

**Inquisitorial procedures in Barcelona, Tarragona and Gerona  
in the manuscript *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et  
condemnationis hereticorum* by Pere Miquel Carbonell**

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The Spanish Inquisition, as it is well known, encompasses the long period of history of the Iberian Peninsula. It was created after the unification of the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile by the marriage union of the „Catholic kings“ Ferdinand II of Aragon<sup>1</sup> and Isabella I of Castile. Therefore when Pope Sixtus IV on November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1478 had published the papal bull, the Spanish Inquisition was legally established.

In this historical period had lived and worked Pere Miquel Carbonell, on the one hand erudite and well educated man of renaissance and on the other, witness of the Inquisition`s deeds who devotedly served his monarchs.

Pere Miquel Carbonell (1434-1517) was a Catalan historian, poet, writer, notary and royal archivist in The General Archive of the Crown of Aragon from 1476 until 1517. This humanist and calligrapher of the 15th century was a big admirer of classical literature. Carbonell had an aim to become the member of cultural minority group of Barcelona`s Catalan philologists and humanists which he has greatly admired. With a help of humanist Jeroni Pau and other erudite persons from Catalonia, Carbonell was introduced to renaissance humanism and its classical heritage. Carbonell was a magnificent calligrapher and the plethora of his manuscripts is kept in The General Archive of the Crown of Aragon which proves his great calligraphy technique, although as getting older these skills were getting slightly worsened.

The most remarkable works of Carbonell are *De viris illustribus catalanis* and *Chròniques de Espanya*. Furthermore, Carbonell wrote books inspired by the Spanish Inquisition, including *Super facto expulsionis hereticorum* and also *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum*, which will be the main theme of this paper. Manuel de Bofarull i de Sartorio, 19th century royal archivist in The General Archive of the Crown of Aragon, saved Carbonell`s biography and collected

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<sup>1</sup> Names of persons are given in this paper in form same as in the manuscript, except in cases where the English usage is long established.

his works in edition: *Coleccion de documentos inéditos del archive general de la Corona de Aragon, publicada de real órden por su archivero, D. Manuel de Bofarull y de Sartorio, Opúsculos inéditos del cronista Catalan Pedro Miguel Carbonell* in two volumes published in Barcelona in 1864 and 1865, among them was also the *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum*.

Pere Miquel Carbonell's manuscript is kept in The General Archive of the Crown of Aragon under the signature *Real Cancilleria registros numero 3684*, and contains documents about the Spanish Inquisition from 1487 until 1507, therefore it's estimate that the date of origin is end of 15<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, written in many cases soon after the events. Additionally, the places of origin are uncertain, because it's not sure did Carbonell was present at these cases, but exists possibility that he attended to these procedures in the audience as one of the important personalities of that period. Secondly, format or page size is mostly 29.5x21.5 cm, except three folia with sizes 22x14cm; thirdly, there are two types of pagination (both in Roman numerals), one is probably added later: first starts with I, and second with CV. Every second folium has pagination. The first pagination is written by Carbonell (...*ad folium XLVII exclusive id enim feci ad hunc finem...*<sup>2</sup>), and the second one by Bofaroll, because it continues and is attached on the previous manuscript.

*Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum* ALIAS *de Gestis Hereticorum* was created at the demand of Barcelona's inquisitor Alphonso de Spina who entrusted this task to archivist Carbonell (*Reverendus Alfonsus Spina hereticae pravitatis inquisitor jussu Regio preeunte voluit et mandavit mihi Petro Michaeli Carbonello Regio Archivario ut in hoc registro sive libro continuarem que faciunt pro officio inquisitionis hereticae pravitatis...*<sup>3</sup>).

The fact that inquisitor of Barcelona relied on Carbonell in this issue proves its historical significance. Carbonell writes that he accepted this mission due to his strong religious beliefs (*exaravi absque aliquo domini Regis stypendio sed gratis duntaxat et ex voto in Dei laudem ac fidei Catholicae defensionem ac infidelium opprobrium et*

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<sup>2</sup> Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Reg. um sobre negocios de la Inquisición de Fernandi II, Real Cancilleria registros numero 3684, *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum* ALIAS *de Gestis Hereticorum*, fol. CVII.

<sup>3</sup> ACA, RNIFII, RN 3684, fol. CVII.

*confusionem et ut memoriae comendentur*<sup>4</sup>). His wish was to preserve these historical events from oblivion, thinking that heresy was spreading throughout whole Spain, especially in Catalonia (*Haec tenim fateor me habuisse ab originalibus processibus Sanctae Inquisitionis factis per reverendos inquisitores haereticae pravitatis tam in civitatibus Barcinonae, Taraconae, Vici, Gerudae et Helenensi quam earum diocesibus*<sup>5</sup>). There is an evident dilemma in the author's choice of writing style utilized in the work as he shifts between classical, and *vernacula lingua* which he preferred (*...processus ipsi hereticorum sunt partim latino sermone et partim vernacula lingua scripti sed etiam mihi placuit alio stylo sine substantiae mutatione illa edere atque excerptare...*<sup>6</sup>) in creating this piece so historically significant with an abundance of authentic facts, and yet so simple in revealing historic details.

This precious historical document, evidently from the title, describes three main outcomes of the trials: acquittal, reconciliation and condemnation of the accused. Additionally, it describes historical period from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, according to Kamen, it belongs to the first phase of the tribunal's activity: the period of intense anti-converso persecution.<sup>7</sup> The originality of the described processes was demonstrated by the various languages used in the manuscript. For instance, the largest section of the text, including the introduction, titles and the names of the prosecutors are written in Latin. On the other hand, the statements of the accused persons, crime descriptions and penalties are written in Catalan. Thirdly, the section written in Spanish is the smallest and includes other sources written in Spanish, such as letters describing the inquisitional processes. The inquisitorial cases described in this manuscript are those which occurred in Barcelona, Tarragona, Gerona, Vic and Elne (*...ab originalibus processibus Sanctae Inquisitionis factis per reverendos inquisitores haereticae pravitatis tam in Civitatibus Barcenonae, Taraconae, Vici, Gerunde et Helnensi...*<sup>8</sup>). Carbonell listed these cases in chronological order. On the other hand, occasionally Carbonell was imprecise in calculating persons involved or accused in these processes, what proves his uncertainty as a historian.

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<sup>4</sup>*Idem.*

<sup>5</sup>*Idem.*

<sup>6</sup>*Idem.*

<sup>7</sup>Henry KAMEN, *The Spanish Inquisition: An historical revision*, London: Phoenix Press 1997. p.198.

<sup>8</sup>ACA, RNIFII, RN 3684, fol. CVII.

In *Liber descriptionis* exists plethora of inquisitorial procedures describing how Church and monarchs referred to the issue of the “Jewish threat”. Catholic Kings on September 27<sup>th</sup>, 1480 discussed establishing of tribunals to judge cases of “heretical depravity”. Same year in November in Seville they set up the first tribunal, called the Spanish Inquisition. *The royal decree explicitly stated that the Inquisition was instituted to search out and punish converts from Judaism who transgressed against Christianity by secretly adhering to Jewish beliefs and performing rites and ceremonies of the Jews.*<sup>9</sup>

According to Edwards, Torquemada and King Ferdinand held the biggest responsibility in establishing new inquisitorial system.<sup>10</sup> Torquemada became Grand Inquisitor of Castile in 1483 and Aragon and Castile in 1485<sup>11</sup> and he remained Grand Inquisitor until 1496. Obviously, King Ferdinand wanted to establish the Inquisition in his countries likewise it was in Castile; therefore he called, in April 1484, in Tarragona, the meeting of three parliaments of The Kingdom of Aragon and appointed new inquisitors for Saragossa, Huesca, Teruel, Lleida and Barcelona.

Catalans refused to send their delegations to the Córtes of Tarazona in January, 1484 and denied to give right to Torquemada for appointing inquisitors in Catalonia, asserting to have a right, from the Holy See, for they own inquisitors who could not be set up by inquisitor general. During that time inquisitor in Barcelona was Juan Comte who did not cause troubles for the people. But, Ferdinand insisted and wrote on October 12<sup>th</sup>, 1484 to his ambassador in Rome that inquisitors in Catalonia are not performing their obligations responsible as they should have and asked for subjection new inquisitors. Then on July 9<sup>th</sup>, 1485 Ferdinand once again wrote to his *auditor apostólico* asking for removal for Fray Juan Comte of Barcelona and Archdeacon Mercader of Valencia. In January 1484, king Ferdinand make a bold move by sending two Torquemada`s appointees, the Dominicans Juan Franco and Guillen Casells with an *Executoria pro Inquisitoribus apud Cataloniam* to all officials to help them in their work and to capture anyone they seemed suspicious.<sup>12</sup> Finally, pope Innocent VIII on

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<sup>9</sup>Benzion NETANYAHU, *The origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain*, New York: New York review books, 2001. p. 3.

<sup>10</sup>Džon EDVARDS, *Torkvemada i inkvizitori*, Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, 2009, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup>Betris KOMELJA, *Španska inkvizicija*, Beograd: Clio, 2009, p. 32.

<sup>12</sup> Henry Charles LEA, *A history of the Inquisition of Spain, volume I*, New York: The MacMillan Company, 1906, p. 262.

February 6<sup>th</sup>, 1486, removed all inquisitors with papal decision (in Aragon: Juan Colivera, Juan de Epila, Juan Franco and Guillen Casells; in Valencia: Juan Orts and Mateo Mercader; and in Barcelona: Juan Comte) and assigned Torquemada as a special inquisitor for Barcelona with a power of sub delegation. Furthermore, pope Innocent appointed the Bishop of Córdoba and Leon and Abbot of Saint Emelian of Burgos in order to prevent any attempt of rebellion of the opposition, above all of Juan Comte.<sup>13</sup> At last, Torquemada's representative Alphonso de Spina entered the Barcelona on July 5<sup>th</sup> and was welcomed by Lieutenant-general of the Principality, the Bishop of Urgel, Tortosa and Gerona and pethora of influential personalities of that time. But not until 30<sup>th</sup> of July that municipal offices took the oath of obedience to Spina.<sup>14</sup>

The identity of inquisitor Spina was open to doubt. At first, it was believed that Torquemada sent to Barcelona Alphonso de Spina, a Spanish Franciscan Catholic Bishop, most know as the author of the  *Fortalitium Fidei*. On the contrary, according to Netanyahu, the person who became the inquisitor of Barcelona in 1487 was “prior de San Domingo de Huete”, therefore he could not be a member of Franciscan order.<sup>15</sup>

First inquisitorial procedure in Barcelona happened on December 14<sup>th</sup>, 1487. Second happened one week later when all accused people were scourged.<sup>16</sup> First *auto da fewas* celebrated on January 25<sup>th</sup>, 1488. During the 1488 number of burnings was seven and during the next year reduced to three. In this paper will be described inquisitorial cases in three towns in Catalonia: Barcelona, Tarragona and Gerona from first case in 1487 in Barcelona when first procedure of the penitents took place until 1491.

The case *Day of the religious procession (Dies processionis)* presents the beginning of the series of the inquisitorial processes in Carbonell's manuscript. *Dies processionis* illustrates the historical episode occurred in Barcelona on Friday 14<sup>th</sup> of December, 1487 when after the Term of Grace fifty people (twenty one men and twenty nine women) conscious of their heresy admitted their sins. Furthermore two men and one woman were at this time already deceased. Small number of persons shows that the Edict of Grace which had lasted for five months did not give a big response. During the Term of Grace, authorities invited those who wished to discharge their consciences and

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<sup>13</sup> *Idem*, p. 263.

<sup>14</sup> *Idem*, p. 263.

<sup>15</sup> Benzion NETANYAHU, *The origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain*, p. 816.

<sup>16</sup> Henry Charles LEA, *A history of the Inquisition of Spain, volume I*, p. 263.

allowed them to confess their errors so they could not be condemned to serious penalties, such as death, perpetual prison and confiscation. Consequently, in many cases, after the reconciliation given by the inquisitors, they asked for some type of compensation, such as a certain portion of property etc.

Carbonell revealed little about their sins and confessions under the Edict of Grace. We can only assume that penitents admitted as little as they possibly could and throw the guilt on those who misled them in order to dodge pecuniary penance. In this and similar cases, inquisitors did not interfere in the confession, therefore sinners could say as little or as much as they prefer.<sup>17</sup>

Inquisitor Alphonso de Spina was presented and appeared as an inquisitor and vicar of Barcelona's episcopacy with his colleague and second inquisitor Sancius Marinus. The procession started at the Convent of Saint Catherine in Barcelona. Additionally, Alphonso de Spina read their repentance *de fide catholica et eorum erroribus in medio praedictae Ecclesiae cepit*<sup>18</sup> and continued his sermon.

Carbonell listed the names of the people in alphabetical order, first men with list of their professional occupations and after names of the women, mostly their wives; and continues *shi qui sequuntur fuerunt reconsiliati gremio Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae quia confessi fuerunt tempus gratiae*<sup>19</sup>. The penitents were: Antonius Far (cobbler), Andreas Amoros (furrier), Balthasar Rabacer (barber), Bernandus Rabacer (retailer), Franciscus Guardiola (weaver), Franciscus Requesens (pharmacist), Gabriel Lunes (furrier), Gaspar Badia (merchant), Gaspar Vilanova (weaver), Galcerandus Colomer (furrier), Galcerandus Tagamanent (Carbonell did not write his occupation), Joannes Valls (furrier), Joannes Malarts (weaver), Laurentius Costa (weaver), Ludovicus de Sivilla (weaver), Ludovicus Baldufer (coalman), Manuel Olivarius (Carbonell did not write his occupation), Arnaldus Huguet (door-keeper), Paulus Falco (furrier), Paulus Aymericus (weaver), Petrus Mestres (furrier), Thomas Sanctus-Georgius (skinner) and Ramundus Scales (Carbonell did not write his occupation). The accused women were: Angelina, wife of Gabrielis Montbru (barber), Narcisa widow and wife of Laurentius Costa, Euphrosyna Malarts, wife of Joannes Malarts (weaver), Alduncia, wife of Jacob Castello (furrier), Brianda, wife of Manuel Olivarius (merchant), Brigida, wife of

<sup>17</sup> <http://libro.uca.edu/lea2/lea2.htm>, accessed on March 18<sup>th</sup> of 2015.

<sup>18</sup> ACA, RNIFII, RN 3684, fol. CXI.

<sup>19</sup> *Idem*.

Bartholomeu Requesens (pharmacist), Blanquina, wife of Petrus Serria (furrier), Blanquina, wife of Jacob de Casafranca (royal scribe); Clara, wife of Bernardus Bernich (blacksmith); Clara, wife of Franciscus Requesens (pharmacist); Chatherina, wife of Paulus Falco, (furrier); Elionor, wife of Paulus Olivarius (merchant); Elionor, wife of Gebriel Lunes (furrier); Eulalia, wife of Bernardus Beget de Scribania Domini Regis; Elionor, wife of Bernardus Cardona (retailer); Elionor, wife of Arnald Huguet (king's door-keeper); Elionor, wife of Joannes Valls(furrier); Elionor, wife of Franciscus Guardiola (weaver); Eulalia, wife of Galcerandusde Tagamanent;Fancina Rossell, wife of Franciscus Rossell (furrier); Francina, wife of Petrus Sart (weaver); Isabel, wife of Joannes Rodrigues (merchant); Isabel, wife of Galcerandus Colomer (furrier); Isabel, wife of Ludovicus de Sivilla (weaver); Isabel, widow of Stephanus Valls (furrier); Joanna Costa, wife of Laurentius Costa (weaver); Joanna, wife of Joannes Castello (furrier); Violans Amorosa, wife of Joannes Cabrit (weaver); Violans, wife of Petrus Maestres (furrier); and Violans widow of Raphaelis Avinyo (*curitoris auris*).

In the future cases, Carbonell was a slightly nonspecific in listing names which he did randomly with no interests in finding professions of the penitents. Additionally, in this specific case he makes several mistakes in listing people by alphabetical order when he puts *Angelina, Narcisa, Euphrosyna* and then continues regularly *Alduncia, Brianda, Brigida, Blanquina*, etc.

Carbonell marked several names with black cross on the left side and wrote on a margin that they *processionem non secuti fuere*<sup>20</sup>, because they were already dead. The deceased people were Joanna Costa, wife of weaver Laurentius Costa, skinner Thomas Sanctus-Georgius and another weaver Gaspar Vilanova.

In this list we can find very influential personalities' wives from this historic period which are evident from their professions. For instance, on the list are Blanquina, wife of Jacob de Casafranca who was royal scribe(*regius scriba*); Elionor, wife of Arnald Huguet who was king's door-keeper (*regius portarius*) and Violans widow of Raphaelis Avinyo who was the guardian of the gold (*curitoris auris*).

Second case happened during Solemnity of the Conversion of the Saint Paul the Apostle in 1488 (*Die festo conversionis Sancti Pauli*<sup>21</sup>) or on January 25<sup>th</sup>, 1488 when four neophytes were sentenced to death. Additionally, twelve neophytes were prosecuted

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<sup>20</sup>*Idem*, fol. CXII.

<sup>21</sup>*Idem*, fol. CXI.

*in absentia*. On the left margin of the folium CXI where this case is described, Carbonell summarized the sentence for the heretics by writing *Condemnati et curiae seculari traditi*<sup>22</sup>.

In earlier period of Inquisition *auto*'s were more modest and confined in practical work. Later as *auto*'s became less frequent, Inquisition did not spare labor or money in order to organize spectacle demonstrating its authority and power.<sup>23</sup>

The prosecuted people were Joannes Trullols, Joannes Sanctafe, Francisca (firstly known as a wife of Francoya Ripoll, but after she was a wife of Joannes Gil) and Gabriela Buçota, wife of Petri Buçot. Even though Carbonell did not write much about their crimes and errors, it is certain that they were relapsed heretics due to harsh penalty.<sup>24</sup> They were examined by *consulta de fe*, the body consisting of the inquisitors, five assignees of the bishop and five functionaries, experts in theology (*decem doctoribus scilicet quinque in Sacra pagina magistris et quinque in jure canonico professoribus*).<sup>25</sup> The stages were projected in square Plaça del Rei in front of the church of the Palau Reial Major in Barcelona where *auto da fe* was held. First stage was built for inquisitors and officials and the second was built opposite for the penitents and ten statues which represented people who escaped. When *auto* began accused people were pulled out from the prison and set between statues which presented twelve refugees prosecuted as heretics (*statuae representabant duodecim neophitos in crimine heresis deprehensos*<sup>26</sup>). This practice of burning statues from the absent people was usual for the early period of the Inquisition in Spain.<sup>27</sup>

The people condemned *in absentia* were Joannes Sant Jordi and his wife, Joannes Ram and his wife, Gabriel Sauri and his wife, Gabriel Arguens and his wife, Bartholomeus Rodrigues, Petrus Benet and his wife and Franciscus Scales. Carbonell gave detailed description of their effigies typical for the early period of the Inquisition in Spain. They had Janus face (*bifrons*) one in the front and the other in the back representing married couples. According to Francisco Bethencourt utilization of these particular effigies is not accidentally. Above all, Janus is god of the beginnings and

<sup>22</sup> *Idem*, fol. CXI.

<sup>23</sup> Henry Charles LEA, *A history of the Inquisition of Spain, volume I*, p. 209.

<sup>24</sup> Henry KAMEN, *The Spanish Inquisition: An historical revision*, p. 203.

<sup>25</sup> ACA, RNIFII, RN 3684, fol. CXI.

<sup>26</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>27</sup> <http://archive.org/stream/historyofinquisi03leah#page/86/mode/1up>, accessed on March 28<sup>th</sup> of 2015.

transitions with two faces looking to the future and to the past; and therefore symbolized the change and transition of the condemned.<sup>28</sup> Also, the second reason for making this type of statues is due to economics, because it was cheaper.

Finally, after the reading of the sentence accused were *tradiderunt curiae secularis pro hereticis habitos*.<sup>29</sup> The reason of doing this is that inquisitors did not have authority to condemn them to death, due to canon law; thus they hand them over to the secular authorities (the secular arm).<sup>30</sup> After the *auto da fe*, procession was continued and condemned heretics was taken by secular authorities. They had chains around their necks and were taken outside of the city walls and Barcelona`s gate Saint Daniel to the district El Canyet next to the seain order to be strangled to death and afterwards burned. The main reason why these types of spectacles were held outside of the city walls is that the town itself would not *get dirty* consecrated previously by special procession.<sup>31</sup>

Neophytes ‘mercifully’ *suffocati fuere*<sup>32</sup> before the pile was burned. This act shows that the accused *confessione facta de eorum delictus*<sup>33</sup> and has repented for their sins choosing to die as Christians.<sup>34</sup>

The solemnity was finished at the *quemadero* where the four penitents and twelve statues were burned. Carbonell finished the description of this process with words *tandem animabus ab eorum corpora una cum predictis decem statuis igni et flammis supossuerunt quorum animae in pace semper requiescant*.<sup>35</sup> This brutal act, repeated during the history of the Inquisition, is criticized by many historians and was described as *abhorrent to the moral sense and so oppugnant to the teachings of Christ*<sup>36</sup>.

The second case which had finished with an outcome of death penalty occurred in Barcelona during May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1488 on Saint Julia`s feast day when three women were sentenced to death and forty people were prosecuted *in absentia*. This case is very similar to the previous in terms of organizing trial and executing sentence.

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<sup>28</sup> Francisko BETANKUR, *Inkvizicija u modernom dobu*, Novi Sad: Knjižnica Zorana Stojanovića, 2009. p. 387.

<sup>29</sup> ACA, RNIFII, RN 3684, fol. CXI.

<sup>30</sup> Francisko BETANKUR, *Inkvizicija u modernom dobu*, p. 380.

<sup>31</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>32</sup> ACA, RNIFII, RN 3684, fol. CXI.

<sup>33</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>34</sup> Francisko BETANKUR, *Inkvizicija u modernom dobu*, p. 384.

<sup>35</sup> ACA, RNIFII, RN 3684, fol. CXI.

<sup>36</sup> <http://archive.org/stream/historyofinquisi03leah#page/183/mode/1up>, accessed on April 2<sup>nd</sup> of 2015.

The women who were *condemnatae et curiae seculari traditae*<sup>37</sup> were two widows: Joanna Bedos, wife of once significant and at that time deceased king's doctor Laurentius Bedos (*medici serenissimi dominis Regis*<sup>38</sup>) and Joanna Carcasona, who was wife of merchant Bonantius Carcasona. The third woman was Violans Badoch wife of Petus Badoch who will be mentioned afterwards in case *Publicatio novem personam in heretica pravitate deprehensarum*<sup>39</sup> and sentenced to prison on Friday 8<sup>th</sup> of August, 1488 due to *heretica pravitate*<sup>40</sup>.

The names of the men accused *in absentia* were: Franciscus Vitalis (son of the Franciscus Vitalis), Franciscus Benet, Joannes Sauri (brother of Gabriel Sauri), Joannes Sisa (merchant) and Joannes Fortia (merchant). Additionally, accused were eleven marriage couples: Gaspar Leo and his wife Joanna; Joannes Puigmija (royal scribe) and his wife Florentina; Petrus Quot (tavern owner) and his wife Michaela; Nicolaus Calces (furrier) and his wife Constantia; Matthiae and his wife Francina Salmons; Ludovicus Darguens (merchant) and his wife Raphaela; Raphael Andreas and his wife Alduntia; Franciscus Prats and his wife Alduntia; Franciscus Setmenat and his wife Benvenguda; Paulus Tholosa Older and his wife Francina; Joannes Vallmoll and his wife Elionor. Furthermore, fifteen women were sentenced: Violans (wife of the Guillelmus Fabre *curritoris auris*), Clara, Isabel Alduntia Valentina (wife of Leonardus Alvaro), Constantia (wife of Nicolaus Calces), Joanna (wife of Gabriel Bellcayre), Clara (wife of Ludovicus Bellcayre), Isabel (wife of doctor Requesens), Francina (wife of Gabriel Argens), Alduntia (wife of Bernardus Jacob), Euphrosyna (wife of Bernardus Ala, previously married to Çacoma), Catherina (mother of Ludovicus Darguens and wife of Gasparis Darguens), Alduntia, wife of de Capstany and sister of Joannes de Sancto Georgio (royal scribe), Alduncia Boscha, (mother in law of royal scribe Joannes de Sancto Georgio; and two widows Francina Salmons (widow of Matthia Salmons) and Elionor Crexells.

In this list we can evidently find significant people of that period and their relatives, such as Joanna Bedos, widow of Laurentius Bedos, once important *medici serenissimi dominis Regis*; marriage couple Puigmija, Joannes who was royal scribe and

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<sup>37</sup> ACA, RNIFII, RN 3684, fol. CXII.

<sup>38</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>39</sup> ACA, RNIFII, RN 3684, fol. CXIII.

<sup>40</sup> *Idem*.

his wife Florentina; Alduntia, sister of royal scribe Joannes de Sancto Georgio and his mother in law Alduncia Boscha.

These women were examined, as in the previous case, by the body *consulta de fe, examinantis et peractis inquisitionum hereticae pravitatis ac in sacra jura et canonico professores*.<sup>41</sup>

People prosecuted *in absentia* were represented with twenty statues; once again these effigies were *bifrons*. The *auto da fe* was held and the stage installed in square Plaça del Rei in front of the church of the Palau Reial Major. After the sentence made by Barcelona's inquisitor Alphonso de Spina, all three women were handed over from church to secular authorities in order to be strangled and burned. Sentenced women were taken outside of the city walls and Saint Daniel's Gate next to the sea to the district El Canyet. The plethora of people was present at the performance of the punishment while poor women confessed their sins *cum chorda in earum collis astringente*<sup>42</sup> choosing to die as Christians. They were burned afterwards with forty effigies. Carbonell finished case with poetic description of the future path of the deceased women's souls *quarum animae si in Christi fide e corporibus exiere in pace dormiant per saecula cuncta*<sup>43</sup>.

The case, *Publicatio novem personam in heretica pravitate deprehensarum* describes the act of public process occurred in the Convent of Saint Catherine in Barcelona on Friday 8<sup>th</sup> of August, 1488 when nine people were prosecuted as heretics. Carbonell summarized on the margin their sentence by saying that they are *Reconsiliatiet carcere perpetuo condemnati*. The term *reconsiliati* can be pretty ambiguous, because even though the Inquisition received back into the Church or 'reconciled' some heretics, also imposed severe punishments to accompany this.<sup>44</sup>

As we can see from the title, Carbonell wrote about nine people, four men: Petrus Badorch, Joannes Trinxer, Franciscus Garret and Petrus lo Sart and five women, two of them were widows Beatrix Bages and Oliva Barona, an also Elinor, wife of Galcerandus Palou, Constantia, wife of Franciscus Vilanova and Margarita de Munt, a Petrus Badorch's maid for who Carbonell said *quae est de genere de Munt de barques*<sup>45</sup>. In the

<sup>41</sup> ACA, RNIFII, RN 3684, fol. CXII.

<sup>42</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>43</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>44</sup> Henry KAMEN, *The Spanish Inquisition: An historical revision*, p. IX.

<sup>45</sup> ACA, RNIFII, RN 3684, fol. CXIII.

further text, Carbonell made mistake in numbering persons and wrote *quattor hominibus hae sex mulieres erant*<sup>46</sup>, even though it was actually five women. What's more, he repeats the same error by saying *omnes X personae tam masculi quam feminae*<sup>47</sup>.

While reading the manuscript obviously Carbonell did not explain enough about these convicts' crimes and personal lives. On the other hand, he only points that Petrus lo Sart is originally from Sardinia and that he is not Jewish by the origin. On the contrary, he is Christian (*...et eius originem non ab stripe Judeorum sed Chrisitanorum natura originem traxerat...*<sup>48</sup>).

In this process, Carbonell wrote a historic fact by stating that at that same time the Holy Inquisition was established in Balearic Islands, more precisely in Mallorca.

Additionally, on the folium CXIV of the manuscript, Carbonell continued to write in 15<sup>th</sup> century Catalan by telling the story about Franciscus Guerret: *si quis autem scire velit quae Franciscus Guerret scelera perpetravit accipiat depositionem suam quam notarius predicatae inquisitionis mihi Petro Michaeli Carbonello tradidit cuius verba haec sunt vernacula lingua...*<sup>49</sup> Carbonell pointed that, according to notary of the Inquisition, Franciscus Guerret was adulterous and immoral man (*Guerret e lexaula star que mals bordells...*<sup>50</sup>).

All convicts on Friday 8<sup>th</sup> of August, 1488 stepped on the stage build in the Convent of Saint Catherine in Barcelona (*...cadafale quod in Ecclesia Barcinonense constructum erat ascederunt...*<sup>51</sup>); they wore paper miters on their heads (*mytras... super capit*) and penitential garments *sanbenito* painted with the crimes they have been charged (*in quibus heretica pravitas qua defecerant depicta erat*<sup>52</sup>). The ironic tone is evident in *linemytres de more hereticorum*<sup>53</sup> cause wearing miters presented the custom of the 'infidels' rites' and it was on the heads of the accused in order to humiliate them<sup>54</sup>.

The punishment was read by friar Raimundus Joannes from the Order of Saint Augustine (*Et ibidem peracto sermone quem quidem ordines divi Augustini nominatus*

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<sup>46</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>47</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>48</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>49</sup> *Idem*, fol. CXIV.

<sup>50</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>51</sup> *Idem*, fol. CXIII.

<sup>52</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>53</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>54</sup> Francisko BETANKUR, *Inkvizicija u modernom dobu*, p. 364.

*frater Raimundus Joannes emiserat...<sup>55</sup>*), describing their vices (*contra eosdem hereticos publicari fecit sententiam suam ubi errant scelera eorum descripta cum qua condemnavit eos...<sup>56</sup>*). Finally, they all have been sentenced to *carceres perpetuos<sup>57</sup>*, except Petrus lo Sartqui fuit *condemnatus ad carceres cum misericordia<sup>58</sup>*. Therefore, they were sent back to the Palau Reial Major from where they previously had waited the trial. On the folium CXIII, on the left margin is written the fact regarding to duration of this sentence, where Carbonell points that Petrus Badorch was set free from the jail on Saturday 26<sup>th</sup> of March, 1490 (*Hic Petrus Badorch ab carceribus fuit liberates die sabbati XXVI marcii anno a nativitate Domini MCCCCLXXX...<sup>59</sup>*). This fact proves that Carbonell kept track on this case or possibly wrote about it one year and a half after the conviction.

The next case, *Processio intra tempus Gratiae in civitate Tarraconae* happened during the Term of Grace on Saturday 28<sup>th</sup> of July, 1489 in Santa Tecla Church in Tarragona when twenty seven people abjured heresy. Additionally, Alphonso de Spina *cum sua Curia sive consistorio existentis mandato prius facto in ipsa processione affuerunt...<sup>60</sup>*

Carbonell listed penitents for practicing Jewish rites. In this list, are numbered, in some cases, spouses: Andreas Colom and his wife Blanca, Franciscus Vilagut from Tarragona and his wife Beatrix, Lodovicus Morato and his wife Clara, Joannis Gomis and his wife Elionor, Gabriel Alenya and his wife Violans, Paulus Sanctius or Sanç Rividolms and his wife Isabel. Additionally, there are listed names of the widows: Tecla Alamanya and Francina Colom; and Violans (widow of Gabrielis Colell), Blanquina Roig (widow of Bernardus Roig from the Vallibus), Francina Ferrera (widow of Raimundus Ferrera de Busquetes) and Violans (widow of Jacob Morato); men: Joannes Nicolaus Montisalbi, Franciscus Garriga and Gabriel Falco; and women: Angelina (wife of Franciscus Simo), Alduntia (wife of Raimund Ribelles from Monterubeo), Beatrix (wife of Gabrielis Torrents from the Alcover), Blanquiuna (wife of Manuelis Ribelles from Tarragona), Elionor (wife of Franciscus Bennacer from the

<sup>55</sup> ACA, RNIFII, RN 3684, fol. CXIII.

<sup>56</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>57</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>58</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>59</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>60</sup> *Idem.*

Falset) and Isabel (wife of Franciscus Rams Rividolms). Evidently there are twice more women (18) than men (9).

At the end of the list Carbonell added that all of them are neophytes or converts in Archiepiscopal of Tarragona (*omnes praedicti sunt neophyti seu conversi lares habentes in Archiepiscopatu Tarraconae*<sup>61</sup>).

The abjuration of heresy was magnificent ceremony of public *auto da fe*. People with a hand on the gospels sworn to abjure the heresy and turn back to their religion (*ad proprios lares rediere*<sup>62</sup>). Carbonell continues in *vernacula lingua* by writing *Forma abjurationis* in 15<sup>th</sup> century Catalan. Two men Andreu Colom and Francesc Vilagut talked in behalf of other penitents and all converts from the Archbishop of Tarragona *nostra libera franquea agradable e spontanea voluntat*<sup>63</sup> denied any heresy and especially the one described to confessing and observing the Jewish ceremonies of the Moses law and practicing the rites of Jewish solemnities (*e en special aquesta de que son infamats e testificats la qual nosaltres havem confessada ço es de judeïçar e de guardar e observer les ceremonies de la Ley de Moyses e fer los ritus e ceremonies e les solemnitats dels jueus...*<sup>64</sup>). They swore to always keep faith of Holy Church and all that time we will defense Catholic faith and pursue all of them who are against it (*E per tots temps perservarem e starem en la unitat e congregatio de Sancta mare Esglesia e serem tots temps en defensio de la Sancta fe catholica Cristiana e perseguirem tots aquells qui contra aquella seran...*<sup>65</sup>). Finally, procurator fiscal recorded the case and all presented was called to testify (*Peracta praemissa processione et jam antea ad instantiam fisci procuratoris exaratu processu et promulgata sententia...*<sup>66</sup>).

The penalty *abjurationis* had two forms *de levi* for smaller crimes and *de vehementi* for the harsher crimes. For instance, if the penitents sworn *de vehementi*, like in this case, and afterwards they relapsed, he could be severely punished, such as *sanbenito*, fines, banishment, galleys, etc.<sup>67</sup>

Carbonell finished the description announcing the next case in town Tarragona: *Veniamus nunc ad alios reconsiliatos perpetuo carceri condemnatos per*

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<sup>61</sup>*Idem*, fol. CXIX.

<sup>62</sup>*Idem*.

<sup>63</sup>*Idem*.

<sup>64</sup>*Idem*.

<sup>65</sup>*Idem*, fol. CXX.

<sup>66</sup>*Idem*.

<sup>67</sup>Henry KAMEN, *The Spanish Inquisition: An historical revision*, p. 200.

*praedictum Reverendum Inquistorem apud urbem Tarraconam.*<sup>68</sup>This process was on March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1490 when seven women and one man were sentenced to perpetual prison. The reason why are they condemned to this harsh penalty is not specified. On the contrary, only their names are recorded. The condemned people were: Ferrarius Colell and his wife Alduncia, Joanna, wife of Manuelis Torres from Tarragona, Isabel, widow of Macip, Violans, wife of Franciscus Piera from Falset, Beatrix, wife of Gabrielis Ribelles from Falset, Eleonor, daughter of Angelina Garriga who was previously condemned as a heretic and Constanca Martines, wife of Petrus de Susana from Barcelona.

In this manuscript, cases in Gerund are not that frequent or as one in other Catalantowns. On the contrary, this case is significant due to number of the condemned; there were thirty two of them, once again there were two times more women than men. Carbonell describes that on Sunday 14<sup>th</sup> of February, 1491 in Gerona, inquisitor Alphonso de Spina was presented with his Curia for heretics who were condemned and afterwards delivered and assigned to the court or secular arm. Carbonell was slightly unspecific in recording this case, therefore he did not write their crimes and reasons why they were accused.

Carbonell gave a list of the condemned heretics. In some cases were prosecuted married couples and whole families. For instance, in the list are: married couple Falco, Franciscus and his wife Elionor; family Vitalis Sampso, Joannes and his wife, Bernardus and his wife Violans; family Mercader, Bernardus older, Dalmatius younger, Daniel and his wife Angelina and daughter, also named Angelina (she was firstly a wife of doctor Jacobus Falco and after she was wife of Karolus Fiena from Perpignan); married couple Falco, Petrus and his wife Clara; Sampso family, Mattheus and his wife Violans, once again Violans, wife of Bernardus Sampso, and their three daughters: wives of Franciscus Marcus Andree, Bernardus Marci and Bernardus Costa; Andreu family, Guillemus Andreu and his wife and daughter both named Violans; and married couple Guillelmus, Bernardus and his wife Blanquina. On this list, we can find women: Blancina Falcona, Joannes Montpeller; Eleonor (wife of Jacob Benet), Elionor (daughter of Joannis Vidal Sampso and wife of Guillermi Rodon), Euphrosyna (wife of Petrus Cabrit Younger), Joanna (wife of Andreu Vitalis) and Isabel (daughter

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<sup>68</sup>ACA, RNIFII, RN 3684, fol. CXXIV.

of Bernardus Vidal Sampso and wife of Joannis Vidal); and also widows: Joanna (widow of Ludovicus Dala), and widow Falcona Roca. As we can see from this list, the most frequent family surnames are Sampso, Falco and Falcona.

Carbonell finished describing this case with same words as the Tarragona's case that all the sentenced people are neophytes or converts in the Gerona (*omnes proxime dicti sunt neophyti seu conversi civitatis Gerunde*<sup>69</sup>).

This paper is just a beginning of my researches regarding to Carbonell's manuscript *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum* describing early period of Inquisition in Catalonia and diverse outcomes of the inquisitorial trials in the most significant towns of Catalonia Barcelona, Tarragona and Gerona. In this work, the aim was to investigate the results of the inquisitorial processes, like acquittal, reconciliation and condemnation during four years lasting from 1487 until 1481 and its reception among Catalan people.

The Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition was accepted differently in Catalonia from the rest of Iberian Peninsula what demonstrate the fact that The Term of Gracedid not give a big reply like it was in the Kingdom of Castile. Even though King Ferdinand with his supporters tried to establish inquisition like it was in Castile, people strongly disapproved it. Therefore, quoting the words of Henry Kamen we can conclude that *in Catalonia the Inquisition was always a despised institution enjoying little more than the passive support of the elite and people.*<sup>70</sup>

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