

4-1-2003

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Celebrating St. Peter Martyr: The Inquisitional Brotherhood in Colonial Brazil

Transcribed and edited by
JAMES E. WADSWORTH

Probably the least understood aspect of the Portuguese Inquisition—and the Spanish and Italian, for that matter—are the men who ran it and the institutions in which they participated.¹ Much has been written regarding the repressive side of the Inquisition and, consequently, the institutional mechanisms and procedures of repression are fairly well understood.² It is, of course, well known that

¹ No book-length studies about the officials in the Portuguese empire have appeared, but there are a handful of articles, theses, and dissertations: Anita Novinsky, "A Igreja no Brasil colonial: agentes da Inquisição," *Anais do Museu Paulista* 33 (1984):17-34; Luiz Mott, *A Inquisição em Sergipe* (Aracajú: Editora Fundesc, 1989); Luiz Mott, "Um nome...em nome do Santo Ofício: o Cônego João Calmon, comissário da Inquisição na Bahia setecentista," *Universitas, Cultura* 37 (1986):15-31; David Higgs, "À recepção da revolução francesa em Portugal e no Brasil," *Actas do Colóquio 2 a 9 Novembro de 1989* (Porto: Universidade do Porto, 1992), 227-46; David Higgs, "Comissários e familiares da Inquisição no Brasil ao fim do período colonial," in *Inquisição: ensaios sobre mentalidade, heresias e arte*, ed. Anita Novinsky and M. Luiza Tucci Carneiro (Rio de Janeiro: Expressão e Cultura, 1992), 374-88; José Veiga Torres, "Da repressão religiosa para a promoção social: a Inquisição como instância legitimadora da promoção social da burguesia mercantil," *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* 4 (1994):109-35; Daniela Calainho, "Em nome do Santo Ofício: familiares da Inquisição portuguesa no Brasil colonial" (Master's thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1992); James E. Wadsworth, "Joaquim Marques de Araújo: o poder da Inquisição em Pernambuco no fim do período colonial," in *De Cabral a Pedro I: Aspectos da colonização portuguesa no Brasil*, ed. Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (Porto: Humbertipo, 2001), 309-20; and James E. Wadsworth, "Agents of Orthodoxy: Inquisitional Power and Prestige in Colonial Pernambuco, Brazil" (Ph.D. diss., University of Arizona, 2002).

² There are several works that describe the inquisitional techniques used to control and repress heretical beliefs and behaviors: Anita Novinsky, *A Inquisição* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982); António José Saraiva, *Inquisição e Cristãos-Novos* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1994); and Francisco Bethencourt, *História das Inquisições: Portugal, Espanha, e Itália* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 1996). There are also a few collections of studies on the Inquisition, such as Anita Novinsky and Tucci Carneiro, *Inquisição: ensaios sobre mentalidade, heresias e arte*; and Helena Carvalho dos Santos, ed., *Inquisição*, 3 vols. (Lisbon: Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos do Século XVIII, Universitária Editora, 1989).

the officials of the Inquisition participated in all the various activities of oppression, from denunciations and investigations to the confiscation of property and imprisonment. But their activity was not limited to repression. Officials of the Inquisition also participated in institutions tied to the Inquisition, such as the brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr (Irmandade de São Pedro Mártir), which mediated their relationships with each other, with society, and with the Inquisition itself.³ Entrance into the brotherhood was not a mere formality. It represented a considerable outlay in time and financial commitment. It was also tied to the commitment assumed with the oath of office. Indeed, the regulations of the *familiares* (lay officials) required their participation in the services of the brotherhood.⁴

The brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr was one of the most important institutions that brought inquisitional officials together and created a common framework for interaction and the expression of group identity and inquisitional prestige in Brazil. In a society where group membership mediated relationships, this inquisitional organization was essential for the creation and maintenance of group identity. The brotherhood also presented the image-conscious Inquisition to society in a positive light and attempted to create and maintain inquisitional power, prestige, and status.

This study seeks not only to demonstrate the existence of the brotherhood in colonial Brazil, but also to provide a preliminary look at its establishment, organization, and history. Indeed, the brotherhood did provide a useful mechanism for the socialization and education of inquisitional officials and for the distribution of social welfare, and

³ Where possible, the distinction has been made between the various tribunals of the Inquisition in Portugal. Where it is impossible to make this distinction, the term "Inquisition" has been employed. This term is also used as a general shorthand for the Inquisition as an institution without reference to specific tribunals or functions.

⁴ Sonia A. Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 157:392 (1996):758, 899 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title XXI, Paragraph 3; 1774 Regimentos, Book I, Title IX, Paragraph 3). To assist those who prefer to go directly to the *regimentos*, the specific reference has been included in parenthesis. The *familiares* were lay officials who had to pass through a rigorous and expensive investigation into their ancestry, personal conduct, and reputation. They assisted the other officials of the Inquisition in their responsibilities and could be called upon to summon witnesses, take prisoners, and inventory confiscated property. In the areas outside the cities where the tribunals sat, they were very important for the functioning of the Inquisition and operated under the orders of the *comissários*. Elias Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem: um dicionário da Santa Inquisição* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1999), 108-09; and Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 758-59, 899-900 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title XXI; 1774 Regimentos, Book I, Title IX).

served as a public statement of inquisitional honor and prestige. It does not assert that the brotherhood occupied a more prominent role than other Brazilian brotherhoods. The scarcity of the documentation prohibits any such conclusion and is probably evidence in itself that it did not assume such a prominent role. The brotherhood was important for inquisitional officials, however, and an understanding of its organization and history is essential to a more complete understanding of those men who chose to serve the Inquisition.

The *compromisso* and the existing documents on the brotherhood from Brazil date from the early 1600s, when the brotherhood first appeared in Portugal, and end in 1821, when the Inquisition and the brotherhood were abolished. References to the brotherhoods in Portugal and Goa help establish context, highlight differences and divergences from the 1632 *compromisso*, and establish a basis for comparison. The following portrait is the first to be drawn of the inquisitional brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr anywhere in the Portuguese empire. For that reason, it remains preliminary and subject to revisions as new sources come to light.

The study of the inquisitional brotherhood in the Portuguese empire is especially difficult because no central repository for their records exists—or has yet been discovered. Except for some books that record the expenses of the brotherhood in Coimbra, Lisbon, and Évora, very few records are extant. The problem is even worse for Brazil, where very few documents produced for or by inquisitional officials survive. Scholars have long known of the existence of the brotherhood in Portugal but have known very little about it in Brazil, and have even doubted its existence there.⁵ As a consequence, the little that has been written about the Portuguese brotherhoods has relied on references and

⁵ Sonia Siqueira mentions the existence of the brotherhood in Portugal and notes that it has never been studied. Sonia Siqueira, *A Inquisição portuguesa e a sociedade colonial* (São Paulo: Editora Ática, 1978), 172-73. Luiz Mott questions whether the brotherhood existed in Brazil in "A Companhia dos Familiares do Santo Ofício no Brasil (notas preliminares)," typed manuscript (Salvador, 1989). Bruno Feitler, *Inquisition, juifs et nouveaux-chrétiens au Brésil: le Nordeste XVIIème et XVIIIème siècles* (Paris: Leuven University Press, 2003), 107, declares that he does not believe it existed in Brazil. Sonia Siqueira also mentions the brotherhood in her analyses of the various *regimentos* that she transcribed and published, but only in the context of Portugal. Her phrasing "In Portugal as in Spain" indicates that she does not believe that brotherhood existed in Brazil. She also incorrectly conflates the responsibilities of *familiares* with the purposes of the brotherhood. Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 557.

assumptions drawn mostly from information on similar institutions in Spain and Italy.⁶

The unique status that the brotherhood enjoyed also complicates any investigation. Just as inquisitional officials were not subordinate to Episcopal authority, the brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr was not required to seek Episcopal authorization in establishing a brotherhood as stipulated in the *Constituições Primeiras*.⁷ Nor was it subject to Episcopal oversight. Rather, the inquisitor general, the general council, and the Lisbon Tribunal oversaw the activities of the brotherhood. It is not surprising, therefore, when documents regarding the brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr do not appear in Episcopal archives in Brazil.⁸ In the same vein, membership in the brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr remained small when compared to the much larger and more prestigious brotherhoods of Brazil. It is not surprising, then, that contemporary authors who discuss the religious brotherhoods in colonial Brazil should overlook them.

Documents scattered throughout the Portuguese archives shed light on the history of this important inquisitional institution in both Portugal and Brazil. Portuguese and Latin versions of the bylaws or statutes (called the *compromisso*) of the Portuguese brotherhoods have been found in the National Archive in Lisbon.⁹ Together with the other documents culled from Portuguese archives, this previously unknown and extremely important *compromisso* permits the initial exploration of the organization and importance of the brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr in Portugal and her overseas colonies.

Brazil represents an interesting case for studying the brotherhood because, unlike Spanish America, it never had a permanent

⁶ The only other person to write about the Portuguese brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr is Francisco Bethencourt. Aside from two sources from Portugal, his entire discussion rests on manuscript and published works from Spain and Italy. Bethencourt, *História das Inquisições*, 89-94.

⁷ *Constituições primeiras do arcebispado da Bahia...* (Lisboa: Na officina de Miguel Rodrigues, impressor do Eminentissimo Senhor Cardeal Patriarca, 1765), Book IV, Title 60.

⁸ Research at the archive of the archdiocese of Pernambuco in the summer of 2003, in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (hereinafter cited as AHU), and other archives in Pernambuco, turned up a large amount of information regarding *familiares*, but not specifically dealing with the brotherhood.

⁹ A version of the *compromisso* written in Portuguese is found in Arquivo Nacional-Torre do Tombo, Lisbon (hereinafter cited as ANTT), Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 59. This is the version referred to throughout this study. The Latin versions from 1633 can be found in ANTT, Bullas e Breves do Santo Ofício, caixa 2, maço 3, no. 279; and Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, Número de Transferência 4149.

tribunal. This fact altered the institutional dynamics of the brotherhood and throws into relief the larger organization and the local variations these dynamics necessitated.

As in Portugal, the primary purpose of the Inquisition in Brazil was to police the religious beliefs and moral behavior of the diverse populations of the empire. Technically, the Inquisition retained jurisdiction only over baptized Christians, and it spent the first two centuries after its founding in 1536 rooting out suspected crypto-Jews (those of Jewish descent who had been "converted" to Christianity, yet persisted in practicing Judaism).¹⁰ The Inquisition also rapidly expanded its authority over most aspects of an individual's religious and moral life.

The Inquisition established four major tribunals in Lisbon, Coimbra, Évora, and Goa, India, that oversaw inquisitional activities in the whole of the Portuguese empire. Inquisitors administered these tribunals assisted by a small army of lesser officials, with central control resting in the hands of the inquisitor general and the general council (*conselho geral*) over which he presided. This organization never shifted to Brazil, which, together with Africa and the Atlantic islands, remained under the jurisdiction of the Lisbon Tribunal. Even with the transfer of the royal court to Rio de Janeiro in 1808, the center of inquisitional authority remained in Portugal.

In both Portugal and colonial Brazil, the denunciation served as the primary mechanism for discovering religious and moral unorthodoxy. Where possible, the denunciation was made to a *comissário* (commissioner; highest resident authority of the Inquisition in the colony) or a local priest or bishop, who forwarded it to the Lisbon Tribunal for consideration.

All other inquisitional officials in Brazil remained subordinate to the *comissários*. These *comissários* carried out all inquiries sent to them, either to investigate accused heretics or to qualify potential officials. The *familiares* served under the *comissários*—escorting them as they performed inquiries, summoning witnesses, taking prisoners,

¹⁰ Alexandre Herculano has written the most definitive account to date of the long process through which the Inquisition established itself in Portugal. Alexandre Herculano, *História da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, vols. 1-3 (Lisbon: Editora Livraria Bertrand, 1975). Other accounts can be found in J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *História dos Cristãos-Novos Portugueses* (Lisbon: Clássica Editora, 1989); Saraiva, *Inquisição e Cristãos-Novos*; Sonia Siqueira, "O momento de inquisição (I)," *Revista de História* 42:85 (1971):49-73; and Sonia Siqueira, "O momento de inquisição (II)," *Revista de História* 43:87 (1971):43-85.

and escorting prisoners to the ships that were to carry them to Lisbon.¹¹ The *notários* (notaries)¹² generally served as scribes,¹³ and the *qualificadores* (officials in charge of censure)¹⁴ most frequently worked as substitute *comissários*. And, of course, all the officials, like all good Catholics, were required to denounce crimes against the faith.

These officials, together with the bishops who retained inquisitional jurisdiction, formed the corpus of inquisitional officials in the colony. Except for the rare formal inspections by inquisitors, called *visitas*, these men effectively did the work of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Brazil.¹⁵

¹¹ Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 758-59 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title XXI, Paragraphs 2 and 4.)

¹² The *notários* were some of the most important officials of the Inquisition. They had regular contact with the accused and kept the records of the Inquisition. They recorded the questions asked and the answers given during interrogation, made copies of official documents, kept the financial records of the treasury, recorded the oaths of inquisitional officials, and took inventories of the prisoners' goods. Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem*, 185; and Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 729-33 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title III).

¹³ Scribes were present in many areas of the Inquisition. The treasurers and the *comissários* all had scribes.

¹⁴ Although there is no good translation, the term *qualificadores* refers to those who qualify. The *qualificadores* reviewed written works to see whether they infringed the rules of inquisitional censorship and compiled lists of prohibited books. In Brazil, where printing presses were not allowed until 1808 and few libraries existed, they found very little employment in this area. More often, then, they simply worked as *comissários*. Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem*, 203; and Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 738-39 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title III).

¹⁵ The proceedings of these *visitas* can be found in João Capistrano de Abreu, ed., *Primeira visitação do Santo Offício às partes do Brasil pelo licenciado Heitor Furtado de Mendonça: confissões da Bahia, 1591-1592* (São Paulo: Paulo Prado, 1922); João Capistrano de Abreu, ed., *Primeira visitação do Santo Offício às partes do Brasil pelo licenciado Heitor Furtado de Mendonça: denúncias da Bahia, 1591-1593* (São Paulo: Paulo Prado, 1925); Rodolfo Garcia, ed., *Primeira visitação do Santo Offício às partes do Brasil pelo licenciado Heitor Furtado de Mendonça: denúncias de Pernambuco 1593-1595* (São Paulo: Paulo Prado, 1929); José Antônio Gonçalves de Mello, ed., *Primeira visitação do Santo Offício às partes do Brasil: confissões de Pernambuco, 1594-1595* (Recife: Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, 1970); Rodolfo Garcia, ed., "Livros das denúncias que se fizeram na visitação do Santo Offício à cidade de Salvador da Bahia de Todos os Santos do estado do Brasil, no ano de 1618," *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* 49 (1927):100-392; Eduardo de Oliveira França and Sonia Siqueira, ed., "Segunda visitação do Santo Offício às partes do Brasil pelo inquisidor e visitador Marcos Teixeira: livro das confissões e ratificações da Bahia, 1618-1620," *Anais do Museu Paulista* 17 (1963):123-547; and José R. do Amaral Lapa, ed., *Livro da visitação do Santo Offício da Inquisição ao estado do Grão-Pará, 1763-1769* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1978).

The *familiares* represented by far the largest group of officials in the Brazilian colonies. A review of the background investigations for office, called *habilitações*, shows that the captaincy-general of Pernambuco and the captaincy of Bahia were the two captaincies with the highest number of officials in Brazil. They were followed closely by the captaincy of Rio de Janeiro. The captaincy-general of Pernambuco had 885 applicants for the position of *familiar* between 1613-1821, 663 of whom received appointments. The captaincy of Bahia had at least 828 applicants to become *familiares*, while the captaincy of Rio de Janeiro had at least 658 and the captaincy of Minas Gerais at least 345.¹⁶

Specific and reliable data do not exist for any captaincies of Brazil, with the exception of the captaincy-general of Pernambuco. These figures provide an idea of the composition of this group of inquisitional officials. Of the 537 *familiares* (81 percent) appointed in the captaincy-general of Pernambuco for whom a known occupation exists, 55.1 percent were engaged in commerce, 11.7 percent held military posts, and 11.7 percent stated that they were students. The rest worked in a variety of occupations and fields, such as artisans (3.2 percent), bureaucrats and government officials (2.7 percent), agriculture (3.6 percent), pharmacy and medicine (2.1 percent), and the shipping industry, as pilots or ship's captains (1.9 percent). The largest single group (164, or 25.9 percent) was that of the large-scale merchants who called themselves *homens de negócio* (businessmen).¹⁷ These businessmen carried on large-scale commerce requiring capital and did not generally engage in retail trade. They also enjoyed high social status that permitted them entrance into prestigious brotherhoods and political offices.¹⁸

Immigrants also formed a large portion of the *familiares* in Pernambuco. Exactly 55.8 percent of the *familiares* in Pernambuco were immigrants to Brazil, compared to 44.2 percent Brazilian-born *familiares*. Immigrants accounted for 43.3 percent of those involved in

¹⁶ These numbers and those that follow appear in Wadsworth, "Agents of Orthodoxy," 172-93, but the figures here have been revised based on more complete information.

¹⁷ José Veiga Torres found that 35 percent of the *familiares* appointed in Lisbon were *homens de negócio*, as were 31 percent of those appointed in Brazil. Veiga Torres, "Da repressão religiosa para a promoção social," 133.

¹⁸ Rae Jean Dell Flory, "Bahian Society in the Mid-Colonial Period: The Sugar Planters, Tobacco Growers, Merchants, and Artisans of Salvador and the Recôncavo, 1680-1723" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1978), 219-25.

commerce, while only 11.8 percent of native-born *familiares* were so engaged.¹⁹ Likewise, 66.8 percent of immigrant *familiares* engaged in commerce, and immigrants accounted for 52.2 percent of those involved in agriculture and ranching.

These, then, were the men from Pernambuco who participated in the brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr in Brazil—a disparate group with a significant core of men engaged in commerce and of immigrants to Brazil, born in Portugal or its Atlantic islands. Positions as *familiares* were highly desirable because they provided families with the proof of purity from the taint of New Christian blood, a proof that could open doors into positions in the government, the clergy, and the prestigious religious brotherhoods. This was especially important for immigrants who wished to establish themselves in the colony. The *familiares* did not rely solely on the Inquisition for this proof of purity or this prestige. They also sought membership in the other prestigious brotherhoods, such as the Third Orders, the Santas Casas da Misericórdia (Holy Houses of Mercy), and the parochial brotherhoods such as the Santíssimo Sacramento (Most Holy Sacrament). Often an appointment as a *familiar* of the Inquisition was seen as a stepping stone along the path to entrance into one of these more important and prestigious brotherhoods.²⁰

Beyond the interest in prestige and honor, inquisitional appointment provided access, at least initially, to a wide corpus of inquisitional privilege. At the outset, it is necessary to clear up a common and persistent misconception about the *familiares* of the Portuguese Inquisition. Despite what is often claimed, the Portuguese Inquisition never placed limits on the number of *familiares*. These claims arise from a fundamental misunderstanding of the history of the *familiares* and are continually repeated without verification.²¹ The

¹⁹ Other scholars have noted that merchants frequently sought appointments as *familiares*. David Grant Smith, "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil in the Seventeenth Century: A Socio-Economic Study of the Merchants of Lisbon and Bahia, 1620-1690" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1975), 85, 89, 90-91, 96, 258-59, 413; William Michael Donovan, "Commercial Enterprise and Luso-Brazilian Society During the Brazilian Gold Rush: The Mercantile House of Francisco Pinheiro and the Lisbon to Brazil Trade, 1695-1750" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1991), 30, 130-32; and Rae Flory and David Grant Smith, "Bahian Merchants and Planters in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 58:4 (1978):585-87.

²⁰ A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Prestige, Power, and Piety in Colonial Brazil: The Third Orders of Salvador," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 69:1 (1989):73.

²¹ Donovan, "Commercial Enterprise and Luso-Brazilian Society," 62.

Portuguese Crown did, however, limit the number of *familiares* who could enjoy access to inquisitional privilege. In 1693, King D. Pedro II issued a decree that limited the number of privileged *familiares* in Portugal.²² In 1720, the king extended the limitation to Brazil (Salvador, Bahia, received thirty; Rio de Janeiro twenty; and Olinda ten).²³ Those who enjoyed access to inquisitional privilege were called *familiares do número*. Both limitations were ambiguous at best and were never fully implemented, but it is essential to understand that nowhere in the Portuguese empire were the numbers of *familiares* limited either by the Crown or the general council.²⁴

The privileges granted to the officials of the Inquisition were oriented toward economic exemptions and judicial prerogatives so as to differentiate these officials from the rest of the population. These privileges included exemption from paying extra taxes, from accepting public offices against their will, and from military service. Officials also received the *foro*, or the legal privilege of having their criminal and civil cases judged by the Inquisitors, and the use of both offensive and defensive weapons. In addition, the officials and their wives and children were permitted to wear silk.²⁵

These privileges helped to set apart the officials of the Inquisition from other and more prestigious brotherhoods. Nevertheless, the brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr seems to fit the general pattern of brotherhoods in Brazil during the colonial period. Much of the research on these brotherhoods has focused on the black confraternities of Our Lady of the Rosary—although not all of them were exclusively made up of blacks. This research has generally dealt with their role in integrating blacks, both slave and free, into colonial

²² Decreto do Snr. Rey Dom Pedro II pelo qual manda que haja numero certo de familiares privilegiados nas cidades e villas deste Reyno a forma de huma lista assinado pelo secretario de Estado Mendes de Foyos Pereira, Lisbon, 3 April 1693, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Officio, Livro 381, fols. 1-3.

²³ Cópia da Consulta que se fez a S. Mag acerca do numero dos Privilegiados que ha de haver nas Conquistas, Lisbon, 8 May 1720, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Officio, Livro 381, fols. 64-66v. A copy of the same document found in the ANTT, Ministério do Reino, maço 362, lists Bahia as having twenty.

²⁴ A more complete discussion of the *familiares do número* can be found in Wadsworth, "Agents of Orthodoxy," 205-25.

²⁵ The privileges granted to Inquisitional officials are found in *Traslado autentico de todos os privilegios concedidos pelos reis destes reinos, e senhorios de Portugal aos officiaes, e familiares do Santo Officio da Inquisição*. Several copies can be found in Biblioteca Nacional-Lisbon, Códice 867, including those published in 1685, 1691, and 1787. A manuscript copy is housed in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, 44-xiii-57, fol. 113.

Brazilian society, and their role in constructing ethnic-racial consciousness. These brotherhoods served as a mechanism for non-kinship-based social integration, for the construction of collective identity, and for at least partial social equalization of free blacks within the dominant white society, as well as providing status and prestige.

The many lay confraternities were important colonial institutions that conjoined the church with the urban society and provided much needed social welfare services.²⁶ They were also the most common and most widely accepted vehicles for the expression of popular Catholicism, in which the saint could take precedence over God as the recipient of devotion. This was baroque Catholicism, characterized by elaborate, dramatic, and public expressions of faith. The celebration of saint's days included large public masses, processions with dancing, music, food, and elaborate decorations and dress, in which the brotherhoods often sought to outdo each other in luxurious and costly displays of devotion. João José Reis has called this the "carnivalization" of religion.²⁷

The confraternities in Brazil also tended to recreate and reinforce social hierarchies. Many were based on color or wealth and differentiated between different groups within the brotherhood. The segregated brotherhoods manifested the inherent inequality of colonial Brazilian society and reinforced those inequalities at the same time that they provided a type of buffer against them. In Brazil, they were corporate organizations that supplemented the Church and assumed much of the financial responsibility for maintaining the churches. The brotherhoods varied widely in their focus, organization, and membership, but they all functioned internally as agents of group solidarity and identity internally while reflecting and promoting

²⁶ A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Black and Mulatto Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil: A Study in Collective Behavior," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 54:4 (1974):567-602; Julita Scarano, "Black Brotherhoods: Integration or Contradiction?" *Luso-Brazilian Review* 16:1 (1979):1-17; Julita Scarano, *Devoção e escravidão: a Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos no distrito diamantino no século XVIII* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1978); Elizabeth W. Kiddy, "Ethnic and Racial Identity in the Brotherhoods of the Rosary of Minas Gerais, 1700-1830," *The Americas* 56:2 (1999):221-52; and Patricia A. Mulvey, "Black Brothers and Sisters: Membership in the Black Lay Brotherhoods of Colonial Brazil," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 17:2 (1980):253-79.

²⁷ Patricia A. Mulvey, "Slave Confraternities in Brazil: Their Role in Colonial Society," *The Americas* 39:1 (1982):39-68; and João José Reis, *Death is a Festival: Funeral Rites and Rebellion in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*, trans. H. Sabrina Gledhill (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 39-65.

diversity at a community level.²⁸ The white brotherhoods also became an important haven for Portuguese immigrants seeking to insert themselves into colonial society. These brotherhoods facilitated their assimilation by offering opportunities to mingle with established merchants and strike up relationships that could help guide the upwardly mobile newcomers through the maze of economic and social relationships necessary for survival and success.²⁹

As with the other brotherhoods in Brazil, the brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr was organized around the cult of a saint. Frequently, these brotherhoods organized around the patron saint of a specific trade. For example, blacksmiths, locksmiths, barbers, and bleeders celebrated the cult of St. George.³⁰ In the case at hand, the officials of the Inquisition celebrated the cult of St. Peter of Verona, the patron saint of the Inquisition and, therefore, of the inquisitional confraternity.

Peter of Verona was a Dominican who had been named inquisitor general of the Milanese Inquisition in 1234 by Pope Gregory IX. His zealous activities won him enemies, some of whom finally assassinated him while he was traveling from Como to Milan in 1252. Tradition has it that he had been born into a family of Catharist heretics, but had zealously defended the faith even against his own family. His zeal was so great that with the last flicker of life he reportedly wrote on the ground (or on his robe—the accounts differ) with his own blood *Credo in Deum* (I believe in God). Pope Innocent IV canonized him a year after his death, and he became the symbol of inquisitional zeal and sacrifice for the faith. His feast day is celebrated on 29 April.³¹

²⁸ Manoel S. Cardozo, "The Lay Brotherhoods of Colonial Bahia," *Catholic Historical Review* 33:1 (1947):23; and Kiddy, "Ethnic and Racial Identity," 231.

²⁹ Reis, *Death is a Festival*, 41-46. Some important works on brotherhoods in Brazil are A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists: The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550-1755* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); Russell-Wood, "Prestige, Power, and Piety in Colonial Brazil;" and Caio César Boschi, *Os leigos e o poder: irmandades leigas e política colonizadora em Minas Gerais* (São Paulo: Editora Ática, 1986).

³⁰ Reis, *Death is a Festival*, 43.

³¹ Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, eds., *Butler's Lives of the Saints* (New York: P.J. Kenedy and Sons, 1956), 2:186-87. Peter of Verona should not be confused with Peter Arbues, who also had a brotherhood that was associated with the Inquisition. Peter Arbues was a Spanish inquisitor in Aragon assassinated in 1485 while he knelt in prayer in the cathedral at Zaragoza; he was not canonized until 1867. His feast day is celebrated on 17 September. Bethencourt, *História das Inquisições*, 93-94; and Thurston and Attwater, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, 3:586-87. In addition, a group of *familiares* in Lisbon requested permission to establish a brotherhood dedicated to St.

Thirteen years after his martyrdom, the cult of St. Peter of Verona arrived in Portugal. In 1266, Pope Clement IV admonished the prelates of Portugal to hold the celebration of St. Peter of Verona on 29 April, which they apparently did. These early celebrations, however, were simply one among many holy days dedicated to Christian saints, and were not associated with any confraternity. The Iberian Inquisitions, established in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, selected St. Peter of Verona as their patron saint and protector and eventually appropriated his cult as a central aspect of their devotion.

The brotherhood first appeared in Italy in the early sixteenth century and in Spain in 1604.³² From there it spread to Portugal, where the Inquisition had been established in 1536. The papal bull of Paul V, *Cum inter caeteras* ("together among the others") of 29 June 1611, stressed that the brothers of St. Peter Martyr should be considered servants of the Inquisition and encouraged faithful Christians to seek membership.³³

The inquisitor general of Portugal, Dom Pedro de Castilho, approved the organization of the brotherhood, and it first appeared in Lisbon and Goa in 1615 and in Coimbra and Oporto in 1620. The brotherhood eventually spread to Évora, Funchal, Madeira, Brazil, and possibly other areas under Portuguese dominion.³⁴ Until 1632, the brotherhood lacked any formal and certified regulations in Portugal. In that year, the inquisitor general, Dom Francisco de Castro, and the general council approved the *compromisso*. The *compromisso* stated

John of Capistrano in 1726. St. John had also served as an inquisitor in fifteenth-century Italy and had been noted for his zeal and austerity. He died after helping to repel the Turkish siege on Belgrade in 1456, and his feast day is celebrated on 28 March. The Lisbon Tribunal suggested that the new brotherhood of St. John should be organized in the same manner as that of Pedro Arbues. It was approved in 1727. Letter from the *familiares* of Lisbon to Lisbon Tribunal, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 155, fols. 444-45; and Thurston and Attwater, *Bulter's Lives of the Saints*, 4:693-94. *Familiares* in Lisbon participated in all three brotherhoods, and the Inquisition maintained supervisory roles in them.

³² Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, 2:282-84. The privilege to create a brotherhood was apparently granted in 1530 by Pope Clement VII. *Compromisso*, 15 March 1632, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 59.

³³ Bethencourt, *História das Inquisições*, 90.

³⁴ Bethencourt, *História das Inquisições*, 90. The establishment of the brotherhood in Goa is mentioned in Letter from Francisco Borges de Souza and João Fernandez de Almeida to Dom Pedro de Castilho, Inquisidor Geral, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, Livro 96, fols. 209-18v, 258-59v. The Coimbra brotherhood is discussed in *Book of the Confraria of S. Pedro Mártir de Coimbra*, Biblioteca Nacional-Lisbon, Reservados, Códice 1497.

that the purpose of the brotherhood was to keep the memory of St. Peter Martyr alive and to encourage the officials of the Inquisition to emulate his qualities of zeal and sacrifice.³⁵

The introduction to the *compromisso* also clearly stated that the statutes were to be used in the brotherhoods established "in the Inquisitions of this kingdom (i.e. Portugal—the kingdom of the Algarve never had a tribunal) as well as in Goa and the state of India." The plural "Inquisitions" refers to the several tribunals established in Lisbon, Évora, and Coimbra. Brazil remained under the jurisdiction of the Tribunal of Lisbon throughout the tenure of the Inquisition; therefore, any brotherhoods established in Brazil were supposed to use the same bylaws that governed the organization of the brotherhoods throughout the empire. As A.J.R. Russell-Wood has noted, it was common practice for the brotherhoods of Brazil to adopt the statutes of their counterparts in Portugal.³⁶

Unless evidence to the contrary surfaces, there is no reason to doubt that the statutes of 1632 generally governed the activities of the brotherhood throughout the empire and specifically in Brazil. Indeed, the Portuguese Inquisition formally revised its original 1552 bylaws only three times during its 285-year existence (1613, 1640, and 1774). The huge gap between 1640 and 1774 is precisely the time when the brotherhood functioned most actively. All the evidence collected thus far suggests that the Inquisition contented itself with issuing specific orders reforming and updating very limited aspects of the brotherhood, without rewriting or revising the original *compromisso*. Chapter 21 of the statutes left any changes in the *compromisso* to the disposition of the inquisitor general—an authority he used only occasionally.

That said, it is important to understand that the absence of a tribunal in Brazil required certain modifications of the *compromisso* to fit the necessities of colonial Brazil. The very little evidence that exists for places like Madeira also suggests that the modifications made in

³⁵ The Lisbon Tribunal used the resources of the Lisbon brotherhood as a reserve account from which it borrowed to meet its own operating costs. As esmolos de São Pedro Mártir, Lisbon, 15 December 1704, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 154, fol. 113. Some financial records can be found in Receita e despesa do Conselho Geral, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maços 63-64. See also the various documents in: ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Número de Transferência 2126, 2142-144, 2148, 2157, 2159, and several of the unnumbered boxes; ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 158, fols. 158, 161, 169, 219, 226, 233; and ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, maços 1, 6, 7, 11, 14, 29, 35, 41-42.

³⁶ Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists*, 202-03.

Brazil were very similar to those made in other locations where the brotherhood existed but tribunals were not present.³⁷

Three types of evidence point to the identification of the brotherhoods of St. Peter Martyr in Brazil. The first is the existence of festivals in honor of the saint. Chapter 21 of the *compromisso* clearly stated that the brotherhood was "properly a congregation or union of the ministers of the Holy Office to celebrate the glorious St. Peter Martyr, patron saint and protector of the Inquisitions."³⁸ The celebration of the saint was, then, the primary focus of the brotherhood, and it was the brotherhood that organized these festivals in accordance with the statutes. In other words, the festival was properly the domain of the brotherhood and required its organization for a successful celebration. Where festivals of St. Peter Martyr occurred after 1632, it can be assumed, with some degree of certainty, that a brotherhood was also organized.

The first known celebration of the festival in Brazil occurred in Bahia in 1697. The sermon preached on that occasion was published in 1700 with the statement that "The *familiares* of the Holy Office of the City of Bahia order the printing [of this sermon offered] on the occasion in which they celebrated their first festival with a most solemn procession, carrying the saint from the See to the Monastery of the Patriarch S. Bento."³⁹ The *familiares* of Olinda and Recife soon followed suit with a letter that successfully requested permission to celebrate the festival of St. Peter Martyr in 1698. Minas Gerais held its first celebration in Vila Rica in 1733.⁴⁰ The published sermon "of the glorious S. Peter Martyr in the parish church of Corpo Santo of the town of Recife de Pernambuco, festival of the *familiares* of the Holy Office in the year 1750" also exists.⁴¹ It is known for certain, then, that festivals occurred in Bahia, Recife, and Vila Rica.

³⁷ Letter from João Paulo Berenquer Cezar Betencurt to the Conselho Geral, Lisbon, 5 February 1779, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 66.

³⁸ *Compromisso*, 15 March 1632, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 59.

³⁹ *Sermam do Glorioso S. Pedro Martyr*, Biblioteca Nacional-Lisbon, Reservados 9335.

⁴⁰ Letter from *familiares* of Olinda to Lisbon Tribunal, Lisbon, 18 February 1698, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 154, fol. 26; and Letter from Manuel Batalha to the Conselho Geral, Vila Rica, 4 May 1734, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 4, no. 12.

⁴¹ *Jaboatão mystico em correntes sacras dividido. Corrente primeira panegyrica, e moral, offerecida, debaixo da protecção da milagrosa imagem do Senhor Santo Amaro, Venerado na sua Igreja Matriz do Jaboaão, Ao Illustrissimo E Excellentissimo S.^{nhor} Luiz José Correa de Sá, governador de Pernambuco, por Fr. Antonio de S.^{ta} Maria*

The second type of evidence that indicates the organization of a brotherhood can be found in references to individuals who held offices associated with the brotherhood. For example, a report from a *comissário* from Olinda in 1702 discussed the activities and responsibilities of the *familiar juiz de festa* (judge of the celebration), which was one of the elected officers of the brotherhood in charge of organizing festivals. A 1750 petition from the *familiares* of Bahia referred to *mordomos* (stewards or major-domos) and indicated that they wished to reform their brotherhood to follow more closely the custom then being practiced in Lisbon. The Lisbon Tribunal recognized the existence of the *mordomos* in Bahia and the Tribunal's practice of communicating directly with the senior *comissário* in matters concerning the festival of St. Peter Martyr in their response. A 1794 petition to be appointed as a *familiar do número* (*familiares* who exercised the privileges of office) from Rio also referred to a *procurador* (attorney or procurator).⁴² These were all elected offices within the organization of the brotherhood and clearly indicate that the organization existed. The fact that these documents can rely on shorthand references to the brotherhood suggests that those who wrote them and those who read them had no doubts about the existence of the brotherhood. These documents demonstrate that the organization of the brotherhood existed in Recife, Bahia, and Rio de Janeiro.

The third and most decisive piece of evidence that demonstrates the existence of the brotherhood in Brazil is direct references to it. A document from Rio de Janeiro in 1789 clearly declares that the brotherhood existed in Rio. The letter referred to "Manuel da Silva Coutinho, *familiar* of the Holy Office and elected scribe of the venerable Mesa da Irmandade (board or administration of

Jaboatam, filho da Provincia de Santo Antonio do Brasil (Lisboa: Na Offic. de António Vicente da Silva, Anno de MDCCLVIII [1758]), in Biblioteca da Ajuda, 5-IV-46, fols. 225-48.

⁴² Letter from Manuel da Costa Ribeiro to the Conselho Geral, Olinda, Pernambuco, 1702, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 323, and ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 124; Letter from the *familiares* of Bahia to the Lisbon Tribunal and the Reply, Salvador, Bahia, 1750, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 157, fols. 36-37; and Letter from Inácio Rodriguez Portela to the Conselho Geral, Rio de Janeiro, 1794, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, Livro 352, fol. 65. The *procurador* was responsible for defending the accused before the tribunal. He first encouraged the accused to confess his/her crimes. If the accused refused, then the *procurador* helped them draw up their rejoinder to the libel read against them. Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem*, 199-200; and Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 736-38 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title III).

the brotherhood) of the glorious St. Peter Martyr erected in this city of São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro." The letter also declared that João Pinto de Castro had served faithfully in the brotherhood.⁴³

A letter written from the senior *comissário* in Recife in 1790 not only stated that the *irmandade* had existed there for many years, but also described its organization. He stated that "the brotherhood of *familiares* of the Holy Office of St. Peter Martyr has been established for many years in these parts." He went on to explain that, as the most senior *comissário* of those that lived in Recife, he acted as the director of the brotherhood. His letter dealt with an organizational and jurisdictional matter of the brotherhood in which he asserted the independence of the brotherhood from the Episcopal authorities in Pernambuco. More importantly, the Lisbon Tribunal recognized the existence of the brotherhood in Recife when it stated, "send an order to this *comissário* that he should persist in his position not to give an accounting to any other jurisdiction; and this by order of this council seeing that this confraternity does not have any other source of income except the entrance fees of the brothers."⁴⁴

Scholars can quibble about what "many years" means, and they can complain about the large temporal gaps in the evidence, but taken together, this documentation indicates that brotherhoods of St. Peter Martyr did indeed exist in Brazil. Despite those temporal gaps, a series of documents extending from the late seventeenth to the late eighteenth centuries clearly indicates the continuous presence of the brotherhood in Brazil. It seems clear that the initiation of the celebrations of the saint marked the beginning of the brotherhood. As will be shown, however, the situation on the ground in Brazil necessitated some basic changes in organization. The letter from Bahia in 1750, mentioned above, seems to indicate that the *familiares* felt that some reforms were necessary to bring their own practices in line with those of Lisbon. At all levels within the inquisitional administrative structure, evidence supports the conclusion that the brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr existed and functioned in Brazil from the late seventeenth to at least the late eighteenth centuries.

The brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr in Brazil also employed the same insignia and symbolism the *compromisso* described. The

⁴³ Letter from Manuel Pinto de Castro to the Conselho Geral, Rio de Janeiro, 1789, ANTT, Novas Habilitações, caixa 37.

⁴⁴ Letter from Henrique Martins Gaio to the Lisbon Tribunal and Response, Recife, 22 July 1790, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 160, fols. 87-89.

insignia of the brotherhood revealed much about its nature and purpose and drew heavily on the iconography of St. Peter Martyr and the Dominican order. It consisted of a cross with an olive branch on one side and a sword on the other, both placed within a black border shaped like a shield. Several of the fleurs-de-lis of St. Dominic framed the border.⁴⁵ The standard of the brotherhood had this insignia on one side and the image of St. Peter Martyr, within a similar black border, on the other.⁴⁶ On the right hand side of St. Peter Martyr were the coat-of-arms of the Church and on the left the royal coat-of-arms in the same manner as the Tribunal of Lisbon. St. Peter Martyr was, and is, usually portrayed in a Dominican cape and robe. His left hand rests on his breast, with a palm branch bearing three crowns of gold (the symbols of victory and martyrdom), while his right hand holds a book. He is also represented variously with a knife in or splitting his head, a knife in his hand, or a sword in his breast. Sometimes a man behind him stabs a knife into his head.⁴⁷

The cross that the *familiares* wore on their habits also had fleurs-de-lis on each end. This was the crusader cross that the inquisitional assistants were first permitted to wear in 1254. At the same time, they received the same indulgences and privileges given to the crusaders who went to the Holy Land. The association of the Inquisition with crusading was intentional and demonstrates how the early Inquisition perceived itself. The association was not lost on later inquisitional officials, who often portrayed themselves as modern crusaders against heresy.⁴⁸

The fleur-de-lis that appeared on the 1632 Portuguese *compromisso* of the brotherhood was divided: one half was shaded black and the other white. The opposition of black and white (Dominican colors) contrasted the guilt and suffering of heretics with the hope and peace the Inquisition offered. The fleur-de-lis itself represented purity and light and was commonly used in representations

⁴⁵ St. Dominic is represented in a Dominican habit carrying a rosary. Sometimes he has a dog at his feet, with a flaming torch or candle, a star on his head or in his halo, a loaf of bread, and a lily (fleur-de-lis). George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 115.

⁴⁶ Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 139.

⁴⁷ *Compromisso*, 15 March 1632, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 59. The triple crown with a cross on the top (called the tiara) is worn only by the pope, but the triple crown without the cross is used by other saints. When used with a martyr, it indicates victory over sin and death. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols*, 160, 166.

⁴⁸ *Compromisso*, 15 March 1632, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 59.

of St. Dominic. The cross, sword, and olive branch represented the death of Christ and the redemption of humanity, punishment and death, and mercy and peace, respectively. The sword was also one of the symbols associated with St. Peter Martyr as the instrument of his martyrdom.

The use of the iconography of St. Dominic and of St. Peter Martyr provided a legitimization of the Inquisition by drawing on the prestige of such holy and renowned saints. The standard of the brotherhood offered a rich repertoire of symbolism that was also employed in the decorations and sermons given on the feast day. This symbolism made it clear that the brotherhood was part of the religious, social, and political mission of the Inquisition. It also provided a symbolic universe that tied the officials of the Inquisition to each other.⁴⁹ The 1640 and 1774 *regimentos* (regulations or bylaws) limited the use of these symbols and the wearing of the habit to special occasions. They could only be worn at the celebrations of the brotherhood, the *autos-da-fé*, and when the officials were sent to imprison heretics.⁵⁰ All of these occasions were public demonstrations of inquisitional prestige and power and served to reinforce the social honor of inquisitional service and group identity.

The brotherhood and its accompanying symbolic repertoire did not expand into Brazil until the end of the seventeenth century simply because there were not enough *familiars* anywhere in the colony to support a brotherhood. It appeared at the beginning of the dramatic expansion of inquisitional activity into Brazil and at the moment when inquisitional privilege began to be limited. The *regimento* of 1613 permitted resident officials in Brazil, including *familiars* and *comissários*, for the first time, but few individuals sought appointment until the end of the seventeenth century.⁵¹ After 1690, the numbers of resident officials began to climb and continued to do so until the last decade of the eighteenth century. For example, 572 of the 663 *familiars* appointed in the Captaincy-General of Pernambuco received their appointments between 1690 and 1790, and this trend was general throughout the Portuguese empire.⁵² These trends were symptomatic of

⁴⁹ Bethencourt has an interesting discussion of inquisitional iconography in Bethencourt, *História das Inquisições*, 78-89.

⁵⁰ Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 758, 899 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title XXI, Paragraph 3; 1774 Regimentos, Book I, Title IX, Paragraph 3).

⁵¹ Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 616 (1613 Regimentos, Title I, Paragraph II).

⁵² Veiga Torres, "Da repressão religiosa para a promoção social," 133.

a more general effort by the newly consolidated Bragança dynasty to reinforce royal authority in the colony. The discovery of gold in the interior in the 1690s provided the necessary resources.⁵³

Unlike the confraternities in Spain and Mexico, and despite the 1611 papal bull, the brotherhoods of St. Peter Martyr in the Portuguese empire normally permitted only officials of the Inquisition to enter the brotherhood.⁵⁴ This practice helped solidify the group identity and the exclusiveness of inquisitional office.

All inquisitional officials in the Portuguese empire had to pass through a rigorous, and sometimes costly, investigation. They had to be

natives of the kingdom, Old Christians of pure blood, without Moorish or Jewish race, or newly converted people to our holy faith, and without fame to the contrary; who have not been involved in any public infamy of deed or law, nor imprisoned nor punished by the Inquisition. Nor are they descendants of persons who have one of the aforementioned defects. They will be of good quality and customs, capable of being entrusted with any business of importance or secrecy. The same qualities should also be found in the people that the *ordinário* [referring to the bishop] names to assist in the

⁵³ Dauril Alden, *Royal Government in Colonial Brazil: With Special Reference to the Administration of the Marquis of Lavradio, Viceroy, 1769-1779* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 423.

⁵⁴ The only exception to this pattern was the tribunal in Coimbra, Portugal, which opened up the brotherhood in 1620 to any "Old Christians" with "clean blood" (*limpeza de sangue*; that is, no New Christian ancestry) who could successfully complete the same inquiry that the *familiares* had to undergo. They also permitted *familiares* from other villages to join. "Os Inquisidores Apostolicos contra a heretica Pravidade e apostasia em esta Cidade e Bdo de Coimbra e seu districto etc. Fazemos saber....," Biblioteca Nacional-Lisbon, Códice 668, F 543, fol. 181. The incomplete records of the Coimbra brotherhood can be found in *Receita e Despesa*, ANTT, Inquisição de Coimbra, Livros 94-96; and *Book of the Confraria of S. Pedro Mártir de Coimbra*, Biblioteca Nacional-Lisbon, Códice 1497. In this sense, the Luso-Brazilian brotherhoods were quite different from those in Spain. In Spain, a large percentage of the members of the brotherhood were not inquisitional officials. This tendency became more distinct in Aragon over time, and, by 1800, most of the brothers were not *familiares*. José Enrique Pasamar Lázaro, "Inquisición en Aragón: la cofradía de San Pedro Mártir de Verona," *Revista de la Inquisición* 5 (1996):303-16; Enrique Pasamar Lázaro, *La cofradía de San Pedro Mártir de Verona: en el distrito inquisitorial de Aragón* (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico," 1997); and Richard E. Greenleaf, "The Inquisition Brotherhood: Cofradía de San Pedro Mártir of Colonial Mexico," *The Americas* 40:2 (1983):171-207.

completion of the investigations of the people within its jurisdiction.... [They all should be able] to read and write. If they are married, their wives and children should have the same purity....⁵⁵

Those who met these requirements and were accepted into the ranks of inquisitional officials instantly joined the brotherhood and paid the entrance fee of 2\$400 reis. The *compromisso* also stated that any minister or *familiar* from the jurisdiction of a different tribunal could be allowed to participate in the activities of the brotherhood upon presenting his letter of appointment to the Inquisition. Likewise, a brother could only be expelled by order of the Inquisition.

A judge, who was newly elected each year, governed the brotherhood.⁵⁶ In Brazil, the senior *comissário* (commissioner or clerical official) acted as the judge.⁵⁷ The *compromisso* also stated that

⁵⁵ Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 694 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title I, Paragraph 2).

⁵⁶ From the lists of elections found for the Lisbon brotherhood, it appears that the inquisitor general sat as judge of the brotherhood most of the time. The general council only assumed the role during the schism with Rome between 1760 and 1770 and on a few other occasions. ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 66; ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 152, fol. 16; ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 154, fols. 178, 180, 208; ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 156, fols. 437, 439, 441, 443, 445, 447, 449, 451, 479, 507, 528; ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 157, fols. 9, 35, 70-71, 90, 107, 121, 155, 167, 175, 190, 205; ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 158, fol. 6, 17, 84, 128, 150, 162, 193, 223, 258; ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 159, fols. 9, 16, 25-29, 37-38, 58, 71-72, 83-84; ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 160, fols. 14-15, 28, 43, 50-51, 70-71, 81-82; ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 161, fols. 25, 66, 109-10, 134-35, 164, 189; ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 162, fols. 7, 45, 67, 92, 108; ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 817, fols. 11, 27, 56, 122, 144, 165, 192, 258, 297; and ANTT, Novas Habilitações, 73/1, fols. 173-74, 193-94, 204-05.

⁵⁷ Henrique Martins Gaio explained the system in operation in Pernambuco in 1790. Letter from Henrique Martins Gaio to the Lisbon Tribunal, Recife, 22 July 1790, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 160, fols. 88-89. When dealing with the brotherhood of Salvador, Bahia, the Tribunal of Lisbon sent correspondence to the senior *comissário*. Letter from the *familiares* of Bahia to the Lisbon Tribunal and the Reply, Lisbon, 19 January 1750, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 157, fols. 36-37. The *comissário* from Minas Gerais, Manuel Freire Batalho, who wrote about the brotherhood to the Lisbon Tribunal, was also probably the senior *comissário* in Vila Rica. Letter from Manuel Batalha to the Conselho Geral, Vila Rica, 4 May 1734, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 4, fol. 12. He received his appointment as *comissário* in 1730. The investigation, which occurred over a period of years, is documented in ANTT, Habilitações do Santo Ofício, Manuel, maço 98, no. 1820. The same system was also used in Madeira. Madeira clearly had a brotherhood before 1779, when a *comissário* requested to be appointed as the "president" so that he could

the brothers should elect a scribe, two *mordomos*, and a *procurador* of the *familiares*.⁵⁸ The *mordomos* also needed to have sufficient financial resources to provide for the welfare and expenses of the brotherhood, and one of the *mordomos* also served as the treasurer.⁵⁹

As the costs associated with elected office increased during the eighteenth century, the brotherhoods elected more *mordomos* in an attempt to limit the financial burden placed on any one man. The brotherhood in Recife modified the organization to fit its own needs. In Recife, the brothers elected two *mordomos*, one treasurer, and four *procuradores* (two from Recife and two from Santo Antônio). The treasurer reported directly to the *comissário* serving as the judge of the brotherhood in Recife. The elections occurred in the afternoon of the Sunday before the festival, with all the brothers present.⁶⁰

The brotherhood also retained and honored existing social hierarchies in the public demonstrations, but, in private, the brotherhood permitted the relaxing of rigid hierarchies—at least on paper. Chapter nine of the *compromisso* stipulated that the brothers should proceed to the voting table to cast their votes without consideration for social position and that each brother's vote counted equally. The *compromisso* did not, however, make any stipulation that the voting be secret. The method of voting was actually quite open. The brothers had to place their mark on the appropriate sheet of paper under the name of the candidate they wished to vote for, all the while under the watchful eye of the judge and the scribe. It seems likely that the wealthier and more powerful brothers acquired positions of prestige within the brotherhood more frequently and with greater ease than did those of lower social station. These men were the leaders in other areas

reorganize the celebrations of the cult and have the two *familiares* that used to organize it be elected in the "old manner." Aprovação a Eleição, Lisbon, 5 February 1779, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 66.

⁵⁸ Two counts served as scribe and *procurador* in 1751 in Lisbon. Aprovação a Eleição, Lisbon, 1751, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 157, fol. 71. The Marquis of Abrantes served as scribe in 1802, and the son of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, the chief minister under D. José I, who was also the Marquis of Pombal, sat as scribe in 1801 and first *procurador* in 1802. Aprovação a Eleição, Lisbon, 1801, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 161, fol. 189; and Aprovação a Eleição, Lisbon, 1802, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 162, fol. 7.

⁵⁹ The treasurer was one of the *notários* appointed to keep the records of the receipts and expenses of the Inquisition. He also held one of the keys to the treasury. Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 733-36 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title VIII).

⁶⁰ The Tribunal of Coimbra held their elections on the first Friday in March. *Book of the Confraria of S. Pedro Mártir de Coimbra*, Biblioteca Nacional-Lisbon, Códice 1497, fols. 2-2v.

of society—holding positions, for example, in the local government and militia. They also had the resources necessary to meet the expenses of office.

In the voting, each brother approached the table where the judge and the scribe sat, and he cast his vote—including two votes for the *mordomos* and two for the *procurador* of the *familiares*.⁶¹ Those already in office could not be reelected. In the case of a tie, the *familiar* with the most time in the service of the Holy Office received the appointment. The votes were kept for one year in case one of the elected officials refused to serve or died during the year, in which case the office passed on to the *familiar* with the next highest number of votes.⁶² In addition, the brotherhood hired an *andador* (crier), who received a salary, but could not belong to the brotherhood, wear its insignia, or appear with a sword in public ceremonies. The *andador* was responsible for advising the brothers of various activities and carrying out other services for the brotherhood.

Because the brotherhood also served as a kind of mutual aid society, the leaders held responsibility for overseeing these and other activities of the brotherhood, such as pious devotions, providing for the welfare of their members, and organizing the annual celebration of the saint. Every Sunday and holy day, the brotherhood paid for a mass that included prayers for the conservation of the Holy Office and the growth of the brotherhood. The *mordomos* were supposed to attend each of these masses. When one of the brothers died, the brotherhood also collected \$040 reis from each brother to pay for a mass on the departed brother's behalf. Once a year it also held a religious service that was supposed to cost 1\$200 reis and that all the elected officers for that year had to attend.⁶³

To pay for the masses on Sundays and holy days and for the services for the departed brethren, the officers visited each member once a year to collect the mandatory donation of at least 1 *tostão* (\$100 reis). If the donations did not cover the expenses of the brotherhood that year, then the *mordomos* and the scribe had to make up the

⁶¹ In Lisbon, the election had to be approved by the general council. Many examples of the election results being submitted to the general council for approval appear in the council's records. See note 56. The actual sheet upon which the tallies were made for the election in 1780 can be found in the unnumbered boxes from the general council in the Torre do Tombo.

⁶² Letter from Diogo Veloso to the Lisbon Tribunal, Lisbon, 14 May 1672, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 152, fol. 16.

⁶³ Compromisso, 15 March 1632, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 59.

difference from their own pockets. Any extra funds raised during the year could either be used to buy candles or other things the brotherhood needed or be retained and delivered to the incoming officers.⁶⁴ In Recife, the brotherhood collected the same dues and contributions, although they were a bit higher, at 2\$000 reis each.⁶⁵

Second only in importance to the yearly festival were the funerals for deceased brothers. These funerals were intended to give their brothers a decent and solemn burial.⁶⁶ When accompanying the body of a deceased brother, the members, wearing their habits, gathered at the home of the deceased to accompany the casket with lighted candles in their hands. They walked behind the casket, keeping the order of precedence, to the church where the brother was to be interred, left their candles at the church, and returned home alone. The wives of the brothers, including widows, could also have their bodies accompanied in the same manner as their husbands so long as they lived in "honesty" and seclusion after their husband's death and never remarried.

Compared to the funeral rituals and processions described by João José Reis in early-nineteenth-century Bahia, this procession seems a bit bland. As shall be shown in a moment, the festival of St. Peter Martyr deviated from the instructions in the *compromisso* considerably by the end of the eighteenth century, apparently adopting the more elaborate practices of the other brotherhoods. It seems likely that the funeral practices may have evolved as well to include the typical ringing of bells and the presence of priests and professional mourners in the procession.⁶⁷

The brotherhood also cared for some of the temporal needs of its members. If a brother fell ill or required some other assistance, the judge appointed the *andador* and the brother who lived nearest the one in need to take care of the situation. If the circumstances required money, then a collection would be made in the same manner as the yearly donations.

⁶⁴ *Compromisso*, 15 March 1632, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 59. *Receita e Despesa*, Coimbra, 1633-1682, ANTT, Inquisição de Coimbra, Livro 94, contains a register of the alms gathered for brothers and sisters of the brotherhood in Coimbra.

⁶⁵ Letter from Henrique Martins Gaio to the Lisbon Tribunal, Recife, 22 July 1790, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 160, fds. 87-89.

⁶⁶ Reis, *Death is a Festival*, 126.

⁶⁷ A description of early-nineteenth-century processions can be found in Reis, *Death is a Festival*, 117-52.

Any property bequeathed to the brotherhood in wills could be used for expenses or to purchase necessary materials, such as oil for the lamps of the saint, ornaments, and silver. Any real estate it received had to be sold at public auction because "experience has shown very great inconveniences in communities administering estates of this type." Chapter 19 of the *compromisso* states that the sale of this property should be used to support the costs of the festivals and other expenses of the brotherhood. This requirement in the *compromisso* effectively prevented the Portuguese brotherhoods from gaining the kind of wealth that their counterpart in Mexico City accumulated.⁶⁸ It also kept them from becoming a significant financial institution. In having such a requirement, the Inquisition prevented the *familiares* and other inquisitional officials as a group from developing corporate sources of wealth and prestige independent of the Inquisition.

To preserve the prestige and distinction of the brotherhood, the members were not allowed to participate in the services of other brotherhoods in the regalia of the Brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr. Those members of the brotherhood who also belonged to the *Santas Casas de Misericórdia* (Holy Houses of Mercy), for example, were expressly forbidden to join with the *Misericórdia* in processions for dead brothers as *familiares* (i.e., wearing their habits and medallions of office). The brotherhood as a body was likewise forbidden to accompany any other procession or activity. Members could do so as individuals, but they could not wear their habits or otherwise display the insignia of the brotherhood. This restriction was necessary to retain the brotherhood's sense of uniqueness, because membership in multiple brotherhoods was very common in colonial Brazil.

Beyond taking care of these activities, the elected officials held the primary responsibility of ensuring that the annual celebration of St. Peter Martyr was carried out with the proper decorum and piety. Throughout Brazil, the most important day of the year for every brotherhood was the day it celebrated the festival of its patron saint.⁶⁹ This was the crowning showpiece of inquisitional dignity, honor, prestige, and power in the colony. The *familiares* and other officials paraded through the streets arrayed in their finest habits with the crusader's cross over their breasts and their medallions of office gleaming in the sun, bearing the standard of the Inquisition before

⁶⁸ Greenleaf shows that the brotherhood in Mexico accumulated vast amounts of wealth. Greenleaf, "The Inquisition Brotherhood."

⁶⁹ Reis, *Death is a Festival*, 53-54.

them. This festival also provided a type of psychological conditioning for the participants and observers through the repetitious use of a rich symbolic repertoire that instructed them in inquisitional values and ideals. It also displayed in dramatic pageantry the power and prestige of the Inquisition.

Like all religious and civic processions of the period, it had its roots in the three great Roman *pompae* (escorts or processions): the triumph, the circus, and the funeral. The Roman triumphal procession was a visual and verbal celebration of victory and power over one's enemies and even came with an investiture of power to the individual being celebrated—at least for a day. The circus procession included much singing and many games, as well as a parade featuring the statues of the gods. In the funeral procession, the family and friends paraded with the body of the deceased accompanied by torches and music. They also included a speech praising the virtues and exploits of the deceased. In this case, the procession sought to keep alive the memory of the family's accomplishments, to connect the people to their past, and to remind them of deeply held social and religious values.⁷⁰ Aspects of these Roman processuals survived in the Church and filtered through the Visigothic rulers of Iberia into Portuguese society.⁷¹

The processions, sermons, and other activities of the brotherhood retained many elements of these ancient traditions. They also expressed the ideas and values the Inquisition wished to promote and, at least theoretically, that its officials shared. The festival of St. Peter Martyr took place on the evenings of 28 and 29 April. The *compromisso* stated that, where possible, the celebrations should be held at churches dedicated to St. Dominic, and decorated with "all possible decency." The judge took care of the music and the furnishings, and the *mordomos* handled everything else. The scribe ensured that together they did not spend more than 45\$000 reis. This limit existed so that no one would refuse to serve as *mordomos* because of the expense and to prevent unholy "excess and vain glory." By the end of the seventeenth century, the limit was regularly exceeded.⁷²

⁷⁰ H.S. Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph* (Leiden: I.J. Brill, 1970), 94-101.

⁷¹ Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 297-327. Russell-Wood notes the survival of burial traditions "among the brotherhoods of Western Europe since the early Roman Empire." Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists*, 201-02.

⁷² *Compromisso*, 15 March 1632, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 59.

The celebrations employed all the imagery and symbolism available. In Brazil, where no autos-da-fé were held, except during the infrequent *visitas*, these celebrations were probably the most visible and ostentatious displays of inquisitional power and prestige.⁷³ Unfortunately, eyewitness descriptions of these activities for Brazil have not been discovered.

The *compromisso* attempted to keep the celebrations solemn and pious occasions. In keeping with this desire, all dances, comedies, and extravagance were forbidden. Only a procession at vespers, a sermon, ornamenting the church, and a procession on the saint's day were permitted. In Brazil, the senior *comissário* approved the preacher of the sermon, and the brothers' donations paid for new wax candles at each festival.

The *compromisso* outlined in some detail how the processions should be organized, but these details had to be modified to fit the reality of colonial Brazil. At 3:00 p.m. the day before the festival, all the officials of the Inquisition gathered to accompany the standard to the church where the mass and sermon would be held. Where there were no churches dedicated to St. Dominic, the celebrations took place at some other prominent church or cathedral. In Recife, the celebrations were held at the parish church of Corpo Santo.⁷⁴ Unfortunately, that building was destroyed when the old city was demolished. In Bahia, they held the celebrations in the church of the convent of St. Benedict until 1792, when they moved to the church of the Third Order of St. Dominic.⁷⁵

The officials lined up in a specific order behind the banner of the brotherhood, which was carried by the prior of the convent of St. Dominic. In Brazil, they probably used a rector or prior of one of the local convents. Two priests followed the banner, carrying the tassels (*borlas*), and behind them came the entire community of the convent; then came *familiares*, wearing their habits and without any hierarchical distinction among them. Behind the *familiares* came the *mordomos* and

⁷³ Francisco Bethencourt has argued that the success of inquisitional activity in the area of social control rested largely on the yearly autos-da-fé and the public display of both the repentant and the punished, which legitimized and renewed inquisitional authority. This, of course, could not apply to Brazil. Francisco Bethencourt, "Inquisição e controle social," *História e Crítica* 14 (1987):13.

⁷⁴ *Jaboatão mystico em correntes sacras dividido*, Biblioteca da Ajuda, 5-iv-46, fols. 225-48.

⁷⁵ *Familiares* of Bahia to the Lisbon Tribunal and Response, Lisbon, 10 January 1792, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 160, fols. 102-04.

the scribe with the *juiz do fisco* (fiscal judge). The *qualificadores* and *notários* followed them.⁷⁶ Carrying lit candles, this company marched from the convent to the church where they raised the standard and left it standing until the next day.

The next morning at 9:00, they gathered again and marched to the church, where they heard the mass of the Holy Spirit and listened to colorful discourses on the life and accomplishments of St. Peter Martyr that employed all the imagery and symbolism of the Inquisition.⁷⁷ These sermons were lessons in inquisitional symbolism and mythology and recitations of baroque Christian iconography. They were designed to instruct the listeners, to justify the existence of the Inquisition and the brotherhood, and to promote an ideal of inquisitional zeal for all to follow. They reveal the crusading spirit of militant Christianity and the rhetoric the Inquisition used to justify its activities and continued existence.⁷⁸

Two examples from Brazil illustrate the kind of language and rhetoric employed in these sermons. The *qualificador* Ruperto de Jesus, who gave the sermon in Bahia at the first celebration in 1697, employed all of the symbols of the Inquisition, but he focused on blood and the sword. For Ruperto de Jesus, the cross represented faith, the olive branch represented peace, and the sword symbolized war. The olive provided the oil for the lamp with which the Inquisition gave its light to the blind and illuminated the path to truth. Ruperto de Jesus

⁷⁶ For some reason as yet unexplained, the *compromisso* leaves out the *comissários* here and elsewhere.

⁷⁷ In Lisbon, they gathered at the palace of the Holy Office and marched in the same order to the church of St. Dominic. The inquisitor general marched in front of the banner, and the secretaries and deputies followed after the *qualificadores* and *notários*. The celebrations in Lisbon were held at the same location except for the year 1756, when they were held at the church of St. Joana because of the destruction of the lower city during the 1755 earthquake. Declaration of Lisbon Tribunal, Lisbon, 2 April 1756, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 157, fol. 168. In 1808, the celebrations were curtailed to the mass, sermon, and the ornamentation of the altar because of the French invasion and because the resources of the Inquisition had been appropriated by the Crown for use in that crisis. Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício to the Lisbon Tribunal, Lisbon, 16 March 1808, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 162, fol. 142v.

⁷⁸ Only four sermons given at these festivals survive—two from Portugal and two from Brazil. *Sermão feito em S. Domingos do Porto*, Oporto, 1620, Biblioteca Nacional-Lisbon, Reservados 3024, 18p; *Sermão do invicto Martyr e protector da Fe, Pedro de Verona*, Lisbon, 1686, Biblioteca Nacional-Lisbon, Reservados 3024, 18p; *Sermão do Glorioso S. Pedro Martyr*, Bahia, 1697, Biblioteca Nacional-Lisbon, Reservados 9335; and *Jaboatão mystico em correntes sacras dividido*, Biblioteca da Ajuda, 5-IV-46, fols. 225-48.

declared that the inquisitional sword was always sharp and always versatile. If crimes were small, then the inquisitional sword offered succor. If the crimes were serious, the sword brought grief and trouble, but did not kill. But if the crimes were "corrupt, perverted, and recurring, without correction, then the sword wounds, cuts, kills, consumes, burns, and glows with the same fire." Just as the angel with the flaming sword guarded the way to the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden, the sword of the Inquisition defended the "paradise of the church" and its principal mysteries.

He also compared St. Peter Martyr to Isaiah and David. Isaiah had the pen (symbol of evangelism and learning) in his hand and the sword in his mouth, while David had the sword in his hand and the pen in his mouth. But St. Peter Martyr did not write, like Isaiah, with ink and paper. His paper was his cloak and his ink was his blood. Ruperto de Jesus concluded his twenty-seven-page discourse with these words: "We are all obligated to say loud and clear; long live the faith of Jesus Christ. Long live the glorious St. Peter Martyr, who, as inquisitor, gave his life for the faith. Long live the Holy Inquisition where the faith is purified and exalted. May it live for all time. May it live so long as the Catholic Church continues."⁷⁹

Friar Antônio de Santa Maria Jaboatão, famous for his genealogy of Pernambucan families and his *Orbe serafico*, offered the sermon at the 1750 celebration in Recife.⁸⁰ He also used the sword, blood, and war as his central themes. His swords were the sword of

⁷⁹ *Sermam do Glorioso S. Pedro Martyr, O primeiro Inquisidor martyrizado, ou o primeiro que deo a vida em defesa da Fé, que defende o Santo Tribunal da Inquisição*, Mandado imprimir pelos familiares do Santo Officio da Cidade da Bahia na occasião, em que celebrarão a sua primeira Festa com uma procissão solemmnissima, trazendo o Santo da Sé para o Mosteyro do Patriarcha S. Bento. Pregou-o Muito Reverendo Padre Mestre O Doutor Fr. Ruperto de Jesus, Lente Jubilado em Theologia, Qualificador, e Revedor do S. Officio, Monge Benedictino, da Provincia do Brasil, Lisboa, na era de 1697, Na officina de António Pedrozo Galrão, Biblioteca Nacional-Lisbon, Reservados 9335.

⁸⁰ Fr. Antônio de Santa Maria Jaboatão, *Orbe Serafico novo Brasilico Descoberto...* (Lisboa: António Vicente da Silva, 1761). A copy of the *Orbe Serafico* can be found in Fr. Antônio De Santa Maria Jaboatão, "Catalogo genealogico das principais familias que procederam de Albuquerque, e Cavalcantes em Pernambuco, e Caramurus na Bahia, tiradas de memorias, manuscritos antigos e fidedignos, autorizados por alguns escritores, e em especial o Theatro Genealogico de D. Livisco de Nazão Zarco e Colona, aliás Manuel de Carvalho de Atahide, e acrescentado o mais moderno, e confirmado tudo, assim moderno, como antigo com assentos dos livros de baptizados, casamentos, e enterros, que se guardam na camara eccleziastica da Bahia, 1768," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 3:1 (1889):5-489.

doctrine and the sword of rigor—doctrine to destroy the errors of heretics and rigor to punish the obstinate apostates of the faith. For him, heretics were the dry branches that scripture commanded to be cast into the fire and burned.

Friar Jaboatão also created a unique metaphor. He declared that St. Peter Martyr had been permitted to drink the milk of a heretic mother so that he would imbibe hatred and abhorrence of heresy. "The milk that babies drink originates in the mother's blood," he said. And since St. Peter Martyr was the greatest enemy of all heretics, he did not drink his mother's milk as milk. He drank it as blood. "In drinking the blood of the enemy, one shows the greatest hatred that it is possible to have," he declared. "St. Peter Martyr drank the blood of heretics when he drank the milk of a Manichean. And in drinking the milk as blood and not as milk, he did not drink love and an inclination [to heresy], but he drank hatred and abhorrence."

Then Friar Jaboatão compared St. Peter Martyr to Christ, but in a way that portrayed the martyr as the superior of Christ in the battle against heresy. Christ, he said, was afraid to enter the battle against heresy, and that explains why he asked to have the cup removed from him. He lacked strength of body. Since childhood, and even until his death, Christ had fled from heresy—not so St. Peter Martyr. Not only had St. Peter sought out and battled heresy his entire life, he had also converted heretics to the faith. For Jaboatão, St. Peter Martyr was holier than any other because he was a holy martyr, a holy doctor, a holy inquisitor, and a virgin. Jaboatão wiggled out of this potentially heretical and blasphemous speech by claiming that the three crowns that St. Peter Martyr wore were all for Christ because the battles he had fought had been for the mysteries of Christ.⁸¹

It is impossible to tell and is, perhaps, irrelevant, whether the members of the brotherhood understood the intricacies and manipulations of symbol, or even believed these discourses. They did, however, ingest a steady diet of religious symbolism in both public and private life in colonial Brazil. The annual festivities of the brotherhood instructed them at least once a year in inquisitional symbolism and ideals. In fact, the officials themselves were symbolic of inquisitional ideals and advertised them to the community each time they participated in a public ceremony or went out on inquisitional business.

⁸¹ *Jaboatão mystico em correntes sacras dividido*, Biblioteca da Ajuda, 5-IV-46, fols. 225-48.

Some, such as the indomitable ex-Jesuit Joaquim Marques de Araújo, appear to have imbibed the symbolism with gusto.⁸²

During the celebrations, the *familiares* prayed for peace among Christian rulers, the extirpation of heresy, and the exaltation of the Holy Office. To persuade those who might be inclined to worship in their own oratories, all those who participated in the celebrations and took communion at the end of the mass received a plenary indulgence (forgiveness of all temporal punishments for sin, usually granted to crusaders and in jubilee years) and remission of all their sins.

Contemporary descriptions of the processions in Brazil have yet to be discovered, but two surviving descriptions from Goa illustrate what the Inquisition considered a solemn and pious procession and suggest how it may have played out in Brazil. A description of the 1615 procession in Goa mentioned that the streets between the Holy Office and the church of St. Dominic had been decorated. The Dominicans brought several coaches in which they placed images of all the martyrs of their order and carried several decorated altars made for the occasion. The inquisitor general reported that the "solemn procession" had "edified" the entire city. The viceroy of Portuguese India also attended the 1624 procession in Goa, over which a damask standard waved with St. Peter Martyr on one side and the arms of the Inquisition on the other. During the procession, two devout friars fell to their knees periodically and proclaimed "long live our holy faith."⁸³

Surviving lists of the expenses of the celebrations show that more was involved in the celebrations than the *compromisso* had outlined. The priest who offered the sermon had to be paid, as did those who read the mass or decorated the church. The celebrations also included music, the ringing of bells, and the burning of incense—all paid for by the brotherhood.⁸⁴

⁸² Higgs, "À recepção da revolução francesa;" and Wadsworth, "Agents of Orthodoxy," 308-11.

⁸³ A description of the 1615 celebration can be found in Letter from Francisco Borges de Souza and João Fernandes de Almeida to Dom Pedro de Castilho, Inquisitor General, Goa, 30 December 1615, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, Livro 96, fols. 213v-14v. The 1624 celebration is described in Letter from Francisco Borges de Souza and João Fernandes de Almeida to Dom Pedro de Castilho, Inquisitor General, Goa, 27 January 1624, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, Livro 96, fols. 258-59v.

⁸⁴ Despeza com a festa de S. Pedro Mártir neste ano de 1816, Lisbon, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Número de Transferência 2144. The expenses for the Pedro Arbues brotherhood were essentially the same. *Livro de Receita e Despesa*, Lisbon, 1781-1785, 1791, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 81; and Rol da despeza que se

Because of the lower number of *familiares* paying the entrance fee in the last decade of the eighteenth century, the Brazilian brotherhoods functioned with considerably fewer financial resources than did those in Portugal. After 1790, the new brothers in Recife paid 4\$000 reis, which was the only income the brotherhood had except for what they received from selling the candle wax left over after the celebration.⁸⁵ The candles had to be sold because the *compromisso* expressly required that all the candles had to be new each year.⁸⁶ As the numbers of new members declined in the last decade of the eighteenth century (from 156 between 1781 and 1790 to 56 between 1791 and 1800 in Pernambuco), the financial resources of the brotherhood also declined. These restricted resources caused the Recife brotherhood to limit its celebrations to the vespers procession, the mass, and the sermon.⁸⁷

The celebrations provided opportunities for interaction and the construction of a common identity, but they also caused strife and exacerbated personal rivalries. For example, in 1702 the *comissário* in Recife, Manuel da Costa Ribeiro, reported that the *mordomos* of the festival had asked a cleric, who had the public reputation of being a New Christian, to preach the sermon during the celebrations. The *comissário* refused to permit the priest to preach on such a holy occasion and told the *mordomo* to select another preacher to give the sermon in order to avoid scandal and to maintain the dignity of the celebration.⁸⁸

The celebrations could also reveal internal strife between inquisitional officials, as well as the territoriality some *comissários* developed. For instance, in 1763, the Carmelite *comissário* Antônio das Chagas, who had received his appointment to serve in the town of Goiana in 1761, happened to be in Recife in April during the celebration for St. Peter Martyr. He went to the senior *comissário*, Antônio Alves Guerra, to request permission to participate in the

fez com a festa de S. Pedro de Arbués o presente anno de 1791, Lisbon, 2 November 1791, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Número de Transferência 2155.

⁸⁵ Letter from Henrique Martins Gaio to the Lisbon Tribunal, Recife, 22 July 1790, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 160, fols. 87-89.

⁸⁶ This requirement is found at the end of Chapter 10 of the *compromisso*, which dealt with the festival of St. Peter Martyr. *Compromisso*, 15 March 1632, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 59.

⁸⁷ Letter from *familiares* of Olinda to Lisbon Tribunal, Lisbon, 18 February 1698, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 154, fol. 26.

⁸⁸ Letter from Manuel da Costa Ribeiro to the Conselho Geral, Olinda, Pernambuco, 1702, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 323 and Livro 124.

celebration. Antônio Alves refused to permit it, on the grounds that Chagas had been appointed as a *comissário* in Goiana and not in Recife. His refusal was in direct violation of the fifth chapter of the *compromisso*. Antônio das Chagas knew this and quickly sent a letter to the Lisbon Tribunal in which he argued that as a *comissário* his jurisdiction was not limited to his place of residence. The tribunal agreed and ordered Antônio Alves to desist. The next year, Antônio das Chagas made a point to be in Recife during the festivities and to participate in them. Antônio Alves saw this as a display of arrogance and called the act "sinister." He bowed to the will of the tribunal, but indicated that he now perceived Antônio das Chagas as an enemy.⁸⁹

Periodically, the cult of St. Peter Martyr fell into neglect, and the Inquisition issued orders to reform it. Since 1641, the Lisbon Tribunal had had problems getting the *qualificadores* to attend the festival.⁹⁰ In 1760, the king ordered the Lisbon Tribunal to reassert the sequence in which the participants should march and ordered the *qualificadores*, who had been absenting themselves from the procession, to join in. As part of the reform, the Lisbon Tribunal also ordered that a note be sent to each *familiar* and *qualificador* ordering them to appear at 3:00 p.m. on 28 April and 9:00 a.m. on 29 April.⁹¹

By the end of the eighteenth century, the inquisitional brotherhood had entered into general decline. The cult of St. Peter Martyr had fallen into decay in Rio de Janeiro in the late eighteenth century and in Madeira by 1779.⁹² *Familiars* became increasingly unwilling to assume the financial burdens of participation in the brotherhood, and the numbers of new *familiars* declined, decreasing the revenue for the brotherhood. The turmoil of the French Revolution also contributed to the decline in Portugal. For example, the Coimbra tribunal did not hold the celebration at all in 1809 because of the French invasion of Oporto on 29 March 1809; nor was it held in 1811

⁸⁹ From Fr. Antonio das Chagas to the Lisbon Tribunal, Lisbon, 29 November 1763, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 158, fols. 152-54.

⁹⁰ Correspondence between Coimbra Tribunal and the Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, Lisbon, 18 May and 25 May 1641, ANTT, Inquisição de Coimbra, Livro 23, fols. 185, 189.

⁹¹ Letter from Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício to the Lisbon Tribunal, Lisbon, 24 April 1760, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 158, fols. 6-8.

⁹² Petition for certificate of *familiar* do Número from José Antônio Carvalho to the Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, Rio de Janeiro, 19 February 1794, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 26, no. 65; and Aprovação a Eleição, Lisbon, 28 July 1807, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, maço 66.

because of the French invasion of Coimbra.⁹³ The last election in Coimbra occurred on 3 March 1820.⁹⁴ The liberal governing *junta* in Portugal abolished the Inquisition in the spring of 1821 before the brotherhood could hold its election and celebrations for that year.

The decline in the brotherhood in the last decades of the Inquisition's existence corresponded to a similar decline in the powerful and prestigious Third Orders in the colony. By the end of the eighteenth century, they were experiencing recruiting difficulties, which they blamed on the sagging economy.⁹⁵

The decline of the brotherhood was one more evidence of the general malaise that had spread throughout the Inquisition by the beginning of the nineteenth century. A complete discussion of the decline of the Inquisition is more properly the subject of a separate study, but it is possible to outline the aspects that were related to the decline of the brotherhood. Likewise, references here to Portugal are only to demonstrate that the decline was general and not limited solely to Brazil.

One of the primary reasons for the decline of the brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr was the rising cost of participation, which, coupled with the economic downturn of the late eighteenth century, squeezed the *familiares'* financial resources at both ends. The brotherhoods often ignored the limit that the *compromisso* placed on the cost of the celebrations. By the end of the eighteenth century, the expense had become so restrictive that *familiares* in Brazil and Portugal refused to serve as *mordomos*. The diminishing numbers of new brothers in the late eighteenth century also decreased the annual income of the brotherhoods, which placed serious strains on their resources. In 1792, the members of the Lisbon brotherhood requested an increase in the number of *mordomos* from six to twelve in order to spread out the financial burden.⁹⁶

⁹³ *Book of the Confraria of S. Pedro Mártir de Coimbra*, Biblioteca Nacional-Lisbon, Códice 1497, fols. 1223v-24.

⁹⁴ *Book of the Confraria of S. Pedro Mártir de Coimbra*, Biblioteca Nacional-Lisbon, Códice 1497, fol. 1224.

⁹⁵ Russell-Wood, "Prestige, Power, and Piety," 66.

⁹⁶ Letter from Alvaro Xavier Botello, Joao Justiniano Farinha, Joaquim Jose Guiao to the Lisbon Tribunal, Lisbon, 17 April 1792, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 160, fols. 117-18. The degeneration of the brotherhoods in the late eighteenth century seems to have been general. It even included the brotherhood of Peter Arbues. The *andador* of this brotherhood requested funds from the Lisbon Tribunal because the coffers of the brotherhood were empty. He claimed that the tribunal had provided money for the celebration since 1794, but they sent it to the general council, who refused to grant the

In 1793, in response to these difficulties, the inquisitor general reformed the brotherhood. He limited the cost of the celebration to no more than 320\$000 reis (partly a result of inflation, but also an indication of how extravagant the celebrations had become), and he divided up the expense in the following manner: inquisitor general or judge 40\$000 reis, the scribe 20\$000 reis, the second *procurador* 60\$000 reis, and the twenty *mordomos* 200\$000 reis at 10\$000 reis each. In addition, he doubled the entrance fee for new *familiares* from 2\$400 reis to 4\$800 reis.⁹⁷

The brotherhoods of Brazil also suffered from the increasing cost of the celebrations. In part, the rising costs were associated with the competition among confraternities. The Inquisition wanted solemn processions that manifested the dignity and power of the Inquisition. In colonial Brazil, the restrictions on dancing and extravagance were not to the taste of the officials who had to compete with the very glamorous and ostentatious displays of wealth and piety of the other brotherhoods. Given their limited resources and the restrictions the Inquisition placed on them, they simply could not compete.

By 1750, the cost of the celebration in Bahia had already become oppressive. The *familiares* complained that previous *mordomos* passed out cakes, candles, and bouquets of flowers, not only to the participating clergy and the *mordomos*, but to private individuals as well. This was, of course, clearly prohibited in Chapter 10 of the *compromisso*. It was also clearly an attempt to increase public interest in the celebrations, but the cost of these extravagant and superfluous expenses had become so restrictive that the elected *mordomos* refused to assume their offices.

Consequently, the *familiares* of Bahia requested new regulations to bring the celebrations in line with what was being practiced by the brotherhoods in Lisbon. The local clergy also refused to accompany the procession for dead brothers, and the *familiares* of Bahia requested that the Inquisition order them to do so. Having clergy accompanying burial processions was common in Brazil, and their

request until the Crown ordered them to do so with the guarantee that it would not become a common practice. Letter from João Antônio to the Lisbon Tribunal and Responses, Lisbon, 20 October 1806, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Número de Transferência 2127.

⁹⁷ José Maria de Mello, Inquisitor General, Lisbon, 29 April 1793, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 160, fols. 181-82. A list of the entrance fees paid to the Lisbon brotherhood can be found in *Livro das Esmolas*, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 80.

refusal to do so was an affront to the *familiares* and the brotherhood. The tribunal in Lisbon ordered the senior *comissário* to inform the *familiares* that, if they wanted to continue with the festivities, they should be more moderate and eliminate all the superfluous expenses. They would not, however, order the parish priests to accompany the processions of deceased brothers for fear of creating unnecessary controversies.⁹⁸

In 1792, the *familiares* of Bahia complained again that the cost of the celebration continued to be excessive. This time, however, they claimed that the cost resulted from the greed of the Benedictine monks. Although the documents they presented did not necessarily demonstrate the greed of the Benedictines, they did show that the cost of the celebrations had risen. Since 1696, the celebration of St. Peter Martyr had been held at the church of the São Bento Monastery. The cost had steadily risen during the ensuing century until it reached 150\$000 reis in 1792. The elected judge of the celebration paid 32\$000 reis, the scribe 16\$000 reis, and the remainder had to be drawn from the new *familiares*, who, since they were few, paid 10 to 12\$000 reis a piece. Some *familiares* actually excused themselves from participation in the brotherhood because they could not meet the payment. Older *familiares* also refused to meet the payments, arguing that they had already served as *mordomos* and contributed large sums to the brotherhood.

To get some feel for the real cost of the festival, it is worthwhile to compare it with the average cost of a slave in Brazil and the yearly salaries of professionals, and upper clergy. By the 1750s the average price of a slave in Bahia was 150\$000 reis. A deacon of the Olinda cathedral received 200\$000 reis in the 1790s, and the canons received 160\$000 reis. A lawyer in Bahia in 1750 received 130\$000 reis.⁹⁹ When officials were spending from 16\$000 to 32\$000 on the

⁹⁸ Letter from the *familiares* of Bahia to the Lisbon Tribunal, Lisbon, 19 January 1750, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 157, fols. 36-37.

⁹⁹ The price of a slave can be found in Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 421. The salaries of ecclesiastical officials can be found in Lista das congruas anuais que percebem os Ministros da Sé de Olinda de Pernambuco, Lisbon, 10 December 1795, ANTT, Ordem de Cristo, Padroado do Brasil, maço 12; Ofício do [juiz da visita do ouro] Francisco Xavier Campos de Carvalho ao [secretário de estado da Marinha e Ultramar, visconde de Anadia, João Rodrigues de Sá e Melo Meneses e Souto Maior], Lisbon, 26 September 1806, AHU, caixa 263, doc. 17594; and Requerimento do capitão da Oitava Companhia do Regimento de Milícias de Henriques da capitania de Pernambuco, José Martins da Costa Carneiro, Pernambuco, prior to 19 December 1806, AHU, caixa 264, doc. 17688. The salary of a Bahian lawyer can be

festival each year, the cost could be restrictive. This is especially true given the fact that most of these men participated in several other brotherhoods and organizations that put pressure on their pocket books.

Under these circumstances, the *familiares* from Bahia argued, they would no longer be able to carry out the celebrations if they could not reduce the cost. They asked permission to celebrate the festival in the Church of the Third Order of St. Dominic, which would cut their cost by half. The monastery of St. Bento had charged them 24\$000 reis for the mass and 16\$000 for the sermon in addition to the costs for the music and other expenses. The church of St. Dominic only charged 8\$000 reis for the mass and 10 or 12\$000 for the sermon, and the brotherhood could hire the music more cheaply elsewhere. The Lisbon Tribunal accepted the argument of the *familiares* and accused the Benedictines of engaging in sordid and improper behavior for an institution of their character. Since the *compromisso* stated that the ceremonies should be held in the churches of St. Dominic where possible, they recommended that the king accept the petition, which he did.¹⁰⁰

The decadence of the brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr in the late eighteenth century was symptomatic of the general decline in the Inquisition. In Recife in 1790, many *familiares* had also begun to refuse to join the brotherhood and to participate in its activities, and local religious authorities attempted to exert control over the brotherhood. In 1790, the *juiz de capelas* (judge of chapels or shrines) notified the treasurer of the brotherhood to give an account of the finances of the brotherhood.

The brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr had never been accountable to Episcopal authorities at any level. They answered only to the inquisitor general, the general council, and the Lisbon Tribunal. The demand of the *juiz das capelas* was completely without precedent and the treasurer appealed to the senior *comissário*, Henrique Martins Gaio, who petitioned the Lisbon Tribunal for advice. The members of the tribunal, of course, instructed him not to give an account to anyone but them.¹⁰¹

found in Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists*, 380.

¹⁰⁰ *Familiares* of Bahia to the Lisbon Tribunal and Response, Lisbon, 10 January 1792, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 160, fols. 102-04.

¹⁰¹ Letter from Henrique Martins Gaio to the Lisbon Tribunal, Recife, 22 July 1790, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 160, fols. 87-89. Despite these obvious signs of decline, the benefits of participating in the brotherhood still attracted several men who petitioned to work for the Inquisition because, they claimed, they wanted to serve St.

Many have noted the decline of the Inquisition in the late eighteenth century, but most have focused on the outside pressures that weakened the institution, such as the Pombaline reforms of the mid-eighteenth century. The decline of the brotherhood suggests that scholars need to look for the internal signs of stress that contributed to the weakness of the institution and how they both reflected external pressures and aggravated them.

The Inquisition was, at least by the beginning of the eighteenth century, a social institution as much as it was a royal or ecclesiastical tribunal, and it tied into the deeply held values of Luso-Brazilian society. Those men who chose to work for it expected some return for risking exposure to potential accusations of "impure blood" (Jewish or non-Christian ancestry) and for their monetary investment in paying for the inquiry. Beyond the possible benefit of acquiring useful social, political, and business acquaintances, these men expected much more. They expected to bolster their claims to honor, enhance their personal and family prestige, gain a certain amount of power over their neighbors, and acquire positive proofs of purity that would permit them to participate in a wide variety of religious and political institutions. Until 1773, when discrimination based on ancestry became technically illegal, most brotherhoods, religious orders, and political offices were legally closed to those with impure blood. For much of the eighteenth century, the brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr contributed to the creation and maintenance of inquisitorial prestige and honor as well as providing a modicum of welfare benefits. By the end of that century the costs began to outweigh the benefits and the brotherhood and the Inquisition entered into decline.

In colonial Brazil, the Inquisition established the brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr in those regions with sufficient numbers of *familiares* to support the functioning of the brotherhood. The organization of the brotherhood generally followed the structure laid out in the 1632 *compromisso*. The lack of a tribunal in Brazil, however, necessitated some significant departures from those statutes. In the cities where the brotherhood came to be established, the senior *comissário* acted as the judge of the tribunal. In some areas, the brotherhood elected more *mordomos* than permitted in the

Peter Martyr. At least four applicants indicated that this was why they had petitioned to work for the Inquisition. ANTT, Habilitações do Santo Ofício, Jacinto, maço 6, no. 76; José, maço 103, no. 1465; Manuel, maço 227, no. 1362; and ANTT, Novas Habilitações, caixa 39.

compromisso and even collected higher yearly dues to pay for brotherhood expenses. It appears that the celebrations in Brazil were initially more humble than those of Lisbon, but by the mid-eighteenth century they too had become extravagant and expensive affairs.

The brotherhood also served as a useful mechanism for the socialization and education of inquisitional officials, facilitating the integration of immigrant officials into Brazilian colonial society. It provided limited social welfare and acted as a public statement of inquisitional honor and prestige. These public displays were significant because no regular public and theatrical autos-da-fé were held, except during the infrequent visitations. The public celebrations of St. Peter Martyr and the funeral processions became the most visible and pomp-filled demonstrations of inquisitional prestige.

As this review of the inquisitional brotherhood demonstrates, there was much more to the Inquisition as an institution than the prosecution of accused heretics. The Inquisition can no longer be seen only from the perspective of those caught in its clutches. That perspective is certainly valid and important, but it is also one-sided. Scholarly perspectives must shift to the men who *were*, in fact, *the* Inquisition. Only then will it become clear how the Inquisition articulated the values and interests of Portuguese society and created a symbiotic relationship with individuals and families, giving it the broad social base it needed to withstand reform and challenge for almost 300 years. When that relationship began to weaken, so did the Inquisition as an institution.

The transferal of the brotherhood to Brazil should also be seen in the context of the larger European world. The brotherhood arrived in Portugal from Spain when Portugal was subordinate to the Spanish Crown (1580-1640). That union permitted a kind of institutional crossbreeding or cross-pollination in which Spanish institutions and forms were adopted by Portugal and remolded to fit Portuguese interests and realities. Many of those institutions, once they had proven their value in Portugal, were later transferred to Brazil where their form and organization had to be remolded once again to fit a different set of social and historical realities. In that sense, then, the creation and development of the brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr becomes one more, and as yet unnoticed, chapter in Portuguese overseas expansion.

Appendix

Compromisso¹⁰²
 da Irmandade
 de S. Pedro Martir
 que mandou faser o Illustrissimo, & Reveréndissimo Snor'
 Dom Françis de Castro¹⁰³ Bispo da
 Guarda, & do conselho destado de sua Mag.^{de}
 Inquisidor geral nestes Reinos, & senhorios
 de Portugal
 [stylized fleur-de-lis]

Dom Francisco do Castro Bispo da Guarda, do Cons^o de estado de sua Mag.^{de} Inquisidor Apostolico, geral nestes Reynos e senhorios de Portugal & [i.e. etc.]. Fasemos saber q' deseiendo nos q' o Conselho geral¹⁰⁴ do santo officio, Inq.^{res} Deputados, e mais ministros, officiaés, e familiares da santa Inquisição destes dittos reynos, e senhorios tenham sempre viva a memoria do glorioso S. Pedro¹⁰⁵ primeiro Martyr Inqu.^{or} Protector, e padroeiro do S.^{to} Offício, por cuios mereçimentos alcansem ser verdadeiros imitadores de seu ardente, e ferverozo zelo; E quanto convem para alcançar de Ds' nosso Snor' graça, e favor para comprir co'

¹⁰² This *compromisso* is transcribed from the original manuscript found in Compromisso da Irmandade de S. Pedro Martir, 15 March 1632, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Officio, maço 59. All of the original accents, spelling, grammar, and punctuation have been preserved, complete with what may appear to the modern eye as errors. In some cases, considerable bleed-through made it difficult to identify the accents and punctuation.

¹⁰³ D. Francisco de Castro (d. 1653) was named inquisitor general by Pope Urban VIII on 19 January 1630, but he had exercised that position since May of 1629. He served until his death on 1 January 1653. He is most remembered for his publication of the comprehensive 1640 *regimentos* that reorganized and centralized Inquisitional authority in the Portuguese empire. The promulgation of the first bylaws for the Brotherhood of St. Peter Martyr in Portugal formed part of his reorganizational activities. Following his death, the office of inquisitor general remained vacant until 1663 because of conflicts with the Holy See. Ernesto Sales, "Inquisidores gerais em Portugal," *Revista da História* 10 (1921):205.

¹⁰⁴ The general council generally consisted of the inquisitor general, three deputies, one secretary, one solicitor, and one porter; the number of deputies increased over time.

¹⁰⁵ Also known as St. Peter of Verona, St. Peter Martyr was born at Verona in 1206 and died by an assassin's hand near Milan on 6 April 1252. Pope Innocent IV canonized him on 25 March 1253. Thurston and Attwater, eds., *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, 2:186-87.

obrigaçoes tanto de seu serviço, tratar com ^{todo} cuidado da veneração de hum sancto q' chegou a dar seu proprio sangue pela dillataçáo da santa fee catholica, e reducçáo dos hereges de seu tempo, e q' he certo q' um particular affecto representará semp.^{re} a D's. no Ceu ó bem de sua igreja, e do tribunal da mesma fee por q' tantos trabalhos sofreu na terra. E considerando q' na Irmandade da invocação deste gloriozo Martir faltava compromisso particular por q' se regesse, e governasse; sendo preçizamente neçessario para q'o culto divino, e devaçáo do santo seráo devidamente accressentados com grande augmento. Ordenamos à algu's ministros do santo offiçio de letras, e experiencia q' dos stilos té gora guardados na ditta Irmandade, accrescentando o q' parecesse se compozesse este Regimento. E por acharmos q' estava como convinha ouvemos por bem de o approvar, como defeito pella presente approvamos, e mandamos q' delle se uze daqui endiante na Irmandade, assi nas Inquiçioéens¹⁰⁶ deste Reyno, como na de Goa e estado da India, e se guarde e cumpra inteiramente assi como nelle se contem. Dada em L_xa sob nosso sinal, e sello do santo offiçio aos quinze dias do mes de Março de mil seisçentos e trinta e dous.

Cap. 1^o Da origem desta Irmandade

Sendo o gloriozo S. Pedro Martyr electo Inquizidor Ap.^{co} da Cidade de Miláo pello Papa Inn.^o 4¹⁰⁷ foi tam grande o zelo, e cuidado em q' exercitava seu cargo que temendo os hereges q' em a diligencia de tal ministro ouvessem o iusto castigo de suas culpas, o mandaráo mattar; Pello q' o mesmo Pont.^e logo no anno seg^uinte a seu Martirio q' foi o de mil duzentos, sincoenta, e tres, o declarou por verdadeiro Martir da sancta Igreja, e canonizou solennemente. Pouco depois correndo o anno de mil e duzentos sesenta e seis o Papa Clem.^{te} 4.¹⁰⁸ deseiendo q' a memoria de tal santo fosse sempre viva nos fieis para mayor gloria de D's. nosso S.^r e credito da santa feé catholica por q'

¹⁰⁶ The phrase "Inquisitions of this kingdom" refers to the formal tribunals established in Coimbra, Évora, and Lisbon, which lay within the political boundaries of the kingdom of Portugal. The kingdom of Algarve in southern Portugal never had a tribunal of its own. It fell under the jurisdiction of the Tribunal in Évora. The Inquisition had tribunals at Évora (1536), Lisbon (1539), Coimbra (1541), Lamego, Porto, and Tomar. The last three only lasted until 1546 or 1547. Bethencourt, *História das Inquisições*, 45-46.

¹⁰⁷ Pope Innocent IV reigned 1243-1254.

¹⁰⁸ Pope Clement IV reigned 1265-1268.

avia padecido, despachou uma bulla em Peroza ao Arçebispo de Bragua,¹⁰⁹ e mais prelados de Portugal em q' lhes amoesta, e manda facão çelebrar sua festa con toda a solennidade, e demonstração em 29 de Abril q' foi o dia en q' o saño Martir deu seu sangue por honra do santo offiço, e daquelle tempo eidiate ficou celebre neste Rn.º a memoria do gloriozo s. P.º [word blotted out] sendo levantado nelle por autoridade Ap.ª o sagrado Tribunal co santo offiço, logo os ministros da santa Inq.ª elegeráo â este sanc por seu protector, e Padroeiro, e instituiráo nas çidades onde rezidem os Tribunaís Irmandades, é louvor e honra do gloriozo martir onde com grande devação se exerçitassem em seu serviço. E por q' he ordinario fazer o tempo alteração e mudança nas cousas q' se pedem de devação, e costume, e muito conveniente q' en todas as irmandades haya na solennidade, e çelebração da festa a uniformidade q' o santo offiço tem en tudo o mais, pareço conveniente q' nellas se guardem as advertençias, e ordenaçóens seguintes.

[in a different hand] Aqui ha de continuar o 2 Cap.

Cap. 2º

Dotittulo da Irmandade

Será sempre o tittulo, e orago da Irmandade, o do glorioso S. Pedro Martir, Religiozo da ordem dos pregadores, en cuio convento dos lugares en q' assistem cadauma das Inquiçissóens destes Reynos estará fundada esta Irmandade, para q'no dia deste glorioso sancto seja festeiado com toda a decnça possível. E no mesmo convento da ordem de sam Domingos se diráo as missas rezadas dos Domingos, e dias sanctos, missas, e officios de defuntos, e todos os mais q' por ordem da Irmandade se maidarem dizer.

Cap. 3º

Das Insignias

As insignias de q' resta Irmandade se há de uzar assi, no guiáo como nas mais pessas q' iella ouver por tempos em diante sera huá Crus, e aos lados hú Ramo de Oliveira, e huá espada tudo metido em huá taria, cuios remates seño as flores de lis do habito do Patriarcha S.

¹⁰⁹ The archbishop of Braga at the time was D. Martinho Geraldês (1256-1271). The archdiocese was later subdivided into the Archdiocese of Lisbon in 1390 and the Archdiocese of Évora in 1540.

Domingos, e o estandarte terá de huá das faças esta insignia, e dá outra a imagé de S. P.^o Martir em outra semelhante tarya; aos lados das quais se poráo as armas da Igreja â mão direita, e as do Reyno, â esquerda, na forma em que oie está feito o estandarte da Inquiçissão da Cidade de Lisboa, e na sera se porâ por insignia huá palma com tres coroas de Ouro, para que assy se fique usando nesta Irmandade das Insignias do s.^{to} offiçio, e da do mesmo Sancto Protector delle.¹¹⁰

Cap. 4^o Dos Irmaos

Nesta irmandade não poderâ entrar pessoa algúa q' não seja ministro official, ou familiar do santo offiçio, nem para serem Irmãos se darâ petição, ou se farâ informação, ou diligencia alguá, por q' tanto q' se entrar no serviço do sancto offiçio logo se averâ por admittido â esta irmandade para gozar de todos os suffragios, e indulgenças della, e serão os irmaós todos assentados em hum livro q' para isso averâ, os quais serão das qualidades seguintes.¹¹¹ Em primeiro lugar o Illm.^o sor' Inquisidor geral,¹¹² q' hora hê, e os q' ao diante forem, os deputados do Conselho geral,¹¹³ Inquizidores,¹¹⁴ Deputados,¹¹⁵ Prometor, Secretario

¹¹⁰ For a detailed analysis of this symbolism, see accompanying study.

¹¹¹ Conspicuously missing from the following list are the *comissários*. The 1613 *regimentos* permitted appointment of one *comissário* and his scribe in each of the principal settlements in the Portuguese empire. The 1640 *regimentos* retained the limitation of one *comissário* and his scribe to each of the most "notable cities, villages, and places," but the 1774 *regimentos* simply dismissed all limitations and left the numbers to the inquisitor general to determine. They were the highest-ranking officials outside of the tribunals, and they engaged in investigations of both the accused and those who sought inquisitional appointments. They received denunciations and forwarded them to the tribunals and could sequester goods and take prisoners when so ordered by the Inquisition. They directed the affairs of the lesser officials (i.e. the *familiares*, *notários*, and *qualificadores*) in their areas of jurisdiction. Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquiçissão," 615-16, 694, 739-41, 885-86 (1613 Regimentos, Book I, Title I, Paragraph II; 1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title I, Paragraph 1 and Title XI; 1774 Regimentos, Book I, Title I, Paragraph 1).

¹¹² The inquisitor general represented the supreme authority that governed the general council and all the tribunals of the Portuguese Inquisition. Sales, "Inquisidores Gerais em Portugal," 202-08, includes a brief historical summary of the inquisitors general.

¹¹³ The deputies of the general council acted as accessories to the inquisitor general and were superior in authority to inquisitors. They handled all difficult cases, oversaw inquisitional inspections and the compilation of prohibited books, acted as the final court of appeals on all matters of inquisitional procedure and organization, and oversaw the appointment of inquisitional officials. Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem*, 71.

do conselho,¹¹⁶ Notario do snto offiço, Revedores,¹¹⁷ Calificadores, e todos os familiares de cada hú dos destrictos, e assy meirinho,¹¹⁸ alcaides dos carceres,¹¹⁹ e guardas,¹²⁰ Porteiros do conselho e da

¹¹⁴ The inquisitors sat as judges of the various tribunals. They were collectively responsible for the litigation of all cases brought before the tribunal. This included gathering information, questioning witnesses and accused heretics, and passing judgement. The inquisitors were organized hierarchically by seniority. The senior inquisitor, in particular, was responsible for ensuring that the members of the tribunal met the strict standards outlined in the *regimentos* and that the orders of the general council and the inquisitor general were carried out. Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem*, 133; and Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 700-17 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title III).

¹¹⁵ The deputies of the various tribunals were inferior in authority to the inquisitors. They could only appear at the tribunal when summoned by the inquisitors. When summoned, they heard testimonies and voted on the course of action. Only in the meeting where a final decision was to be made in a case could they ask questions. All inquisitors had to serve as deputy before being appointed inquisitor. Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem*, 133; and Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 720-21 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title V).

¹¹⁶ The *promotor* (prosecutor) of the Holy Office acted as the private legal counsel of the Inquisition and articulated the accusations against the accused. He also held one of the three keys to the secret archives of the Inquisition and compiled the books of denunciations made to the Inquisition. He evaluated the denunciations and sent those that had merit for further investigation. Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem*, 201; and Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 71-29 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title VI). The "Secretario do conselho" refers to the secretary of the general council.

¹¹⁷ The *revedores* (reviewers or examiners) examined bookstores, foreign ships that entered Portuguese ports, and private libraries (especially those of the deceased) looking for prohibited books. Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem*, 219.

¹¹⁸ The *meirinhos* served as bailiffs for the inquisitors and in the inquisitional prisons. They could be sent to imprison accused heretics. In the autos-da-fé, they helped direct the prisoners to where they would hear their sentences and delivered those sentenced to die to the secular authorities. Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem*, 169-70; and Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 744-46 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title XIII).

¹¹⁹ The *alcaides dos cárceres* (jailers or wardens) received the prisoners sent to the inquisitional prison and kept watch on them to see if they engaged in heretical activities while in prison. They also had to be present whenever a doctor, surgeon, or barber visited sick prisoners. The *alcaides* also kept records of those who came to the prison and the property that they brought with them. The *alcaides* were supposed to be married, and their wives were responsible for searching the person of female prisoners in the presence of a *notário* who recorded everything found on the prisoner's person. Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem*, 26; and Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 746-51 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title IV).

¹²⁰ The guards of the secret inquisitional prison kept the prison clean and took clean clothes to the prisoners every fifteen days. They also assisted the *alcaide* in watching the prisoners for signs of heretical behavior. They accompanied prisoners called before the tribunal and delivered them to the *meirinhos*. The guards also carried out torture or other punishments ordered by the inquisitors. Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem*, 124-25; and

meza,¹²¹ procuradores dos presos, officiaes do fisco,¹²² Juiz,¹²³ escrivaens, Thesoureiro, fiscal e solicitador.¹²⁴

Cap. 5^o
Dos Irmaós de outro districto.

Os ministros, e familiares de outras inquiriçoens, ou seiao dos deste Reyno, ou das de Castella,¹²⁵ mostrando suas cartas na mesa do

Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 751-52 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title XV).

¹²¹ The general council and the tribunals all had *porteiros*, or porters, who controlled access to the rooms where the deputies and inquisitors held audience or carried out their business. The porters also cleaned and prepared the tables where the inquisitors and deputies sat, taking care that they had sufficient ink and pens. Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem*, 198; and Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 752-55 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title XVI).

¹²² These officials oversaw the income and property coming into the inquisitional coffers either through the confiscation of property or other sources. The *juiz do fisco* (fiscal judge) oversaw the inventory of the property of inquisitional prisoners.

¹²³ It is unclear to whom this entry makes reference. There were several types of judges who worked with the Inquisition. The *juiz do fisco* has already been mentioned, but there were also the *juiz de fora* (Crown judge or magistrate) and the *juiz conservador dos familiares* (judge conservator of the *familiares*). The *juiz de fora* was a royally appointed magistrate who served in a location other than his place of residence. In the absence of the *juiz do fisco*, he was responsible for the inventory of prisoners' property. The *juiz conservador* was also the *ouvidor geral* (superior magistrate) who was responsible for conserving the privileges of the inquisitional officials and in hearing civil cases brought against them. These cases could be appealed to the general council. Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem*, 153-54; Cópia do consulta para os ouvidores das terras do estado do Brazil serviram de jurisdição fisco e conservadores dos familiares, Lisbon, 9 February 1711, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Officio, Livro 381, fols. 5v-6; and Proposal of Inquisitor General to the king, Lisbon, 5 February 1711, ANTT, Ministério dos Negócios Eclesiásticos e da Justiça, Livro 5, fol. 23v. In 1733, Pernambuco received an additional officer called the *depositário dos bens do fisco* who received a salary of 40\$000 reis and 2 percent of the money the *fisco* sent to Lisbon. Cópia da Provisão de serventia do officio de depositario dos bens do fisco da Cidade de Pernambuco e seu distrito a favor de Francisco dos Santos, Lisbon, 28 November 1733, ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Officio, Livro 381, fol. 110v.

¹²⁴ "Fiscal" probably refers to lesser officials who served with the treasurer or the other fiscal officers, perhaps in the capacity of auditors or inspectors of the fiscal accounts. The *solicitador* (solicitor) had to know about the place of residence, public opinion, and activities of those who came to testify before the tribunal and to inform the inquisitors when requested. They were also expected to know about any New Christians who sought to leave Portugal and those who had been punished and set at liberty but were not complying with their sentences. Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem*, 240; and Siqueira, "Os regimentos da Inquisição," 755-56 (1640 Regimentos, Book I, Title XVII).

¹²⁵ This phrase refers to the inquisitional tribunals in the kingdom of Castile, Spain.

sancto offiçio seraó tambem admitidos aos acompanhamentos, e actos publicos desta Irmandade parecendo assy aos inquisidores, e vindo viver de assento a algu'a das cidades en q' assiste o santo officio, e pretendendo ser assentados nos livros da Irmandade¹²⁶ será com lissença do s.^{or} Inquisidor geral por escrito neste Reyno, e na India a daráo os Inquisidores.

Cap. 6^o
Dos offiçiais q' a de ter esta Irmandade

Averá nesta Irmandade hú iuis q' se elegarâ cada anno, salvo quando o snr' Inquizidor geral o quiser ser, por que entao não seráo necessarios votos, e procederá a elleição aos mais offiçiais sómente, e a primeira elleição q' se seguir depois da nomeação de cada hum dos snrs' inquisidores q' pello tempo endiante ouver, os offiçiais q' aquelle anno estiverem servindo lhe Representaráo como he costume dos snrs' Inquizidores Gerais serem o primeiro anno iuizes desta Irmandade, e com a sua repostas se proçederá a elleição dos mais offiçiais, e nos outros annos se ellegerâ hum juis q' será dos deputados do Conselho, ou dos inquisidores alternadamente hú anno do Cons.^o, e outro da meza dos Inquisidores na Inquiçisaó de L_xa., e nas mais se ellegerâ dos Inquizidores, e deputados, e assy se ellegerâ mais hú escrivão, e dous mordomos q'sempre seraó dos familiares do distrito, e dos q' sendo de outro, e vivendo na mesma cidade tiverem licença do snór Inquizidor geral para serem admitidos. Para estes offiçios se ellegeráo sempre familiares en q' concorráo as qualidades, e fazendas q' se require para a assistençia, e despeza desta Irmandade.

¹²⁶ Each brotherhood was supposed to keep a record of its members. *Book of the Confraria of S. Pedro Mártir de Coimbra*, Biblioteca Nacional-Lisbon, Reservados, Códice 1497, fol. 46, lists the "familiares de fora," meaning those *familiares* who did not live in Coimbra but who paid fees to the brotherhood. See also *Receita e Despesa*, ANTT, Inquisição de Coimbra, Livros 94-96. The Lisbon brotherhood is listed in *Livros das Esmolas*, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livros 79-80; and Biblioteca Nacional-Lisbon, Códice 641. For the Évora brotherhood, see ANTT, Inquisição de Évora, Livros 108-10. Although it is known that such a book was kept for the brotherhood in Recife, it has yet to be found. Letter from Henrique Martins Gaio to the Lisbon Tribunal, Recife, 22 July 1790, ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 160, fol. 88.

Cap. 7º
Do Tizoureiro

Hum dos mordomos assy eleitos o q' for mais antigo no serviço do santo offiço, servirâ de Tizoureiro da Irmandade aqle anno, ao qual o escrivão farâ receita, e despeza, em um livro q' para isso averâ de todas as peças, dinheiro, sera, e as mais couzas q' lhe forem entregas, assi na conta q' se tomar ao Tizoureiro do anno atras, como nas missas, sera, e mais esmolas q' se offereçerem no seu anno.

Cap. 8º
Do dia da eleição

Ao domingo seginte a tarde mais proximo da festa de sam Pedro Martir se farâ eleição dos offiçiais que aquelle anno háo de servir esta Irmandade para o q' seráo chamados todos os irmáos pello andador della na forma costumada, e se farâ na mesa ordinaria do despacho do santo offiço diante do inquizidor mais antigo q' se aly achar, e tomarâ os votos o escrivão daquelle anno, e en sua auzença o escrivão do anno atras, e na de ambos hum notario do santo offiço que nomeará o inquizidor q' se achar presente a eleição, e avendo neste domingo algum grande, e publico impedim.¹⁰ para se não poder fazer esta eleição se darâ recado aos irmaós para q' naó venhão, e ficarâ para o Domingo q' se seguir.

Cap. 9º
Do modo, da elleição

A missa q' se ouver de dizer no dia en q' se ha de fazer a eleição destes offiçiais será do spirito santo para q' a encaminhe à melhor serviço de nossa sór; A tarde se aiuntaráo todos os Irmaós na salla do santo offiço donde sem preçedençias de lugares iráo a meza a votar diante do inquizidor, como atras se disse, e o escrivão, terá feito quatro pautas cada humá em sua folha de papel, e o irmão que vier a votar votará em hú para iuis, e outro para escrivão, dous para mordomos e dous para procuradores dos familiares q' naquelle dia se costumáo, tambem elegir não sendo porem nenhú destes offiçiais dos q' estão actualmente servindo, por q' pello menos vagaráo hum anno, e o escrivão irâ assentando os votos nas quatro pautas, de Juis, escrivão, mordomos e procuradores assi como os irmaós forem votando, para depois se regularem os votos de cade huá, e aos irmaós q' assy vierem

votar se lhes darão os assentos conforme suas qualidades, e costume do santo officio.

Acabada a eleição regularão os votos o inquizidor, e o escrivão, e ficando algu's dos irmaós eleitos igoaés em votos ficarã eleito o mais antigo no serviço do santo officio e nos demais serão chamados os que mais votos levarem.

Não aceitando algu' irmão dos assy eleitos se chamarã o segundo em votos, ou o terceiro, e o mesmo se farã se pello discurso do anno falecer, ou fizer auzença tal q' não possa vir acabar de todo, e para este effeito se guardarão as pautas no s.^{to} officio de hu' anno p.^{ra} o outro.

Cap. 10

Do dia da festa de S. P.^o Martir

A festa se fará dia de sam P.^o Martir (q' he a vinte e nove de Abril) na igreja do Convento de são Domingos na parte mais conveniente para ella, a qual se ornarã co' toda a deçencia possivel, prossupondo q' a musica dará o Juis, e a armação, e mais ornato farão os dois mordomos, e escrivão co' tanto q' entre todos tres senão gaste mais q' ate contia de quarenta e sinco mil rs' para q' assy co' esta moderação não ay a quem duvide aceitar o serviço desta irmandade E para q' a demaziada devação de algu's não preiudique a possebilidade dos outros; E por q' tambem não convem a pessoas dedicadas ao serviço do santo officio q' se iulgue na sua festa excesso, ou vam gloria algu'a, e assy senão consentirá q' daqui por diante se dem propinas aos irmaós na quelle dia, de luvas, ramalhetes, ou outra algúa couza, nem averã danças profanas, ou comedias, mais q' Vesporas, Missa, e pregação, e a armação, e ornato da Igreja, como atras se dis, e o pregador serã aprovado pello sor' Inquizidor Geral, e en sua auzença em L.^a pello Cons.^o geral, e nas outras partes pellos inquisidores do destrito.

A cera da Irmandade se reformarã todos os annos da esmola que os Irmãos costumão a dar; de maneira q' neste dia seia tudo cera nova a q' se der ao snor' Inquizidor geral, Ministros, officiaes, e familiares do santo officio.

Cap. 11
 Dos acompanhamentos

De tal maneira esta irmandade o fica sendo q' en todas as partes onde se aiuntar se aó de guardar as dividas preeminências aos tribunais do santo offiçio, assy nos acompanhamen.^{tos} desta festa, enterram.^{tos}, e dias dos autos da fee como en todos os mais actos e partes onde se aiuntaré e en todos guardaráo a ordem q' aqui se dispoem em rezáo das preçedenças.

A vespora do dia da festa de sam P.^o Martir se aiuntaráo na inquiçiação¹²⁷ e nas mais destes Reynos todos os Ministros, officiais e familiares para acompanharem ao s.^{of} Inquisidor geral, ou aos inquisidores nas em q' elle não assistir por esta ordem irâ diante o Guiáo¹²⁸ q' levarâ o padre Prior de são domingos como he costume e as borlas dous religiosos dos mais graves da caza a que siguirâ a Comunidade toda do Convento, e logo detras os familiares tambem por huá, e outra parte em proçissão com seus habitos descubertos, entre os quais iráo sem diferença de lugares os Alcaldes dos carçeres, portr.^{os} do Cons.^o e da meza, procuradores dos prezos, escriváo, Tizoureiro, e fiscal, e solliçitador do fisco, e detras de todos os familiares iráo os dous mordomos, e escriváo daquelle anno, e iunto ao escriváo irâ o juis do fisco pello ser tambem dos familiares, e entre elles, e os ministros irâ o meirinho do santo offiçio a que se siguiráo por húa, e outra banda os calificadoros, revedores, Notarios, secretario do Cons.^o promotor, deputados Inquisidores, deputados do Cons.^o dos quais os dous Mais antigos iráo de húa, e outra parte do s.^{of} Inquisidor geral, e por esta ordem sairáo do santo offiçio, e iráo a igreja de S. Domingos donde se alimará o guiáo a húa parte decente como he custume, e ditas as Vesperas ficarâ o guiáo na Igreja para ^{o outro dia} ficandosse os religiosos em o seu convento, e os mais ministros offiçiais, e familiares voltaráo com o sór Inquisidor geral até sua caza.

Ao dia da festa pella manhã se tornaráo ajuntar no santo officio, todos os ministros, offiçiais e familiares para acompanharem o sór Inquisidor geral quando for a missa, com a mesma ordem q' se recolheráo a Vespora, e acabada a missa voltará o acompanham.^{to} com o guiáo Religioso na forma q' a vespora sairáo da inquiçissão.

¹²⁷ The brotherhoods in the cities where tribunals sat were to meet at the palaces of the Inquisition.

¹²⁸ The *guiáo* is the banner or standard.

E por q' a festa deste dia he de hum tribunal e irmandade da fee se encomenda muito a todos os irmãos que irão comungar iuntos no fim da missa do dia os q' forem seculares, e os eclesiasticos se suppoem q' am de celebrar, ou na igreja, ou em seus oratorios particulares por q' assy sirva da mayor exemplo, e edificação aos fieis. Advirtindo q' os q' assy o fizerem, e rezarem pella concordia dos Principes Christãos, extirpação das eregias, e exaltação da santa madre Igreja, ganhão indulgência plenaria, e remissão de todos seus peccados, como se ganha o anno do jubileu,¹²⁹ por concessão do Papa Sixto quinto,¹³⁰ e de Clemente outavo.¹³¹

As vesporas do dia da festa no tempo en q' se cantar a magnificat e a missa do dia ao tempo de levantar a D's. estarão todos os Irmãos com sirios açesos nas mãos mayores, e menores como he costume, e ao s.^{or} Inquisidor geral lhe apresentará o sirio o portr.^o do Conselho geral, e aos deputados delle e ministros da Inquiçição darão os sirios os porteiros, e solicitadores como sempre fizerão, e aos familiares os mordamos, e andador da confraria.

Cap. 12 Das missas, e offiçios

Todos os Domingos, e dias santos se dirá húa missa resada pla conservaçõ do santo offiçio, e augmento desta Irmandade no altar en q' estiver a imagem do Gloriozo S. P.^o Martir a q' asistirão os dous mordomos daquelle anno, e tendo algum impedimento terão cuidado de buscar outro irmão q'asista em seu lugar.

Faleçendo algum irmão serão obrigados todos os irmãos a lhe ma'darem dizer huá missa rezada para o q' se fará hum Rol pellos offiçiais daquelle anno, e o irã cobrar o andador có hum dos mordomos alternadamente quarenta rs' de cada Irmão, e deste dinheiro se fará receita ao Thezoureiro, e despeza quando o entregar ao Padre são

¹²⁹ The celebration of the ordinary jubilee normally occurs every twenty-five years, but the pope can declare extraordinary jubilees. Plenary indulgences were granted during these celebrations upon repentance and the participation in certain religious acts. Plenary indulgence offered forgiveness of all temporal punishment for sin. In effect, this concession allowed officials of the Inquisition to receive plenary indulgence every year. Lipiner, *Terror e linguagem*, 149.

¹³⁰ Pope Sixtus V reigned from 1585-1590.

¹³¹ Pope Clement VIII reigned from 1592-1605.

Christáo mor¹³² de sáo Domingos para se dizeré as missas, por q'deste modo conste sempre as q' se disseráo por cada irmão defunto.

No outauario dos defuntos no dia mais conveniente para isso se fará hum offiço de nove liçoens pellos irmaós q' faleçeráo naquelle anno, e este officio fará os religiosos de sam Domingos e se lhes dará a esmola costumada q' são mil e duzentos Rs. e assistiráo a este offiço os tres irmaós officiaés daquelle anno, e algús outros q' em particular chamaráo, e q' mais comodamente puderem vir.

Cap. 13 Das esmollas

Para a despeza das missas dos dias santos, offiço dos defuntos, cerá da Irmandade, e ordenado do andador, se pedirá húa vez no anno esmola a todos os irmaós a qual andaráo tirando plas cazas os tres offiçaés daquelle anno iuntos com o andador, e cada familiar, e offiçal do santo offiço dará desmolla pello menos hum tostáo,¹³³ e aos ministros do santo officio se lhe não limita a esmolla, por quanto a costumáo dar muito mayor.

E assy como se forem Cobrando estas esmollas as irá o escriváo tomando por memoria, para depois as carregar por iunto ao Thesoureiro, e se algum anno estas tais esmolas não chegarem a despeza das missa, offiço de defuntos, cera, e ordenado do andador, a demazia pagaráo de sua caza os tres offiçiais daquelle anno, e se as esmollas excederem a despeza, a demazia se empregará em cera, ou em outra qual quer obra, có commonicação do Juis da Irmandade, e não avendo tempo para isso se entregará em dinheiro aos offiçiais q' se seguirem.

Cap. 14 Dos acompanhamentos dos defuntos

Tanto q' faleçer algum irmão se dará recado a todos os ministros, offiçiais, e familiares pello Andador da Irmandade Para o acompanharem e para isso se a iuntaráo na caza do mesmo defunto com vellas acesas nas mãos, e habitos descubertos iráo detras da tumba guardando suas preçedençias como no Cap. ii. Fica Referido, e acabado

¹³² This is the head sacristan of the Dominican monastery.

¹³³ One *tostão* equaled approximately \$100 reis by the eighteenth century.

o Responso q' na igreja se dis ao defunto, cobrará o Andador a Cera, e os irmãos daly não voltarão iuntos em acompanhamento.

Não se entenderão, porem, estes acompanham.^{tos} nos Irmãos q'o forem tambem da Misericordia, por q' como os mais dos Irmãos desta irmandade o são tambem da Misericordia, ou quasi todos não fica Irmandade de conveniente para acompanhar e por este Respeito senão aiuntará nunca esta irmandade com a da Misericordia, e os irmãos q' por sua devação quiseré acompanhar o tal defunto irão sem sirios como pessoas particulares.

E por q' muitos dos Irmãos desta irmandade são ministros do sancto offiçio sacerdotes, se tem por inconveniente gr.^{de} levarem a tumba dos defuntos principalmente nao a tendo particular.

Cap. 15 Das mulheres dos Irmaos

As Mulheres dos Irmaos q' falecerem se acompanharão como a seus maridos, ainda q'seião viugas, como não ouvessem tornado a cazar, e vivessem onesta e Recolhidam.^{te} ¹³⁴

Cap. 16 Dos excluidos

Os Irmaos desta Irmandade assy como não são admittidos senão pella creação do santo offiçio, assy não serão excluidos senão por ordem do santo officio. E quando o forem por esta ordem ainda q' a causa seia Publica senão fará assento della em livro algum somente a margem donde seu nome estiver assentado se dirá q' foi despedido por ordem do santo offiçio.

¹³⁴ This meant that the widows had to adhere to the ideal of feminine sexual purity by remaining within the confines of their own homes and limiting all contact with men outside their immediate family.

Cap. 17
Dos doentes

Caindo algum irmão en doença, ou en tal necessidade q' seia necessario socorrello o farâ saber ao iuis da irma'dade, o qual o mandarâ assistir por hum ou dous Irmãos dos mais vesinhos, có o andador da Irmandade aos quais se encomenda q' em toda a caridade de Irmãos lho assistáo, como quiseráo q' lhe fizessem se em semelhante neçessidade se vissem.

E pareçendo ao Juis, e mais offiças daquelle anno q' para esta obra he necessario pedirse esmola pella Irmandade a iráo pedir os tres offiçiais, na mesma forma q' fica disposto no Cap 13 q' se pessáo as mais esmolas.

Cap. 18
Do Andador

Averá nesta Irmandade hum andador celariado o qual não serâ Irmão, nem trará insignia, ou devisa Algúa de Andador mais q'andar sem espada nos actos publicos da Irmandade e seu ordenado entrarâ na Conta das despezas das esmolas do Cap. 13.

Cap. 19
Da fazenda

Pertencendo lhe a esta Irmandade fazenda algúa por legado, ou erança, ou por outra qual quer via q' seia serâ carregada em Reçeita ao Thesoureiro pello escriváo da irmandade, e entre os offiçiais daquelle anno se tratarâ o en que se deve gastar conforme a quantidade da fazenda ou seia em Renda de Azeite para as lampadas do s.^{to} ou em ornamentos, ou prata, e sendo de mayor contia se poderâ comprar em iuro para aliviar aos Irmãos em parte dos encargos da festa, e da cera e mais despezas q'custumáo a pagar cada anno.

E ainda q' a esta irmandade pertença pello tempo adiante algúa fazenda de Rais, e experiençia tem mostrado grandissimos inconvenientes, em q' fazendas desta qualidade seiáo administradas por comonidades, e assy se ordena q'tanto q'a tal fazenda entrar em poder da Irmandade a vendáo em praça publica a rematando-a ao Mayor lanço e o proçedido della se empregará em iuro q' fique para as obrigaçoen's referidas, e ordinarias da Irmandade.

Cap. 20
Das Juntas

Sendo necessario pello discurso do anno iuntaren se os officiaes, o farão em caza do Juis, e nella se farão os assentos do thesoureiro do dinheiro q' ouver Reçebido, e se tratarão todas as más couzas tocantes a conservação desta Irmandade, cobrança das esmolãs, e preparação da festa nos dias mais proximos a ella.

Cap. 21

E como esta Irmandade he mais propriamente huá congregação, e Vnião dos ministros do santo officio para festeiarem o glorioso S. Pedro Martir padroeiro, e protector das inquisicoen's, se ordena q' esta Irmandade não irã em proçissãens algúas, nen acompanhe os defuntos có cruz levantada, nem tenha meza na igreia, nem faça alguá outra acção de se aiuntar ou aCompanhar en forma de Irmandade, mais q' o q' esta disposto por este comprimisso nos Capitulos delle, ficando sempre a alteração, e declaração delles ao Illustrissimo snór Inquisidor geral q' hora hé, e a seus successores, e por sua vacante o Conselho geral e en todas as inquisicoen's deste Reyno.

Indulgençias, e privilegios conçedidos pelos sumos Pontifizes aos ministros da s.^{ta} Inqu.^{cao}

Pellas Bullas apostolicas do santo officio parece ser couza antiga trazerem os ministros do santo officio cruces nos peitos. E asy Innocençio 4.^o em huá Bulla publicada em Assis no anno de 1254, manda ao Provinçial da ordem dos Pregadores Inquisidor de Lombardia que se aiude contra os hereges das pessoas q' com zello da feé quizerem tomar a Crus aos quais chama o sumo Pont.^e Cruçe signatos¹³⁵ e lhes conçede as Indulgençias, e privilegios q' tinhão os q' passavão contra os infieis à terra santa.

¹³⁵ *Crucesignati* or *crocesignati* means "marked with a cross." It was the term used in Italy to refer to the Italian counterparts of the *familiares* in Spain and Portugal. Bethencourt, *História das Inquisições*, 56.

O mesmo Inocência 4.^o em outra bulla q' começa *Malitia huius temporis*,¹³⁶ publicada no mesmo anno é *Anagnina* manda aos religiosos pregadores Inquisidores de Lombardia q' aos q' os ajudarem em seu offiço contra os hereges lhes dem o sinal da Crus, e concede aos mesmos Inqu.^{res} e aos q'assy tomarem a Crus as indulgências concedidas pello Consilio geral aos q'passavão contra os infieis à terra santa, e assy mais concede q' os inquizidores possão absolver aos cruce signatos das çensuras Ec.^{cas} em q'ouverem encorrido não sendo por cazos tam enormes q'fosse neçessario recorrer por absolvição a sancta seé Ap.^{ca} e q'possão dispensar có os ministros eclesiasticos nas irregularidades en q'ouverem encorrido por averem çelebrado estando impedidos có alguá çensura eclesiastica, e q' possão commutar aos cruce signatos os votos que tiverem feito excepto os perpetuos, ou da terra santa q'não admitem remedio de commutação; Podem tambem concederlhes Liçensa para q' em tempo de interdicto geral possão assitir aos offiços divinos, e receber os sacramentos nos lugares onde por privilegio Apostolico se Celebrarem.

Calixto 3¹³⁷ em húa bulla q' começa *Iniunetum nobis*, dirigida aos religiosos Pregadores Inquisidores de Lombardia no anno de 1458 Refere outra de Innoçencio 3.^o¹³⁸ do teor das precedentes e a confirma de novo.

Clemente setimo¹³⁹ em hum breve derigido a Frei Paulo Rutipelle Vigario geral da ordem dos pregadores Inquisidor de Ferrara dado em Bolonha a 15 de Janeiro de 1530 lhe Concede à elle e aos mais inquisidores da mesma ordem q' possão dispensar na Irrigulareidade en q'os clericos cruce signatos ouverem encorrido por averem celebrado estando impedidos có alguá sensura Eclesiastica e faz menção o Sumo Pontifiçe do Privilegio Ap.^{co} q' os inquisidores tem para erigir Irmandades dos dittos cruçesignatos q' ajudão ao santo officio na prizão dos hereges, e dão conselho e favor e tudo o mais, aos quais podem os inquisidores no dia en q'tomão iuramento conceder q' possão

¹³⁶ Pope Innocent IV reigned 1243-1254.

¹³⁷ Pope Callistus III reigned from 1455-1458.

¹³⁸ Pope Innocent III reigned from 1198-1216.

¹³⁹ Pope Clement VII reigned from 1523-1534.

en tempo de qual quer interdicto ouvir missa, e assistir aos offiços divinos e ser enterrados com moderada pompa funeral não avendo dado cauza ao interdicto, E absolvelos húa ves na vida e outra em artigo da morte de todos os cazos ainda q' reservados â Sèè Apostolica na Bulla do Cea, e conçederlhes indulgência plenaria e q' visitando qual quer dia do anno sinco altares, ou não os avendo sinco vezes hum altar e rezando hum Psalmo de Joelhos, ou sinco vezes as oraçoen's do Padre nosso, e Ave Maria en cada altar ganhem as indulgências das estaçoen's das Igrejas de Roma, e alem disto confirma todos e quais quer privilegios, graças exempçoés E indultos conçedidos aos Inquisidores de qual quer parte do Mundo

Pio V.¹⁴⁰ em hum breve q' começa Sacro sanctae Romanae etc. de treze de Outubro de 1570, passado en favor da Irmandade dos cruceSIGNATOS dedicados a ajudar o santo offiço confirma e de novo conçede todos e quais quer privilegios, indulgências graças prerogativas E indultos comcedidos por Innoçençio 4. e Innoc.^o 5. Julio 2.^o Leáo 10. Clem.^e 7.^{o141} e por quais quer outros Pontifiçes não sendo contrarios aos decretos do sancto Conc.^o Tridentino.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Pope Pius V reigned from 1566-1572.

¹⁴¹ Pope Innocent V reigned from 2 January 1276-22 June 1276; Pope Julius II reigned from 1503-1513; and Pope Leo X reigned from 1513-1521.

¹⁴² The Council of Trent met in three separate sessions between 1545 and 1564. The canons and decrees it promulgated reformed and reorganized the Church. This clause in the bylaws suggests that any pronouncements prior to the Council of Trent regarding the brotherhood that contradicted the conclusions of the council could not be regarded as valid. Henry Joseph Schroeder, trans., *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (Rockford, Ill.: Tan Books and Publishers, 1978).