

## “MEMORIAL ÀS VÍTIMAS DA INQUISIÇÃO EM TRÁS-OS-MONTES”

### CARÇÃO / VIMIOSO

*“Memorial to the victims of the Inquisition in Trás-os-Montes” Carção / Vimioso*

CANOTILHO, Luís<sup>1</sup>; & CANOTILHO, Luís Filipe<sup>2</sup>

---

#### Abstract

With the introduction of the Inquisition in Portugal on May 23, 1536, at the request of King D. João III of Portugal, Carção / Vimioso the most persecuted communities of New Christians in Trás-os-Montes, events that are still misunderstood by the population today. Faced with the challenge formulated by the historian and president of the municipality of Vimioso, Jorge Fidalgo, we carried out this project, inspired and based on historical facts and, on sacred Jewish publications, the books of Bereshit and Shemot. It was our intention to create a Sacred and Reflection space, through the association of symbolic elements of Jewish culture. In the process of genesis of artistic composition, we immediately rejected descriptive readings, opting for the representation of the main symbolic elements of Jewish culture, established on the basis of the concept that we defend of scientific aesthetics, allowing us to reach the Proportion / Harmony commitment.

#### Resumo

Com a introdução da Inquisição em Portugal, em 23 de maio de 1536, a pedido do Rei D. João III de Portugal, Carção / Vimioso seria das comunidades transmontanas de Cristãos-Novos mais perseguidas, acontecimentos ainda hoje incompreendidos pelas populações. Perante o desafio formulado pelo historiador e presidente da autarquia de Vimioso, Jorge Fidalgo, concretizámos o presente projeto, inspirado e fundamentado nos factos históricos e, nas publicações judaicas sagradas, os livros de Bereshit e Shemot. Foi nossa intenção criar um espaço Sagrado e de Reflexão, através da associação de elementos simbólicos da cultura judaica. No processo de génese da composição artística desde logo rejeitámos leituras descritivas, optando pela representação dos principais elementos simbólicos da cultura judaica, estabelecidos na base do conceito que defendemos de estética científica, permitindo atingir o compromisso Proporção / Harmonia.

**Keywords:** *Anti-Semitism; Boaz; Carção; New-Christian; Sacred Geometry; Inquisition; Jaquin; Jewish; Magen David; Memorial Victims Inquisition; Menorah; Sambenito; Holy Office; Vimioso.*

**Palavras-chave:** *Antissemitismo; Boaz; Carção; Cristão-Novo; Geometria Sagrada; Inquisição; Jaquin; Judeu; Magen David; Memorial Vítimas Inquisição; Menorá; Sambenito; Santo Ofício; Vimioso.*

**Submission date:** July 2021 | **Publication date:** September 2022.

---

<sup>1</sup> LUÍS MANUEL LEITÃO CANOTILHO – Centro de Investigação em Ciências e Tecnologia das Artes da Escola de Artes da Universidade Católica Portuguesa. PORTUGAL. Email: canotilho.luis@gmail.com

<sup>2</sup> LUÍS FILIPE CÉSAR CANOTILHO- Licenciado e Mestre em Arquitetura. Doutor em Ciências da Educação. luiscanotilho@hotmail.com

"The world is not threatened by evil people, but by those who allow evil" Albert Einstein

## THE CHALLENGE

In 2021, we were challenged by the Mayor of Vimioso, António Jorge Fidalgo Martins<sup>3</sup>, to carry out a “Memorial to the Victims of the Inquisition” of the Municipality of Vimioso. This proposal would be reaffirmed by the Vice-President António dos Santos João Vaz and, by the President of the Parish Council of Carção, Daniel Tomé Ramos, both “carçonenses”<sup>4</sup>.

The project was directed by the plastic artist Helena Canotilho, with the architecture project by Filipe Canotilho, and the execution (sculptural part and symbolic definition) by the plastic artist Luís Canotilho.

With the introduction of the Inquisition in Portugal on May 23, 1536, by Pope Paul III<sup>5</sup>, at the request of King D. João III of Portugal, the parish of Carção, along with the village of Argozelo, would belong to the Trás-os-Montes communities of New Christians most persecuted in the region of Trás-os-Montes.

Appropriate choice since Carção, in addition to having the Jewish Museum / Marrano, architectural remains related to Jewish culture, has also represented in the coat of arms of the parish, the image of the Menorah, one of the main symbols of Jewish culture. Other physical elements existing in Carção could be mentioned here, such as the “judicial stone”<sup>6</sup>. The emotional burden of the population, about this event engraved in granite, is still very deep today.

---

<sup>3</sup> António Jorge Fidalgo Martins: Degree in History, Art Variant - Educational Branch - by the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto and Master in Education, specializing in History of Education and Pedagogy, by the University of Minho.

<sup>4</sup> Designation that proudly, the natives of the parish of Carção, insist on being nicknamed.

<sup>5</sup> The Bula Cum ad nihil magis, had as its priority target the Judaizing New Christians, but also Lutheranism, Islamism and witchcraft.

<sup>6</sup> It is a granite stone dated 1651, marking the condemnation of Francisco Mendes, with the following descriptive reference: “IN THIS SITE WERE THE HOUSES OF THE ADDRESS OF FRCO MENDS WHO WAS CONDEMNED TO DEATH PLA DE GASPAR GIV WHO WAS IOIS IN THIS DRIVING CRISTOVAM PINTO DEPAIVA SHIPS IN THE HOUSE OF SOPRICACAM YEAR 1651 EL REI OUR SEÑOR AS MANDOV ARASAR AND SALT THROUGH THE PIETY THAT HE HAD IN HIS DEATH AND LITTLE RESPECT FOR THE SACRAMENT”. Translated from archaic Portuguese: “in this place were the houses of the address of Francisco Mendes who was condemned to death for having killed Gaspar Gonçalves who was a judge in this place in the jurisdiction in which Doctor Cristóvão Pinto de Paiva, Judge of the Casa da Suplicação, proceeded in the year of 1651. Our Lord the King ordered them to be razed and salted because of the impiety he had in the said death and the lack of respect for the sacraments”. Francisco Mendes was hanged in Vila de Outeiro, supposedly for the “possible” death of the judge and for having cut off the arms of a figure of Christ on the cross. <sup>7</sup> The so-called “purification of emotions” was part of studies carried out by physicians Brad Bushman (studies on the causes, consequences and solutions to the problem of aggression and violence in humanity), Roy Baumeister (studies on social rejection) and Angela Stack, published in the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology – 1999, Vol. 76, no. 3, pp. 36.

If documental physical memory still resists, immaterial memory, although referenced through much loose documentation and publications on the subject of the inquisition, is not properly represented in symbolic form.

We believe that the necessary “emotional discharge” provoked by the traumas of the Inquisition, which so devastated Carção, whose term is catharsis, first used by Aristotle, as “purification” (FREIRE, 1982), at the time applied to the performing arts, was never carried out, as the “Greek tragedy”.

This “discharge of senses and emotions” can be resolved by art, as in the present case, through sculptural language with meaning and profound symbolism.

This catharsis, defended by psychoanalysis, will constitute a methodology through which we “purify”<sup>7</sup> all negative emotions (anger, sadness, etc.). Named the “cathartic method” (FREUD, 1913), in the case of the community of Carção, it undergoes a possible therapy, unlocking memories and tensions accumulated over generations, accepting the historical moment and honoring its victims in a noble way, through a monument that definitively references “a people without memory is a people without history. And a people without history is destined to commit, in the present and in the future, the same mistakes of the past” (COSTA, 2015).

### **ANTI-SEMITISM - THE MOST ENDURING OF HATES**

On the Inquisition in Portugal there is no lack of publications by our greatest historians, where we highlight the study by António José Saraiva, *Inquisition and New Christians* (1969). About Carção, as no one can remain indifferent to the period of terror experienced by the New Christians, dramatically described by António Andrade and Fernanda Guimarães, we point out the publication *Carção – Capital do Marranismo* (2008). We recommend this impressive narrative of the facts, exercised on the New Christians, through descriptive episodes that define the human being in his most vile and abominable purpose.

---

<sup>7</sup> The so-called “purification of emotions” was part of studies carried out by physicians Brad Bushman (studies on the causes, consequences and solutions to the problem of aggression and violence in humanity), Roy Baumeister (studies on social rejection) and Angela Stack, published in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* – 1999, Vol. 76, no. 3, pp. 367-376.

We must not fail to point out the rigorous and concise work published by Jorge Martins, *Virtual Memorial to the Victims of the Inquisition* (2021), on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the extinction of the Inquisition.

At the documentary level, two institutions will be fundamental for the rigorous study of the Portuguese Inquisition. We refer to the National Archive of Torre do Tombo<sup>8</sup> and the “Digital Collection” of the National Library<sup>9</sup>.

This article is written by a plastic artist and an architect, so the descriptive historical aspects, which we now refer to, are only for the reader to understand, in the genesis of the artistic work, what was the theoretical basis, the historical description, the tangible and intangible memories existing in Trás-os-Montes, the methodology and technical process employed, as well as the symbolic elements, for the realization of the “Memorial to the Victims of the Inquisition in Trás-os-Montes”.

The persecution of those who think differently from ours is not born with the inquisition. It is “FEAR” that transforms the weak and leads them to take the most vile actions, over those who process other cultures and ways of thinking about life and the interpretation of the beyond. Fear, in animals and humans, causes aggression on their part.

The persecution of Jews over the centuries has taken on various forms of hatred such as anti-Semitic prejudice. As the Jews are not the only Semitic people, as the Arabs are as well, anti-Semitism is defined through the idea of belonging to an inferior group, denying that they are part of the nation where they reside. It constitutes a form of racism based on a political ideology (LAZARE, 1903), resident until today, since the supposed first episode in Elephantine, Egypt, in 410 BC. when a group of Egyptians destroyed the Jewish temple. Of greater historical visibility, we highlight the massacre of about 4,000 Jews in Granada / Spain (GUBBAY, 1999) on 12/30/1066, with the Muslim occupation (2nd decade of the 11th century – first years of the 16th century), the Rhineland massacres (Gilbert, 1998) perpetuated in June and July 1095 and which would give rise to the 1st Crusade (1096), the edict of expulsion of the Jews from England promulgated by Edward I in 1290 (MUNDIL, 1998), the massacres of Spanish Jews in 1391 (GAMPEL, 2016), the Spanish Inquisition established in 1478 (MOURA, n.d.) by the Catholic Kings

---

<sup>8</sup> Alameda da Universidade. 1649-010 LISBOA.

<sup>9</sup> Campo Grande 83, 1749-081 Lisboa.

Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabel I of Castile<sup>10</sup> and subsequent expulsion in 1492, the Lisbon massacre of 1506 also called “Easter Killing” (SARAIVA, 1993), accused of being the cause of the drought, famine and plague that ravaged Portugal at the time, the Portuguese Inquisition (May 23, 1536 to March 31, 1821) instituted through a request to the Pope in 1515 by D. Manuel I and subsequent Jewish expulsion in 1497, The massacres of Cossack Jews in Ukraine between 1648 and 1657 (KOHUT, 2003), the various pogroms (Russian term applied to religion or religion) in the Russian Empire between 1821 and 1906 (JOHNSON, n.d.), the awarded for treason by the captain of Jewish descent Alfred Dreyfus belonging to the army of the Third French Republic (1894-1906) (DAUGHTON, 2006), the Nazi Holocaust or the genocide of about six million Jews (LEVI, n.d.), the Jewish passion in Stalinist Communist Russia (PINKUS, 1990 ) what Joseph Stalin called “rootless cosmopolites”, cultural heritage that already comes from the Tsars or, nowadays: Arab and Muslim involvement in the exodus of Jews from their countries (AHARONI, 2009), are major expressions of anti-Semitism.

Wistrich (1991), designates the term anti-Semitism as "the most enduring of hatreds" (WISTRICH, 1991). It is still present today and the purpose remains the same: The destruction of the Jewish People, through the rejection of their culture (TYLOR, 1920), basically having conversion as the only option, since with expulsion there are no places of refuge around, as is the case in present-day Israel, where cultural anti-Semitism establishes new forms of projection, through the victimization of Palestinian and Iranian ideological-religious extremisms. It should be noted that we understand the term culture within the anthropological definition (TYLOR, 1920), where Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Customs are united within the same common approach.

There were many peoples and cultures that, for multiple reasons, were lost over the millennia. However, no people like the Jews have ever suffered this level of concentration and attempted cultural destruction. Another people. he certainly wouldn't have resisted... Could it be that the explanation for the survival of the Jewish People lies in the guarantee of the protection of the true God?

---

<sup>10</sup> Father Juan Antonio Llorente puts the number of those condemned to death at 39,000, although the proof is doubtful. The Spanish Inquisition, also known as the Tribunal of the Holy Office, was established in 1478 and would come to an end in 1808 with the invasion of Napoleon Bonaparte's French armies.

## THE PERSECUTION OF NEW CHRISTIANS IN PORTUGAL

The Portuguese inquisition began on May 23, 1536 and only ended on March 31, 1821. Its objective, along with the Spanish inquisition, was the persecution of New Christians, also known as Marranos.

The destruction of Jewish communities in Portugal began with the enactment of the Decree of 1496, by King D. Manuel I, which ordered the expulsion of Jews and Moors. In this period of 40 years, until the creation of the inquisition, the Jewish communities existing in Portugal were extinguished and their synagogues destroyed or converted into churches (SARAIVA, 1969).

In Portugal, the conversion of the Jewish population to Catholicism was forced (SARAIVA 1969, pp. 27-48), thus putting an end to Portuguese Jews and the birth of New Christians or Marranos. If the persecution began with D. Manuel I, the inquisition would be introduced in Portugal on the fateful day of May 23, 1536 by Pope Paul III, through the bull *cum ad nihil magis*<sup>11</sup>, at the request of King D. João III, with the aim of persecute Judaizing New Christians, Lutherans, Islamists and practitioners of “witchcraft”. It would be up to the Inquisition courts based in Évora (1538), Lisbon (1539), Coimbra (1541) and Goa (1560) to destroy the Jewish and Crypto-Jewish communities<sup>12</sup>, now pejoratively designated “Marranos”.

Destroyed the Jewish communities in Portugal, their synagogues, converted to Catholicism “by force” since 1497, seemed to receive the “final ax” in the reign of D. João III, for preserving the law of Moses.

It would be up to the Holy Office, through its court of the Inquisition, to “inquire heresies” practiced by New Christians for 285 years, until 1821<sup>13</sup>. It should be noted that this court had no jurisdiction for anyone who was not Catholic.

---

<sup>11</sup> This document, existing in the National Archive of Torre do Tombo, was addressed to the bishops of Coimbra, Lamego and Ceuta, appointing them inquisitive commissioners of the pope in Portugal, also allowing King D. João III to appoint judges for the Tribunal of Santo Office to judge New Christians and other people who practiced heresy, with declared penalties

<sup>12</sup> The term crypto-Judaism applies to Jews who were forcibly converted to Catholicism, designated, therefore, as New Christians, but who remained secretly faithful to their religious customs and rituals. In the transmontana region they were nicknamed Marranos.

<sup>13</sup> On March 31, 1821, the Constituent Cortes resulting from the Liberal Revolution of 1820, decreed the abolition of the Inquisition in Portugal, which had already been half-dead since the impositions decreed by the Marquis of Pombal.

Religious barbarism began in mainland Portugal, with the court of Coimbra being responsible for judging heresies practiced by New Christians in the central and northern regions, including Trás-os-Montes. As the judges were recruited fundamentally from among the Dominican friars, their function was to investigate, judge and punish crimes against the “faith” and “good customs”. However, the originality of the Holy Office was based on the investigation process that led to the conviction. In reality, it did not follow the normal procedures for common crimes, given that the crimes, being of a religious nature, the penalties applied were temporary.

Thus, the inquisitions, since their origin, combined two rights and jurisdictions that traditionally constituted two distinct spheres: the ecclesiastical law, applied by the spiritual arm, and the civil law, applied by the temporal arm. This was made possible by an alliance between the King and the Pope (SARAIVA. 1969, pp. 13-14).

The processes carried out by the Tribunal of the Holy Office were secret, where the inquisitors had the absolute and arbitrary power to condemn or acquit the defendants (FREITAS, 1916). The defendant went through a first phase that was secret, called instruction, where he was subjected to interrogation, with the aim of confessing the guilt of which he was accused. The trial then moved on to a second phase, also secret, where the defendant was aware of the accusation, based on denunciations and testimonies from the first phase. Subsequently, the defense followed, where the lawyer was not chosen by the defendant, but by the Holy Office (LIMA, 1999). The final sentence was voted by the majority of the board of the Inquisition.

In this procedure, all denouncements were accepted, regardless of the credibility of the denouncers, through in-person witnesses, by “overheard”, slanderous or anonymous denouncements. As everything had evidential value for the Tribunal of the Holy Office, torture constituted an efficient confession process.

The sentences were read and executed in a more or less public ceremony, called “Auto-da-Fé”. In the sentences read and executed in the public square, the “reconciled” and the “relaxed” were exposed, designation given to the condemned who were handed over to profane justice, for the application of the death penalty.

The day of execution of the capital sentence was a real public spectacle, which involved preparations several weeks in advance, from the very well publicized public announcement, the construction of the scaffold, the stage with the figures of the inquisition and guests, the preparation and “Sambenitos” painting (KARMEN, 2011), designation of the convict’s habit.

On the day of the public execution of sentences, a procession was organized that left in the morning from the headquarters of the Holy Office, covering the main arteries of the city, ending at the place where public sentences were read and executed. At the head of the procession, the Friars of S. Domingos paraded with the banner of the Inquisition, among a crowd that jubilated with sadistic joy, hardly controlled by armed soldiers. “Apart from the visits of kings, the autos-da-fé were certainly the public acts that mobilized the most people and assistance” (SARAIVA, 1969), constituting at the same time an exhibition of the power of the Court of the Holy Office.

In the Courtyard of the Inquisition in Coimbra, the condemned publicly heard the sentence passed, without even knowing, or having had access to, the inquisitorial process, kneeling in front of the altar, facing the pulpit from where the priest pronounced the sentence to be applied. Evilness took on a very specific refinement on the part of the inquisitorial judges, where the designated “relaxed” (condemned to death at the stake) who were sentenced to death, after being handed over to profane civil justice, so that they could fulfill the sentence decreed, hypocritically asked not to kill them.



Figure 1 - Panel on “Jewish Culture”. Vicious. Luís Canotilho (2017). Polychrome tile: 240 cm x 150 cm. The two figures on the left represent New Christians, condemned for heresy to be “relaxed”, dressed in “sambenitos” and holding a candle.



Acting as a festive spectacle, the “relaxed” defendants, handed over to profane justice, were taken to the place of execution of the sentence. After the “Sambenito” (Figure 1) was stripped from them, they were dressed in white with a candle in hand. Then they were asked if they intended to die in the Catholic religion. If so, they were subject to death by garrote, burning the body after this painful death. If they denied the Catholic religion, they were burned alive, before the exclamations of joy from the crowd that watched the show. Later, the “Sambenito” with the representation of the portrait of the convict, was exposed inside the church of the locality where it came from, as happened several times in Carção. The persecution of Jews in Portugal ended, by virtue of the law published in the last quarter of the century. XVIII, by the Marquis of Pombal<sup>14</sup> – Letter of Law of December 15, 1774 (MENDES, 2011). It would only be in the government of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (ALVES, 2006), “Marquês de Pombal”<sup>14</sup>, the perception of the only difference between Covos Christians and Old Christians, which were the “blood cleanliness laws”. Like the Marquês de Pombal, those then persecuted by the Inquisition, the mercantilist bourgeoisie and the groups of intellectuals who would bring about the Liberal Revolution of 1820, had come to power (CARDOSO, 2007). At the same time, the expulsion of the Jesuits by King José I in 1759 began, where the future Marquis of Pombal was Secretary of State for Interior Affairs of the Kingdom. This decision was fundamental, since the Society of Jesus, from the beginning, had decided to adopt the “Blood Cleansing Statute” in relation to New Christians (SANTOS, 2007).

With the “Century of Enlightenment” (XVIII), the ideals of Freedom, Progress, Tolerance, Fraternity, Constitutional Power, and Church-State Separation had an echo in the most enlightened populations. Intolerance no longer had a place and religious orthodoxy was definitively questioned, through *Sapere aude* (dare to know) (GAY, 1996). The winds of Enlightenment arrived in Portugal and, with the Marquês de Pombal, the importation of slaves was prohibited (RAMOS, 1971) and discrimination against New Christians ended. While the Holy Office was not extinguished immediately, Pombal definitively limited it by being placed under royal authority, at the same time as ending the “Real Mesa Censoria” (1768). The development of the country came to be in the mercantilist bourgeoisie (CANOTILHO, 2016), at the same time that the nobility and the clergy, mainly, lost protagonism.

---

<sup>14</sup>Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (1699 - 1782), called Marques de Pombal, also the first Count of Oeiras, served as Secretary of State of the Kingdom during the reign of King José I between 1750 and 1777.

**"A PEOPLE WITHOUT MEMORY IS A PEOPLE WITHOUT HISTORY. AND A PEOPLE WITHOUT HISTORY IS DESTINED TO MAKE, IN THE PRESENT AND IN THE FUTURE, THE SAME MISTAKES OF THE PAST"<sup>15</sup>**

It is therefore important to preserve the memory of the approximately 40,000 victims of the Inquisition in Portugal, where among the accused, approximately 80% were New Christians, approximately 1,000 practiced Islam, 800 of witchcraft, 600 of homosexuality (sodomy), 500 for Protestantism (Lutheranism, Calvinism and Anglicanism), 400 Catholic priests by request (sexual harassment and rape), 200 for practices linked to witchcraft and, close to 50 for belonging to Freemasonry (BAIÃO, 1919). We cannot fail to associate these 40,000 victims of the Inquisition, their families and descendants, who were expropriated of their material goods, prevented from exercising certain professions, public and military positions, and socially discriminated against within the communities to which they belonged. In these impressive numbers, those condemned to death at the stake or deceased in prison have a greater impact, numbering around 1,500 (BETTENCOURT, 2000).

In the district of Bragança, one can count 112 victims of the inquisition, judged and condemned in the Court of the Inquisition of Coimbra, (space and buildings currently with the designation patio of the inquisition)<sup>16</sup> 16. In this succinct historical approach, we cannot fail to point out the fateful Auto-da-Fé of Coimbra on June 14, 1699 (PEREIRA, 1996), as most of the condemned were from Trás-os-Montes. A total of 87 sentences were read (50 men and 30 women), 74 of which came from Trás-os-Montes, where 3 men and 3 women were “relaxed” (burned alive) and an urn containing the remains of a deceased man. 15 men and 9 women from Carção and 12 men and 3 women from Argozelo were sentenced.

The “relaxed in the flesh” of the Auto-da-Fé of Coimbra on June 14, 1699, were New Christians from Trás-os-Montes: Jorge de Oliveira de Carção; Catarina Lopes Bicha de Carção; Manuel Lopes and his wife Ana Lopes de Chacim; Domingos Lopes Ruivo and wife Maria Lopes Vinagre de Chacim; Mortal remains of Bernardo Rodrigues de Carção.

---

<sup>15</sup> Emília Viotti da Costa (1928-2017). Professor and historic expert.

<sup>16</sup> The former Colégio das Artes, founded in 1542 by King D. João III, existed on the site. In 1555, the Colégio das Artes passed to the administration of the Society of Jesus, and the building was given by them to the Court of the Holy Office, which would operate until 1821. For this purpose, several adaptation works were carried out, where the old cells are still visible.

## **PROCESS OF THE GENESIS AND IMPLEMENTATION OF AN IDEA**

We understand that the plastic artist must be able to unite, through the image, social thought, interpreting it technically, in order to materialize the creative work representative of an event, moment, period, social thought or ideal (AKOUN & PAILLEAU, 2019).

For this purpose, it uses the scientific method, carrying out research, using narrated historical facts, official documents and the geographic space where they took place. However, objective or subjective interpretations must be avoided, so as not to fall into the emotional error of “taking sides over a person” or over one of the intervening groups.

This aesthetic we call scientific. It is not governed by the emptiness, subjectivity or religiosity of the terms “creativity”, “expressiveness” or adjectives with “modernity”.

If the project has to be underlying the historical, sociological, anthropological study and physical knowledge of the communities, it is up to the artist to interpret these facts using the technologies and techniques available for the realization of the idea. It should be noted that technical skills and experience are also scientific. The same happens with geometry as the solid structural basis of the composition.

Otherwise, we will fall into the classic readings of collective or individual artistic work, which always tend to attribute and baptize artists in a merely historical, socio-political period or artistic movement, always and wrongly ending up in the creation of cultural elites (REIS & GRILL, 2014). Historical reading is fundamentally up to historians by training, who must have the necessary capacity to insert themselves, objectively and documentally analyze a given temporal space, just like sociologists and anthropologists.

The proposed theme demanded a deep reflection on our part, given the historical weight and the emotional charge that continues to be valued by the people of Trás-os-Montes, mainly the descendants of New Christians.

At the outset, we were faced with the possibility of opting for the well-known realistic, symbolic, and abstract languages or, in the interaction of two of them, or even three (DONDIS, 1977).

The realistic language could be established through the dramatization of a moment, such as the representation of a judgment of the Holy Office or even the possibility of establishing a profound dramatic vision, through the representation of the execution of the sentence of the “relaxed”. Among the various representations on the subject under study, Goya (1746-1828)<sup>17</sup> did so in an exceptional and realistic way, through the painting of a scene of the Court of the Holy Office, whose composition overemphasizes people, the dramatic space and the color. Three-dimensionally, although in another scope, the dramatic environment created by Auguste Rodin (1889), in the sculpture “Bourgeois de Calais”, like the first artist, appeals to the dramatism and expressiveness of the human form.

However, if we opted for the scope of abstract language, we would certainly fall into the elimination of formal details that identify Jewish culture, detaching ourselves from the historical and experiential elements of these persecuted communities. We opted for symbolic language to allow, through the reduction of form to the smallest detail, that the observer does not lose focus on details or dramatic expressiveness, in subjective or interrogative interpretations (CANOTILHO, 2017).

From the outset, it was our intention to create a Sacred and Reflective space, through the association of symbolic elements of Jewish culture.

As is known, the sign has its signifier, designated as concrete reality and represents, in a synthesized way, an organization, a country or an ideal, which can be religious (SCHAFF, 1968). The Mercedes symbol does not just identify the car brand, it is associated with quality and reliability. The cross does not only identify Catholicism or Protestantism, above all the thought of Jesus Christ. Therefore, we must consider that the symbol, being a fundamental element in communication, is something that represents another substance.

In this field we wanted to include the Jewish “Menorah” because it associates the Jewish ritual with a profound sacred charge, by identifying a religious culture and also because it was built by God from Abraham to Moses.

---

<sup>17</sup> Auto-de-Fé presided over by San Domingo de Guzmán, by Pedro Berruguete (c. 1450-1504). Oil on wood, 154 x 92 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

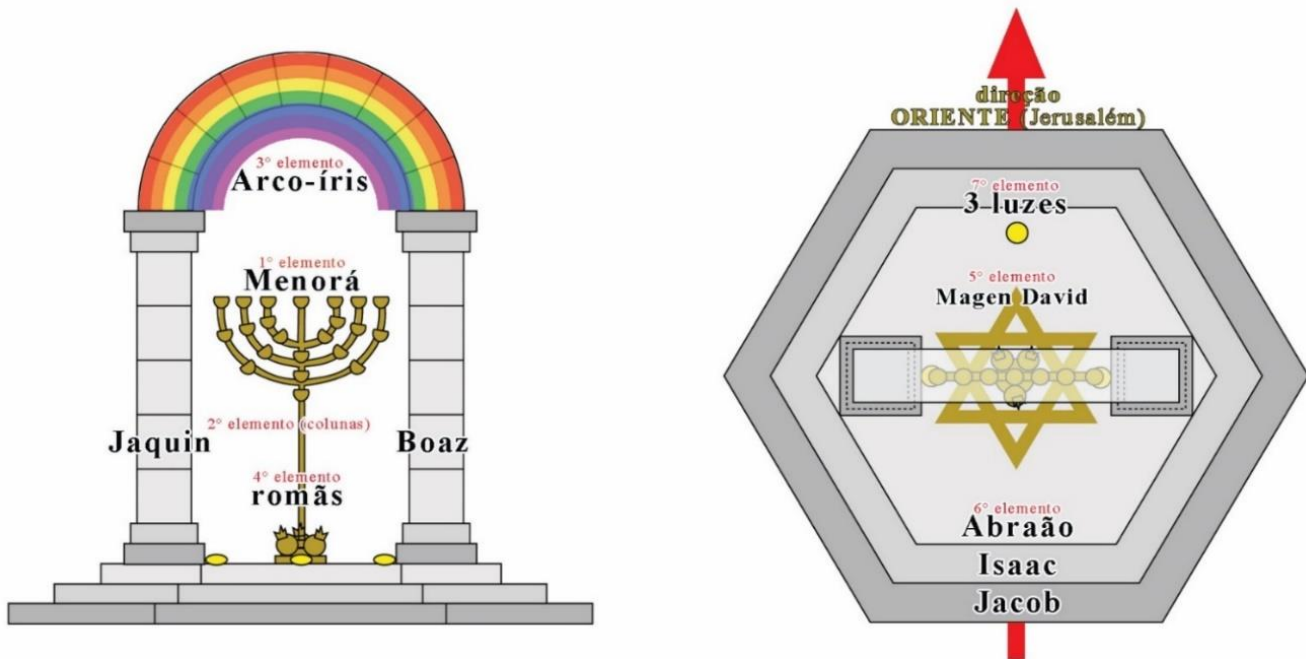
Historically, the Holy Office intended to destroy a religious culture, made up of Jewish communities forced to convert to Catholicism, called New Christians. The problem is that New Christians were forced to adopt Catholic religious symbols, such as the cross, celebrate their rituals and beliefs, while keeping their Jewish symbols, holy books and celebrations secret. This was the reason for their persecution and destruction. With the permanent surveillance of these communities and the persecution exercised, previous generations began to mix Jewish and Catholic ritual objects, which was intolerable by the church. They were therefore forbidden to use their symbols and practice their rituals.

This was the foundation we found for the representation of Jewish symbols in the “Memorial to the victims of the Inquisition in Trás-os-Montes” in Carção / Vimioso. The composition of this symbolic representation will not constitute an affront to the institution of the Church, since we consider that this institution was also a victim of the Tribunal of the Holy Office, when condemning many priests.

Indeed, the interpretation of Jewish symbols is dependent on the religious foundations described in the Bible (Old Testament), whose interpretation is decisive in cultural terms. In this way, the symbolic elements were researched in the Torah, which is composed of its five books, namely: Bereshit (Genesis); Shemot (Exodus); Vayikrah (Leviticus); Bamidbar (Numbers); Devarim (Deuteronomy).

These constitute the original texts of the Abrahamic religion, where the Laws of Moses and an entire epic of the Jewish People are established. Only later, and inspired by these documents, did the two Abrahamic lineages emerge: Christian based on the figure of Jesus Christ whose holy book is the Bible (religion adopted in the Roman Empire since the 4th century); Muslim based on the figure of the prophet Mohammed, born in Mecca in the year 570 of the Christian era (religion adopted by the Islamic empires from the 7th century onwards) (DERRIDA, 2002).

## SYMBOLIC DIMENSION OF THE ELEMENTS USED IN THE PROJECT



**Figure 2** – Plan and elevation of the monument with references to the 7 symbolic elements: Menorah; Columns (Jaquin and Boaz); Bow (rainbow); 3 Pomegranates; Magen David; Ladder of the 3 Patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac and Jacob); 3 lights. The seven elements symbolize the seven days of creation according to the book of Bereshit.

Carção, as we have already mentioned, adopted in the coat of arms, one of the most representative symbolic elements of Jewish culture - the Menorah (Menorah). It is the seven-branched lampstand made of beaten gold that existed in the first temple (Exodus 25:31-40; Exodus 37:17-24, Zechariah 4:2-5; Zechariah 10:14). In 70 A.D. with the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem by the Roman army, it will have been taken to Rome, whose description is engraved in the images in high relief of the Arch of Titus<sup>18</sup> in Rome. This is one of the many affronts to Jewish culture. Therefore, this symbolic object had to be present, as we now report.

The menorah, the seven-branched candelabrum, a ritual object in the Temple of Jerusalem, acquired great relevance in biblical literature. First, as a representation of the cosmos, both in the visible and invisible world. Second, as the tree of life, and representation of God and eternal life. And finally, in the development of Kabbalah, as a representation of the sephirotic tree. Arch of Titus (LEITE, 2016).

<sup>18</sup> The Arch of Titus was built around 82, by Emperor Domitian, shortly after the death of his older brother, the then Emperor Titus.

In the Torah, in the book Shemot (Exodus 25. 8-9), God addresses Moses and orders him to build a sanctuary, later indicating the symbolic elements that compose it (which includes, among others, the ark of the covenant and the Menorah), as well as its interior arrangement. David (circa 970 BC) as king, will leave the indications of the architectural project of the temple and the details about the decoration, including the symbolic elements, described in detail to Solomon (Book of the Old Testament - 1 Chronicles 28, 15).

In 597 B.C. the first affront to Jewish culture appears by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar, when the sack of Jerusalem, the various chandeliers were destroyed and stolen (2 Kings 24, 13 and in Jeremiah 52, 19-19).

With the restoration of the second temple in 520 BC, only a Menorah was placed in it.

In 169 B.C. the Syrian king Epiphanes, returned to perpetuate a new sacking of the Temple of Jerusalem, taking the sacred ritual objects including the Menorah, as described: “taking everything with him, he returned to his land, after massacring many Jews and pronouncing injurious words” (1 Maccabees 1, 21-24).

Subsequently, the Temple of Jerusalem is again rebuilt by the Jews (around 160 BC) and Judas Maccabeus orders the manufacture of sacred objects, including the Menorah (1 Maccabees 4, 47-51).

As already mentioned, in 70 A.D. with the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem by the Roman army, the Menorah and the other symbolic objects disappear definitively, creating the known myths.

When considering the Menorah, as the most sacred symbolic element, it could not be subject to any kind of stylization or interpretation. Indeed, his description that we are now quoting, and which we respect, is found in the book of Shemot<sup>19</sup>. When YHWH on Mount Sinai addressed Moses referring “*make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell among them. You will do everything according to the model of the house and the model of its furniture that I will show you.*”

---

<sup>19</sup> Êxodo (25, 31-40).

*31. Thou shalt make a lampstand of pure gold; and thou shalt make it of beaten gold, with its pedestal and its stem: its chalices, its buds, and its flowers shall form one piece with it.*

*32. Six arms will come out of your sides, three on one side and three on the other.*

*33. On one arm shall be three chalices in the shape of an almond blossom, with a bud and a blossom; in another there will be three chalices in the shape of a flower*

*almond tree, with a bud and a blossom and so on for the six branches of the candlestick.*

*34. On the lampstand itself shall be four chalices shaped like almond blossoms, with their buds and blossoms:*

*35. a bud under the first two arms of the candlestick, a bud under the next two arms, and a bud under the last two: and so shall it be with the six branches that issue from the candlestick.*

*36. These knobs and these arms will form a whole with the lampstand, all forming a single piece of pure beaten gold*

*37. You shall make seven lamps, which shall be placed on top, to give light in front of the lampstand.*

*38. Your snuffers and ashtrays will be pure gold.*

*39. A talent of pure gold shall be used to make the lampstand and its accessories.*

*40. See to it that this work is carried out according to the model I showed you on the mountain.”*

Exodus 25, 31-40

We considered that this would be the first and main symbolic element, placed in a prominent place, in the center of the structure. In the sacred book Shemot<sup>20</sup>, although the construction is detailed, it does not mention the dimensions of the Menorah, as well as the design of the support base. However, the reference to the weight of a talent of beaten pure gold, which corresponds to 32.3 kg / 71 lb (Roman talent), allowed us to establish a calculation for the Monument's Menorah, measuring approximately 160 cm x 190 cm (figure 2).

---

<sup>20</sup> Exodus in Christian Bibles.



The second element, represented in the “Memorial to the victims of the Inquisition in Trás-os-Montes”, would have to pass through the symbolic representation of the Temple of Jerusalem, destroyed several times, leaving today, the remains of the support wall in the designated “Monte do Monte”. Temple” (Har Ha-Bayit in Hebrew) in Jerusalem, also known as the “Noble Sanctuary” (al-Haram al-Sarif in Arabic).

We have already mentioned that after the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem by the Roman army in 70 ADS, in 361, the Roman emperor Julian ordered its construction, a work that would be abandoned as a result of the earthquake of 363. VII, the Umayyad Caliph Abdal Malik Ibne Marwan (623-685), ordered the construction on the Temple Mount of Al-Aqsa Mosque. It already existed there, since the first half of the century. VII a small mosque built by Caliph Omar (586-644). Subsequently, the Al-Aqsa Mosque would be rebuilt twice as a result of two earthquakes (748 and 1033).

With the First Crusade in 1099, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was created, where the space began to serve as a royal palace and later, headquarters of the Poor Knights of Christ and the Temple of Solomon "Pauperes commilitones Christi Templique Salomonici", designation of the Knights Templars.

With the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin in the Battle of Hattim (1187), with the defeat of the Christian army, the Al-Aqsa mosque returned to be a place of Muslim worship.

When, in 1967, the state of Israel conquered the eastern part of Jerusalem, it allowed the mosque to continue as a prayer space, under Muslim administration.

It is important to mention here the permanent resignation and tolerance of the Jewish People who, by assuming the administration of East Jerusalem, could fall into the temptation to destroy the mosque and proceed with a new construction of the Temple of Jerusalem.

The Temple in Jerusalem is perfectly described in I Book of Kings (Chapters 5 to 9). However, it would never be our purpose to represent it on a lower scale, falling into the “aesthetic trap” of establishing the descriptive content of the space, to the detriment of its symbolic and sacred value.<sup>13</sup> O rei Salomão mandara vir de Tiro um homem que trabalhava em bronze, Hirão,

. 14. filho de uma viúva da tribo de Neftali, cujo pai era de Tiro. Hirão era talentoso, cheio de inteligência e habilidade para fazer toda espécie de trabalhos em bronze. Apresentou-se ao rei Salomão e executou todos os seus trabalhos.

15. Fez duas colunas de bronze: a primeira tinha dezoito côvados de altura; a sua periferia media-se com um fio de doze côvados. Tinham quatro dedos de espessura e eram ocas. A segunda coluna era semelhante a esta.

...

18. Dispôs em círculo ao redor de cada uma das malhas duas fileiras de romãs, para ornar cada um dos capitéis que cobriam as colunas.

...

20. Os capitéis colocados sobre as duas colunas elevavam-se acima da parte mais grossa da coluna, além da rede; em volta dos dois capitéis, havia duzentas romãs dispostas em círculo.

21. Hirão levantou as colunas no pórtico do templo, a coluna direita, que chamou Jaquin, e a esquerda, que chamou Boaz

I Book of Kings. Chapter 7.

The two columns placed in the “*Memorial to the victims of the Inquisition in Trás-os-Montes*”, represent the Temple of Solomon, several times destroyed and looted. The first has the designation Jaquin means “*He will establish*” and the second Boaz “*He comes with power*” (HAMBLIN & SEEELY, 2007) (figure 2)

. The two columns in the memorial support a perfect half-circle arch, possessing the “*keystone*”.

This perfect arch is the third symbolic element placed. It represents the Rainbow, as a symbol of the “*Sign of the Covenant*” that appeared, as described in Genesis 8, 9-17, after the Flood, when the “*Ark of Noah*” ran aground on Mount Ararat. God promised never again to destroy mankind through floodwaters (GREENLE, 1980) (figure 2).

So we went looking for a fourth element to combine with the Menorah, the Jaquin and Boaz Columns. and the Perfect Arch. An element with the symbolic meaning of Love and Hope. Unquestionably we went looking for Pomegranate, the fruit of the pomegranate tree. This sacred fruit, as described in the last biblical references in numerous passages and particularly in I Book of Kings, chapter 7, is the object of decoration of the Temple of Jerusalem and the columns. For the Jewish people, the pomegranate has a special meaning in the New Year's ritual, as they believe that the new year will always be better.

When the Jewish People left Egypt on their way to the “promised land” by YHWH, the 12 spies who were sent, returned loaded with fruit, of which many were pomegranates. This sacred fruit that would come to decorate the Temple of Jerusalem and Solomon's gardens, as a symbol of hope, fertility and love (attributes also shared by other peoples of the East), was represented by us in the number of three at the base of the Menorah (figure two).

The fifth symbolic element representative of the Jewish culture of the memorial is the Star of David (Magen David). The substantive term “Magen” means shield, as an element of body protection during combat (figure 2). It is present in all synagogues being the symbol of the state of Israel.

After the representation of pomegranates, the number three is repeated again, as an odd number, on the three steps of the hexagonal stairs. They are hexagonal, as they insert the Star of David, the “Magen David” (PAVITT, 1922), in their center, with six vertices, inserted in this flat geometric figure with six sides.

The sixth symbolic element consists of the three steps (ladders) and correspond to the sacred odd number of 3. In this way, we intend to honor the three patriarchs of Israel (Abraham, Isaac and Jacob).

They are at the base of the monument and at the base of the three Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam). These three ladders refer to a common identity that over the centuries a lot of hatred has fomented among themselves (figure 2).

We lacked the last and seventh element created by YHWH on the first day: Light.

On the upper step, the number of 3 light sources was established again, which at night, two illuminate the columns and the third the Menorah, given that in Bereshit<sup>21</sup>, after YHWH had created the heavens and the earth said: *“Let there be the light”*

5 - God called the light DAY, and the darkness NIGHT. Evening came and then morning: it was the first day. Genesis 1, 5.

We intend, therefore, that there is no Darkness. From “Day” the Sun will illuminate the monument. But at night, the monument will be illuminated with three spotlights.

---

<sup>21</sup> Gênesis 1, 1-5.

### **The Jewish community of New Christians from Trás-os-Montes will never be forgotten in the “Darkness**

In the composition we made of the “Memorial to the victims of the Inquisition in Trás-os-Montes” (figure 2), constituted through the geometric composition with the 7 Jewish symbolic elements, the Menorah and the Jaquin and Boaz Columns, constitute sacred symbolic elements that already do not exist. These elements represent, like their people, the permanent destruction and persecution, perpetuated by peoples, religious and political ideologies.

However, the 5 symbolic elements constituted by the pomegranate (meaning of Hope and LOVE), the Magen David (Star of David as a protective divine shield), the perfect bow (Rainbow<sup>22</sup>, as a “Sign of the Covenant” between God and Man), the 3 hexagonal stairs (reference to the three patriarchs of Israel Abraham, Isaac and Jacob) and the 3 lights (divine energy that gives life), remain alive.

We consider these seven elements as our symbolic and exoteric references in the present work.

In Bereshit the number seven refers to the seven days of creation,

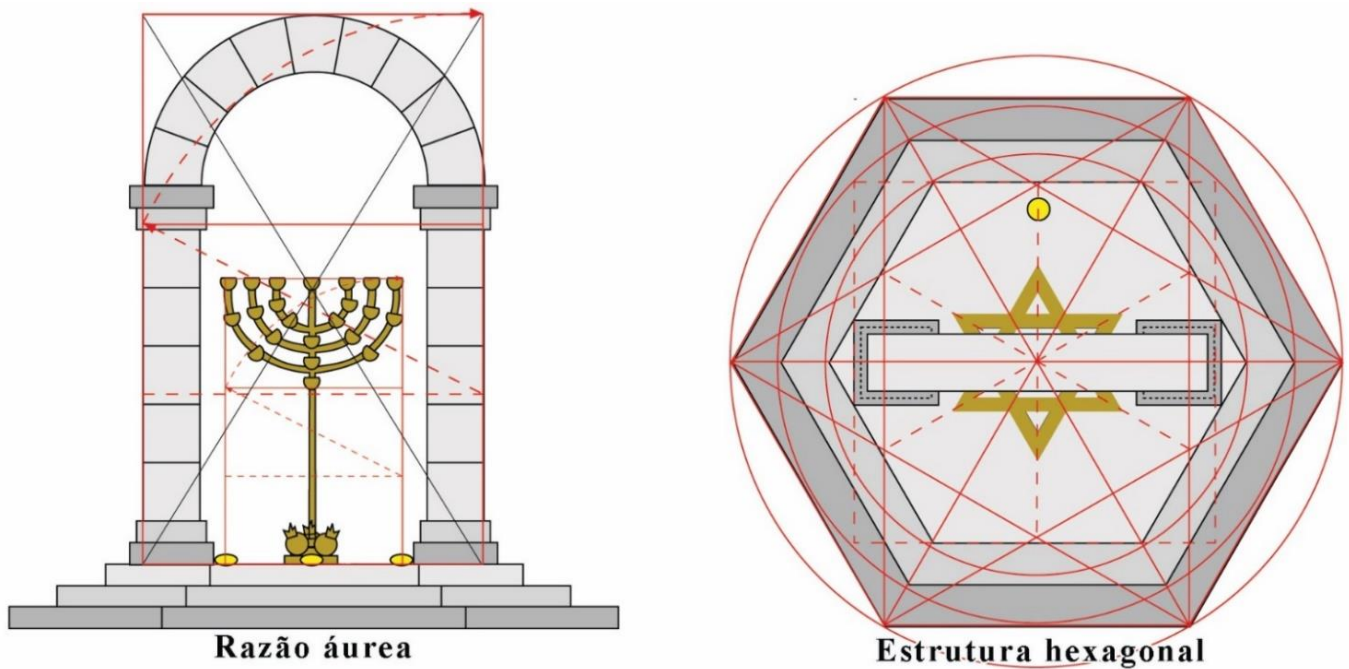
2. On the seventh day, when God finished his work, he rested from his work.
3. He blessed the seventh day and consecrated it, because on that day he had rested from all the work of creation.
4. Such is the story of the creation of the heavens and the earth. Genesis 2, 2-4

The spiritual and exoteric dimension of the sculptural project implies that its direction is turned towards the East (figure 2), therefore towards Jerusalem, the physical and spiritual capital common to the 3 Abrahamic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

---

<sup>22</sup> Auto-de-Fé presided over by San Domingo de Guzmán, by Pedro Berruguete (c. 1450-1504). Oil on wood, 154 x 92 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

### PROPORTION AND HARMONY IN THE ELEMENTS USED



**Figure 3** – Plan and elevation of the monument with the referenced geometric structures: Golden and hexagonal dimensions.

The monument is located slightly in the center of Rua Dr. Manuel Maria Lopes, space with an oval configuration. The monument was placed in such a way as not to interfere with national road n.º 218, so it had to be diverted laterally, being placed in the direction of the East (figure 2), directed towards Jerusalem, the physical and spiritual capital of the Jewish People.

The creation of the Golden Ratio, Golden Mean, Divine Proportion, Number of Gold or Number of Phidias, had the fundamental objective of establishing the most correct proportion or harmonic relationship in the fields of architecture and the arts (CANOTILHO, 2009). Its discovery is due to Matila Ghyka<sup>23</sup> and, of course, it always starts with a reference to the human dimension.

---

<sup>23</sup> The term “golden number” was only coined in 1932 and is due to Matila Ghyka, a Romanian diplomat and engineer, who wrote a voluminous work on the term. Matila Ghyka’s book published in 1932 was a great success, as it was inspired by the German philosophical current of the 19th century, which enshrined Plato and Euclid, in an attempt to create a kind of scientific aesthetics. The “golden number” is identified by the Greek letter “fi”  $\phi$ .

The Golden Ratio or Golden Rectangle is the one that has the following property: When we remove the area corresponding to the surface of a square, we obtain another rectangle similar to the first, but in a smaller area, and so on. This is the case identified in the front elevation of the project (figure 3), as well as the dimension in the menorah that fulfills the same proportion. It can also be seen that the central "light" of the Menorah corresponds to the center of the Golden Ratio rectangle. The seven "lights" of the Menorah are also aligned with the median of the aforementioned rectangle. The Golden Ratio in the figure is in accordance with the Fibonacci Sequence.<sup>24</sup>

By subjecting the architectural and sculptural elements of the monument to the Golden Ratio, we managed to establish the binomial based on composition (CANOTILHO, 2017), which we consider to be the compromise between Proportion and Harmony.

The plan, described in figure 3, also corresponds to this compromise between Proportion and Harmony. For this purpose, we started from the concentric subdivision of the hexagonal structure (CANOTILHO, 2005), which served as a grid for the orderly arrangement of the symbolic elements. With this we understand and value the concept of scientific aesthetics, inspired by the philosophical principles of Plato and Euclid.

In figure 4 we can observe the daytime image of the completed project, with the respective adaptation to the field of geometry.

In figure 5 we can see two nighttime images of the project illuminated by the three spotlights at night in Carção.

---

<sup>24</sup> 24 Leonardo Fibonacci (1170 – 1240). Italian mathematician, born in the city of Pisa. The Fibonacci sequence is a series of numbers, where the value of each corresponds to the sum of the two preceding ones: 0, 1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, 34, 55, 89, 144, 233, 377, 610, 987, 1597, 2584, 4181, 6765, 10946..., and so on.



**Figure 4** – Final project showing the golden dimensions applied to the monument, to the Menorah, as well as the centrality of the 7 lights in the horizontal median of the rectangle and the central light, within the principles of scientific aesthetics.



i

**Figure 5 and 6** – Final design. Night lighting of the “Memorial to the Victims of the Inquisition in Trás-os-Montes”.



## REFERENCES

AHARONI, Ada (2009). *The Forced Migration of Jews from Arab Countries*. Wayback Machine. Historical Society of Jews from Egypt website.

AKOUN, Audrey & PAILLEAU, Isabelle (2019). *Sketchnoting. Pensamiento visual para ordenar ideas y fomentar la creatividad*. Editorial Gustavo Gili S.L.

ALVES, José Augusto dos Santos (2006). *O Marquês de Pombal e a mudança de paradigma*. Vol. 22. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/cultura/2222>; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/cultura.2222>.

ANDRADE, António J e GUIMARÃES, M. Fernanda (2008). *Carção – Capital do Marranismo*. Edição: Associação Cultural dos Almocreves de Carção, Associação CARAmigo, Junta de Freguesia de Carção e Câmara Municipal de Vimioso. Escola Tipográfica – Bragança.

BAIÃO, ANTÓNIO (1919). *Episódios dramáticos da inquisição portuguesa. Homens de Letras de Sciencias por ela condenados – Vária*. Volume II. Álvaro Pinto Editor.

BETHENCOURT, Francisco (2000). *História das Inquisições*. Portugal, Espanha e Itália. Séculos XV – XIX. Companhia das Letras. ISBN: 9788571649712.

CANOTILHO, Luís (2009). *Do Número 1,618 ao Ponto da Bauhütte*. Série Estudos. Instituto Politécnico de Bragança.

CANOTILHO, Luís Filipe César (2016). *Projeto de um manual de cerâmica na base da contextualização arquitetónica, artística, histórica e tecnológica*. UTAD.

CANOTILHO, Luís Manuel Leitão (2005). *Perspetiva pictórica*. Publisher: Instituto Politécnico de Bragança, Escola Superior de Educação.

CANOTILHO, Luís. (2017). *Composição Plástica*. Editor: PORTAS DA BILA. Edições ERAS. Prefixo de editor: 978-989-99832. ISBN 978\_989\_54004\_2\_3.

CARDOSO, António Monteiro (2007). *A Revolução Liberal em Trás-os-Montes (1820-1834). O Povo e as Elites*. Edições Afrontamento. ISBN 9789723609172.

DAUGHTON, James Patrick. (2006). *An Empire Divided: Religion, Republicanism, and the making of French Colonialism, 1880-1914*. Oxford Univ. Press. p. 8. ISBN 0-19-530530-2. OCLC 644094069.

DERRIDA, Jacques (2002). *Acts of Religion*. Anidjar, Gil, ed. New York & London: Routledge. ISBN: 978-0-415-92401-6.

DONDIS, Donis A. (1977). *La sintaxe de la imagen*. Introducción al alfabeto visual. Editorial Gustavo Gil. Barcelona.

FREIRE, António (1982). *A catarse em Aristóteles*. Volume 6. Coleção "Pensamento filosófico". [S.l.]: Faculdade de Filosofia. ISBN: 9789728195557.

FREITAS, Jordão de (1916). *O Marquez de Pombal e o Santo Ofício da Inquisição - (Memoria enriquecida com documentos inéditos e facsimiles de assignaturas do benemerito reedificador da cidade de Lisboa)*. [S.l.]: Sociedade Editora José Bastos.

FREUD, Sigmund (1913). *Totem et Tabou: Alguns Pontos de Concordância entre a Vida Mental dos Selvagens e dos Neuróticos*. Alianza; edición, 2011. ISBN-10 8420650889

GAMPEL, Benjamin R. (2016). *Motins antijudaicos na Coroa de Aragão e a Resposta Real, 1391-1392*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 271–314. ISBN 9781107164512.

GAY, Peter (1996). *Enlightenment: An Interpretation*. [S.l.]: W. W. Norton & Company. ISBN 0-393-00870-3

GILBERT, Martin (2010). *The Routledge Atlas of Jewish History*. ISBN 9780415558105

GREENLE, Robert (1980). *Rainbows, Halos, and Glories*. ISBN: 0-521-38865-1

GUBBAY, Lucien (1999). *Sunlight and Shadow: The Jewish Experience of Islam*. Nueva York: Other Press. p. 80. ISBN 1-892746-69-7.

HAMBLIN, William J. & SEEELY, David Rolph (2007). *Solomon's Temple; Myth and History*, Thames and Hudson, 2007.

JOHNSON, Sam (s.d.). *Pogroms, Peasants, Jews: Britain And Eastern Europe'S 'Jewish Question', 1867-1925*. Editor: PALGRAVE USA. ISBN 9781403949820

KARMEN, Henry (2011). *A Inquisição Espanhola. Uma revisão histórica*. (3ª edição). Barcelona: Crítica. ISBN: 978-84-9892-198-4.

KOHUT, Zenon E. (2003), *The Khmelnytsky Uprising, a imagem dos judeus e a formação da memória histórica ucraniana*. História Judaica, pp.141-163

LAZARE, Bernard (1903). *Anti-Semitism Its History And Causes*. KESSINGER PUBLISHING CO. ISBN: 9780766132184

LEITE, Edgar (2016), *A Menorá e a árvore da vida*. Dossiê: Religiões no mundo antigo. Revista Hélade- Universidade Federal Fluminense – Volume 2, número 2. outubro.

LEVI, Primo (s.d.). *Se isto é um homem. Uma das mais lúcidas e impressionantes visões dos campos de extermínio nazis*. Dom Quixote. ISBN 9789722054027.

LIMA, Lana Lage da Gama (1999). O Tribunal do Santo Ofício da Inquisição: o suspeito é o culpado. Revista de Sociologia e Política.

MARTINS, Jorge (2021). *MEMORIAL VIRTUAL ÀS VÍTIMAS DA INQUISIÇÃO. 31 DE MARÇO DE 2021* (ducentésimo aniversário da extinção da Inquisição).

MENDES, Paulo (2011). *O Marquês de Pombal e o Perdão aos Judeus. Inquisição, legislação e solução final da questão do perdão aos judeus com o novo enquadramento jurídico pombalino*. Dissertação de mestrado apresentada à Faculdade de Ciência Política, Lusofonia e Relações Internacionais Lisboa da Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, pp. 52-73.

MOURA, Angel De Prado (s.d.). *El Tribunal De La Inquisicion En España (1478-1834)*. Editor: ACTAS. ISBN 9788497390101.

MUNDIL, Robin (1998). *Solução judaica da Inglaterra: Experimento e Expulsão, 1262-1290.*, p.366. ISBN 978-0-521-58150-9

PAVITT, William Thomas & Pavitt, Kate (1922). *The Book of Talismans, Amulets and Zodiacal Gems*. Capítulo II, Talismãs de raças primitivas.

PEREIRA, Isaiás da Rosa. (1996). *Auto-da-Fé de Coimbra do dia 14 de junho de 1699*. Edições Colibri. Repositório da Universidade de Lisboa. URI: <http://hdl.handle.net/10451/39671>. ISSN: 0870-4104.

PINKUS, Benjamin (1990). *The Jews of the Soviet Union: The History of a National Minority*. Cambridge University Press. p. 44. ISBN 978-0-521-38926-6.

RAMOS, Luís A. De Oliveira (1971). *Pombal e o escravagismo*. Revista da Faculdade de Letras. Repositório Aberto da Universidade do Porto

REIS, Tavares dos & GRILL, Igor Gastal (organizadores) (2014). *Estudos sobre elites políticas e culturais*. Edufma. ISBN: 978-85-7862-360-9.

SANTOS, Robson Luiz Lima (2007). *Anti-Semitismo na Companhia de Jesus (1540-1593)*. Universidade de S. Paulo. <http://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/8/8138/tde-19032008-105825/>

SARAIVA, António José (1969). *Inquisição e Cristãos-Novos*. Editorial - Inova. Porto. Coleção Civilização Portuguesa.

SARAIVA, António José (1993). *História de Portugal*. Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América.

SCHAFF, Adam (1968). *Introdução à semântica*. Coimbra: Almedina.

TYLOR, Edward (1920). *Primitive Culture. Researches into the development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom*. London. 2 volumes.

WISTRICH, Robert S. (1991). *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred*, New York: Pantheon Books. ISBN 0679409467 9780679409465.

---