleagues. One Bento Henriques, a fellow Portuguese merchant banker, quite possibly a close associate and longtime business partner of his in Rome, apparently had a nephew, like Fonseca, who became Jewish, living in his case, in the ghetto of Venice⁵¹. Fonseca also had another longtime business associate of his,

⁴⁹ *Processi del Sant'Uffizio*, pp. 262-264.

⁵⁰ *Ivi*, p. 264. On the FONSECAS of Venice see F. RUSPIO, *La nazione portoghese. Ebrei ponentini e nuovi cristiani a Venezia*, Torino 2007, pp. 89-91.

⁵¹ Here we are to trust the testimony of Francisco Goes in Rome in 1599: «Tro-

Heitor Mendes, who resided in Lisbon who could be identified with a man mentioned by Francisco Goes as the brother of a Jewish resident in the ghetto, who earned his living as a banker⁵². To be a *converso* was reason enough to provoke suspicion and diffidence. To have relatives, especially close ones who had openly espoused the Jewish faith must have only made matters worse. Despite this António da Fonseca would seem to have lived out his years in Rome unscathed, his reputation untarnished.

The Fonseca brothers were above all concerned with the fortunes of their family, of having their kin brought to a position of safety and prestige. From the threat of the persecution by the Portuguese Inquisition in their hometown of Lamego to their consecration in Rome as figures of regard in the Iberian community there they had managed to bring them to safety by a mixture of tact, commercial acumen and skilled negotiating. The establishment of part of the family in the Ottoman Empire must have at least played into, willed or not, an overall strategy to promote their collective interests by integrating themselves into information and commercial networks which spanned the divide between Europe and the Levant as others had done before them. Ultimately Jacome and António sought to defend their blood ties which had their roots in the north of Portugal, even if that meant changing countries, continents and names. The path trodden by the two brothers from Lamego and their family members who followed them to the Italian Peninsula is perhaps similar in kind to that of many New Christian families, divided geographically in the *converso* diaspora between East and West, in their constant search for something as often evasive as elusive: a safe haven which could perhaps become a sort of home.

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vai anco un altro chiamato Benetto Henriquez con un turbante da giudeo et questo io lo conoscevo in Lisbona nella contrada dell'arco Canerese et è stato qui in Roma con Benedetto Henrico, suo zio, che lui medemo me l'ha detto et è cosa publica et haveva per moglie una figliuola del dottore Calandro residente in Roma et hora se ne sta in Venetia con la famiglia, ma non so se la moglie che lui ha è la figliola del Calandro et vive da giudeo», *Processi del Sant'Uffizio*, p. 249.

⁵² «Ci è anco un banchiero nel ghetto, chiamato nel Christianesimo un tal Mendez et in Venetia portava la baretta di giudeo, se ne sta nel ghetto et, dimandando io chi era, mi fu detto così da cristiani come da Giudei che era fratello di un Hector Mendez residente in Lisbona e the habitava in Lisbona detto suo fratello nella contrada della Madanella», *ivi*, p. 248.

APPENDIX

Document 1

Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signore et Padrone mio osservantissimo

Nei Regni di Spagna, come ben credo, che Vostra Signoria Illustrissima sappia, sono sorte di tre di huomini: christiani vecchi, novi et confessi. Christiani novi chiamano i mori che si battezzano o discendenti da essi, et se bene si dimandano mori, non è però che siano negri come gli etiopi, ma olivastri et ferruginei come gli africani onde discendono. Confessi sono giudei battezzati, o quelli che traheno origine da loro. Di queste due ultime spetie (parlo per l'ordinario, perche trovansi pure alle volte, ma raro, tra loro huomini buoni et virtuosi) non è cosa in questo mondo la più pestifera, né di piggior natura; sono i confessi scelerati, perche come hanno pigliato il battesimo per forza, n'usano male, et in apparenza mostrano di essere christiani, in occulto vivono da giudei, et così non sono né christiani né giudei et partecipano dell'uno et dell'altro, et se non fosse la severità della Inquisitione, fariano anco peggio. I Christiani novi, come sono di legge Maumetana, et di sangue barbaro, et fiero, ancorché i padre et avi loro fossero battezzati, portano dal ventre della madre la perfidia et la iniquità hereditaria et propria loro et la maggior parte delli spagnoli che vengono ad habitare in Italia et a Roma, fuggendo la patria, ove sono conosciuti, sono composti di queste mixture.

In Portogallo si trovano pochi christiani novi, ma solamente confessi, che pure qui confondendo la sodetta differentia di cognomi, si chiamano christiani novi et questi sono in tanta copia et così ricchi che si cacciano da per tutto, et possono molto et tra l'arti che sono in man loro, l'una è la medicina, perché quasi tutti li professori di phisica et di chirurgia, sono di questa razza et con questa intratura hanno occasione tale adulando alli christiani vecchi, sotto colore di conservare loro la sanità di persuadere, et par che la persuadono infatti l'indifferenza de cibi, che hoggi di pochi sono i nobili di questa corte, che non mangino pubblicamente tutti li giorni senza alcun rimorso la carne, dico la Quaresima, del Venerdì, et Sabato et intendo anco la Settimana et Venerdì Santo proprio, ancora che alcuni di essi dicano di havere i confessionali dal Papa et licentia Apostolica per far questo, della quale cosa io riesto tanto contristato, che mi pare di essere in un principio (che Dio non permetta) della rovina della fede Christiana in questo Regno et sendo caso tanto importante, et di tanta conseguenza, ne ho voluto avvisare Vostra Signoria Illustrissima molto particolarmente accioché la Santità di Nostro Signore sappia quello che passa et provveda come meglio li parrà. Io ancora non mancarò dalla banda mia di farne quello officio et col Re et col Cardinale che mi parrà conveniente et darò avviso del profitto che n'averò ritratto. Et questo caso è tanto più pericoloso quanto che il commercio del Porto di Lisbona è tutto pieno di una colluvie d'heretici Francesi, Fiamenghi et Inglesi, li quali se potessero comunicariano per vil prezzo et

volontieri le loro merci a Portoghesi et forse l'haveriano fatto a questa hora per l'opportunità del loco et frequentia de' confessi che amariano più questa libertà di vita che cosa altra del mondo se l'accerbità de suppliti et la rigidità de' giudici del Santo Offitio non gli havesse spaventati, nel che è molto certo da lodare il santo zelo et la somma pietà del Signore Cardinale Infante che ha invigliato sempre, oltre il resto, specialmente in questo particolare.

Li medesimi confessi in Aragon, Castiglia et Portogallo, come ho detto, sono ricchissimi, perche fanno usuara et ogni altro mal contratto alla disperata, et per conservare la lor legge Mosaica di maritarsi nella propria tribù non guardano a spesa niuna et quindi è che Antonio da Fonseca spedisce costì tante dispensazioni matrimoniali per loro in secondo grado di parentela et quasi tiene banco aperto sopra ciò, cosa che è di grande offensione agli huomini da bene et christiani vecchi di questo Regno, sendo massime notissimo a tutti che un suo fratello carnale, il quale essercitava in cotesta corte il medesimo trafico dopo l'essersi fatto ricco di 200 mila scudi non ha molti anni si tornò giudeo alla scoperta et se ne fuggì in Constantinopoli.

Io tocco questi particolari onde si tratta il servitio di Nostro Signore et di sua Santa Chiesa perché così mi pare il debito dell'offitio mio, Vostra Signoria ne tenga poi quel conto che giudica più espediente. Alli 7 del presente hebbi l'ultima di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima di 8 di genaro et le farò risposta havuto che io habbia audienza dal Re, che si è sentito di questi di un poco indisposto di dolore di stomaco.

Qui è nuova che il Re di Francia si sia maritato, che dice in una nepote del Duca di Lorena, chi con una dama privata et chi l'intende a un modo et chi a l'altro. A me pare che habbia fatto santamente considerando la strettezza et la scarsezza che i Re di hoggi di donne pari loro per casare con esse. Et le bacio humilmente la mano. Di Evora alli 20 di marzo 1575.

Devotissimo Vostra Signoria et Reverendissima. Humilissimo et obligatissimo servitore, Giovanni Andrea Caligari.

[ARCHIVIO SEGRETO VATICANO, *Segretaria del Portogallo*, b. 2, fol. 35-36]

Document 2

1554 maggio 14

Promissio.

Die 14 maii 1554.

Cum fuerit et sit, prout infrascripte partes asseruerunt, quod alias sub die vigesimaquarta mensis aprilis anni millesimi quingentesimi quinquagesimi tertii magnificus dominus Iacobus Fonseca, mercator Portugallensis Romanam curiam sequens, acceperit ad cambium a domino Antonio Fonseca, eius fratre germano, de pecuniis dicti domini Antonii penes ipsum dominum Iacobum existentibus ducatos ducentos quadraginta quinque auri camere veteris valutatos ad rationem sexcentorum regalium pro quolibet ducato, prout constare asseruerunt in actis domini Octaviani de Verris, tunc curie causarum

Camere apostolice notarii, solvendos Ulixbone eidem Antonio ad supradictam rationem, et ulterius suprascriptus dominus Iacobus declaravit medio iuramento in pede obligationis per ipsum in favorem suprascripti domini Antonii, ut supra facte, accepisse suprascriptas pecunias pro satisfaciendo sibi met de quadam obligatione per dominum Petrum Rebello in eius favorem ⁽⁵³⁾ sub die ⁽⁵⁴⁾ facta protestando contra suprascriptum dominum Rebello et Ioannem Suarez, eius fideiussorem, et quoscumque alios fideiussores de omnibus damnis, expensis et interressibus, prout constare asseruerunt in prefatis actis, et dictus dominus Iacobus pro consecutione dicti crediti fecerit sequestrare fructus et alia bona dicti Ioannis, hinc est etc. quod anno etc. in mei etc. presentia personaliter constitutus prefatus dominus Ioannes Suarez, clericus Bracharensis, asserens se de promissis esse certificatum et ad plenum informatum, volens bonam fidem erga dictum dominum Iacobum recognoscere, sciens se teneri occasione premissa sponte de dictis ducatis 245 pro nunc pro dicto domino Iacobo prefato domino Antonio solvere et paghare realiter et cum effectu promisit ad computum ducatorum 245 predictorum ducatos nonaginta auri Camere ad dictam rationem 600 regalium pro ducato et illos solvere Bracharen. eidem Antonio infra quinque menses ab hodie inchoandos et unum alium ad certificandum de solutione illic facta hic Rome libere etc. alias etc. nec non eundem dominum Iacobum a dicta obligatione pro dictis ducatis 90 indemnem relevare promisit. Hanc autem promissionem fecit dictus dominus Ioannes Suarez pro evitandis litibus, controversiis, questionibus et aliis quibuscumque differentiis, que occasione predicta inter eos oriri possent; et viceversa dictus dominus Iacobus, occasione dicte promissionis, consensit relaxationi quorumcumque sequestrorum in dicta civitate. 346v| te Bracharensi aut alibi super omnibus et singulis dicti Ioannis Suarez beneficiis ac bonis quibuscumque ad eius instantiam factorum et executorum, et hoc sine preiudicio quorumcumque iurium suorum et alicuius innovationis quorumcumque instrumentorum seu obligationum ac liberatione principalis et eius fideiussorem de residuo. Pro quibus etc. observandis sese etc. eorumque bona etc. in ampliori forma Camere apostolice obligaverunt etc. et respective iuraverunt etc. Super quibus etc.

Actum Romae, in domo supradicti domini Iacobi Fonseca, presentibus dominis Sebastiano et Ioanne de Rodericis, clericis Civitatis et respective diocesum, testibus etc.

[ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI ROMA, *Notari del Tribunale dell'Auditor Camerae*, b. 524, fol. 346r-v]

⁵³ The space is empty in the document.

⁵⁴ The space is empty in the document.

Document 3

1554 maggio 18

Promissio et constitutio pro domino Antonio Alfonsecha.

Die 18 maii 1554

Cum fuit et sit, prout infradictae partes asseruerunt, quod dominus Iohannes Suarez, clericus Bracarensis diocesis ac Sancti Petri de Riosecho, que est prope Almeida Lamacensis, ac de Salamandi Braccharensis, et Sancti Verissimi de Novagilelam Portugallensis respective diocesis, parrochialium ecclesiarum respective rector, acceperit ad cambium a domino Antonio de Fonseca, mercatori Portugallensi, eiusdem domini Antonii fratris, de pecuniis dicti domini Antonii, quas ipse dominus Iacobus tunc penes se habebat solvendas Ulisbone ipsimet domino Antonio seu in civitate Lamacensi magnificis dominis Didaco de Andradi vel Didaco Laurentii et cuilibet ipsorum ad rationem sexcentum viginti regalium pro quolibet ducato in una et in altera manibus ducatos nonaginta solvendos Ulisbone prefato domino Antonio ad rationem sexcentum regalium pro quolibet ducato, et qui ducati 90 sunt pro evitandis litibus et differentiis, que inter ipsum dominum Iohannem Suarez et predictum dominum Iacobum de Alfonsecha occasione prefate partite oriri possent, et quia etiam idem dominus Iohannes vult amabiliter cum ipso domino Iacobo vivere et amicus remanere; ac volens predictum dominum Antonium creditorem de supradictis duabus partitis ac cambiis hactenus decursis caute facere quia in effectu realiter ipsi domino Antonio tempore, quo dictus dominus Iohannes Suarez in dictis duabus obligationibus tenetur solvere, dictos ducatos 190 satisfiet, hinc est quod anno etc. in mei notarii publici testiumque infradictorum ad hec specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum presentia presens et presentialiter constitutus supradictus dominus Iohannes Suarez, qui ad plenum per me notarium etc. de supradictis duabus partitis ascendentibus ad dictam summam ducatorum 190 solvendorum ut supra et ad supradictam rationem informatus et certificatus sponte etc. omnibus etc. promisit mihi notario quotienscumque pro parte dictorum magnificorum dominorum Antonii creditoris, ut supra, ac Didaci Andradi et Didaci Laurentii seu eorum alterum requisitus fuerit, dominus Petrus Gomez in oppido de Remuoislit [f. 341v] distriktus de Penaglian. Bracharensis seu Portugallensis diocesis commorans prefati domini Iohannis debitores, frater et procurator procuratorio nomine dicti domini Iohannis promittat et debitas promissiones faciat de solvendis dictis ducatos 190 hoc modo, videlicet ducatos centum ad rationem sexcentum viginti regalium pro ducato infra quinque menses sub hodie incohando et ut sequitur finiendo et reliquos ducatos 90 ad rationem sexcentum regalium pro quolibet ducato infra unum annum ab hodie incipiendo et ut sequitur finiendo dictis dominis Antonio Alfonsecha seu Didaco de Andradi vel Didaco Laurentii aut eorum alteri et adveniente tempore solutionis dictarum duarum partitarum et cuiuslibet ipsarum realiter et cum effectu absque alia exceptione, mora vel retardatione in terminis predictis eisdem seu eorum al-

teri dicto nomine solvet supradictas partitas ad dictam rationem; et in eventum quod dictus dominus Petrus, procurator dicto nomine, aut per eorum alterum requisitus fuerit et debitas promissiones dicto nomine facere nolet vel saltem tamquam cautas qui predicti domini Antonius seu alter dictorum dominorum Didaci non essent contenti aut quod in terminis predictis seu eorum altero dictos ducatos non solverit dictis dominis Antonio creditori, Didaco de Andradi et Didaco Laurentii seu eorum alteri, tunc et eo casu omnibus melioribus modis etc. renunciando in p. et om. omnia dictum dominum Petrum Gomez procuratorem suum, ut supra, ac omnes et singulos alios procuratores suos per ipsum dominum Iohannem Gomez debitorem tam Rome quam in Hispania, in Portugalli et in quibusvis aliis regnis et provinciis quomodolibet constituendos aliter ab eis et eorum quolibet substitutos prout per presentes pro revocatis haberi voluit et vult inhibensque, annullans ex nunc pro ex tunc omnia etc. a die celebrationis huiusmodi instrumenti acti etc. de novo medio iuramento tactis etc. prestito sponte etc. constituunt etc. procuratores suos in revocabiles etc. videlicet supradictos magnificos lf. 342r| dominos Antonium de Alfonsecha, Didacum de Andradi et Didacum Laurentii absentes etc. et quemlibet etc. ita quod etc. ad ipsius etc. tam omnes et singulos fructus, redditus, proventus, iura, obventiones et emolumenta quecumque dictarum trium parrochialium quam etiam omnium aliorum bonorum, quae et quas dictus dominus Iohannes obtinet cum omnibus et singulis eorum iuribus et pertinentiis, persone seu personis ac pro precio seu precii reperibilibus et dictis dominis procuratoribus seu eorum alteri benevisis, bene tamen et iuste, scilicet sine fraude et malitia et facto verbo cum dicto domino Petro, eius fratre, seu altero procuratore per ipsum dominum Petrum dicto nomine substituto semel vel pluries locandum et dislocandum, affittandum et arrendandum, sed qui affictus et arrendamentum huiusmodi appareant per publica documenta et testes fidedignos pretiumque seu pretia affictus et arrendamenti huiusmodi necnon fructus, redditus et proventus et, ut supra, tam ex dictis parrochialibus quam ex quibusvis aliis dicti domini Iohannis debitoris bonis provenientes et provenientia ac proventuros et proventura et alias quascumque pecuniarum, rerum et bonorum summas, quantitates et qualitates ipsi domino constituenti tam per quoscumque affictuarios et arrendatarios dictarum parrochialium quam etiam per quasvis alias personas, commune, collegium et universitatem quavis occasione vel causa debitas et debendas, a quibus opus fuerit, petendum etc. ac habuisse confitendum deque habitis etc. ac habuisse etc. per publica documenta, quietantias, instrumenta quecumque de et super omnibus et singulis premissis et eorum quolibet necessaria seu quomodolibet opportuna cum quibusvis clausulis, pactis, capitulis, conditionibus ac bonorum obligationibus, hipotecis et iuramentis ipsis dominis procuratoribus seu eorum alteri benevisis faciendum ac fieri et rogari petendum etc. donec etc. quousque de prefatis 190 ducatis ad rationem predictam ac de omnibus et lf. 342v| singulis expensis, quas premissorum

occasione fieri contigerit, dictus dominus Antonius creditor seu alter dictorum dominorum Dedaci realiter et cum effectū, integraliter satisfactus fuerit cum ampla, libera et generali administratione omnium et singulorum, que in premissis occurrerint; et quia voluntas et intentio prefati domini Iohannis debitoris est quod prefatus dominus Antonius creditor de supradictis ducatis 190 una cum omnibus expensis, si eum facere contigerit ut supra, realiter et cum effectū se sibi integraliter satisfaciāt, voluit etiam idem dominus Iohannes debitor quod necesse sibi esset petere super dictis eius fructibus et introitibus tunc et eo casu mea tactis etc. promisit mihi notario etc. nihil ab eodem domino Iacobo seu a dictis Didacis aut eorum altero de dictis fructibus et eius introitibus petere sed ipso casu eveniente se ad servitutem alicuius submittere, prout etiam alias fecit, et ibi manere donec et quousque dictus dominus Antonius creditor de summa dictorum ducatorum 190 una cum prefatis expensis, si fieri contigerit, ad rationem supradictam integre ac realiter et cum effectū super dictis eius fructibus et introitibus satisfactus fuerit, preterea dictus dominus Iohannes debitor in premissis omnibus et singulis exceptione doli mali, vis, metus, fraudis in scum actioni, conditioni, indebiti ob causam sive causa ob iniustam causam vel turpem vel alias fuisse dictum quam scriptum sive recitatum et e contra nec non privilegiis foriferiis mensium et vindemiarum omni tempore feriato et non feriato quadrimestri beneficio cessionis omnium bonorum et dilatione quinquennalis ac beneficio nove constitutionis epistole divi Adriani Odoardi de solutionibus et capitali pervenit provocationis et appellationis et appellationis remedio et reversui ad arbitrium boni viri ac veriusque iuris auxiliis [f. 343r] et quibuscumque aliis constitutionibus, statutis papalibus, imperialibus, regiis, localibus ac temporalibus a iure vel ab homine edictis et in genere vel in specie concessis et concedendis omnibusque aliis et singulis exceptionibus, iuribus et defensionibus, quibus mediantibus contra premissa vel eorum aliquod dicere, facere, opponere vel venire posset aut se in aliquo defendere vel tueri de iure vel de facto et presertim iuri dicenti generalem renunciationem non valere, nisi precesserit specialis aut iuridicendi coram non suo iudice forum posse declinare et iuridicenti, ubi iudicium ceptum est, ibi finem recipere debet ex sua certa scientia et non per errorem aliquem solemni stipulatione interveniente specialiter et expresse, ut premititur, renuntiavit. Que omnia et singula idem dominus Iohannes debitor attendere et observare promisit nec contra ea aut eorum aliquo ullo unquam tempore contrafacere, quod si in aliquo contravenerit, voluit et vult teneri ad solutionem quingentorum ducatorum auri camere pro una ipsi Camere apostolice et pro altera medietate fisci ipsius reverende Camere apostolice aplicandam nec non ipsi domino Antonio creditori ultra solutionem dictorum 190 ducatorum ad supradictam rationem una cum expensis, si facere contigerit, ut supra, in casu dicte contraventionis voluit et vult donare prout titulo donationis inter vivos ex nunc prout ex tunc omnes et singulos ducatarum trium parrochialium fructus, redditus et proventus trium annorum

ex eis provenientes donavit et presentes ponens ex nunc prout ex tunc etc. ac constituens etc. et, si necesse fuit, pro premissis in quocumque foro sive iudicio, etiam coram maiore tribunali ac coram quibusvis aliis iudicibus, commissariis et delegatis ordinariis et extraordinariis comparendum et tam ipsos dominos constitutos et eorum alterum quam etiam omnes et singulos afflictuarios et arrendarios in possessione dictorum fructus, redditus lf. 343^v et proventus usque ad integram satisfactionem supradictorum ducatorum 190 ad rationem predictam una cum omnibus expensis, ut supra, a quibusvis personis eos seu eorum alterum et seu arendatarios et affittuarios in possessione predicta molestantibus seu molestare volentibus defendendo libellum sive libellos et quascumque summarias, petitiones dando et recipiendo darique et recipi videndo, litem seu lites contestando, et ex adverso contestari videndo, de calumnia evitando et veritatem dicendo, cum omnibus et singulis capitulis in et sub calumnie iuramento, contractos iurando et deliberando, iurari et deliberari videndo, et quodcumque aliud licitum, honestum et opportunum iuramentum in animam ipsius domini constituentis prestando et subiungendo omnesque alios et singulos terminos de ullo usu, more et consuetudine etiam usque ad sententiam diffinitivam inclusive et de iure servari solitos observando et observari petendo, faciendo et obtinendo volens nihil idem dominus constituens teneri ad omnia damna etc. quae, quas et quod idem dominus procurator seu alter eorum in premissis facere contigerit. De quibus etc. cum potestate substituendi una vel plures etc. et generali etc. promittens etc. relevans etc. Pro quorum omnium et singulorum roboratione et firmiori cautela idem dominus constituens in manibus mei notarii publici infrascripti tactis etc. iuravit et dixit dictos suos procuratores seu eorum alterum vel ab eis substituendos casu aliquo non revocare nec revocari facere sed eos et eorum quilibet in dicto procuratoris officio et exercitio manutenere et conservare donec et quousque omnia et singula supradicta per lf. 344^r dictos procuratores suos vel eorum alterum fuerint plenarie observata et contra ea vel eorum aliquo et generaliter contra omnia et singula in presenti instrumento contenta non facere, dicere vel venire per se vel alium seu alios de iure vel de facto ullo unquam tempore, tacite vel expresse, quovis quesito colore vel ingenio hec aliquam absolutionem a iuramento huiusmodi vel aliud quodcumque rescriptum et dilationi aut beneficii alternativi vel capitula Odoardi seu pervenit impetrare seu impetrari facere nec motu proprio concessis et concedendis non uti, per que contra premissa vel premissorum aliquod dicere, facere vel venire posset aut se opponere valeret quomodolibet vel tueri sub pena periurii, quam ipso facto incurrere voluit, et aliis penis et obligationibus superius expressis, quorum quidem 190 ducatorum ad rationem predictam ac omnium et singulorum expensarum, ut supra, integra solutione et satisfactione sequuta et non prius dictus dominus Iohannes debitor ex nunc prout ex tunc prefatos magnificos dominos Antonium Alfonsecha, Didacum de Andradi et Didacum Laurentii procuratores suos, ut supra, constitutos seu ab eis substituendos

et eorum quemlibet revocavit et per presentes pro revocatis habet solvit inhibens eisdem et eorum cuilibet, quod sequuta solutione dictorum 190 ducatorum ad rationem predictam una cum expensis, ut supra amplius etc., et de novo omnibus melioribus modis etc. constituit omnes suos procuratores tam Rome quam Portugalli, Hispanie et in quibusvis aliis regnis et provinciis alias per ipsum legitime constitutos et presertim dictum dominum Petrum Gomez, lf. 344v| eius fratrem, attribuens eisdem et eorum cuilibet totam et omnimodam potestatem sibi ipsis et eorum cuilibet per ipsum dominum Iohannem in eorum mandatis datam et attributam. Pro quibus etc., observado se ipsum etc., et bona etc., obligavit in forma Camere apostolice cum solitis clausulis dans et concedens idem dominus Iohannes debitor potestatem et auctoritatem mihi notario etc. extendendo omnes et singulas clausulas in presenti instrumento contentas et alias ad maiorem cautelam prefati domini Antonii creditoris faciendo, iuravit tactis etc. quibus omnibus attentis prenominatus dominus Iacobus de Alfonsecha, mercator Portugallensis, prefati domini Antonii fratris consentit relaxatione quorumcumque sequestrorum in partibus super bonis et fructibus dictarum trium parrocchialium et quibusvis aliis bonis dicti domini Iohannis debitoris ad eius instantiam factis et impartibus exequis. Super quibus etc.

Actum Rome in officio mei etc., presentibus ibidem dominis Tristano Ferdinandi Paxoto, clerico Egitanensis diocesis, Pompeo de Valeriis Romano et Nicolao Papaio, clerico Bisontine dioc., testibus etc.

[ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI ROMA, *Notari del Tribunale dell'Auditor Camerae*, b. 524, fols. 341r-344v]

Document 4

Die 26 februarij 1556

Por este meu asinado me obliguo eu Antonio de afonseca mercante Em Roma por fr Francisco Campano E vallentim gonçalvez de pagar nom paguando Elles a siluestro gaino cleriguo for liuensis estante nesta corte a pensão que diz que lhe esta reseruada cad ano de trinta Escudos d ouro comuem a saber quinze sobre a parochial de san Joanhinho da qual esta prouido fr Francisco Campano E outros quinze sobre a parochial de mydoys da qual esta prouido vallentim gonçalvez ambas do bispado de coJmbra por tres anos primejros seguintes que serão Este presente de cincoenta e sejs e cincoenta e sete e cincoenta e oyto em duas paguas cad ano aqui em Roma por natal e san Joam baptista comuem a saber quinze escudos d ambas as Jgrejas cada paga e a primeyra paga começara per Dia de san Joam primeyro vindouro e Assim dahí em diante ate se acabarem os ditos tres anos com tal declaração que morendo o dito syluestro gaino Em o termo dos ditos tres Anos logo por sua morte nom serey obliguado a pagar mais a dita pensão E Assim mesmo morendo algum dos sobreditos fr Francisco campano ou vallentim gonçalvez nom serey obliguado a pagar mais do que tocar pro

rata ate sua morte E morendo ambos dentro nos tres Anos quedarey logo liure e desobligado de todo e deste sobredito modo me obliguo in forma camere apostolice a Jnstantia Dos ditos valentim gonçaluez e ffrancisco campano E por verdade suscrevy esta cedula aqui Em Roma oJe 26 De feue-reiro de mil e quinhentos E cincoenta e seis Anos.

[ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI ROMA, *Notari del Tribunale dell'Auditor Camerae*, b. 526, fol. 37r]