

The Puzzling Path of a Recondite Text:

The Composition, Circulation, and Reception of the *Notícias Recônditas* in Eighteenth-Century England

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When *Noticias Reconditas y Posthumas* was published in 1722, its contents were not unfamiliar to its readers. In fact, the texts that constituted this Portuguese-Spanish collection against the Iberian Inquisitions already had a long history that could be traced back to the previous century. They had been subject to processes of dissemination, appropriation, and transformation even before being published. Publication was neither the starting point nor the final destination of the texts. In fact, these writings were still being modified, remarked upon, summarized, and adapted in further polemical works whose targets were the same: the Catholic Church and, in particular, the Inquisition.

This phenomenon is especially noticeable in the anonymous untitled Portuguese text (hereafter cited as *Notícias*¹) that was incorporated in the first part of *Noticias Reconditas y Posthumas*. Simply mentioned in the index as a “Relaion Portugueza dela Inquisicion de su Reino” (Portuguese Report on the Inquisition of its Kingdom), it is a detailed and biased analysis of the proceedings of the Portuguese Inquisition with a clearly stated goal: the suspension of the Inquisition at least until the reported grievances have been investigated.

Resistance against the Inquisition and its methods stemming from its main target, the New Christians (that is the descendants of Jews who converted to Christianity after the general expulsion of 1496; this distinction between Old and New Christians lasted generation after generation until 1773), had been a constant since its establishment in Portugal in 1536. This opposition made itself known in Rome and became a source of contention between the Holy See and the hierarchy of the Portuguese Inquisition, resulting in certain achievements on behalf of the New Christians, such as the general pardon of 1605. But increases in Inquisition-related repression starting in the 1620s generated another wave of criticism, also nourished by the tense relationship between the Inquisition and the Portuguese Crown. This friction intensified after João IV had ascended the Portuguese throne and some powerful New Christian businessmen who supported the new king had been arrested, with this tense climate persisting into the following decades. *Notícias* emerged in the context of a new wave of negotiations undertaken by the New Christians and their agents before the Holy See that led to the suspension of the Portuguese Inquisition between 1674 and 1681.

The complex controversy surrounding its authorship has been addressed repeatedly by works on the subject without a definitive conclusion to date; however, this will not be the point of this article. Although our focus will be on this anonymous Portuguese report, we will approach the problems of its circulation and reception in an eighteenth-century London where anti-Catholicism had gained new strength through lively expressions in flourishing polemical literature.

The Inquisition was seen as the ultimate manifestation of the cruelty and intolerance of the Catholic Church. The increase in the publication of histories of the Inquisition over the last decades of the seventeenth century nourished the debate surrounding the legitimacy of the tribunal and its methods. Philipp van Limborch's *Historia Inquisitionis* (Amsterdam, 1692) and Charles Dellon's *Relation de la Inquisition de Goa* (Leiden, 1687) were translated,

adapted, and repeatedly republished throughout Europe during the eighteenth century, becoming points of reference and essential sources for anti-Catholic polemicists.² Collections of writings that compiled histories of the Inquisition, narratives of its victims, and reports of *autos da fé* became more and more popular, especially in England. The accuracy of these documents' contents was intended to be supported by using titles with such expressions as "authentic memoirs" or "faithful account." Their target was a tribunal constantly portrayed as "bloody," "cruel," or "barbarous." Indeed, *Notícias* perfectly suits this trend, since it does consist of a report of the (bloody, cruel, and barbarous) proceedings of the Inquisition and it is punctuated by real cases of its victims.

However, this is not a straightforward text. The versions' discrepancies are numerous, and it will probably prove impossible to identify an authority or to reconstruct a stemma. Its complexity resulted from the way in which it was composed – two or more times, probably passing through two or more sets of hands – and its circulation as a manuscript both before and after its first edition in 1708. Therefore, the first part of this article will be an attempt to scrutinize the processes of composition and transmission that *Notícias* was subjected to by comparing different handwritten and printed versions. This comparative approach will bring new perspectives regarding the reasons behind why several variants exist, as well as the agents (that is copyists, translators, compilers, publishers) who intervened between the writing and publication of the work. Even after its edition(s), there was not a set establishment of the text. Its dynamic life would continue with constant adaptations and appropriations tailored to specific audiences and intentions. The journey along the puzzling path of this "recondite" account will, thus, continue in the direction of its reception in eighteenth-century London where an anti-Inquisitorial verve was particularly intense.

I. Editions and manuscripts

The key purpose of *Notícias* is perfectly expressed in its very first lines: to reveal “what passes in the Prisons of the Holy Office, or Inquisition of Portugal; and how the Prisoners are treated therein,” the kind of information that would not have been common knowledge “by reason of the Secrecy which is so inviolably observed therein.”³ Structured in numbered paragraphs (whose numbers and divisions differ from edition to edition), the text comprehensively analyses the proceedings of the tribunal – from the moment of imprisonment until the *auto da fé*, at which time the defendant was either penanced or condemned – always emphasizing the abuses, injustices, and inhumanities committed during this process and how its methods could be self-defeating with regard to its objectives, namely to increase Christianity and to eradicate Judaism.

Notícias does not argue for the abolition of the tribunal but rather for the reform of its methods and practices, mainly those which were most severely criticized. Critics are, thus, directed in particular to some of its procedures, such as the secrecy surrounding accusations (“the root of all this evil is the inviolable Secrecy used and imposed by the Inquisition”) and the ways in which statements were obtained by force and under threat of death (“Nay some of them, I dare say, had they been as hard prest to do it, would have confessed themselves to be Mahometans, heathens, Canibals, or what else they would have them, to save their Lives and get their Liberty”).⁴ Inquisitors are accused of only having the aim of extracting confessions and denunciations instead of finding the truth, and special attention is given to the description of torture methods and the living conditions in the jails, as these were aspects more likely to cause commotion and shock in the reader. Another strategy used by the writer to bring the subject closer to its audience is the illustration of specific cases of men and women arrested by the Inquisition, most of them New Christians accused of being Judaizers. All the cases are real and correspond with trial records dated between 1660 and 1672.⁵

After this exposition, *Notícias* ends up appealing to “thy Vicar-regent upon Earth” (that is the Pope) to examine the proceedings mentioned and to make them public. The idea was that the misinformation stemming from the secrecy observed by the Inquisition and the fictitious portrayals of justice and mercy performed during the *autos da fé* took “the King, Nobility, and all the People of Portugal” away from the truth.⁶

“These poor people [New Christians] do not desire a general Pardon, nor many other things, which the hatred of some people makes them suggest; they only desire, that the Processes, Confessions, and other Inconveniencies aforesaid, may be look'd into, and that a sufficient and proper remedy may be put to them.”⁷

This excerpt clearly places *Notícias* in the context of the negotiations that ended with the suspension of the Portuguese Inquisition's proceedings and *autos da fé* in October of 1674. The suspension came by way of Pope Clement X's brief *Cum dilecti* and lasted seven years. Since 1672, memorials and letters detailing New Christians' arguments against the Inquisition's “styles” (that is its praxis, which was not regulated by its *Regimentos*, or statutes) and asking for a General Pardon were sent to Rome. However, as time passed, this last demand was abandoned, and all efforts were focused on the Inquisition's reform.⁸

After 1674, *Notícias* continued to circulate throughout Europe as a manuscript. Its first known edition was an English translation printed in London in 1708 for a group of booksellers – R. Burrough, J. Baker, and J. Downing – who sold works on historical-religious subjects and polemical literature.⁹ Indeed, two identical English editions in 1708 and 1713 (only the title page differs) preceded the Portuguese edition in 1722, whose place of publication was falsely listed as “Villa Franca”:¹⁰

1. *An Account of the Cruelties Exercised by the Inquisition in Portugal. To which is added a relation of the detention of Mr. Louis Ramé in the Prisons of the Inquisition in*

the Kingdom of Mexico and Spain, and of his happy Deliverance. Written by one of the Secretaries to the Inquisition (London, 1708).

2. *The History of the Inquisition with an account of the cruelties exercised therein.*

Written by one of the Secretaries to the Inquisition (London, 1713).

3. *Noticias Reconditas y Posthumas del Procedimiento delas Inquisiciones de España y Portugal com sus Presos. Divididas en dos Partes: La Primera en Idioma Portuguez. La Segunda en Castelhana, deduzidas de Authores Catholicos, Apostolicos y Romanos; Eminentes por Dignidad, o por Letras. Obras tan Curiosas como instructivas, compiladas y anadidas por un Anonimo* (Villa Franca [alias London], 1722).¹¹

Another edition published in 1750 should be added to this list, despite having Venice referred as its location of printing: *Relação Exactíssima, Instructiva, Curioza, Verdadeira e Noticioza, do Procedimento das Inquizições de Portugal. Presentada a o Papa Ignocencio XI pelo P. Antonio Vieyra, D. F. M. da Companhia de Jesus....*¹² In fact, the reference to Venice would be as fictitious as the reference to Villa Franca. The real printing place would also have been London. This edition is textually and structurally quite close to *Noticias Reconditas* (1722). Furthermore, the terminology used in the preface is in line with the language used by English Anti-Catholic polemical literature, as it is clear in the following example (unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own):

“If you are curious, read them [Psalms, Prophecies, and other aforementioned biblical passages] in the Holy Scripture, and their lessons will be very useful to you, both for undeceiving superstitions and for the salvation of your soul if you read them with free understanding and only believe in its words because almost all Nations of the World – whether Calvinists, Papists, Lutherans, or Mohammedans, and all other Sects – only interpret the Scripture according to their Passion and Wish.”¹³

The use of the term “Papists” to designate Catholics, as well as the enumeration of religious “sects” without any reference to Anglicans or Jews, give us some clues about the place where the preface was written (England) as well as who wrote it (a Jewish author).

Misdated editions, fake printing places, the adoption of pseudonyms, and even anonymity were strategies commonly used by authors to not only safeguard their own identities but to also try to have their works infiltrate countries where they would be the targets of censorship. Both *Noticias Reconditas* (1722) and *Relação exactíssima* (1750) were directed to a specific audience that could read and understand Portuguese. Therefore, the Iberian Peninsula would probably be a destination of both editions. A book printed in Anglican London, however, would not be able to get through the barriers imposed by inquisitorial censorship to then be disseminated amongst Catholic readers. A particularly evident attempt to circumvent this can be found on the title page of *Relação exactíssima*, where a “license of the Holy Office” had been forged.¹⁴

Fig. 1: Title page of *An Account of the Cruelties Exercised by the Inquisition in Portugal* (London, 1708). National Library of Spain, U/7836.

Fig. 2: Title page of *The History of the Inquisition with an account of the cruelties exercised therein* (London, 1713). National Library of Spain, U/1948.

Fig. 3: Title page of *Noticias Reconditas y Posthumas del Procedimiento delas Inquisiciones de España y Portugal com sus Presos* (Villa Franca [alias London], 1722). Bavarian State Library, 10863501 J.can.p. 714 1-1/2.

Fig. 4: Title page of *Relação Exactíssima, Instructiva, Curioza, Verdadeira e Noticioza, do Procedimento das Inquizições de Portugal* (Venice [alias London], 1750). The National Library of the Netherlands, KW 115 E 16 (via Books Google).

Comparing these four editions reveals numerous differences between the Portuguese (1722 and 1750) and the English (1708 and 1713) ones which exceed what one may expect in a simple translation of the same piece of writing. In the cases of both English editions, some variations are clear interventions by the translator to adapt the text to the target audience, which would have been English readers who were not familiar with some concepts. For example, in *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), it explains how much two *vinténs* were (“which is about 2 d. ½ English”); what a *familiar* of the Holy Office was (“which are those Persons empowered by the Inquisition to take Men up”); and the meaning of “being negatives” (“viz. for denying to the last their being Jews”).¹⁵ Other discrepancies are the result of misinterpretations of the Portuguese manuscript, as is evident by the spelling of some names, such as “George Firmoza” (this is a misinterpretation of the abbreviation “Frz Meza”, that is “Fernandes Meza”) and “Joan de Figuera” (the 1722 version gives this name as “João de Sequeira”).¹⁶ There are also other kinds of differences, and it is not possible to be sure whether they are translator interventions or variations in the copy-text.¹⁷ Some parts that are found in both Portuguese editions are absent in the English editions. For instance, *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708) does not include a part of §8 of *Noticias Reconditas* (1722), in which the endeavor of the Inquisition’s ministers to proselytize is compared pejoratively to the Catholic missions in Asia.¹⁸ It also does not include all of §29, which exhorts the “Holy Pontiffs of the Church” – those “distinguished and prudent Christian Princes who enlighten the world” and the only ones who would have the power to legitimate an Inquisitorial procedure such as the postponement of resolving trials, “but, if they have not legitimated it, it is justifiable to complain about it.”¹⁹ If the translator had chosen to make these omissions, they could also be interpreted as efforts to adapt the content to a predominantly non-Catholic audience.

However, what most immediately distinguishes the Portuguese editions from the English ones is their structure. One look at the pages of *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708) reveals notes in the margins that are missing in both Portuguese editions. However, the contents of these notes are not absent in *Noticias Reconditas* (1722) neither in *Relação exactíssima* (1750). A closer reading shows that they were incorporated into the body text, albeit not always in the same place in which they appear in the English editions.

The way in which the paragraphs are divided is also different. After §8, their structures no longer coincide. The English editions end with §121, which corresponds to §148-152 of *Noticias Reconditas y Posthumas*. However, neither Portuguese edition finishes here. After the final exhortation for reforming Inquisitorial procedures, the narrative continues, stating that the discussion will give way to the evaluation of “damages to the Portuguese Kingdom and its Conquests caused by proceeding and having proceeded against the wretched New Christians.”²⁰

After this, 23 more paragraphs were added concerning the impact of Inquisitorial persecution against the New Christians on Portuguese trade and industry. Social ostracism and the permanent threat of being arrested and their assets seized had led a great part of them to flee to other countries. This fact caused the Kingdom and its Overseas Empire to decline economically. The author lists several markets throughout Portugal that were in recession then, as well as cities and villages where *grandes homens de negócio* (great businessmen) lived that saw this entrepreneurial group depart. Because of this, the work concludes by advocating for the end of the separation between Old and New Christians in Portugal, as such segregation only helped to ruin the kingdom:

“Those who, with eyes of reason and piety and free of all passions and hate, consider such refined and true motives, will discover how much this afflicted People has suffered and the damages caused to the Kingdom and its Empire. With this being so right and

certain, how can someone dare to obstruct such a fit and justified remedy as the one that these wretched, afflicted people want? Those who are the most zealous serving God and their homeland should give their support to such a fair Request.”²¹

We should note that this claim was not among the main New Christian demands that lead to the suspension of 1674, although some memorials and letters sent to Rome included accusations against the Inquisition's discriminatory actions. However, arguments concerning the harmful impact of inquisitorial activity on the Portuguese economy were not new. In fact, seventeenth-century New Christian writers such as Duarte Gomes Solis (c. 1561-1632), the author of *Discursos sobre los Comercios de las Indias*, and diplomat Manuel Fernandes Vila Real (1608-1632), in his *Epitome genealogico del... Cardenal Duque de Richelieu* (Pamplona, 1641) and other writings, had already argued that the oppression of New Christians and the Inquisition's confiscation of their assets had damaged Iberian trade in the face of its European rivals.²² Similar reasons were outlined by Father António Vieira (1608-1697) in his proposal to King John IV in favor of the New Christians in 1646.²³ During the first half of the eighteenth century, this kind of argument was particularly welcome in a certain sector of the Portuguese government. D. Luís da Cunha (1662-1749) expressed it well in his *Testamento Político* (Political Testament) written in the 1740s. The diplomat, who had served the Portuguese crown in London, Paris, and The Hague, was of the opinion that the Inquisition was one of the *sangrias* (bloodletting) that had weakened the Portuguese Kingdom by causing the departure of New Christians along with their wealth and entrepreneurial impetus. Da Cunha calls for the abolition of the “New Christian” classification, and one of the solutions he proposes is to give Jews the freedom to live their religion through the creation of two Jewish ghettos in Portugal, one in Lisbon and another in Porto.²⁴

It is very likely that those compiling *Notícias* were keenly aware that certain Portuguese authorities could be sensitive to such economic arguments, influencing them to incorporate the paragraphs above in the text's 1722 and 1750 editions. After all, the language in which both were written as well as the clear effort to mask where they were *really* published suggest that part of their target audience was in Portugal. These paragraphs probably came later than the rest of the text, since they are also missing in all ten manuscript copies preserved in Portuguese archives that we have analyzed (see table in Annex).

Comparing these manuscripts with the printed versions of *Notícias* brings some clues concerning this text's complex composition to light. Such as in the case of the London editions, there are manuscripts with marginal notes and others that incorporated them into the body text. This fact allows us to identify three phases of composition (except the 23 extra paragraphs of the 1722 and 1750 editions): (1) the writing of the body text; (2) the addition of marginal notes; and (3) the incorporation of these notes into the running text.

At the end of an untitled manuscript preserved in the National Library of Portugal (BN 1531), which is composed of body text and marginal notes, a further annotation reads thus:

“This paper was written after Pedro Alvares Caldas got out of the [prison of the] Holy Office. It is said that he gave all information and details addressed here, and many also allege that it was written by Father António Vieira, also after being released from the Holy Office. It is said that the marginal notes were the work of Diogo Lopes Castro, a New Christian lawyer from the *Casa da Suplicação*, a wise literate with a reputation of being a trickster, who, after having annotated this paper with piety and erudition, presented himself before the Inquisition of Lisbon”²⁵

Among the handwritten and printed versions, this is the only copy that refers to these two characters of Pedro Álvares Caldas and Diogo Lopes Castro. The former was imprisoned by the Inquisition of Évora from 1655 until 1660, whereas the latter presented himself before the

tribunal of Lisbon in 1667.²⁶ Their association with the composition of *Notícias*, especially as per the annotation above, is unlikely, as all trials mentioned in the text are dated between 1660 and 1672. Therefore, it is impossible for Caldas to have had access to inside information about these trials since he was not imprisoned during that time. In addition, the marginal notes could not have been written before 1672, thus several years after Castro presented himself before the Inquisition of Lisbon.

However, this excerpt indicates that the text was written in two moments at least, something that is corroborated by some chronological data throughout it. Two of the New Christians persecuted by the Inquisition mentioned in *Notícias* are João de Sequeira and his brother, António, who “were taken up in Lisbon about thirty five years since, a little more or less.”²⁷ In reality, João and António de Sequeira were not arrested at the same time; the former was arrested in 1634, and the latter in 1637.²⁸ This information, in particular the case of António de Sequeira, matches with the years 1672-1673, which are currently assumed to be the years that *Notícias* dates to.²⁹ The reference to the *auto da fê* celebrated in Évora on 26 November 1673 in a marginal note proves that these remarks were added later.³⁰ Its incorporation in the running text of *Notícias Reconditas* (1722) and other further editions may have caused some mistakes in trying to date the original writing.

In fact, the third phase of *Notícias*'s composition – the incorporation of the marginal notes into the body text – caused a large number of discrepancies among the text's several versions. Indeed, the places where marginal note text was inserted do not always coincide with their locations in the versions with the actual marginal annotations. There was a tendency to insert these pieces of text after the paragraph where the note or notes were originally placed. As some paragraphs are very long, the narrative sometimes becomes confusing and inconsistent. However, this rule was not uniformly applied by all copyists.

Thus, it is possible to conclude that *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708) used a different copy-text than *Noticias Reconditas* (1722), which would have been a manuscript with the body text + marginal notes structure. Indeed, almost all the marginal notes in *An Account* correspond to those found in manuscripts with the same structure (see table in Annex), namely the aforementioned untitled copy from the National Library of Portugal (BN 1531), an also untitled manuscript belonging to the National Archive of Torre do Tombo (ANTT CG 244), and another copy named “Noticias Reconditas Do Procedimento das Inquiçõens De Espanha, e Portugal...” preserved in the Library of Ajuda (Ajuda 49-IV-18). The few exceptions are some explanatory remarks added by the translator to made the text more accessible to an English audience, such as, for instance, clarifying what a *caroucha* was or the meaning of being *encarouchado*.³¹ On the contrary, it is likely that *Noticias Reconditas* (1722) and *Relação exactissima* (1750) had shared the same copy-text or even that the latter was a copy of the former. Both have the same structure (running text without marginal notes) and the same number of paragraphs (175, with identical divisions), as well as the aforementioned 23 extra paragraphs. Additionally, both editions make the same error in dating the arrest of “Luis” (a kind of archetypical defendant made up by the author to exemplify the tricky development of Inquisitorial trials), indicating the year 1676 instead 1667, as appears in other versions.³²

The variants between both texts are not numerous. Despite some accidentals, we suppose that most of the substantive variants³³ are the result of the editor's intervention to emphasize an idea or to give it more drama, to amend inaccuracies, or to simply include additional data.³⁴ Despite the closeness between these two versions, *Relação exactissima* (1750) does not mention the 1722 edition anywhere. It is also true that there is no reference of the text not having been published before, something seen in the first edition of *Notícias* in Portugal in 1821 (the exact same year when the Holy Office was abolished in the kingdom), whose title

introduces it as “never published before.”³⁵ Furthermore, *Noticias Reconditas* (1722) also does not make any mention of the English editions that had preceded it, although it had used their preface. This fact raises some compelling questions concerning how the text was disseminated and the path it followed until being printed in London.

Fig. 5: *An Account of the Cruelties Exercised by the Inquisition in Portugal* (London, 1708), 2-3. National Library of Spain, U/7836.

Fig. 6: Extract from the manuscript ANTT CG 244 (fl. 111). Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Tribunal do Santo Oficio, Conselho Geral, liv. 244.

II. How did *Notícias* reach London? Circulating a hidden text

When presenting “a few remarkable passages from the justly esteemed Padre Antonio Vieira's account of the Inquisition,” the anonymous author of the polemical work *Authentic memoirs concerning the Portuguese Inquisition* (London, 1761) recounts how he found this text, which, according to him, had never been translated before. He had taken note of two or three original manuscripts in Vieira's handwriting and “many more in that of a Secretary of this Tribunal” who had fled to Venice. After transcribing one of these manuscripts when he was in Lisbon, he compared it with other copies preserved “in the libraries of some persons of distinction,” namely Dom José Barbosa (1674-1750), a famous Theatine cleric and preacher who became a chronologist of the Braganza dynasty, and his brother Diogo Barbosa Machado (1682-1772), a bibliographer and author of the four-volume bibliographic reference work *Bibliotheca Portuguesa*.³⁶ Copies of the text were numerous, and the author knew that there were “some Gentlemen, now in England, both natives and foreigners, who have seen the same manuscripts, and one or two, as I am well informed, who have likewise taken copies.”³⁷

The account from Father António Vieira that is mentioned here is nothing less than *Notícias*.³⁸ The information given by the *Authentic Memoirs*' author reveals how large the number of manuscript copies that ended up circulating throughout Europe had actually become and also posits a hypothesis regarding the text's authorship – with full confidence, no less.

This assumption is repeated in most of the manuscript copies we have analyzed (see table in Annex). The role Vieira played during the negotiations to suspend the Inquisition led him to become associated with various memorials and letters related to the New Christian cause before the Holy See, among them *Notícias*.³⁹ The actual authorship of some of these writings has not been proven yet.

However, the aforesaid Torre do Tombo's manuscript (ANTT CG 244) points to a different author. Dated 1703, this copy was incorporated in a codex with other writings concerning the Inquisition's proceedings. The text follows two documents signed by Pedro Lupina Freire, and, although untitled, it is named in the table of contents as a “Paper supposedly made by the same notary in favor of the New Christians and against the way of proceed of the Holy Office.”⁴⁰ Lupina Freire was a notary of the Inquisition of Lisbon from 1648 until 1655, when he was arrested for revealing Inquisitorial secrets.⁴¹ In 1672-1674, he was in Rome and was involved in the negotiations with the Holy See.

Lupina Freire has been linked to the text's composition since the first editions of *Notícias* or even earlier.⁴² In an invective against Father António Vieira written around 1738-1740, the inquisitor António Ribeiro de Abreu mentioned a fake rumor started by “Father Vieira and his henchmen” that implicated Lupina Freire as the author of *Notícias*.⁴³ That rumor, as it turns out, would have a grain of truth to it. In 1951, Hernâni Cidade stated that Vieira's authorship was unlikely, since the text does not reflect his literary style. Based on a letter Vieira wrote to royal confessor Father Manuel Fernandes in 1673, Cidade concluded that the

real author was more likely to have been Lupina Freire. In this letter, Vieira informed Fernandes that Lupina Freire was in Rome to negotiate the reforms of the Inquisition, adding that Freire had been a secretary for the Inquisition for many years and that his access to inside information concerning the tribunal could be extremely harmful.⁴⁴ In fact, Vieira's warning coincides with the first words of *An Account of the Cruelties'* preface:

“The Author of this Relation was a Secretary of the Inquisition in Portugal, which are the Persons who can give the best and most exact Account of the Proceedings of that Tribunal [...]”⁴⁵

The preface continues with the story of this anonymous secretary: he had left Portugal and gone to Rome around 1672, where he revealed the report to several cardinals. His actions in the Court of Rome led to the suspension of the Portuguese Inquisition from 1674 to 1681, when the text was made public and many copies were distributed, “several of which fell into the hands of Persons of the first Rank in Portugal.” After 1681, the aforementioned secretary remained in Rome, where he died. Meanwhile, manuscript copies of his report were disseminated in the “most of the noted Places of Europe.” The author of the preface notes that the copy he used had been sent by the secretary to Lisbon, which had the same marginal notes he also included in this edition. Unfortunately, he does not explain how this copy got to England from Lisbon.⁴⁶

However, some theories have been put forward in hopes of solving this mystery. Mariagrazia Russo hypothesizes that the person responsible for bringing *Notícias* to England would have been Gaspar de Abreu de Freitas, a close acquaintance of Vieira who moved to London in 1679 after serving as an envoy of the Portuguese crown to Rome from 1672 to 1676, in other words, during the time of the negotiations that led to the suspension of the Inquisition.⁴⁷ But it is very likely that the text reached English ground via more than one route. After all, as we

saw earlier, the author of *Authentic Memoirs* mentions several copies made by English gentlemen, and different copies of *Notícias* were used in both the 1708 and 1722 editions. In short, the questions of who the author of *Notícias* was and how the manuscript (or manuscripts) reached England still remain unsolved. However, a hypothesis advanced by Lucien Wolf raises a compelling point regarding the origin of the first English edition. He believes that the person responsible both for making sure the text reached England and for its translation and publication would have been the former Portuguese New Christian David Machado de Sequeira, a leading member of the Dublin Hebrew Congregation at the time. Around 1707, he was in London, “engaged in a plan for bringing some relief to the persecuted Marranos of Portugal.”⁴⁸ At the time, Sequeira wrote a letter that he was planning to send to King John V of Portugal along with a copy of *Notícias*, but the plan never went forward.⁴⁹

Then, Wolf places *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708) in this framework. However, there is not enough evidence to support this association of Sequeira's endeavors in London with the first edition of *Notícias*. If his target was indeed the Portuguese crown, there was no reason for an English translation of the text. An edition in its original language would have helped him accomplish his objective of raising the Portuguese authorities' awareness regarding the New Christian cause more efficiently. However, Wolf's assertion raises a relevant question: was the first edition of *Notícias* published thanks to Jewish initiative? Whether the text has such supposed Jewish background is not clear. In the preface, it is emphasized that the author of *Notícias* aims to make contributions to the reform of the Inquisition's proceedings instead of calumniating or maligning a tribunal “which he thought useful to his Religion.” The expression “his Religion” does not necessarily mean that the preface's author was not a Christian but merely that he was not a Catholic. However, he also subtly withdraws from this

reformist position, leaving it the “judicious Reader” to draw their own conclusions as to the usefulness of the Inquisition for “the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls.”⁵⁰

The influence of a Jewish hand is also not evident in the 1722 edition of *Noticias*. Its prologue is almost a completely faithful translation of the preface of *An Account of the Cruelties*, even only mentioning the “Relation of the detention of Mr. Luiz Ramè in the Inquisition prisons,” when other texts were also compiled there.⁵¹

More information concerning how *Noticias* reached London is given in the preface of the second part, which precedes an anonymous Spanish commentary (hereafter cited as *Reflexiones*).⁵² According to this preface, *Reflexiones* was written by an anonymous “illustrious Spanish nobleman” who lived in Rome, where he acknowledged the “Anonymous Relation that was circulating then with high praise among the most prominent cardinals and prelates of Rome,”⁵³ in other words, *Noticias*. Upon reading it, he sought to know its author. Following an encounter with him during a summer afternoon, the nobleman's view of the Inquisition changed and led him to go to Spain in order to confirm the facts alleged in *Noticias*. It was during this time in Spain that he wrote *Reflexiones*; however, he died two years after returning to Rome. Following this, one of his servants plundered a sealed trunk where the Spanish nobleman had kept *Reflexiones* and others texts, which probably also included a manuscript copy of *Noticias*; the servant then fled to London and delivered the documents to a trader (the preface's author). This trader then showed the manuscripts to an *inteligente sugeto* (a wiseman) to analyze them. The latter found they were worth printing, and he himself prepared their compilation, adding “everything he thought would be relevant to this subject.”⁵⁴

The accuracy of this story is impossible to prove, but a question remains: who was this mysterious *inteligente sugeto*?

Some years after the publication of *Noticias Reconditas* (1722), another work was published in the fake place “Villa-Franca” by a fake “Carlos Vero” (“True Carlos”) in 1705, a date which was also fake: *Respuesta al sermon predicado por el Arçobispo de Cangranor, enel Auto de Fe; celebrado en Lisboa, en 6. Setiembre anno 1705* (Reply to the sermon preached by the Archbishop of Cangranor [sic] at the *auto da fé*; celebrated in Lisbon on the 6th of September of 1705). The title page renders the relationship between the two works immediately identifiable: *Por el Author de las noticias reconditas de la Inquisicion. Obra posthuma* (by the author of *Noticias Reconditas*. A posthumous work). A second reply to the same sermon published afterwards, *Ante exordio à Resposta do Sermam que o Arçobispo de Cranganor pregou no Auto da Fé*, which was also anonymous and had a fake printing place (“Turin,” that is to say London), informs the reader that the author of *Respuesta al sermon* had already passed away but had been “a very learned Haham,” a master of the Hebrew language and a great scholar.⁵⁵

This is a clear reference to David Nieto, religious leader of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation of London from 1701 until his death in 1728.⁵⁶ Thus, he is here identified as the author of *Respuesta al sermon* and, consequently, of *Noticias Reconditas*. This identification, which was followed by some early historiography, merges the *persona* of the author and the compiler/editor.⁵⁷ Nieto was definitely not the author of any of the texts reproduced in *Noticias Reconditas* (1722), but he might have played a key role in compiling and publishing it, which was the kind of role that fitted his religious and scholastic character. After he assumed the religious leadership of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' congregation of London, Nieto had to deal with the emergence of the Enlightenment in England and its consequences within the community. According to David Ruderman, Nieto “accepted the formidable challenge of articulating a Jewish theology in consonance with the highest standards of rationality of his day,” as is clear in his works *De la divina providencia*

(London, 1704) or *Mateh DaN* (London, 1714).⁵⁸ Another challenge was integrating an ever-growing number of new members into the community, most of whom were coming from a Catholic environment and had been driven out by the Inquisition and the persecution it inflicted on them and their families.⁵⁹ Therefore, memories of prison and harassment were vivid among the community.

The anonymous writer of *Respuesta al sermon*'s preface tells that Nieto was persuaded by some of his friends to write that reply to the sermon of Archbishop of Cranganor.⁶⁰ It is also possible that the same people would have encouraged him to publish *Noticias Reconditas*. This was not an obvious choice for a *Haham*, since it was a collection of clearly Catholic texts, some of them even anti-Jewish in nature. For instance, in *Noticias*, the efficiency (or lack thereof) of the methods used by inquisitors to stymie Judaism are always critiqued from a negative point of view, namely that it was actually neither extirpating belief in the Law of Moses nor spreading the Law of Jesus Christ.⁶¹ Despite this, the principal aim of the text, as well as that of the other writings included in *Noticias Reconditas*, corresponded with the goals of the Jewish community in the sense that disseminating them would cause damage to the Inquisition's credibility. Perhaps more importantly, though, it would also call the tribunal's legitimacy (if not its efficiency alone) in persecuting New Christians into question. However, the only textual evidence of there having been Jewish involvement in the publishing of *Noticias Reconditas* is quite discreet but very meaningful. Comparing this reproduction of *Noticias* with the other manuscript and printed versions, we find that all mentions of "Jesus Christ" have been replaced by "God" or "Lord."⁶² This could possibly be interference from a compiler/editor who would not have been comfortable invoking the name of Jesus Christ. It is worth noting that we have found this variation only in this edition and in *Relação exactíssima* (1750).

Unlike *Noticias Reconditas*, the prologue of *Relação exactíssima* does not cast a shadow of a doubt regarding its publishers' Jewish origin. The author openly states that faith in Jesus Christ only generates discord and division, as the proliferation of Christian "sects" proves.⁶³ However, his main point was something else: the Inquisitorial persecution against the New Christians was not an unexpected tragedy but was, on the contrary, something the Sacred Scriptures had already prophesied. The Inquisition became an agent of Divine Providence, as it was unintentionally contributing to the perpetuation of Judaism in Portugal and Spain. If the intention of the inquisitors was to eradicate "the memory of the Jewish Law," their actions had a completely opposite effect: "this is so true that, in all Jewish synagogues, the Jews beg God to preserve the Inquisitions in Portugal and Castile so that Judaism shall not be lost in these Kingdoms."⁶⁴ Indeed, the argument that the Inquisition's methods were self-defeating was quite common. On the one hand, through sermons and public readings of edicts and sentences in which the "charges of Judaism" were exposed and each of the forbidden practices and rituals was specified, the tribunal helped (re)awaken the Jewish faith amongst those who had already forgotten or simply never knew its observances. On the other hand, the persecution and ostracism of New Christians led them to be socially and religiously misaligned, taking them away from the Catholic Church. This argument served the interests of both Catholic polemicists who pleaded for the tribunal to be reformed and Jewish writers, such as the author of *Relação exactíssima's* prologue, who viewed the Inquisition as another test for the Jewish people – which, just as with other tribulations in the past, they would overcome with the help of God's grace – and the main factor responsible for the persistence of Judaism in the Iberian kingdoms.

Therefore, *Relação exactíssima's* prologue leads us to suppose that its target audience was the New Christians and the Jews who were suffering or had suffered persecution as part of the Inquisition, giving them a kind of consolation for their misery. *Noticias Reconditas* (1722)

was probably intended for other purposes, aimed at reaching readers on the Iberian Peninsula with the hope of eventually reaching the Portuguese and Spanish authorities who could intervene and reform the Holy Office. For example, comparing the proceedings of the Inquisitions in Portugal and Spain to the Roman and Italian Inquisitions in the second part reveals the author's intention of providing a constructive example for reforming the Iberian tribunals.⁶⁵

However, *Noticias Reconditas* (1722) could not reach all these aspirations. Its circulation in Portugal and even in England was not wide. We have already seen that later editions of *Noticias* do not mention this work or even clearly ignore it. In his reply to *Noticias Reconditas* (1722), António Ribeiro de Abreu states that the work had been circulating in such a hidden and cautious manner that it took him 18 years to find and read it. This would be the reason why it had not already been censured by the Inquisition.⁶⁶ About five years later, though, Abreu wrote another invective against *Noticias Reconditas*.⁶⁷ Thus, despite its alleged modest circulation, the inquisitor felt the need to write two long replies against it. *Noticias Reconditas* was a hidden yet harmful work.

III. Uncovering *Noticias*: its reception by anti-Catholic polemicists

At this point, it is possible to suppose that the editions of *Noticias* would not have necessarily more widely circulated than its various manuscript versions. The text was copied, modified, adapted, remarked upon, summarized, and translated again and again. It assumed new intentions and meanings, getting used by publishers, compilers, and authors from different faiths as a banner for attacking the Portuguese Inquisition.

The first editions were produced at a time when anti-inquisitorial polemical literature was increasing in popularity in England, and the Portuguese Inquisition served as one of its main themes. Changes in Anglo-Portuguese economic and political relations since the middle of

the 17th century and the consolidation thereof after the War of Spanish Succession and the Methuen Treaty (1703) involved ever larger numbers of people and amounts of information moving between the two kingdoms. Reports on the methods used by the tribunal and stories of its victims reached England both by way of Portuguese emigrants and English subjects who had visited or lived in Portugal. Such was the case of Michael Geddes (c. 1650-1713), a former chaplain of the English factory in Lisbon who returned to London and became a fruitful polemicist. Geddes had been dismissed from his post in Lisbon after a brief encounter with the Portuguese Inquisition because of religious services he would hold in the English consul's house.⁶⁸ The scars left by this episode were expressed in the works he published after returning to England, especially in his work *Miscellaneous Tracts* (London, 1702).

The hundreds of Iberian New Christians who fled to England and settled in London during the first half of the eighteenth century had even deeper scars. According to A. S. Diamond, the number of Iberian New Christians settling in England rose to about 1500 between 1720 and 1733 alone, the period when this northward migration reached its zenith.⁶⁹ Most came from Portugal, as the *ketubot* (marriage contracts) registers of the Jewish Congregation of London make clear. The number of couples in the *ketubot* registers who are identified as “vintos de Portugal” (having come from Portugal) largely surpasses the number of couples identified as “vintos de Espanha” (having come from Spain).⁷⁰ The feelings and traumatic memories of these newcomers took on subtle but effective expression in literature. A good example of this can be found in Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna's *Espejo Fiel de Vidas* (London, 1720), a paraphrasing of the Book of Psalms wherein the author peppers the text with references to his personal experience as a *converso* arrested by the Spanish Inquisition.⁷¹ However, this movement of Iberian New Christians to London was not the main factor for the increase in criticism against the Iberian Inquisitions in early eighteenth-century England. Indeed, there were other political and social reasons behind it as well. The menace of the

Jacobite risings strengthened anti-Catholic sentiment in Hanoverian England, and the ultimate expression of the cruelty and intolerance constantly associated with “Popery” was the Inquisition.⁷² The fear of the instauration of this tribunal in England fueled the proliferation of anti-Catholic pamphlets and books, some of them directly approaching this possibility. Such was the case, for instance, of *An Authentick Narrative of the Original, Establishment, and Progress of the Inquisition* (London, 1748), one of whose main subject matters was “*The Efforts used by the Church of Rome, to establish this Tyranny in Great Britain,*” as alluded to in its title. Another such example includes John Marchant's *The Bloody Tribunal: or, an Antidote against Popery* (London, 1757), which had the specific and declared mission of being: “*Designed for the Use and Instruction of all Protestant Families, to secure them as well against the Attacks of Popery, with which our Religion and Liberties are at this Time threatened [...].*”⁷³

The accounts and life stories of victims of the Inquisition like Isaac Martin, Louis Ramè, Charles Dellon, or William Lithgow – all of whom were Protestants – were repeatedly quoted, invoked, and integrally or partially reproduced as real examples of the cruelties suffered through at the hands of the Iberian Inquisitions.⁷⁴ According to Francisco Bethencourt, the Protestants were at the heart of the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century controversy against the Inquisition, playing a decisive role for the development of the *topoi* for anti-Inquisition polemical literature.⁷⁵

By contrast, Jewish/New Christian voices are heard essentially indirectly. When they do appear, they are sources or case studies – hardly ever authors. The Portuguese second reply to the Archbishop of Cranganor's sermon is a rarity for this genre, having been written by a Jewish author and published in London, but it is especially directed to a non-English audience. The case of Laguna's *Espejo Fiel de Vidas* is different. Despite its mentions of the sufferings of the Inquisition's victims, it is not a polemical work in essence. Also Nieto's

Respuesta al sermon... is more of a work aimed at arguing a theological controversy than a writing against the Inquisition. In fact, Nieto's mentions of the Inquisition are sparse, and he confines himself to attacking the Archbishop of Cranganor's anti-Jewish argumentation, especially his misuse of Jewish sources.

In “A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Inquisition in Lisbon...”, Michael Geddes presents a rare example of an alleged first-person report of a Jewish victim of the “bloody tribunal.” Geddes never reveals the victim’s name, but he informs the reader that the narrator was a Portuguese merchant and “a Person well known” who had been imprisoned almost five years, beginning when he was 25 years old. After being released, he fled to London and embraced Judaism. The first part of this text was allegedly “taken the substance of this Relation in Portuguese, from the Sufferer's own Mouth” and recounts his arrest, the deplorable conditions of the jail, the torture administered therein, and how he was forced to confess things he had not done. This is followed by a set of questions asked to him, the main topic of which is his break with the Christian faith. His interlocutor scrutinizes the reasons why he had left Portugal and Christianity, and “he answered, That being sensible of the Methods us'd to bring People into the Inquisition, and being but a new Christian, was fearful lest he should be again brought back into that Hell.” The argument of the self-defeating methods used by the Inquisition is again claimed. Then, the interlocutor tries to convince him to keep his faith in Jesus Christ, embracing the Protestant faith – after all, his conversion to Judaism was more of a practical decision than the result of deep religious convictions. The anonymous “sufferer” recognizes that he had embraced the Jewish religion because of his bonds with Portuguese Jews in London, “who had kindly entertain'd him, and who all spoke either Portuguese or Spanish, which were the Languages understood.”⁷⁶

Geddes' “Narrative” ended up finding another life beyond its first appearance amongst *Miscellaneous Tracts'* pages. In 1713, a version with numerous edits was incorporated in the

anonymous work *An abstract of the account of the proceedings of the Inquisition in Portugal*, though the source was left unidentified.⁷⁷ The same work also includes another polemical text entitled “An abstract of the Inquisition in Portugal” that briefly addresses the tribunal's structure and hierarchy before revealing its methods. As for the interactions between keepers and detainees, namely the ways in which the former would give greater attention to young, attractive female prisoners, the author makes reference to the following case:

“There's now living at Madrid, a Woman, who has so great a Sense of Honesty and Shame, that, because of what happened to her in the Inquisition, she will not see the Face of any Body, and lives at Madrid in this retired Manner, for Shame Sake.”⁷⁸

This case is also mentioned in *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), almost with the same words.⁷⁹ Thus, it is likely that the anonymous author of *An abstract of the account...* would have extracted this example from it.

Indeed, *Notícias* would become a source used by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century anti-Catholic polemicists to make arguments to attack the Inquisition. Evidence of its circulation, even before its first Portuguese edition, are traceable also outside England. The second volume of *Memoires Historiques pour servir a l'histoire des Inquisitions* (Cologne, 1716) by the Jansenist author Louis-Ellies Dupin (1657-1719) includes a part dedicated to the Portuguese Inquisition whose main source is *Notícias*, although this fact is not mentioned anywhere.⁸⁰ Indeed, the title of this section is “Contenant l'établissement de l'Inquisition dans le Royaume de Portugal tiré du Voyage de M. Dellon,”⁸¹ although none of its contents correspond with Charles Dellon's *Relation d'un voyage des Indes orientales* (1685) or *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa* (1687).⁸² After a brief overview of the establishment and functioning of the Portuguese Inquisition, the text, from the second chapter (“De la maniere dont en usent les Inquisiteurs de Portugal, envers ceux qui ont le malheur de tomber entre

leurs mains”) onward, is a French abstract of *Notícias* until §116 (according to the 1708 English edition).

Even after its London-based Portuguese editions, *Notícias* continued its life as a manuscript, which is how it reached the hands of the author of *Authentic Memoirs concerning the Portuguese Inquisition* (1761), as mentioned above. Structured as a set of letters to an unidentified friend, the fourth letter is dedicated to “convincing the unprejudiced” of the “genuine character” of the Inquisition's ministers. The strategy to achieve this goal is found in a free translation into English of an excerpt of *Notícias* regarding *autos da fé*, the postponement of Inquisitorial trials, and the use of torture. These topics are illustrated by the case of Maria da Conceição and her sisters, three virtuous young women who were subjected to “a complication of injustice, cruelty, and glaring perjury, as can no where be parallell'd, but in the Tribunal, where the horrid scene was laid.”⁸³

This case leads the author to reflect briefly on the ostracism and persecution the New Christians were subjected to in Portugal. This idea is omnipresent throughout *Notícias*, and there are other passages that approach this question in stronger terms. However, the innocence and youth of these unfortunate damsels and the suffering of their father, who saw the full extent of the Inquisition’s violence striking his children, were quite likely to touch the reader, strengthening the author's disdainful view of the Inquisition and its methods. As mentioned in the preface, *Authentic Memoirs* was originally written as a reply to “an apology for that infernal Court” published by “a late anonymous Scribbler.”⁸⁴ That “apology” was *Second Part of the Satirical Review of the Manifold Falsehoods and Absurdities Hitherto Publish'd, Concerning the Earthquake...*, a polemical pamphlet published in 1756 that criticized the proliferation of books and leaflets with attacks on the Inquisition and the Portuguese government after the 1755 earthquake in Lisbon.⁸⁵ The principal target of *Second Part of the Satirical Review* was Scottish polemicist Archibald Bower (1686-1766), who had,

by then, already published three volumes of his *History of the Popes* (1748-1766). This led to Bower being associated with the authorship of *Authentic Memoirs*, a claim that still remains unproven.⁸⁶

The influence of *Notícias* on English anti-Catholic literature continued into the early nineteenth century. In *The history of the Inquisitions, including the secret transactions of those Horrific Tribunals* (London, 1810), the radical London-based publisher John Joseph Stockdale (c. 1776-1847) found a wealth of compelling examples in *Notícias* to support his arguments. The work was a shocking response to the gradual legislative achievements British Catholics had conquered in the years leading up to its publication. Its intention was to undermine Catholic emancipation, which Stockdale made clear in the preface.⁸⁷ In it, he warns readers of the harmful “rapid advances” by the “Popery,” even asserting that “the embryo of the Inquisition [...] is actually established in every part of the United Kingdom.”⁸⁸ By putting the cases of several victims of those “horrific tribunals” on display, the author aimed to illustrate the kinds of dangers closing on the kingdom.

All examples of convicts sentenced by the Portuguese Inquisition that Stockdale presents are from *Notícias*, despite some discrepancies and a number of misspelt names.⁸⁹ However, he never mentions *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708) or *Noticias Reconditas* (1722) as sources. The episodes of Maria da Conceição and Andre Francisco Teinders (a misspelling of Tendeiros) are reported immediately after the story of Marco Antonio de Dominis (1560-1624), a former archbishop of Spalato and primate of Dalmatia and Croatia who went to England in 1616, where he became author of several controversial works against Popery, and ended up getting arrested by the Inquisition after returning to Rome.⁹⁰ All three are introduced as “a few of the cases which occurred both in Europe and in Indies,” without Stockdale quoting their sources, and are followed by examples of *Diminutos* (those whose

confessions were not accepted as complete by the inquisitors) taken “from the history of the Inquisition, printed in 1769.”⁹¹

The work that Stockdale is referencing here is not evident. However, in the “Advertisement” for the reader, wherein the author reveals his sources (“Independently of the favor of some few communications from gentlemen well acquainted with the countries in which the Inquisition existed, the Editor had had recourse to the following books amongst many others [...]”), he cites the work *Memoirs of the Portuguese Inquisition* (London, 1761). This is probably an incomplete reference to *Authentic memoirs concerning the Portuguese Inquisition* (1761), which was republished in 1769, such as the “history of the Inquisition” mentioned by Stockdale.⁹² However, this work only refers to the cases of Maria da Conceição and André Francisco and not to any of those whose source has been identified as being the aforementioned book printed in 1769. These episodes that Stockdale mentions follow the same order found in *Notícias*, although their contents appear in a highly distorted and/or quite summarized form. Therefore, two hypotheses may be put forward: Stockdale consulted one of the English editions of *Notícias* but, for some reason that we are not quite yet able to understand, he does not reference either of them; or he referred to a work (perhaps another English edition or adaptation of *Notícias*?) whose identity and whereabouts are impossible to ascertain.

An additional piece of evidence that *Noticias Reconditas* (1722) was read and appropriated lies in the reproduction of other texts that it was comprised of. In 1730, its second part was translated and published in London under the title “Reflections on the Proceedings of the Inquisitions of Spain and Portugal” in the work *An Account of the Rise and Present State of the Inquisitions...*,⁹³ preceded by an introduction whose main source was Philipp Limborch's *History of the Inquisitions*. At the end, the work also included the report on Louis Ramé's case. The report of the personal experience of this French Protestant in the prison of the

Inquisition of Mexico, originally written in the 1680s, was one of the most reproduced texts by eighteenth-century anti-Inquisition literature. It appears included in *A General History of the Proceedings and Cruelties, of the Court of Inquisition; in Spain, Portugal, &c....* (London, 1737), *An impartial account of many barbarous cruelties exercised in the Inquisition in Spain, Portugal, and Italy...* (London, 1738), and John Marchant's *The Bloody Tribunal* (London, 1756). All versions are identical to the one published in *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), without the initial letter to "Madam De ____." However, this does not mean that all of them had used the 1708 (or 1713) edition as copy-text. It is quite probable that the transmission of this text had happened through other means. For instance, John Marchant might have used one of the works from the 1730s. This is actually a rather good example of how these kinds of texts were disseminated and appropriated: not linearly, based on one unique source, but instead via multiple, complex routes which are hard to demystify, creating problems for determining where they came from and who wrote them.

IV. Conclusion

Maria da Conceição was a nun arrested for alleged heresy. Alfonso Nobre was a noble gentleman who ended up being imprisoned by the Inquisition of Coimbra "under the charge of being a new Christian." The way in which Stockdale presents the several cases he adapted from *Notícias* is indicative of his position regarding the history of persecution of the Jewish population in the Iberian kingdoms. Throughout his report of these dramatic episodes from the Portuguese Inquisition, he almost conceals the nature of their charges. Explaining what kind of crime this "innumerable multitude of victims" was accused with, Stockdale says that it is "generally the being *Christianos nuevos*, or new Christians" and adds that they had no escape because, "if they continued Jews or Moors, they were burned; if they became converted, they were burned."⁹⁴ It is worth noting that all cases he refers to concern

defendants accused of Judaism. In fact, charges of Islamism were minimal during the Portuguese tribunals.

Stockdale's position is far from pro-Jewish. According to Michael Ragussis, *The history of the Inquisitions* was written with the intention of keeping “the English national secure from Catholic and Jewish influence,” since Jewish claims for civil and political rights bore a resemblance to demands for Catholic emancipation.⁹⁵ Stockdale's work was written with very specific goals in mind and was framed in a rather particular context, but the same disregard of the Jewish/New Christian question can be generally observed throughout English Protestant anti-Catholic literature.

The work places its focus on the injustice of the tribunal's methods, the intolerance of other religious views, and the savagery and mercilessness of its proceedings, which included, namely, the use of torture, dreadful prison conditions, and the humiliation of the defendants at the *autos da fé*. The narratives of the Inquisition's victims were successfully welcomed by readers as instances illustrative of the tribunal's arbitrariness and cruelty. As Michaela Valente states, the rising number of editions and re-editions of these kinds of polemical writings in England was not only the result of a specific political and social framework but also the result of a popular (sometimes even morbid) curiosity related to the almost exotic subject of the Iberian and Italian Inquisitions. The absence of a similar institution in England was unequivocal proof of moral superiority and a source of pride for English people.⁹⁶

This is the scenario in which the first editions of *Notícias* arise: a polemical Catholic text, published at the initiative of Jewish compilers (at least the Portuguese versions) and appropriated by Anglican authors as a source of argumentation against the Inquisition and, thus, against Popery. *Notícias*, with its sordid details on life in the dungeons and its moving stories of young women who were tortured and children who were taken from their parents, was undoubtedly in line with the preferences of readers in England. Being a seventeenth-

century text, its chronology even coincided with most of the texts that were repeatedly reproduced and adapted by anti-Inquisition literature published in England throughout the eighteenth century.⁹⁷

However, the New Christian question, which was the key focus of *Noticias*, and the context that drove its author to pen the work are barely touched upon by these later works. *Authentic Memoirs* (1761) is one of the few examples where this problem is approached directly and clearly. Even so, it only takes up three of the thirty-seven letters/chapters that the work is comprised of.

Indeed, unlike the sensationalism found in *Noticias'* descriptions, this would not have been a matter of interest to readers who were English, Anglican, and probably not keen on the New Christian cause. After all, an anti-Jewish sentiment remained alive in English society and gained new vigor with the debate surrounding the Jewish Naturalization Bill in 1753.⁹⁸

The New Christian victims did establish a presence in English anti-Catholic literature but were mainly examples of the “barbarous cruelties” exercised by Iberian Inquisitions, listed side by side with the cases of popular Protestant defendants like Charles Dellon and Isaac Martin. They are almost seen as a whole. The different frameworks and the kinds of accusations used become secondary when faced with a larger cause: showing the Inquisition as “that Emblem of Tophet beneath, for Horror, Torture, and Vexation: in Few Words, That Hell upon Earth!”⁹⁹

Annex

ID	Reference	Characteristics
BN 1531	Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Cod. 1531, fls. 16-53v.	No title. An annotation written in pencil in the margin of the first page: “Vieira.” Complete. Body text + marginal notes.* Paragraphs partially numbered (until § 22). At least two different sets of handwriting (one person’s handwriting found in the body text and marginal notes and another individual’s in the additions and amendments written in the margins or overline). A final annotation on the authorship of the text, written with a different person’s handwriting (perhaps the same used in the amendments). Several erasures and amendments.
BN 1532	Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Cod. 1532, fls. 21-57v.	Title: “Cópia do largo memorial que se apresentou a S. Santidade por parte da gente de nação hebreia deste reino, o qual constantemente se crê ser feito pelo Padre António Vieira atrás referido e nomeado” (Copy of the long memorial presented by the people of the Hebrew nation of this Kingdom before His Holiness, which is commonly attributed to the aforesaid Father António Vieira). Complete. 199 paragraphs. Some marginal additions (fls. 22v, 33, 44, 51-52v). A part of the marginal notes which were incorporated in the body text are annotated with the mention “notta” (note) in the margin. Some of them also indicate the chapter to which they are related. For example, “notta ao cap. 14” (fl. 26v); “notta ao dito capítulo sobre as mulheres” (fl. 27v). No erasures. Some sentences are underlined. Two sets of handwriting (a few marginal annotations are written with a different set of handwriting than the body text).
BN 9441	Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Cod. 9441, fls. 178-244.	Title: “Papel feito pelo Padre António Vieira na ocasião da causa dos cristãos-novos com o Santo Ofício por ordem do Sr. Pontífice, achando-se em Roma” (Paper written by the Father António Vieira on the occasion of the New Christian cause against the Holy Office by order of the Pope, when he was in Rome). Complete. 199 paragraphs. Two erasures (in the title and fl. 201). One set of handwriting.
BN 9228	Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Cod. 9228, fls. 261-358.	Title: “Noticias reconditas do módo de proceder o Sancto Officio de Portugal com os seus presos. Informação que [a]o Papa Clemente X deu o P.º Antonio Vieyra: A qual o mesmo Pontífice lhe mandou fazer, estando o d.º Vieyra em Roma, na ocasião da cauza dos christãos novos com a Inquizição, pretendendo a mudança dos seus estylos de processar: por cujo motivo, esteve a d.ª Inquizição fexada por tempos” (Recondite account concerning the proceedings of the Holy Office in Portugal with its prisoners. Information given by Father António Vieira to Pope Clemente X: which the Pope had ordered Vieira to write when he was in Rome, on the occasion of the New Christian cause against the Inquisition, intending for its procedures to be reformed, for which reason the Inquisition was temporarily suspended). Incomplete (until §85 (p. 86) of the 1722 edition). Two marginal annotations (fls. 312v, 325). Three sets of handwriting (two in the body text – change in fl. 330v –, and one other in the aforementioned marginal notes).
BN 2679	Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Cod. 2679, pp.	Title: “Papel q fes o P.º Antonio Vieira na Occasião da Causa dos Christãos novos com o Santo Officio” (Paper written by

	1-28.	Father António Vieira on the occasion of the New Christian cause against the Holy Office). Incomplete (until §13 (p. 21) of the 1722 edition). Unnumbered paragraphs. One marginal amendment (fl. 25). One set of handwriting.
BN 523	Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Cod. 523.	Title: “Noticias Reconditas do modo de proceder o Sancto Officio de Portugal com os seus Prezos. Informaçam que ao Papa Clemente X ^o deu o P. ^e Antonio Vieira. A qual o mesmo Pontifece lhe mandou fazer estando o d. ^o Vieira em Roma, na Ocasiao da Cauza dos Christãos novos com a Inquizição pertendendo a mudança de seus estillos de processar por cujo motivo esteve a ditta Inquizição fexada per tempos” (Recondite account concerning the proceedings of the Holy Office in Portugal with its prisoners. Information given by Father António Vieira to Pope Clemente X: which the Pope had ordered Vieira to write when he was in Rome, on the occasion of the New Christian cause against the Inquisition intending for its procedures to be reformed, for which reason the Inquisition was temporarily suspended). Incomplete (until §48 (p. 57) of the 1722 edition). One set of handwriting. No erasures. Final remark: “Não me adianto mais per não fazer volumozo compendio, pois p. ^f dizer falta munta coiza, e algumas que entrego ao silencio, e q. ^m ler podera conhecer pelo q digo o m. ^{to} mais que terei p. ^f dizer. Fim. O Padre Antonio Vieira” (I will not continue so as to not make this book very lengthy, as there remains a lot more to be said, some of these things I will keep in silence. Those who read it will know from what I have said how much more I have to say. The end. The Father António Vieira).
BN 799/3	Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Cod. 799/3 (available online: http://purl.pt/28610).	Title: “Papel feito p. ^{lo} P. ^e Ant. ^o Vr. ^a na occazião da cauza dos Christãos novos com o S. ^{to} Off. ^o por ordem do Santíssimo Pontifice achando-se em Roma” (Paper written by Father António Vieira on the occasion of the New Christian cause against the Holy Office by order of the Holy Pontiff when he was in Rome). Complete. Interpolated (ordered folios: 1-133v; 148-149; 134-147v). 119 paragraphs (the last ones are not numbered). No erasures. One set of handwriting.
Ajuda 49-IV-18	Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda, 49-IV-18.	Titlepage: “Noticias Reconditas Do Procedimento das Inquiziçoens De Espanha, e Portugal Com seus Prezos Por Antonio Vieira, Missionario Apostolico da Companhia de Jezu Em Villa Franca 1720” (Recondite account concerning the proceedings of the Inquisitions in Spain and Portugal with their prisoners by Antonio Vieira, apostolic missionary from the Society of Jesus In Villa Franca 1720). Complete. 182 paragraphs. One set of handwriting. No erasures.
Ajuda 49-IV-21	Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda, 49-IV-21, fls. 68-108v.	Title: “Papel que na ocazião da cauza dos christãos novos com o S. ^{to} Off. ^o fez o P. ^e An. ^{to} Vr. ^a da Companhia de Jezu &. ^{as} ” (Paper written by Father António Vieira, S.J., on the occasion of the New Christian cause) Complete. Body text + marginal notes. 166 paragraphs. One set of handwriting. Two erasures (fls. 81v, 100).
ANTT, CG 244	Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Tribunal do Santo Officio, Conselho Geral, liv. 244, fls. 111-139.	No title. Complete. Body text + marginal notes. 120 paragraphs. One set of handwriting. No erasures. Some underlined words and overline annotations. 120 paragraphs.

¹ This writing is commonly named as “Notícias Recônditas,” based on the edition of 1722. Some of the manuscripts we have analyzed have no title, including the older ones. Others are simply presented as a “Paper” or a “Memorial,” and three of them are indeed entitled “Notícias Recônditas” (see table in Annex). In order to not create confusion with the 1722 edition, we will cite it simply as *Notícias*.

² See Ricardo García Cárcel and Doris Moreno Martínez, “La Inquisición y el debate sobre la tolerancia en Europa en el siglo XVIII,” *Bulletin Hispanique* 104, 1 (2002): 195-213; and Michaela Valente, *Contro l'Inquisizione: Il dibattito europeo secc. XVI-XVIII* (Torino: Claudiana, 2009), 148-161.

³ *An Account of the Cruelties Exercised by the Inquisition in Portugal...* (London: Printed for R. Burrough and J. Baker, 1708), 1. Hereafter cited as *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 38, 101 (respectively).

⁵ See Herman P. Salomon's note in António José Saraiva, *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquisition and Its New Christians 1536-1765*, translated, revised, and augmented by Herman Prins Salomon (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 67, n.

6. See also a good abstract of *Notícias* in chapter 3 of this work.

⁶ *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), 115-116.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁸ Regarding the negotiations that led to the Inquisition's suspension, see Giuseppe Marcocci and José Pedro Paiva, *História da Inquisição Portuguesa 1536-1821* (Lisboa: A Esfera dos Livros, 2013), 202-209; Yllan de Mattos, “Uma batalha de papéis: a suspensão e as críticas à Inquisição Portuguesa (1670-1674),” *Revista de Historia Moderna* 33 (2015): 33-55.

⁹ Some examples of books printed for R. Burrough and J. Baker could be found at the end of *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708).

¹⁰ “Frank village,” also the name of a town in Portugal near Lisbon.

¹¹ Recondite and Posthumous Account concerning the Proceedings of the Inquisitions in Spain and Portugal with their prisoners, divided in two parts: the first one in the Portuguese language, the second in Spanish, both derived from Catholic Apostolic and Roman authors, eminent for their dignity and learning. A work both curious and instructive, compiled with additions by an Anonymous Author. Hereafter cited as *Noticias Reconditas* (1722). The National Library of Portugal keeps one copy with date of 1720 and the same title, although without the word “Posthumus” (posthumous). The pagination is identical to the 1722 edition. This is the only specimen known, which has raised questions about its authenticity. According to Herman P. Salomon, this book is possibly a partial copy of the 1722 edition but with a false title page (Herman P. Salomon, *Queimar Vieira em Estátua. As Apologias (1738, 1743) do Senhor Inquisidor António Ribeiro de Abreu em resposta às Notícias Recônditas atribuídas ao Pe. António Vieira (1608-1697)* (Lisbon: Cátedra de Estudos Sefarditas Alberto Benveniste, 2014), 36, n. 33). Augusto da Silva Carvalho also mentions a Latin edition

published in London in 1722: *Notitiæ reconditæ de processu inquisitionum in Hispania et Lusitania adversus illos qui in carceribus illarum detinentur* (Augusto da Silva Carvalho, “As diferentes edições das «Notícias Recônditas»,” *Anais das Bibliotecas e Arquivos* XVII, 67-68 (1944): 74). However, it was not possible to identify the whereabouts of this edition.

¹² Exact, instructive, curious, true, and informative report on the proceedings of the Inquisition in Portugal presented before Pope Innocent XI by Father António Vieira from the Society of Jesus. Hereafter cited as *Relação exactíssima* (1750).

¹³ *Relação exactíssima* (1750), viii: “Se tems Curiosidade, leos na Escriptura Sagrada, e te sera muy util a Sua Liçam, tanto para Desengano de superstiçoens, como para a salvaçam da Alma, lendoa com o Entendimento livre, e Sô posto na verdade do que ella dis, por que quasi todas as Naçoens do Mundo, ou sejam Calvinistas, Papistas, Lutheranos, ou Mahometanos, e todas as demais Sectas, so a entendem conforme a sua Paxam, e Gosto.”

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, title page: “Em Veneza com Licença do Santo Officio.”

¹⁵ *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), 10, 4, 86 (respectively).

¹⁶ *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), 82, 90 (respectively); *Noticias Reconditas* (1722), 95, 100 (respectively).

¹⁷ Copy-text: according to McKerrow, it is “that early text of a work which an editor selected as the basis of his own” (cited by W. W. Greg, “The Rationale of Copy-Text,” *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950): 19).

¹⁸ *Noticias Reconditas* (1722), 10.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 35: “Não deu nesta traça de averiguar heresias, ou outros delitos graves, nenhum dos S. Pontífices da Igreja, nenhum dos Insignes, e prudentes Principes Xpãos, que illustrarão o Mundo, e se destes, ou dos mais estillos athe aqui referidos ouve da Seè Apostolica, ou regimento aprovado, por ella, será justificado este procedimento, mas se o não ouver será justificada a queixa de elle.”

²⁰ *Noticias Reconditas* (1722), 126-127: “Agora se podem considerar os damnos, que de aqui se tem originado a o Reino de Portugal, e suas Conquistas, tudo causado do modo com que se tem procedido e procede contra os miseraveis Xpãos Novos.”

²¹ *Ibid.*, 137-138: “Quem com os olhos da rezaõ, e piedade libre de toda a paixãõ, e odio considerar estas rezoems tão ajustadas, e verdadeiras acharà o que esta afligida Gente tem padecido e os danos que tem acontecido a este Reyno, e suas Conquistas, e sendo isto assim tão certo, e infalivel como he, como há quem se atreva a inpedir hum remedio tão ajustado, e justificado como estes miseraveis, e afligidos pretendem? Sendo que os mais Zelosos no serviço de Deos, e bem da Patria os deviaõ ajudar a este seu tão justo Requerimento.”

²² On Duarte Gomes Solis and Manuel Fernandes de Vila Real, see, amongst several other works: Nathan Wachtel, “The «Marrano» Mercantilist Theory of Duarte Gomes Solis,” *Jewish Quaterly Review* 101, 2 (2011): 164-188,

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41300132>; Carsten L. Wilke, “Manuel Fernandes Vila Real at the Portuguese Embassy in

Paris, 1644-1649: New Documents and Insights,” *Journal of Levantine Studies* 6 (2016): 153-176.

²³ António Vieira, *Obras escolhidas* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1951), 4:28-29.

²⁴ Abílio Diniz Silva, ed., *Testamento político de D. Luís da Cunha* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2013), 121.

²⁵ Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Reservados, Cod. 1531, fl. 53v (hereafter cited as BN 1531): “Este papel se fez depois que saíu Pedro Alvares Caldas do Santo Officio, o qual dizem que dera toda a relação e termos particulares do que nele se trata e não falta quem também diga que foi fabricado com a pena do P.º Ant.º Vieyra, também depois de sair do Santo Officio. As cotas marginais afirmam ser de Diogo Lopes Castro, xn, advogado da Casa da Suplicação, bom letrado, e a fama disse-mo trapaceiro. O qual depois de o cotar com tão bom trabalho, piedade e erudição se apresentou na Inquisição de Lisboa por culpas.” The folio is cut here.

²⁶ Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Tribunal do Santo Officio (hereafter cited as ANTT, TSO), Inquisição de Évora, trial 1022 (Pedro Álvares Caldes); ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, trial 1238 (Diogo Lopes Castro).

²⁷ *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), 89.

²⁸ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, trials 5427 (João de Siqueira), and 2416 (António de Sequeira).

²⁹ See Saraiva, *The Marrano Factory*, 61; Salomon, *Queimar Vieira*, 35.

³⁰ *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), 105.

³¹ See *ibid.*, 94-95.

³² *Noticias Reconditas* (1722), 59; *Relação exactissima* (1750), 42. All manuscript copies we have analyzed indicate the year 1667, as well as *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), 49. It is possible an accidental error of the copyist or the typographer occurred.

³³ Accidentals: formal variants, such as spelling or punctuation, for instance. Substantives: variants that affect the meaning of the phrase/text (see Greg, “The Rationale of Copy-Text,” 19-36).

³⁴ Some examples of these variants: when describing the conditions of the Inquisition's jails, *Noticias Reconditas* (1722) notes that there were five vases for urine and five for water for five prisoners (p. 14), while *Relação exactissima* (1750) mentions that these five prisoners only had two vases for urine and one for water in the jail (p. 10); the 1750 edition corrects the misinterpretation of the abbreviation “m.ºm” in *Noticias Reconditas* (1722), in which it is read as “mayor,” greater, (p. 98) instead of “morador,” resident (*Relação exactissima*, p. 69); at the end of the text, *Relação exactissima* (1750) develops a sentence of 1722 edition – *Noticias Reconditas*, p. 137: “não estivera este Reyno tão enfamado entre todas as Naçoens do Mundo” (this kingdom would not be so ill reputed among all nations of the world) –, adding the following explanation: *Relação exactissima*, p. 95: “de que todos os Portuguezes são Judeus, cuja fama se deve somente ao procedimento, do Santo Officio, e as suas listas que se acham espalhadas por tudo elle” (that all the Portuguese people are Jews, whose reputation is due only to the procedures of the Holy Office and its *auto da fê* lists are found

spread throughout).

³⁵ *Noticias Reconditas do modo de proceder a Inquisição de Portugal... Documentos curiosissimos, e nunca publicados até agora* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1821).

³⁶ Innocencio Francisco da Silva, *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1859-1860), 2:144-147, 4:259-264

³⁷ *Authentic memoirs concerning the Portuguese Inquisition, never before published...* (London: Printed for W. Sandby, 1761), 47-48, footnote. Hereafter cited as *Authentic memoirs* (1761).

³⁸ Israel Solomons, "David Nieto and some of his Contemporaries," *Transactions (Jewish Historical Society of England)* 12 (1928-1931): 49. The said account corresponds to §54-§58 of *Noticias Reconditas* (1722), 61-67.

³⁹ See Mariagrazia Russo, "As *Notícias Recônditas* e os problemas de autoria," *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas* 15 (2016): 71-84. Russo maintains that *Notícias* was the result of a collaborative work between António Vieira and Gaspar de Abreu Freitas, who was on a diplomatic mission in Rome at the time.

⁴⁰ Lisbon, ANTT, TSO, Conselho Geral, liv. 244, no numbered folio: "Papel, que se presume fes o mesmo Notario em favor dos xx. nn. e contra o modo de proceder do S.^{to} Off.^o."

⁴¹ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, procs. 4422 and 17738.

⁴² See an analysis of this hypothesis in Anita Novinsky, "Padre Antonio Vieira, the Inquisition, and the Jews," *Jewish History* 6, 1-2 (1992): 151-162, <https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/BF01695216.pdf>.

⁴³ Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora, Cod. CXIII/1-23d, published in Salomon, *Queimar Vieira*, 152.

⁴⁴ Vieira, *Obras escolhidas*, 139-140 (note).

⁴⁵ *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), unnumbered page (preface).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Russo, "As *Notícias Recônditas*," 82.

⁴⁸ Lucien Wolf's proscript to Bernard Shillman, "The Jewish Cemetery at Ballybough in Dublin," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* XI (1924): 165. The source quoted by Wolf is manuscript no. 499 from Henrique de Castro's collection. David Machado Sequeira returned to Dublin before going to Bordeaux, which is where he was in 1734. At that time, he preached a sermon during David Ergas la Cour's funeral, which was published in Amsterdam. See Meyer Kayserling, *Biblioteca española-portuguesa-judaica* (Strasbourg: Charles J. Trubner, 1890), 100.

⁴⁹ This letter, which ended up never being sent, belonged to Henriques de Castro's collection, which was auctioned off in 1899. See J. Vitta Israel & Jacq. Lamed, dir., *Catalogue de vente de la succession de feu M. D. Henriques de Castro Mz.* (Amsterdam: 1899), 52, mss. 499. Unfortunately, it was not possible to find this manuscript.

⁵⁰ *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), unnumbered page (preface).

⁵¹ *Noticias Reconditas* (1722), unnumbered page (“Prologo”). In addition to Ramé’s report, this second part of the work also includes extracts from Pope Innocent XI’s brief and an excerpt of a seventeenth-century Italian work concerning the Inquisition of Rome and other Italian cities (“Sagrada Atarazana dela Inquisicion de Italia”).

⁵² “Reflexiones sobre las Noticias Reconditas del Procedimiento de las Inquisiciones de España y Portugal con sus presos” (Reflections on the recondite account of the proceedings of the Inquisitions in Spain and Portugal with their prisoners).

⁵³ *Noticias Reconditas* (1722), part II, iv: “Que haviendo venido a su mano la Relacion del Anonimo, que corria entonces con mucho aplauso entre los mas ilustres Purpurados y Prelados de Roma.”

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, viii: “Añadiò todo lo que le pareciò acertado sobre este Articulo.”

⁵⁵ *Ante exordio à Resposta do Sermam que o Arçobispo de Cranganor, Pregou no Auto da Fé. Que fes em Lisboa, em 6 de Setembro de 1705...* (Turin [i.e., London]: Officina de Jorge de Cervantes, 1709 [that is after 1728]), 35-36. See Herman P. Salomon, “New Light on the Portuguese Inquisition: the second reply to the Archbishop of Cranganor,” *Studia Rosenthaliana* 5, 2 (1971): 178-186; Carla Vieira, “A graça e a desgraça das relíquias do Judaísmo. O sermão de D. Frei Diogo da Anunciação Justiniano, arcebispo de Cranganor e as suas respostas: circulação e reapropriação,” *Lusitania Sacra* (forthcoming).

⁵⁶ See Solomons, “David Nieto”. See also David Ruderman’s works mentioned below.

⁵⁷ *Memorias de litteratura portugueza* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1793), 326-327; Kayserling, *Biblioteca*, 77.

⁵⁸ David Ruderman, *Jewish thought and scientific discovery in early modern England* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001), 325. See also Ruderman, “Jewish Thought in Newtonian England: The Career and Writings of David Nieto,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 58 (1992): 193-219; Ruderman, *Jewish Enlightenment in an English key: Anglo Jewry's construction of modern Jewish thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 185-188.

⁵⁹ Sarah Mimran, “Une minorité et son guide spirituel: la communauté séfarade de Londres et le rabbin David Nieto (1701-1728),” *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique* XVII, 2 (2012): 39, <http://journals.openedition.org/rfcb/671>.

⁶⁰ “Al lector” in *Respueta al Sermon Predicado por el Arçobispo de Cangranor enel Auto da Fé Celebrado en Lisboa, en 6. Setiembre Anno 1705...* (Villa-Franca (that is London), [s.d.] (that is after 1728). Israel Solomons assumes that the author of this preface may be the Haham's son, Isaac Nieto (Solomons, *David Nieto*, 57).

⁶¹ See *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), 117-118.

⁶² For example, “O good Jesus apply thou the Remedy” (*An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), 13); “Oh bom Deus! Aplicay remedio” (*Noticias Reconditas* (1722), 18). Also, “But we beg, for the love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ,

of those who may harbour” (*An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), 119); “Pello amor de Deos, rogamos a os que assim julgão” (*Noticias Reconditas* (1722), 126).

⁶³ *Relação exactíssima* (1750), xv: “Os mesmos que creem em Christo, he con tanta variedade, e disonancia quanto vay de Christam Papista, a Christam Calvinista, ou Lulterano, e demais Sectas.”

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, xviii: “E tanto assim, que em todas as Synagogas de Judeos, pedem que Deus conserve as Inquições, em Portugal, e Castella, para que o Judaismo se nam perca nos dittos Reynos.”

⁶⁵ *Noticias Reconditas* (1722), part II, 65-86.

⁶⁶ Salomon, *Queimar Vieira*, 150.

⁶⁷ See *ibid.*, 239-719.

⁶⁸ See L. M. E. Shaw, *The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance and the English Merchants in Portugal, 1654-1810* (Aldershot, 1998), 170-174.

⁶⁹ A. S. Diamond, “Problems of the London Sephardi Community, 1720-1733 – Philip Carteret Webb's Notebooks,” *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 21 (1962): 40, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29777990>.

⁷⁰ See London Metropolitan Archives, Spanish and Portuguese Jew's Congregation, LMA/4521/A/02/03/003, LMA/4521/A/02/03/004 (by permission of the Board of the S&P Sephardi Community of London); and R. D. Barnett, “The Correspondence of the Mahamad of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 20 (1959-61), 4, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29777965>.

⁷¹ Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna, *Espejo Fiel de Vidas...* (London: 1720). For more about this work, see Ruth Fine, “The Psalms of David by Daniel Israel López Laguna, a Wandering Marrano,” *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, ed. Kevin Ingram and Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 3:45-62.

⁷² See Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in eighteenth-century England, c. 1714-80: A political and social study* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

⁷³ John Marchant, *The Bloody Tribunal: or, an Antidote against Popery* (London: 1757), titlepage.

⁷⁴ See Emil van der Vekene, *Bibliotheca Bibliographica Historiae Sanctae Inquisitionis* (Vaduz: Topos Verlag, 1982), 1:428-450.

⁷⁵ Francisco Bethencourt, *História das Inquições: Portugal, Espanha e Itália* (Lisbon: Temas & Debates, 1995), 307.

⁷⁶ Michael Geddes, “A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Inquisition in Lisbon...,” in *Miscellaneous Tracts*, (London: Printed for A. and J. Churchill, 1709), 1:545. The original edition is from 1702.

⁷⁷ Another version of the same text was also included in *A General History of the Proceedings and Cruelties, of the Court of Inquisition; in Spain, Portugal, &c....* (London: 1738) .

⁷⁸ *An abstract of the account of the proceedings of the Inquisition in Portugal* (London: Printed for John Baker, 1713), 5 (n. a).

⁷⁹ *An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), 17: “But there is now living at Madrid a Woman who has so great a Sense of Honesty and Shame, that because of what has happened to her in the Prisons of one of the Inquisitions of Portugal, she will not see the face of any Body, and lives now in Madrid in this retires manner for shame sake.”

⁸⁰ Solomons, *David Nieto*, 48-49.

⁸¹ Louis-Ellies Dupin, *Mémoires historiques pour servir à l'histoire des inquisitions enrichis de plusieurs figures* (Cologne: Chez Denys Slebus, 1716), 2:3-148.

⁸² The *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa* is indeed reproduced in the second volume of *Mémoires Historiques* but only in the following part (book V).

⁸³ *Authentic memoirs* (1761), 45, 59.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, iv-v.

⁸⁵ See Ana Cristina Araújo, “The Lisbon Earthquake of 1755 – Public Distress and Political Propaganda,” *e-journal of Portuguese History* 4, 1 (2008),

https://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue7/pdf/aaraujo.pdf.

⁸⁶ See *General catalogue of printed books: additions, 1963* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1964). For more on Bower, see Eamon Duffy, “«Poor Protestant Flies»: Conversions to Catholicism in Early Eighteenth Century England,” *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978): 289-304,

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0424208400009062>; Raffaella Zambuto, “Il Settecento Vagum e Ribelle di Archibald Bower,” *Annali di Storia delle Università Italiane* 13 (2009): 163-174.

⁸⁷ Michael Ragussis, “Writing Spanish History in Nineteenth-Century Britain. The Inquisition and «the Secret Race»,” *Sephardism: Spanish Jewish history and the modern literary imagination*, ed. Yael Halevi-Wise (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 61.

⁸⁸ John Joseph Stockdale, *The history of the Inquisitions, including the secret transactions of those Horrific Tribunals* (London: Printed for J. J. Stockdale, 1810), xvi.

⁸⁹ For instance, Stockdale introduces Maria da Conceição, a young woman from Vila Viçosa condemned by the Inquisition (*An Account of the Cruelties* (1708), 51) as a nun: “sister Maria of the Conception” (Stockdale, *The history of the Inquisitions*, 224). Also Maria Mendes, who was born at Fronteira and lived in Elvas (*An Account*, 84), is presented as “Maria Mentas,” “a native of Fueintera, who lived at Clues” (Stockdale, 228).

⁹⁰ See W. B. Patterson, “The Peregrinations of Marco Antonio De Dominis, 1616-24,” *Studies in Church History*, 15 (1978): 241-257, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0424208400009037>.

⁹¹ Stockdale, *The history of the Inquisitions*, 215, 228.

⁹² This title appears in a few auction catalogues, for instance: *White's Sale Catalogue, for the year 1784...* (London, 1784), 54, no. 1354; *Bibliotheca Sussexiana. The extensive and valuable library of his Royal Highness the late Duke of Sussex...*, part I (London, 1844), 236, no. 5137; *Catalogue of the remaining portion of the extensive library of John Black...* (London, 1844), 2:26, no. 498. In *A Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia...* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman & Company, 1835), the title *Authentic memoirs of the Portuguese inquisition, with reflections on ancient and modern popery, and the causes of its alarming progress in this kingdom*, published in London in 1761 (p. 130), is listed.

⁹³ *An Account of the Rise and Present State of the Inquisitions shewing, that those of Spain and Portugal are contrary to the Divine and Political Laws, and more cruel and tyrannical in their Proceedings than that in Italy...* (London: Printed for J. Brotherton, 1730), 14-52.

⁹⁴ Stockdale, *The history of the Inquisitions*, 229.

⁹⁵ Ragussis, "Writing Spanish History," 61-62.

⁹⁶ Valente, *Contro l'Inquisizione*, 163.

⁹⁷ Garcia Cárcel and Moreno Martinez, "'La Inquisición y el debate': 198.

⁹⁸ See Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England 1714-1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), 86-117.

⁹⁹ *An abstract of the account of the proceedings...*, iii.

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* We use the expression "Body text + marginal notes" in cases where the manuscript is structured such that parts of its text are in the margins. In later versions, these marginal remarks were incorporated into the body text.