

THE 14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY  
INQUISITIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS  
IN PERE MIQUEL CARBONELL'S MANUSCRIPT

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**Abstract**

The Spanish Inquisition encompasses the long period of history of the Iberian Peninsula; established after the unification of the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile by the marriage union of the “Catholic monarchs”, Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1469. Even though considered as an ecclesial organization, who would address the issue of the “Jewish threat”, actually it was a tool of the monarchy to consolidate its power and it has been remembered in history by its ostensibly cruel methods. In this historical frame had lived and worked Pere Miquel Carbonell (1434-1517) a Catalan historian, poet, humanist, notary and royal archivist in The General Archive of The Crown of Aragon from 1476 until his death. He wrote books inspired by the Spanish Inquisition, such as *Super facto expulsionis hereticorum* and *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum* which will be the starting point of this investigation. This manuscript which is kept in The General Archive of The Crown of Aragon contains records about the Spanish Inquisition from 1487 until 1507 and describes reconciliations, justifications and condemnations of heretics. In this manuscript exists two documents holding the same title *Pensio assignata Inquisitori hereticae pravitatis* from 1357 and 1358 and therefore outside of the described historical period. These records originated in Zaragoza and Barcelona was written by King Peter IV of Aragon and afterwards copied by Carbonell will be the start point of this paper and will take into consideration its administrative regulations and information such as bureaucratic structure of the Sanctum Officium's members and their obligations.

**Keywords**

The Spanish Inquisition, Pere Miquel Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum* ALIAS *de Gestis Hereticorum*, Peter IV of Aragon, *Pensio assignata Inquisitori hereticae pravitatis*.

## Resumen

La Inquisición Española es bien conocida como parte integrante y fundamental de la historia de la Península Ibérica. Fue establecida posteriormente a las nupcias de los Reyes Católicos, Fernando II de Aragón e Isabel I de Castilla en el 1469. El papa Sixto IV en 1478 promulgó la bula *Exigit sinceræ devotionis affectus*, por la que se constituía la Inquisición, quedando así establecida la presencia de dicha organización en la Península para dar solución al problema de “la amenaza judía”. Aunque su función real no era otra que una herramienta monárquica para consolidar el poder y que pasó a la historia por sus ostentosos y brutales métodos. En este período histórico vivió Pere Miquel Carbonell (1434-1517) un historiador catalán, poeta, humanista, notario y archivista del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón del 1476 al 1517. Sus trabajos más reconocidos son el *De viris illustribus catalanis* y *Chròniques d’Espanya*. Más allá, Carbonell también escribió tratados inspirados por la Inquisición, el *Super facto expulsionis hereticorum* y el *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum*, que será el principal tema de este trabajo. El manuscrito de Pere Miquel Carbonell *Liber descriptionis* conservado en el Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón, contiene documentos sobre la Inquisición Española del 1487 al 1507. Este preciado documento describe reconciliaciones, justificaciones y condenas de herejes. Pero, además, en este manuscrito existen dos documentos que comparten el mismo título *Pensio assignata Inquisitori hereticæ pravitatis* (1357 y 1358) que tienen su origen en Zaragoza y Barcelona y fueron escritos por el rey Pedro IV de Aragón y, posteriormente, copiados por Carbonell. Será éste el punto de partida del presente trabajo que tendrá en consideración las regulaciones administrativas contenidas en ellos y la información relativa a la estructura burocrática de Santo Oficio, así como las obligaciones de cada de sus miembros.

## Palabras clave

Inquisición española, Pere Miquel Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum* ALIAS de *Gestis Hereticorum*, Pedro IV de Aragón, *Pensio assignata Inquisitori hereticæ pravitatis*.

Pere Miquel Carbonell’s manuscript *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum* ALIAS de *Gestis Hereticorum* 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 29.5 x 21.5 cm, except three folia with sizes 22 x 14 cm; 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...*”) (*Liber descriptionis*, fol. CVII) and the second one by Bofaroll, because it continues and is attached on the previous manuscript. The binding are done afterwards with parchment. It belonged to the collection: *Registro sobre negocios de Inquisición de Fernando II*.

*Liber descriptionis reconciliationisque, purgationis et condemnacionis 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...”) (*Liber descriptionis*, fol. CVII).

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 (Kamen, 1997, p. 198). 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...”) (*Liber descriptionis*, fol. CVII). 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.

In this manuscript exists two documents holding the same title *Pensio assignata Inquisitori hereticae pravitatis* from the 14<sup>th</sup> century; therefore belonging outside of this historical period, both written by King Peter IV of Aragon and afterwards copied by Carbonell.

In April, 1238 Pope Gregory IX appointed two inquisitors for the Kingdom of Aragon (Lea, 1887, p. 302). This institution was active during the reign of Peter IV of Aragon and afterwards was utilized in 1474 by Ferdinand II of Aragon for its reborn; therefore, differently from Castile, Catholic Monarch did not provoke opposition by its rough introduction (Lea, 1906a, p. 230).

The first document was written in Zaragoza on February 6<sup>th</sup>, 1357 and it represents *The Order for an annual salary of the Inquisitors* which begins with formula by King Peter IV of Aragon in the way of *pluralis modestiae*: “Nos Petrus Dei gratia Rex Aragonum Valentiae Majoricarum Sardiniae et Corsicae Comesque Barcinonae Roseilonis et Ceritaniae...” (*Liber descriptionis*, fol CX’). As the documents continues Peter IV are complimenting Dominican Nicolas Rosell who became Cardinal of Aragon in 1356 during the pontificate of Innocent VI as “reverendus in Christo pater frater Nicolaus divina providentia sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalis regere consuevit...” (*Liber descriptionis*, fol CX’). Mallorcan Rosell was important figure in 14<sup>th</sup> century Catalonia holding close bond with The Crown of Aragon’s royal family. He served as a royal chaplain of King Peter IV and was also his confessor. Additionally, he was the confessor of King Jaime’s II daughters, María and Blanca. In 1350 Rosell gained the position of “Inquisiteur General de la Foi, dans tous les Etats du Roy d’Aragon” (Touron, 1745 p. 422). As Inquisitor general of Aragon and Provincial Prior of the Dominicans, he received his confirmation for the defense of the Church in the cases against heresy preacher Francisco Batlle, monk Berengar de Montfalcó and processes against begghards from Valencia (Vargas, 2011, p. 92).

In the following text King had requested for the future inquisitors to receive the same salary as the previous one’s (i.e. as Rosell) were accustomed to have (“Ideo volentes vos eandem seu similem pensionem a nobis habere quam dictus frater Nicolaus ac alii praeteriti inquisitores habere consueverunt pro inquisitionis honeribus”) (*Liber descriptionis*, fol CX’). Peter IV defined precise amount of money of one hundred *libras Barcinionenses* (*Liber descriptionis*, fol CX’) paid from the Royal Treasury which will inquisitors receive on the annual basis as long as this institution exists (“... pecunia Thesaurariae nostrae Centum libras Barcinonenses per vos habendas et recipiendas annis singulis quamdiu officium Inquisitionis exercetibus supradictum”) (*Liber descriptionis*, fol CX’). Additionally, he promised that inquisitors will be appointed in secure and safe places and

also that they will be receive their salaries without slow payments (“Et ulterius promittimus vobis quod quamcitus commode poterimus assignabimus vobis in loco tuto dictas centum libras ad finem quod eas annuatim absque morosis solutionibus habere...”) (*Liber descriptionis*, fol CX’).

Peter IV finished *The Order* by giving the place and the date of document’s origin (“Datum Cesaraugustae VI die februarii anno a nativitate Domini millesimo trecentesimo quinquagesimo septimo”) (*Liber descriptionis*, fol CX’).

El Ceremoniós wrote next year in Barcelona on October 2<sup>nd</sup> the second document holding the same title *Pensio assignata Inquisitori hereticae pravitatis*. In this testimony King had addressed to his treasurer and doctor of law Bernat d’Olzinelles (“Petrus dei Gratia Rex Aragonum etc (ut supra) Dilecto Consiliario et Thesaurario nostro Bernardo de Ulzinellis Militi legumque doctori salute ut dilectionem”) (*Liber descriptionis*, fol CX’). Olzinelles was very influential personality in 14<sup>th</sup> century Torredembarra, Catalonia. His family bought the title so they become *Els senyors d’El Catllar i Vila-seca de Solcina* (Bargalló, 2013, p. 7). Additionally, for some period, king’s treasurer owned the famous Castell del Catllar.

In the early period of the Inquisition, the function of the treasurer was significant, which sometimes gave him a right for a salary even larger that the inquisitor’s. Furthermore, for the enormous sums such as the fines and penances which were kept as a separate fund, was responsible a special receiver; however at the end they passed through the hands of the treasurer (Lea, 1906b, p. 250).

In the following text, Peter IV required for the inquisitor Bernardo Ermenegaudi who was appointed “in cismarinis partibus nostri domini ac in Regno Sardiniae et Corsicae” (*Liber descriptionis*, fol CX’) with “religioso fratre Ferrario de Curtibus” (*Liber descriptionis*, fol CX’) to receive annual salary of “in solidum deputato Centum libras Barcinonenses” (*Liber descriptionis*, fol CX’) until he hold his position (“dum officium dictae inquisitionis tenuerit”) (*Liber descriptionis*, fol CX’). Dominican Ermengaudi had been remembered in history for the conflict with Nicolas Eymerich for the position of the provincial of Aragon which they both had lost (Custurer, 1700, p. 679).

At the end, King repeated the amount of money “dictas centum libras” (*Liber descriptionis*, fol CX’) and also requested that salary should be received “de pecunia Curiae nostrae” (*Liber descriptionis*, fol CX’). He finished the document, same as the former, by giving the place and the date of its origin (“Datum Barcinonae secunda die octobris nno a nativitate Domini millesimo trecentesimo quinquagesimo octavo”) (*Liber descriptionis*, fol CX’).

In calculating worth it is measured that quantity of one *libra barcelonesa* was twenty *sueldos de menudos* of which twelve composed *el sueldo* (Capmany, 1792,

p. 133). To be more precise 60 *Libras barcelonesas* composed 50 ducats of 375 maravedís (Francisco, 1998, p. 134). Therefore regarding to this document, inquisitors of Aragon in 1357 received payment of 83.3 ducats of 375 maravedís annually. In comparing salaries of the inquisitors, we found document almost two centuries older which kept this data. In this script exist the information that in 1541 salary of an inquisitor was 100,000 maravedís, including *ayuda de costa*<sup>1</sup> and after by 1606 had become 300,000 or 800 ducats which was not lavish, but it presented relatively high income (Lea, 1906b, p. 252). This information which described the financial status of the highest member of the Sanctum Officium revealed significance of the institution in rise and its importance in the eyes of the monarchy reflected even more in the future centuries.

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<sup>1</sup> The *ayuda de costa* was a more or less definite increase of salary, or a special gift for cause, or just a simple act of good will. On the one hand, the salary was constant, but on the other the *ayuda* was always partially arbitrary, utilized as an incentive to compel the obligations regarded as difficult (Lea, 1906b, p. 253).

*Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum ALLIAS de Gestis Hereticorum*: Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Reg. um sobre negocios de la Inquisición de Fernandi II, Real Cancellaria registros numero 3684.

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