

IVANA N. ARSIC¹AUTONOMOUS UNIVERSITY OF BARCELONA
SPAIN
ivana.arsic@e-campus.uab.cat

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EPISCOPAL LEGACY IN INQUISITORIAL PROCESSES IN THE WORK OF PERE MIQUEL CARBONELL I SOLER: 1488–1505 BARCELONA

Abstract: The study explores episcopal heritage and the role of Barcelona Cathedral in the inquisitorial processes from 1488 until 1505, based on the manuscript *Liber descriptionis reconciliationisque, purgationis et condemmnationis hereticorum ALIAS de Gestis Hereticorum*, written by the notary of the Barcelona Tribunal, Pere Miquel Carbonell i Soler. Hence, the aim of this paper is twofold. Its first objective is to elucidate the significance of the Barcelona Cathedral as a place where the solemnities of public auto da fé were performed, at which those earlier convicted by the Inquisition had their sentence determined; and second, it will consider examples of the episcopal Inquisition's legacy and proof of its existence via examining the role of the bishop in the inquisitorial processes for the period in question. ► *Key words:* Inquisition, Catedral de la Santa Creu i Santa Eulàlia, Pere Miquel Carbonell i Soler, *Liber descriptionis reconciliationisque, purgationis et condemmnationis hereticorum ALIAS de Gestis Hereticorum*.

During the twelfth century, the Latin Christian Church created a special ecclesiastical institution in Western Europe, known by the name of *inquisitio*. The institution originated from Roman civil law, with the aim of fighting and repressing heresy and preserving orthodox Christian beliefs. The Church combated heresy by appointing bishops and other papally appointed clergy to visit their diocese at least twice a year in order to seek and prosecute heretics and other spiritual outcasts.²

The episcopal Inquisition, which was also active in France, Germany and Italy, was only implemented in the mediaeval Aragon, and not in Castile, where Christianity was still unaffected by formal heresy during this period. However, when Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon acceded to the throne, they built an alliance with the idea of religious homogenization in order to stabilize their power,

¹ Investigator at project "Islamolatina"

² Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 1–4.

which was at the time affected by internal conflicts.³ Contrary to the medieval tribunal controlled by the Pope, the Catholic monarchs established the Inquisition under their authority. Consequently, the modern Inquisition was created in Castile, after which it spread to Aragon and replaced the prior practice.⁴

Ferdinand ruled his kingdom autonomously and showed remarkable interest in interfering in Castilian politics, presenting himself as one of the closest descendants of the house of Trastámara and calling on a legal right of ‘jure uxoris.’ He was determined to establish an institution that would be completely controlled by royal authorities, as was the case in Castile at the time.⁵ On November 1st, 1478, Pope Sixtus IV issued a bull, *Exigit sinceræ devotionis affectus*, bestowing exclusive authority to Isabella and Ferdinand over confiscation in their kingdoms and the right to appoint two or three inquisitors over forty years of age and educated in theology or law. According to the bull, inquisitors were politically subject to the crowns, even though the Pope provided their authority and jurisdiction.⁶

King Ferdinand found it difficult to achieve what had already been accomplished in Castile because one of the oldest papal inquisitorial institutions in Europe, set up in the middle of the thirteenth century, was still in effect in the Crown of Aragon at the time of Ferdinand’s reign.⁷

Due to its proximity to the centers of mediaeval Catharism in Languedoc, the Kingdom of Aragon turns into a refuge place for Cathars in the 1170s onwards. Hence, by the thirteenth century, this closeness with the Cathars was the main cause of papal focus on Aragon, and not the result of any evident Iberian separation from the Church. In 1233, Pope Gregory IX suggested the assistance of the Dominican order to the Archbishop of Tarragona by creating an episcopal and a secular inquisition. Five years later, the Pope established an inquisitorial tribunal in Navarre, for the region of Catalonia, placing it under the authority of the Mendicant Orders. By this time, the inquisition at the Crown of Aragon had already started to gradually develop. Barcelona’s Bishop, Berenger de Palau, was deeply involved in organizing the institution throughout its diocese, and after his death in 1241, the vicar, who succeeded him, concluded it.⁸

This medieval institution also produced other significant figures of the time, such as the Catalan inquisitorial advisor, a canon lawyer, the papal penitentiary,

³ Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: An historical revision* (London: Phoenix Press, 1997), 6–7.

⁴ José Antonio Escudero López, “Fernando El Católico y la Introducción de la Inquisición”, *Revista de la Inquisición: intolerancia y derechos humanos* 19 (2015): 13.

⁵ Nikola Samardžić, *Istorija Španije* (Beograd: Plato, 2005), 201–202.

⁶ Henry Charles Lea, *A history of the Inquisition of Spain*, Vol. II (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1906), 234.

⁷ For an introduction to the mediaeval inquisition in the Crown of Aragon, see: Henry Charles Lea, “The Spanish Peninsula”, in: *A history of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, Vol. II (New York: Harper & brothers, 1902), 162–180.

⁸ Peters, *Inquisition*, 75–77.

minister-general of the Dominican order, and the most eminent churchman in the kingdom of Aragon, Ramón de Penyafort (canonized in 1601) and Dominican Nicolas Eymerich, author of the fourteenth century inquisitor's manual *Directorium Inquisitorum*, which formed the axis of the procedural mechanics of the medieval and subsequent modern inquisitions.⁹

Afraid not to infuriate his own people, King Ferdinand took advantage of the still existent inquisitional institution to introduce changes. The people did not see the necessity of establishing a royal over a papal inquisition, which had controlled heresy for the last two hundred years and at the time was under the control of the Dominican order. Therefore, the prudent ruler decided to revive the already existent institution, founded in the late 1232 by the Pope Gregory's IX bull, *Declinante iam mundi vespere ad occasam*, thus surreptitiously replacing it to establish the modern Inquisition.¹⁰ The Catholic king repeatedly requested Sixtus IV to issue a bull which would allow for the establishment of the new Inquisition in the Crown of Aragon. Finally, on October 17, 1483, the Pope named Fray Tomás de Torquemada as a Grand Inquisitor for the Crown of Aragon.¹¹ When the Inquisition was revived, four permanent tribunals in the Crown of Aragon were founded: in Zaragoza and Valencia (1484), Barcelona (1487), and Las Palmas on the island of Mallorca (1488).¹²

In the past decades many researchers have extensively studied the first years after the establishment of the modern Inquisition in the Crown of Aragon and its aim to combat the heresy of Judaizing. In comparison to Castilian tribunals, Monter asserts that the tribunals of the Crown of Aragon were much more politicized and harsher in their prosecution.¹³ The pioneering work of Fort Cogull, *Catalunya i la Inquisició*, has vastly advanced research in this field, especially research in the institutional studies of the Inquisition in Catalonia.¹⁴ There has also been a growing interest in individual tribunals, such as the tribunal of Zaragoza. For instance, D'Abrebra provides evidence about the trials conducted in Zaragoza between 1484 and 1515 by revealing an ongoing interaction between conversos and Jews, during

⁹ Ricardo García Cárcel, "La inquisición en la Corona de Aragón", *Revista de la Inquisición: intolerancia y derechos humanos* 7 (1998): 152.

¹⁰ Rubén Mayoral López, "Los orígenes del tribunal de Barcelona: los inquisidores del santo oficio catalán en el siglo XVI", *Espacios de poder: cortes, ciudades y villas (S. XVI–XVIII)* 2 (2002): 385. (Taken from: Francesc Carreras y Candi, "Evolució històrica dels juheus y juheissants barcelonins", *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* III [1909]: 504–505; and Luis de Páramo, *De origine et progressu officii sanctae inquisitionis* [Madrid: Ex Typographia Regia, 1598], 175–179).

¹¹ García Cárcel, "La inquisición en la Corona de Aragón", 153.

¹² Juan Meseguer Fernández, "El período fundacional (1478–1517)", in: *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América*, vol. 1, eds. Joaquín Pérez Villanueva and Bartolomé Escandell Bonet (Madrid: BAE, 1984), 330–339.

¹³ William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹⁴ Eufemià Fort Cogull, *Catalunya i la Inquisició* (Barcelona: Editorial aedos, 1973).

which the Jews induced the New Christians to dietary laws, prayers, observance of the Sabbath, Holy Days, etc.¹⁵ The tribunal of Barcelona was also widely researched, especially by Blázquez Miguel who in 1990 published two notable works on the subject. Firstly, a succinct paper in which he compiled a catalogue of inquisitorial processes, from the establishment of the Barcelona Tribunal until its abolishment in 1820.¹⁶ Secondly, a monography depicting inquisitorial activity in Catalonia, where he dedicated a whole chapter to the bureaucratic structure of the Barcelona Tribunal.¹⁷ In examining the peculiarity of the Barcelona tribunal, Bada Elías provided a concise study regarding this question, concluding that this tribunal was different due to its eminent political nature.¹⁸ However, none of these works have addressed the central question of the episcopal heritage in inquisitorial processes after the establishment of the modern Inquisition in the Barcelona tribunal. Yet, without such an understanding, we are left with a vast number of inadequate or unexplored evidence, such as in analysing primary sources of archival records. A plethora of these documents are preserved in the archives of Spain, and the study of these materials would provide us with a better understanding of inquisitorial institutions during the reign of Catholic monarchs. Therefore, the aim of this paper is two-fold. First, this study will assess the significance of the Catedral de la Santa Creu i Santa Eulàlia, i.e. Barcelona Cathedral, as a place where the solemnities of public *auto da fé* were performed, at which those earlier convicted by the Inquisition had their sentence determined; and second, it will consider examples of the episcopal Inquisition's legacy and proof of its existence, via examining the role of the bishop in inquisitorial proceedings for the period in question, based on the manuscript *Liber descriptionis reconciliationisque, purgationis et condemmnationis hereticorum ALIAS de Gestis Hereticorum*, written by the notary of the Barcelona Tribunal, Pere Miquel Carbonell.

There is insufficient information available concerning the lives of the first generations of the crypto-Jews who chose to continue practicing Judaism in secret in the period after the Edict of Expulsion was issued in 1492. When the Holy Tribunal was established, it declared a period of grace lasting between thirty and forty days, often prolonged, during which inquisitors heard voluntary confessions; hence, they gathered information, provided by potential witnesses, or from converts who chose to repent, confess and be reconciled to the Church. These depositions also provide data about Judaizing affairs from earlier years, revealing suspicious activities

¹⁵ Anna Ysabel D' Abrera, *The Tribunal of Zaragoza and Crypto-Judaism, 1484–1515* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

¹⁶ Juan Blázquez Miguel, "Catálogo de los procesos inquisitoriales del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de Barcelona", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie IV, Ha Moderna, t. 3 (1990): 11–158.

¹⁷ Juan Blázquez Miguel, *La Inquisición en Cataluña, El Tribunal del Santo Oficio de Barcelona (1487–1820)* (Toledo: Editorial Arcano, 1990).

¹⁸ Joan Bada Elías, "El Tribunal de la Inquisición en Barcelona, ¿un Tribunal peculiar?", *Revista de la Inquisición (intolerancia y derechos humanos)* 2 (1992): 109–120.

of conversos. Arrested defendants had to answer verbally and instantly to charges brought against them, and were obligated to reveal their heretical crimes and those of their co-conspirators. However, parts of the depositions which potentially led to eyewitness identification were erased.¹⁹

After the Holy Tribunal began its trials, it maintained precise and confidential records of each legal proceeding. These documents contain information of the crypto-Jewish observances. There is a plethora of trials that have yet to be read and analysed, especially from The General Archive of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona. Therefore, this study will focus particularly on a primary source of heresy inquisition, *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum ALIAS de Gestis Hereticorum*, written by the notary of the Barcelona Tribunal, Pere Miquel Carbonell, which is kept in The General Archive of the Crown of Aragon under the signature Real Cancillería, Registros, núm. 3684, and belongs to the collection «Reg.um sobre negocios de la Ynquisición Ferdinandí II». Manuscript *Liber descriptionis* is translated in fragments only, and is mentioned for the first time in two volumes; firstly in *Colección de documentos inéditos del archivo general de la Corona de Aragón*, tomo XXVII, *Opúsculos inéditos del cronista catalan Pedro Miguel Carbonell*, tomo I printed in 1864 Barcelona and in *Colección de documentos inéditos del archivo general de la Corona de Aragón*, tomo XXVIII, *Opúsculos inéditos del cronista catalan Pedro Miguel Carbonell*, tomo II, also published the following year in Barcelona by royal archivist Manuel de Bofarull i de Sartorio from The General Archive of the Crown of Aragon.²⁰ The manuscript *Liber descriptionis* was created at the demand of Barcelona's inquisitor Alphonso de Spina, who entrusted this task to archivist Carbonell.²¹

A close and thorough analysis of *Liber descriptionis* will reveal the following: first, the importance of Barcelona Cathedral as a place where the ceremonies of auto da fé were performed,²² and second, examples of the episcopal Inquisition's legacy as proof of its existence for the period in question.

Pere Miquel Carbonell was the royal archivist in The General Archive of the Crown of Aragon from 1476 until his death in 1517. He was also a notary of Barcelona Tribunal, where his duties were to be present at the trials and interrogations and keep a register of the inquisitorial proceedings (*cum tota eorum curiae*

¹⁹ Lu Ann Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478–1614: An Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis–Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006), xiii.

²⁰ The bureaucratic infrastructure of the Barcelona Tribunal based on a manuscript *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum ALIAS de Gestis Hereticorum* by Pere Miquel Carbonell is the main theme of unpublished doctoral thesis: Ivana Arsic, "Inquisitorial Bureaucracy by Pere Miquel Carbonell" (PhD diss., Autonomous University of Barcelona, 2017).

²¹ Ivana Arsic, "The 14th Century Inquisitional Administrative Documents in Pere Miquel Carbonell's Manuscript", *Medievalia* 19, no 2 (2016): 257.

²² For an introduction to auto da fé, see Lea, "Auto de Fe", in: *A history of the Inquisition of Spain*, Vol. III, and Francisco Bethencourt, "The Auto da Fé", in: *The Inquisition: a global history, 1478–1834*.

*et presentibus etiam reverendo in Christo patre Petro Garcia Dei et apostolicae Sedis gratia Barcinonensi Episcopo ac me Petro Michaelae Carbonello Regio Archivario notarioque publico Barcinonae et aliis in multitudine satis grandi fuerunt*²³).

The period between 1487 and 1505 in the Crown of Aragon marked a time of raging war against Crypto-Judaism. Permanent tribunals under the jurisdiction of the Crown of Aragon were established in Zaragoza, Valencia, Barcelona and Majorca.²⁴ The tribunal of Barcelona was founded on July 29, 1488 in Palau Reial Major, equipped with a secret jail for prisoners as well as chambers for the inquisitor and other inquisitorial members (*apud palatium maius Regium in hac Urbe Barcinonae situm ubi ipse dominus Inquisitor suum fovet domicilium cum suis ministris ac reconciliatis carceribus*²⁵). It included the whole Principality of Catalonia, except for the diocese of Lleida and possibly bishopric of Tortosa, which in 1490 belonged to Valencia. In 1490, the bishopric of Urgel belonged to Lleida, while the tribunal in Barcelona comprised the bishopric of Barcelona, archbishopric of Tarragona, bishopric of Vic, Gerona and Elne (...*ab originalibus processibus Sanctae Inquisitionis factis per reverendos inquisitores haereticae pravitatis tam in Civitatibus Barcenonae, Taraconae, Vici, Gerunde et Helnensi...*²⁶). The Barcelona tribunal consisted of inquisitor Alfonso de Spina, second inquisitor Sanxo Marín, advisory August del Castillo, notaries Pere Aimat and Joan Raimat, nuncios Alfonso Portuguès and Alfonso de Zamora, fiscal prosecutor García Baylo, scribe Arnau Teixidor, constable Esteve Gafo and notary Marc Mulner.²⁷

Liber descriptionis depicts six inquisitorial procedures, illustrating the public ceremonies of auto da fé, held in Barcelona Cathedral and in front of it, at the Plaça de la Seu.

The auto da fé, literally translated as *the act of faith*, was a public performance enacted during the medieval Inquisition (and later developed in the territory of the Iberian Peninsula), at which those who had been convicted by the Inquisition had their sentences pronounced. It was a public spectacle established to demonstrate the victory of the Catholic faith over heresy as well as to impress and frighten the population with the horror of the same. It thereby served as a public warning by promulgating the dire consequences of heresy. As such it became a symbol of the Inquisition and an achievement of the inquisitors to stage a colossal representation of the Judgment day. Paradoxically, the success and cruelty of the spectacle also

²³ Pere Miquel Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis reconciliationisque, purgationis et condemmationis hereticorum* *ALLIAS de Gestis Hereticorum*, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Regum sobre negocios de la Inquisición de Fernandi II, Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684. ca. 1487–1507, fol. CXL.

²⁴ Fort Cogul, *Catalunya i la Inquisició*, 135.

²⁵ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CXXIV.

²⁶ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CVII.

²⁷ Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Registro Real Patrimonio 3159, fol. 35 (Taken from: Fort Cogul, *Catalunya i la Inquisició*, 165).

converted it into the anti-image of the Christian church, in which the sufferers of the Inquisition became its genuine victors.²⁸

In the earlier periods of the Inquisition, autos da fé were modest and confined to practical work, i.e. to the execution of punishment. According to Juan Antonio Llorente, four types of auto da fé were practiced: firstly, there was the “auto general de fe” (a solemnity with many accused); secondly, “auto particular de fe” (with several accused without the solemnity of an “auto general” due to the absence of inquisitorial authorities); thirdly, “auto singular de fe” (held with one accused either in the church or in the street); and finally, “autillo” (held in the audience room of the Tribunal).²⁹

The place of the solemnity was mainly outdoors at the principal square of a city and infrequently in churches or consecrated buildings, so that as many people as possible could attend. These plazas were usually surrounded by royal residences or town halls; hence, in a manner of symbolically demonstrating the Tribunal’s dependency of the crown.³⁰ For instance, autos da fé described in *Liber descriptionis*, in the city of Barcelona, were held mostly in Plaça del Rei in front of the royal residence, Palau Reial Major. Ceremonies with a projected platform were organized at Pla de la Seu in front of Barcelona’s Cathedral, while a certain number of solemnities with small numbers of the accused were held inside the same. This paper will examine six inquisitorial proceedings during the period from 1488 until 1505, as depicted in *Liber descriptionis*. The proceedings were held in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross and Saint Eulalia (*Catedral de la Santa Creu i Santa Eulàlia*), the seat of the Archbishop of Barcelona:

On August 8, 1488, nine defendants were prosecuted as heretics and sentenced to life imprisonment in Barcelona Cathedral. They were brought out on stage in Barcelona Cathedral (...*cadafale quod in Ecclesia Barcinonense constructum erat ascederunt...*³¹) for the auto da fé, which was presided by Barcelona’s inquisitor, Alfonso de Spina. The offenders were Pere Bedorc, Joan Trinxer, Francesc Garret, Pere lo Sart, widows Beatrix Bages and Oliva Barona, Elionor (wife of Galcerandus Palou), Constantia (wife of Francescus Vilanova) and Margarita de Munt (Pere Bedorc’s maid). In describing the crime, Carbonell documented that Judaizer, Pere lo Sart, convicted for secretly following the Mosaic rites and ceremonies, was originally

²⁸ See: Francisco Bethencourt, “The Auto Da Fé: Ritual and Imagery”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 155–168; Maureen Flynn, “Mimesis of the Last Judgment: The Spanish Auto De Fe”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 22, no 2 (1991): 281–297; Manuel Torres Aguilar, “La pública difusión del Auto General de fe”, *Revista de la Inquisición: Intolerancia y derechos humanos* 19 (2015): 25–31.

²⁹ Juan Antonio Llorente, *Historia crítica de la Inquisición en España* (Madrid: Hiperión, 1981), 476–481.

³⁰ Francisko Betankur, *Inkvizicija u modernom dobu* (Novi Sad: Knjižnica Zorana Stojanovića, 2009), 346–347.

³¹ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol, CXIII.

from Sardinia and was not Jewish by origin; in fact, he was Christian (...*et eius originem non ab stripe Judeorum sed Chrisitanorum natura originem traxerat...*³²). During the ceremony, offenders wore miters on their heads (*mytras... super capit*³³) and painted penitential garment (*in quibus heretica pravitas qua defecerant depicta erat*³⁴). The punishment was read by a friar, Ramon Joan, from the Order of Saint Augustine. He pronounced their offences and sentenced them to life imprisonment (*contra eosdem hereticos publicari fecit sententiam suam ubi errant scelera eorum descripta cum qua condemnavit eos ad carceres perpetuos...*³⁵). All of the accused were convicted without opportunity for a pardon except Pere lo Sart, who was granted *cum misericordia*. The offenders were then returned to prison in Palau Reial Major, where they had previously been detained. The left margin of the folium CXIII disclosed written details regarding the duration of the sentence; it was inscribed that one of the accused, Pere Bedorc, was released from jail on Saturday 26th of March 1490, so he could serve the remainder of his sentence at home (*Hic Petrus Badorch ab carceribus fuit liberates die sabbati XXVI marcii anno a nativitate Domini MCCCCLXXX sic quod ex inde carceres eneat in domo sua per certum ei prefixum terminum*³⁶). This was a common practice, and the reconciled were frequently sent to hospitals and monasteries, or, as was the case of Pere Bedorc, to serve the sentence in the confinement of their own homes. Because of a lack of jail space, the Instructions of 1488 allowed prisoners to serve sentences in their houses, where they had to remain confined and act in the same manner as if they were in the penitentiary. Severe measures were taken to ensure the punishment was strictly implemented; all communication with the outside world was prohibited except at Mass, where the prisoners had to present themselves as sincere penitents.³⁷

On March 13th, 1489, nine defendants were convicted to a life sentence in front of the Barcelona Cathedral, six of which were relapsed conversos previously reconciled at the Term of Grace. The convicted apostates were Elionor Jonqueres (widow of banker Joannes Jonquers), Isabel (wife of Gaspar Darnius), Violans (wife of Ludovicus Alenya), tailor Joannes Sastre, Agnes (widow of tailor Paulus Salvet), Mandina (wife of cobbler Petrus de Casasaia), Francina (widow of servant Joannes Balstar), Eulalia (wife of Freancesc Garret, who had previously been sentenced to jail), and Elionor, (wife of Joan Raimundus, who was previously incarcerated).³⁸

One of the main elements of the auto da fé 'spectacle' was choosing an appropriate date. At the beginning of the Tribunal's activity, auto da fé solemnities were

³² Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CXIII.

³³ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CXIII.

³⁴ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CXIII.

³⁵ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CXIII.

³⁶ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CXIII.

³⁷ Henry Charles Lea, *A history of the Inquisition of Spain*, Vol. III (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1906), 152; Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: An historical revision*, 201.

³⁸ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fols. CXVIII–CXVIII'.

held on Sundays or Feast days to attract larger audiences. In addition, they were accompanied by numerous restrictions (guns were prohibited, guards were positioned on the route of the procession to prevent any type of means of transportation from passing, including carts, horses, etc.). By contrast, later auto da fé solemnities comprised of more complex ceremonies which were synchronized with the liturgical calendar.³⁹ For instance, on October 21st, 1489, during Saint Ursula Feast day in Barcelona Cathedral, eight heretics were sentenced to life imprisonment. They were: Petrus Marimon dez Pla together with son, Petrus Marimon dez Pla Younger, daughter Alduntia and concubine, Elionor Matamala, Ludovicus Alenya, Elionor (wife of Ludovicus Clementis), Isabel (widow of Franciscus de Sos) and Mandina (wife of Christofor Bosch)⁴⁰. They were sentenced to life imprisonment *cum misericordia*.

From the beginning of the establishment of Barcelona's Tribunal, a distinction between the types of imprisonment was made. A penalty 'without mercy' was not frequently practiced; for instance, in the period between 1488 and 1505, only ten cases of sentences *absque misericordia* were recorded.⁴¹ The prison punishment during this period, much the same as today, could be easily commuted or reduced. For example, a lifelong incarceration was frequently completed during a ten-year period. However, the Inquisition continued to pronounce the 'life' penalties, possibly due to the regulations of the canon law, by which it was practice to punish heretics to life incarceration.⁴²

The second auto da fé synchronized with the liturgical calendar was held on the Feasts of Saint Philip and James (May 1st) in 1492, in the Barcelona Cathedral. Sentences were pronounced for thirty-nine accused, including life imprisonment and other unspecified sentences (*eodem die alia cum sententia*⁴³). The twenty six defendants sentenced to life incarceration were: tailor Benedictus Sanctus-Jacobus, merchant Bernardus Campells, craftsman Jacobus Marc, tailor Laurentius Canto, tailor Raphael Tranxer (son of Joannes Tranxer), craftsman Petrus Rodo alias Çabata, Alduntia (wife of Gabriel Puig), Blanquina Vilanova (widow of physician Franciscus Ferriz), Elionor (wife of tailor Baltasar Raymat), Francina (wife of tailor Franciscus Badia), Gabriela Cabrida (widow of tailor Bernardus Cabrit), Gratia (wife of attorney Paulus Canto), Joanna Ferrera (firstly widow of painter Gabriel Ballester and later of Petrus Ferrer), Violans (widow of Galcerand Raymat), Angelina (daughter of Joannes Trinxer senior), tailor Gabriel Vilanova, Marquisa (daughter of tailor Bonantus Bernich), Alduncia (wife of merchant Bernardus Campells), Angelina (wife of tailor Laurentius Canto), Euphrosyna (wife of slave trader Michael Aguilo),

³⁹ Betankur, *Inkvizicija u modernom dobu*, 344–345.

⁴⁰ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fols. CXVIII'–CXIX.

⁴¹ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fols. CXI', CXIII–CXIII', CXXVII'–CXXVIII.

⁴² Lea, *A history of the Inquisition of Spain*, III, 151.

⁴³ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CXIX'.

Violans (wife of craftsman Petrus Rodo), Alduntia (wife of tailor Benedictus Sanct-Jacobus), Clara (widow of Raphael Bellarbre) and Elionor (daughter of royal scribe Antonius Bonet).⁴⁴

Crucial to this study, there is also a unique trial in the manuscript *Liber descriptionis* containing proof of a bifold medieval episcopal legacy: locality of observance and involvement of the bishop in the inquisitorial proceeding. On March 23, 1496, during Lent, six heretics were sentenced to life imprisonment in front of the Barcelona Cathedral, in Pla de la Seu. The auto da fé was presided by inquisitors Antonio de Contreras, doctor in canon law, and Pere Pariente, chaplain of the king and bachelor in canon law, and assisted by bishop of Barcelona, Pere Garcia⁴⁵. Among the present at the ceremony was Pere Miquel Carbonell, who described in detail this significant trial against spiritual outcasts sentenced to lifelong incarceration. He documented the alleged offences and sentences of the Mosaic law followers (*Quia horum hereticorum pravitates ritusque judaicos atque sceleratissima facinora...*⁴⁶) mainly in early renaissance Catalan and some fragments were in vernacular Latin. Carbonell documented the proceeding the way it unfolded on sight without changing the language in order to keep the authentic form of the statements (...*hoc in codice brevitatis gratia scribere hucusque non curavi nisi eorum aliqua nephandissima sumpta ex originalibus sententiis contra eos latis et fulminatis. Cognati tamen impresentiarum ut mihi videor memoratu dignum fore si praedictarum sententiarum aliquam hoc in loco interseruerim ut illorum errores actusque nephandissimos stylumque et ordinem ipsarum sententiarum quisque videre perpendereque valeat... proxime dictarum sex personarum reconsiliatarum sententiam ab eius originali nota ac processu illorum habitam sumpsit et propria manu vernacula lingua scriptam ut est de more scriber placuit in haec verba*⁴⁷).

The accused were: three sisters, the eldest Marquesa, wife of Pau Badia, the middle Caterina, wife of Galceran Bertran and the youngest, a widow Joana Libiana. Among them were also the royal scribe, Galceran Bertran, tailor Gabriel Rabacer,

⁴⁴ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fols. CXIX–CXIX`.

⁴⁵ Pere García was a theologian and ecclesiastic with a Master of Arts in theology from the University of Paris. He was born in Xàtiva (Valencia) around 1440. From 1484 García resided at the Vatican Curia, already an ordained priest and *familiaris* and *continuus comensalis* by Roderic de Borja (future Pope Alexander VI). He was appointed as the bishop of Arles in Sardinia in 1484 and bishop of Barcelona on October 12, 1490, during the papal rule of Innocent VIII. From 1492–1493 he served as librarian of the Vatican Library, appointed by the Pope Alexander VI. In 1493 García left Rome and returned to his residence in Barcelona, where he continued to serve as a bishop. Throughout his life he collected books and created an extraordinary library which serves as a reminder of the humanistic formation of his character and the influences he received regarding the composition of his work. He died in 1505 in Barcelona. (Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*, Vol. II [Madrid: Apud viduam et heredes D. Ioachimi Ibarrae Regii quondam typographi, 1788], 327–328; Mateo Aymerich, *Nomina, et acta episcoporum barcinonensium: binis libris comprehensa* [Barcelona: Apud Joannem Nadal Typ. MDCCCLX], 397–398).

⁴⁶ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CXL.

⁴⁷ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CXL`.

Isabel, wife of Francisco Pallarès, who had been previously pardoned, and Aldonsa, wife of Gabriel Comte, all originally from Barcelona (...*tots conversos de la ciutat Barcelona denunciats e delats de crims de heretgia e apostasia reos e crimosos...*⁴⁸). The life sentence for the married couples Bertran, Galceran and Caterina, was later altered; they were sentenced to the death penalty and handed over to secular authorities to be executed.

All defendants confessed to their sins and acts of heresy, after which they publicly abjured heresy. When the final sentence was read, it was decided that their property was to be confiscated, and every Friday they were obligated to pray thirty times per day and eat only bread and water. The compulsory prayers were Paternoster, Ave Maria, Credo in Deum and Salve Regina, and the offenders were also to teach them to their children. This type of spiritual punishment by means of prayer repetition was uncommon as the Inquisition was always more inclined towards pecuniary and corporal punishments rather than the spiritual, despite their service in the salvation of the souls and reconciling to the Church. However, the medieval as well as modern Inquisition employed the punishments of fasting, pilgrimage, and incarceration. The combination of pastoral and legal ensured a plethora of punishment options, from fraternal persuasion (*persuasio*) to coercion (*coercio*), whose motive was to convince spiritual outcasts to reconcile to the Church.⁴⁹ These punishments were usually brought together with pecuniary penalties, as was described in the abovementioned case, while their isolated form was not mentioned once in *Liber descriptionis*.

The last 'Auto singular de fe' held in Barcelona Cathedral and depicted in *Liber descriptionis* was on July 6th, 1505. In this proceeding, Violant (wife of Segimon de Barbarà and daughter of deputy of Jaume de Casafranca, king Ferdinand's treasurer-general of Catalonia) was convicted for perjury and perverting the course of justice in the Inquisition. The family of Casafranca had been prosecuted by the Inquisition for years. For instance, in one of the previous trials in Barcelona, held on May 2nd, 1499, the deceased married couple Mayans, Antoni and Violant, in-laws of Jaume Casafranca, were posthumously sentenced, having died in the secret jail of the Inquisition.⁵⁰ Moreover, Casafranca's wife, Blanca, was sentenced to the death penalty on June 23, 1505.⁵¹ Casafranca's mother was also tried by the Inquisition and died in a secret inquisitorial jail.⁵² These series of cases present an excellent example of how influential families were also prosecuted, regardless of their high status, and how a whole family was in danger of being denounced as Crypto-Jew if one of the family members had been previously sentenced by the Tribunal.

⁴⁸ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CXLI.

⁴⁹ Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478–1614: An Anthology of Sources*, xv.

⁵⁰ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CLXXII'.

⁵¹ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CLXXXII.

⁵² Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CLXXVI.

The manuscript *Liber descriptionis* presents a significant source of abundant proof for the episcopal Inquisition. In 1184, Pope Lucius III issued a bull named *Ad abolendam*, by which he condemned heresy and ordered archbishops and bishops to request data about heretical activities in their dioceses. Thus, it can be deduced that the episcopal Inquisition was inherited from the medieval, when it was administered by the local bishops who had an authority to investigate alleged heretics in their dioceses. When the first inquisitors were elected in 1231, the episcopate's duties regarding heretics were not reformulated. Centuries later, the inquisitors held a special mandate for heresy prosecution. Consequently, this type of forced cooperation and unclear role assignment frequently led to conflicts between inquisitors and churchmen.⁵³

The practice of collaboration between the first inquisitors and bishops was established in order to reinforce inquisitorial authority, as demonstrated in the cases of Pere Garcia (Barcelona's bishop), Bartomeu de Salavert (Doctor of Canon Law and general vicar of the bishop in the Inquisition in Barcelona) and Enrique de Cardona⁵⁴ (Archbishop of Monreale), whose significance in the inquisitorial trials is a matter for discussion in this paper. These bishops were usually seen collaborating with inquisitors during interrogations of the defendants and determining the sentences. Hence, this study will consider six proceedings which illustrate the Episcopal Inquisition's heritage and evidence of its existence for the period in question.

On April 10, 1495, seventy-one people were prosecuted in absentia in Barcelona's square Plaça del Rei, while effigies presenting absentees were handed over to secular authorities (*omnes et singulos infrascriptos pro hereticis et apostatis condemnarunt illorumque statuas brachio seculari tradiderunt*⁵⁵). The solemnity was presided by inquisitors Antonio de Contreras (Doctor of Canon Law) and Pere Pariente (chaplain of the king) with Curia, while bishop of Barcelona, Pere Garcia, pronounced the sentence for the defendants. The property of the accused, located in Barcelona, was confiscated and handed over to the royal treasury. It was alleged

⁵³ Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478–1614: An Anthology of Sources*, xii–xiv.

⁵⁴ Enrique de Cardona y Enríquez was a Spanish Roman Catholic cardinal and bishop. He was born in 1485 in the County of Urgell as the son of Juan Folch de Cardona y Urgel, Duke of Cardona, and Aldonza Domínguez. Cardona began his career as a cleric in his hometown. In 1505, Ferdinand II of Aragon wished to promote him to the see of Barcelona; hence, he forced archdeacon Luís Desplá (previously elected by the cathedral chapter of Barcelona Cathedral) to retire. Cardona was elected by the cathedral chapter on April 18, 1505; he, also received dispensation for not having reached the canonical age of 27. On January 23, 1512, Cardona was promoted to the metropolitan see of Monreale; however, he still continued to live in Barcelona. On September 24, 1522, he was made Prefect of the Castel Sant'Angelo. On November 24, 1527, Pope Clement VII made him a cardinal priest in the consistory. He received the red hat and the titular church of San Marcello al Corso on November 24, 1527. Cardona died in Rome on February 7, 1529 and was buried in Rome in church Santa Maria in Monserrato degli Spagnoli (Aymerich, *Nomina, et acta episcoporum barcinonensium: binis libris comprehensa*, 398–399).

⁵⁵ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CXXXVI.

that the whole proceeding of the prosecuted in absentia was orchestrated to allow for the confiscations and to glorify the solemnities of the *auto da fé*.⁵⁶

On July 12, 1504, an *auto da fé* presided by Bishop Pere Garcia and inquisitor Joan Enguera⁵⁷ was held at Barcelona's square, Plaça del Rei. During this proceeding, five pertinacious heretics, Isabell (wife of bookseller Bartholomeus Sartre), Francina (wife of tailor Joannes Tuxones), Dalmacius Cirera Pellerius, pharmacist Raphael Dauder and his wife Beatrix, were sentenced to the death penalty and handed over to secular authorities to be executed.⁵⁸

The cruel punishment of burning at the stake, as a part of Roman jurisprudence, a remnant of the medieval inquisition, was commonly practiced in the sixteenth century Iberian Peninsula.⁵⁹ This severe punishment was inflicted on those who deliberately opposed the beliefs of the Church, hence, the law system ordered the execution of heresiarchs, apostates, Judaizers, New Christians, witches and all other spiritual outcasts by means of fire. Those convicted of such crimes were dissociated from the Church and handed over to the secular arm, to execute this severe penalty. Secular authorities were in charge of carrying out this punishment because clerics by canon and ecclesiastical law did not have the authority to carry on the capital punishment and to shed human blood. Hence, it was considered as an obligation of the State, not of the Church.⁶⁰

There were two common types of pertinacious heretics sentenced to the death penalty; the unrepentant heretics whose choice was to die at the stake, and the relapsed heretics, who had been previously pardoned but repeated the offence. The *relajados* did not always die at the stake; they could be 'mercifully' choked before the pile was set on fire, but only if they repented before the *auto da fé*.⁶¹

On October 2nd, 1504, an *auto da fé* in Barcelona's Plaça del Rei was presided by inquisitors Joan Enguera and Francisco Pays de Sotomayor together with Bartomeu de Salavert, general vicar of the bishop in the Inquisition. During this complex proceeding, three women from Barcelona were reconciled and sentenced to life imprisonment, nineteen people were condemned in absentia, a woman was reconciled,

⁵⁶ Lea, *A history of the Inquisition of Spain*, III, 90.

⁵⁷ Dominican Joan Enguera rose to the position of king Ferdinand's and his second wife, Germaine of Foix's, confessor. He was appointed as Bishop of Vic on December 19, 1505, and Bishop of Lleida on December 9, 1510, and finally Bishop of Tortosa on October 1st, 1512. After Diego de Deza's forced resign in 1507, he inherited him as the Grand Inquisitor of the Crown of Aragon and stayed in this function until his death in 1513. (Beatrix Komelja, *Španska inkvizicija* [Beograd: Clio, 2003], 48; Pilar Sánchez, "La red local de agentes de Tribunal Inquisitorial de Zaragoza [1552-1611]", in: *Profesor Nazario González: una historia abierta* (Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1998), 50; Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, Tomo XVII [Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la historia, 1851], 48-49).

⁵⁸ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CLXVI.

⁵⁹ Lea, *A history of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, I, 534-559.

⁶⁰ Lea, *A history of the Inquisition of Spain*, III, 184.

⁶¹ Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: An historical revision*, 202-203.

and one was handed over to secular authorities to be executed. One man was also sentenced to death by hanging.⁶²

A few weeks later, on October 28, 1504, once again in square Plaça del Rei, an auto da fé was held by inquisitor Francisco Pays de Sotomayor and Bartomeu de Salavert. Two women were sentenced: Elionor, wife of furrier Gabriel Lunes from Barcelona, was reconciled, while another Elionor, wife of Bartomeu Ribesaltes from Barcelona, was handed over to secular authorities and executed.⁶³

In a crucial auto da fé held in Plaça del Rei on January 17, 1505 and presided by Bishop Pere Garcia and inquisitors Joan Enguera and Francisco Pays de Sotomayor, four defendants suspected for heresy were reconciled without any mention of the punishment imposed. Furthermore, two significant figures of the time, Jaume de Casafranca, deputy of Ferdinand's treasurer-general of Catalonia and Dalmatius de Tolosa, priest, canon and archdeacon of Lleida were handed over to secular authorities and executed. One of the most crucial figures of Ferdinand's personnel and treasurer-general of Catalonia, Jaume de Casafranca, was arrested by Barcelona's tribunal in 1498 and consequently, all his property was confiscated. Up until that moment, he had been the king's loyal deputy, his close confidant. Just before he was taken into custody, Casafranca managed the royal treasury, with funds intended for the reparation of Roussillon's castles. The fact that all the money of the crown had been controlled by a heretic made authorities anxious; hence, in order to avoid severe consequences, King Ferdinand provided a precedent by commanding all the confiscated property to be placed into the hands of the advocate-fiscal so it could be divided into private and public ownership. Although Ferdinand pleaded with the tribunal to be merciful toward the once loyal treasurer-general, Casafranca could not avoid his infamous fate and was finally convicted to capital punishment and executed by the secular arm.⁶⁴

The last trial described in *Liber descriptionis* involving collaboration between inquisitorial authorities and the bishop occurred on June 23, 1505. The auto da fé was held in Plaça del Rei, where seven offenders were reconciled and convicted to life in prison by Barcelona's inquisitors Francisco Pays de Sotomayor and Jaume Filella, together with Enrique de Cardona, the newly elected Bishop of Barcelona. The accused were Violans (wife of physician Guillem Pedralbes from Tarragona), physician Guillem Mecip, Medina (wife of Pere Casasaja), Brigida (wife of Pere Domenech), Eulalia (wife of Guillem Duran), Marquesa (wife of scribe Baltasar Vilagut) and Beneta (wife of Gaspar Mir).⁶⁵

In terms of the episcopal heritage and the role of Barcelona Cathedral in the inquisitorial processes from 1488 until 1505, based on the manuscript *Liber*

⁶² Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CLXVII.

⁶³ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CLXX.

⁶⁴ Lea, *A history of the Inquisition of Spain*, III, 45–46.

⁶⁵ Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis*, fol. CLXXI'.

descriptionis, the following can be concluded: firstly, public solemnities of auto da fé held in the Barcelona Cathedral preserved characteristics of the medieval Inquisition, yet were beginning to develop by incorporating new features characteristic of the upcoming and more complex ‘spectacles’ of auto da fé, with their pedagogical and theatrical elements. Secondly, the Barcelona Cathedral stood witness to an inquisitorial legacy in the creation of European identity with its ritual, religious and sensationalist ceremonies, whose dual origin has been manifested through liturgical and legal components, with consistent diffusion of the sacral and profane.

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НАСЛЕЂЕ ЕПИСКОПАЛНЕ ИНКВИЗИЦИЈЕ ТРИБУНАЛА У БАРСЕЛОНИ У ДЕЛУ ПЕРЕ МИКЕЛА КАРБУНЕЉА И СОЛЕРА: 1488–1505

ИВАНА Н. АРСИЋ

Аутономни Универзитет у Барселони, Шпанија

ivana.arsic@e-campus.uab.cat

Резиме: Рад о наслеђу епископалне инквизиције трибунала у Барселони се заснива на рукопису *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum ALIAS de Gestis Hereticorum*, нотара инквизиције Пера Микела Карбунеља и Солера (1434–1517). Циљ рада је да укаже на значај Катедрале Светог Крста и Свете Еулијие у Барселони, где су се одигравале свечане церемоније доношења пресуда оптужених за криптојудаизам, као и да се истакне улога и значај бискупа у датим инквизицијским процесима. ► *Кључене речи:* Инквизиција, Катедрала Светог Крста и Свете Еулијие, Пера Микел Карбунељ и Солер, *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum ALIAS de Gestis Hereticorum*.