

PRINTED MATTER IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE PORTUGUESE INQUISITION

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Abstract: This study focuses on a crucial part of the archives produced by the Portuguese Inquisition: the trials conducted between 1536 and 1821, a largely handwritten corpus totalizing more than 40,000 files. This research was conducted, on the one hand, on nearly 2,000 trials of the Lisbon Inquisition at the turn of the sixteenth century, and on the other hand, on several hundred others from the 16th to the 18th century, unveiling unknown printed matter. It aims to highlight the somewhat systematic presence of printed documents, as well as identifying their appearance and functions, in order to deepen our understanding of this ecclesiastical justice system—and in so doing emphasize its bureaucratic nature. It has also made it possible to locate new printed material from various sources, making these immense archives an unexpected repository bridging them with libraries and printing.

Keywords: Inquisition; Portugal; Archives; Printed matter forms.

Título: MATERIAL IMPRESO EN LOS ARCHIVOS DE LA INQUISICIÓN PORTUGUESA

Resumen: Este estudio se centra en una parte crucial de los archivos producidos por la Inquisición portuguesa: los juicios celebrados entre 1536 y 1821, un corpus en gran parte manuscrito que suma más de 40 000 expedientes. Esta investigación se llevó a cabo, por un lado, sobre casi 2000 juicios de la Inquisición de Lisboa a finales del siglo XVI y, por otro, sobre varios cientos más de los siglos XVI al XVIII, revelando material impreso poco conocido. Su objetivo es poner de relieve la presencia algo sistemática de documentos impresos, así como identificar su apariencia y funciones, con el fin de profundizar en nuestra comprensión de este sistema de justicia eclesiástica y, al hacerlo, destacar su naturaleza burocrática. También ha permitido localizar nuevo material impreso de diversas fuentes, lo que convierte a estos inmensos archivos en un repositorio inesperado que los vincula con las bibliotecas y la imprenta.

Palabras clave: Inquisición, Portugal, Archivos, Impresos.

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1. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE ARCHIVES OF THE PORTUGUESE INQUISITION

The Portuguese Inquisition, or the General Council of the Holy Office, was definitively abolished on 31 March 1821, 285 years after its creation by papal bull. Most of its archives are deposited in the Torre do Tombo National Archive (hereafter abbreviated to ANTT)ⁱ. The collection is 1490.4 metres in length and is divided into eight subcollections: that of the General Council, the supreme court, and each of the seven courts, three of which had a limited duration (Lamego, Porto, Tomar). Of the remaining four (Coimbra, Évora, Lisbon and Goa), the last one was dissolved in 1812. The digitisation of the archives has been taking place since the beginning of the 21st century. In 2023, ANTT made available approximately 65 million images of available documents, mainly from 29 reserves or collectionsⁱⁱ. According to the Portuguese Inquisition is concerned, it is the Lisbon Inquisition subcollection that has so far received the largest digitisation programme. 96% of the 17,981 composite documents in series 28, i.e. trials opened against individuals between 1536 and 1821, are accessible onlineⁱⁱⁱ. It is the largest collection of its kind in

any of the inquisitorial archives in any of the countries where the Inquisition was established, such as Spain and Italy, and in the colonies^{iv}.

2. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

Research into the printed material in the inquisitorial archives has been a side effect of the project “Transcribing the trial records of the Portuguese Inquisition, 1536-1821” (TraPrInq) with a view to creating an AI model for the automatic transcription of handwritten texts^v. As this was a collective effort to transcribe thousands of pages, one phenomenon has stood out: the presence of printed procedural forms with blank parts to fill in at the beginning and/or end of the trial documents^{vi}. As such, the issue of the hybrid nature of the trial records, especially from the beginning of the 17th century onwards, was then seen as requiring specific research that has highlighted a wide variety of printed materials with diverse functions. There is nothing on this topic within the relevant Portuguese bibliography. On the Spanish side, one work should be noted: the thesis by Bárbara Santiago Medina in 2016, *La burocracia inquisitorial: escrituras y documentos*, exhaustively describes and analyses the handwritten and printed bureaucratic documentation of the Spanish Inquisition^{vii}. Although it cannot be considered a direct source for Portuguese courts, the documentation of the Spanish Inquisition invites comparison between the forms used, all which date back to centuries-old practices, and allows chronologies to be established between the neighbouring inquisitions.

The objective of the present work is to describe the presence of printed material among the overwhelmingly handwritten documentation created by the Inquisition. Access to digitized documents allows for, if not exhaustive, large research. In fact, searching for printed material among the 18,000 or so trial records of the Lisbon Inquisition means having to visualise through a set of images that totals more than two million examples^{viii}.

During the initial observations, it appeared that, according to the type of printing, the documents were to be found, on the one hand, in specific locations of the records which can extend over hundreds, or even thousands, of pages, and on the other hand, in any other place within the document. Identifying the presence of the first type of printed material, which are forms, also requires pinpointing their appearance in time. One date, the year 1605 (in this case, the year of the end of the trial according to the Digitalq catalogue), has emerged as the inaugural one, after a systematic verification was carried out on the preceding years, up to 1598 (end date), ten years after the appearance of documents of the same kind in Spain^{ix}. It did not seem necessary for us to go back further in time for the form detection investigation, as shown in **Appendix I-A** below. Other types of documents can be found anywhere in a trial record, and this has been the case since the early years of the Inquisition. As most trial records had neither undergone Handwritten Text Recognition (HTR) nor been described through metadata, except in certain specialised monographs the Digitalq catalogue entries for inquisitorial trials were examined for references to printed material, (see Payan Martins (2012, pp. 395-396)). Keyword searches were also conducted within archival descriptions, which sometimes explicitly mention or indirectly identify such material: book, confession, engraving, image, indulgences, pages, possession, prayers, printed material, printer, superstitions, typographer. Without the capacity to analyse document contents, an exhaustive survey would have required examining every proceeding, which was not feasible. Nevertheless, despite these limitations, the results reveal significant diversity.

Typology of printed material found in the Portuguese Inquisition cases	
1. Forms	1.1 Arrest warrants, terms of: abjuration, secrecy; release and secrecy; release and penance
	1.2 Indulgences, confessions, etc.
2. Various printed material	2.1 Images
	2.2 Material produced by the Inquisition
	2.3 Others

Table I: Types of printed materials by document group. Source: Authors' compilation.

For the inventory of the three major terms (arrest, abjuration and secrecy), systematic consultations were made of the trial records registered in the ANTT catalogue with an end date between 1598 and 1629, that is 1841 cases (to search arrest warrants; see **Appendix I-A^x**), and those with a start date between 1624 and 1629, that is 520 cases (to search terms of abjuration and secrecy; see **Appendix I-B**).

The next section will start by addressing the issue of the printed forms used in the Portuguese Inquisition cases. Following this, various documents will be considered, of diverse types and origins, sometimes where their original nature absolutely confirms the interest in pursuing this rather uncertain and somewhat labour-intensive type of research.

3. THE PRINTED FORMS FOUND IN THE PORTUGUESE INQUISITION CASES

A form is a document that contains blank spaces in which it is possible to write or choose an option. In practice, the creation and use of model texts appeared in the early decades of the 13th century, well before the printing press.

3.1 A preliminary note on inquisitorial models

A form is a document that contains blank spaces in which it is possible to write or choose an option. In practice, the creation and use of model texts appeared in the early decades of the 13th century, well before the printing press. The first concern was that of interrogation^{xi}. The manuals used by the inquisitors formed the basis for medieval inquisitions. They have been classified into four categories, two of which contain forms along with the reasoned (“raisonnés”) manuals^{xii}. In the latter case, the manual with the greatest influence was Bernard Gui’s *Practica Inquisitionis heretice pravitatis* (finished in 1323-1324^{xiii}). It contained 141 forms that served as models for the judge’s work^{xiv}. For this reason, it was considered “one large form”, “designed precisely to considerably ease the tasks of the inquisitor, showing them that this was an almost mathematical process” (Paul, 1981, p. 280, 315)^{xv}. “Bernard Gui’s *Practica* was an exceptionally ambitious compilation: full of legislative materials and standardized forms to be copied at various stages of a trial procedure [...]” (Vose, 2019, p. 150). For the modern period, a work of great prominence was the *Directorium inquisitorum sequuntur decretales tituli de summa trinitate et fide catholica* by Nicolaus Eymeric (c. 1376), first published in 1503^{xvi}, and republished in Rome with commentaries by Francisco Peña from 1578 onwards under this title: *Directorium inquisitorum r.p.f. Nicolai Eymerici Ord. praed. s. theol. mag. inquisitoris haereticae pravitatis in regnis regis [...] cum scholiis seu annotationibus eruditissimis d. Francisci Pegñae Hispani, s.theologiae & iuris utriusque doctoris*^{xvii}. The third part of the book is dedicated to inquisitorial practice, from the beginning to the end of a heresy trial^{xviii}. It contains many forms (“formæ, formulæ”), in particular for setting up a new inquisitor (p. 417), summoning witnesses (503), denouncing (446), interrogating (452), making someone abjure (522-9), absolving (509) or even handing them over to the secular arm (558). In general, Peña does not always provide a single formulation. This can be seen, for example, in the case of abjuration de levi, which led to an abundance of comments (p. 525 C-D).

The trend towards formalization and the subsequent simplification of procedures and the development of pre-printed formulas is illustrated by the *Orden de processar, que comunmente se guarda en el sancto officio de la inquisicion, acerca del processar en las causas que en el se tratan conforme a lo que esta proveydo por las instrucciones antiguas y nuevas* which was first printed in 1568^{xix}. This working manual ‘was much easier to consult than the previous ones. Likewise, because it was laid out as a form, it was useful not only for inquisitors and prosecutors, but also for other officials and employees of the Holy Office. García, with his aseptic but practical style, also created an indispensable tool for inquisitorial notaries, presenting them with models for drawing up their documents and indicating which books and records, in accordance with the “Instructions”, they should draw up and file in secret for the sound management of their courts’ (Santiago Medina, 2016, pp. 124-125). As the beginning of García’s book shows, apart from a few comments in the margins, it is exclusively made up of model texts that can be reproduced by hand. In the Spanish case, there was also a proliferation of printed materials that presented the same textual form with blank passages left unfilled. It is not known whether García’s manual, with just over 150 pages in octavo format, was used by Portuguese inquisitors and notaries. In any case, it is a treatise in the Castilian language and the procedures (“style”) in the two Iberian inquisitions were not identical in all aspects. The most significant fact is that ANTT has 27 hand-written books containing forms (series 19 of the General Council of the Holy Office subcollection). One of them, from the 17th century, is a large-format treatise with more than 600 folios^{xx}. It was meant to be published, but this did not take place. Another has just under 500 folios. These are bound manuals which were written in a careful style, sometimes including an index. Some are more specialized (interrogation,

Judaism^{xxi}). Few have the author's or the owner's name^{xxii}. A systematic study of this part of modern inquisitorial literature is still to be undertaken.

3.2 Inquisitorial pre-printed material

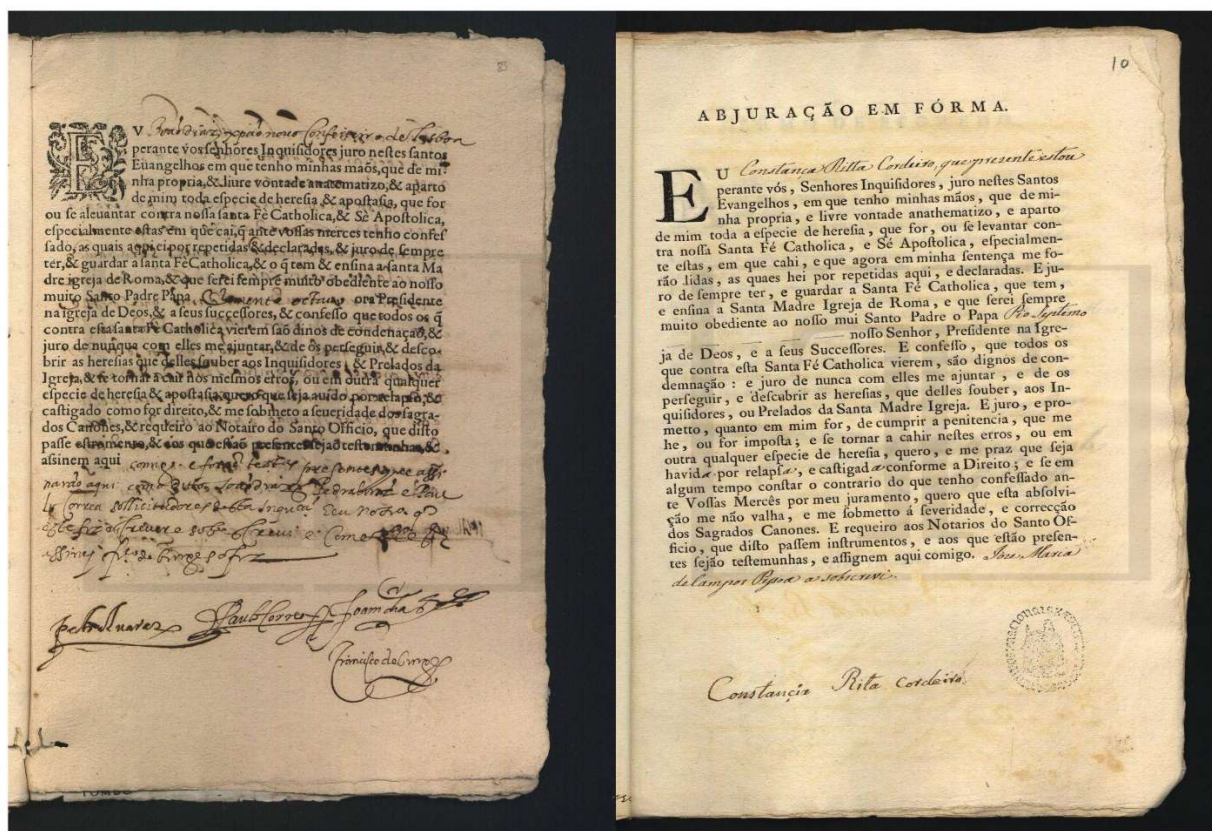
Unlike in Spain, where there is a considerable variety of pre-printed procedural material, there are three main types that appear in the trial records of the Portuguese Inquisition :

1. Arrest warrant.
2. Term of abjuration.
3. Term of secrecy.

Two pre-printed materials with double content appeared later and are less frequent:

4. Term of release and secrecy^{xxiii}.
5. Term of release and penance^{xxiv}.

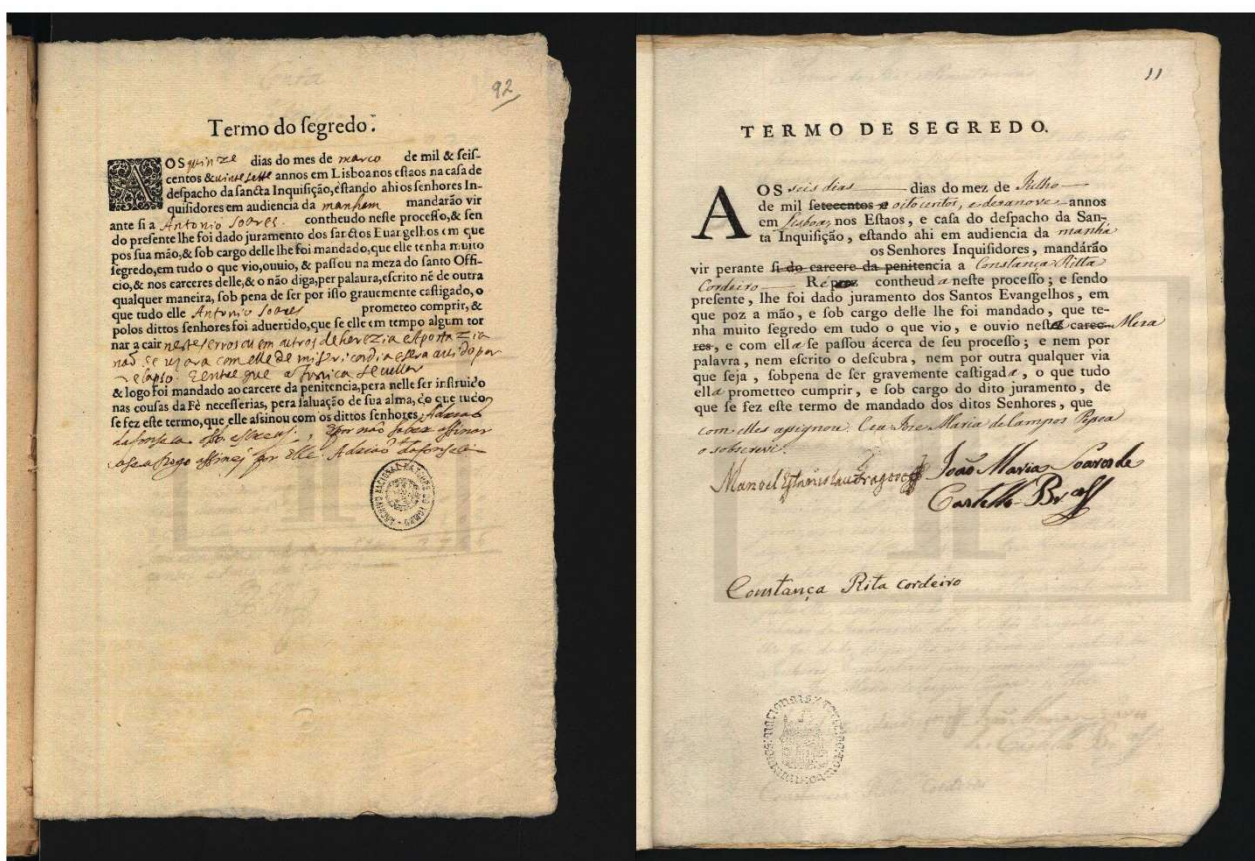
In most cases, in terms of their position in the document, the warrant opened trial proceedings, and terms 2 and 3 followed, appearing at the end, before the account sheet. Not all accusations led to imprisonment, nor did they end in abjuration. As for the term of secrecy, an "essential document" (Walker, 2005, p. 255), it was imposed on everyone before they were released, with term 4 combining the two aspects. Obviously, accused persons condemned to the death penalty (released to the secular arm) were not made to sign any of terms 2 to 5. As a general rule, regardless of the date and place of printing, the text of each form has identical content, although there may be minor variations^{xxv}.



IL_16851 (1603-5)

IL_13392 (1819)

Figure 1: Two terms of abjuration (earliest and latest dates).



IL 726 (1623-7)

IL 13392 (1819)

Figure 2: Two terms of secrecy (earliest and latest dates).

The use of the first three procedural pre-printed materials (1 to 3; see **Appendixes I-A** and **B**) was gradually introduced by the Portuguese Inquisition. Little by little, they replaced those that had always been handwritten. It should be noted that handwritten forms could be drawn up in advance, perhaps in series, with blank spaces^{xxvi}.

Before turning to chronology, a few comments need to be made about the methodology adopted with this second group of pre-printed documents. In chronological order of their appearance, the first term is that of abjuration, then the arrest warrant, and finally the term of secrecy. The printed term of abjuration appeared suddenly and extensively in 1605, the year in which there was a peak in the number of trials at the Lisbon Inquisition (225 trials completed in 1605). Around half of these terms are pre-printed. The proceedings of the Coimbra and Évora inquisitions seem to reflect an analogous situation, but our data are very limited^{xxvii}. It was only sixteen years later that the use of this pre-printed material took hold. This new aspect, which at the time was an isolated phenomenon, coincided with the general pardon for the New Christians. This was considered as a setback by the Portuguese Inquisition and revolted part of the population (Marcocci and Paiva, 2013, p. 141-3). Hundreds of prisoners were released in Coimbra, Évora and Lisbon. However, the new General Inquisitor, Dom Pedro de Castilho, was working to “recover the shaken inquisitorial authority and create the conditions for the relaunch of the repression against the New Christians” (Marcocci and Paiva, 2013, p. 143). We can therefore consider that the use of printed material, previously unknown, was a solution imposed by the unusual flow of releases. In the same way, the court guaranteed control over the souls of those freed, who later risked the worst in the event of a relapse, since it was not possible to abjure twice.

The first printed arrest warrant was used in 1624^{xxviii}, and became more widely adopted from 1629 onwards^{xxix}. As for the printed term of secrecy, this took account of the oath taken by the condemned to never disclose anything they had seen and experienced. The first uses were detected in trial records from the end of 1627, and their number then grew

until they were generally associated with terms of abjuration. This was logical since, according to the Form, both had to be signed on the same day^{xxx}.

The year 1629 marked the turning point. Out of the total of 184 trial records with this starting date, the majority had three terms (bearing in mind that, while 1629 was the most frequent year in which the arrest warrant was issued, the two terms were mostly dated 1629 or later, ending between 1632 and 1634, and this may have been in 1644). Its use would be permanent until the end of the court. The final terms of abjuration and secrecy can be found in a trial record from 1819^{xxxi}. Consequently, the inquisitorial trial records from this period onwards are largely hybrid archives. However, procedural documents are not the only printed documents that can be found.

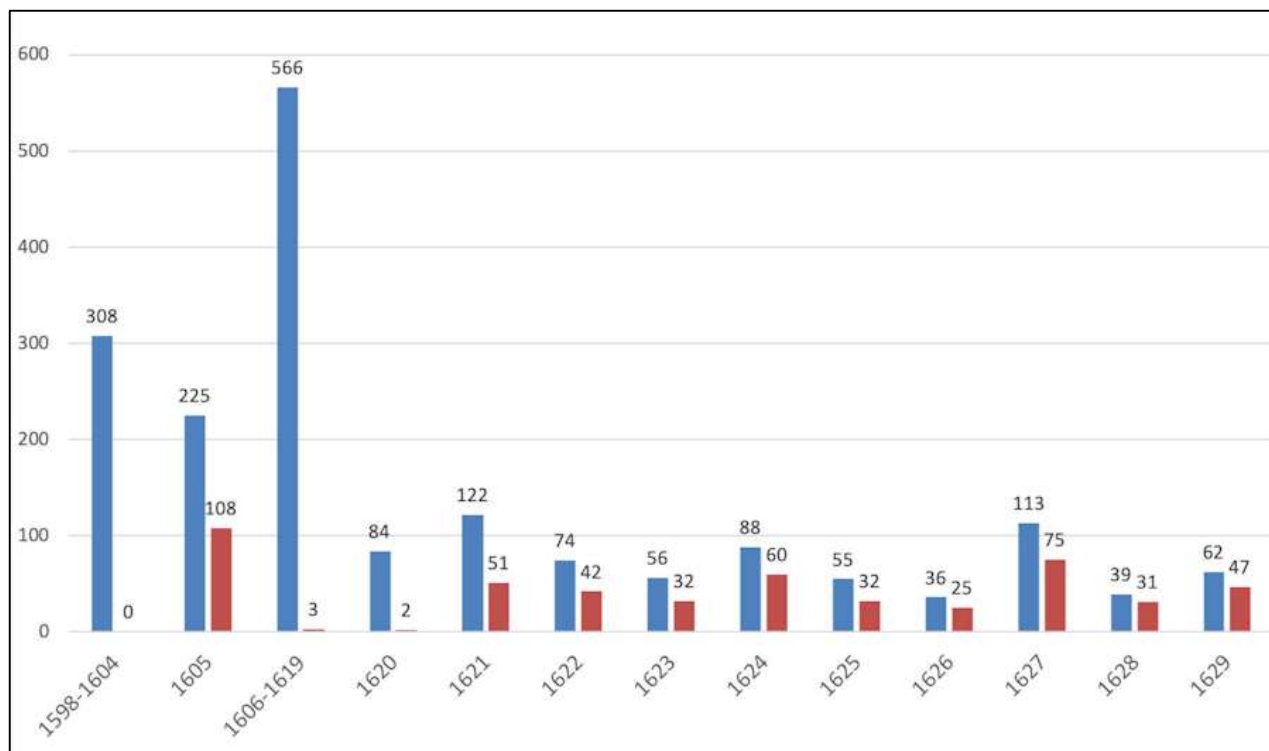


Figure 3: The apparition of the printed terms of abjuration from 1598 to 1629. Column in blue: total of processes; column in red: number of processes containing a printed term of abjuration.

3.3 Other pre-printed material

Unlike the previous items, these pre-printed materials cannot be located a priori. Most of the items produced by the accused stem from religious institutions. Each one is justified according to the accusation. Given the substantial number of trial records for heresy, particularly Judaism, many must have been certificates of orthodoxy and good behavior. Analyzing each context makes it possible to determine the strategies followed in their creation. Fifteen documents in this category have been found so far (see **Appendix II**).

Firstly, there are the letters of indulgence, all printed in Portuguese. In this respect, it can be recalled that the printing press was first used for such texts, since the first two documents printed by Gutenberg in 1454 were of this type of document^{xxxii}. There are also confession notes, as well as a variety of documents of various uses. Two of the forms are in Castilian. Particularly, one is a kind of “Compostela”. It was printed on parchment, which ensured its durability for the daily use of Friar Jean Imbert, a pilgrim from France^{xxxiii}.

In conclusion, all pre-printed material, whether for trial purposes or not, reflected ecclesiastical administrative mechanization. The inquisitorial forms consisted of a closed class of forms about which several questions remain unanswered, such as the printers and the costs. We also need to learn more about the reasons that led to their hegemonic use and, subsequently, which obstacles they probably faced in their implementation among inquisitorial personnel,

especially judges and notaries. There is one aspect to mention here, which is that as a rule, documents that must be notarized, as is the case with most procedural documents, are signed by the parties involved, in particular judges, notaries and the accused. Signatures are in most cases handwritten and are sometimes difficult to read. But there are certain pre-printed ones, except for the three procedural items, which feature a stamped signature on them^{xxxiv}. This phenomenon, which was not isolated, reflected a fundamental trend. Regarding Henry VIII's stamps, "the stamp constituted an effort to streamline a largely bureaucratic process [...] and] resumed a more routine role in early modern central administration" (Flannigan, 2021, p. 278, 280)^{xxxv}.

4. THE LIBRARY INSIDE THE ARCHIVES

In this part of the open-ended inventory of the printed matter found in the handwritten "mountain of paper" (Saraiva, 2018, p. 301) that is the trial records archive, everything that is not a form, from *ephemera*^{xxxvi} to complete works, is categorized by elimination. Even more so than in the previous category, the question each example is confronted with is why it is present within the context in which it was placed. It is possible to distinguish between two sets of printed material: documents that are directly related to the Inquisition; and any other type of document that does not fall into the previous categories. This distinction is rough, but it allows us to organize the still limited material inventoried so far.

4.1 Printed material relating to the Inquisition

This category includes printed materials of which the court is the author, or the source of its production (**Appendix 3**, Nos 1-3). In one case, two 18th century *auto-da-fé* lists were found, one of which had been clandestinely reprinted, hence its presence in the trial records along with the legal original^{xxxvii}. The case reflects the commercial interest of these types of ephemera, sold like opera libretti. The first printed *auto-da-fé* list dates to 1627^{xxxviii}. Other printed material is not known before 1684, the year after which printed lists follow one another regularly^{xxxix}.

The other document is a judgment^{xl}. It was found in a large case file (around 1000 folios), dealing with the notorious case of the Italian Jesuit priest Gabriel Malagrida, who was executed as a heresiarch on 21 September 1761 in Lisbon, and who would be remembered as the last person to end his life at the stake (though, in fact, he was garrotted instead). The printed document, 29 pages inserted at the beginning of the trial records, is the sentence against those guilty of an alleged attempt at regicide against King José I on 3 September 1758 (the Távoras case^{xli}).

The Inquisition was a source of other ephemera, particularly notices, copies of which it is possible to find in the trial records. It also ordered the publication of diverse types of works, such as regulations, *auto-da-fé* sermons and, much more widely, indexes of banned and expurgated books. It is therefore not surprising that such works have left their mark in these archives. However, this variety of procedural documents is not limited to documents of internal origin such as these and pre-printed material. In principle, any type of printed material, as a whole or in parts, could end up among the folios of trial records, without it obviously being a voluminous work.

4.2. Other printed material, or the archives of the Inquisition as a scattered library

The research activities undertaken mainly in the trial records of the Lisbon Inquisition somewhat represented looking for a needle in a haystack. The methodology described above (point 1.1) made it possible to identify documents thanks to the ANTT records. In all categories except the three procedural pre-printed items, 27 were located after searching a field, covering less than 5 per cent of the trial records of the Lisbon Inquisition, and therefore even less than the total number of archived inquisitorial files. Of these 27, 9 were not internally produced (**Appendix III**, nos. 4-12). There are too many of them to go into detail here. As such, this text will limit itself to some of the methodological evidence and consider two cases.

As the document must first be identified, starting with where it was produced, much more than other documents, this printed material requires a bibliological approach. Several documents are not listed in the bibliographies, such as documents nos. 5, 7, 9, 10 and 12. It may also be necessary to attempt a reconstruction based on a fragment, as is the

case with no. 6. Inserted in the middle of one of the most extensive inquisitorial files (more than 3,000 pages), the folio appears to be the last page of a university thesis in poster format printed by the Craesbeeckian workshop in 1651^{xlii}.

In addition to cataloguing new items, this approach also helps to work on the history of texts, and in particular intertextuality. This type of printed material may be considered to belong to what has been called “religious-themed cordel literature” (Pericão, 1995), forming part of the prayer collections known as *Livrinhos* or *Livros de Santa Bárbara*. There were several (re)editions of the *Palavras santissimas* in the 19th century^{xliii}. Firstly, it is important to note that almost all the few 18th century examples located so far have been found in documents with a repressive content^{xliv}. **Table II** lists the known printed material from the dual perspective of their publishing history and their repressive history:

A Publishing chronology		
1733	1. <i>Palavras santissimas contra rayos, tempestades, e trovões</i> (Most holy words against lightning, storms, and thunder), Lisbon, Pedro Ferreira, 1733.	14 pages, 4 vignettes (incomplete)
1750?	2. <i>Palavras santissimas. Contra maleficios diabólicos</i> (Most holy words. Against demonic curses), s.n, s.d.	1 loose leaf
1750?	3. <i>Copia de huma revelação. Palavras santissimas. Contra maleficios diabólicos</i> (Copy of a revelation. Most holy words. Against demonic curses), s.n, s.d.	2 loose leaves
1766a	4. <i>Palavras santissimas, e armas da Igreja</i> (Most holy words and weapons of the Church), Lisbon, from the workshop of Miguel Manescal da Costa, Printer for the Holy Office, 1766.	32 pages, 11 vignettes
1766b	5. <i>Palavras santissimas, e armas</i> (Most holy words and weapons of the Church), Lisbon, from the workshop of Caetano Ferreira da Costa. With the necessary licenses.	32 pages, 11 vignettes
B Procedural chronology		
1750	General Council	<i>Palavras santissimas. Contra maleficios diabólicos</i> (Most holy words. Against demonic curses - no. 2)
1750	IL_2630 (1744-1753)	<i>Copia de huma revelação. Palavras santissimas. Contra maleficios diabólicos</i> (Copy of a revelation. Most holy words. Against demonic curses - no. 3)
1765	IL_9814	<i>Palavras santissimas contra rayos, tempestades, e trovões</i> (Most holy words against lightning, storms, and thunder - no. 1)
1768	Royal Board of Censors	<i>Palavras santissimas, e armas</i> (Most holy words and weapons of the Church - nos. 4 and 5)

Table II: Known printed materials: Publication and censorship chronologies. **Source:** Authors' compilation.

This brief description of the copies will follow the publishing chronology, by briefly commenting on each of the printed materials listed which form part of a trial against superstition^{xlv} as well as clandestine printing. The oldest publishing example so far, and which is unknown in the literature, was found in the trial of José Álvares Moreira de Brito, who was accused of sacrilege in 1765^{xlvi}. Number 1 in the **Table II** refers to a booklet (8 x 4.5 cm) consisting of 14 pages, 4 vignettes^{xlvii}, with the full title of *Palavras santissimas contra rayos, tempestades, e trovões, [?] e Oração propria de S. [Ro]verto, Estação do Santissimo Sacramento, Cruz de S. Bento, e de novo se acrescentou a vera effigie da Cabeça de S. Anastasio, advogado contra os Demonios, e doenças de qualquer género* (in English, Most holy words against lightning, storms, and thunder, [?] and the actual Prayer of St. [Ro]bert, Devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, Cross of St. Benedict, and newly added the true effigy of the Head of St. Anastasius, advocate against Demons, and diseases of any kind. This incriminating piece was found inserted between the witness statements and two sheets of handwritten forms, one of which has a text inside the drawing made “in the measure of a foot of Our Lady the Virgin Mary”^{xlviii}.

The year is likely to have been 1750, but this print may have been produced earlier. No. 2 reproduces an incantation spell, printed only on the front as if it were a poster, with the title *Palavras santissimas. Contra maleficios diabólicos* (in English, most holy of words. Against demonic curses)^{xlix}. It was found in a notebook of orders from the General Council of the Inquisition of Lisbon, inserted among papers dated April-May 1750. In this, contradictory opinions are given (to order/not to order the collection of clandestine printed matter), given by two qualifiers (“censors”, called in to pronounce on the orthodoxy of the propositions)^l. The inquisitors adopted the toughest stance.

At the end of April 1750, José da Silva da Natividade was arrested on charges of clandestine printing and heard by the judge a month later. Printed materials were found in his house entitled *Copia de huma revelação* (Copy of a revelation) and, at the bottom, *Palavras santissimas. Contra maleficios diabólicos* (Most holy words. Against demonic curses; **Table II** no. 3). This consists of two single folio (2º) sheets inserted in duplicate in the trial records, the same size as the previous one, but of better typographic quality^{li}.

The last items (**Table II** nos. 4 and 5^{lii}) are located within a new repressive framework. The Royal Board of Censors, which was a non-ecclesiastical structure but presided over by the archbishop of Évora, Dom João Cosme da Cunha, replaced the Inquisition in the control of books from 5 April 1768, with the Inquisition taking over censorship duties again in 1793. The texts were examined because the printer José Caetano da Costa, shortly before the setting up of the Royal Board of Censors in February, had requested a license to reprint the *Palavras santissimas*, entitled *Livrinhos de Santa Barbara*^{liii}. The censorship dossier contains two editions, containing variations between them, as is clearly shown in the title^{liv}. It is not known whether the reprint was from one or the other. For the edition under examination, the printer also added three pages, written in a trembling hand, of antiphons and prayers, which were to be added to the rest.

The procedures of the Royal Board of Censors were completed in two stages: the request for a license was refused, despite the favourable opinion issued in February, and at the end of the manuscript containing antiphons and prayers it read: “All papers and booklet suppressed”^{lv}; the final stage was the decree banning the *Palavras santissimas* issued on 22.12.1768^{lvi}. Clearly, the existence of previously published printed material cannot be ruled out. These are small or isolated items, therefore extremely fragile, and were often used as amulets.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In modern times, the tribunal of the Holy Office grew to such a size that its bureaucratic operation in managing cases and defendants came to benefit from the printing press. In Spain, it was in the last decades of the sixteenth century, and in Portugal, in the first decades of the following century, that the use of pre-printed forms became widespread in the daily practice of the courts.

The personalized, even subjective, character that the manuscript tends to give to legal acts in our eyes is only an impression: formalism reigns in court. The Inquisition was a tribunal headed by judges, assisted by prosecutors and notaries. Of most of them, nothing remains but a name and a signature at the bottom of the archived documents, which constitute the primary records of trials conducted over nearly three centuries. These men likely carried out their duties without any qualms other than those inherent in their mission: to save Christians who could be saved and to eliminate heretics. They acted according to age-old theological and legal rules, formulated early on in a strict manner. These

officials often more or less simply had to apply the prescribed forms at each stage of a trial. The stereotypical image of the inquisitor as an individual driven by hatred and exercising power arbitrarily does not hold up well, nor does it for the institution itself: if there was any blindness, it stemmed more from formalism than from subjectivity or a lack of directives that allowed for spontaneity, which in no way diminishes the institutional violence. This is where the use of printed forms in key court documents, at the beginning and end of a trial against an individual, takes on its full significance. Admittedly, they constitute only a part of a case file. But this practice appears at a certain point and becomes widespread between 1605 and 1624, during the period of the Double Monarchy.

One question has remained unanswered until now. While the presence of printed documents of the second type (**Tables I, I.2 and II**) is easily explained, the appearance of key forms warrants some investigation into their institutionalization in documents that were mostly handwritten. We should begin examining the Spanish case, so well highlighted by Santiago Medina. Forms play a significant role there, and the first observation to be made is that, compared to the Portuguese case and aside from the well-known fact of their earlier use, there is a much greater variety of them. As for their use, the historian explains that chronologically, ‘the printed word did not replace the manuscript, but rather they coexisted over time, although the use of printed forms largely displaced that of texts copied by hand by scribes, facilitating their work and saving them working time’ (Santiago Medina, 2016, p. 974).

Coexistence sometimes implies preference, deliberate choice: “In specific cases, the skill of the scribe was preferred over the speed of the print” (p. 1316). From these remarks, we can draw, on the one hand, a major difference between the two Inquisitions: there are only three Portuguese forms (plus two more that are rarely observed later) used as printed material, unlike the Spanish courts which employ a large number of them; and, on the other hand, a common function: in all places, their use facilitates tasks and accelerates processes.

Texts rarely mention printed material. We can read in a 17th-century Portuguese formulary: “When the arrest warrant is printed, in place of the word, I wrote it, you will say, I signed it.” (*Formulario* a, f. 2r) This remark reflects a still assumed coexistence of the kind of documents. As we know, the use of pre-printed forms did not become widespread overnight. Professional resistance^{lvii} and practical obstacles must have existed. One might even wonder why the agents of the Portuguese Inquisition made less use of the printed material than their counterparts. The statutes of the University of Salamanca, published in 1595, call into question “the inconveniences arising from the fact that the court notaries had access to printed court documents in criminal proceedings” (Universidad de Salamanca, 1595, f. 53r^o). This observation does not directly concern inquisitorial practices, but it is of interest to us because it highlights the difference between manuscripts and printed documents. Hence the necessity to recall the supreme rule governing the entire inquisitorial apparatus: secrecy. From this perspective, the printed document is a paradoxical object, since it contains information that must not circulate outside the “*secreto*”, whereas every printed document is reproduced and intended to circulate through identical copies. However, a printed form only acquires its full meaning once the blank spaces are filled. But the status of the printed document may have provoked reluctance among key practitioners of the institution, judges and notaries.

With the early presence of printed materials added to the cases, these archives became hybrid, long before justice, thanks to technological developments along with other sectors of activity, definitively transformed transcription, from typed writing even to voice recognition. For example, “between 1890 and 1920, no function, no common operation escaped mechanisation” (Gardey, 2008, p. 17). We can go back in time by saying that the mechanization of texts made possible by printing was applied to judicial practices from the beginning of the 17th century. To which can be highlighted the efficiency of the notary: “Well-maintained trial archives were also extremely powerful technologies in the hands of skilled heresy inquisitors” (Vose, 2019, p. 146). This systematic hybridization through procedural forms had a “standardization and organization function” (Becker, 2009, p. 283), and indicates the growing bureaucratization of modern societies, along with the development of the “secretarial culture” (Campe, 2003, p. 81), through the rationalization of information means and their processing. Besides “the sophistication of the Holy Office’s bureaucratic apparatus” (Pinto, 2020, p. 11) of both Spanish and Portuguese “modern judicial bureaucracies” (Soyer, 2015, p. 334), the technological expansion of the prosecution and sentencing processes reflects the court’s evolving planning and rationalization processes. It is tempting to relate this underlying trend to architectural implementations, such as the conception and construction of Inquisition buildings at the beginning of the 1630s (see Matheus do Couto, 1634).

Besides the text production by and for the Inquisition, the cases encountered involving the presence of printed materials in trial records and their archiving have resulted in what can be called a hidden library with scattered items, many of which remain ignored by historians and bibliographers. But the present output remains limited due to the extent of the corpus analyzed, that is, about ten percent of the subcollection of the Inquisition of Lisbon. Only an exhaustive search covering not only the digitized documents, but also all the others (many of which won't be digitized because of their material condition) produced by the courts of Coimbra and Évora would lead to a complete view of the situation and, above all, to uncover little-known or unknown printed materials. It is legitimate to foresee the future extension of such research, according to what was said about the Soviet archives from World War II, «so enormous that you can always find something new»^{lviii}.

6. FUNDING

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(ANTT is the abbreviation of Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, the Portuguese National Archive)

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Formulário b. Formulário em que se contém o modo de processar as causas que se tratão no Santo Oficio da Inquisiçam, [16--?] (ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Conselho Geral, liv. 382).

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8. APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

A: The appearance of pre-printed material according to the year the trial records began			
year(s) searched	total number of trial records per year(s)	type of form	number of trial records with pre-printed material
A-1598-1604	308		0
1605	225	abjuration	108 (48%)
1606	18	abjuration	1
1607-1614	325	abjuration	0
1615	23	abjuration	1
1616-1617	136	abjuration	0
1618	46	abjuration	1
1619	31	abjuration	1
1620	84	abjuration	2
1621	122	abjuration	51 (41.8%)
1622	74	abjuration	42 (56.8%)
1623	56	abjuration	32 (57.2%)
1624	88	abjuration	60 (68.2%)
1625	55	abjuration	32 (58.2%)
1626	36	abjuration	25 (69.4%)
		prison	1 (1626?)
1627	113	abjuration	75 (66.3%)
1627		secrecy	3
1627		prison	1
1628	39	abjuration	31
1628		secrecy	8
1629	62	abjuration	47 (75.8%)
1629		secrecy	3
	1841		526 (28.6%)

B The appearance of pre-printed material according to the year the trial ended			
B-1624-1629			
1624	33	prison	2
1625	41	prison	2
1626	117	prison	1
1627	94	prison	8
1628	51	prison	10 (20%)
1629	184	total with form(s)	175 (95.1%)
1629		prison, abjuration, secrecy	106 (57.6%)
1629		total with arrest warrant	166 (90%)
1629		total with term of abjuration	146 (79.3%)
1629		total with term of secrecy	117 (63.5%)
1629		total without form	9
Total	520		198 (38%)

APPENDIX II

Other pre-printed material found in Portuguese Inquisition trial records (January 2025)				
	Content	Trial records no.	dates (ANTT record)	accusation
1	indulgences, 23.9.1527	IL_5000:447	1527-1539	Judaism
2	indulgences (Leo X)	IL_14419:245-6	1544-1546	Judaism
3	indulgences, Summary (Paul III)	IP_002:119	1545-1548	Judaism
4	indulgences (1578)	IL_3210:72	1580-1582	heretical propositions
5	indulgences (1620)	IL_5392:102-104	1622-1623	bad-sounding scandalous words
6	Confession	IL_1610:3	1577-1578	attempt at Mohammedanism
7	Confession	IL_5542:3	1582	Islam
8	Confession	IL_9594:5	1617	heretical propositions
9	requests for clemency (indefinite pre-printed items)	IL_12659:354-412, 414-467, 469-542, 549	1600-1603	Judaism
10	certificate from the hospital of Our Lady of Victoria	IL_12659:529	1600-1603	Judaism
11	admission letter	IL_6072:76	1617-1627	Judaism
12	marriage certificate	IL_11250:141	1622-1624	Judaism
13	Compostela (Castilian)	IL_11007:75	1629-1633	sacrilege
14	passport (Castilian)	IL_11713:57	1697	Islam
15	transference letter	IL_2901:217	1763-1767	complicity in hoaxes, blasphemy, witchcraft and sorcery

APPENDIX III

Other printed materials found in Portuguese Inquisition trial records (January 2025)				
	content	case no.	dates (ANTT record)	accusation
1	auto-da-fé list, 1728	IL_1437:1577-80	1725-1728	Judaism
2	auto-da-fé list + reprint, 1741 (2 printed forms)	IL_9106:21-28	1741-1742	printing papers without a license from the General Council of the Holy Office
3	Judgment	IL_8064:71-99	1755-1762	heresy, creator of new heretical, convinced, fictitious, false, confessing, revoking, obstinate and professing errors
4	<i>La messe des hypocrites</i> , 1566 (image)	IL_4117:11	1574-1576	heresy
5	<i>Report...</i> (3 printed items) (not consulted)	IC_2087:?	1757-1768	printing and reprinting books and papers without a license from the Holy Office
6	<i>Theses</i> [?] Lisbon, 1651	IL_1664:2768	1659-1668	heretical, reckless, bad-sounding and scandalous propositions
7	<i>Christo de Salamê</i> (image)	IL_8082:71	1638-1640	Judaism
8	<i>Cyprinao Pentagatho</i> , 1647	IL_1804:7-9	1647	printing a letter without a license from the Holy Office
9	<i>Holy words</i> (4 printed items)	IL_2630:9,43,47,49	1744-1753	clandestine printing
10	<i>Heroic romance</i>	IL_3774:13-20	1762	printing a work without a license from the Holy Office
11	Marcilla, <i>Memorial</i> , [161-?]	IL_7349:35-56	1612-1617	heretical propositions, others that are reckless, false, erroneous and offensive
12	Prayer	IL_7870:13	1621	superstitions
13	<i>Palavras santissimas</i> , 1733 (2 printed items)	IL_9814:51-64	1765-1768	sacrilege

9. NOTES

- ⁱ See Farinha, 1990. On the documents scattered outside the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (henceforth ANTT), see Pinto, 2020.
- ⁱⁱ More precisely 64.817558 pictures (Anabela Ribeiro, «Digitalizar e difundir», Semana Internacional dos Arquivos 2024, Lisboa, ANTT, 6.6.2024, Apresentação, n.º 29. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n55-dTdPWBQ&feature=youtu.be>
- ⁱⁱⁱ Less than 5% of the Coimbra and Évora Inquisition files have been digitised.
- ^{iv} In the case of Goa, where the archives were destroyed early on, the number of known cases is 13,667. On this fund, which was almost completely destroyed at the beginning of the 19th century, see Feitler, 2018, p. 36-50.
- ^v Exploratory project EXPL/HAR-HIS/0499/2021 (17.1.2022–16.7.2023) funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT). Principal investigator: Hervé Baudry; co-principal investigator: Susana Tavares Pedro; team paleographers: Ana Margarida Dias da Silva, Carla Vieira, Jorge Ferreira Paulo, Leonor Dias Garcia, Maria Olinda Alves Pereira, Mário Soares Fatela, Marize Helena de Campos, Natalia Casagrande Salvador, Suzana Maria de Sousa Santos Severs.
- ^{vi} For the first results, see Baudry and Casagrande, 2025.
- ^{vii} Santiago Medina, 2016.
- ^{viii} 19,775 descriptive records and 2,392,997 images (data available on: <https://antt.dglab.gov.pt/exposicoes-virtuais-2/inquisicao-de-lisboa-online/> [consulted 24 November 2025]).
- ^{ix} Santiago Medina, 2016: 756.
- ^x In some cases, the warrant is somewhere else (e.g. IL_6380:197), or there are two warrants on different dates (IL_252:12, 47).
- ^{xi} Kelly, 2019, p. 95; Grundmann, 2019, p. 129, 140, 143.
- ^{xii} Dondaine, 1947, respectively, p. 105-112 e 112-125.
- ^{xiii} Pales-Gobilliard, 1981, p. 254.
- ^{xiv} Gui, 1886, p. VIII-IX.
- ^{xv} The quotations from texts not published in English were translated by me.
- ^{xvi} *Directorium*, 1503.
- ^{xvii} *Directorium*, 1578.
- ^{xviii} «[...] how and in what manner the process of investigating heretical wrongdoing should be initiated. Second, how and in what manner it should be conducted. Third, how and in what manner it should be duly terminated.» (*Directorium*, 1578, p. 417).
- ^{xix} García, 1568; reed. 1591, 1607, 1622. The fifth edition, entitled *Orden de processar recopilado de las instrucciones antiguas y modernas, por el licenciado Pablo Garcia, En Madrid: Imprenta Real, [1628?]*

comes with additions made by order of Cardinal Antonio Zapata, Inquisitor General of Spain. There were also later reissues (1736, 1843) and an Italian translation (Palermo, 1714).

^{xx} *Formulário a*, [16--?].

^{xxi} *Formulário b*, [1s6--?], is written in one hand and has numerous notes in the other.

^{xxii} See *Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Conselho Geral*, liv. 49, 163.

^{xxiii} For example, ANTT, *Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Coimbra*, processo n.º 1572, fol. 143 (imagem 285); *Inquisição de Lisboa*, processos n.º 4222, fol. 137 (imagem 142). Unless otherwise stated, all referenced files are digitised and can be consulted via the ANTT catalogue: <https://digitalq.arquivos.pt/asearch>. To make it easier to consult the documents, we will abbreviate the references to the files by indicating the image number instead of the folio: IC (Coimbra), IE (Évora), IL (Lisbon) [file no.]:[image no.].

^{xxiv} For example, IE_5433:99; IL_6973:243.

^{xxv} According to the judgement, there were degrees of abjuration (*de levi, em forma, vehementer*), which corresponded to different texts. This inventory does not distinguish between them.

^{xxvi} For example, IL_9274:9 (1767-1769), IL_9401:339-40 (1606-1611).

^{xxvii} Coimbra: 11 terms out of a total of 24 trial records consulted; Évora: 35 out of 73 (data is not complete as only part of the collection was digitised).

^{xxviii} IL_13116:5. The date is not filled in on the form; the inventory of goods that follows is dated 1626, while the first hearing is from 1624 (IL_134116:17).

^{xxix} On the Spanish side, there is a pre-printed arrest warrant dated 1588 (Santiago Medina, 2016, p. 756).

^{xxx} *Formulário a*, [16--?], f. 33v, n.º 40.

^{xxxi} Trial record of Constança Rita Cordeiro, accused of apostasy and unbelief (IL_13392:19, 21).

^{xxxii} Ing, 1983.

^{xxxiii} A similar document belonging to an English pilgrim and dated 1638 was described by Bruce, 1869, p. 585.

^{xxxiv} IL_11007:75 (*compostela*); IL_12659:355 (*indulgência*).

^{xxxv} On the routine and constructive nature of the medieval inquisitorial inquiry, see Pihko, 2024

^{xxxvi} *Ephemera* are defined as «documents which have been produced in connection with a particular event or item of current interest and are not intended to survive the topicality of their message» (Pemberton, 1971, p. 6). The typology adopted in this study (see Appendix I) distinguishes between different types of ephemera. All forms (*infra*, points 2.1.2 and 3) can belong to this category, with the validity period of each message varying. Documents from inquisitorial production should be added to this category (see *infra*, point 3.1).

^{xxxvii} Payan Martins, 2012, p. 58-62.

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- xxxviii Lista, 1627. No other copy has been located. “The list of this Auto was the first to be printed by the Inquisition, and it is so rare that I haven't seen it yet” (Moreira, 1863, Vol. 1, p. 193). These publications, made at the behest of the Inquisition, usually have no bibliographical address.
- xxxix Two copies of the Lisbon list of 26.11.1684 are known (USTC 5105764). The printed list of 13.05.1685 can be found in Moreira, 1863, Vol. 2, p. 499-502.
- xl *Sentença [1759] in IL_8064:71-99. There was a bilingual edition: Jugement, [1759].*
- xli Maxwell, 1995, p. 79-83. Malagrida had already been arrested in January 1759 as an accomplice of the defendants (he was the confessor of a relative of the Távoras).
- xlii The whole document appears to be three pages long (only the fronts are printed): reading it backwards brings up the text on the previous page, i.e. conclusions 2 to 5. The sheet with the title and 1st conclusion is missing. Item unknown, particularly in the main Portuguese bibliographies: Silva, 1858-1958; Arouca, 2001-2011. Nothing about this type of production in Daupias, 1975.
- xlili I write “(re)editions” because the comparative study of the texts remains to be done.
- xliv Outside this context: a Lisbon edition from 1760 has been located from a private collection in Goa (India) (Tavares, 2003, p. 222-3; Tavares, 2018, p. 532-3).
- lv On the censorship of superstitions and prayers in the 16th century in Spain and Portugal, see Londoño, 2019; in particular p. 134-42 on the condemned corpus.
- lvi IL_9814:51-64; other preprints: arrest warrant (9), indulgence of 4 February 1755 (67), terms of abjuration and secrecy (209, 211).
- lvii Incomplete copy. We don't know how many pages are missing after the last one with the catchword “Saõ”.
- lviii IL_9814, fol. 28.
- lix For the text, see Sannig, 1842, p. 188.
- ¹ Inquisição de Lisboa, subcollection 27, Caderno 9º de ordens do Conselho Geral, fol. 42 (image reference: PT-TT-TSO-IL-027-0157_m0135; the file has 10 folios; images:129-134, 137-157).
- li Trial record of José da Silva da Natividade IL_2630:9 e 43; repeated 47 e 49. On the trial, see Martins, 2012, p. 62-9.
- lii Villalta only mentions 1766b, labelling it Livro de Santa Barbara, a work of which “one hundred thousand copies” were imported into Brazil between 1795 and 1799 (Villalta, 2016, p. 98-9).
- liii Real Mesa Censória, cx. 18, document no.14, José Caetano da Costa, 24.2.1768.
- liv The two booklets are stitched together.
- lv Real Mesa Censória, cx. 18, document no. 14, unpagued.
- lvi «Palavras SS.mas e Armas da Igreja, contra Rayos. Sup. a 22 de Dezembro de 1768» (Catalogo, 1768-1814, fol. 51vº).
- lvii I mean internal resistance, and not at the institutional level, because the Portuguese Holy Office has always remained “independent of the Spanish court” (López-Salazar Codes, 2011: p. 340).
- lviii Statement made by Antony Beevor during the radio broadcast 80 ans du Débarquement: commémorations salutaires dans une Europe en crise (France Culture, June 6, 2024).