

The Merchant, the Priest, and the Shoemaker: Jewish-Christian Millenarianism and Messianism Seen from Below in 18th Century Bahia

*O mercador, o padre e o sapateiro: Milenarismo e messianismo
judaico-cristão vistos de baixo (Bahia, século XVIII)*

Ademir Schetini Júnior¹

Fluminense Federal University (UFF), Brazil
ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4307-052X>
E-mail: schetinijr@yahoo.com.br

Recepção: 13.03.2026

Aprovação: 13.05.2026



Abstract: In the early 18th century, commissioners in Salvador, Bahia, forwarded to the Lisbon Holy Office a list of accusations categorizing New Christians' conduct as heretical. This inventory documented critiques of the Inquisition and possession of prohibited texts. One merchant in particular was accused of maintaining a bookshop, a library, and shelves filled with books. This study reveals both the intensification of Jewish identity and cultural exchange during this period, alongside a corpus of "shameful words" directed against the Inquisition. These expressions promoted Mosaic law while blending Christian millenarianism with Jewish messianic ideals. Judeo-Christian messianism emerged as a dominant theme, and many anticipated the coming of the Messiah, who would arrive to judge humanity and dismantle the Inquisition. This study focuses on the manuscripts produced by the Portuguese Inquisition, especially the "prosecutor's notebooks" and the proceedings. This is a case study that analyzes the existence of a system of transgression of the institutional order present in the interstices of the literate elites and the popular classes of the Modern Era. This article reframes debates on colonial religiosities, particularly 18th-century Crypto-Judaic practices.

¹ Ademir Schetini Júnior is a PhD candidate in History at Fluminense Federal University (UFF), a researcher at the Center for Iberian and Colonial History of the Early Modern Period Companhia das Índias/UFF. The author thanks Centro Integrado de Tradução e Escrita (CITE/UFF) for assistance with English language translation and editing. This study was financed in part by the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior – Brasil (CAPES) – Finance Code 001.

Keywords: Bahia de Todos os Santos; Crypto-Judaism; New Christians; Portuguese Inquisition; Judeo-Christian messianismo

Resumo: No início do século XVIII, os comissários de Salvador enviaram ao Santo Ofício de Lisboa uma lista de acusações nas quais classificavam a conduta dos cristãos-novos como proposições heréticas. O inventário de heresias incluía críticas à Inquisição e posse de obras proibidas. Um mercador, em particular, foi acusado de possuir livraria, biblioteca e estante repleta de livros. O texto destaca o fortalecimento do sentimento judaico e da circulação cultural no século XVIII, ao mesmo tempo em que apresenta um corpus de “palavras vergonhosas” usadas contra a Inquisição. Essas expressões buscavam exaltar a lei de Moisés, com nuances de milenarismo cristão e messianismo judaico. O messianismo judaico-cristão era um tema vigente na época e muitos anelavam apressar a vinda do Messias para julgar os vivos e os mortos e, assim, pôr fim à Inquisição. Este estudo centra-se nos manuscritos produzidos pela Inquisição Portuguesa, especialmente nos “cadernos do promotor” e nos processos inquisitoriais. Trata-se de um estudo de caso que analisa a existência de um sistema de transgressão da ordem institucional, presente nos interstícios das elites letradas e das camadas populares da modernidade. O trabalho levanta novas questões sobre as religiosidades coloniais, particularmente os criptojudaísmos do século XVIII.

Palavras-chave: Bahia de Todos os Santos; criptojudaísmo; cristãos-novos; Inquisição Portuguesa; Messianismo judaico-cristão.

When will you appear, O Hidden One,
Oh dream of Portugal down the ages,
And make me more than the fitful sigh
Of some vast yearning God created?
Fernando Pessoa in *Mensagem* (1998)

Two centuries had elapsed since King Manuel I of Portugal decreed the forced conversion of Jews in 1497 (Marcocci, 2012, pp. 69-70, 131). During the process of Catholic unification, Jewish people became subjects of the king and the Church through baptism, which became mandatory in both the center and the frontiers of the Lusitanian empire (Marcocci, 2012, p. 369 *et seq.*). The practice of the Jewish religion, including synagogue gatherings, liturgical observances, and the reading of sacred texts, was forbidden. Baptism became the rite of passage through which the descendants of Jews fell under ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The forced conversion of Iberian Jews coincided with the empire’s maritime expansion, ending centuries of religious coexistence among Christians, Jews, and Muslims. Portuguese ships sailed to the four corners of the world in search of spices, commercial exploitation, and the formation of lordships in hitherto unknown territories. This process involved the use of military force and the diffusion of the Christian faith. Colonists and missionaries ventured to new

lands, and while pre-1497 expeditions included both Christians and Jews, afterward, only *conversos*—descendants of Iberian Jews—joined the Old Christians in these journeys.²

The New Christians' modern diaspora forged vast, multidirectional networks, often beyond the reach of the Inquisition, established under Dom João III (1536). Between the 16th and 18th centuries, Brazil became one of the destinations for New Christian settlers with different social, legal and economic conditions. In Salvador, also known as the city of Bahia, transporting material goods was challenging, but some settlers preserved intangible heritage, represented by enduring traces of Jewish religiosity. Drawing on Portuguese Inquisition manuscripts, this study advances debates on colonial crypto-Judaism.

Bahia attracted many New Christians due to its status as administrative capital of Portuguese America until 1763. Though the region lacked a permanent Inquisition tribunal, the Lisbon Inquisition exerted influence in the captaincy; its presence was evident during the First (1591–1595) and Second Visitations (1618–1620), and again under Governor-General António Teles da Silva (1590–1650). Denunciations of Old Christians and *conversos* were the responsibility of the bishopric, Inquisition officials and the broader population.

After the inquiry, which confined New Christians in the secret prisons of the Inquisition (Novinsky, 1972, p. 60 *et seq.*), a considerable part of the *conversos* returned to Bahia during the gold and diamond boom at the beginning of the following century, settling in urban areas and near the ports (Severs, 2016, pp. 40–41). Many of them integrated with the local population, deflecting suspicions of blood impurity through marriages (Mello, 2009; Mattoso, 1983, p. 12).

As a society in constant economic and cultural transformation at the beginning of the 18th century, Bahia possesses unusual cases in the inquisitorial records. It is worth mentioning Father Manoel Lopes de Carvalho, a Jesuit, who defended heterodox ideas in relation to those established by the Council of Trent. The priest's purity of blood was uncertain in the procedural definition, but it likely had little influence on the theology he sought to develop. In fact, comparing himself to the mysterious king Malki-Tzedek of Jerusalem (Bereshit 14:18–20, In Torá, 2001), he argued with the Holy Office's qualifier that he was “*sine patre, sine matre, sine genealogia*” (without father, without mother, without genealogy) (Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo–Tribunal of the Holy Office/Inquisition

² The term *converso* is employed in international historiography to designate Jews who converted to Christianity and their descendants, especially in the context of the Spanish Inquisition. In Portugal, the more common equivalent is *New Christian*, a category that acquired specific legal and social contours following the forced conversions of 1497.

of Lisbon [ANTT-THO/IL], 1723-1726, Trial 9255). In addition to writing theological treatises—including one with 66 articles—the priest revived and radicalized the old millenarian ideas of Antonio Vieira, seeking to defend them before Dom João V (Araújo Jr., 2006, pp. 61-63, 83-85; Romeiro, 2001, pp. 139-143). Incarcerated, reluctant, and swearing by the God of Israel, Manoel would end up calling himself Messiah and eventually face his last moment as a heretic. The judges of the faith, in the short interval between 1726 and 1727, issued six edicts concerning the priest, and promulgated another twelve, prohibiting the circulation of his manuscripts (ANTT-THO/IL, 1720-1731, Correspondence sent by the Portuguese Inquisition). These provisions crossed the Atlantic with the purpose of educating and alerting the population about the errors of such a doctrine.

In the 18th century, Judeo-Christian messianism remained prevalent, and many individuals yearned for the Messiah's imminent arrival. The ideas of other Jesuit priests, such as António Vieira, João Matheus Faletti and Valentim Estancel were echoed beyond conventual circles. The Jesuit college in Bahia, known simply as "the College" to the Portuguese, was strongly influenced by the sermons and writings of Father Vieira, elderly but lucid, who remained in the city until his death in 1697. Romeiro (2001, p. 150) states that "The first years of the 18th century found the Jesuits of Bahia strongly entangled with the millenarian legacy of Vieira, as they were immersed in speculations surrounding biblical prophecies and the establishment of the Fifth Empire". The first four empires were, for Vieira, the Assyrian, the Persian, the Greek, and the Roman; their successor, the Fifth Empire, would be the Portuguese.

In this context, Bahian commissioners compiled and sent to Lisbon a list of propositions deemed heretical and scandalous concerning the New Christians. This included the possession of prohibited books, discussions of messianic themes, criticism directed at the Inquisition, and the sorts of content considered a serious affront to the purity of the Catholic faith. It is important to note that, from the 1720s onwards, Bahia sent a significant number of New Christians to Lisbonite prisons. This mass incarceration was closely tied to the emergent trade in the Minas Gerais' region and the gold and diamonds that glittered at court. Indeed, when the Inquisition renewed its "attraction" to Brazil in the 18th century (Marcocci & Paiva, 2013, pp. 305-329), its actions intensified, and it became evident that most prisoners fit a profile similar to earlier cases: those accused of Judaizing.

This situation reflected the enduring suspicion and surveillance targeting New Christians in Bahia, as well as the persistence of religious conflicts and co-

lonial tensions. The Inquisition, as both a royal and religious institution, played a pivotal role in controlling and repressing deviations from Catholic orthodoxy.

Among the denunciations was that of an individual named Amaro de Moraes, who adopted what was termed the “anthroponymy of survival” (Lipiner, 1998, p. 53 et seq.), as he assumed a new identity in Salvador: Luís Mendes de Moraes. The Old Christian merchant Bernabé Cardoso accused him before the commissioner, alleging that Moraes had an unsavory reputation and had changed his name “as it is known by people who know him that his name was Amaro de Moraes and today he is known as Luís Mendes de Moraes, [...] generally held in this land to be of ill repute” (ANTT-THO/IL, 1696-1711, Prosecutor's notebook [PN.] 75). It is important to note that name-changing was a common strategy among those condemned to exile. Amaro de Moraes was said to have been sent Angola as a prisoner, but managed to escape while in the ports of Pernambuco.

Luís Mendes de Moraes was a New Christian born in Portugal's Beira region who became a resident of Bahia, where he worked as a merchant operating a shop adjacent to his residence, located between Santa Casa da Misericórdia and Palácio do Governador. His business involved selling various goods.

The circulation of products necessary for daily subsistence encompassed not just tax contractors but a wide range of commercial agents and mercantile activities responsible for distributing diverse goods. These operations typically consisted of small and medium-sized enterprises spread throughout the city, forging an informal network of establishments—variously called shops, stores, and taverns—that sold a wide variety of wares catering to customers of different economic means and consumption habits (Sousa, 2012, p. 232).

In May 1715, while being held for outstanding debt, he appeared before inquisitorial commissioner João Calmon, and identified himself as Luís Mendes de Moraes - a widower who supported himself through mercantile activities. He also mentioned he was residing in Santa Sé parish, and stated his age as fifty-five years (ANTT-THO/IL, 1714-1716, Trial 7489-1).

However, the merchant's background remains obscure, complicating efforts to reconstruct his genealogical history. Some attributed this obscurity to his name changes; others maintained he had been exiled to Angola and subsequently escaped at an Atlantic port. Regardless of these circumstances, he numbered among those who journeyed to America—whether voluntarily seeking fortune or fleeing religious persecution. In Bahia, Mendes de Moraes married by proxy Maria Coutinho, a New Christian woman from the Rio de Janeiro captaincy (Rheingantz, 1967, p. 605) who belonged to the family line of António José da Silva. This lawyer and playwright, famously nicknamed “the Jew”, would later be sentenced to death by the Inquisition in 1739 (Dines, 1992). The couple had

two children, Ana Gomes Coutinho and João de Moraes Montesinhos, both later convicted of Judaizing. Maria Coutinho died before the persecution reached her social circle - as did Mendes de Moraes himself.

In Bahia's tropical landscape, Mariana Soares, connected by blood to Maria Coutinho, found herself immersed within the sugar mill aristocracy, born into a traditional New Christian lineage. This familial tie would later facilitate Mendes de Moraes' own entry into the mill-owning elite— even if he did not, strictly speaking, belong to the economic or intellectual elites. Thus, he became a frequent visitor to the residence of Mariana Soares and her husband, Manuel Lopes Henriques. This domestic tranquility was interrupted in 1706 when authorities arrested Henriques on accusations of Judaizing (Schetini Júnior, 2018, pp. 34-36). Notably, the charges against this prominent mill owner already implicated Mendes de Moraes as an attendee of secret religious gatherings. Both men were accused of doing *esnoga* (a term denoting the clandestine practice of Judaism) in locations spanning from urban Salvador to the surrounding Recôncavo region.

From Matoim in the Bahian Recôncavo, an accusation was lodged with the Inquisition following the arrest of Lopes Henriques. A known agent of the Holy Office, originally from Goa (India), detailed the alleged transgressions of the crypto-Jewish group. Among the accused was Luís Mendes de Moraes, described as “a relative of these named individuals, [who] lives in the manner of the others, [and] has a vegetable garden (horta) of his own outside the city, which they call the Rose of the Mill”. The denouncer further claimed that in this place, they “held synagogue meetings with many of his heretical cell; this is spoken of publicly in conversations, as is spoken of the rest” (ANTT-THO, IL, Received Correspondence, 1683-1710). Whether true or false, these impressions date back to the first decades of the colony. The denunciations from Bahia (1591-93 and 1618-20) contain “several vague and explicit references to the existence of synagogues in private homes and in the sugar plantations/estates” (Lipiner, 1969, p. 91).

Mendes de Moraes managed his small merchant business near his residence in São Pedro prior to relocating to the Santa Sé parish. His legitimate children were baptized in the Sé Church, and João de Sousa—chancellor and magistrate of the High Court of Bahia—served as their godfather. Through these political connections, Luís developed a friendship with the physician Francisco Nunes de Miranda, who was a compadre (co-godparent) of Archbishop Dom Sebastião Monteiro da Vide. Luís Mendes de Moraes had been a friend of the Bernal Nunes de Miranda family since their arrival in Brazil (Schetini Júnior, 2024), as documented in Inquisition records (ANTT-THO/IL, 1714-1716, Trial 7489-1). Their relationship developed into a formal business alliance when they

jointly contracted tithe revenues in Santo Amaro de Sergipe do Conde around 1701 (Biblioteca Nacional, 1949, p. 158).

Amid these developments, the family appointed Nunes de Miranda's nephew and New Christian David de Miranda as tithe collector, tasking him with traveling through the Recôncavo region to gather payments. Luís formally recorded and renewed the contract when his friend faced Inquisition troubles. While collecting the tithe revenues of Sergipe do Conde, the physician was detained in Bahia and taken to Lisbon to answer charges of Judaizing dating back to 1669. Yet the alliance with Nunes de Miranda endured into the next generation: their respective daughters, Ana Gomes Coutinho and Ana Bernal de Miranda, became both neighbors and bound their families through godparenting (Schetini Júnior, 2018, pp. 196-197).

Let us now turn to the accusations. Between 1706 and 1718, the inquisitorial commissioners Frei Rodrigo do Espírito Santo, João Calmon, and António Pires Gião collected testimonies from Old Christian citizens regarding the heretical activities of the figure in question. In their reports to the Lisbon Inquisition's prosecutors, the deponents denounced the actions of Amaro or Luís as contrary to Catholic faith. Notably, the process extended over twelve years, as the arrest warrant could not be executed—Luís had died shortly before the decree was issued. The merchant was accused of attending Jewish gatherings at the house of a sugar mill owner, his distant relative, of formulating heretical propositions, and of possessing forbidden books, including a Bible in the vulgar language, which was prohibited by the Inquisitorial Index between 1551 and 1757.

Some witnesses even claimed that Luís "in matters touching our Holy Catholic Faith, was as if doubtful in them". In 1712, he was arrested in Bahia, possibly over contractual debt disputes. By 1718, the accusations had intensified. New denunciations emerged, alleging that Luís never attended church or any chapel; although others testified to having seen him at masses in Salvador, the Catholic stronghold. Furthermore, during his time in the public jail, complaining prisoners reported that he shrugged his shoulders during religious ceremonies.

The errors of this individual continued to "clog the ears" of the inquisitorial agents. One man, Manuel Moreira Bravo, explicitly condemned Luís's ideas as inadmissible, including his skepticism toward saints' miracles and his dismissal of St. Anthony's representation holding the baby Jesus. Luís reportedly distrusted saints in general; according to the denouncer, he even declared bluntly that the saint of the day "was in heaven back here", as if pointing behind him. Moreira Bravo retorted to his jail companion: "My friend, from what I hear from Your Worship, I understand that you must follow the old law, for I follow the

new law of Jesus Christ and believe in His most holy mysteries and in the Holy Catholic Church”. With that, he went out the door as a denouncer. Testimonies from additional witnesses, including Manuel Garcia de Moura Rolim and Captain Manuel de Ozeda e Alaya, confirmed that while imprisoned with them, Luís Mendes de Moraes had expressed the aforementioned heretical views (ANTT-THO/IL, 1710-1716, PN. 83).

The merchant and captain Gonçalo de Brito explicitly stated his suspicion that Luís de Moraes was a “Judaizer”, an accusation corroborated by a dozen witnesses. These accusations extended beyond Luís to other New Christians in his circle, particularly the aforementioned landowner Manuel Lopes Henriques. According to the accusers, Henriques’s residence in the city served as a venue for clandestine religious assemblies, referred to as “gatherings” (ajuntamentos) (ANTT-THO/IL, 1696-1711, PN. 75). In any case, as noted, the accusations against Luís extended beyond typical crypto-Jewish practices, echoing theological propositions associated with the Company’s College located near his residence.

What proves significant are the cultural networks operating during this period, especially those connected to messianic-millenarian ideologies. Despite official censorship and limited literacy rates, segments of the population circumvented the restrictions imposed by the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. These individuals gained access to forbidden works, including Bibles “in language” (vernacular Bibles such as the Ferrara edition). Bahia’s New Christians were no exception in this regard. A particularly notable case was that of Manuel Mendes Monforte, a physician, businessman, and sugar mill owner, whose personal library contained over 200 volumes (Novinsky, 1976, p. 202), including prohibited messianic texts.

Arrested in 1721 and convicted in 1723, Monforte faced charges over possessing and disseminating heretical materials. Among the seized items were copies of Faletti’s manuscripts, which the Holy Office’s theological censor deemed to contain errors and heresies related to the “millenarians”, as well as portions of Father António Vieira’s *Clavis Prophetarum*. The inventory notably included “commissioned translations” of Latin texts (ANTT-THO/IL, 1711-1723, Trial 675), demonstrating active engagement with restricted theological works. Recently, the original text of the *Clavis* was recognized in Rome. It is relevant to mention João Matheus Faletti, who arrived in Bahia in the 1680s,

precisely when Vieira was completely absorbed in writing the *Clavis Prophetarum*. Faletti soon became influenced by the millenarian fervor that had spread among the Jesuits. Upon his death in 1730, Antonil noted in his obituary that Faletti had left behind a Latin

treatise expounding Vieira's *Clavis*; titled *De Regno Christi in Terris Consummato/Tractatus, i quo Regnum Christi illenarium/Millenariorum Haeresibus*. This was the very work Father Manoel Lopes de Carvalho later admitted to the inquisitors he had contact with—and where he allegedly encountered those controversial propositions about the imminent Fifth Empire (Romeiro, 2001, pp. 150-151).

Unfortunately, the titles of other works from Dr. Monforte's collection were not documented. Nevertheless, these surviving examples reveal the existence of a literate culture among Bahia's New Christians, who actively sought out texts that nourished both religious fervor and messianic expectations. Even amid Church and Inquisitorial restrictions, the circulation and engagement with these prohibited works testify to a persistent intellectual and spiritual resistance among certain colonists.

Luís Mendes de Moraes thus gained notoriety for maintaining what was described as a "bookshop, library, or shelf with many books", a collection ranging from small to large volumes that included both printed works and manuscripts. Fortunately, some of these titles were recorded in the official documentation. The contents of Luís' library provide valuable insight into Bahia's intellectual milieu, which participated in a global network of millenarian thought spanning East and West (Delumeau, 1997, p. 151-247). The Holy Office specifically received reports that this New Christian possessed "[...] some prohibited books, and persuades and facilitates that they be read". This was particularly egregious as it violated the Inquisitorial Regiment of 1640 (Regimento, book III, tit. 19, 2004), which prohibited the reading and possession of heretical works. More gravely, Luís actively distributed these forbidden texts not just among fellow New Christians, but even loaned them to Old Christians in the city.

Such conduct represented an additional provocation which violated Inquisitorial regulations and enabled access to strictly forbidden materials. This practice of circulating prohibited texts demonstrates interaction between different social groups and active participation in spreading heterodox thought. Through these means, a covert network emerged, disseminating ideas deemed dangerous by post-Tridentine religious orthodoxy. These actions directly challenged the Inquisition's authority, intensifying both the severity of charges against the accused and the urgency to bring him to trial. Significantly, when testifying before Holy Office ministers, Old Christian accusers never admitted to having read the controversial works themselves.

João António Olores, a Galician-born tobacco tax collector residing in Salvador, disclosed to Commissioner, Priest João Calmon, details of his dealings with the accused heretic. His testimony revealed multiple interactions with the

merchant that had aroused his suspicions. Olores's account not only corroborated existing accusations against Luís Mendes de Moraes but also provided new evidence reinforcing the alleged heresies against the Church doctrine. These disclosures significantly strengthened the prosecution's case. The complete testimony was meticulously recorded in the ecclesiastical notarial records:

Through occasional conversations with Luís Mendes de Moraes, a notoriously New Christian man, by reason of their proximity as neighbors in houses owned by Bento Ramos Chaves (where their dwellings stood adjacent)—[Luís] gave him books to read titled *República gentilica* by Friar Hyeronimo Reymão, written in Castilian, *Torre de Babilônia* by António Henriques Gomes, and Bocarro [*Oitavas rimas*]. Afterwards, Luís would engage the denouncer in discussions delving into the Holy Scriptures, asserting that God loved the people of Israel, that many nations followed Mosaic law in diverse ways, and that the Prince promised in Bocarro—who was to reign over the entire world with his court in Lisbon—could only be Christ our Lord (ANTT-THO/IL, 1716-1719, PN. 87).

One of the works cited by the Galician Olores was *Republicas del mundo*, written by the Augustinian friar Jerónimo Román y Zamora (1535–1597) and dedicated to King Philip II of Spain (Philip I of Portugal). Initially published in 1575, the work faced censorship in both Castile and Portugal in 1581 and 1583, compelling the author to revise the text. It underwent another expurgation in Portugal in 1624. In this work, the Augustinian friar traces universal history through the evolution of religious practices and their corresponding “republics”. His theory of religion posited the innate capacity of humanity to establish a connection with God, the creator and source of all things, and to offer sacrifices to the sacred, whether by natural or positive right. The text provided examples of humanity's inherent need for the divine while simultaneously asserting the principle of ecclesiastical immunity.

Perhaps what most captured Luís Mendes de Moraes' attention was the description of customs and practices in the section titled “Hebrew Republic” - the first of the republics and the most heavily censored part. Drawing from direct sources, the Augustinian friar provides an authentic portrayal of the Hebrews, which may have further piqued the interest of the “Judaizing” Luís, prompting him to explore these topics more deeply. It is important to note, however, that the succession of the Christian “republic” after the Hebrew one in this work was not merely coincidental. Rather, it was framed as a natural replacement, a historical and spiritual continuity, following the advent of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer, after what the chronicler describes as the ‘fall’ of the Hebrew people and the many misfortunes they endured. In the remaining sections of the work, Román y Zamora uses Christian doctrine as a framework to present a political and administrative history of both pagan and evangelized republics.

In certain passages of the book, sometimes comprising just brief phrases, censoring authorities performed expurgations based on their evaluation of the content. The denouncer Olores observed that numerous passages in said book had been crossed out so thoroughly as to become illegible. Luís countered this observation by suggesting the “deletions” had been made by someone hostile to the chronicler, who clearly intended to suppress certain material. Subsequently, when examining the book’s opening section, the witness discovered evidence of official censorship. A qualified censor had reviewed the text and approved it for circulation, though with the stipulation that specifically marked passages required modification before publication.

Regarding António Enrique Gómez, Mendes de Moraes asserted that he was related to this author, who had been reconciled in effigy by the Inquisition of Seville. Gómez became renowned both for his life marked by constant escapes and for his prolific literary output. Some of Gómez’s works contained explicit critiques of the Inquisition, while others celebrated Jewish martyrs. The critics have noted that, although his writings were formally approved by Catholic orthodoxy, they nonetheless incorporated elements that challenged the Inquisition, particularly regarding its practice of confiscating property from the condemned and its role in dispersing populations across nations.

The Inquisition was, indeed, a true obsession for Henriques Gomes. It appears, veiled or explicit, in almost all of his writings, it is referenced and, naturally, criticized directly or indirectly. Even certain [social archetypes] that, in truth, the Holy Office helped create [...], constantly appear in Henriques Gomes' bibliography. This is the case of *malsín*, the denouncer, a tragic figure for New Christians (Torgal, 1981, p. 321).

The author himself used pseudonyms, one of which was Fernando de Zárate y Castronovo (Révah, 2003, p. 27). Among other texts, Luís had access to the *Tower of Babylon*, a narration of the exile familiar to him, to the author and their ancestors - the Jews. These mentions point to a network of influences and discourses that challenged the orthodoxy and practices of the Inquisition. The presence of such prohibited and censurable works in the 18th-century Bahian context reveals the persistence of subversive ideas and resistance to the Inquisition’s ideological control.

Upon hearing the news that the prince appointed by Manuel Bocarro Francês or Jacob Rosales (c.1593-1662) would be enthroned in Lisbon, the denouncer, who was of Old Christian origin, responded to Luís Mendes de Moraes “to cease such talk because his proposition was disapproved, to which the accused responded by saying that Christ would come to judge the living and the dead”. Both agreed with the *Parousia*, the belief that Christ would return, but the Gali-

cian Olores firmly stated: “Lisbon was not the Valley of Josaphat. And giving him his books, [Olores] withdrew from him, saying that when he read them, he should provide his understanding and true meaning” (ANTT-THO/IL, 1716-1719, PN. 87). Olores commented that he did not get along well with Bocarro Francês’ work because it consisted of astrological and mathematical discourses. Mendes de Moraes boasted, emphasizing that a very perceptive understanding was necessary to comprehend him. Furthermore, he claimed that the book promised great happiness for Lisbon, proclaiming it as the head of the world and proclaiming that a King would rule it.

Indeed, the work and positions of the Jew and former New Christian Bocarro/Rosales present significant contradictions. On the one hand, he was a Sebastianist without Dom Sebastião and, on the other one, he professed Judaism in places like Hamburg and Livorno. Additionally, his Sebastianism aligned him politically with the Habsburgs of Castile. According to Moreno-Carvalho (2016, p. 172), the key to the connection between Sebastianism and Judaism in Rosales’ work lies in the reinterpretation of redemptive myths.

Instead of the Jewish warrior leader facing evil, we are presented with a fallen Christian king who will return through an individual of his lineage to complete the process of redemption on Earth. Rosales calls “improper” the earthly monarchy that precedes the eternal and divine one, which he considers to be the “properly speaking” monarchy. During this time, important figures held debates, such as Amsterdam rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel (a former *converso*) and mathematician Galileo Galilei, who praised the erudite Jewish astrologer in the preface to one of Bocarro’s works.

To understand the peninsular connection, it is necessary to go back to the role played by the author’s family, who belonged to the “Portuguese” group, composed mainly of Judaizer New Christians who emigrated and served as financiers and advisors at the court of Castile. In Rosales’ writings, we see the attempt to predict the death of Philip IV, who, at that time, had no heirs to assume the dual throne. Faced with the absence of a king in Spain, Rosales imagined the possible “reunification of the crowns” under the leadership of a sovereign from the House of Braganza. This particularity of Rosales’ Sebastianist thinking will be evident in his reflections: “An Iberian union centered in Lisbon, not in Madrid” (Moreno-Carvalho, 2016, p. 176).

In fact, by taking pride in his knowledge, Mendes de Moraes would no longer need to worry about Spanish dominance. He highlights the relevance of the Lisbon court in Bocarro’s formula and emphasizes the importance of the “improper monarchy”, the earthly one, which would prepare the world for the great

Judgment. However, the accusers added more propositions from their reading. Informant João Olores stated:

That, on one occasion, while talking with the accused Luís Mendes de Moraes [...] about António Serrão de Castro, he, the denouncer, said that it was a shame that a man of such great judgment was delirious in his faith, [to which] the accused responded that, if he had done good or bad, he would have already answered to God for it, to which he, the denouncer, responded, telling him that a man who departed from the feelings of the Catholic Church, without a doubt, was making a mistake and doing evil deeds (ANTT-THO/IL, 1716-1719, PN. 87).

Many of the examples mentioned were worth of attention, including Serrão de Castro (from whom Luís had a book of “novels” and copies of the “Academias dos Singulares de Lisboa”), and Bocarro, with his pamphlet in *ottava rima*, another chronicle that recounted the “wonders that God worked with his loving people of Israel”. Special attention was given to the copy of the “Prophecies” by a shoemaker from Trancoso (located in the Portuguese Beira region) found in the library of Luís Mendes de Moraes. The “Prophecies” date back to the time of the *trovas* of Gonçalo Eanes, known as Bandarra (1500-c.1556), possibly of Old Christian origin, when the cross between Christian millenarianism and Jewish messianism flourished. During the 15th century, Europe witnessed widespread millenarian and messianic currents (Delumeau, 1997, pp. 176-185). However, in Portugal the specificity of Jewish culture and the tolerable relations between Christians and Jews predominated until the establishment of the Holy Office of the Inquisition (Hermann, 1998, pp. 34-41).

After the trauma of the forced conversion of the Jews and their discreet resistance to Christianization, Judeo-Christian messianism took root as an underground popular belief. On the complexity of this process, Vainfas & Hermann comment that, while maintaining belief in the Christian God, the bandarristas “re-interpreted Jewish belief as royal messianism that made history in Portugal, indicating that, despite the popular reaction to the wealth and positions held by Jews, coexistence allowed the absorption of powerful aspects of the forbidden religion” (2005, p. 37). Several aspects, such as the adherence of Old Christians to such messianic beliefs, showed that the end of the *pax* convivial did not completely interrupt interactions between the two groups. However, pretenders to the Messiah position would also emerge.

With Bandarra’s arrest and censorship, the dissemination of his teachings and verses encountered numerous obstacles. In the time of the shoemaker, imprisoned not because of Judaism, but rather for inciting Christians with strange messages, ideas flourished in circles of converts attached to the messianic belief: the arrival of a king who would fulfill the Jewish prophecies of the Fifth Empire

was expected (Wilke, 2009, pp. 87, 91). Fearful of the persecution of Jews and *conversos* and dismayed by the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal (1536), many sought answers in prophetic *trovas*. After the disastrous battle of Alcácer-Quibir (1578), the *trovas* became ammunition for the king's orphans, followers of Sebastianist beliefs.

Despite censorship, these manuscripts spread internally and throughout part of the empire. According to the accused shoemaker, during the inquisitorial hearings,

'Heitor Lopes, a New Christian, a shearer, who lives in the said town of Trancoso, came to him and told him that his book of *trovas* [perhaps now in the possession of the Inquisition] was already old and torn, that he wanted to have it transcribed to him in very good handwriting and that he, Gonçalo Anes, had given it to him to have it transcribed to him in good handwriting'. He added that, as Heitor Lopes later claimed, the said book had been taken from him by 'a Master Afonso de Medina, a preacher who worked [as a judge] at the [Table of] Conscience, and had not given it to him again'. Finally, he insinuated that despite the book's retention by that member of the Table established by D. John III, other copies had been made and that 'in this way the land was filled with the said *trovas*' (Lipiner, 1993, p. 37).

Even though repression attempted to suppress and silence such ideas, eradicating them completely was an ultimately futile endeavour. They found alternative ways to spread those ideas, especially through handwritten copies, which played a crucial role in preserving and transmitting Bandarra's teachings. These were handwritten texts by those who wanted to share this message. Despite the risks associated with owning and distributing manuscripts, the demand for those ideas persisted, and copyists ensured that the word lived on, albeit in an altered form. In Portuguese America, for example,

On August 13, 1591, before the table of the Holy Office, installed in Bahia, a denouncer recited, in Castilian language, some verses from the '*Trovas* of the Shoemaker from Trancoso to whom they call Bandarra' as a sample. He had heard these verses four years ago from the mouth of a New Christian named Gregório Nunes, also known as Gregório Nidrophí, [...] who came from Lisbon to Brazil. The verses referred to apocalyptic battles won by one of David's lineage and the accused said they were 'for the Messiah still awaited by him' (Lipiner, 1993, p. 45).

The dissemination of ideas occurred through editions that were different from those published by the shoemaker prophet. One of the first editors to attempt to create a *corpus* of prophetic *trovas* was Dom João de Castro, who commented on them in *Paráfrase et concordancia* (Paris, 1603), followed by the Nantes edition (1644), sponsored by Dom Vasco Luís da Gama, ambassador of Dom João IV in France. The last edition served as the basis for the surviving manuscripts from the 17th and 18th centuries (Lima, 2009, pp. 445-446).

Evidently, these publications had a strong political nature (Hermann, 1998, pp. 53-54). First, Castro's position as a supporter of Dom António, Prior of Crato, in the line of royal succession had significant implications for the political landscape of the time. Despite his illegitimate birth, the defense of D. António as heir to the late King Sebastian challenged the recognition of the Spanish monarchs and the claims of unification of the crowns, amidst murky legal allegations surrounding the occupation of the throne in a context of absenteeism. Through prophetic *trovas*, Castro sought to establish a narrative that would support D. António as a possible legitimate Lusitanian ruler.

Later, Luís da Gama's group asserted that the king mentioned in the ballads was D. John IV. The cause found support in this interpretation, since people believed that the brigantine represented the defense of Portuguese interests against the influence and control of Spain. When there was hope for the restoration of the throne, Father Vieira remained a firm defender of the Brigantine cause, after hesitant steps, of course, as this happened many times.

Hermann proposed analyzing the *trovas* as a "document/monument", following the concept of Jacques Le Goff, considering them part of the Portuguese cultural heritage. The prophetic verses, far from being self-contained, were based on ancient and diverse sources and were reinterpreted after the prophet's death. They participated in a "royal European messianism" with a noticeable Jewish influence:

By analyzing Bandarra's ballads, seeking to understand them as part of a context of insecurity and transition that goes far beyond the Portuguese borders, we can affirm that his writings found a privileged space for reception and reproduction in Portugal, given the initial success of the Portuguese discoveries, on the one hand, and the misfortune of Alcácer Quibir, on the other. But specifically regarding the context of its production, it is not possible to deny the strength of Jewish culture that pulsated in the messianic elaborations of Bandarra and his contemporaries (Hermann, 1998, p. 72).

It is important to highlight that, by merchant Luís Mendes de Moraes' era, these editions had been censored on three occasions (Lima, 2010, pp. 169-178). In 1665, the Holy Office prohibited them because they "caused a great disturbance in the spiritual, & temporal [spheres]" (Lima, 2009, pp. 447, 450).

Between the time of the shoemaker's ancient prophecies and the time in which our merchant lived, ten monarchs ascended to the Portuguese throne, spanning several dynasties, including the period of Philippine rule. Throughout this time, the expectation of the "Hidden One" fueled the desire for a new government. Amidst political uncertainty, the merchant Moraes closely followed the succession to the throne from the reign of D. Pedro II to that of D. John V. How-

ever, the question remains: who could be this enigmatic “Hidden One”, so much awaited and speculated about?

In his representation of these beliefs, Luís Mendes de Moraes subtly reveals indications that the Messiah, divine and redeeming, is the Christian Messiah destined to rule splendidly in the Fifth Empire of the World. This Messiah crowns the city of Lisbon with supreme dignity because of His incomparable Majesty as the epicenter of the messianic reign. This was in line with the text of *Clavis Prophetarum*, by Father António Vieira, and *De Regno Christi no Terris Consummato*, an explanation given by Matheus Faletti to Vieira’s work. However, there is no mention of Resurrection. These elements demonstrate the influence of prohibited and censored works on Luís Mendes de Moraes’ library and also in his thinking, thus strengthening the arguments against the “heretic”.

In addition to literary references, other circumstances contributed to Luís Mendes de Moraes’ perception of reality and reinforced the beliefs attributed to him. According to his denouncers, he expressed the opinion that the French invasions of Rio de Janeiro, led by the corsair Duguay-Trouin, in 1711, were a divine punishment for the arrests made against the “Jews”, that is, against Rio de Janeiro’s New Christians, many of whom were relatives of his wife, Maria Coutinho. In his opinion, the “decline” of the Portuguese empire was due to the Inquisition’s eagerness to confiscate New Christians’ properties, which, in turn, fueled wars. Mendes de Moraes advocated for the abolition of the Inquisition and the integration of *conversos* into Luso-imperial society.

These ideas resonated within different segments of society and anticipated the eighteenth-century Enlightenment thought, which opposed certain forms of intolerance. An example of this is a diplomat Dom Luís da Cunha (1662-1749), whose work took him to important centers of the Sephardic diaspora, such as Holland, England and regions of France. Nevertheless, Father Vieira had already proposed the acceptance of Jews in Portugal during the restored reign of D. John IV, raising the possibility of a messianic government in the earthly and tangible kingdom, the “improper” monarchy evoked by Bocarro, in contrast with the ecclesiastical doctrine, which reserved the Fifth Empire to an eschatological consummation, beginning only with the end of the world (Novinsky, 2019, p. 314). Consequently, Vieira reaffirmed Portugal’s divine designation as this earthly kingdom and its calling to fulfill this role. This concept traced its origins to the legendary Miracle of Ourique and the subsequent battle in the twelfth century under Afonso Henriques, later sustained by the prophetic traditions attributed to the shoemaker Bandarra (Lima, 2010, p. 99-144). However, he did not emerge victorious from this. Vieira’s political defeat, marked by the loss of D. John IV’s

influence before the Holy Office, signaled the ebb of such ideas from the politico-religious horizon.

These ideas were not limited to intellectual circles, but were also debated among ordinary people (Mattos, 2014, p. 97-118). In Luís Mendes de Moraes' view, the centrality of the inquisitorial theme was undeniable: the Tribunal of the Holy Office should be abolished. They sought to promote religious freedom and put an end to the Inquisition, and manifested, at the time, a Judeo-Christian messianism. It was a true bricolage of mentalities in which a symphony of common harmonic origins resonated. These beliefs fostered the spirit of a Judeo-Christian middle place where different perspectives and traditions converged, the "in-between place", as Bhabha (1994) would describe it.

Both colonial and metropolitan agents exerted pressure to advance the merchant's case. An Inquisition prosecutor issued a favorable report to his superiors, recommending Mendes de Moraes' arrest. The said report accused him of being a religious orator and a bad example for Catholics, "accustomed to arguing about religious matters, extolling the law of Moses and uttering scandalous heretical propositions". Commissioner João Calmon, who was in charge of the matter, requested an urgent response from the General Council of the Inquisition. As early as 1720, he claimed to have known Mendes de Moraes for twenty-six years, a man who still maintained his reputation as a *converso*, though of ill repute: it was said that, were there any New Christian who practiced Judaism in secret, it could only be him! Taking into account the time that Luís spent in Salvador and the confession of the captain-major of Paraty, Miguel Telles da Costa (ANTT-THO/IL, 1709-1711, Trial 6515), we would find accounts of him from 1686 onwards, when both of them supposedly "declared" themselves as believers and observers of Mosaic law.

These actions and petitions reflected a determination to pursue the case and take strong action against Moraes' heretical beliefs and his alleged negative influence on the Catholic city of Bahia. Some denouncers who presented powerful oratory before the inquisitorial representatives, went so far as to exclaim: "It's a wonder they hadn't burned him yet!". Despite the absence or death of some witnesses, the commissioner argued that Mendes de Moraes' arrest was necessary to prevent the unpunished dissemination of abominable errors.

One can only imagine the prisoner's fright when, in mid-May 1715, the Reverend João Calmon, precentor of the Cathedral and inquisitorial commissioner, unexpectedly summoned him to attend and testify. The news must have frightened Luís, as he would certainly have wondered about the implications of

such a meeting, considering the authority of this representative of the Inquisition, qualified to interrogate and make important decisions. As evidenced, the commissioner was eager to arrest him. Luís, when asked if he knew why he was called, answered, taking oaths, that he did not know, nor did he suspect.

In fact, not this time: the secret matter in question concerned the aforementioned nephew of physician Francisco, David de Miranda, who had been arrested for practicing Judaism in Salvador and named Luís, among others, to testify on his behalf (ANTT-THO/IL, 1714-1716, Trial 7489-1). David wanted it to be argued that he was collecting tithe revenues in the Recôncavo region in 1701 and 1702 and not in the city of Bahia, hence ruling out the possibility that he was then “Judaizing”.

Specifically in this case, although procedural prerogatives were met, the responses were unsatisfactory, partly due to delays caused by the long travels across the Atlantic. After completing the investigations and gathering evidence, two inquisitors ordered the trial to begin, urging the Bahian commissioner to once more interrogate the witnesses who had been denouncing the merchant since 1706. It is worth noting that there was no Inquisition court installed in Brazil, and this colony was under the jurisdiction of the High Court of Lisbon. Therefore, suspects like Luís Mendes de Moraes should be transferred to the kingdom to face trial. This requirement resulted in waiting for the High Court’s orders.

One of the last reports about the merchant, from 1719, reports that Luís Mendes de Moraes was in a state of madness after being released from public prison and was living on a little farm located on the way to Rio Vermelho, in the “lower city” of Salvador. Although Mendes de Moraes had already died when the Inquisition issued the arrest warrant against him, his children Ana Gomes Coutinho and João de Moraes Montesinhos were not so lucky. They were ensnared in the tide of persecution that was unleashed against the New Christians in Bahia during the following decade (Schetini Júnior, 2018, pp. 271-307).

It is worth noting that landowner Manuel Mendes Monforte, who owned the copies of the millenarian works, was arrested (1721) and died in the kingdom after being sentenced (1723). His family emigrated to London, England, where they converted to Judaism – other New Christians from Bahia also went to London, after being accused of relapse into the crime of Crypto-Judaism, as did David de Miranda, or rather, Aaron de Miranda.

CONCLUSIONS

The documentation revealed the diversity represented by the New Christian phenomenon in Bahia, in the Recôncavo region, demonstrating the complexity of the religious context in which Bahia found itself in the 18th century. It is not surprising that printed books and Jewish manuscripts circulated among New Christians, including Luís Mendes de Moraes. Practicing the ancestral religion was prohibited, however, the economy of the religious system managed to preserve its essence and adapt over time, and created new forms of religious expression. Likewise, a *corpus hereticus* emerged, one that challenged the ideas established by the Church, the Crown and the Inquisition.

Doctor Manuel Mendes Monforte, who “knew the Holy Scriptures well”, according to Commissioner Pires Gião, declared in astonishment: “If Moses, general of the armies of God, were alive these days, he would not rise even to the rank of corporal, neither in Castile nor in Portugal; that, on the Day of Judgment, the injustices behind these arrests shall be addressed and perhaps even before then” (ANTT-THO/IL, 1711-1723, Trial 675). Luís Mendes de Moraes argued that, were it not for the clergy of Rocio, Portugal might have been something better, as the New Christians would have had the opportunity to prosper and enrich the kingdom. They would not be arrested, nor would they have to flee to the so-called “lands of freedom”. These shared ideas were reinforced through reading networks and a collective millenarian hope.

The analysis confirms the existence of a system of transgression of the institutional order, which unfolds in the interstices between the educated elites and the popular classes. This is in line with what De Certeau (1990, pp. XL-XLI) called the network of anti-discipline: the arts of combining and using. This study adopts a “history from below” approach (Sharpe, 2001), that is, the exploration of the theme from an inclusive and representative perspective of everyday life, using as an example an ordinary man, a small merchant, from a New Christian family.

Many vassals, such as Luís Mendes de Moraes, employed their intellectual acumen to question, albeit in a limited way, the royal-religious power structures. Despite the clear disparity of forces in the face of institutions, they used political arguments in the religious sphere to express their defiant feelings towards the normative system. We can place the New Christian Luís Mendes de Moraes at one end of a politico-religious network, composed of landowners, merchants, and religious figures, and which found in this opposition one of its driving

forces. Such political actors must be reconceptualized as participants in both their historical moment and contemporary intellectual circuits.

We find a language based on the sacred books of Jews and Christians, as well as a series of official intertextualities and prohibited literature. The literary *corpus* in question can be considered as a corpus of direct or substitute readings regarding the ways those who were on the margins of orthodoxy lived. This “set of substitutive readings” focuses on “identifying reading itineraries that seem to have followed certain interpretative communities” (Vega, 2010, p. 46). These individuals engaged in the political game through three key paths: their sociability, their understanding and reinterpretation of the past, and anti-inquisitorial prophecy. In some cases, their survival was at risk.

Furthermore, critics of the Inquisition, a feared and powerful entity of religious control, did not disappear overnight. On the contrary, they persisted and remained alive for another century, expressing discontent with the practices and dogmas imposed by this institution. The struggle for freedom of thought and the search for new forms of religious expression continued to resonate in society. Therefore, messianic beliefs endured, adapting, transforming and acquiring new expectations over the centuries

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

Sources

- Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo–Tribunal of the Holy Office/Inquisition of Lisbon (ANTT-THO/IL) (1696-1711), Prosecutor’s Notebooks [*Caderno do Promotor*] 75.
- ANTT-THO/IL (1710-1716), *PN*. 83.
- ANTT-THO/IL (1716-1719), *PN*. 87.
- ANTT-THO/IL (1711-1723), *Trial* 675.
- ANTT-THO/IL (1709-1711), *Trial* 6515.
- ANTT-THO/IL (1714-1716), *Trial* 7489-1.
- ANTT-THO/IL (1723-1726), *Trial* 9255.
- ANTT-THO, IL, Correspondence sent by the Portuguese Inquisition [*Correspondência expedida*] (1590-1821), *Correspondência expedida* (1720-1731).
- ANTT-THO, IL, Received Correspondence [*Correspondência recebida*] (1672-1815), *Correspondência recebida de comissários* (1683-1710).
- Biblioteca Nacional (1949). *Documentos Históricos*. (Vol. LXXXIV). Divisão de obras raras e publicações.

- Novinsky, A. (1976). *Inquisição: inventários de bens confiscados a cristãos novos: fontes para a História de Portugal e do Brasil (Brasil-Século XVIII)*. Imprensa Nacional.
- Regimento do Santo Ofício da Inquisição dos reinos de Portugal de 1640. (2004). In Franco, J. E. & Assunção, P. de. *Metamorfoses de um polvo: religião e política nos Regimentos da Inquisição Portuguesa (Séc. XVI-XIX)*. Prefácio.
- Rheingantz, C. (1967). *Primeiras famílias do Rio de Janeiro (séculos XVI e XVII)* (Vol. 2). Brasileira.
- Torá: a Lei de Moisés. (2001). Sêfer.

Bibliography

- Araújo Jr., A. G. (2006). *No ventre da baleia: o mundo de um padre judaizante no século XVIII*. (PhD dissertation, University of São Paulo).
- Bhabha, H. (1994). *The location of culture*. Routledge.
- Brown, S. M. & Honig, E. (1998). *Poems of Fernando Pessoa* [edited and translated by Edwin Honig and Susan M. Brown]. City Lights Books.
- De Certeau, M. (1990). *L'invention du quotidien I. Arts de faire*. Gallimard.
- Delumeau, J. (1997). *Mil anos de felicidade: uma história do paraíso*. Companhia das Letras.
- Dines, A. (1992) *Vínculos do fogo I: Antônio José da Silva, o Judeu, e outras histórias da Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.
- Hermann, J. (1998). *No reino do Desejado: a construção do sebastianismo em Portugal (séculos XVI-XVII)*. Companhia das Letras.
- Lima, L. F. S. (2009). O percurso das Trovas de Bandarra: circulação letrada de um profeta iletrado In Algranti, L. M. & Megiani, A. P. T. (Eds.). *O Império por escrito. Formas de transmissão da cultura letrada no mundo ibérico (séc. XVI-XIX)* (pp. 441-452). Alameda.
- Lima, L. F. S. (2010). *O Império dos sonhos. Narrativas proféticas, sebastianismo & messianismo brigantino*. Alameda.
- Lipiner, E. (1969). *Os judaizantes na capitania de cima (Estudos sobre os cristãos-novos do Brasil, nos séculos XVI e XVII)*. Brasiliense.
- Lipiner, E. (1993). *O sapateiro de Trancoso e o alfaiate de Setúbal*. Imago.
- Lipiner, E. (1998). *Os baptizados em pé: estudos acerca da origem e da luta dos cristãos-novos em Portugal*. Vega.
- Marcocci, G. (2012). *A consciência de um império: Portugal e o seu mundo (sécs. XV-XVII)*. Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra.
- Marcocci, G. & Paiva, J. P. (2013). *História da Inquisição portuguesa (1536–1821)*. A esfera dos livros.
- Mattos, Y. de (2014). *A Inquisição contestada: críticos e críticas ao Santo Ofício português (1605-1681)*. Mauad; Faperj.

- Mattoso, K. de Q. (1983). Bahia opulenta: uma capital portuguesa no Novo Mundo (1549-1763). *Revista de História*. (114) 5-20. <https://www.revistas.usp.br/revhistoria/article/view/62048/64877>.
- Mello, E. C. de. (2009). *O nome e o sangue: uma parábola genealógica no Pernambuco colonial*. Companhia das Letras.
- Moreno-Carvalho, F. (2016). A Portuguese Jewish Agent of the Philips and a Sebastianist: The Strange Case of Rosales/Manuel Bocarro. In Torres, A. P. & Lima, L. F. S. (Eds.). *Visions, Prophecies and Divinations. Early Modern Messianism and Millenarianism In Iberian America, Spain and Portugal* (pp. 161-178). Brill.
- Novinsky, A. (1972). *Cristãos novos na Bahia: a inquisição no Brasil*. Perspectiva.
- Novinsky, A. (2019). *Viver nos tempos da inquisição*. Perspectiva.
- Révah, I. S. (2003). *Antonio Enríquez Gómez: un écrivain marrane* (v. 1600–1663). Chandeigne.
- Romeiro, A. (2001). *Um visionário na corte de D. João V: revolta e milenarismo nas Minas Gerais*. Editora da UFMG.
- Schetini Júnior, A. (2018). *Cristãos-novos e criptojudaísmo na Bahia setecentista*. (Master's thesis, Fluminense Federal University).
- Schetini Júnior, A. (2024). The New Christian Family Bernal Nunes de Miranda: Between Borders, Religiosities and the Inquisition in Bahia, Brazil. *Cahiers d'Études du Religieux. Recherches Interdisciplinaires* (26). <https://doi.org/10.4000/120h1>.
- Severs, S. M. de S. S. (2016). *Além da exclusão: a convivência entre cristãos-novos e cristãos-velhos na Bahia setecentista*. Eduneb.
- Sharpe, J. (2001). History from Below. In Burke, P. (Ed.). *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (pp. 25-42). 2. ed. Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Sousa, A. P. (2012). *A Bahia no século XVIII: Poder político local e atividades econômicas*. Alameda.
- Torgal, L. R. (1981). *Ideologia política e teoria do Estado na Restauração*. (Vol. 1). Biblioteca Geral da Universidade.
- Vainfas, R. & Hermann, J. (2005). Judeus e conversos na Ibéria no século XV: sefardismo, heresia, mesianismo. In Grinberg, K. (Ed.). *Os judeus no Brasil: inquisição, imigração e identidade* (pp. 16-41). Civilização Brasileira.
- Vega, M. J. (2010). Lecturas criptojudías en los siglos áureos: el *Ramillete de flores*. *Studia Aurea*, (4), 37-51. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/3716208.pdf>.
- Wilke, C. (2009). *História dos judeus portugueses*. Edições 70.