



Buchanan, George
George Buchanan in the
Lisbon Inquisition

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GEORGE BUCHANAN
IN THE
LISBON INQUISITION

THE RECORDS OF HIS TRIAL,
WITH A TRANSLATION THEREOF INTO ENGLISH, FAC-SIMILES
OF SOME
OF THE PAPERS AND AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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PREFACE

THE biography of the principal figure in the documents contained in this book, being so well known to all lovers of Scotland, its literature and its history, very little would require to be said to introduce them to the majority of my readers beyond a simple enumeration of dates, to serve as a reminder; but for others less well informed a brief account of the circumstances which preceded the period to which those documents refer will be useful.

The most authentic source of information as to Buchanan's biography, and the only one which existed for more than a century, is a short sketch, in Latin, which, with every probability, is supposed to have been written by him shortly before his decease. Based upon this sketch two commentaries were published, one from the pen of Sir Robert Sibbald, which appeared in 1707, and the other by Ruddiman, published in 1715, neither of which added greatly to the original. Later on, a biography was written by Dr David Irving, the second and last edition of which was published in 1817. But the most complete study of his life and works is due to Prof. P. Hume Brown, and was issued in Edinburgh, in 1890, under the title of *George Buchanan, a Biography*. The same learned Professor of Ancient (Scottish) History in the Edinburgh University has since published a smaller work, in a popular form, entitled *George Buchanan and his times*, Edinburgh and London, 1906. From those books the following notice is principally derived.

George Buchanan was born in the beginning of February, 1506 or 1507 — for he himself appears to have been uncertain as to the year. In August, 1550, he stated upon oath that he was *about* forty five years of age. His father owned a small property called The Moss, near to the village of Killearn, in Stirlingshire, and on that property Buchanan was born.

Thomas Buchanan, his father, belonged to the Highland Clan of the

Buchanans; his mother, Agnes Heriot, came from Haddingtonshire, in the Lowlands, and belonged to the same family as George Heriot, the founder of the Hospital known by his name in Edinburgh. The couple were far from wealthy, and it must have been with some difficulty that they succeeded in rearing their five sons and three daughters, all of whom reached maturity. The only one of them, besides George, who attained any reputation was Patrick, who also devoted himself to literature.

It does not appear to be known where Buchanan received his first tuition; but it is presumed that he shewed some signs of exceptional cleverness in his early years, for, when he was fourteen or fifteen, his mother's brother, James Heriot, determined to send him to study at the University of Paris, the most renowned seat of Learning in those days. He arrived there in 1520, and commenced the hard life of a poor student in a foreign land. Excess of study and, in all probability, the want of a healthy diet and the home comforts to which the care of a good, kind, mother had accustomed him, brought on an illness; and the death of the uncle who had befriended him forced him to return home in 1522.

A year of rest recruited his strength, and, as he was already sixteen years of age, he was called upon to take his place in the ranks of the Scottish army, which the Regent Albany was collecting to invade England. The enterprise was a failure, and Buchanan, after suffering various vicissitudes, returned home, again an invalid.

Had it been possible for him, when at Paris, to have remained another year, he would have been in a position to obtain his first Degree of Bachelor of Arts, and, by returning there, he could complete the third year of study which was necessary for that purpose. This he was unable or unwilling to do. Fortunately, the time passed at any one of the best European Universities was generally taken into account and recognised by the others; so he resolved to complete his course of study at the University of Saint Andrews, the oldest and most famous in Scotland, to which he went in 1525. Having already attained a sufficient proficiency in Latin and Greek, he now studied Logic and Philosophy under John Major, who was justly considered to be one of the most learned philosophers in all Europe. In October of that year, he obtained his Degree of Bachelor of Arts; but, as at least the next one was necessary for him to be qualified to earn his living by teaching, he again went to Paris, in 1526, and entered as a boarder at the Scottish College in that city. In March, 1528, he took his Degree of Master of Arts, and set about obtaining a post in some school.

As his intelligence had become well-known, and his conduct was good, he soon obtained a Class in one of the best of the Parisian Colleges, the College of Sainte Barbe, where he taught for several years, and attained a high degree of celebrity.

Sainte Barbe, from its earliest days, had been much in favor with the Spaniards for the education of their sons; but, about 1528, there was an influx of Portuguese youths, the majority of whom were intended to be missionaries in the Colonies of their country. At that time, one of the most famous Professors at the Paris University was a Portuguese,

Doctor Diogo de Gouvea, one of several learned men of the same family and surname who, in Portuguese literature, is distinguished from the others by the qualification of «o velho», or, in English, «the Elder». This man was the cause of very serious unpleasantness to Buchanan, at a later date, as we shall see.

Diogo de Gouvea appears to have conceived a project of buying up the College of Sainte Barbe for his King, D. Manoel, and devoting it entirely to the education of Portuguese youths. This plan he did not succeed in carrying out so completely as he desired, because the owner of the establishment would not sell it; but he obtained a lease of it. The number of students then increased to such an extent that they had to be divided into fourteen classes, one of which Buchanan was appointed to teach. Here he is said to have first imbibed the doctrines of Calvin and of Luther, the former of whom had already drawn to himself Antonio de Gouvea, one of Diogo's nephews; and here, also, Buchanan is said to have incurred the enmity of Ignatius Loyola, the celebrated founder of the Company of Jesus, who, in 1529, was a student at Sainte Barbe.

In 1531, Buchanan left Sainte Barbe to become private tutor to the young Earl of Cassillis, who was studying at Paris, but wished to continue the same course of education in Scotland. Two years later, he published, at that city, a Latin translation of Linacre's Grammar, which he dedicated to his pupil, and which reached seven editions before the end of the century.

At the beginning of 1536, Buchanan was in Scotland, engaged as tutor to James Stewart, an illegitimate son (and not the only one of that name) of King James V, a post which he retained for nearly four years. The doctrines of the Reformation were now beginning to take root in his native land, and most of its learned men were discussing them in public or in private, attacking or defending them, not calculating, in all probability, that the religious feeling would blaze out so fiercely and intolerantly as it rapidly did. In the year 1539, proceedings began to be taken against the heretics, as those who shewed any tendency to waver in their allegiance to the Church of Rome were called. Five were burned at the stake; and the greatest circumspection became necessary in men's words and actions.

Buchanan was young, impulsive and imprudent; moreover, living at the Court, he was anxious to be well with the King. James, whose life was not a model of chastity, was, probably, often called to account by the ascetic Franciscan Monks, who frequented his Court, and, chafing under their criticisms, wished to repay them by pointing out the flaws in their mode of life. Recognising in Buchanan a similar animosity to the Order, and having seen a poem which he had written, satirizing the monks, he charged him to write another one. Buchanan did so, and it is said that no one but the King obtained sight of it; but secrets leak out, in Courts, through unforeseen channels. The Franciscans were informed of it, and resolved that its author should smart for his audacity. Moreover, one of the King's mistresses had taken a dislike to him. Gradually he got to be pointed out to be a Lutheran. Then he was declared to be a

Jew, and to have eaten the Passover Lamb at Easter. The father of the lady referred to, obtained an Order for his capture as a heretic. Buchanan appealed to his Royal Master for protection; but popular opinion and the influence of the Clergy and the Religious Orders were too strong for the King to be able to assist him openly. James ordered his case to be enquired into by his Secretary, Thomas Esquem (Askew?), John of Nestam and Thomas Escot. After the hearing, Buchanan, who allows that he confessed to some culpable matter, passed one night at the Secretary's house, and, next day, returned to his own lodgings, where, according to his sworn statement, he received private instructions from the King to leave the country, which he did, with all speed, crossing the Border.

After a short stay in England, Buchanan set out for Paris. Cardinal Beaton, who, being a priest, was, naturally, his enemy, was living there as Ambassador, and at once tried to have proceedings taken against him as a heretic; but a fellow-countryman is said to have saved him. In all probability this was another instance of the Royal influence secretly thwarting the ecclesiastical thirst for revenge. Buchanan retired to Bordeaux, where a new College had been started, in which only the most famous professors of the day were to be teachers. In this establishment, the First Class, which was the most important, was placed under his charge, and he might have been very successful, but for his imprudence. Again he embroiled himself with the Religious Orders and, in consequence, had to leave Bordeaux, and keep moving about, sometimes in one part of France, sometimes in another, teaching wherever he could obtain pupils, until, in 1547, a proposal was made to him to go to Portugal, to become a Professor in a new scholastic establishment, called the Real Collegio das Artes, which had recently been founded by the King of that country, D. John III, at the University city of Coimbra.

It is said that Buchanan asked for and received a promise from the King of Portugal that he would protect him while in his dominions; but I presume that no proof of this exists. He alleged nothing of the kind in his Pleadings. In fact, the Royal Authority, in any Catholic country, could only avail him as regarded the pains and penalties of the Civil Law; the King of Portugal was as powerless as the King of Scotland, in ecclesiastical matters.

In all the Biographies of this celebrated Humanist and Reformer, down to and including the one which was published in 1890, to which reference was made in the second paragraph of this Preface, the period between his departure from France, in March, 1547, on his way to Portugal, and his arrival in England, is disposed of in a very few sentences. The only source of information with regard to this interval of five years, until then available, was about one page octavo of the autobiographical sketch, in Latin, which I have also mentioned, stating briefly that he was imprisoned in the Lisbon Inquisition, for a year and a half, and then detained in a monastery, for some months, so that he might be more accurately instructed by the monks, who did not prove to be unkind, though they were utterly ignorant of Religious Truth. It was mainly at this time that he translated the Psalms into various measures. After his

restoration to liberty, he asked permission to return to France; but King D. John III requested him to remain, and supplied him with means sufficient for his daily wants. Becoming sick of delays and of uncertain hopes, he embarked, at Lisbon, in a Cretan ship, and sailed for England.

These details, as interesting as they are scanty, have since been confirmed and amplified by the Records of the trial of Buchanan by the Inquisition, which were brought to light in the following way.

A short time before the publication of Professor P. Hume Brown's Biography of Buchanan, when I was examining the Records of the proceedings against Damian de Goes, Father Gabriel de Malagrida, and other victims of the pitiless Tribunal, which form part of the 36:000 Records kept in the *Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, at Lisbon, I came across the Records of George Buchanan's trial, and caused a copy to be made of them, without having any definite object in view. Hearing that the Biography had been published, I called the attention of its talented author to the fact of their existence, and forwarded to him a translation of them, which supplied the material for an article published by him in the *Scottish Review*, N.º XLII, April, 1893.

Since then, the Sentence passed upon Buchanan has been published in a Portuguese work, *Documentos para a Historia dos Jesuitas em Portugal*, Coimbra, 1899, by D^r Antonio José Teixeira.

Buchanan having been born in 1506, his fourth centenary falls within this present year 1906, and this fact suggested the appropriateness of the publication of the complete Records of the proceedings against him, simultaneously in Scotland and in Portugal. In the latter country they will be published in the monthly archeological magazine, *O Archivo Histórico*, owned and edited by Senhor Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, who, for many years, has devoted his talent and fortune to the publication of the documents of historical interest, which, almost unknown, abound in the Archives of his country.

At the time when I first drew the attention of Professor Hume Brown to the proceedings against Buchanan in the Inquisition, the Records struck me as being incomplete for, although they commenced with the delivery of the prisoner in the Prison of the Holy Office, there was no Order for his capture or any ground for the proceedings. In other Records, the proceedings are based upon a species of «finding of a true Bill» against the culprit; such finding being the consequence of an information more or less secretly laid against him by some one, and preliminary testimony taken thereon.

For instance, the proceedings against Damian de Goes, the friend of Melancthon, Erasmus and several other great Humanists and Reformers, were based upon sworn information lodged by Simon Rodrigues, Loyola's confidant and lieutenant in Portugal, at the Lisbon Inquisition, in 1545, repeated by him at the Evora Inquisition five years later, and which only took effect twenty five years after the first accusation had been filed, and when the delinquent was nearly seventy years of age.

Recently the idea crossed my mind to examine the Records of the

proceedings against the two other Professors who, as I knew, had been tried at the same time as Buchanan, and, in them, I found the missing parts, together with some very interesting details relating to the manners and customs of the day, the life of Buchanan, and other matters of interest.

My first intention had been limited to copying and publishing only the Records of the proceedings against Buchanan, but the preliminary proceedings taken against the three culprits, collectively, appeared to me to be so interesting, and so necessary for the matter to be correctly appreciated, that I resolved to publish them as two Appendixes to the main Records.

After a careful examination of the papers connected with all three Defendants, I came to the conclusion that I had before me sufficient evidence to enable me to give correct answers to the following questions which, it appeared to me, would arise in the minds of all who perused the documents with interest.

1. — *Who was the real promoter of the proceedings against Buchanan?*
2. — *Was he the only, or even the principal person against whom those proceedings were directed?*
3. — *Was there any reasonable ground for the proceedings?*
4. — *Were the Judges impartial, lenient or severe as regards Buchanan?*
5. — *What opinion should be formed of Buchanan after an impartial study of the three Records?*

Without, of course, any pretention that the reader will accept my judgment upon these interesting and important points, I proceed to give the conclusions I have arrived at, and the grounds upon which I formed them.

1. — *Who was the real promoter of the proceedings against Buchanan?*

Down to the present day, I take it that the attracting of the attention of the Lisbon Holy Office to Buchanan has been attributed to one or other or all of the following: — Cardinal Beaton, the Jesuits and the Franciscans.

The Minutes of the Inquest upon the culpability of Master Joam da Costa, which form part of the Records of his trial, but include the preliminary proceedings with regard to Professors de Teive and Buchanan, shew that, on the 17th of October, 1549, a Commission was issued, by order of the Cardinal Prince, Dom Henrique, as Inquisitor General, and signed by him (although it does not necessarily follow that it originated with him) by which the Judge of the Lisbon Court of Appeal, the Licentiate, Braz d'Alvide, and Friar Duarte, an Augustine Priest, were ordered to examine a certain witness, then in Paris, together with such other

witnesses as he might suggest, with regard to the characters of the Portuguese and the foreign Professors who were then teaching in the Royal College at Coimbra.

The Inquest was opened on the 22nd of the following November, in the apartments of Braz d'Alvide, who acted as Registrar, Friar Duarte being the Examiner. The Licentiate appears to have been sent specially to France for the purpose.

The last witness was examined on the 21st of December, 1549; but it was only six months later, on the 27th of June, 1550, that the Notary at the Lisbon Inquisition forwarded the Depositions to the Cardinal Prince who, with others of the Supreme Council of the Holy Office, signed the finding of a true bill against all of the accused, with which the Records were returned to the lower Court on the 1st of August.

The proceedings then went rapidly forward. Joam da Costa was captured in Lisbon, where he then was, having either gone to the Capital upon business, or having been sent for purposely. Teive and Buchanan were arrested at Coimbra, on the 10th of August; but not by the local Inquisition. They were requested to attend at the Bishop's Palace, and were there detained by one of the high dignitaries of the Lisbon Court, who had been sent there for the purpose. They were called upon to give up their keys; their rooms and boxes were searched, and they were handed over to an inferior officer, who accompanied them to Lisbon. The Minutes of the search at their lodgings give some curious details of their books, pecuniary possessions, &c.

The question of Cardinal Beaton's responsibility for Buchanan's arrest is at once disposed of by the Minutes of the evidence taken at Paris. One of the witnesses examined was the Piemontese John Ferreri. Buchanan, himself, seems to have thought (from information which reached him years afterwards) that this man was one of the chief witnesses against him; but his evidence, as will be seen, was brief, and simply to the effect that he held Buchanan to be a Lutheran at heart, without quoting any positive facts. That he was not directly influenced by Cardinal Beaton is shewn by Braz d'Alvide's preface to his evidence, when he speaks of Ferreri as being, at that time, tutor to the nephews of the Cardinal of Scotland, *a quem Deos haja*—to whom may God be merciful, implying that he was already dead.

Simon Simpson, a Scotsman, deposed, briefly, to the same effect.

These witnesses did not present themselves voluntarily; they were called upon to give evidence in consequence of the reference made to them by the first two witnesses.

Consequently, I cannot but think that Cardinal Beaton contributed very little to the misfortune which fell upon Buchanan after his (the Cardinal's) death, however great may have been the ill-will which he bore him while living.

The Franciscans, also, had little or no responsibility in the matter. Nothing of any importance was deposed by any Franciscan witness against Buchanan. The chief witness against him was a Dominican, as were the ruling spirits in the Inquisition, and neither the Dominicans or

the Jesuits were so kindly disposed to the Franciscans as to take the trouble to avenge the affronts the latter had suffered.

The Jesuits, although their founder and some of their brethren appear to have had grounds for complaint against Buchanan, do not appear to have pressed matters against him. Costa, in his Defence, replying to the accusation that he had told his pupils that God should be served from love rather than from fear, confessed that he had said so more than once, and that «it was because those of the College of Jesus were constantly enticing the boys of good parentage, in his College, to leave it and «go to theirs, frightening them in a thousand ways, telling them that «they were lost, and could only be saved by their Order; as is well-known in all Coimbra».

Teive also alleges that the Jesuits were taking youths of good family from the Royal College every day.

But, in spite of this rivalry, the evidence of Master Simon Rodrigues, chief of the Jesuits in Portugal, was most inoffensive. When examined by the Lisbon Inquisition, on the 1st of October, 1550, he said that, when at Coimbra, during the previous Lent, some of the priests of his College spoke to him about Joam da Costa, and some dispute between him and Father Luiz da Grã about the entrance of D. Theotónio and D. Diogo de Alarcão in the College of Jesus. With regard to Buchanan, he said nothing whatever; and in connection with Costa and Teive, he confined himself to mentioning certain persons who might know more about them.

The Jesuit, Luiz da Grã, gave evidence chiefly against Costa, and as to the dispute they had had. Against Buchanan he said nothing.

Therefore, directly, the Jesuits seem to have exercised but little influence in the proceedings, and, ostensibly, they certainly did no harm to Buchanan. If they were already conspiring, as has been said, to obtain possession of the Royal College, by depriving it of its teachers, they only attained their object five years later, as we shall shortly see.

Costa, as soon as he found himself in the clutches of the Holy Office, strained every nerve to find out or rather to guess who were his accusers, for, in the copies of the depositions supplied to prisoners by the Holy Office, for them to frame their Defence, the names of the witnesses, and any facts by which their identity could be ascertained, were always carefully omitted. Unable to decide, at the commencement, he drew up and sent to his Judges a long Statement in which he passes in review every one who he thought bore enmity to him, and, finally seems to have arrived at a correct conclusion, attributing his incarceration to the Dominican, Friar Joam Pinheiro, and to Dr. Diogo de Gouvea, the Elder. Of the first he says :

«Friar Joam Pinheiro bears me enmity because I flogged him publicly, on his back, at Bordeaux, after he had attained to manhood; «after which he said a thousand evil things of me, and threatened me «that, sooner or later, he would have his revenge».

In another part of the Records Costa says that everybody used to

make fun of Friar Joam Pinheiro, on account of his great hypocrisy ; and that, when at Bordeaux, he used to eat meat on days of abstinence the same as other people.

But Pinheiro, in Costa's opinion, was but an instrument ; the real enemy was Diogo de Gouvea, furious at having been dismissed from the post of Principal of the College at Coimbra, and thirsting to be revenged upon his successor. Gouvea, says Costa, was quite cunning enough to pull the strings without letting himself be seen.

Diogo de Teive seems to have had similar suspicions of Diogo de Gouvea, but, at the beginning, he emitted them with the greatest circumspection. In his Defence he speaks of his enemy as

«Our Master Gouvea, the aged Doctor, a man most honorable and «most virtuous, to whom we are all deeply indebted, for it is chiefly «owing to him that we have the Belles Lettres in this Kingdom ; he is, «however, very vehement in his passion, and pertinacious about any- «thing which he once takes into his head. He it was who cast upon «Master André, his nephew, the discredit of being a Lutheran, when he «could allege against him nothing beyond his being a friend of Copo's», etc.

In another part of the Proceedings, Teive declares, openly, his conviction that Diogo de Gouvea was the cause of everything, because he went to the Cardinal to denounce as heretics both the foreign and the native Professors.

And again, in another part of the Records, Teive, now almost furious, again attributes everything to Diogo de Gouvea, the Elder, and to his hatred of his nephew André ; adding that the aged Principal had threatened him (Teive) and Costa, that he would kill them, and had even gone to the extent of taking a sword under his gown, for that purpose, when he went to the College.

The first witness examined in France, and the only one mentioned in the Commission, was Friar Joam Pinheiro ; the second was Diogo de Gouvea, the Elder ; from the evidence they gave it was that the other witnesses were summoned ; consequently to them the action taken by the Holy Office was directly due.

2. — *Was Buchanan the only person, or even the principal person against whom the proceedings were directed ?*

Admitting that Gouvea was the real informer, and that Pinheiro was the instrument of his revenge, it is plain that the primary object of the former was the ruin of his nephew André. While the bow was stretched, but before the arrow started on its flight, André died, and Costa was appointed Principal of the Royal College. He, then, became the object of the old man's wrath. Teive and Buchanan were included in the mean denunciation, because the former had incurred Pinheiro's enmity, and the latter's past life had been largely and unfavorably discussed ; in addition to which, he lodged with Costa and Teive at Coimbra, and was their friend.

3. *Was there any reasonable ground for the Proceedings?*

Taking the three prisoners together, and bearing in mind the state of public opinion at the time, I am inclined to think that the Inquisition had sufficient ground for proceeding against Buchanan. Others had been tried with much less reason. The state of affairs at the Royal College at Coimbra must have given grave cause for disquiet to the ruling powers at Lisbon, and caused serious doubts as to the morality and opinions of the chief Professors.

It must be recollected that if, at the present day, one of the principal schools of the country was reported to be under the charge of teachers whose conduct was grossly immoral, or whose principles tended to the subversion of existing authority and rules, most assuredly the Government would feel it their duty to enquire into the truth of the rumours, and take action thereon. Neither the form of procedure or the consequences would be what they were in the sixteenth century; but action would, undoubtedly, be taken to remove the teachers of such pernicious theories.

Buchanan's past was suspicious, and the reports of it which reached the Court, probably lost nothing on the way. That there was some foundation for them, is shewn by his confession that for a certain time he had vacillated and doubted in those dogmas to which, at that period, the greatest importance was attached. His fellow-professors were not so candid. Rightly or wrongly they denied everything. But they had been very imprudent, not only in their acts and in their conversations with orthodox persons, but in their friendships with suspected persons, consequently Buchanan's connection with them increased the suspicion caused by his past.

In the course of the proceedings, other matters appeared which still more shewed the investigation to have been requisite. Costa and Teive divulged the existence of a state of immorality and bad feeling among the Staff at the Royal College which called for drastic reform, and shewed such a complete absence of religious feeling, that gave plausible ground for the efforts of the Jesuits to induce the youths to leave it and enter their establishment, or even their efforts to obtain entire possession of the College.

Costa, as I have said, laid before the Court a long list of those whom he looked upon as being his enemies, setting forth the bad qualities of each, and the reasons he had for suspecting them to be inimical to him. In most of the cases he himself does not figure at all well; and, most assuredly, at the present day, no Professor with the antecedents of several of those who taught at the Royal College, let his qualifications as a teacher be what they might, would be allowed to retain his post after his real character had been discovered; and heavy responsibility would attach to his superiors. I give a few extracts from Costa's list.

Buchanan, it appears was succeeded at Bordeaux, in the First Class, which was the highest, by one Langlois, a Frenchman. Costa states that he turned him out «because the students were not satisfied with him, «and because he did not deserve that Class. And because Master Diogo «de Teive was put in his place, and a brother of mine was a pupil of «that Class, this Professor said that I, together with Teive, and by «means of my said brother, turned the students against him, and made «them discontented, so that I might have an excuse for discharging him, «and putting Teive in his place. He had a law-suit with me, and said a «thousand bad things of me».

Of Dr. Eusebio, Costa says that he was his enemy because he (Costa) had turned him out of the College at Coimbra where he taught. He was addicted to unmentionable practices; and a youth named Brandão, a brother of the wife of Balthazar de Faria, who was, at that time, Portuguese Ambassador at Rome, and who boarded and lodged with Eusebio, had found it necessary to quit the house and go to live with a relation in Coimbra. Eventually he entered the Jesuit's College. Costa alleges that, upon hearing of this he severely reprimanded Eusebio, and discharged him. Later on the latter hired a house near the Dean's residence, and took a youth, the son of a poor woman, to live with him. Again he was accused, and was summoned before the ecclesiastical authorities. He was an Italian.

Manoel de Mesquita, the chaplain of the Royal College, was, according to Costa, the cause of all the quarrels between him and Diogo de Gouvea. «He was a perfect plague in the College, as all in Coimbra know».

Master Belchior Beliagosa was a terrible liar. At Paris he had acquired the nick-name of «Maquignon» — the horse dealer. Costa had taken from his house and care, the Duke de Aveiro's son, who boarded with him, and had reprimanded him for taking the students out of bounds without Costa's permission as Principal, which he was bound by the King's Regulations to obtain. This Beliagosa had spread it about in Coimbra, that the French Professors who left that city and returned to France, went straight on to Geneva. The report reached the King's ears, and when His Majesty appointed Costa to be Principal, he asked him how far it was true. Costa denied that this had happened, and, in truth it had not. Beliagosa then told people that the said French Professors had written to the King, denouncing Diogo de Gouvea, and so brought about the dismissal of the aged Professor; which was also false. In a few words, Beliagosa was so utterly bad, that he was known in Coimbra by the nick-name of «Belial».

Jorge de Sá, another Professor at the College, was considered by Costa to be his enemy because he had been the means of preventing Sá from receiving from the Paymaster, at Coimbra, certain moneys which the Professor considered himself to be entitled to. During several days Sá, when teaching his class, carried a sword under his gown, and told any one who discovered it, that it was for the purpose of murdering the Principal. Costa made a point of going the round of the classes

every day, and, several times, was cautioned to be on his guard against Sã.

Master Antonio Caiado, another Teacher, Costa thought to be his enemy because he had not given Caiado lodgings within the precincts of the College, as he had given to the other Professors, and to some who did not teach. This person was known at Coimbra by a nick-name, the translation of which is «Mouth of Hell».

Alvaro Lobato had been a Dominican, «and is now teaching Cato to the boys in the college». Costa says that he reprimanded him several times for his levities, and because he used to buy the scholar's clothes so as to supply them with money to gamble, and in other ways tread the paths of perdition. He was an older man than Costa, and was Father Confessor to the College.

Costa concluded that Master Pero Leitão was his enemy, because he had deprived him of certain profits which the Master derived from two students who lodged with him.

Jeronymo Monteiro, had often been reprimanded by Costa for arriving late at the class which he taught.

Costa narrates of himself that, when at Issoire, in Auvergne, he fought a Frenchman, Antoine de Reje, the quarrel being on account of some question of pupils. Before having recourse to arms, they called each other Lutherans.

Unfortunately, the report that André de Gouvea's opinions were not orthodox was strengthened by the fact of his having died without receiving the Sacraments of the Church. An inquest was held, and it appears to have been proved that, although ill for three or four days, André had no idea that he was in danger, and suddenly died suffocated. His having died without the Offices of Religion created suspicion as to the feelings of those who were immediately in contact with him.

Teive, suspecting that a fellow-teacher, Manoel de Araujo, had given evidence against him, says that the latter wished him harm «both on account of a sword and its hangings which he took from my house and I never put eyes on again, for which I severely reprimanded him in the presence of Master Joam da Costa and others who are not now in this Kingdom, but also because he, (Manoel de Araujo) under the pretext of calling to see Master George and me, was endeavouring to seduce a visitor of ours, the daughter of a Scotsman, and a relation of Master George's; and one day he left in her hands a purse containing ten cruzados, and withdrew; and she complained to her husband, whose name was Robert Granjoun, and he spoke to us about it, greatly to my sorrow; and I reprimanded him in very harsh terms, in consequence of which we remained enemies. Of this my only witness is Master George».

He also accused Master Jean Talpin, Antoine Langlois and Antoine Leclerc of being evilly disposed towards him because they were seditious and bad, and for that reason were expelled. «I fought with them many times», naively adds Master Diogo de Teive.

Marcial de Gouvea, Teacher, was another whom Teive held to be

his enemy; and, if he tells the truth, Marcial went repeatedly to the Class-rooms, sword in hand, to prevent Costa and Teive from teaching.

4.—*Were the Judges impartial, lenient or severe, as regards Buchanan?*

I am inclined to think that Buchanan was treated with exceptional leniency by the Inquisition. He has written nothing to the contrary. He was not publicly arrested. One of the Judges of the Court went specially to Coimbra; Buchanan was called to the Bishop's Palace, and there detained; he was allowed to take with him whatever clothes he chose; his money and valuables were handed to him uncounted; and he was allowed to select a foreigner to take charge of the things he left at Coimbra.

When a prisoner at Lisbon, he did not appoint a Solicitor as Costa did, nor was it suggested to him as being advisable that he should do so. There were no unfavorable interlocutory decisions, and, consequently, no appeals to the Supreme Council. The proceedings were a series of discussions between the prisoner and his Judges. His written defences were received without any difficulty.

It is worthy of note that, in the minutes of his Examination on the 1st of September, 1550, Buchanan, remarks that, as regards certain matters, he had formerly been in error; but that now, thanks to the teaching of Father Hieronimo d'Azambuja, he already thought differently, which implies some special kindness on the part of that Inquisitor who, perhaps, was secretly guiding him through this delicate business.

The interview between Buchanan and the Inquisitor, Father Jorge de Santiago, which took place on the 7th of January, 1551, also merits attention. Buchanan had alleged that he could not be called to account for anything done by him prior to 1543 or 1544, because he had availed himself of a General Pardon, granted by Paul III, about that time. It was necessary to prove the existence of the Bull, of which the Inquisitors denied all knowledge, and such proof he was not in a position to produce. The Inquisitor, therefore, suggested to him the advisability of giving up that article of his Defence, in order to enable the Court to deal with him summarily. This he at once acceded to, which he would not have done if he had not been tolerably sure as to the intentions of his Judges.

Immediately after the minutes of this interview, there appears upon the Records a document, in French, which is simply a General Pardon from the King of France, of an earlier date than that alleged by Buchanan, and which would not avail against the penalties of Ecclesiastical Law. It is quite possible that this document was already there when the question was put to Buchanan, and that it really was the document which he referred to; in which case, had he persisted in the defence that he had taken a Bull, the Inquisitors would have had to deal with a false declaration; a serious matter with them.

Moreover, the Records of Buchanan's trial are the least voluminous of the three, Costa's Records being more than twice the size of his.

The three culprits received similar sentences. Their punishment was really as insignificant as were the offences proved against them, or to which they confessed.

5. *What opinion should be formed of Buchanan, after an impartial study of these Records?*

The Records of Buchanan's trial shew that his behaviour, throughout that painful period, was as prudent and proper as could be. Compared with his earlier imprudences, it even strengthens the impression that some one privately advised him as to the best course to follow.

He acted properly because, from the first examination to the last, and in spite of all the efforts which, as was the custom, were made to induce him to denounce others to the Court, he steadfastly declined to do so.

He was prudent, because he, at the outset, disarmed the prosecution by confessing how he had doubted and wavered, and how he had strengthened himself in the Faith, and obtained pardon for his errors, before coming to Portugal. All through the proceedings, he gave proof of admirable coolness, astuteness and courage. He compromised neither friend nor enemy. He did not bluster at the commencement, as Costa did, to be abjectly praying for mercy afterwards, as both Costa and Teive did. Either he had great courage, or he had reason to believe that the Inquisition was favorably disposed towards him, and that the most he had to fear was detention for a longer or shorter term.

It, is also to be noted that, in neither of the Records, do we read the slightest insinuation against Buchanan's secular character. No one accused him of immorality, turbulence, or any other of the vices which it is plain were prevalent among the Professors. He was only accused of a leaning towards the doctrines of Luther and of the disobedience to the Church of Rome, which was the consequence of that tendency. Costa and Teive figure very differently.

My work would not be complete without mention of a few curious details furnished by the Records, relating to Buchanan and others; and without a short account of what befell him and his fellow prisoners, after they left the monasteries to which they were sent.

From Costa's Defence we gather that the Professors came from Bordeaux to Portugal, by land, in two groups of four each. The first was composed of the four foreigners, Masters Nicolas Gruchy, Guillaume Garante, George Buchanan and Fabricio; the second consisted of Costa, Teive, Elias Vineto and Antonio Mendes.

Antonio de Cabedo, the Bishop of Tangier's nephew, deposed that, about two years before, he had borrowed of Master George Buchanan a book of verses from which to copy some lines which he had written

upon one of the Psalms of David. He found in the book certain written matter, but could not swear if it was in the handwriting of Buchanan or not. It was as follows :

Vix datus est tumulus Codrum si vere fuisse forte Lutheranum falere pauper erat.

According to the witness, the meaning of this was : If thou thinkest that Codrum was refused burial because he was a Lutheran, thou art mistaken ; he was refused it because he was poor.

Manoel de Mesquita, a priest and Clerk to the Royal College, deposed «that he had heard a relation of Teive say that a certain Countess or Duchess, abroad, in the Lutheran country, had sent for Teive, and Buchanan, and had remitted money for their travelling expences, with an allowance of five hundred cruzados for each of them. Witness had seen Buchanan playing at bowls and eating and drinking before Mass.

Diogo de Gouvea, the Elder, having alleged against Costa that he had studied under Copo, the French Professor, Costa replied that it was perfectly true, and that Antonio Pinheiro, the young Princes tutor, (afterwards Bishop of Vizeu), Master Gonçalo de Medeiros, the Jesuit, and many other good Catholics, had studied under Copo. He knew that Copo had been denounced as a heretic, and that he had fled from Paris, although he could not say if he had been condemned by the Parliament. But what he could assert was, that, at a later date, Copo was appointed by the King of France to be his physician, and that he sent him to Scotland to attend his daughter, who was the Queen of that country, and that, afterwards, he lived in Paris with excellent repute.

Costa further says, that it was in consequence of the high terms in which Friar Jeronymo de Padilha and Friar Jorge de Santiago spoke of the College at Bordeaux, to the King of Portugal, upon their return from a visit there, that His Majesty resolved to send for the Professors.

Teive states that he accompanied the Professors when they came to Portugal, and that they went first to Almeirim, where the Court then was. Previous to this Teive had been to Paris, by His Majesty's orders, to buy printing materials. He adds that, in the way of matrixes, he purchased the best that was then to be had in the French Capital, and brought them to Coimbra where they were in use at that moment.

I have already said that, after leaving the monastery of Saint Bento, (Saint Benedict) in which he performed his penance, and wrote the most famous of all his works—his translation of the Psalms into Latin verses—Buchanan sailed for England. From thence he went to France, where he stayed about eight years, at one time teaching in a College at Paris, and at another being private tutor to a son of one of the great men of that country. His tendency to Protestantism became each day more pronounced ; and he finally entered the Reformed Church, and returned to his native country, where he could now reside without fear of persecution.

In 1561 he was in Scotland, and found employment with Queen Mary, with whom he held friendly intercourse. He was made Principal of Saint Leonard's College in the University of Saint Andrews. After the death of Mary's husband, Lord Darnley, their friendship ceased, and Buchanan became one of that unfortunate lady's chief adversaries. After her withdrawal from Scotland, Buchanan was selected to be tutor to her son, James VI, and was appointed to other important offices, the principal of which was Keeper of the Privy Seal.

On the 28th of September, 1582, he breathed his last, and was buried, on the following day, in the new graveyard of Greyfriars, where he was the first person of eminence to be laid to rest.

JOAM DA COSTA made abjuration of his errors on the same day as the others, the 29th of July, 1551; he obtained permission to leave the Convent of Saint Eloy, in Lisbon, on the 17th of December, 1551, and was finally released on the 4th of February, 1552. At the time of his decease, which took place a short time before the battle of Alcacer-Kibir, fought on the 4th of August, 1578, he was Prior of the Mother Church of the town of Aveiro, dedicated to Saint Michael.

DIOGO DE TEIVE abjured on the 29th of July, 1551; entered the Convent of Belem, near Lisbon, to perform his penance, on the 31st of that month; left it, by permission of the Cardinal Prince, granted in consideration of his state of health, and because the Monks required the room which he was occupying, on the 14th of the following September; and was finally set free on the 22nd of September. Eventually he seems to have returned to the Royal College of Coimbra, for it was to him, as Principal, that D. John III, addressed, on the 10th of September, 1555, the Order to hand over that establishment to Diogo Mirão, the Provincial of the Jesuits.

FRIAR HIERONIMO D'AZAMBUJA, so often referred to in the Records, is known to foreign writers as Jerome Oleaster, the latter name being the Latin equivalent of his surname of Azambuja,—the wild Olive tree—but which really is the name of the place at which he is said to have been born. A curious point of this monk's parentage was discussed by me in Vol. II of my *Ineditos Goesianos*, page 183 *et seq.*

He was a Dominican, and took the vows of that Order, in the Batalha Monastery, on the 6th of October, 1520. Having shewn signs of exceptional ability, he was admitted to the College of St. Thomaz, in Coimbra, on the 8th of December, 1525, to teach Humanities and Theology, in which he held the Degree of Doctor. Having been selected by Dom John III, to take part in the Council of Trent, he arrived there on the 19th of December, 1545, and created some sensation at the sitting which was held on the 7th of the following January.

Upon his return he was offered the See of St. Thomas's, but declined it.

In 1551, he was unanimously elected Provincial of his Order; but

was requested by his Royal Master not to accept the post. The following year, while Prior of the Batalha Convent, he was named by the Cardinal Prince to be Inquisitor of the Holy Office of Evora, which post he occupied from the 2nd of September, 1552, until the 11th of October, 1555, when he passed to the Lisbon Inquisition, with the same rank. The documents of Buchanan's trial and, in fact, many others, shew that he acted as Inquisitor in Lisbon long before that year. On the 11th of June, 1557, he had the honor, with an Augustine Monk, of putting the shroud upon the mortal remains of his King and master; and, in 1560, he was again elected Provincial of his Order for two years. He died, at the beginning of 1563, in the Lisbon Convent of Saint Dominic.

Herculano, the celebrated author of the *Historia da Origem e Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, says of him, in Vol. III, page 329.

«As a matter of fact, the converted Jews were not only taken prisoners, but were put to the torture without sufficient *prima facie* evidence. The celebrated Oleaster, or Friar Jerome of Azambuja, a man of high literary reputation, had distinguished himself in this species of rigour, and disputed with Joam de Mello the palm of cruelty. So great had been his excesses, that the Prince found himself forced to dismiss him. Dom Henrique confessed to the Nuncio that Oleaster had gone beyond all bounds of moderation».

This was the man who went out of his way to instruct Buchanan. Surely he must have had some special reason for doing so!

RECORDS OF THE HOLY OFFICE

(TRANSLATION)

Of Master George Buchanan

On the fifteenth day of the month of August in the year 1550, in Lisbon, there was delivered in the Prison of the Holy Inquisition, to Ignacio Martins, the Goaler of the said prison, Master George Buchanan, who was arrested in Coimbra, and delivered, on the said day, to the said Goaler; and, in testimony of the truth, the said Ignacio Martins signed here. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it. = *Ignacio Martins.*

Examination of Master George Buchanan

On the eighteenth day of the month of August in the year 1550, in Lisbon, in the Court for the Transaction of Ordinary Business of the Holy Inquisition, there being present the Reverend Senhor the Bishop of Angra, and Senhores the Deputies of the Holy Inquisition, they ordered to come before them a man who is a prisoner for matters under the jurisdiction of the Holy Inquisition, and they swore him upon the Holy Gospels, and asked him what his name was: He replied that it was Master George Buchanan, and that he would be about forty five years of age, a little more or less. Asked if he had a father or a mother, he said that he had neither father or mother; and that they were old Christians *; and that he has two brothers living and three sisters; and that one of his brothers was a professor at Coimbra. And being asked of what country he was, he said that he was from Scotland, the County of Lenos, and the parish of Quiler. Asked how long he has been studying, he said for more than thirty years he has been studying; in Paris Latin and Greek Letters and Philosophy; and that he also studied Philosophy and Arts in his own country, in the city of Saint Andrew, under Joannes Major; And asked from whence he came to Portugal, he said that at Bordeaux he taught for three years Grammar to the First Class; and that from thence he came to Portugal, because Our Lord the King had ordered him to be called to the College of the University of Coimbra. And asked if he remembered, in bygone times, having offended Our Lord, or His Holy Catholic Faith, by saying or doing any thing contrary to that which Holy Mother Church teaches, he said that, when he was in Scotland, the King ordered him to compose some verses against the friars of Saint Francis, because he had a suspicion that some of them knew of certain persons who were acting treasonably towards him, which verses he has no recollection of now, neither has he them in his possession, and that the sense of them was to scourge those Friars who did not fulfil the precepts of their old Rule; and that these verses he gave to the King of Scotland; and that before he made these verses he also made some others ** in which, under the figure of a dream, he related how Saint Francis had appeared to him, and told him to take the Habit of his Order, and he replied that he could not do so, because his Order was so very ascetic, with fasts and scourgings, and that he would rather be of the Order of the Bishops, because there are more saints in the Churches who were Bishops than who were Friars; and that the Friars took offence at this, and preached against those who said evil of the Religious Orders; and that one of

* That is, not converted Jews or the descendants of such.

** Some words equivalent to «by order of the King of Scotland», are crossed out.

those who preached would never more speak to him; and that when passing through England, where he was for six months, he read many books of the Lutheran Sect, which treated of *justification*, and other books in which there were many things offensive to the ecclesiastics and the Pope, as is the book the title of which is «Of the Traders», in which all the ecclesiastics are called traders, because they sold the Sacraments, and the other things of the Church, because Our Lord drove the dealers out of the Church. Asked if any of these things had appeared to him to be good; he said that it had appeared to him that in the matter of justification, both the Catholics and the Lutherans felt alike, that is to say, that we were justified by Faith, which could not exist without works; and that it appeared to him that Faith and Charity, although they were different things in themselves, could not be present one without the other; that is to say, perfect Faith without Charity. Asked what he understood to be Faith, he said that it was the belief in the history of the Holy Scriptures, and the confidence that, through Christ, we have access to God. Asked wherefor should we apply Christ and His Merits to ourselves; he said by Confidence, which works by Charity. Asked if in any other opinions of Luther, such as about the powers of the Pope, indulgences, *de dilectu cyborum*, and other similar ones which are opposed to the Faith and the Church, he had at any time thought or held or spoken contrary to that which is held by Holy Mother Church; he said, no. And, at the close of the examination, he was admonished, on the part of Our Lord, to take more care with his affairs, and unburden his conscience; because, if he did so, he would be received with much mercy. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it, with three things crossed out which it is true was done, and an interlineation of the word «escoses», which it is true was made.

.. *The Bishop of Angra* — *Friar Jeronymo d'Azambuja* — *George Buchanan.*

On the twenty first day of the month of August, in the year 1550, in Lisbon, in the Prison of the Holy Inquisition, Senhores the Deputies of the Holy Inquisition being there, ordered Master George Buchanan to come before them, and, by oath upon the Holy Gospels, they put the following questions to him. *Item*: — They asked him if at any time, being in the company of other persons, he had said any things about the ceremonies of the Church, laughing and ridicuing them; he said, no. *Item*: — Asked if, at any time, when eating with other persons, he had said to some of those who were present that they should eat, because God had not commanded anyone not to eat meat, not even on prohibited days, but rather he had told his Disciples to eat of all that was put before them; he said that he had no recollection of having said so, nor of ever having had such a conversation, only, on one occasion, in Scotland, some twelve years ago, he went to the house of a friend of his who was very ill, at the point of death, and, as he would not eat meat, he in view of the dangerous state in which his said friend was, and after endeavouring to persuade him to eat the said meat, seeing that he would not, he partook with him of the said meat, the day being one upon which the Church prohibits the eating of meat, and this was solely to induce him to eat thereof, and not because he himself felt or held that, on such days, meat might be eaten. *Item*: — Asked if he had, at any time, said anything about the prohibition to eat meat, in conversation, when any person present had felt scandalised thereat; he replied that he had no recollection of every having had any conversation of the kind. *Item*: — Asked what he thought of the monastic life; he said that he thought that it was good for those who could bear the monastic state. *Item*: — Asked if he had ever censured any person, or laughed at them for having left the ordinary life; he replied that he only recollected that, sometimes, when at Coimbra, before four or five persons, among whom were Pero *Leytão* and Professor *Manoel Cerveira*, he had said that the Apostles* did very wrong in persuading young people to enter their Order before they attained their majority, because the result was their subsequent withdrawal; and this more particularly because their Order had not been confirmed by the Pope; but he had never felt badly disposed towards it. *Item*: — Asked if he had enquired of any person why he had given up the ordinary life, because the Religious Orders were the work of men; he replied that he recollected having argued, in fun, upon these things,

* The Jesuits were sometimes so called.

with a nephew of the Bishop of Tangiers, named Pinheiro, who had been a pupil of his, and who, a short time previously, had become a friar, and who he considered to be but little adapted to be a monk, which was the reason why he joked him about it; and this took place at Bordeaux, about seven or eight years ago, a little more or less, and that he cannot call to mind the conversation they had upon this subject, beyond the fact that the said priest was displeased with it. *Item*:— Asked what he felt with regard to the presence of the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, he said that he felt that the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ was truly and really there, just as the Holy Church of Rome believes It to be. And he was asked if, at any time, arguing with any person, he, Master George, had endeavoured to prove the opinion of Saint Augustine to be that the Body of Our Lord was, in the Sacrament, figuratively only, he, Master George, replied that often, when arguing, but he cannot remember where or with whom, he had said that Saint Augustine, in the book *De Doctrina Christiana*, and also in an authority of the Decree, favoured the Lutherans, in this part, by saying that, in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, the Body of Our Lord was only figuratively; and it was because it appeared to him that Saint Augustine had felt this, that his mind wavered, and he doubted if the Body of Our Lord was really there, and in this state of suspense and doubt he remained for some seven or eight months; which doubt was afterwards cleared away by his attending the lessons of the Catholics, at Paris, and by reading Rofense and Aclitoben. *Item*:— Asked if he had at any time felt that the Mass was not a sacrifice; he replied that he had often felt that either it was not a sacrifice, or that it was the same sacrifice that had been offered on the Cross, and that, as he came to the conclusion that the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ was really present, the consequence was that he considered it to be a sacrifice. *Item*:— Asked if he had read these authorities of Saint Augustine in the Saint's own works, or as quoted in some other book, he said that he read them in Saint Augustine's own book, and that the authority of Saint Augustine of the Decree, he had read in the Decree itself, and that these authorities he had read, turning over the Decree and reading it, as he read other books. *Item*:— Asked if, at the time when he was wavering, he had ceased to take the Sacrament, on account of his doubts, he replied that, during the time that he was thus in doubt, he did not take the Sacrament, not on account of his doubts, but because it was not the time for communicating. *Item*:— Asked if he recollected ever having performed any Jewish ceremony; he replied, no. *Item*:— Asked if he had eaten the Passover Lamb, in the company of any persons; he replied that he had neither eaten it, nor said that it might be eaten; neither were there any Jews in his country. *Item*:— Asked if he recollected any persons being burnt in his country, because they had eaten the Passover Lamb, he said, no; nor had he ever heard of such a thing until now. *Item*:— Asked if he had, at any time, been a prisoner in his country, he said that he had not been; but that he had fled from there for fear of being captured, because a lady, who had a bastard son by the King of Scotland, wished harm to him, for certain reasons; and he believes that she accused him before the Cardinal and the Bishops, charged with enquiring into Lutheran matters, the charge being that he ate meat on prohibited days, and argued upon Lutheran matters; and, because the father of the lady had an order from the King for his capture, he went to the King, and complained that he had been unjustly accused by the said woman; and the King ordered his case to be heard by one of his Secretaries, named Thomas Esquem, and by one John of Nestam, an ecclesiastic, and by one Thomas Escot, who is now deceased; and, after the hearing, he remained for one night in the said Secretary's house, and, afterwards, by the King's order, he returned to his lodgings; and that, on the following day, the King sent word to him to go away; and this was because the King knew that it was through him that this trouble had come upon him; and then it was that he came to France. *Item*:— Asked if in France, or any where else, he had held Lutheran opinions; he replied that, when in England, hearing sermons sometimes by Catholics and sometimes by Lutherans, and arguing with learned men upon these things of Luther, he was often in doubt as to which of them was in the right; but he has no recollection of any articles in particular, he only remembers that, when he heard some Catholic preacher, the Faith of the Church appeared to him to be the right one, and when, later on, he again heard some Lutheran, the opinions of Luther seemed to him to be correct; and he was in these doubts all the time he was in England, which was five or six months. *Item*:— Being examined upon some other Articles, and also

upon some things which were necessary for the explanation of that which he has said he replied that, as he could not now narrate those things in their proper order, he begged them to order paper and ink to be given to him, to enable him to draw up his confession in an orderly way: and they ordered them to be given to him, admonishing him, by the Love of Our Lord, to thoroughly unburden his conscience, and ask pardon for all, because, if he did so, he would be received with much mercy. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it. — *Friar Hieronimo d'Azambuja = Manuel doctor = Georgius Buchananus = Ambrosius.*

On the twenty third day of the month of August, in the year 1550, in Lisbon, in the Prison of the Holy Inquisition, the Reverend Senhor Master Priest Hieronimus d'Azambuja and the Licentiate Jorge Gonçaves, Deputy of the Holy Inquisition, being there, they ordered Master George Buchanan to come before them, and they enquired of him if he had treated of and written down everything which he felt to be a burden upon his conscience; and he replied that he had it with him, written down, and there-upon he read it out, and he was sworn upon the Holy Gospel, if all he had written was true and he declared that all that he had there written was true, and had occurred in the way that he had so written it; and that he could remember nothing further; and he said no more; and all that he thus wrote is as follows; and he, Master George, stated that every thing else that he might call to mind he would write down and say. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it. — *Friar Hieronimus d'Azambuja — Georg. Buchanan — Jorge Gonsalves Rybeiro.*

(Here follows the first Defence, in Latin).

On the first day of the month of September, in the year 1550, in Lisbon, in the Prison of the Holy Inquisition, the Senhores Deputies of the Holy Inquisition being there, ordered Master George Buchanan to come before them, and, by his oath upon the Holy Gospels, they asked him if he had further meditated upon his sins as he had been ordered to do. He replied that he had with him, written down, the little that he had been able to recollect, which he himself at once read out, and then and there by the oath which he had taken, he was asked if he recollected any thing else in addition to that which he had confessed in his last previous Confession, and he replied that he did not, because it appeared to him that he had mentioned in his Confession every thing that he had done and said. Being asked how long he had been in the state of doubt regarding the Faith, of which he speaks in his Confession, he replied that for nearly three years, he was constantly vacillating and doubting in those things of the Faith which he mentioned in his Confession, and, during that time, he never returned entirely to the Faith, but was always with those scruples, so that his mind often turned to Lutheran opinions; and that he remained in these doubts, because he had no one to converse with and to teach him, and so withdraw him from the said doubts and opinions, until he was freed from them, as he has said, after he came to France, where, with the sermons and lectures of the Catholics, he was released from the state of wavering in which he was, and he was never again subject to those doubts, down to the present time, but rather was firm in that which Holy Mother Church holds and confesses. Asked what was the form of tribunal about which he argued with the Franciscan monk, of which he speaks in his Confession; he said that it appeared to him to be unjust to condemn men, upon the evidence of their enemies, without giving them an opportunity of contradicting their enemies' testimony; and that this was the form of tribunal about which he had argued. Examined upon the article of his Confession in which he says that the Religious of the present day are dissolute and have departed from the Rules of their predecessors, asked if he meant that to apply to all the Religious, or only to some; he said that he did not mean that it applied to all of them, as he had already protested in his Confession, and that, therefore, he had never thought badly of the Religious Orders. Asked what were the reports which, in his Confession, he says that a lady spread about him; he said that being with some one else in Scotland, which other man read, in the Ecclesiastes of Solomon, about so many collecting riches

for others, the reader began to laugh and called his, Master George's, attention to the place where he was reading, upon which he also began to laugh, because he called to mind sundry individuals to whom the words of Solomon were applicable; and that the lady in question, seeing them reading and laughing, presumed that they were reading either some Lutheran books or the New Testament, which the lower orders take to be only read by Lutherans; and for this it was that she spread about that they were Lutherans. Asked if when, persuaded by the Dominican priest of whom he speaks in his Confession, he ate meat, his opinion then was that there was no need to obey the precept of the Church which prohibits the eating of meat in Lent; he said, that it appeared to him that he did not sin by eating meat on days when it was prohibited by the Church, because he thought that it was not a breach of the Law of God, and that it was no sin to disobey a human law, unless scandal arose therefrom, or injury to our neighbour; and that it appeared to him that no human law was binding upon the Conscience, but only ordered or prohibited external works, and this appeared to him, at that time, to be the truth, because, down to then, he had not argued upon the matter. Asked, with regard to the article of his Confession in which he states that he divulged everything to the three Examiners who were appointed by the King what it was that he so divulged, he replied that he only divulged to them that he had eaten meat on prohibited days, and the rest which he has now stated; and that he confessed to having eaten meat more times than he really had, on account of the threats of his Examiners. And asked what things were those which the preachers in England preached, of which he has said in his Confession that he, Master George, had heard in sundry places, he said that he remembered one of the preachers, who was called Jerome, who was a layman, and in his sermon he argued upon the words of Saint Paul, *haec nunc tempus acceptabile*, asserting that those who said that Lent was the period more acceptable than another to God, were in error, because Saint Paul said the same of all the period of Grace; And being asked if he, Master George, so held it, that is to say, that Saint Paul spoke of all the period of Grace, he said, yes; but that it appeared to him that his argument did not convince one that there was not, in the period of Grace, one time more acceptable than another, and that, as regarded the time of Lent being more acceptable to God than any other, he had no fixed idea in his heart; and that he had also heard another preacher, a Catholic, named Stephen, Bishop Vymtoniense who, in arguing, had said of marriage that it had two objects, *prolem et vitationem fornicationis*, and that the second was of lesser importance; and, before him, another Lutheran, whose name he does not know, had preached that the object of matrimony was the avoiding of fornication. And being asked, with regard to the books which he states in his Confession that he had read when in England, if they also had created doubts in his mind, as the sermons had, and what books were they, he said that one of them treated of Justification, and the other of Purgatory, and that it was owing to reading them that the doubts that he has mentioned arose in his mind; and that, as he has confessed, it appeared to him that the Catholics and the Lutherans were agreed upon the matter of Justification and the article of Purgatory; and he remembers that, when in England, after reading the various books, sometimes, if his memory serves him, he vacillated in his mind and doubted, but he is not quite certain about this, because, if it was so, he thinks that it must have been for a very short period. Asked, with regard to the article of the marriage of priests, of which he speaks in his Confession, if at any time he had held that formerly priests were free to marry, he replied that he thought that he had, but, he never taught this, nor did he advise any one in Holy Orders to marry. And asked, with regard to the clause of his Confession in which he says that it is not necessary to believe that the Franciscan Habit has all the virtues with which the common people believe it to be endowed, and if he believes that those who are buried in that Habit will obtain all the Indulgences granted to them by the Pope, he replied that he did, but that he was unaware that those Indulgences had been given, his opinion being that the said Indulgences were derived from the promise of Saint Francis, and not from the Pope; and that he had doubted about that promise of Saint Francis, because no mention was made of it in his biography. And asked what his opinion was upon the article of his Confession in which he says that wonderful works were often presented both by the Saints and the Devil, if it was his belief that the wonders worked by the Saints were on an equality with the others; he said that, at a certain period, he had believed them to be equal, and this was because he had interpreted wrongly some of

the things which he read; but that the master Priest, Friar Hieronimus, has made them clear to him. Asked what miracle was that of which he speaks in his Confession as having been performed in Scotland by William Larageus, by means of which he sought to prove the existence of Purgatory, he replied that the said William, according to popular report, and as was afterwards proved before the King, combined with another man that he should say that a departed soul had appeared to him, which eventually was found to be false. Asked, with regard to the article of the sacrifice of the Mass whether he considered that it was, or had doubted that it was verily a sacrifice; he replied that, after he had doubted that Christ was present in the Sacrament on the Altar figuratively only, he doubted also its being a sacrifice; and that, all the time that he doubted the former he also doubted the latter. Examined upon the article of his Confession in which he speaks of the prayers which are offered to the Saints, if he is or was of opinion that they ought not to be offered; he replied that it appeared to him that the Saints ought not to be asked for that which only God gives, which is the Life Eternal and the Remission of Sins, and that he had always felt that the Saints should be our intercessors with God, and that sometimes he had felt and said it was unnecessary to invoke the Saints, but to go direct to God and that he had thought that no Saint was so merciful as God, and for that reason it was that it had appeared to him that it was better to go direct to God than to the Saints. Asked, with regard to Prayer, if he held that all who prayed without attention sinned in praying, he said that only those erred who prayed, thinking that by simply speaking the words of the prayer they did what was sufficient, and further it appeared to him that those erred who believe that, by means of certain words, even though they be holy, diseases can be expelled, in the way that the magicians believe. Asked if he felt that the Confession which is made to the ear of the priest, is of Divine or Human law, he said that it was the Divine Law that man should confess to the Priest; but that the time for doing so was of human law, as he has already said in his Confession. Asked how it was that he held it to be a venial sin that a man should fail to confess at the time which Holy Mother Church commands; he said that he considered it to be venial as compared with sins which are contrary to the Divine Law; and this because he thought that all sins which are contrary to human laws were venial, but not so much so as not to render men some times deserving of damnation therefor; but that, as regards the precept of Confession, he felt, during the three years of which he spoke further back, that it would not be a mortal sin to postpone it, if it were not for the scandal of its being known that the individual had failed to confess. Asked, with reference to that which he has said in his Confession, that all interpretation of future things in the Prophets was dangerous, if he held that all the doctors who interpreted the prophecies as to the future were dangerous or erred; he said that many of them interpreted truly, although many erred, and that he had erred in making the proposition universal. And he said nothing more. And he was commanded, for the love of Our Lord, to strive to unburden his conscience, and confess every thing very truly, because, if he did so, he would be received with much mercy. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it. And asked if he remembered any persons who had wandered from the Faith, or with whom he had conversed about these things or others, or with whom he had conversed at Paris or Bordeaux, or elsewhere, he said that he knew of no person whatever. And he said no more. = *Georg. Buchanan* = *Friar Hieronimus d'Azambuja* = *Ambrosius*.

(Here follows the second Defence in Latin).

On the sixth day of the month of September in the year 1550, in Lisbon, in the Prison of the Holy Inquisition, Senhores Master Priest Friar Hieronimus d'Azambuja, and the Licentiate Jorge Gonsalves Rybeiro, Deputies of the Holy Inquisition, being there, ordered the said Master George Buchanan to come before them, and, by his oath upon the Holy Gospels, they put the question to him if he had called to mind anything else for the unburdening of his conscience. He said that he remembered that the conversation which he had at Bordeaux, with Friar Joam Pinheiro, of which he spoke in his previous Confession, was a brief discussion as to whether the monks of Saint Dominic were bound not to eat meat when travelling; and that he, Master George, held that they were not so bound, because he thinks that he had heard so from old monks

of Saint Domenic; and that he also, joking with him, remarked that his Habit was better than a silken coat, and this he said because he had heard at Bordeaux that the said Friar Joam Pinheiro had become a monk because he was refused a silken coat; and that he has no recollection of having ever eaten with Friar Joam Pinheiro at Bordeaux or anywhere else. Asked if he knew any person who had wandered from our Holy Faith, and, particularly, any of the Portuguese of noble birth who were in France at the time when he, Master George, was there, he said, no; and he said nothing more. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it = *Georg. Buchanan = Friar Hieronimus d'Azambuja = Jorge Gonsalves Rybeiro.*

On the seventeenth of September, in the year 1550, in Lisbon, in the Prison of the Holy Inquisition, the Reverend Master Priest Friar Hieronimus d'Azambuja, and the Licentiate Jorge Gonsalves, Deputies of the Holy Inquisition, being there, they ordered the said Master George Buchanan to come before them, and he was admonished, on the part of Our Lord, if he remembered any thing else that would unburden his conscience, to confess it, because by doing so he would be received with much mercy; and he was sworn upon the Holy Gospels to speak the truth, which he promised to do. And he, Master Jorge, stated that he remembered nothing more. And he was asked if he had any recollection, of having, either in France or here in Portugal, seen or heard anything done or said, by any person, which was against our Holy Catholic Faith, or contrary to the tenets of Holy Mother Church. He said that he knew of no person. And he said nothing more. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it. = *Georg. Buchanan = Friar Hieronimus d'Azambuja = Jorge Gonsalves Rybeiro.*

On the fifteenth day of the month of October, in the year 1550, in Lisbon, in the houses called the «Estaos», senhores the Master Priest Friar Hieronimus d'Azambuja and Jorge Gonsalves Ribeiro, Deputies of the Holy Inquisition, being there, ordered the said Master George Buchanan to come before them, and he was asked if he remembered any thing else for the unburdening of his conscience. He said that he remembered nothing else. Asked what he had eaten when he came from France or elsewhere; he said that he remembered, when coming from France to Portugal, that at Salamanca, being unable to eat the whole-meal Spanish bread, he ate meat on some days, but he cannot remember how many, and that it was also because his stomach was out of order, but that he had no other precise illness, and this was in Lent, and that his companions, namely, Master Joam da Costa and Master Diogo de Teive, who were lodged with him, also ate of it, it being his opinion that all had the same complaint in their stomachs as he had. Asked if at any other time, prohibited by Holy Church, had he eaten meat in Portugal or in France, he said that he did not remember having eaten it upon prohibited days, in France, when in good health; but that, in Portugal, in the city of Coimbra, when at College, last Lent, he had eaten it because he was suffering from double tertian fever, and that he had a permit to do so, signed by the Bishop, and that a French Master, named Nicolas, also ate meat with him, because he, too, was ill; and that he cannot recollect eating meat at other times, except that Dom Sancho invited Master Nicolas and him to dinner, one day in Lent, and gave them meat to eat, of which he, Dom Sancho, also partook, as he thinks, because he was suffering from stone in the bladder. And that he recollects nothing more. And he was admonished, on the part of Our Lord, should he remember any thing else, to confess it for the unburdening of his conscience. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it. And he declared also that he had eaten meat at Salamanca, as he has stated, because the only fish that was to be met with was Conger, which they were unable to eat. = *Geor. Buchanan = Friar Hieronimus d'Azambuja = Jorge Gonsalves Rybeiro.*

On the eighth day of December, in the year 1550, in Lisbon, in the houses called «Estaos», Senhor Doctor Ambrosius Campello being there, ordered Master George Buchanan to come before him, and by oath upon the Holy Gospels, asked him if he had taken the Jubilee Bull which came to France, of which he speaks in his Confession. He said, yes; that he had gained it, and that, at the time, he was at Paris, in the house

of Michael Vascosano, printer, and that he thinks that it was in the year 543, in the middle of Lent, and that it was granted by Pope Paul III, and it was to the effect that people should confess and fast three days, and take the Most Holy Sacrament, and that it granted Plenary Indulgence for all crimes of Heresy which it expressly mentioned; and that he fulfilled all that was contained in the Bull, and gained it. Asked if he had any person who could bear witness that he had gained this Bull of Indulgence, he said that he had not. Asked who had confessed him on that occasion, he said that it was a friar of Saint Francis, whose name he does not know, and that he absolved him, that he was a man already aged, a Frenchman, who confessed him by order of the Guardian; and that he does not know if he is still alive, nor what part of France he came from. And the Bull was addressed to the Prelates and Curates of those Kingdoms. And that he thinks that the said Bull was directed generally to other Kingdoms. And that, at the time when it came, when he was fasting the days which were prescribed in it, it happened that a gentleman, named Monsieur de Byrom, invited him to sup with him, on a certain day, but he excused himself from supping, saying that he was fasting in order to gain the Bull. And that this was at Paris, in the Rue Saint Jacques. And that the said gentleman was a native of the place called Perigord, and of the village of Birom, which belonged to him. And, at that time, there was with him a Monsieur de Longa, a Judge of the Court of Appeal at Bordeaux. And that he thinks that they are both of them now in the Court of France, and that he does not now know any one who may have a copy of this Bull. And that the Ordinaries ought to have it. And he said nothing more. I, Paulo da Costa, wrote it, and crossed out «a banquet» and «the Friar who confessed him was at the College of Saint Francis, near the Porte Saint Germain». And he said that, after he gained the Bull, he never again felt any burthen upon his conscience arising from anything he did afterwards against the Faith of Our Lord. And he said nothing more. I, Paulo da Costa, wrote it. = *G. Buchanan = Ambrosius.*

On the seventh day of the month of January, in the year 1551, here in Lisbon, in the prison of the Holy Inquisition, the Reverend Senhor Master Priest Friar Jorge de Santiago, Inquisitor, being there, went to a room where Master George Buchanan was, and ordered him to come before him, and admonished him to declare everything which he had said and done, contrary to our Holy Faith, and which he had called to mind since his recent confessions; and, further, to denounce every person who, when conversing or dealing with them, had appeared to him not, wholly or partially, in conformity with our Holy Catholic Faith, as referred to in his confessions; and he was further informed, by the said Master Priest, Inquisitor, with regard to a General Pardon granted in France to those who had erred from the Faith, in a certain form and manner, and which he says was published in the year 1544, that, as the Inquisitors of this Kingdom have no authentic cognisance of it, it may delay the conclusion of his business, and, consequently, cause him to be kept in prison for a longer period. Therefore it was necessary that he should give more details of the said Brief, for which purpose I swore him upon the Holy Gospels. And he, Master George Buchanan, upon his said oath, stated that it was true that, in the said year, the Brief which he has referred to was published in France. And being asked if the said Brief spoke of any thing else besides *in foro conscientiae*, and if it said that the Confessor might absolve him *in foro Dei et in foro contentioso*, so that never afterwards might any court proceed against him; he replied that he did not know, nor did he avail himself, in any way, of the said Brief, in France, except to obtain absolution in his conscience, and to become reconciled to Our Lord, for which purpose, and to make it manifest, it was that he had mentioned the said Brief, and for no other purpose. Consequently he had declared that he did not desire to employ the said Brief in his defence, because, if he did so, he would be unable to prove it. And he said nothing more. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it. And he, the Master Priest, admonished him, on the part of Our Lord, to put his hand in his conscience and declare the whole truth, because it was not easily to be believed that he had not held converse with many suspicious persons, and that he called upon him, for the Love of Our Lord, to declare the whole truth, and to set about doing so. = *Friar Georgius Sancti Jacobi. = Georgius Buchananus.*

Very Reverend Father,

All that I remember about that which you have ordered me to be asked is, that I saw in Paris some persons who had left, for fear of being captured as Lutherans, return to the City, and move freely about, without any Court interfering with them; and it was commonly reported that they had returned because a General Pardon had been granted to all who, down to that time, had fallen into Heresy. I cannot remember hearing it said who had granted the said Pardon, whether it was the Pope or the King of France; but my impression is that the said Pardon was said to have been granted by the King. (*rex hac de re in neutram partem aliquid affirmo*). Neither do I know where Master Buchanan was at the time when that Pardon was granted, nor if he availed himself of it. Neither do I know what tasks had to be performed by those who availed themselves of the said Pardon; nor if it was *in utroque foro* or *in altero*.

May Our Lord Keep Your Reverence in His Holy Service.

It is possible that the Bishop of Tangiers may have a livelier recollection of all this matter, for I think that he was already in France.

Your Reverence's Servant,

Doctor Paio Rodrigues de Villarinho.

On the twenty second day of the month of April, in the year 1551, in Lisbon, in the Court for the Transaction of Ordinary Business, of the Holy Inquisition, the Reverend Senhor Master Priest Friar Jorge de Santiago, Inquisitor, and the Senhores Deputies of the Holy Inquisition being there, they swore upon the Holy Gospels the Reverend Master Priest, Gaspar dos Reis, and they asked him if he recollected, when he was in Paris, that there came a General Pardon, which, it was said, had been granted by Pope Paul III, in which the Heretics were pardoned? He said that he recollected hearing it said, when he was in Paris, that a General Pardon had come from Pope Paul, in which all the Lutherans were pardoned; but he cannot recollect if it was a pardon *in utroque foro*; and that Master Diogo de Gouvea, Canon of the Cathedral of this City, and Master Christovam Fernandes, a Physician, who resides at the Royal Hospital, may know about it. And he said nothing more. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it. *Item*: — And that he does not recollect at what time that Pardon appeared there, and still less does he remember seeing there this Buchanan, the Scotsman. Possibly, were he to see him, he might recognise him. = *Friar Gaspar dos Reis* = *Friar Georgius Sancti Jacobi* = *Jorge Gonsalves Rybeiro* = *Ambrosius*.

On the twenty second day of the month of April, in the year 1551, in Lisbon, within the precincts of the Monastery of Saint Domenic, the Reverend Senhor Master Priest Friar Jorge de Santiago, Inquisitor, being there, before him appeared Master Diogo de Gouvea, Canon of the Cathedral of this City, and, by his oath upon the Holy Gospels, he asked him if he knew that in France any Pardon from the Holy Father had been published, in which he pardoned the Heretics, and if that Pardon was *in utroque foro*? He said that, when he was in Paris, people who were said to be guilty of the crime of heresy, not only left the City but the Kingdom, and, a certain time afterwards, he, Deponent, heard say, and it was publicly said, that a General Pardon had arrived, by which all that had gone before was pardoned, down to a certain period; but that, as regards the conditions and qualities of the said Pardon, he knows nothing and cannot, therefore, say if the said Pardon was *in utroque foro*. He, Deponent, is, however, absolutely certain that some of those who had so left, or hidden themselves, for fear of the Courts, returned afterwards, and appeared, without any one harming them; but he does not know if they gave themselves up, nor in what way it was that they were pardoned. Asked if he knew at what period the said Pardon came; he said that it came from the year thirty four to the year thirty six or thirty seven, approximately. And he said nothing more. I, Paulo da Costa, who wrote it, &c. = *Diogo de Gouvea* = *Friar Georgius Sancti Jacobi*.

Master Christovam Fernandes, who cures in the Hospital, and who was mentioned by Master Gaspar, was called and said that he knew nothing of the Pardon referred to.

On the fifteenth day of the month of May, in the year 1551, in Lisbon, in the Court for the transaction of the ordinary business of the Holy Inquisition, the Reverend Senhor the Bishop of Angra and the Deputies of the Holy Inquisition being there, ordered Master George Buchanan to come before them and they informed him that they were, at last, about to close the proceedings against him and, therefor, upon sundry more important articles, further details than he had given in his Confessions were necessary, to make him more deserving of the mercy for which he begged. And he was asked, with regard to the article of Sacramental Confession, if he at any time had thought that it was not a Divine precept, but only a human institution? He said that he had held it to be so. *Item*:— Asked, as to the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, if he had some times held and believed that the Body of Our Lord was there only figuratively and not really? He said that some times he had so held it to be, and at other times he had vacillated as he has said. *Item*:— Asked, as to the article of Justification, if he had held that the sinner was justified or justified himself by Faith, that Charity only would follow, or, to put it clearer,=*An sic peccator justificaretur per fidem id est per fiducias in Christo quod Charitas solum consequeretur justificationes sic quod fides justificaretur formalise et non per Charitates?* He said, yes;=*ita quod Charitas consequeretur.* *Item*:— Asked, with regard to human precepts, if he had mentally held that they were not binding unless *propter scandalus et aliorum consciensiam?* He replied, yes; and that he made no secret of these things above written, but rather enunciated them openly, when opportunity offered. All of which he stated by the oath upon the Holy Gospels which, at the commencement, had been administered to him, and that for all he asked for pardon and mercy from God and from Holy Mother Church. And he said nothing more. I, Antonio Rodrigues, who wrote it. = *Georgius Buchanan = The Bishop of Angra = Friar Georgius de Sancti Jacobi = Ambrosius.*

And at once, on the same day, I, the Notary, by order of the Senhor Bishop, went to the prison of the Holy Inquisition, where the said Master George Buchanan was, and I asked him if he wished to be settled with at once, or if he wanted more time to send for the copy of the General Pardon, which he says was granted in France in the year 1544; and he, Master George Buchanan, stated that he begged them to settle with him mercifully, because he did not wish to avail himself of the said Pardon, as he has already said. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it. = *Georgius Buchanan.*

(Here follows the Pardon in French.)

The Deputies of the Holy Inquisition, and the Ordinary, after examining these Records and seeing that both they and the Confession of the Defendant, Master George Buchanan, a Scotsman, shew that he, being a Christian, separated himself from our Holy Catholic Faith, and from Holy Mother Church, vacillating and doubting in things of the Faith, during three years, inclining often to the Lutheran opinions, holding that the Body of Our Lord was not present in the Sacrament of the Altar, it being there figuratively only and not in reality; and at other times doubting and vacillating thereon; doubting, moreover, if the Mass was a sacrifice; and also doubting and vacillating upon the article of Purgatory, holding mentally that by confidence only we were justified; holding and believing, also, that it was not a sin to fail to confess at the times ordered by Holy Mother Church, if scandal was not caused thereby; and that the precept of Confession was human and not Divine; and also that it was not a sin to disobey human laws, if neither scandal or injury to our neighbour arose therefrom; his opinion being that it was not necessary to obey the precept of the Church which prohibits the eating of meat upon certain days; also that it was better to go direct to God, than to the Saints; all of which errors are heretical, Lutheran, damned and reproved by Holy Mother Church; all of which having been taken into consideration, together with every-

thing else which is contained in the Records, and in view of the fact that he, Defendant, truly and prudently, sought at once to take cognisance of his faults, and, with many signs of repentance, begged pardon for them of Our Lord, and for mercy of Holy Mother Church, with other matters set forth in the said Records: Are agreed to receive the Defendant, Master George, to reconciliation, union and the mercy of Holy Mother Church, as he has begged to be, and they give him as penance that he make public and formal abjuration of his errors, before the Inquisitors and their Officers in Court, and that he reside in a Monastery, which they assign to him as a prison, during the said Inquisitor's pleasure, where he will employ himself in some virtuous exercises, and in things necessary for his salvation. And they order him to be absolved, *in forma ecclesiæ*, from the excommunication which he has incurred. = *Ambrosius*, doctor = *The Bishop of Angra*. = *Friar Georgius Sancti Jacobi* = *Friar Hieronimo d'Azambuja* = *Manuel*, doctor = *Jorge Gonsalves Rybeiro* = *Martin Lopes Lobo*.

Abjuration

I, Master George Buchanan, a Scotsman, of the diocese of Glasgow, before you, Senhores Inquisitors, swear upon the Holy Gospels, upon which my hands are placed, that, of my own free will, I renounce and put away from myself all and any heresies, especially these which I have confessed, vacillating and doubting as regards things of the Faith, often inclining to Lutheran opinions, holding that the Body of Our Lord was not in the Sacrament of the Altar, being only there figuratively and not really; doubting, also, if the Mass was a sacrifice; and also doubting and vacillating, as regards the article of Purgatory, holding, mentally, that we were justified by confidence only; holding and believing that it was no sin for one not to confess at the times ordered by Holy Mother Church, if scandal did not arise therefrom; and that the precept of Confession was human and not Divine; and also that it was not a sin to disobey human laws, if scandal was not caused thereby, or injury to our neighbour; it appearing to me, also, that there was no need to obey the precept of the Church with regard to the prohibition of meat on forbidden days; and that it was better to go straight to God than to the Saints. And I confess, with a pure and true heart, the Holy Catholic Faith, as held and believed by Holy Mother Church of Rome. And I swear to be obedient to our very Holy Father, Pope Julius III, our Lord, who now rules and governs the Church of God, and to his successors after him, and to never swerve from that obedience for any admonition or heresy whatever, and to always remain in the Bond of Holy Mother Church, and be a defender of the Holy Catholic Faith, and to denounce and publish all those who are opposed to it; and God grant that I may not fall into the penalty of backsliding; and I promise that I will not refuse the penance which may be given to me, and I will fulfil it within the limits of possibility; and I beg the Notary of the Holy Inquisition, who is present at this my abjuration, to bear witness to it and to sign it in a way which will make it valid. And I beg those who are present to bear witness to it and sign it here with me.

Witnesses who were present, Paulo da Costa, Notary, and Pero Fernandes and Antonio Fernandes, Solicitors in the Court for Ordinary Business, there being present the Reverend Senhor Bishop of Angra, and Senhor the Master Priest Friar Jorge de Santiago, Inquisitor, and the Deputies of the Holy Inquisition. On the 29th of July, of the year 1551. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it. = *Georgius Buchanan* = *Antonio Rodrigues* = *Paulo da Costa*.

Reverend Father,

Do not, Your Reverence, be astonished at seeing me severe, (*sic*) in the receiving of the said penitent, because the state of the house and bad accommodation makes me so. But, as Your Reverence says that it will not be for long, these priests and I will have pleasure in obeying the Cardinal Prince and yourselves, and we will do as you tell us. You can send him whenever you please; and he must take his lodging as he finds it, for

we can do no more for Our Lord. I am remembering Your Reverence and the other Senhores in my prayers.

From this house of Saint John, this day, Friday.

The lowest of your servants,

Pero de Sam Joham.

On the seventeenth day of the month of December, in the year 1551, in Lisbon, the Reverend Senhor Master Priest Friar Jorge de Santiago, Apostolic Inquisitor, went to the Monastery of Saint Bento, which is near to this City, and notified to Master George Buchanan, who was there performing his penance, that His Highness granted him permission to go out into the city, but not to leave it until His Highness allowed him to do so, in accordance with the following letter from Our Lord the Cardinal Inquisitor General. And he, Master George, said that he would do so. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it.

Master Friar Jorge de Santiago,

The Cardinal Prince sends you much greeting.

It is my pleasure to release Master Joham da Costa and Master George Buchanan, so that they may quit the monasteries in which they now are and go to the city; but they will not leave it without my further orders. I therefor charge you to make this known, and to cause that it be so done. Should you and the other Deputies think fit to release them, and allow them to leave the City, you may order the permits to be drawn up, in such form as you think best, and send them to me to be signed.

Written at Evora, on the 13th of December, Joham de Sande did this in 1551.

The Cardinal Prince.

Transcript of another paragraph of a letter of His Highness:—

Master Friar Jorge de Santiago, Ambrosio Campello, Jorge Gonsalves,

The Cardinal Prince sends you much greeting.

I approve of that which you say was resolved at the meeting, with regard to Master George Buchanan, and Master Joham da Costa, and it is, therefor, my pleasure that you release them, as stated in your letter, and I, hereby, authorise you to do so.

Done at Almeirim, on the 28th of January, 1551.

Transcribed and collated with the original by me. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it.

(Docket). — By order of the Cardinal Prince.

To Master Friar Jorge de Santiago, Inquisitor in the City of Lisbon and its Judicial District.

To the Very Reverend Father and Master Priest, Jorge de Santiago, Inquisitor, of whom may Our Lord make a Saint.

On the last day of the month of February, in the year 1551, in Lisbon, in the Court for the Transaction of Ordinary Business, of the Holy Inquisition, the Reverend Senhor Master Priest Friar Jorge de Santiago and the Senhores Deputies of the Holy Inquisition being there, they ordered Master George Buchanan to come before them, and told him how the Cardinal Prince and Inquisitor General had been pleased to release him entirely, so that he might depart; and they charged him to, from henceforth, endeavour always to converse with virtuous persons of good reputation, and to confess frequently, and draw near to Our Lord and be a good Christian; and he said that he would do so. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it.

EXTRACTS FROM RECORDS N.º 9510

N.º 1

The Depositions against Master Joham da Costa and Master Diogo de Teive and Master George Buchanan, which came from France, and were the cause of their capture.

Order for an Inquest which the Cardinal Prince, High Inquisitor of these Realms of Portugal, ordered to be held in connection with the said Commission in France.

In the year of the Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1549, on the twenty second day of November, in the city of Paris, near to Saint Gervais, in the house where I the Licentiate Braz d'Alvide, a nobleman of our Lord the King's household and a Judge of his Court of Appeal, who now, upon his service, am in this Kingdom of France, reside, there, at once, appeared the Priest Friar Duarte, a Portuguese, at this present time residing in the Augustine College, to whom I produced the said Lord Cardinal Prince's Commission, issued to him and to me, for the business therein stated, which is to the following effect:—

WE, the Cardinal Prince, Inquisitor General of these Realms and Dominions of Portugal, etc.

MAKE KNOWN to you, Father Friar Duarte, * a Portuguese, who are at this moment residing in Paris, in the Monastery of Saint Augustine, and to you, the Licentiate Braz d'Alvide, a Judge of the Court of Appeal of the King, my lord and brother, that, it is necessary for the service of Our Lord and the welfare of this Holy Office of the Inquisition, that we should be informed as to the mode of life and habits of both the Portuguese and the foreigners who came to this Kingdom to reside and teach in the University of Coimbra, where they now are. We therefor charge you to, with all secrecy, take, in proper form, the evidence of the Priest, Friar Joam Pinheiro, a Portuguese, who is in your city of Paris, and who is a Dominican, together with the evidence of such other witnesses as he may indicate, and others who may appear to be necessary, so that the truth of the affair may be known with all possible secrecy and exactitude. And the said witnesses must declare, specifically, the persons with regard to whom they give information, and the faults of which they are aware, giving full particulars, so that the quality of the faults of which they have been guilty may be understood, and how they came to know of them, stating the period, and everything else which it may appear to be advisable should be known in such important cases; and the said Priest Friar Duarte, will examine the said witnesses, as Examiner and Judge of the Cause, and you, the Licentiate Braz d'Alvide, will write down the evidence of the witnesses, so as to enable the affair to be done with more security. And, so that all that is in the premises may be done as is advisable for the service of Our Lord and the success of the affair, WE, *autoritate apostolica*, place you in Our stead, and hold you to be appointed, each of you to your particular office, for the said affair.

Done at Lisbon, on the seventeenth day of the month of October. Antonio Rodrigues did it in 1549.

The Cardinal Prince.

* Further on we see that his full name was Eduardus Presentatus = Edward of the Presentation = or, in Portuguese, Duarte da Apresentação.

And, in fulfilment of the said Provision and Commission, which was by us perused and accepted, we examined the Priest, Friar Joam Pinheiro, a Portuguese, and Collegiate in the College of Saint Dominique, in this City, named in the said Commission, who deposed as follows :

ITEM. — The Priest, Friar Joham Pinheiro, a Portuguese, of the Order of Saint Domenic, at this present residing in the College of the said Order, in this city of Paris, was sworn as a witness by his Habit, placing his hands upon his breast, according to the custom of his Order. Examined upon the contents of the said Commission, he, Deponent, stated that the truth is that he always suspected that Master Joam da Costa, and Diogo de Teives and Master George Buchanan, a Scotsman, and three or four Frenchmen, who went with the aforesaid from Bordeaux to Coimbra, namely Master Guilhelmo Garanta, and Regnaldo Piloet, and the others, whose names he does not know, were badly disposed to the Faith, and were of the Sect of Luther; and this was in consequence of what he saw and heard them say, and heard from other people, worthy of credit, first of all when he, Deponent, coming from Toulouse to Bordeaux, lodged at the College where the said de Teives, and Buchanan, and Ruivo, * a French physician, ate in the chamber of the said Master Joam da Costa, and he, Deponent, also ate with them. And, because it was Advent, he did not eat meat, according to the Rules of his Order. And the above-mentioned talked to him about nothing else but the ceremonies of the Order and of the Church, joking and making fun to such an extent that he, Deponent, could not but believe that they were true Lutherans; the above-mentioned asking him who it was had ordained that meat and other viands should not be eaten? And who was it had ordained Advent and Lent? Saying that it was men; and that Christ had ordained that there should be no difference in victuals, alleging that He had commanded the Apostles to eat whatever was put before them. And who but men had instituted the Religious Orders? Asking him why he had given up the ordinary way of living? And putting other questions to him of like nature. This they did so often that, although he, Deponent, answered them to the best of his ability, at last he lost his temper, and, finding that they persisted, more especially Diogo de Teives, da Costa, and the physician, he, Deponent, requested Master Joam da Costa not to speak any more to him upon those subjects, because he could not, with a safe conscience, listen to arguments upon such matters. And, Teives having spoken to him, Deponent, about these things, he told him to be careful as to what he said, and to recollect who he was talking to, for a time might come when he would repent of having done so. This he said to him four or five times, without his ceasing to talk; but, after that, he left off. When Deponent was in Paris, Pero Luz, the son of Alvaro Luz, of Setubal, and who is now in Portugal, told him that Dom Lopo d'Almeida, who had been living at Bordeaux, had tried to persuade him to join the Lutheran Sect, and, among the reasons which he put before him, one was that the said Master Joam da Costa, and Master Diogo de Teives, and Buchanan, and others of Bordeaux, who were men of intelligence, belonged to it, while the Portuguese who did not belong to it were men of low intellect, such as Doctor Master Diogo de Gouvea, and the like. And the herein before-mentioned Diogo de Teives, and Joam da Costa, and Buchanan, when at Paris, constantly conversed with suspected persons, as he, Deponent, heard Master Diogo de Gouvea, and Master Sebastian say, the latter having told him that, on account of his suspicions, he had ceased to converse with them. He also heard the same from Doctor Mongelos and Master Joam Talpino who, for a long time, was Regent in the said College at Bordeaux; persons of good lives and well-educated. The said Talpino told him, Deponent, that the said de Teives not only held converse with Lutherans, but with persons who were reputed to be Atheists, who are those who deny God. And from Doctor Master Alvaro da Fonseca he heard the same. And the said Talpino also told him that a person, worthy of credit, had informed him that the said de Teives, when in the company of some suspected persons, had said (but the person would not say from whom he had heard it) that it was folly to be troubling one's conscience about matters which he held to be of small importance; adding that, if he felt carnally disposed, and had his mother before him, no scruple of conscience would keep him from satisfying his desires. He, Deponent, further heard the said Talpino say that he consi-

* Ruivo, may not have been the physician's name; it may mean that he was a red-haired man.

dered the before-mentioned Teives, Buchanan and Costa to be Lutherans, because he saw them frequently arguing doubtfully upon things of the Faith; and that the said Buchanan had tried to prove and shew him, according to Saint Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, that the Body of Our Lord was in the Eucharistic Sacrament *per modum signitatem*. And he, Deponent, heard many people say that the said Buchanan, when tutor to a Prince, in Scotland, had been accused, with five others, of having eaten the Passover Lamb, after the manner of the Jews, and the five were burned for it; and he fled, and was burned in effigy, in the said Kingdom of Scotland. And this he, Deponent, also heard from the said Doctor de Gouvea, who had learned it from a Scot a Doctor of the Sarbonne College, who had also told him that Buchanan, when at the College, used to eat meat in Lent. And he, Deponent, further said that, with regard to the other Portuguese who belonged to the said College, and are there still, he knows nothing more, except that Master Antonio Mendes, returning one day from a sermon, at Bordeaux, told him that a learned man had just preached that the Saints ought not to be prayed to; but he, Deponent, does not know what his intention was. With regard to the Frenchmen, Deponent stated that he had heard say that they were Lutherans; namely: — Guilhelmo Garanta, and Reginaldo Piloet. As regards Piloet, he only heard it from the said Doctor Mongelos, and, as regards Garanta, from Master Talpino, aforesaid, who told him, Deponent, that when a Regent of Arts, who was intimate with Garanta, was burned at Bordeaux as a Lutheran, he was pertinacious to the last, although burned by slow fire. Garanta praised the firmness of the said Lutheran, who suffered by fire in defence of his error. And he, Deponent, further stated that he heard the said Mongelos say that one of the Frenchmen who taught at Coimbra, whose name he does not know, had returned, and caused his father and mother to dispose of their effects, and accompany him to Geneva, where he now is. Deponent is also acquainted with a Frenchman, of Auvergne, whose name he cannot recollect, but who, he was informed, taught in the said College at Coimbra, in one of the lower classes, whom he looks upon as being a good and simple-minded man. And he said nothing more. To the usual questions * he replied that he had studied humanities under most of those mentioned, in the College at Bordeaux. = *Friar Eduardus Presentatus*. = *Friar Joannes Pinarius*. = *Braz d'Alvide*.

ITEM.— Doctor Master Diogo de Gouvea, etc. Examined upon the contents of the said Commission, and also upon the reference made to him by the preceding Witness, having been sworn by his Orders, placing his hand upon his breast, said that it was true that he knew Master Joam da Costa, a Portuguese, who was a Bursar of our Lord the King's, and a pupil of a Regent who was formerly in his College of Sainte Barbe, named Copo, a physician, who had first been Regent of Cardinal Moine's College, and who Master André, Deponent's nephew, had placed in his College while Deponent was away in Portugal. The said Copo was a great Lutheran, as was proved by the judicial proceedings in the Parliament Court of this city. Deponent afterwards saw the said Master Joam da Costa conversing with the Monks of the Third Order of Saint Francis, of this Kingdom, ** who are all held to be great Lutherans, owing to which he, Deponent, always had a suspicion that the said Master Joam da Costa was of the same opinions. After that he went to Auvergne, where the entire country is much affected by this Lutheran evil, and from there he went to Bordeaux, where he was the companion of the said Master André, and Master Joam Gelida, and Master George, a Scotsman, and Master Regnaut Piloet who, according to popular report, is a great Lutheran. Master Nicolas Mongelos told Deponent this; and, further, that all of those whom he has mentioned were utterly worthless. And Deponent further stated that, from their conversation, many worthy men and good Christians were badly edified as regards the said Sect. This he was told by Father Supersanctis, who is Commissary of the Observance *** in Gascony, and Friar Clement Faraet, of the same Order, and by the second President of Bordeaux, named Calvimont, who told him that the Bordeaux College was

* The questions which were and are always put to witnesses in Portugal are — if they are related to the prisoner or Defendant, and if they have any special feeling of friendship or enmity.

** France, presumably.

*** A branch of the Order of Saint Francis.

the perdition of all Gascony, as regards this subject. He, Deponent, also heard from the nephews of the Bishop of Tangiers, namely, Miguel de Cabedo and Diogo Mendes, many things about all of them. These persons were careful to have no communication with them, as may be verified by them personally, for they are now in Portugal.

With regard to Master Diogo de Teives, Deponent knows nothing except that he saw him always in conversation with the aforesaid Master André and Gelida, and that he was always in the College at Bordeaux, and looking after Master André's affairs. As regards Master George, the Scotsman, who is in the College at Coimbra, Deponent heard say that he had fled from Scotland because he was a heretic and a Jew, who said that he might partake of the Passover Lamb; and five others, who were with him in this heresy, were all burned alive. But, because the said Master was tutor to a son of the King of Scotland, a house was assigned to him as a prison from which he escaped, and came, about six or seven years ago, to this City, where the Cardinal of Scotland, who was Ambassador here, wished to have him captured; but another Scotsman saved him. And from here he went to Bordeaux, and from there to Portugal. All this Deponent heard from Master Simon Semisson, * a Scotsman, and from the tutor to the Cardinal of Scotland's nephews, whose name Deponent does not know, and from Master Joam Soard, ** who is now in this City, also a Scotsman. With regard to Master Regnaut Piloet, the Frenchman, Deponent stated that Master Nicolas Mongelos told him, on several occasions, that he was a great Lutheran, more so than any of the others; and Deponent further said that one who was at the said College at Coimbra, came from there to the Diocese of Soissons, in this Kingdom, which was his birth-place, and caused his father and mother to sell their goods, and they all went to Geneva, where he is now preaching the Sect of Luther. And he said no more. And to the usual questions he replied, nothing. = *Friar Eduardus Presentatus* = *Jacobus de Gouwea*, doctor = *Braz d'Alvide*.

On the twenty seventh of November of that year we examined Jorge Ferreira, a Piedmontese, who is now tutor to the nephews of the Cardinal of Scotland, upon whom may God have mercy. *** As he cannot speak Spanish (*sic*), he gave his evidence in Latin, and it is as follows : —

*(Here follow his Deposition and those of John Talpinus
and Simon Simpson, all in Latin.)*

ITEM. — Doctor Master Alvaro da Fonseca, Doctor in Holy Theology, a Portuguese, being sworn by his Orders, and examined upon the reference and upon the contents of the said Commission, stated that he knew nothing except that Diogo de Teives used to converse, in this City of Paris, with one Saint Martin, a Normand, who was taken prisoner here as a heretic, and, also, he heard say that the said de Teives thought badly of the Faith, and Buchanan, the Scotsman, also. And he said nothing more. And to the customary questions he replied that he was the friend of all of them. = *Friar Eduardus Presentatus* = *Alvaro da Fonseca* = *Braz d'Alvide*.

On the twenty first of December we examined the following witness : —

ITEM. — Master Sebastian Rodrigues, a Portuguese, now living in this University of Paris, a witness sworn by his Orders, examined upon the matters contained in the before-mentioned Commission, and also upon the reference made to him by Friar Joam Pinheiro, stated that he knows nothing definite about any of the persons mentioned in the said Commission, but that he heard it commonly said, by many persons who did not wish them harm, that the Portuguese, the French and the Scots, who were in the

* Probably Simon Simpson.

** Probably John Seward.

*** This implies that the Cardinal was already dead.

College at Bordeaux and are now in the University at Coimbra, felt badly as regards the Faith, for which reason he, Deponent, had ceased to converse with them when the aforesaid were in this City of Paris. Deponent cannot remember who were the persons from whom he heard this, with the exception of the Bishop of Tangier's nephews, namely, Diogo Mendes, and Miguel de Cabedo and Antonio de Cabedo and the Priest, Friar Joam Pinheiro, the witness herein-before-mentioned, because they had been at Bordeaux, in the College, with them. And further he heard it said that the Scotsman, Buchanan, had fled from Scotland as a heretic. To the customary questions he replied, *nil.* = *Friar Eduardus Presentatus* = *Sebastian Rodericus* = *Braç d'Alvide.*

And after Deponent had signed his Deposition, he stated that he recollected that, when Friar Jorge de Santiago, Antonio de Mello and Francisco Foreiro and others, went from this city of Paris to become Monks, as they now are, of the Order of Saint Domenic, they passed through Bordeaux, and one or two of them wrote to him that many things about the Religious Orders had passed between them and the before-mentioned persons, who were in the College there, the impression created being that they felt badly as regards the Faith, as may be more extensively and particularly ascertained from the said Monks. = *Friar Eduardus Presentatus.* = *Sebastian Rodericus.* = *Braç d'Alvide.*

And with the depositions herein-before contained, I closed the said Examination, in order to send it to the Cardinal Prince. = *Braç d'Alvide.*

On the 27th day of June in the year 1550, in Lisbon, I, the notary, handed these Depositions to His Highness. = I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it.

In view of the crimes against our Holy Faith, which are shewn by these Depositions to have been committed by Master Joam da Costa, and Diogo de Teives and Master George Buchanan, We, with the approval of the undersigned, order them to be arrested. = *The Cardinal Prince.* = *The Bishop of Oporto.* = *The Bishop of Angra.* = *J. Monteiro.*

On the first day of the month of August, in the year 1550, in Lisbon, these papers were delivered to me, the Notary, with this Order from His Highness, to be carried out to the letter thereof. I, Antonio Rodrigues, wrote it.

N.º 2

Minutes which Doctor Jorge Gonçaves, Deputy of the Holy Inquisition in this city of Coimbra, ordered to be drawn up, relating to certain proceedings which he was charged by the Cardinal-Prince to take in connection with the capture of Doctor Master Diogo de Teives and Master George Buchanan, Professors of the College of His Highness, I mean to say, of Our Lord the King.

In the year of the Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1550, in the city of Coimbra, in the Episcopal residence of the Lord Bishop of the said city, His Lordship being there present, and also Doctor Jorge Gonçaves, Deputy of the Holy Inquisition, sent to this city by special order of the Cardinal Prince, Inquisitor General, there being also before

His Lordship, Doctor Master Diogo de Teives and Master George Buchanan, Professors of the College of Our Lord the King, who had been summoned there by order and message of the said Lord Bishop, because it was so ordered, and they being thus present, the Lord Bishop informed them that the said Deputy had shown him an Order of His Highness, in consequence of which they were to be detained until they appeared before His Lordship, the said Prince, and that it was necessary that they should give up the keys of their chambers and of their studies and boxes; and they at once handed them to the said Doctor Deputy, and they were locked up.

And thereupon the said Doctor Jorge Gonçalves, Deputy, together with me, the Notary, went to the College, and to the apartments of the said Diogo de Teives and Master George, and, by the way, he took with him Doctor Marcos Romeiro and the priest, Friar Martinho de Ledesma, and all three, with me, the said Notary, and with the said keys, at once entered the lodgings of the said Diogo de Teives, and, as he entered, a paper was given to the said Doctor Deputy, written by the said Diogo de Teives, in which he asked that eighty five cruzados * might be sent to him, which were in gold, in a purse, and three pardaos **, in another purse, also some clothes and shirts and a small leather portmanteau, for the journey, which money was found, just as was stated; and he further said that there were two hundred mil reis there, belonging to His Highness, for the payment of the Collegiates; and, upon this occasion, nothing was done with the King's money except to place it in safety; and the gold was taken to the said Diogo de Teives. And the said Doctors began their search of the said Diogo de Teive's papers and books, I mean to say, for the payment of the professors (*sic*) and they found among his books one, the title of which is *Institution of the Christian Religion*, *** composed by John Calvin.

And at once the said Doctors, together with me, the Notary, went to the lodgings of Master João da Costa, Principal of the said College, who is said to be at His Highness's Court, and, search having been made for all of his papers and books, the following were found, that is to say:— Two volumes, the title of which is *Precações Christianas*; ITEM, another volume, the title of which is *Unio discedentium*; another volume, the title of which is *Inquirição salmorum*; ITEM, another volume, the title of which is *Frases Divini Eseriture*; ITEM, another volume, with the covers wanting, the title of which is *Anotações Sebastiane Monsteri*; ITEM, another volume, the title of which is *Dicionario Ebraico*, composed by Monstero; ITEM, another volume, the title of which is *Works of Clement Marot*; another volume of the *Brivia* ****, in the French Language.

And, at once, all the said senhores Deputy and Doctors went with me, the Notary, to the lodgings of the said Master George Buchanan, and, upon all of his books and chests being searched, there was found among them a volume, the title of which is *Greci Literature de Colampadio*; another volume, the title of which is *Arismetica Integra*, with the preface of Philip Melancthon; ITEM, another volume, the title of which is *Cicero's Oration pro Milone*, with an exposition by Philip Melancthon; ITEM, another volume, the title of which is *Orations of Julius*, with expositions by Philip Melancthon; all of which books the said Doctor Jorge Gonçalves, Deputy, ordered to be placed in safety, and he took charge of them; and the rooms and the clothes were taken possession of, as in another Minute will hereinafter be stated; and in testimony of the truth, and of the certainty that all the said priests, personally and with every care, examined all of the hereinbefore-mentioned, they sign these Minutes; and I, the said Notary, Diogo Osorez, wrote it, with the word «digo» struck out; and, further, there was found in a chest, belonging to Master George Buchanan, certain money in pardaos and silver, which he, in the said paper written by Diogo de Teives, had asked should be conveyed to him, as, in fact, on this same tenth day of August, it was taken, with every care, and without its being counted; and he stated that all his money was there, together with an important document *****; and because, on the next day, the eleventh of the said month, some

* Say nine pounds sterling, the purchasing power of which was, at that period, equal to five times that sum at the present day.

** An Indian coin worth about eighteen pence.

*** *Christianae Religionis Institutio*, 1530.

**** The Bible, presumably. The Notary's orthography was very questionable.

***** In Portuguese «um conhecimento importante», probably of the nature of a security for some loan, or a title deed.

of Master João da Costa's boxes had to be examined, all of the said three Doctors went to examine them, and these Minutes were there concluded, the witnesses being Pero Fernandez, and Simon Fernandez, Solicitors of the Holy Inquisition; and I Diogo Osorez, Notary, wrote it; which money was found, as before-mentioned, and the Doctor-Deputy, together with me, the Notary, and with Pero Fernandez, the Solicitor, took it, and, in our presence, delivered it into the hands of Master George, and he looked at it and counted it and said that nothing was wanting of it; and before these proceedings were commenced, the said Deputy, as the Representative of the Cardinal Prince, in accordance with the importance of the business, and the secrecy which was requisite, charged them seriously upon their consciences; and they promised to do so; and the same to me, the Notary, upon oath, which the Lord Bishop ordered to be administered to me by the Licentiate, Ayres Botelho, his Provisor. I, Diogo Osorez wrote it. — *Pero Fernandes*. — *Marcos Romeiro*. — *Fr. Martinus de Ledesma, Doctor*. — *Jorge Gonçalves Rybeiro*. — *Symão Fernandez*. — *Ayres Botelho*.

And at once, on that day, seeing that Master João da Costa's clothes could not be all written down, on account of the books, the said Deputy and the Doctors decided, together with Master Antonio Mendes, who now remains as Principal, that his chamber, his robes as Principal, and his library, should be nailed up with many cross-bars, there being only removed therefrom a basket, containing certain loaves of sugar, a bag, not quite full of rice, some almonds and a quarter of butter; which clothes, together with a small quantity of cinnamon, were placed in the middle room, in which there is a table with a piece of red cloth, other cloths with trees, and dresses and underlinen; and because these had been entrusted to the said Master Antonio Mendes, and because he saw that this room and been entered with such great scrupulosity, and by persons of such quality, he stated that, without further inventory, he would hold himself responsible for all that was in that middle room, and in the outer room, just as he had already accepted delivery thereof; and he signed these Minutes, together with the said Doctors, and I, Diogo Osorez, Notary, wrote it. And he further was charged to lock to the inner chamber, the window and door of which were nailed up with many cross-bars by a carpenter, and made secure. I, Diogo Osorez, Notary, wrote it with the interlineation reading = as he had already accepted delivery thereof = I, Diogo Osorez, Notary, wrote it. — *Fr. Martinus de Ledesma*. — *Marcos Romeiro*. — *Antonio Mendes*. — *Jorge Gonçalves Rybeiro*.

And at once, on the same day, the eleventh day of August in the said year, in the said city, in the Episcopal Residence of the said Lord Bishop, where the said Diogo de Teives and Master George were, there being also present the said Doctor Jorge Gonçalves, he enquired of the before-mentioned what more of their belongings they wished to have, and to whom did they wish their clothes to be entrusted, and in what way? and each, for himself, replied that they had received all the money which was their personal property, without any of it being wanting, he having delivered it to them on the previous day, and, that, with regard to the rest of their clothes and the keys of their lodgings, it was their pleasure that, without further inventory being made, everything should be entrusted to Master Antonio Mendes, who was there present, and he agreed to take charge thereof, because, on this very day, before the Deputy left the College, he shewed every thing to the said Master Antonio, and to the other companions of Master George; and this with regard to the clothes and chamber of Diogo de Teives, because Master George desired that his clothes and his chamber should be handed over to Master Nicolas, who was there present; and because all parties were agreed as regards this, the said Deputy ordered this minute to be drawn up and be signed by all. And I, Diogo Osorez, Notary, wrote it. And with regard to the money for the Professors which was in Diogo de Teive's box, it was decided that it should be counted and given to the said Master Antonio and Master Nicolas, in the chest in which it was, each one to have his own key. And they signed. And I, Diogo Osorez, wrote it. And that of the works, to Diogo de Castilho. I, Diogo Osorez, Notary, wrote it. — *Diogo de Teive*. — *N. Grouchy*. — *Jorge Gonçalves Rybeiro*. — *Antonio Mendez*.

And the witnesses of these proceedings were the said Diogo de Castilho, citizen, and Antonio Mendez, Chamberlain of the Lord Bishop, and Master Guillaume, Professor, Pero Fernandez and Symão Fernandez, Solicitors of the said Inquisition. I, Diogo Osorez, wrote it. — *Symão Fernandez*. — *Pero Fernandez*. — *G. Guarante*. — *Diogo de Castilho*. — *Antonio Mendez*.

And at once, on the same day, the eleventh of the said month of August, the said Deputy, with Diogo de Castilho, His Highness's Master of the Works, and with Master Antonio and Master Nicolas, and with me, the Notary, went to the lodgings of the said Diogo de Teives, to a box in which the Professor's money was kept, and found therein, in silver, that is to say, reales, testoons, half testoons, pennys and four-penny pieces, 170,5600 reis, which were counted in the presence of all, and delivered to the said Master Antonio and Master Nicolas, and they received the said sum, and acknowledged having done so, promising to account for it whenever His Highness may call upon them to do so, or the Rector of the University. And, in testimony of the truth, they sign here with the said Deputy, and Diogo de Castilho, Pero Fernandez and Symão Fernandez, Solicitors, also signed: and I, Diogo Osorez, Notary, wrote it. And Diogo de Castilho also received, from a bag which was in Diogo de Teive's own chest, for the payment of the works, 9,5800 reis. Witnesses, the before-mentioned; and I, Diogo Osorez, wrote it. — *Diogo de Castilho*. — *Jorge Gonçalves Rybeiro*. — *N. Grouchy*. — *Antonio Mendez*. — *Pero Fernandez*. — *Symão Fernandez*.

And after thus delivering up all the money, effects and keys of the lodgings of the hereinbefore-mentioned, the said Deputy, together with Ruy Diaz, a citizen of this city, went to the residence of the Lord Bishop, where the said Diogo de Teive and Master George were prisoners, and there handed them over to him, in accordance with the Rules for Procedure, and the Cardinal's order for him to deliver them in the city of Lisbon, before His Highness or his Deputies; and he, Ruy Diaz, accepted delivery of the said prisoners, and took them upon himself to deliver them where the Deputy ordered him to do so; and he signed this Receipt, together with the said Doctor, the witnesses being Antonio Mendez, the Lord Bishop's Chamberlain, Diogo Rodriguez, a citizen of this City, Antonio Madeira, the Lord Bishop's servant, and others. And I, Diogo Osorez, Notary, wrote it; and Vasco Alfonso, a priest in Holy Orders; Diogo Osorez, wrote it; and they were also handed over to Pero Fernandez, Solicitor; I, Diogo Osorez, wrote it. — *Jorge Gonçalves Rybeiro*. — *Ruy Diaz*. — *Pero Fernandez*. — *Antonio Mendez*. — *Diogo Rodriguez*. — *Vasco Alfonso*. — *Antonio Madeira*.

On the tenth day of the month of August, in the year 1550, in the City of Coimbra, in the Episcopal Residence of the Lord Bishop of that City, in the room looking on to the Upper Garden, where, by order of the Cardinal Prince, Inquisitor General, Doctor Master Diogo de Teives and Master George Buchanan were in detention.

(This minute was commenced but not concluded. It is interesting because it may serve to indicate the room in which the prisoners were kept before they set out for the Capital.)

Dear Mary

I have just received your kind letter
and was glad to hear from you
and to hear that you were well
I am well at present and hope
these few lines will find you
the same. I have not much news
to write at present. I am
still in the same place and
am doing as usual. I have
not much to write at present
but I thought I would write
a few lines to let you know
that I am still well and
hope these few lines will
find you the same. I have
not much to write at present
but I thought I would write
a few lines to let you know
that I am still well and
hope these few lines will
find you the same.

Your affectionate son
John Smith

I

De mestre Jorge Buquenano

Aos xb dias do mes dagosto de mil b^lta annos em Lixboa foy entregue no carcere da santa Inquisição ha Inacyo Nunez alcaide do dito carcere mestre Jorge Buquanano o qual foy preso em Cojmbra e entregue no dito dia ao dito Alcaide e por verdade asy nou aquy o dito Inacyo Nunez Antonio Rodriguez o spreuy.

Inacyo Nunez

Preguntas de mestre Jorge Buquenano

Aos xbiiij. dias do mes de agosto de mil b^lta annos em lixboa na Casa do despacho da santa Inquisição estando hy o Reverendo senhor bispo damgra e os senhores deputados da Santa Inquisição mandarão vyr perante sy a huū homem escoses que esta preso por os casos da Santa Inquisição e lhe deram juramento dos Santos avangelhos e fezerão pergunta como se chamaua dise que mestre Jorge Buquenano que seria de jdade de corenta e cymco annos pouco mais ou menos / preguntado se tinha pay ou mãy dise que nõ tinha pay nem mãy e que erão chrisptãos velhos e que tem dous jrmaãos viuos e tres jrmaãos e que huū de seus jrmãos foy lemte em Cojmbra ¶ preguntado de que tera era dise que era descorçya do condado de lenos da freguesia de quiler. preguntado quãoto tempo ha que estuda dise que ha mais de trinta annos que estuda em paris em letras latinas gregas e philosophia / e que estudou tambem philosophia e artes em sua tera na cydade de santo Andre de baixo de Joannes Major / ¶ preguntado donde se veyo a Portugal dise que em Burdeos leo tres Annos na primeira classe de gramatica e que dahy se veyo pera Portugal por elRey noso senhor o mandar chamar pera o collegio da universydade de Cojmbra ¶ preguntado se era lembrado nos tempos pasados offemder a noso senhor ou sua santa ffee Catholyca em dizer ou ffazer alguūa cousa contra o que tem a santa madre Igreja dise que estamdo em escorsea lhe mandara elRey que fizesse huūs versos contra os frades de sam francisco per os ter por sospeitos de alguūs saberem dalgūas peoas que lhe fazyão treição / os quaes lhe nõ lembrão agora nem os tem em seu poder e que a semtemça delles era taxar os frades que nõ comprião os statutos de sua Regra antiga e que estes versos deu a elRey descorsya e que antes de fazer estes versos fez outros tambem (1) nos quaes contaua fingindo huū sonho como são francisco lhe apparecera e lhe dezya que tomase o abito de sua ordem e elle lhe Respomdera que ho nõ podia fazer per a sua ordem ser muito aspera com jejūs e descyplinas e que querya antes ser da hordem dos bispos porque vya per as igrejas mais bispos santos que frades e que disto se escandalizarão hos frades e pregauão contra os que dezyão mal da Religião e que huū dos que pregauão lhe nõ quis mais ffalar / E que pasamdo por Inglaterra omde esteue seys meses lera muitos lyuros da seyta, lutherana / que trataua de justificacione / e outros lyuros nos quaes avya muitas injurias contra hos

(1) Riscaram a seguir as palavras : *por mandado delRey dEscorsya.*

eclesiasticos e papa como he o lyuro que se jmtetula / dos mercatores / no qual chama a todos os eclesiasticos mercatores per venderem os sacramentos e as outras cousas da jgreja por noso senhor deytar fora da jgreja hos mercatores ¶ preguntado se lhe parecera bem alguãa cousa destas dise que lhe parecera que na materia da justificação huãa mesma cousa sentião os catholicos e hos lutheranos, a saber, que eramos justificados per a ffee formada a qual nõ he sem obras e que lhe parecyã que a ffee e ha caridade ajmdã que fosse cousas diversas em sy que nõ podiam estar huãa sem a outra, a saber, a ffee perfeyta sem caridade / preguntado que emtemdia per ffee dise que crer ha esteora da sagrada escriptura e confiar que per christo temos o acceso a Deos / preguntado per que aplycauamos a nos christo e os seus merecymentos dise que por a confiança a qual obra per ha caridade / preguntado se em outras alguãas openioes de luthero como he dos poderes do papa das jndulgençyas de dilectu cyborum e outros semelhantes que são cõtra a ffee e Jgreja sentira alguãa vez ou tinera õu disera cõtra aquelo que tem a santa madre Jgreja dise que nõ/. E acabadas as ditas perguntas foy amoestado da parte de noso senhor que cuyde milhor em suas cousas por desencaregar sua comcyencia por que fazemdo elle asy serya Reçebjdo cõ muita mysericordia Antonio Roiz o sprey cõ tres Riscados que se fez por verdade e na antrelynha onde diz escoses que se fez por verdade.

Georg. Buchanan o bispo Inquisidor frei hieronjmo dazambuja

Aos vymte e huã dias do mes dagosto de mil b^o L^{ta} annos em lixboa no carcere da santa Jmquisyção estamdo hy os senhores deputados da santa Jmquisyção mãdarão vyr perante sy ao dito mestre Jorge buquenano e per o juramento dos santos avamgelhos lhe ffizerão as perguntas segĩtes ¶ lhe ffizerão pergunta se alguãa vez estamdo em companhia doutras pessoas disera Rimdo e zombamdo das cyrimõias da Jgreja alguãas cousas dise que nõ ¶ preguntado se alguãa ora estamdo comẽdo com outras pessoas disera a alguũs dos que estauão na companhia que comesem por que deos nõ mãdara a nynquem que deixase de comer carne ajmdã que fosse em dias defesos amtes disera a seus discypolos que comesem toJo o que lhe fosse aprestando dise que nõ lhe lembra que tal disese nem que nuca tal pratica teuese / somente que estamdo huãa vez em escorçya avera doze annos foy a casa de huã seu amigo que estaua muito doemte a morte e nõ querya comer carne elle por ver o perigo em que estaua o dito seu amigo depojs de ho persuadir que comese a dita carne e vemdo que nõ queria comeo com elle da dita carne sendo dia em que a Jgreja prohybia que se nõ comese carne e jsto soo por o fazer comer e nõ por semtir nem ter pera sy que naqueles dias se podia comer carne / ¶ preguntado se disera alguãa ora acerca da defesa do comer da carne alguãa cousa em pratica de que alguãa pessoa que estaua na companhia se escandalizase dise que nõ lhe lembra pasar nuca tal pratica ¶ preguntado o que lhe parecyã acerca do estado da Relegião dise que lhe parecyã bom pera os que podiam com ho estado da Relegião ¶ preguntado se Repremdera alguãa pessoa e Rira della por deixar o estado comum dise que lhe nõ lembraua somente estamdo em cojmbra alguãas vezes diamte de quatro ou cynco pessoas estamdo pero leytão e manuel cerueira lemte disera que fazyão mal os apóstolos persuadirem os meninos que se metesem em sua Relegião amtes de legitima jdade que daly vynha tiremense depojs da Relegião mormente nõ sendo sua Relegião confirmada per o papa porem que nunca semtira mal della ¶ preguntado se disera a Alguãa pessoa por que mudara a vida comum por quãoto As Relegiões forão ffeytas por homẽs dise que lhe lembra aver desputado em estas cousas com huã sobrinho do bispo de tangere zombamdo / que se chama pinheiro que avya pouco tempo que se fizera ffrade e avya sydo seu discypolo e lhe parecyã que *era pouco pera* (1) frade e por jso zombaua cõ elle e que jsto foy em bordeos avera sete ou oyto Annos pouco majs ou menos e que lhe nõ lembra a pratica que sobre jsto pasarão somente que ho dito padre tinha desgosto da pratica ¶ preguntado que era o que semtia da presença do corpo de noso senhor Jhesuu christo no santo sacramento do altar dise que semtia que estaua aly verdadeira e realmente o corpo de noso senhor Jhesuu christo Asy como o cre a santa Jgreja de Roma / e foy preguntado se alguãa vez desputado com alguãa pessoa lhe quis elle mestre Jorge prouar que de openyão de samto Agostinho era que

(1) Sublinhado no orijinal.

o corpo de noso senhor estaua no sacramento como em synal somente dise elle mestre Jorge que disputando muitas vezes mas nõ lhe lembra em que lugares nem com que pessoas dise que samto Agostinho no lyuro de doutryna christiana e tambem em huã Autoridade do decreto favorecy a Aos lutheranos nesta parte em dizerem que no santo sacramento do Altar estaua o corpo de noso senhor como em synal somente e por lhe parecer que asy o sentia sãto Agostinho elle trouue o Animo sospemso e duuidou se estaua aly Realmente o corpo de noso senhor e que trouue esta sospensão e duuida per tempo de sete ou oyto meses A qual duuida depojs jmdo As lycões em paris dos catholicos e lemdo ha Roferse / e A clitoveu / a tirou ¶ preguntado se por ventura Alguã ora sentira que A missa nõ era sacrefiço dise que lhe parecera muitas vezes que ou nõ era sacrefiço ou era o mesmo sacrefiço que na cruz fora offerecydo e que como Asemtou que estaua aly o corpo de noso senhor Jhesuu christo Realmente logo lhe pareceo que era sacrefiço ¶ preguntado se estas Autoridades de samto Agostinho se As lya no propeo santo Agostinho se alegadas em outro lyuro alguũ dise que as lera no mesmo lyuro de samto Agostinho e que A autorydade de santo Agostinho do decreto que A leo no mesmo decreto e que estas Autoridades lya pasando ho decreto e lemdo por elle como lya per outros lyuros ¶ preguntado se em este tempo que Amdou nesta duuida deixara de comungar por asy Amdar duuydosõ dise que todo o tempo que Amdou cõ ha duuida deixou de comungar nõ por causa da duuyda mas por nõ ser tempo de comungar ¶ preguntado se era lembrado alguã ora fazer alguã cõrymonia Judayca dise que nõ ¶ preguntado se comera o cordeiro pascoal em companhia dalguãs pessoas dise que nõ no comera nem disera que se podia comer nem na sua tera nõ avya Judeus ¶ preguntado se era lembrado Alguãs pessoas em sua tera serem queymadas per comerem o cordeiro pascoal dise que nõ nem nunca o ouuira se nõ Agora ¶ preguntado se fora Alguã ora preso em sua tera dise que nõ mas que fogira della com medo de ho premerem por quãto huã senhora A qual tinha huũ filho bastardo del Rey descorcy a lhe querya mal por certas causas A qual lhe parece que ho Acusou diante do Cardeal e bispos que tem cuydado da jmquisycã de cousas lutheranas a saber que comia carne em dias prohybdos e disputaua das cousas dos lutheranos e por o pay desta senhora ter huũ mãdado delRey pera o premer elle se foy A elRey queixamdo se ser jmjustamente Acusado por aquella molher e elRey depojs de mãdar ouir sua causa per huũ seu secretareo que se chamaua thomas esquem / e per huũ Joam de nestam ecclesiastico / e per huũ thomas escot que jaa he falecydo e depois de ouuido esteu huã noyte em casa do dito secretareo e depojs per mãdado delRey se foy a sua pousada e que o dya seguinte lhe mãdou dizer elRey que se fosse e jsto por saber elRey que por sua causa lhe vyera este trabalho. e que então se veyo a frança ¶ preguntado se em frança ou em outro algum lugar teuera Alguãs openioes lutheranas dise que estamdo em Jmglatera e ouuindo muitas vezes pregacoẽs dellas catholicas dellas lutheranas e disputamdo com homes doutos sobre estas cousas de luthero muitas vezes duuidou qual destas partes teuese mas que lhe nõ lembra Alguũ dos Artigos em particular / somente lhe lembra que quãdo ouyua Alguũ pregador catholico que lhe parecy a bem a ffee da Igreja e quãdo depojs tornaua ouuyr Alguũ lutherano lhe parecy a bem As openioes de luthero e que esteue em estas duuidas todo o tempo que esteue em Jmglatera que foram cymco ou seys meses / ¶ preguntado por outros Alguũs Artigos e asy por algumas cousas que tocauãõ pera declaraçã do que tem dito dise que por nõ poder Agora dizer As cousas per sua ordem que pedia a suas merçes lhe mãdasem dar papel e tinta pera mais ordenadamente fazer sua comfisa / o qual lhe mãdarãõ dar Amoestamdoõ que por Amor de noso senhor elle desencarege muito bern sua comcyencya e peca perdam de tudo porque fazemdoõ Asy serya Recebjdo com muita misericordia Antonio Rojz o spreuy.

Georg. Buchanan frei hieronimo dazambuja Manuel doctor Ambrosius

Aos xxiiij dias do mes de Agosto de j b^o L^{ta} Annos em lixboa no carcere da santa Jmquisiçãõ estando hy o Reuerendo senhor padre mestre Jeronimo dazambuja e o Licenciado Jorge Gonçalvez deputado da sãta Jmquisiçãõ mãdarãõ vyr peramte sy Ao dito mestre Jorge buquenano e lhe fizerãõ pergunta se cuydara e esprevera todo o que sentia em sy ter sua comcyencya encaregada dise que sy que ahy o trazya espirito / e logo leo tudo / e lhe foy dado juramento dos samtos avangelhos se era todo verdade o que Aly tinha espirito e per elle foy dito que todo o que aly esprevera era verdade e

pasara da maneira que o Asy esprevera e que lhe nō lembrava outra cousa de nouo e al nō dise e todo o que asy espreveo he o seguinte / e dise elle mestre Jorge que todo o que lhe majs lembrase que elle ho espreveria / e diria. Antonio Rojz o sprevy.

Georg. Buchanan frey hieronjmo daçambuja Jorge Gonçalvez Rybeiro

Ego Georgius Buchananus natione Scotus, diocesis Glasguensis, aio cum anno domini 1539. quæstio in lutheranos decreta esset, mihi timuisse ob has causas. primū bien-nium fere ante fuit mihi disputatio cū franciscano quodam de forma iudicii rerū capitaliū in Scotia et præcipue in causa hæreseos. Nā cū e gallia tū venirem ac magis gallicos quam nostrorū mores tenerem, mirabar ī primi homines dānari testibus ignotis, atque etiam interdū hostibus neminē enī esse tam innocentem qui circūueniri possit si modo inimicos, aut inuidos haberet. recens erat exemplū ob oculos mercatoris cuiusdam, qui petierat a iudicibus ut certi homines iudicia capitales sui reijcerētur, nec datus erat ei reiectionis locus. Is igitur franciscanus cū circūstantibus in ea disputatione nō satisfecisset, multa de me in uulgus suspitiose seminabat. Ego inuicem ut me ultiscerer epigrāma uetus nostrate lingua scriptum in latinos uersus transtuli, cuius sentētiā uobis ante retuli, post id tempus odijs, et cōuitijs res utrinque acta est, multa proba utrinque iactata citra ullā rē quæ ad religionis calūniā attineret. Incidit interea in aula crimē cōiurationis, de qua multa scire franciscanos rex arbitrabatur. Itaque iratus illis, cū nō ignoraret, mihi cū illis esse inimicitias me iussit, atque etiam coegit, ut sciūt uiri aliquot clarissimi, nec ipsi franciscani ignorant, carmē in eos scribere. Illi interea nō cessarunt omnibus cōcionibus me traducere. Itaque paulo etiam quam destinaueram acerbius scripsi, sed certe citra religionis chistianæ cōtumeliā etiam cū illa protestatione me nihil aduersus ordinē dicere aut in bonos franciscanos, quales ueteres fuerūt, sed in homines nostri temporis dissolutos, et qui a ueterū institutis destiuissent. ea res mirum in modum odia accendit. Itaque antequā carmen ostendere conatus sum deprecari regem per homines in aula notos ne tātam inuidiam mihi conflaret. fore enī uidebam. vt franciscani sollicitarēt episcopus, episcopi regem aliquando a me auerterent. cū uero rex omnibus modis exigeret a me carmen, partem eius tum dedi, ut si ea contentus esset reliquum tū supprimerī. quod etiam factum est. neque quisquam ex me nisi rex exēplar accepit. Interea franciscani amicam regis mulierem nobilem, et maxime apud regem potentem in me inflāmant iam antea sua sponte iratam. Nā cum antea de me sparsisset rumores varios. ego ab episcopo loci iudicium de iniuria postulauī. Episcopus etsi tam rex aberat in Gallia potētiā mulieris reueritus de ea re ius dicere non est ausus.

Per idem tempus amicus quidam meus gravissimo morbo laborabat. neque in extremo periculo carnem attingere audebat diebus ueneris ac sabbati. Ego nō solum hortatus sum illū ut carnem ederet, sed etiam quo libentius id faceret vna cū illo edī idque simpliciter, ac bona fide adhuc actum est.

Mulier cum id rescisset, rem ad dominicanos quosdam retulit Id nos postea ex uocorum resciuimus, qui non solum factum excusabat, sed etiam ulteriora audere compulsi ut scilicet semel, atque iterum *in quadragesima carnibus uesceremur* *uoluit* (1) apud nos autoritas hominis, apud suos sūma autoritate. Vt qui prior cōuentus aliquando fuisset et cōcionator imprimis clarus, ac pæter multa alia dictitabat etiā Christum cū apostolis agnū in quadragesima edisse. vnde opinor fabula illa agni paschali nata est. de qua hodie primum audiui. Atque hinc mihi prima mali labes, ac primū cōmerciū cū lutheranis fuit. Nā quæ ante id tempus acta fuerunt, nihil penitus ad eam causam attinebāt.

Interea quæstio decreta est. Ego regem per amicos in aula deprecari sum conatus, quod per illū, ac eius potissimū impulsu in id mali incidissem. Ille me accitū ad se tribus aulicis interrogandum de his rebus dedit, quibus omnia ut acta erant simpliciter atque ex fide sum confessus. cū illi mihi multa minarentur, ac nullam spem ueniæ ostenderent si quicque negarem, cūque eos etiam uiderem meæ aduersariæ intimos esse, et totam quæstionem a patre eius regi plura etiam que facta sunt dixi nequid causari

(1) Sublinhado no oriijnal, bem como as mais palavras que em italico se encontrarem para diante transcritas.

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I. G. Georgius Buchananus natione Scotus, doctus & auctor
 Tunc anno dñi 1578. quaestio in Lutheranos decretata esset, mihi
 esse ob has causas. primū biennium fere ante fuit mihi de
 cū franciscano quodam de forma iudicij rerū capitaliū in
 et praecipue in causa haereses. Nā tū e gallia tū venie
 at magis gallicas quam nostrorū mores tenerem, mirabar
 hoīs dānari testibus ignotis, atq; etiam invidiā et hostilitatē
 neminē em esse tam innocentem quā circummari possit
 timores, aut invidos scaberet. recens erat exemplū ob occu
 matoris cuiusdam, qui petierat a iudicibus ut certi
 timici capitales sui reijceretur, nec datus erat ei reiecti
 locus. Is igitur franciscanus cū circumstantiis in ea de
 nō satisfecisset, multaq; de me in malignis suspitione sem
 p̄ me subsciberet, epigramma vetus notate

per hunc comparatio ponitur cū Christo, qui nō negoditur per o
 Omnis arbor non faciens fructum & resurrexerit Christi
 religiosi omnium ordinū custodiunt sepulchrum, ac dolent
 transferunt Christum surrexisse } Georg. Buchanan me
 sua scripsi et signa



possēt. Ea nocte cū iam admodum serum esset apud secretarium regium, apud quē hęc acta sunt fui. postridie rex me iussit in hospitium meum liberū abire cū bona spe fore polliciturū omnium præteritorū veniam.

Per id tempus maxime præparabatur bellū in Anglos a pontifice, ac vicinis regibus, spe coniurationis quæ tū fere etiam in Anglia detecta est Rex Scotiæ cū quædam explorare uellet in anglia me maxime ad id putauit idoneum, ut qui uideri possem sectæ causa ad illos transisse. quod adeo uerū fuit ut paulum abfuerit quum Angli me rursus in Scotiā ad explorandas res scotorum dimitterent, cū ego adfirmarem mihi amicos esse per quos quiduis secreto transigi posset. Rex igitur scotiæ (ut illuc redeam) me per alicū quendam admonuit quæ in rem essent, ac ita discedere iussit quasi clam fuga elapsus essem Hęc ego hactenus cælauerā quod non ignorem si rescita fuerint quātum mihi instet periculum et ab anglis, et a scotis qui tum in anglia exulabant, nūc uero domi plurimū, ac potius omnia possunt. Deinde quod non existimaueram magnopere interesse uestra ea scire præsertim cū ad causam nō magnopere pertineant.

Volūtatis regiæ erga me inditiū id fuit multis, quod postridie demū illius die post meridiem iusserit persequi qui me cōprehenderent cū ego iam in Anglia esse possem quippe quæ triginta milia passuū tantū absit.

Quod famulū meū ex itinere retractum iusserit dimitti.

Quod notos homines interrogarit an me uidissent londini.

Quid illic agerem.

Quod omnia secunda de me libenter audiret ac imprimis illud quod iam Burdegalæ essem.

Quod multis repugnantibus fratrem meū in locū substituerit, semper comiter allocutus sit, atque humaniter tractauerit.

Itaque illo uiuo nemo Scotus mihi facessere negocium est ausus, cū id quod erat aliqua ex parte suspicarentur.

Igitur cū principio Januarij discessissem e scotia, multū in itinere uexatus, ac spoliatus, et pro speculatore aliquot locis retentus, uix tandem Londinū sub initiū quadragesimæ ueni. Ibi multorum cōciones in *diversa trahentiū animos auditorū* audiui, ex quibus uacillabat interdū infirma mens et rationū fluctibus modo in hanc, modo in illam partem ferebatur quarū rerū capita inferius quātū suggeret memoria exponā.

Multos item utriusque partis libros legi. multa fuerunt mihi simulanda, ac dissimulanda pro persona quam gerebam. Sub quadragesimā rumor belli increbuit ac paucis post diebus nūciatū est circiter centum naues hollandicas in proximo ad anchoras stare expectantes siquis motus populariū fieret.

Porro ad eū nūciū tota anglia in armis erat. Nullam igitur de egressu meo mentionem ausus sum facere donec is motus plane sedatus est sub finem istatis ac tum etiam anglis persuaseram mihi iter in germaniam esse uni hiberno ausus sum profiteri me in Galliam proficisci cū quo unā luteciam ueni mense Augusto. Burdegalam deinde septembri profectus sum quod per id tempus plurimæ naues Scoturū et anglorū cōuenire illuc soleant.

Ibi cum accepissem Regem Scotiæ cū classe profectū esse ad compescendos motus insulanorū statui eam hyemem Burdegalæ expectare dū nūcium de reditu ab eo acciperem, neque enī eius iussu redire aut audebam aut uolebam. interim cōditionē ab andrea Goueano accepi.

Illa hyeme semina belli inter Scotos et Anglos iacta sunt quod bellū ad hūc usque annū. 1550. durauit.

Hęc sunt igitur capita quæstionū de quibus me aut dubitasse aut hesitasse meminī.

De libero arbitrio hęc ego semper præ me tuli.

Nec me intelligere posse deum sine prouidentia, nec hominem sine libero arbitrio. quomodo uero illa inter se cōueniant non putauī mihi anxie disquirendum esse, nec unquā in disquisitionem uocari nisi in scholis quomodo uulgo fieri solet. Nec meminī me postquam ex anglia ueni de ea re disseruisse nisi nuper in scholis conimbricæ aduersus eos qui ponebāt facta posse esse infecta.

De uotis scripto in tragædia de uoto Jephthe meam sententiam ostendi cuius disputationis hęc sūma est uota quæ licite fiunt omnia seruanda ac multi etiam sciūt conimbricæ me orationē Barpt. latini super hac re contra Bucerū et legere libenter solitū, et semper laudare.

Ego omnium religionū receptorū instituta probaui multorū hominū mores nō pro

baui. Multos religiosos atque eorum instituta nominatim sæpe et multis in locis laudauit ut conimbricæ Bernardinos et eligianos de quibus nūquā nisi honorifice sum loquutus, qui uiri mihi uidentur uere antiquos mores referre.

De his uero qui apostoli uocantur non id unū reprehendi quod pueros impuberos sollicitarent cōtra morē aliarū religionū, sed alia quædam quæ de eis iactabantur. quarū rerū querelas ad Jacobū Goueanū gymnasiarcham sæpe detuli, nūquā in uulgus effudi. Contra uero in institutis eorū plurimā etiam probaui et laudauit, ut nemo nisi malignus interpres in odium religionis ea dicta fuisse existimet quæ culpabam, quod si etiam in hoc genere errarim id certe ita modeste feci ut nō petulantia sed simplicitate peccarim.

Burdegalæ uero cū occurissem Jo. pinario qui ante paucos dies tolosæ dominicanus factus erat ut uulgo certe ferebatur, quod ægre ferret se minus laute quam uolebat uestitus conspici. cui opinioni cū mores hominis antea mihi noti congruere uiderentur, cœpi liberius iocari cū illo pro antiqua familiaritate, quid autē dixerim nō memini certe nihil opinor me dixisse quod nō soleat in Gallia uulgo dici, ac possit libere ubique inter amicos. et tamen illū notabiliter offensum sensi quod mihi qui cū paulo ante noueram nō tam grauis uisus quā ipse omnibus se uideri uolebat.

Eiusdem Gallicæ libertatis erat illud quod homini molesto quē uidebā ausam disputandi querere roganti quis fecit primus monachos ego forte respondi tonsor, et uestiarius. Is qui fuerit certe non memini, hoc autē scio in Gallia nusquam homines huius-cemodi uerbis offendi solere.

Scipsi Burdegalæ dialogū qui publicæ exhibitus est, et priuatim apud multos actus, a nemine quod sciam reprehensus, in quo reprehendebantur patres, qui liberos suos inuitos ad monachatū adigūt. nihil animaduertētes h̄donei sint, necne, ad id institutū. Cuius scribendi occasio hæc erat nobilis quidam in Santonibus monsieur de mirambeau duas habebat filias ex priore uxore. ad quas proueniebat hereditas opulēta ex morte matris. pater autē arguebatur eas inuitas intrusisse in monasterium eius hereditatis causa nā in santonibus parētibus liberi. et liberis parētes succedunt. hæc autē puellæ tū maxime aduersus patrē litigabāt in senatu Burdegalensi. Is dialogus tā neminem quod sciam offenderat. neque quicquā cōtinebat quod in gallia nō agi et dici et liceat et soleat.

De matrimonio sacerdotū hoc sensi uotū his qui fecissent seruandū sed certe minus *scandali futurū si ut solebat antiquitus presbyteri, hoc est seniores, tantū ordinarentur*, aut permitteretur eis matrimoniū.

An uero quisquam sine speciali gratia possit caste uiuere quæstionem eam putauit magis pertinere ad medicos quam ad theologos, ac de ea re fuit mihi sermo cū Nicolao pichoto medico Burdegalensi homine docto qui mihi plane persuasit libidinem arte, et diætā minui multis rationibus posse.

De ueste uero franciscanorū an tantam uim habeat quantam uulgus credit. Hoc est liberis a poenis fore et omnino remitti eis peccata qui in ea sepeliūtur (1) nūquam mihi necessario credendum putauit quippe cū id nec scripturis sit traditū nec ab ecclesia sancitum.

Atque ut obiter id attingam nūquam putauit mihi esse necesse ut fidem adhiberem miraculis. nisi his præsertim quæ grauissimis autoribus confirmata essent. Non quod *credam non posse per sanctos, atque etiam per diabolū opera mirabilia sæpe præsentari sed quod ex uno ficto miraculo plus fit mali si res fiat palam, quam ex multis ueris boni*. Id ego multis exemplis edoctus dico. fratrū bernensium multis nota est historia, quæ turbauit Heluetios. Infinita huius generis uno tempore prodierūt, quæ totam subuererūt angliam.

Aureliæ in Gallia franciscani, prope tholosam sacerdotes. In suburbio Luteciano procurator benedictorū quātos tumultus exciuisent nisi nigrātus seure animaduertissent.

In scotia purgatorio multū fidei detraxit Gulielmus langius franciscanus dū purgatorii miraculo uult confirmare.

De purgatorio uero nūquam dubitauit quin crederem esse locū pœnæ æternæ, ac aliū pœnæ temporalis post mortem cū nullū peccatū sit quod non aliquā pœnā mereatur etiāsi culpa cōdonetur.

(1) Escrito á marjem com a chamada neste logar.

Illud uero aliquādo dubitauī an indulgentiæ pertinerent etiam ad mortuos. nec alia res nisi Determinatio ecclesiæ me eo scrupulo liberauit. De qua dicam inferius.

De iustificatione putauī diuersis uerbis idem dicere uos, et lutheranos cū alteri dicerent hominem iustificari ex fide, et operibus, alteri ex fide per operante. ac in tam tenui discrimine dolebam eos nō conuenire de re maxima. quod si quando simpliciter ex fide iustificari nos dicebant id ita accipiebam ac si dicerent fide perfecta quæ cōiūctam habet charitatem quæ ociosa non est.

Cū in scotia legerem libros augustini de doctrina Christiana ac in locū incidissem libro. 3. ubi quædā eo pertinētia uerba explicat, ostendi locū fratri dominicano primi nominis apud nostros ac interrogauī quid sibi uideretur, ille nihil de re dixit sed me apud alios passim traducebat tanquā sacramētariū quæ res multiplex malū mihi creauit nā et dubiū multo magis quam antea remisit, et sūmā uulgo infamiam mihi cōflauit. et fecit ne postea si qua in re dubitarē cuiquā me aperire auderē. Cur autē id fecerit nouit deus quid alij suspecti sint, non attinet scribere.

accesserunt postea alij augustini loci qui uehemētius animū meū cōmouerūt ac maiorem iniecerāt scrupulum. ita ut plane augustinus ab aduersarijs stare uideretur cui ego semper plurimū tribuebam. interea si de ea re inciderit sermo fieri potest ut ego meam de augustino sententiam aperirem. nā id nūquam dissimulaui. sed ita ut ipse nūquā ausus sim definire quicquā. neque enī ita ei assentiebar, ut plane illi crederem, sed ut tantj uiri autoritas turbaret animū. Eam hesitationem meam per ociū ferijs paschalibus antequā communicarem ad And. Goueanū retuli. Is mihi primus ostendit in sacramēto eucharistiæ et corpus esse, et signū, neque eū qui diceret signū esse, statim negare uerū corpus Christi adesse, neque contra. quod responsum eius cū varie cōfirmaret. tã mihi omnino satisfecit postea uero animū plane cōfirmarūt scripta roffensis et clithouei ea potissimū quæ de autoritate ecclesiæ Disputant non solū in hac parte sed in omnibus alijs. Accesserūt cōciones doctorū uirorū Luteciæ atque etiam Burdegalæ, quæ mihi satisfecerūt.

Cū de eucharistia dubitabā quod tempus coepit sub meū ex Anglia discessum usque ad proxlmū pascha. (Nā in Scotia magis disquirebam etiam quā disputabam et in Anglia de ea re uetitū erat disputare) necesse erat etiam de missa an esset sacrificium disputare. præsertim cū hæc inter se cōnexa sint. Neque memini tamen unquā in ulla disputatione hanc rem a me agitatā nisi in disputatione quadam publica. ad quam me et alios prouocauerat Melchior flauius franciscanus, argumēta uero quibus usus sum illic, agitaui cū alijs. ac postea quibusdam recitaui, idque simpliciter.

Vna ne missa debeat esse an plures nūquā interposui meam sentētiā. Illud sæpe dixi multas res esse minus uenerationis haberēt ex frequētia. Dixi me libentius audire magnam missam in secreto aliquo templo quā frequētū quod in templis celebrioribus eo tempore plures cōtractus transigi uiderem, quam in foro.

Ex hijs uerbis quid maligni interpretes collegerint nescio, neque etiam id præstare possū.

Missas uero qui plures audiat quam ego in tantis occupationibus puto esse neminem. cuius rei testem habeo totam uiciniam.

missas autem a priuatis dici imperari pro furto inueniendo ac aliis id genus absurdū putauī (1).

Orationē rē longe sanctissimā esse sentio. Multa tamen sæpe dixi in eos qui temere orāt hoc est nō animaduertunt quid dicant. item in eos qui uel euāgelij uel alias orationes quasi carmen magicū ad usus profanos applicāt. ac certis uerbis febrim depelli uel alios morbos credāt qua in re multos offendi uel qui fiduciam in his rebus collocant, uel qui quæstum hinc faciūt.

In his erant qui clauem uertendo de furto diuinant Qui salicis uirgam fissam certis uerbis coire faciūt, ac ex ea crucem depellendæ febrī faciūt, ac alia multa Id genus. Hi cū reprehendūtur statim lutherani nomen reprehensoribus obiiciūt.

Delectum ciborum, uestium, et confesionē auricularē certo tempore et modo ex institutione humana omnia sed utilia semper putauī Quæ si quis nō obseruet peccare quidem ex inobediētia cū nō solū ecclesiæ sed etiam principū legibus obediendū sit, sed leue id peccatū esse si sine scandalo fieret. cū ad mōres regendos tanquā leges ciuiles sint.

In cibis illud sensi. nō cibum ipsum inquinare hominem sed uel inobedientiam, uel

(1) Na marjem, sem chamada no texto.

scandalum, usus autē sum cibus promiscue cū incidebat occasio fere per biēniū postquam uero ab anglia egressus sum nūquā quod sciam nisi ualetudinis causa quæ magna ex parte mihi aduersa fuit ex grauissimo Burdegalæ cælo, unde longū morbū cōtraxi distillationis, qui nūquam nisi hac æstate intermisit.

Confessione semper usus ex more ecclesiastico etiam in Anglia. quanquam ibi nō comunicauī, cū in maximis rebus ab eis dissentirem.

Videlicet pontificis potestate quā semper maximā esse præ me tuli, sed ita ut pontificem in potestate concilii dicerem esse, quæ res sæpe canonici iuris studiosos offendit. Aequè atque illud quod dicebam canonistarū scientiam esse periculis obnoxiam, quæ concilii generalis uno decreto possit eis auferri.

Item quod aliquando dixerim pontificem præter clauem petri aliam hoc est multas rationes colligendæ pecuniæ habere qua omnium loculos aperiret.

Dissentiebam item ab anglis de præceptis humanis cum existimarem etiam profanorū ingrātuum leges et iussa sub poena peccati obseruanda Item quod nūquā persuadere mihi poterant Regem anglia caput esse ecclesie anglia.

Item de purgatorio de libro arbitrio. de potestate pontificis. de uotis. de ecclesia, in qua se nūquam mihi explicare poterāt quid esset. aut quæ. Itaque cū primū potui ut illinc euasi meam sententiā de anglis explicauī, in ea tragœdia quæ est de Jo. Baptista, in qua quātum materiæ similitudo in qua quātum materiæ similitudo patiebatur mortem et accusationem thomæ mori repræsentauī, et speciem tyrannidis illius temporis ab oculis posui.

Hæc sunt quæ memoria suppetunt mihi in quibus animus fere per biēniū in Scotia et anglia hæsit aut interdum male sensit, aut in quibus cū male sentientibus cōsensi, et cuius societatem.

Burdegalæ uero quicquid fui temporis illud in uero disquirendo consumpsi, adeo ut cū edoctus fuissim ex Roffensi et clichtoueo, quāta esset orthodoxæ ecclesie auctoritas protinus mecū statuerem in posterū minus mihi credere, atque ut rationes humanas in profanis disciplinis quærerem. in rebus sacris auctoritati scripturæ crederem cuius neminem Interpretem præter ecclesie catholicæ cōsensum susciperem Quæ cogitatio adeo animū meū fregit ut per postremū bienniū quod fui Burdegalæ nullum insolentius uerbū ex me auditū arbitrer cuius nō esset mihi facilis ratio in Gallia ubi sermonis in iocando et comediarū in agendo sūma libertas est nō modo in alios sed etiam in regem ipsum. Itaque durissimæ inquisitionis temporibus nemo me unquam leuissima suspitione aspexit.

Sub finem Anni 1543 luteciam profectus sum omnino ea mente in Scotiam redirem ac me restituerem ecclesie ibi cum a paulo pontifice maximo Bulla uenia generalis promulgata esset omnibus qui se *reconciliare uellent ecclesie. eam ego tū ueniam liber* amplexus sum, quippe qui omnes rationes sum secutus ut nō modo crimen sed etiam suspitionem criminis a me remouerem. Neque propterea destiti in patriam uelle reuerti, ut de scandalo quod illic excitaram omnibus publice satisfacerem Neque enī animo illic habitandi redire uolebam, sed me purgādi Nā præter pœnitentiam a sacerdote mihi indictam ego mihimetipsi aliam indixi mea sponte ut uidelicet perpetuū mihi exiliū cōsiscerem ubi me semel purgarem. præterea ut meus labor ecclesie semper deseruiret nec ullos honores unquā aut fructus ex ecclesia perciperem.

Interea luteciæ usus sum cōsuetudine eorū hominū qui longissime a suspitione abessent. Cū Jo. Ershin priore coenobii diui colmoci, ac fratre illius mulieris quæ mihi creauit omnes molestias, familiarissime uixi. cū Gulielmo cranstono, qui nūc opinor est doctor theologus. Cū dauide panitario tū legato qui nūc est archiepiscopus Glascuensis ac legatus scotorū in Gallia qui me sæpe humaniter mensa sua excepit et cui prælecturus fueram literas græcas nisi mihi morbus impedimēto fuisset. Denique nullus fuit alicuius nominis tū luteciæ Scotus cuius familiari cōsuetudine non sim usus.

Verū cū ex destillatione in morbū articularem in omnes corporis artus diffusum incidissem, qui me tota æstate et autūno detinuit affixū lecto mea profectio in patriam impedita est.

Successit tempus illud quo per factiones domesticas Scotorū Angli magnam partem Scotiae armis obtinuerūt, ac totam occupaturi uidebātur ut iam nec si possem redire liberet Itaque omnino de patria repetenda animū abiici. et qui antea id solū cogitabam tū conditionē requirendam putauī ubi desperata salute patriæ longissime ab eius malis audiendis abessem.

Offerebant mihi in Gallia amplas cōditiones Abbas Jueriaci homo nobilissimus qui

me etiam in morbo pecunia benigne iuuerat. In uasconibus Item Episcopi Tarbellensis, et Condomensis. In aula regia Card. Iothoring. et Card. Giuriacensis. et franciæ Cancellarius suasu Jo. Gagnei theologi et lazari Bayfiquorū domestica cōsuetudine usus sum aliquot menses in aula.

Ego tamē tenuiore hic secutus sum, ut quam longissime, ut dixi, a patriæ malis abessem Hoc demū anno cū pacem cū anglis factam audissem statueram iterū in patriam redire ac omnibus quod in me esset satisfacere.

Superiore ergo illo triennio multa per ignorātiā multa per negligentiam, iuuenilis ætatis ipetū prauā cōsuetudinē et dixi, et feci, quæ nequiter peruerse et impie facta intelligo quorū ego cū poenitentiam egissem Anno 1544 putauī ea apud homines obliuione perpetua sepultū iri quæ admodū apud deū sepulta esse arbitror et spero. Quorū rationem mihi nūc nō putauī reddendam. neque sigillatim reddere possum neque dubito tamē quin multo plura sint quam hic a me perscribantur Nouem uero posteriores annos ita egi et cū his hominibus, in luce christiani orbis ut nec fingendis criminibus locū me præbuisse opiner cuius rei testem neminem fugio qui me familiariter nouisse poterat. qui fuerūt multi, et illustres homines, quorū nō solū familiaritate, sed etiam cōiuctu sum usus quadriēnio proximo antequam in lusitaniam uenissem. Ita enī uixi ut pauci admodū eo tempore me notiores fuerint luteciæ.

De mea uita, et oratione postquam in lusitaniam ueni nullum testem reieci Quod si nouē annorū inoffensus cursus perpetuo uitæ tenore, nō satis magnū mutatæ uitæ inditiū habet. Si regressus ad ecclesiam et uenia impetrata apud tales homines nō ualent, nescio quis portus est ad quem miseri confugere possūt. Ego uero confiteor me grauiter iu deū atque homines peccasse. scandalo fuisse ecclesiæ dei Idemque testor me cū sæpe alias tū promulgatis indulgentijs peccata me cōfessum esse. ab eo tempore semper cauisse ne quem ulla in re quoad possem offenderem et si quid in præsentia omiserim id me infirmitate memoriæ nō alia ratione fecisse. Protestor item me nullam pœnā etiā nūc recusare, donec omnibus quod in me est satisfaciam Sin minus mihi hic in aliqua re creditur Illud a uestra humanitate peto. ut hic de lusitanicis peccatis statutis quod uobis uisū fuerit seuerissima indicij forma. De hiis quæ in Gallia a me admissa dicūtur uinctus in Galliam mittar ut illic ubi asperrime iudicia excercentur dem poenas neque enī ego meis testibus uti possum neque aduersariorum hic testimonia refutare neque notos homines allegare multa præterea hic criminosa esse uideo quæ in Gallia ne suspicionem quidem criminis habent.

In Britānia uero quæ acta sunt non solū deprecor sed etiam ea detestor atque abominor. uos autem uiri doctissimi interim hoc expendere uelim quam infirma sit iuenta nō solū suapte natura sed etiam prouocata cōtumelijs ambitione inflāmata cōtentione accensa callidorū hominū insidijs circūuenta, doctorum hominum opinione et suasu impulsu. irarum impetu in præceptis plerūque prouens insidijs diaboli impetita consuetudine prauorū hominum corrupta, illecebris capta.

De me uero sit habetote. quæ mihi causa fuerat ad lapsa præcipua, eadem fuit ad odiū præteritæ uitæ potissima nam cū ab ineunte ætate in grāmatica rhetorica et dialectica male institutū me intellexissem statui mihi omnium opiniones audiendas, in nullo magistri uerba iurandum ea ratio me prouexit longius ut nihil nō audiendū in qua uis re putarem. Itaque cū lutherani freti aduersariorū ignorātia sese ostentarent. Christiani homines quæ ipsi firma et solida putarēt in disquisitionē uocari moleste ferrēt, et cōiutiārētur magis quam responderēt. factū est plerūque ut infirmiorū animi nutarent quod inopia probatiōnū eos ad cōiutia descendere crederēt, et ob eandem causam suos sensus nō auderēt omnibus nudare. dū auxiliū petere nō audebāt in luto herebant. postquam uero in Galliam ueni æque facile ueritatem auditam arripui, nec ulla in re unquam pertinaciter egj Me autem non esse pertinacē in ulla re cū omnes alij conimbriæ tū mei discipuli sciūt a quibus facile me admoneri patior si quid interpretando errarim. aut siquid posterius occurrit de aliqua re quod melius dici possit sine ulla ambitione detego meū errorem. Neque quicque in quo dubito ulla ex parte me plane profiteor scire. Eorū uero quæ superius explicauī si quid pro explorato tenuissem nō erat cur ex anglia discederem ubi nec opes, nec honores, nec securitas mihi defutura erant. Nō recusarem ire in Daniam, quo me uocabat in spem maximæ hereditatis maior amita mea mulier orba, prouecta ætate, et notæ opulentæ omnibus exteris qui mare balthicū nauigant.

Non toties infelici euentu reditum in patriam tētassem.

Nō temporibus turbulentis redire recusassem.

Nō ita rationes meas cōstituissem ut dū cōmodū reuertendi tempus expecto nullis certis sedibus heream aut certe me munissem literis pontificijs aduersus Inuidiam potius quam simplici indulgentia, cuius ego etiam nūc uim eam esse uolo ut meā cōsciētiae in solatium prosit quod reliquum est totū miscordiā dei ac uestrā cōmitto neque ullam poenā qua uos me dignū statueritis recuso. Illud tantū uos oro ne hominem qui nullā satisfaciendi rationē hactenus omisit quod in se fuit potius perditū quā seruatū uelitis.

Orationes ad sanctos ueteri more semper probaui quibus uel oramus ut intercedant pro nobis, uel per memoriā eorū aliquid a deo petimus multae nouae mihi uisae sunt superstiosae. ut quae a sanctis simpliciter petunt ea quae a deo peti debent quae putantur ad certa mala afferre remedium ut aduersus uulnera febrim ¶.

Picturae comparatio pontificis cū Christo qui nō ingreditur per ostium ¶ omnis arbor non faciens fructum ¶ resurrectio Christi in qua religiosi omnium ordiā custodiūt sepulchrū. ac dolent ubi senserunt Christum surrexisse picturas uarias in Anglia uidi quas in Gallia interdū explicabam expetentibus e quibus aliquas in scotiā delatas uidi per episcopum sancti dauidis anglū cum esset legatus in scotia quae nō uolos cōmouerūt.

De imaginibus probaui id quod tū uidi fieri in anglia. ut hae quae superstitiosae et colebantur uelut imago crucifixi quae uultu risus et alios affectus fingeat et imago darucl gadezim tollerentur caeterae permanerent utque quater in anno ad minimū sacerdos interpretaretur populo quid sibi uellent imagines ac caeterae cerimoniae quae uidebantur populo necessariae.

De Iudaismo nūquam cogitauī Anabaptistarū quae sit secta adhuc ignoro.

Epicureos in omni cōuentu semper detestatus sum nec uerbo solū sed etiam carminibus interdū.

Libros nec habeo ullos nisi uetustos, nec aliud est de quo diligētius admoneo scholasticos in omni loco quam ut a lectione nouorū librorū in omni genere doctrinae abstant donec ueteres plane perlegerint.

Babylonem quae describitur in apocalipsi aliquando Romā putauī, ac eam etiam designari per mulierem uerū cū mecū reputarē in prophetis de re futura omnem interpretationem esse periculosam quippe cū maxima pars tū demū intelligatur ubi euentus est manifestus statim in ea re suspendi sentētiam ac facile passus sum me cū multis id ignorare.

Georg. Buchanan me manu omnia scripsi et signaui.

Ao prymeiro dia do mes de setembro de 1761^{ta} annos em lixboa no carcere da samta Inquisição estando hy os senhores deputados da samta Inquisição mandarão vyr perante sy a mestre Jorge buquenano e per o juramento dos samtos auangelhos lhe fizerão pergunta se cuydara mais em suas culpas como lhe foy mandado dise que elle trazia aly esprito alguia cousa pouca que lhe lembrou o qual elle logo per sy leo, e logo per o dito juramento que recebeo foy preguntado se lhe lembraua mais alguia cousa alem do que tinha comfesado na outra comfisam pasada dise que não porque lhe parecyia que quãoto tinha dito e feito que todo ja disera em sua comfissão ¶ preguntado quãoto tempo andara naquelas duuidas da ffee de que faz menção em sua comfisam dise que casy tres annos nos quaes sempre bacilou e duuidou nas cousas da ffee de que fez menção em sua comfissão e que nunca em este tempo totalmente se tornase a ffee mas andou sempre em estes escrupulos de maneira que muitas vezes o seu animo asentaua nas openiões dos lutheranos e que nestas duuidas andaua por nō ter com quem praticar nem lhe emsynar ao tirar das ditas duuidas e openiões, ate que se dellas tirou como tem dito depois que veyo a frança omde cō as pregações e lycões dos catholicos tirou as duuidas que asy trazia e nunca mais foy mouido daquelas duuidas ate gora antes asentou naquelo que tem a samta madre Jgreja e o que ella confesa ¶ preguntado que forma era aquela de juizo sobre a qual elle desputaua com ho framcyscano de que faz menção em sua comfisam dise que lhe parecyia emjusto comdenar hos homens per testemunhas seus jmigos sem lhe darem lugar a lançar fora seus jmigos do testemunho e que esta era a forma do juizo de que desputaua ¶ preguntado pelo artigo de sua comfisam omde diz que hos Religiosos de nosso tempo são disolutos e se apartarão dos institutos dos amigos se emtendia jsto de todos hos Religiosos se dalguis dise que ho nō emtendia de todos como tinha protestado em sua comfissão de modo que nunca semtio mal das Religioes e preguntado que Rumores erão aqueles de que faz menção em sua comfisam que aquela senhora delle espargeo disse que estando elle com outro em escocea o qual

outro homem lya no Ecclesiastes de Salamam como erão muitos que ajuntauão Riquezas pera outros começou o que lya de Rir e lhe mostrou a elle mestre Jorge aquele lugar em que lya e que se começou elle a Rir por comsyderar alguũs homens nos quaes se verificaua aquele dito de salamão e que aquela senhora vemdoos Ryr e ler cuydou que lyaõ algũs lyuros lutheranos ou o nouo testamento o qual parecyta ao povoo que ho não lyaõ senão lutheranos ¶ preguntado se quãodo comeu carne persuadido do padre de são domingos de que faz menção em sua confisam se entãõ lhe pareceo que se nõ avya de obedecer ao precepto da Igreja da defesa da carne na coresma dise que lhe parecyta que não pecaua comendo carne nos dias prohybdos pela igreja por lhe parecer que nõ era contra a ley de deos e que nõ era pecado desobedecer a ley humana senão quãodo se seguia escamdalo ou dano ao proximo / e que lhe parecyta que nhũa ley humana obrigaua na comsyemcia mas somente mandaua ou prohibia as obras exteriores e que jsto lhe parecyta aquele tempo ser verdade por nõ ter disputado nysto ate aquele tempo / E preguntado por o artigo de sua confisãõ em que diz que descobrio tudo aos tres ouuidores que lhe foram dados por elRey que cousas erão estas que lhe descobrio dise que somente lhes descobrio aver comido carne em dias prohybdos e o majs que aquy dise / e que confesara ter comido majs vezes carne das que comera e jsto por as ameaças que lhe fazião os ouuidores / E preguntado que cousas erão aquellas que pregauam os pregadores em Inglaterra de que faz menção em sua confisam que o trazyão a elle mestre Jorge em diversas partes dise que lhe lembraua de huũ dos pregadores que se chamaua Jeronimo / o qual era leygo e disputaua na pregaçam sobre o que diz são paulo / hecce nunc tempus acceptabile / dizendo que era uão os que dezyão que o tempo da coresma era majs accepto a deos que o outro que sam paulo dezia aquelo de todo o tempo da graça E preguntado se elle mestre Jorge ho sentia asy .S. que sam paulo falaua em todo tempo da graça dise que sy mas que lhe pareça que o seu argumento nõ comuencya que no tempo da graça nõ ouese huũ tempo majs azepto que outro / e que quãoto ao tempo da coresma ser majs azepto que o outro que nisto nõ detriminaua nada em seu coração / e que asy ouira outro pregador catholico que se chamaua esteuão bispo vymtoniense / o qual disputaua e dezya do matrimonio que tinha dous fyns prolem et vitationem fornicationis / e que ho segundo era menos princypal e que antes delle pregara outro lutherano a que nõ sabe o nome que o fim do matrimonio era evytar ffornicação E preguntado pelos lyuros que em sua confisam diz que leo estando em Inglaterra se o trazyão tambem em diversas partes como as pregações e que lyuros erão dise que huũ delles trataua da justificação e ho outro do purgatoreo e que por os ler vynha nas duuidas de que faz menção e que lhe parecyta como tem confesado os catholicos e os lutheranos dizerem huũa mesma cousa na materia de justificação / E que no artigo do purgatoreo lhe lembra que estando em Inglaterra e lemdo estes lyuros diversos alguũas vezes segundo lhe parece o animo pacylou e duuidou mas que nõ he disto muito certo por lhe parecer que se foy que foy por pouco tempo / E preguntado acerca do artigo de matrimonio dos sacerdotes de que fala em sua confisam se alguũia vez teue que no tempo pasado os sacerdotes erão dispensados no matrimonio dise que lhe pareceo que sy mas que nunca jsto leo nem aconselhou nhuũ que semdo de hordens sacras se casase / E preguntado per o artigo de sua confisam em que diz que nõ he neçesareo crer aver tanta vertude no abeto dos franciscanos como lhe daa ho vulgo se creo elle que hos que se sepultauão naquele abeto conseguião as jndulgençyas que lhe dauão pelo papa dise que sy mas que nõ sabya serem lhe dado estas jmdulgemcyas e que lhe pareça que estas jmdulgemcyas elles as tinham do prometimento de são francisco e não do papa e que duuidaua deste prometimento de sam francisco por na sua estorea nõ se fazer delle nhuũa menção / E preguntado como sentia elle do artigo em que diz em sua confisam que muitas vezes per os santos e per o demonio são apresentadas obras marauilhosas se crya elle serem jgoaes as marauilhas feitas per os santos dise que em alguũ tempo creo serem jgoaes e jsto por emtemder mal algũas cousas que lya ate gora que lho declararão per elle padre mestre frey Jeronimo / E preguntado que milagre era aquele de que faz menção em sua confisãõ que fez guilhelmo langoe em escoceã / com o qual quis confirmar que avya asy purgatoreo dise que este guilhelmo segundo fama e segundo se depojs soube diamte elRey se concertou cõ outro homem que disese que lhe pareçera huũa alma o qual depojs foy visto ser falso / E preguntado acerca do artigo do sacrificio da missa se lhe pareceo ou duuidou ser verdadeiramente sacrificio dise que depojs que duuidou que christo estaua no sacramento do Altar como em synal somente douidou tambem da missa ser

sacrificio e que todo o tempo que douidou do primeiro douidou do segundo / E preguntado acerca do artigo de sua confissão que ffalla das orações que se ffallam aos santos se sentio ou synte que se nõ hão de fazer disç que lhe pareceo que se nõ avia de pedir aos santos o que soo deos daa que he a vida eterna e a rremisam dos pecados / e que sempre sentira que os santos se avyam de meter por jnterçesores a deos / e que alguãas vezes sentio e dise que nõ era necesareo Recorer aos santos senão hyr logo a deos / e que pemsou que nhuũ santo era tão misericordioso como deos e que por jso lhe parecia melhor hyr logo a deos que aos santos E preguntado acerca da oração se sentia elle que todos os que orauão sem atemção pecauão oramdo dise que somente dam os que orão parecemdolhe que satisfazem com somente dizerem as palauras da oração / e asy mesmo lhe parece erarem aqueles que crem que com certas palauras ajnda que sejam santas se lanção fora as jmfirmitades de maneira que os magos crem E preguntado se sentia a confisam que se faz a orelha do sacerdote ser de direito diuino ou humano dise que de direito deuino era confesarse o homem ao sacerdote mas que o tempo era de direito humano como tem dito em sua confissão E preguntado como emtendia ser leue pecado deixar ho homem de se confesar no tempo que manda a santa madre jgreja dise que emtendia ser leue em comparaçam dos pecados que são contra ley diuina e jsto por lhe parecer que todos os pecados que são contra leys humanas serem leues mas que nõ são tão leues que por elles nõ mereça os homens alguãas vezes damnación / mas que do preçpto da confisam sentio os tres annos de que fez menção atras nõ ser pecado mortal trespasalo senão fose por Rezam do escandalo saberem que deixaua a pesoa de se confesar E preguntado per o que diz em sua confisam que toda a jnterpretação nos profetas de cousas futuras era perigosa se entendia elle que todos os doutores que jnterpretarão as profecias de futuro erão perigosos ou errarão dise que muitos delles verdadeiramente jnterpretarão ajnda que muitos erasem e que nisto errou em fazer a preposyçam universal / e al nõ dise e foylhe mandado que por amcr de noso Senhor trabalhe por acabar de desemcaregar sua comcyencya e confesar tudo muito verdadeiramente porque fazendo asy serya Recibido cõ muita misericordia / Antonio Rodriguez o spreuy ¶ preguntado se sentia elle alguãas pesoas que amdasem fora da ffee ou com ellas praticase estas cousas ou outras e com ellas praticase em Paris ou em Bordeos ou em outra qualquer parte dise que nõ sabya de nhuũa pesoa e al nõ dise.

Georg. Buchanan frei hieronjmo daçambuja Ambrosius

Tria fere tempora esse uideo, in quibus omnis mea uersatur accusatio. Primũ a postremis incipit annis quibus in scotia fui, usque ad id tempus quo ex Anglia in Galliam ueni, ac per aliquot menses legendo et audiendo quoad potui animũ repurgauĩ, ac deinde communicauĩ quod fuit circiter quindecim dies post pascha anno domini 1541 si recte memini. Hoc ego totũ tempus quoad memoria suppetebat, uobis ante descripsi. Multa autem ut fateor in Anglia, et Scotia a me parũ pie dicta et facta sunt. Nam in Gallia nihil memini nisi siquis me rogauerit de rebus anglicis forte responderim.

Non dubito tamen quin ad uos in rebus scoticis multo acerbiora uero delata sunt omnia. p̄sertim cum grauissimis factionibus absens oppugnarer. pr̄terea cum ego ẽ familia non adeo opulenta sim, sed certe nota, et factiosa: non solum mea priuata odia in me incubuerunt, sed ab inimicis etiam familiæ communibus oppugnabar. Quãto autem odio prosequeretur meã familiam eius familia qui nũc est prorex in Scotia, quoties iudicijs capitalibus quoties ferro totam nostram gẽtem petiuerint. nemini opinor ignotũ est qui res scoticas nouerit.

Accedebat cõmune nominis Lutherani odiũ quod secũdis populi auribus, sũmã fin-gendi licẽtiam hominibus inuidis et malitiosis dabat.

Hęc ego nõ ideo dico ut me purgem sed nequis uestrum admiretur si eadem quęc ego facta fateor aut paulo aliter, aut etiam asperius facta ab alijs dicantur. Pr̄sertim cũ hij quibus negocium datur ut inquirent de talibus rebus eorũ testimonia recipiant libentissime, qui criminossime, et acerbissime loquãtur. Neque enim iudicũ sed accusatorũ partes sibi demandatas intelligũt. Itaque dũ crimina omnia sine discrimine libẽter arripiũt, malũt alienæ salutis periculũ creare, quam ipsi uideri in quærendo parũ diligẽtes fuisse.

Quæ omnia refutandi mihi in præsentia nõ uideo locum. sed odio. inuidiæ et malignis rumoribus pr̄bendæ sunt aures, apud eos auditores, quid quid sit ueri in re ipsa nosse non possunt.

Ut in Galliam ueni omne tempus quoad potui in excutiendo uero posui, usque ad pascha proximū.

Et cū id quod concionibus et libris legendis nōdū satis explicatū putabam ad And. goueanū, retulissem Ille partim negociis impeditus, partim disputando et docendo rem protraxisset in xv. diem post pascha eo tempore liber omni scrupulo cōmunicauit.

Proximū fuit tempus ab eo paschate donec in lusitaniam ueni. Quo tempore nullam occasionem satisfaciendi deo, et hominibus quoad eius freri potuit omisi. Nam quod meæ conscientiæ consolandæ debebam id omnibus modis executus sum, legendo audiendo, ecclesiæ omni ex parte parēdo et publicam, et priuatam absolutiōnem accipiēdo.

Quod uero ad homines attinet cū in Gallia neminē me ostendisse dicto uel facto mihi conscius essem, nō eram ea de re sollicitus. Scotis uero quos publice offendēram ut satisfacerem publice semper id unice cupienti occasio est erepta de manibus. Quos uero ita cōuenire familiariter potui ut meam uoluntatem exponerem eis abunde satisfactū puto.

Hoc totū tempus prope sex annorū fuit, quo partim Burdegala, partim luteciæ fui. et cū honoratissimo quoque qui in hiis locis erant familiariter uixi. Neque reor me in offensionem cuiusquam incurrisse.

Tamen cū in tanta malignitate hominū difficile sit inuidiam, difficilimū linguas malas effugere, video quod in Gallia mihi facilimū foret, Idem hic mihi fore difficilimū, ut cū testibus ignotis confligam, apud eos qui nec me, nec illos nosse potuerūt, inter mores longe diuersissimos cū occulta inuidia pugnandū.

Itaque quod antea petii nec iniquū esse nec nouū existimo id etiam nūc peto, ut apud seuerissimos Galliæ iudices, ubi ius seuerissime dicitur liceat mihi cū illis experiri. Quod si fiat facile polliceor nō magis mihi nūc ausuros molestiam exhibere quā per tot annos in Gallia præbere ausi sunt.

Tertiū est tempus hoc quadriēnium prope, quod in lusitania sum. De quo hoc tantū dico quoad per ualetudinem licuit meā semper domū meum cubiculum noctes et dies patuisse, nihil clausi, nihil cælati apud me fuit. neque dicta, neque facta obscura sunt de quibus rebus facile uos cognoscere potestis præsertim cum neminem testem recusem.

Quam uero libere et clare hæc nūc apud uos de hoc tertio tempore pronūtio, tam libere apud Gallos iudices de tempore quo in Gallia fui pronūciarem neque enī qui clam nūc me oppugnāt (si qui sunt) suam impudētiam prodere auderēt ubi facilē redargui possent palam.

Aos bj dias do mes de setembro de 1764 annos em lizboa no carcere da samta Jmquisyçam estando hy os senhores padre mestre frey Jeronimo dazambuja e o licenciado Jorge gonçaluez Ribeiro deputados da samta Jmquisyçãõ mandarãõ vyr perante sy ao dito mestre Jorge buquenano e per o juramento dos samtos auangelhos lhe fizerãõ pergunta se era lembrado de majs alguãa cousa pera descarego de sua comcyen-cya dise que lhe lembraua que a pratica que teuera em bordeos com frey Joam pinheiro de que na comfisaõ pasada fez mençãõ fora desputar cõ elle breuemente se eram os frades de são domyngos obrigados a não comer carne quãdo andauãõ caminno e que elle mestre Jorge tinha que não erãõ obrigados por o ouuir a muitos frades de sam domingos segundo lhe parece E que tambem zombando com elle lhe dise que o seu abeto era milhor que huũ gybãõ de seda e que jsto lhe dise por ter ouuido em bordeos que o dito frey Joam pinheiro se metera frade por lhe não quererem dar huũ gibam de seda e que se não lembra comer nunca em bordeos nem em outra nhuãa parte com o dito frey Joam pinheiro ¶ preguntado se sabya alguãa pesoa que andase apartado de nosa santa ffee em especyall dos homens ffidalgos portugeses que andauãõ em frança ao tempo que elle mestre Jorge la estaua dise que não e al nã dise Antonio Rodriguez o spreuy.

Georg. Buchanan frei hieronjmo dazambuja Jorge gonçaluez Rybeiro

Aos xbij de setembro de 1764 annos em lizboa no carcere da santa Jmquisyçãõ estando hy o Reuerendo padre mestre frey Jeronimo dazambuja e o licenciado Jorge gonçaluez deputados da Santa Jmquisyçãõ mandarãõ vyr peramte sy ao dito mestre Jorge buquenano e foy amoestado da parte de nosso senhor se era lembrado

de majs alguãa cousa pera descarego de sua comcyencya que ho confese porque fazemdo asy serya Recebido com muita misericordia e lhe foy dado juramento dos santos avangelhos pera dizer verdade e elle asy o prometeo/ e per elle mestre Jorge foy dito que nõ era lembrado de mais nada/ E foy preguntado se era lembrado la em frança ou qua em portugal ver fazer ou dizer alguãa cousa aalguãa pesoa que fose contra nosa santa ffee catholica ou contra o que tem a Santa madre Jgreja dise que nõ sabya de nhuãa pesoa e al nõ dise Antonio Rodriguez o spreuy.

Georg. Buchanan frei hieronjmo daçambuja Jorge gonçaluez Rybeiro

Aos xb. dias do mes de outubro de j̄ b^o l^a annos em lixboa nas casas dos estaos estamdo hy os senhores padre mestre frey Jeronimo dazambuja e Jorge gonçaluez Rybeiro deputados da santa Jmquysçãõ mandarãõ vyr perante sy ao dito mestre Jorge buquenano e lhe foy preguntado se era lembrado de majs alguãa cousa pera descarego de sua comcyencya dise que nõ era lembrado de majs nada preguntado quãodo vyera de framça ou per outra parte que era o que comya dise que lhe lembra que vyndo de framça pera portugal em salamanca por. nõ poder comer o pam de calo despanha comeo alguãis dias carne mas que lhe nõ lembra quãotos e que jsto era tambem por se achar mal do estamago mas que nõ tinha outra certa jmfirmitade e que jsto foy na coresma/ e que tambem hos companheiros .s. Mestre Joam da costa e mestre diogo de teiue que estauãõ na pousada cõ elle a comyãõ tambem e que lhe parece que todos tinham a jmfirmitade do estamago que tem dito ¶ preguntado se em alguũ outro tempo defeso pela samta jgreja comera carne em portugal. ou em framça dise que em framça nõ lhe lembra tella comido em dias prohybjdos estamdo sãõ mas que em portugal na cydade de cojmbra estamdo no collegio a coresma pasada a comeo por estar emfermo de febres terçãas dobres e que pera jso tinha licença asynada per o bispo e que com elle comia tambem carne huũ mestre nicolao frances por tambem estar emfermo e que lhe nõ lembra comer carne outras vezes somente que dom sancho o comuidara a jantar a elle e a mestre nicolao huũ dia da coresma e lhe dera a comer carne e que elle dom sancho tambem a comia e que lhe parece que por ser emfermo de dor de pedra/ e que lhe nõ lembra outra cousa/ E foy amoestado da parte de noso Senhor se lhe lembra majs alguãa cousa que ho confese pera descarego de sua comcyencya Antonio Rodriguez o spreuy e declarou que tambem comera a carne em salamanca que tem dito por se nõ achar pescado outro senãõ comgro o qual elles nõ podiãõ comer.

Georg. Buchanan frei hieronjmo daçambuja Jorge gonçaluez Rybeiro

Aos xij dyas de dezembro de b^o l^a annos em lixboa nas casas dos estaos estamdo hy o senhor doutor Ambrosyo campello mandou vyr peramte sy a mestre Jorge bocanano e pello juramento dos santos evangelhos lhe fez pergunta se tomara elle a bula do jubileo que veyo a frança que diz em sua comfysam/ dyse que sy que ho ganhara e que estaua emtam em parys em casa de migell vascosano jmprimydor e que lhe parece que foy no anno de quynhentos e corenta e tres no meyo da coresma e que ho comçedeo ho papa Paullo terceiro / e que vynha que se confesassem e jejuassem tres dyas e tomasem ho samtissimo sacramento / e que comcedya jndulgencia plenarya de todos os crymes de heresia nos quaes falaua expresamente / e que elle comprio todas as cousas comtheudas na bulla e a ganhou / preguntado se tyinha algũa pesoa per que pro-uase como ganhara esta bulla de jndulgencias / dyse que não Preguntado quem ho comfesara emtam dyse que huũ frade de sam francisco a que nam sabe ho nome e que este ho asolueo e que era leterado homem ja velho framçes / o quall ho comfesou de mandado do guardyam e que nam sabe se he ajnda vyuo nem de que lugar de framça era / e que ha bulla vynha deregyda aos prelados e curas dos Reynos e que lhe pareceo que vynha gerall pera outros Reynos a dita bula e que no tempo que ella veyo jejuando elle os dyas que ella mandaua ho acertou de comuydar huũ dya huũ fydalgo que se chama monseor de byrom pera çear com elle e elle se escusou de çear dise que jejuaua pera ganhar a bulla e que jsto foy em parys na rua de sam Jaques e que este fydalgo era naturall de terra de perygort do lugar de biron que era seu e que estaua com elle emtam ho monseor delomga desembargador de bordeos / e que lhe pareceo que estes ambos amdãõ agora na corte de framça / e que nam sabe quem tera agora o trelado desta bulla / e que os ordynaryos ho deuem ter / e all nam dise paulo da costa que ho spreuj cõ ho Riscado que dizia huũ banquete ¶ e que ho frade que ho comfesou estaua

no collegio de sam francisco junto da porta de sam germão. e dise que depois que ganhou esta bulla nūqua mais sentyra sua comçiença em carregio em cousa que depois fyzese contra a fe de noso senhor e all nam dyse Paulo da costa que ho espreuy.

G. Buchanan Ambrosius

Aos sete dias do mes de janeiro de j̄b^o Lj Annos em lixboa no Carcere da samta Jmquisyção estando hy o Reuerendo senhor padre mestre Jorge de samtiago Jmquisydor foy a huūa casa omde estaua mestre Jorge buquenano e o mandou vyr perante sy e ho amoestou que quisesse declarar tudo aquilo que ouuese dito e feito contra nosa santa ffee de que fose lembrado depoy de suas comfisoes pasadas / e asy declarase todas as pesoas de quem conversando ou praticando ouuese semtido que nom estauão conformes em todo ou em parte a nosa samta ffee catholyca / e per elle foy dito que nō era lembrado de majs do que tinha dito em suas comfisoes pasadas / E foy lhe mais dito per elle padre mestre Jmquisydor que acerca do que tem dito de huū perdã jeral dado em frança Aos que avyão c̄rudo na ffee sub certa forma e modo e que diz ser pobricado no Anno de mil e quinhentos e coremta e quatro por delle nom constar Autenticamente Aos Jmquisydores deste Rejno podia ser causa de se Retardar o seu despacho / e estar por j̄so Rethendo em prisam mais tempo pelo qual era necesareo que declarase majs do dito breue pera o qual lhe dei juramento dos santos avamgelhos e per elle mestre Jorge buquenano foy dito per o dito juramento que era verdade que no dito Anno foy pobricado em frança o breue que tem dito / e pregumtado se o dito breue falaua majs que jn foro comcyençye e que ho confesor o podese absoluer jn foro dey et jn foro contemptioso / de modo que em nhūo tempo nem per nhuūa justica se procedese contra elle dise que desto nom he sabedor nem elle vsara la em frança do dito breue senão pera ser absolto em sua comcyençya e se Recomciljar com noso senhor e a este proposity e pera manifestar jsto avya feito menção do dito breue e não pera outra cousa. / e que asy dezya que pera sua defemsão não querya vsar do dito breue porque ajmda que quisesse nom nō poderia provar / e al nom dise Antonio Rodriguez o scpreuj E elle padre mestre o amoestou da parte de noso senhor que metese a mão em sua comcyemçya e declarase toda a verdade porque nom era veresymel elle nom praticar com muitas pesoas sospeitas e que por Amor de noso senhor declare toda verdade / e cuyde niso //

Georgius Buchanan Fr. georgius s̄cti Jacobi

mujto R.^{do} padre

o que me lembra açerca do que me manda preguntar he que vi em paris alguās pesoas que se ausentaram com medo de as prenderem por luteranas tornarem a çidade e andarem liuremente sem nhūa justiça entender com ellas e dizia se cōmūmente que eram tornadas por que era conçedido hū perdã jeral a todos os que ate emtão tinham caido em heresia / mas nam me lembra que ouuise dizer quem conçedera o tal perdã se o papa se elRey de frança antes me parece que se dizia ser o dito perdã dado por el Rey vere hac de re jn neutram partem aliquid affirmo / nem sey tam pouco ahonde estaua mestre Jorge bucanano ao tempo que este perdã foy conçedido nem se usou delle / nem sey que diligências aviam de fazer os que usauam do dito perdã nem se era Jn utroque foro an Jn altero tamen / noso Senhor conserue vosa reuerençia em seu santo seruyço //

pode ser que o bispo de tangere tenha mjlor memoria de todo este neguoço por que segundo me parece ja emtam estaua em frança //

Seruydor de v. r.

o doctor Paio roiz de Villarinho

Aos xxij dias do mes de Abril de j̄ b.^o Lj Annos em lixboa na casa do despacho da samcta jmquisyção estando hy o Reuerendo senhor padre mestre frey Jorge de Samtiago jmquisydor e os senhores deputados da Sancta Jmquisyção derão juramento dos samctos avamgelhos ao Reuerendo padre mestre frey gaspar dos Reys e fizerão pergunta se era lembrado estando elle em paris vyr huū perdã jeral que se diz ser conçedido per o papa paulo terceiro em que perdoaua os herejes dise que era lembrado estando elle em paris aver ouvido dizer que vyera huū perdã jeral do papa paulo em que per-

doava todos hos lutheranos mas que nom he lembrado se era perdam jn utroque foro / e que disto podera saber mestre diogo de gouuea conego daa see desta çydade e mestre christouom fernandez fisyco que Resyde no espirital del Rey / e al nom dise Antonio Rodriguez o espreuy ¶ E que lhe nom lembrava o tempo quãodo foy ter la este perdão nem menos he lembrado ver la este / buquenano escoces que pode se o vyr que o conhecera //.

frey gaspar dos Reys Fr. georgius sancti Jacobi Jorge Gonçalluez Rybeiro Ambrosius

Aos xxbij dyas do mes dabryll de mill b.º Lj annos em lixboa demtro no mosteiro de sam domingos estando hi o Reueremdo senhor padre mestre frey Jorge de Santiago Jmquisydor peramte elle pareceo mestre diogo de gouuea conego da see desta cidade e pello juramento dos samtos evangelhos lhe fez pergunta se sabia elle que em frança se publicase alguñ perdão do samto padre em que perdoava aos herejes e se ho tal perdão era em vtroque foro / dise que estando elle em paris se absentaram asy da cidade como do Reyno pessoas que se diziam serem culpadas no cryme de heresya / e depois dahy a çerto tempo ouuyo elle testemunha dizer e se dizia pubrycamente que vyera hũ perdão gerall pello quall se perdoava tudo ho pasado até hũ çerto tempo e porem que das condições e calydades do dyto perdão elle as não sabya / e asy nam sabya se ho dyto perdão era em vtroque foro / e porem de certa certeza sabe elle testemunha que algũs dos que se asy absentaram ou escomderam por medo da justyça tornaram despois e appareçeram sem lhe fazerem mall nhũ / mas que nam sabe se se foram acusar nem do modo que se teue em seu perdão / preguntado se sabya em que tempo vyera o dyto perdão / dise que lhe parece que veyo do Anno de trynta e quatro pera o Anno de trymta e seis ou trymta e sete pouco mais ou menos e all não dyse paulo da costa que ho espreuy.

Dioguo de gouuea Fr. georgius sancti Jacobi

foy chamado mestre christovom fernandez que cura no espirital Referido por mestre gaspar e dise que nom sabya nada do dito perdam e Referimento./.

Aos quynze dias do mes de mayo de j b.º Lj Annos em lixboa na casa do despacho da sancta jmquisyção estando hy o Reuerendo senhor bispo damgra e deputados da sancta Jmquisyção mandarão vyr perante sy a mestre Jorge buqueno e lhe diserão como estauão pera finalmente despacharem seu proçeso pelo qual era necesareo em certos Artigos majs graues mayor declaração da que tinha feyto em suas confisões e jsto pera ser majs dino da miserycordia que pede / e foy preguntado açerca do Artigo da confissam sacramental se teuera alguñ tempo nom ser de precepto diuino e somente ser de jnstituyção humana dise que asy o tiuera / ¶ preguntado do santo sacramento do Altar se teuera Alguñas vezes e crera que o corpo de noso senhor estaar aly somente como em synal e não Realmente dise que sy teuera alguñas vezes e outras vezes bacylara como tinha dito ¶ preguntado Açerca do Artigo da justyfycação se tiuera o peccador ser asy justificado ou justificarse pela fee que a caridade se seguise somente ou per melhor dizer / An sic peccator justficaretur per fidem idest per fiduciam in christo / quod charitas solum consequeretur justificationem sic quod per fidem justficaretur formaliter et non per caritatem / dise que sy / jta quod charitas consequeretur / ¶ preguntado dos preceptos humanos se teuera pera sy que nom obrigauão senão propter scandalum et aliorum consciensia dise que sy e que estas cousas acyma ditas nom has encobria mas antes as disera quãoto sobcedia caso pera jso: o qual todo dise per o juramento dos samtos avangelhos que lhe no pryncypio foy dado / e que de todo pede perdam e misericordya a deos e a sancta madre Igreja / e al nom dise Antonio Rodriguez o espreuy.

Georgius Buchanan o bispo dāgra Fr. georgius sancti Jacobi Ambrosius

E logo no dito dia eu notario per mandado delle senhor bispo fuy ao carcere da samcta jmquisyção omde esta o dito mestre jorge buquenano e lhe fiz pregumta se elle querya que ho despachasem finalmente ou se querya tempo pera mandar per a copia do perdam jeral que diz ser comcedido em frança no Anno de quinhentos e corenta e quatro e per elle mestre jorge buquenano foy dito que pedia que ho despachasem com

misericordya porque nom querya vsar do dito perdam como ja tem dito / Antonio Rodriguez o esprevy.

Georgius Buchanan

François par la grace de dieu Roy de france A tous ceulx qui ces presentes lettres veront salut Comme [par] la grace et mysericorde de dieu notre createur les heresies et sectes nouvelles contraires et derogantes a la sainte foy et loy catholique de son eglise constitutions et traditions dicelle qui auriert et ont grandement pullule en aucunes parties de notre Royaulme pays terres et seigneuries a notre tres grand Regret et desplaisir / aient cesse et cessent de present tant par la bonte et clemence diuine que par la diligence que nous avons soubz sa puissance mise et faict mectre a la punition exemplaire de plusieurs des sectateurs et Imitateurs desdictes erreurs qui neaulmoins nont este a la fin de leurs jours et heure de leur supplice delaissez de la main de notre seigneur / ains en soy Retournant vers luy et sa bonte infinie luy ont demande grace et misericorde et ont faict penitence publique et Repentence de leursdictes erreurs et sont morts comme bons chrestiens et catholicques a la louange de dieu et exaltation de son eglise / En maniere que a lexemple et imitation diceulx plusieurs qui estoient vraysemblablement suspectz et entachez desdictes erreurs ont faict et font cesser par chacun jour les causes et occasions desdictes suspections pour estre leur conuersations tant de faict que parole catholique et Religieuse et telles comme aparavant le tenebreux et malheureux eueneement desdictes erreurs / que nous peult donner a cognoistre lire de notre seigneur estre appaisee. Et quil veult et luy plaist de sa bonte que tout le peuple commis soubz notre charge viuant en ceste vniformite de foy et loy chrestienne soit deliure des tribulations de peines corporelles et temporelles quilz pourroient auoir encourues et meritees tant pour estre tumbez et encouruz esdictes erreurs que pour la desobeissance et contumace quilz ont faictes a nous et justice en eulx Rendant fugitifz et absens de noz Royaulme pays teres et seigneuries Aumoyen de quoy ils ont este banyz et leurs biens prins et saisiz. Et les aucuns diceulx a nous declairez confisqueuz qui pourroit estre occasion de les faire perseuerer en pertinacite obstination et augmentation derreur et y continuer jusques a la fin ce que dieu par sa grace ne veulle permettre ne souffrire mais les Reduire et Rappeller a la voye cõmune et conversation des autres chrestiens selon la loy et les constitutions et traditions de son eglise qui est le plus grand desir et affection que nous aions apres la congnoissance et seruice de dieu notre createur Savoir faisons Que nous ce considere voulans et tant quil nous est possible nous conformer a sa volonte et vser de grace et misericorde pour la peyne corporelle et temporelle ainsi quil luy plaise faire pour la peine eternelle et Rappeller son pouvre peuple quil a comis soubz notre charge et a penitence. Nous par deliberation des princes de notre sang et autres plusieurs grans et notables personages estans lez nous Auons de notre propre mouuement certaine science grace especial pleine puissance et auctorite Royal Dict et declaire disons et declarons par ces presentes Que notre vouloir et jntention est que tant ceulx qui sont chargez et accusez desdictes erreurs que les suspectz et non accusez ne preuenuz encores par justice ne soient poursuiuez ne jnquietez pour Raison diceulx erreurs ains silz estoient detenuz prisonniers ou leurs biens prins et saisiz voulons quilz soient deliurez mis en liberte et leurs biens mis en plaine et entiere deliurance Et aux absens et fugitifz permetons de Retourner en nosdits Royaulme pays terres et seigneuries et y demourer et Resider en telle seurete et liberte comme ilz ont faict parcy deuant non obstant les bannyssemens et confiscations de leurs personnes et biens faictes a loccasion de leursdictes contumaces pourueu quilz soient tenuz de viure comme bons et vrays chrestiens catholicques doivent faire et se desister de leursdictes erreurs quilz soient tenuz abjurer canonicquement dedans six moys prochains venant a compter du jour de la publication des presentes pardeuant leurs diocesains ou leurs vicaires et officiaux et avec eulx linquisiteur de la foy ou son vicaire / Et pourueu aussi que silz y Retournent et Recidient ils seront puniz estreitement et grieffvement selon lexigence du cas Et nentendons les sacramentaires et ceulx qui par ordonnance de justice ont parcy deuant abjure et neantmoins depuys Recidie estre compris en ces presentes mais estre puniz selon leurs demerites Et en oultre est prohibe et deffendu a tous sur peine de la hart et destre tenuz et Repputez Rebelles et desobeissans empeschans la paix et tranquillite publique de ne lire dogmatiser translater composer ne jmprimer soit en publicque ou en priue aucune doctrine contrariant a la foy chrestienne Si donnons en mandement par ces mesmes presentes a noz aimez et feaulx conselliers les gens tenants notre cour de parlement à paris tholose bour-

deaulk Rouen dijon et a tous noz autres justiciers ou a leurs lieux tenants que cestes noz presentes lettres de declaration vouloir et jntention ilz facent enregistrer lire et publier e nosdictes cours et le contenu dicelles garder et obseruer de poinct en poinct selon leur forme et teneur car tel est notre plaisir. En tesmoignage de ce nous auons fait metre nostre scel a ces presentes. Donne a coussy le seiziesme jour de juillet lan de grace mil cinq cens trente cinq Et de notre Regne le vingtvnyuesme sic signatum supra plicam par le Roy estant en son conseil Bayard lecta publicata et registrata audito procuratore generale Regis jd requerés parisio in parlamento vigesima nona die julij anno domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo quinto Extractum a Registris ordinationum regiarum in curia parlamenti . . . sic signatum du billot

Quantum ad jndultum apostolicum de quo jn vestris literis commisoriiis nobis directis facit mentio nihil reperire potuimus et non peruenit ad nostram noticiam quod fuerit publicatum iu hac ciuitate parisiensi neque jn Regno francie anno jn presentis literis contento . s . 1543. nec alio anno. Tantumodo jnuenimus diploma Regis francorum francisci primj datum anno .1535. die 16 julij quo jmpartitur gratiam venie et Rehabilitationis ad pristina bona et dignitatis his qui jn heresim alijs lapsi fuerint et uoluntarie et sponte ad gremium ecclesie Reuersi fuissent abjurando coram episcopo et inquisitore vel eorum vicarijs dummodo non fuissent sacramentarij aut alijs de heresi Reprehensi Ratione cuius diplomatis Regij predicti multi jn vrbe parisiense de Regno gallie abjurauerunt coram vicario episcopi parisiensis et nobis frater henrico geruasio tunc etiam vice jnquisitore et absolutionem Receperunt de premissis delictis. Quia vero hi tres scilicet de costa teiue et Bucanus tunc abjurauerunt nobis non constat cuiusquidem diplomatis formam et copiam jn precedentibus folijs fideliter transcriptam vestris donationibus Rendendis transmissam iri curauimus.

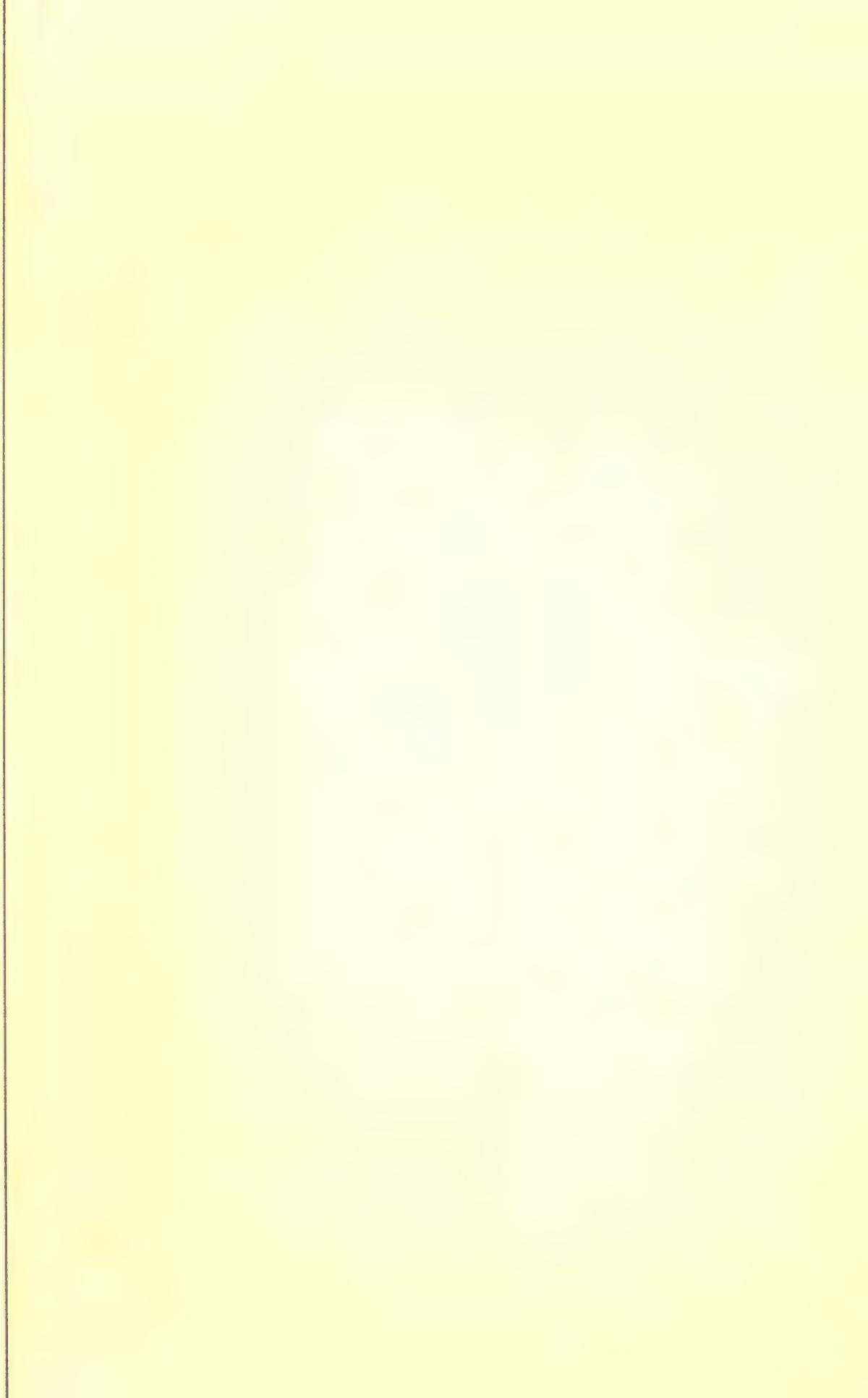
frater henricus geruasius

vice jnquisitor et in theologia magistro parisiense regens.

[Sentença]

Acordam os deputados da samcta Inquisiçam e ordinario etc que vistos estes autos e como per elles e confissam do Reo mestre Jorge bucanano escoces se mostra sendo elle christão se apartar da nossa sancta fee catholica e da sancta madre Jgreia vacillando e duuidando nas cousas da fee per tempo de tres annos assentando mujtas vezes nas opiniões lutheranas / teendo que o corpo de nosso senhor.não estaua no sacramento do altar somente como en signal e não Realmente e outras vezes duuidando e vacillando nisso / Duuidando outro sy se ha missa era sacrificio / e asy duuidando e vacillando no artigo do purgatorio / tendo pera sy que per soo ha confiança eramos justificados / tendo tambeem e creendo que não era peccado nam se confessar nos tempos que manda ha sancta madre Jgreja não avendo ahy escandalo / e que ho precepto da confissão era humano e não diujno / e bem asy que não era peccado desobedeçer aas leis humanas não avendo ahy escandalo ou Damno de proximo pareçendolhe que se nam avia de obedecer ao preçepito da Jgreia açerca da defesa de não comer carne nos dias vedados / e asy que era milhor hir logo a deos que aos santos / os quaes erros todos são hereticos lutheranos Reprouados e damnados polla sancta madre Jgreia o que tudo visto com ho mais que dos autos se mostra / e porem visto como elle Reo moujdo de verdadeiro e são conselho se quis logo conhesçer de suas culpas e com muitos signaes de aRependimento pedir dellas perdão a nosso senhor e misericordia aa sancta madre jgreia com o mais que Dos dictos autos parece. / Reçebem ho Reo mestre Jorge aa Reconçiliação vnião e misericordia da sancta madre Jgreia como pede e lhe dão en penjtencia que faça abjuração pubrica en forma de seus erros diante os Jnquisidores e seus offiçiaes na audiencia e estee en huñ mosteiro que lhe dão por carcere pello tempo que parecer aos dictos Jnquisidores honde se occuparaa en alguñs exerciçios virtuosos e cousas neçesarias pera sua saluaçam / e mandão que seja absoluto Jn forma ecclesie da excomunhão en que encorreo / .

*o bispo dāgra Ambrosius doctor Fr.georgius sancti Jacobi frei hieronjmo daçaubuja
Manuel doctor Jorge gonçalvez Rybeiro martim lopez lobo*



Abjuração

Eu mestre Jorge buquenano escoces do bispado de glasguensis peramte vos señores Jmquisidores juro Aos Samtos avangelhos em que tenho minhas mãos que de minha propea e liure vomtade Renuncyo e aparto de m̃y todas e quaes quer heresias en especial estas que tenho confesado vacilamdo e duuidamdo nas cousas da ffee asem-tamdo muitas vezes nas openiões lutheranas temdo que o corpo de noso senhor nom estaua no sacramento do altar soomente como em synal e não Realmente duuidamdo outro sy se a misa era sacrificio e asy duuidamdo e vacilamdo uo Artigo do purgatoreo temdo pera m̃y que por soo a confiança eramos justificados temdo e cremdo que nom era pecado nom se confesar nos tempos que manda a samta madre Jgreja nom avemdo hy escamdalo e que o percepto da confisam era humano e não diuino e asy que nom era pecado desobedeçer as leys humanas nom avemdo hy escamdalo ou damno ao proximo parecendo me que se nom avya de obedeçer ao preçepdo da Jgreja acerca da defesa do não comer carne nos dias vedados / e que era millhor hir logo A deos que Aos santos / E confeso com puro e verdadeiro coração a santa fee catholica asy como a tem e cre a Samta madre Jgreja de Roma e Juro de ser obediente A noso muy samto padre papa julio 3.º noso senhor que ora Rege e governa a Jgreja de deos e depois delle a seus sobçesores e de nunca me apartar desta obediemçia por nhuia Amostação ou heresia que seja e de sempre permanecer na união da samta madre jgreja e ser em defensão sa samta fee catholica e de manifestar e pobricar A todos que comtra ella forem e nom me ajumtar com elles e se comtra jsto em alguũ tempo for ou vyer o que deos nom permita que caya em penna de Relapso e prometo que nom Recusarey a penitencya que me foy dada e a comprirey segundo minha posebilydade e peço ao notario da santa Jmquisição que esta presemte que desta minha abjuração dee testemunho asynado em modo que faça fee e Rogo Aos que estam presemtes dello me sejam testemunhas e asynem Aquy comigo / testemunhas que estauão presentes paulo da costa notario e pero fernandez e Antonio fernandez solecytadores na casa do despacho / estando presemte o Reuerendo senhor bispo damgra e o senhor padre mestre frey Jorgo de santiago Jmquisidor e deputados da Samta Jmquisyçam Aos xxix de julho de mil b.ºlj Annos Antonio Rodriguez o screpuy..

Georgius Buchanan Antonio Rodriguez Paulo da costa

R.º padre — não sespante V. R.ª de me ver Reguroso no Recolhimento desse penitente porque a jndesposiã da casa e maõ apousemtamento mo faz fazer mas pois vossa R.ª afirma não ser por muito tempo estes padres e eu avemos por bem obedeçer ao Senhor cardeal Jmfante e a vossas merçes e fazermos o que nos mandão podem no mandar quando lhe bem parecer e tomara a pousada segundo achar pois se não pode mais fazer a nosso senhor Sua R.ª pesoa fico emcomendando e asy aos mais señores / desta casa de são João oje sexta feira / — seu jndino orador

pero de sam joham

Sobrescrito : — Ao muito R.º padre o p. mestre Jorge de ssantiago Jmquissidor que nosso Senhor faça sancto.

Aos dozasete dias do mes de dezembro de mil b.ºlj Annos em lixboa o Reueremdo senhor padre mestre frey jorge de santiago Jmquisidor apostolyco foy ao mosteiro de São bento que esta junto desta cydade e notificou A mestre Jorge buquenano que hy estaua comprindo sua penitencya como sua Alteza despensaua com elle pera poder sahyr por A cydade e della nom sahyr sem ser despensado per sua Alteza conforme A esta carta seguinte do cardeal noso senhor Jmquisidor jeral e per elle mestre jorge foy dito que Asy o cumpriryra Antonio Rodriguez o espreuj

Mestre frei Jorge de santiago / o Cardeal Jfante vos emuyo muyto saudar Eu ey por bem de despensar com mestre Joham da costa / e mestre Jorge bucanano pera que possam sahyr dos mosteiros em que ora estão pera essa çidade E porem nam sairaam della emquanto eu nam ordenar outra cousa Pollo que vos encomendo que vos

lho mandeis assi publicar / e ordencis como se faça assy E pareçendouos bem e assi ahos mais deputados despensarse com elles pera poderem saizr da çidade pode-reis mandar fazer has prouissões pera isso na maneira que parecer e mas mandareis pera as aver dasinar Sprita em evora a xiiij. dias de dezembro Joham de Sande a fez de 1551.

O Cardeal Jffante

Sobrescrito: — Por o Cardeal Jffante — A mestre frey Jorge de Santiago inquisidor em a çidade de lixboa e sua comarqua.

trelado doutra verba de huũa carta de sua Alteza

Mestre frey jorge de Samtiago Ambrosio Campelo jorge gonçalvez / o Cardeal Jffante vos emuiu muito saudar pareceo me bem o que dizees Acerca de mestre jorge buquenano / e mestre joham da costa qua se asemtou na mesa pelo que hey por bem que posaes despensar com elles conforme Ao que em vosa carta apomtaes e por esta vos dou pera jso poder / feyta em almeiry m a xxbiij de janeiro de mil b^c Lij.

Comcertada e treladada com a propea per mjm Antonio Rodriguez notario do santo officio — *Antonio Rodriguez* o espreuj.

Ao derradeiro dia do mes de feuerreiro de mil b.ºliij Annos em lixboa na casa do despacho da Santa Inqvisyção estamdo hy o Reueremdo senhor padre mestre frey Jorge de samtiago Jmquisydor e os senhores deputados da Santa Inqvisyção mandarão vyr perante sy a mestre jorge buquenano e lhe diseram como o Senhor Cardeal Jffante Jmquisydor jeral avya por bem de despensar com elle de todo pera se hyr embora / e que lhe emcomendauão que daquy em diamte trabalhase sempre de conversar com pessoas de bem e vertuosas e de se confesar a meude e se chegar a nosso senhor e ser bom christão e elle dise que asy o faria Antonio Rodriguez o espreuj.

Torre do Tombo — *Inqvisição de Lisboa*, processo n.º 6469.

II

Culpas de mestre Joam da Costa E de mestre diogo de teiue E de mestre Jorge buquenano / as quaes vierõ de franca pellas quaes forã presos.

Auto de iformação que o cardeal ifante inquisidor mor dos Regnos de Portugal mãdou fazer tocante ao dito carregõ e frança

Anno do nascimento de noso senhor Jhesu christo de mjl e quinhētos e quarçta e nove annos aos vīte dous dias de nouēbro na çidade de paris apar de sã gervas nas pousadaç de mī o Licenciado bras dalvide fidalgo da casa delRey noso senhor e do seu desēbargo que ora por seu serviço estou neste Regno de frança logo ahi pareceo o padre frey duarte portuges estamte ora no colegio dos agostinhos ao qual apreseitey a comjssão do dito senhor cardeal ifante feita a elle e a mī pera o negoço nella cõtheudo a qual he a seguinte

Nos o Cardeal Jffante Jmquisidor geral em estes Regnos e senhorios de Portugal e etc ffazemos saber a vos padre frey duarte portuges que ao presentemte Residis em paris no mosteiro de samto agostinho / e a vos Licenciado bras daluide / do desembargo delRey meu senhor jrmão como cumpre a seruiço de noso senhor e bem deste samto officio

da Inquirição avermos emformação da vida e costumes así dos portuguezes como dos estrangeiros que vierão a este Regno pera Residirem e emsinarẽ na vniuersidade de coimbra omde ao presentem estão / e por tanto vos emcomẽdamos que com muyto segredo pergumtes em forma de testemunho / o padre frey Joam pinheiro portuges que esta em esa Cidade de paris que he da ordẽ de são domingos e asy as mais testemunhas que o dito padre Referir e outras que parecerẽ neçesareas de modo que se posa saber a verdade do negoço com todo segredo e fiidade que for posiuel / e as ditas testemunhas declararão particularmente as pessoas de que derẽ emformação e as culpas que delles souberẽ particularizando os casos de maneira que se posa comprẽder em que calidade de culpas são culpados e como ho sabem com declaraçam do tempo e das mais cousas que parecerem que comuem em casos de tanta inportancia / e o dito padre frey duarte perguntara as ditas testemunhas como emqueredor e Juiz do caso / e vos Licenciado bras daluide espreueres os ditos das testemunhas pera se poder fazer o negoço mais seguramente / e pera todo o sobredito se fazer como comuem a seruiço de noso senhor e bem do negoço / autoritate apostolica vos cometemos nosas vezes e vos avemos por nomeados a cada huũ em seu offiço pera o dito negoço /. feyto em lrexboa aos dozasete dias do mes doutubro Antonio Roiz o fez de mil e quinhentos e coremta e noue /.

O Cardeal Iffante

E em cõprimẽto da dita provisõ e comjssão semdo per nos vista e aceptada pergũtamos o padre frey Joam pinheiro outro si portuges e colegial no collegio de sã domingos desta cidade nella nomeado cujo testemunho se segue /

¶ O padre frey Joam pinheiro portuges da ordẽ de sã domingos que ora Reside no collegio da dita ordẽ nesta cidade de paris testemunha jurada per seu habito poẽdo as mãos e o peito segundo custume de sua Religião perguntado pelo theoudo na dita provisõ atraz dixee elle testemunha que he verdade que sempre suspeitou que mestre Joam da costa e dioguo teives e mestre Jorge buquenano scoto e tres ou quatro frãceses que cõ os ditos forão de bordeos a coĩbra .s. mestre guilhelmo garamta e Regnaldo pilotot e os outros a que nõ sabe o nome sentirẽ mal da fee e serẽ da secta de luther e isto por o que vio e etemdeo delles e ouvjo a pessoas dignas de fe primeiramente vimdo elle testemunha de tholosa pera bordeos pousou no collegio omde o dito de teives e buquenano e huũ medico Ruyjo frãces comjão na camara do dito mestre Joam da costa e elle testemunha outro sy comja cõ elles e por ser advẽtu nõ comja carne segundo sua ordẽ e nõqua os sobreditos lhe falauã e outra cousa saluo e cerimonjas da Religiã e da Igreja zombando e escarneçdo de sorte que elle testemunha nõ podia crer senã que erã verdadeiros luteranos perguntarãlhe os sobreditos quẽ ordenara a deffesa de nõ comer carne ou outras viamdas e quẽ ordenara a quaresma e aduẽtu dizẽdo que os homẽes e que chisto ordenara nõ auer differença nos comeres alegamdo que mãdara aos apostolos que comesẽ o que lhe fosse posto diamte, e quẽ ordenara as Religiões senã homẽes pergũtãdo-lhe por que se apartara do estado comũ e pergũtãdo-lhe outras cousas semelhãtes e isto per tãtas vezes que Respõdẽdo-lhe elle testemunha o mjhor que podia se viera a agastar cõ elles vẽdo que nõ queriã deixar de cõtinar os taes propositos principal o dioguo de teives e o da costa e o medico elle testemunha dixera ao mestre Joam da costa que lhe nõ falase mais nestas cousas porque cõ segura cociência nõ podia ouujr disputar das semelhãtes cousas e ao teives falãdo a elle testemunha nestas cousas lhe dixera que oulhase o que falaua e a quẽ porque e alguũ tempo se nõ arrepẽdese porque dizẽdo-lho quatro ou cinco vezes se nõ quisera calar ate etãõ que dahi por diamte lhe nõ falara mais njsõ / e estamdo elle testemunha e paris lhe dixera pero luz filho daluaro luz de setuual que ora esta e portugal que dõ lopo dalmeida o qual auja estado e bordeos lhe quisera persuadir que tomase a secta dos lutheranos e etre as Rezoes que lhe daua era dizer que della erãõ o dito mestre Joam da costa e mestre dioguo de teives e buquenano e outros de bordeos que erãõ homẽes despritu e que aquelle tinha nõ tinha (*sic*) dos portuguezes que homẽes de pouquo espritu como o doutor mestre dioguo de gouuea e outros semelhãtes / e os sobreditos dioguo de teives e Joam da costa e buquenano sempre cõversarã estamdo e paris cõ gemte suspeita como elle testemunha ouvio dizer ao dito mestre dioguo de gouuea e a mestre sebastião o qual lhe dixera que por esta suspeita se tirara de sua conversação / asy ouujo o mesmo ao doutor mōgelos e a mestre Joam talpino que foy muito tempo Regẽte e o dito collegio de bordeos pessoa de boa vida e boas letras o

qual talpino dixé a elle testemunha que a cõversação do dito de teives nõ somete fora cõ lutheranos mas cõ pessoas que erã Reputados por atheos que sã os que negã a deus e o mesmo ouujo ao doutor mestre aluaro da fonsqua / e asy lhe dixé o dito talpino que lhe auja dito pessoa digna de fe que estando o dito de teives e huã cõpanhia que era dos mesmos sospeitos se dixerã nõ lhe querendo dizer que era Riso fazer cõciçcia de cousas leues segundo seu parecer dizemdo que se tiuese alguũ moujmento carnal e temdo sua may diante nõ deixaria de fazer sua vòta de sc̃ escrupulo de cõciçcia / E outro-sy ouujo elle testemunha dizer ao mesmo talpino que tinha os sobreditos teives buquenano e costa por lutheranos por os uer muitas uezes disputar duujdosamente nas cousas da fee e que o dito buquenano lhe quisera provar e mostrar segundo sãto agostinho de doctrina christiana que o corpo de noso senhor estaua no sacramento da eucharistia per modum signj tantum / E tãbẽ ouujo elle testemunha a muitas pessoas que o dito buquenano sendo mestre de huũ príncipe e escoça fora accusado e ootros çiquo de auerẽ comjdo o cordeiro pasqual segundo a maneira dos Judæus, pelo que os çiquo forã queimados e elle fugira e fora queimado e estatua no dito Regno descoça e disto tãbẽ ouujo elle testemunha ao dito doutor de gouuea que o auya sabydo de huũ doutor escoços do collegio da Sarbona o qual doutor tãbẽ lhe dixerã que estando o dito buquenano no collegio comja carne na quarema / E dixé mais elle testemunha que quãto aos mais portugeses que forã do dito collegio e nelle estão elle outra cousa nõ sabe, somente que mestre antonio mēdez vindo huũ dia de huã pregaçãõ de bordeos lhe dixé que huũ homẽ douto pregara etãõ que nõ aviã de fazer oraçãõ aos sãctos nõ sabe elle testemunha cõ que jntençã / quãto aos frãçeses dise elle testemunha que ouujra dizer que erão lhuteranos .s. o guilharmo garamta e Regnaldo pilot e quãto ao pilot somente o ouujo dizer o dito doutor mōgelos e do garamta a mestre Joam talpino acima Referido o qual dixé a elle testemunha que queimãdose huũ Regente dantes e bordeos por lutherano da cõversação do dito garamta que foy pertinax ate a Ferradeira e quemãdo a pequeno fogo louuaua o dito garamta a perseverança do dito lutherano que sofrera o fogo por defesãõ de seu error / E dixé mais elle testemunha que ouujo dizer ao dito mōgelos que huũ dos frãçeses que la lerãõ e coibra a que nõ sabe o nome se viera de laa e fizera vēder a fazēda a seu pay e may e se fora cõ elles pera geneua omde ora estaa E asy conhece elle testemunha a huũ frãces de auernja de que lhe nõ lēbra o nome que lhe dixerã que lia no dito collegio e coimbra e huã classe das baixas o qual tẽ por homẽ siple e de bẽ E al nõ dixé e pergũtado pelo custume dixé que fora discipulo dos mais dos acima ditos e leftras humanas no dito collegio estando e bordeos.

fr. Eduardus presētatus fr. Joannes pmarius bras dalujde

¶ O doutor mestre diogo de gouuea etc. pergũtado pelo cõtheudo na dita provisõõ e asy pelo Referimẽto da testemunha atras jurada per suas ordes pãõ a mão e o peito dixé que era verdade que elle conhecia mestre Joam da costa portuges o qual fora bolsheiro delRey noso senhor e discipulo de huũ Regẽte que fora e o seu collegio de sancta barbara chamado o copo medico que primeiramente Regẽtara no collegio do cardeal mojne o qual mestre andre sobrinho delle testemunha metera no seu collegio estando elle e portugal o qual copo era grande luterano como esta provado per justiça na corte do parlamento desta vila e depois vio elle testemunha conversar o dito mestre Joam da costa cõ os frades da terceira ordẽ de sã francisco deste Regno os quaes todos são avidos por grandes luteranos dõde elle testemunha sempre teue suspeita que pela dita conversação o dito mestre Joam cõsẽtia cõ elles e depois se foy a ouernja omde toda a terra esta muy gastada deste mal do luther e dahi se foy a bordeos estando e cõpanhia do dito mestre andre e mestre Joam gelida e de mestre Jorge escoços e de mestre Regnaut pilot que segundo o que dizẽ he grande luterano segundo elle testemunha ouujo dizer ao doutor mestec njcolao mōgelos ao qual mesmo ouujo dizer que todos os nomeados no valã nada E dixé mais elle testemunha da cõversação delles muitos homẽs de bẽ e boõs christaõs erã mal edeficados quãto a esta secta segundo ouujo dizer ao padre de supersanctis comjssario da observãcia e gasgonha e frey clemẽte faraot da mesma ordẽ e ao segundo presidẽte de bordeos chamado de calvimõt o qual presidente lhe dixerã que o collegio de bordeos era causa da perdiçãõ de todo gasgonha nesta parte / E asy ouujo elle testemunha dizer aos sobrinhos do bispo de tangere. s. mjgel de cabedo e diogo mēdez muitas cousas delles todos os quaes se guardavã de comjncar cõ elles como per elles que ora estã e portugal se podera saber / E quãto a mestre diogo de teives nõ sabe elle testemunha outra cousa somente velo sempre cõversar cõ os sobreditos mestre andre e gelida e estar sempre no collegio e bordeos e negoçar os

negoeos do dito mestre amdre quãto a mestre Jorge escoços que esta no collegio ẽ coĩbra ouuyo elle testemunha dizer que fugira de escoça por hereje e judeu dizẽdo que podia celebrar o agno pascal e outros qũquo nõ elle erão desta herejia os quaes todos ciquo forão queimados viuos e por o dito mestre Jorge ser mestre de huũ filho delRey descoça lhe foy dada por prisão hua casa domde fugio e vejo a ter a esta cidadee a vera seis ou sete annos pouquo mais ou menos omde o cardeal descoça que estaua aqui por ẽbaixador o quisera fazer prẽder e outro escoços ho salauo e daqui se foy a bordeos dõde foy pera portugal o que todo ouuyo elle testemunha ouuyo dizer ao doutor mestre Simon semjsson escoços e ao mestre dos sobrinhos do cardeal descoça a que nõ sabe o nome e a mestre Joam soard que ora esta nesta villa outrosy escoços quãto a mestre Regnaut piloet frães dixẽ elle testemunha que mestre njcolao mõgeles lhe dixẽ per muitas vezes que era huũ grande luterano e maior que todos os outros / E dixẽ outrosy elle testemunha que huũ que esteue ẽ coĩbra no dito collegio se vejo de laa ao bispado de ssoisson neste Regno dõde era natural e fez vøder os bõis a seu pai e may e se forã todos pera geneua onde ora prega a dita secta de luther e al nõ dixẽ e do cõstume dixẽ nada *fr. Eduardus presentatus Jacobus a gouvea doctor bras dalujde*

Aos uĩte e sete de nouẽbro do dito anno perguntamos a george ferreira piamõtes que ora he ajo dos sobrinhos do cardeal descoça que deus aja e por nõ falar espanhol testemunhou ẽ latim e seu dito he o seguĩte /

¶ Joanes ferrarius artium magister ı formam testimonij tactis sacrosãctis evãgelij juratus depossuit quod nouerat famjliariter georgium buquenatum priusquam profisciceretur in scociam vnde postea profugit suspectus de heresi et cũ per angliam in luteciam venisset aliquamdiu hic latuit propter presẽtiam Reuerẽdissimj cardinalis scotie ne autoritate ipsius ı vıcula duceretur deĩde parato sibi viatico et vestitu profectus est burdegales illinc parisius Redijt postea in portugaliã abiijt quãtum attinet ad ea de quibus dictus buquenatus accusabatur scocie ut audiuit ex ıfinitis et fide dignissimis accusacio dicti georgij erat comunis cũ quĩquem qui exusti sũt ı andeburgi et ı particulari ıtelegit quod dicti novum Rictum observabãt ı cõjungẽdis viris mulieribus et eo modo cõjunxerãt quãdam mulierem vni sacerdotis itẽ de delictu ciborum et tota quadragesima carnjbus vescebãtur preterea de libero arbitrio et de cõfessione de cõsuetudine ıterrogatus dixit quod dictum georgium buquenatum ut fratrem dilexit sed ı causa pia et juratus veritatem deponit. *fr. Eduardus presentatus Joanes ferrerius Pedemõtanus manu propria bras dalujde*

¶ Simon simson doctor ı sacra theologia parissicẽsis ı forma testimonij per ordines suas manu ad pectus admota juratus depossuit quod novit georgium buquenatum lutecie qui postmodum abiijt ı scociam ubi habuit pueros Regis ad docendum et eo gubernãte predictos pueros fertur illum cũ alijs quĩque viris jam cõbustis ı scocia agnum pascalem comedise ante pasca cujus Rei factum pervenjt ad aures Regis qui dedit illum litori ı custodiam a cujus domo nocte discessit clam et se ipsum ı angliam cõtulit ubi aliquamdiu mãssit et tãdem vrber parissicẽsem venjt ubi Rexit ı collegio cardinalicio, et hec audiujt ab scotis et njchil aliud dixit, de cõsuetudine ıterrogatus njchil Respõdit. *bras dalujde fr. Eduardus presẽtatus Symson*

¶ Joanes talpinus artium magister sacrosãctis evãgelij tactis ıterrogatus de hijs ı quibus fuit a fratre Joane pinario Rellatus et de cõtẽtis ı comjssione, juratus depossuit quod suo ıdicio Jacobus de teives Joanes a costa et buquenatus sũt hac labe luteranorum maxime suspecti quod cognovit aut ex sermonibus aut ex communi Racione vite nec tantum periculum esse factione luterena ı causa de teives sed quod omnjum gravissimum est necessitate mẽtis a nostra Religione et fide defecerit ut nefariam sectam epicuriorum aprobare maxime videatur et voluptatem pro sumo bono habeat et mortalem anjnam existimet moreque beluarum et vitam et ıteritum nostrum suspicetur et hoc de illo suspicatur quod cõsuetudem haberet famjliarissimã cũ doleto qui combustus fuit parisijs et atheus erat ut accepit a servitore ipsius doletitum quod fama comunis de eo ferebatur .s. teiveso postremo quod ex eodem ıtelexit nostram uitã more equorum cõponj solere ut adolescentes more equaleorum, lascivire saltitari cũ vero ı nelectutem vergũt et ı anocio torpescere que verba sũt atheorum, jtem nescit an teivus vel alius essent qui dixirit ı cetu quorũdam vituperãdos esse quosdam quide nescio quibusdam Rebus sibi scrupulum formabãt nã si motus aliquis carnjs ısurgeret nõ esse vlo pacto formjãdũ etiam cũ matre propria suã libidinem explere, sed a quodã accepit teivum in dicto cetu adfuyse / de costa autem dixit quod admjttebat et atheos et luteranos ı domum suã et cõsuetudinem et a medico quodã accepit fidedigno quod

nobilis quidam vasco semel dixit ī cubiculo dicti a costa (nescit tantum an tūc ille adesset) sūt quidam qui dicūt esse demones siqui sīt obtestor eos ut venjāt ad me et adjuro eos ut venjāt et abRipiāt me et inde dixit videte quomodo nō sūt demones preterea cū ī cōvivium accepisset hūc nobilem et teivium cū alijs quos suspicabatur esse luteranos et sermo īcedisset de hijs qui nostro tempore opponūt vitam pro christo (ut putat) ille nobilis dixit hujusmodi verba īsanj sūt illi qui pro quodam christo de quo blasphemum sermonem habuit mortem oppettūt tūc quidam exurrexerūt cum diabolum quemdam voscitātes alij autem .s. costa et teivius tacuerūt et descēdētibus alijs hij duo Remāserūt quod accepit a dicto medico qui a cōvivio preterea discessit et garāta adderat ut dictus medicus Renūciabat item de garanta dixit quod ab eo audivit cū quidam olim preceptor in facultate artium ejusdem gimnasij burdegalēsis pro errore luterano flamis traditus fuisset eundem putare beatum quod paciēter et constāti anjmo īgnem sustulisset et dixit quod predictos omnes noverat propterea quod Rexit ī dicto colegio per quinque-
nium ilijs ibidem Regētibus et tū tēporis illos suspectos habuit sed postquam e colegio Recessit predicta novit/ de cōsuetudine īterrogatus dixit quod omnes sūt sibi amjci/ fiz as duas antrelinhas nesta folha por verdade. *fr. Eduardus presētatus J. talpinus bras dalujde*

itē dixit predictus testis quod ī dicto colegio que est modo conībrie docet quidam antonjus lusitanus qui fuit famulus principalis magistri ādrea de gouuea qui .s. antonius aliquādo vacilabat et aliquādo lutheranjs aliquando catholicis cōsēciebat quem judicjo suo cōfirmādum ī fide putabat. *fr. Eduardus presētatus J. talpinus bras dalujde*

¶ o doutor mestre aluaro da fōsequa doctor ē a sācta theologia portuges testemunya jurado per suas ordeis e pergūtado pelo Referimēto e asi pelo cōtheudo ē a dita comjssão dixit que outra cousa nō sabia somente que dioguo de teives cōversaua nesta vila de paris cō huū sã martī normādo o qual foy aqui preso por hereje e assi ouujo que o dito de teives sētia mal da fee e asi o buquenano escoçes e al nō dixit do custume que he amjgo de todos. *fr. Eduardus presētatus Alvaro da fonseca bras dalujde*

aos vite e huū de dezembro pergūtamos a testemunha seguinte /

¶ mestre sebastiā Roiz portugues estante ora nesta vnjersidade de paris testemunya jurado per suas ordēis pergūtado pelo contheudo na provisāo atras e asy pelo Referimento de frey Joam pinheiro dixit elle testemunya que ē particular nō sabe cousa alguāda de nenhuā das pessoas cōtheudas na dita provisāo somente ē comū ouujo dizer a muitas pessoas que nō lhes queriā mal que os portugueses frāçeses e escoçeses que estiueram no colegio de bordeos e ora estā ē a vnjersidade de cōbra sētiā mal da fe pelo qual elle testemunya se retirara de sua cōversação estando os sobreditos ē esta vila de paris e que das pessoas a que assi o ouujo nō se lēbra salvo dos sobrinhos do bispo de tãgere .s. dioguo mēdez e mjgel de cabedo e amtonio de cabedo e ao padre frey Joam pinheiro testemunya atras por auerē estado ē bordeos cō os sobreditos no colegio / E outrosy ouujo dizer que buquenano escoçes fugira descocea por hereje / pergūtado pelo custume dixit njl *fr. Eduardus presētatus Sebastianus Rodoricus bras dalujde*

E tendo a testemunya acima asinado seu testemunho dixit que lhe lēbrara que jndo desta vila de paris frey Jorge de sãtiago e cō elle antonio de melo e francisco foreiro e outros que cō elle hjāo pera se fazerē Religiosos como ora são da ordē de sã dominigos pasarā per bordeos e huū ou dous delles lhe escpreuerā que pasarā muitas couças acerca da Religiāo cō os sobreditos que estavāo no colegio sītindo delles que sētiā mal da fe como mais larga e particularmente se podera saber pelos ditos Religiosos./ *fr. Eduardus presētatus Sebastianus Rodoricus bras dalujde*

E cō os ditos atras cerrei a dita eqiriçā pera a ēviar ao dito senhor cardeal īfante
bras dalujde

Aos xxbij dias de Junho de mil b^c L^{ta} Annos em Lixboa eu notario fiz estes autos comclusos a sua alteza Antonio Roiz o spreuy.

vistas as culpas que per estes autos se mostrāo ter cōtra a nosa sancta fee / mestre Johāo da costa / e diego teives / e mestre Jorge buquenano / mādamos que seiāo presos cō parecer dos abaixo asinados. *O Cardeal Ifante O bispo do porto O bispo dāgra j. Mōteiro.*

Ao primeiro dia do mes dagosto de mil b^c L^{ta} Annos em lixboa ffoy dado a nī nota-

rio estes papes com este despacho de sua alteza pera se cumprir como se nelle contem Antonio Roiz o spreuy.

Torre do Tombo — Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo n.º 9.510.

III

Auto que mãdou fazer o doutor Jorge Gonçalvez deputado da sãta ymquiseicam nesta cidade de coimbra sobre certa deligencia que lhe cometeo o cardeal yfãte sobre a prisã do doutor mestre diogo de teiues e de mestre Jorge bucanano lêtes do collegio de sua alteza digo delRey noso senhor.

Anno do nascimento de noso senhor Jhesu christo de mil e quinhêtos e cimcoêta anos em a çidade de coimbra nas casas episcopaes do senhor bispo da dita cidade estando hi sua senhorja e asij o doutor Jorge gonçalvez deputado da sãta imquiseição éviado a esta cidade por especial mandado do senhor cardeal yfante imquisidor geral estando ãte sua senhoria outrosj o doutor mestre dioguo de teives e mestre Jorge bucanano lentes do collegio delRey noso senhor os quaes hi foram chamados per mandado e Recado do dito senhor bispo por asj vir ordenado e sendo asj presêtes o senhor bispo lhes dise que o dito deputado lhe mostrara huã provisã de sualteza por omde cûpria eles estarem detidos atee yrem perãte o dito senhor Jfãnte e que hera necessario eles darem as chaues de suas camaras e de seus estudos e caixas e eles loguo as êtregarã a sua senhoria e o dito senhor as deu de sua mão ao dito doutor deputado e eles ficarã fechados. ¶ E loguo o dito doutor Jorge gonçalvez deputado comiguo notario fomos ao collegio e apousêtos dos ditos dioguo de teiues e mestre Jorge e de caminho leuou cõsigo ao doutor marcos Romeiro e ao padre frei martinho de ledezma e todos tres comiguo notario e cõ as ditas chaues êtramos loguo nas pousadas do dito dioguo de teiues e ê êtrando foy dado ao dito doutor deputado hũ escrito do dito dioguo de teives ê que pedia que lhe mãdase oitêta e cimquo cruzados que estauã nũa bolsa em ouro e tres pardaas ê outra e asy algũ fato e canysas e hũa maleta de couro pera o caminho o qual dinheiro se achou asy e da maneira que dezia e mais dise que estauã ahi dozêtos mil reaes de sua alteza per se paguarem os colegiaes e nese dia nõ se fez mais do dinheiro delRey que por se em Recado e o ouro foy levado ao dito dioguo de teyues/ e comecarã a buscar os ditos doutores os papeis e liuros do dito dioguo de teiues digo pera se paguarem os lentes e acharã ãtre os seus liuros hũ liuro que se ymtitula ystituiçã da Religião christãa cõposto por yoam caluim / ¶ E loguo todos os ditos doutores comiguo notario fomos as pousadas de mestre yoam da costa principlai do dito collegio o qual se dezia ser na corte de sua alteza e sendo buscados todos seus papeis e liuros acharã ahi os segÿtes a saber. dous volumes que se ynt[it]ulã *precaçiones cristiana* It outro volume que se ÿtitula *injo discedētium* outro volume que se ÿtitula *imquiridyõ salmorum*/it outro volume que se ÿtitula *frases diujni escripture* it outro volume desêcadernado que se ymtitula *anotaciones sebastiane monsterj* it outro volume que se yntitulla dicionarjo ebraico cõposto por monstero it outro volume que se ymytula obras de clemête marot outro volume da *brivia ê limguoaje frãçes* / ¶ E loguo outrosj todos os ditos senhores deputado e doutores comiguo notario fomos a pousada do dito mestre Jorge bucanano e buscados todos seus liuros e arcas se achou amtre eles hũ volume que se ymtitula *greçi literature de colãpadio* outro volume que se ÿtitula *arismetica ytegra* it outro volume que se ÿtitula *arismetica ytegra cõ a prefaçã de felipe melãtom* it outro volume que se ÿtitula *oraçã de cicero pro milone* cõ exposiçã de felipe melãtom it outro volume que se ymtitula *oraçõis de julio* cõ exposicoes de felipe melãtom os quaes liuros todos o dito senhor doutor Jorge gonçalvez deputado mandou por ê Recado e os Recolheo e forã as casas e fato posto em Recado

como é outro auto adiãte fara mēção e por verdade e certeza de como todos os ditos padres viram cō grande deligēcia todo o sobredito asynarã este auto e eu dito dioguo osorez notario ho spreuy cō ho Riscado que dezia digo e asy maes se achou em hũa arca de mestre Jorge bucanano certo dinheiro é pardaos e prata o qual ele pedio polo mesmo escrito de dioguo de teives que lhe fose leuado como de feyto neste mesmo dia de dez dagosto lhe foy leuado sem se cōtar cō grande Recado e elē dise estar aly todo seu dinheiro e asy hũ conhecimento ymportãte e porque no dia seguỹte de omze do dito mes cūpria veremse ynda hũas caixas de mestre Joam da costa todos tres os ditos doutores a foram fazer e ahi se acabou este auto testemunhas pero fernandez e sjmão fernandez solicitadores da samta ymquisiçã e eu dioguo osorez notario ho spreuy o qual dinheiro se achou como dito hee e o senhor doutor deputado conmigo notario e cō pero fernandez soljcitador o leuou e peramte nos o ĩtregou ao dito mestre Jorge é sua mão e elle o vio e cōtou e dise nō lhe faltar alj nada / e ātes desta deligēcia se fazer o dito senhor deputado da parte do senhor cardeal cōforme a sustancia do negocio e segredo que nele se Requeria lhes ĩcarregou muito suas cōciēcias e eles asy o prometerã fazer e o mesmo a mĩ notario cō Juramento que o senhor bispo me mandou dar polo Licenceado ayres botelho seu provisor dioguo osorez o scprevy. *pero fernandez Marcos Romeiro fr. martinus de ledesma doctor Jorge gonçallvez Rybeiro symão fernandez Ayres botelho*

E loguo nese dia porquãto o fato de mestre Joam da costa se nō podia todo escrever por bem dos liuros asētaram os ditos senhores deputado e doutores cō mestre ātonio mendez que ora fica cō caReguo de principal que a sua camara e fato principal e liuraria ficase preguado cō muitas trauesas somēte se tirou de dētro hũa canastra cō certos pãis dacuquere hũ sacco daRoz mal cheo algũas amēdoas hũ quarto de mâteigua o qual fato e asi hũa pouca de canela ysto se pos na casa do meio a qual tem hũa banca cō hũa pesa de pano vermelho outros panos darvoredado e algũs vestidos e Roupa e por esto estar damtes em mão e poder do dito mestre amtonio mendez e pcr ele ver que nesta casa se nō ĩtirou senã cō tãto Recado e tais pessoas dise que sem mais se escrever se avia por ĩtregue de tudo o que estaua nesta casa do meo e na de fora como dātes lhe era ĩtregue e asjnou este termo cō os ditos senhores doutores e eu dioguo osorez notario o spreuj e mais lhe ficou ĩcomendada a dita camara de dētro cuja janela e porta ficaram preguadas cō muitas travesas por hũ carpinteyro e seguras dioguo osorez notario ho spreuy cō ātrelinha que diz como dantes lhe era ĩtregue dioguo osorez notario ho escreuy. *fr. martinus de ledesma Marcos Romeiro Antonio mēdez Jorge gonçallvez Rybeiro*

E loguo no mesmo dia douze dias dagosto do dito anno em a dita cidade nas casas Episcopaaes do dito senhor bispo omde estavão os ditos dioguo de teyves e mestre Jorge estamdo outrosj presēte o dito senhor doutor Jorge gonçallvez fez pergumta aos sobreditos que era o que mais querião de sua fazenda e a quē aviã por bem que se emtreguase seu fato e de que maneira e eles e cada hũ por sy Respomderam que eles tĩham Recebydo todo o seu dinheiro de suas pessoas sem lhe faltar nada o qual sua merce lho emtregou o dia pasado e que quãto era ao mais fato e as chaves de suas pousadas que a eles lhes aprazia que sem mais ĩventairo se ĩtreguase tudo a mestre amtonio mendez o qual presente estaua e ele foi cōtēte de o Receber por quamto neste propio dia amtes do senhor deputado se partir do collegio mostrou tudo ao dito mestre ātonio e aos outros companheiros de mestre Jorge e isto quãto ao fato e camara de dioguo de teives porque o fato de mestre Jorge e sua camara queria ele que se emtreguase a mestre nycolao que presentem estaua e por que de tudo ysto a hũs e a outros aproue mandou o dito senhor deputado fazer este termo asynado por ele e por todos e eu dioguo osorez notario o spreuy e quãto ao dinheiro dos lētes que asj estaua na caijxa de dioguo de teives asētãrã que se comtase e se emtreguase ao dito mestre ātonio e mestre nicolao na mesma arca de que cada hũ teuese sua chauce e asynarã e eu dioguo osorez o epreuy e ho da obra a dioguo de castilho dioguo osorez notario ho spreuy. *Diogo de Teiue Jorge gonçallvez Rybeiro N. Grouchy Antonio mēdez*

E deste termo foram testemunhas o dito dioguo de castilho cidadao e amtonio mēdez camareiro do senhor bispo e mestre gujilherme lēte pero fernandez e symão

fernandez solieitadores da dita ̄quisiçã dioguo osorez ho sprevy. *diogo de castilho*
Antonio mēdez G. guerante symão fernandez pero fernandez

E logo no mesmo dia de omze do dito mes dagosto o dito senhor deputado com dioguo de castilho mestre das obras de sua alteza e cō mestre amtonio e mestre njcolao comjguo notario fomos as pousadas do dito dioguo de teiues a hũa caixa onde ficaua o dinheiro dos lentes e ahi foi achado em prata a saber Reales tostões meos tostões vintēs moedas de quatro vintēs cemto e setēta e noue mil e seis cētos reaes que foram cōtados em presēça de todos e entregues aos ditos mestre amtonio mendez e mestre nicolao e eles os Receberam e se deram da dita contia por ̄tregues prometendo de dar deles cōta em todo tempo a quē sualteza ordenase ou o Rejtor da vnjversidade e por verdade asjnaram aqui cō o dito senhor deputado e asj asjnou dioguo de castilho pero fernandez e symão fernandez solieitadores e eu dioguo osorez notario ho sprevy e asj Recebeo diogo de castilho de hũ sacco que estaua na propia arca de diogo de teiues pera despesa das obras noue mil e oitocētos reaes testemunhas os sobreditos e eu dioguo osorez ho sprevy. *diogo de castilho Jorge gonçalvez Ribeyro N. Grouchy amtonio mēdez pero fernandez Symão fernandez*

E depois de asy ̄tregue todo o dinheiro fazenda e chaues das pousadas dos sobreditos o dito senhor deputado com Ruj diaz cidadã desta cidade se foi as casas do senhor bispo omde estauã pressos os dlts dioguo de teiue e mestre Jorge e ahi lhos ̄tregou conforme ao Regimento e mandado do senhor cardeal pera que os entregase na cidade de lixboa diãte sua alteza os seus deputados e ele Ruj diaz se ouue por ̄tregue dos dlts presos e os tomou sobresj e ficou ̄tregar omde o dito senhor deputado lhe mãdaua e asinou esta ̄tregua cō o dito doutor testemunhas amtonio mēdez camareiro do senhor bispo dioguo Roiz cidadão desta cidade amtonio madeira crjado do senhor bispo e outros e eu dioguo osorez notario ho sprevy e vasco afomso clerigo de missa diogno osorez o sprevy e asy forã ̄tregues a pero fernandez solieitador diogo osorez o sprevy. *Jorge gonçalluez Rybeiro Roiz diaz pero fernandez Antonio mendeiz diogo Rõiz vasco afomso amtonio madeira*

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