

*lucida*  
*intervalla*

ČASOPIS ZA KLASIČNE NAUKE  
A JOURNAL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES

49 (2020) FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET  
BEOGRAD

*Lucida intervalla* – Časopis za klasične nauke / A Journal of Classical Studies  
Periodično izdanje Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu  
ISSN 1450-6645  
Izlazi jednom godišnje

*Uredništvo*

Stephanie West (Oxford), Aleksandar Loma (Beograd), Boris Pendelj (Beograd), Vojin Nedeljković (Beograd), Daniel Marković (Cincinnati), Sandra Šćepanović, gl. i odg. urednik (Beograd), Dragana Dimitrijević (Beograd), Il Akkad, sekretar uredništva (Beograd)

*Adresa*

Čika-Ljubina 18–20, 11000 Beograd, Srbija  
telefon +381112639628  
e-mail [lucida.intervalla@f.bg.ac.rs](mailto:lucida.intervalla@f.bg.ac.rs)  
[www.f.bg.ac.rs/lucidaintervalla](http://www.f.bg.ac.rs/lucidaintervalla)

*Žiro-račun*

840-1614666-19, s pozivom na broj 0302

Na osnovu mišljenja Ministarstva nauke (413-00-1080/2002-01)  
ova publikacija oslobođena je plaćanja opšteg poreza na promet,  
shodno čl. 11 st. 7 Zakona o porezu na promet.

Ivana N. Arsić  
Research Associate  
Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade  
[iarsic@idn.org.rs](mailto:iarsic@idn.org.rs)  
ORCID: 0000-0003-4767-8559

## In the Middle of Renaissance Light and Inquisitorial Darkness: Pere Miquel Carbonell's Case<sup>1</sup>

*Abstract:* This study explores literary work of humanist and royal bureaucrat, Pere Miquel Carbonell, during the early Renaissance in Barcelona. The purpose of this paper is to reflect on the individuality of Pere Miquel Carbonell, who was an ambivalent figure; a well-educated renaissance man, yet also an inquisitorial notary of the Barcelona Tribunal. The objectives of this paper are hence to address the seemingly contradictory duality in Carbonell's literary opus as he shifted from humanistic writings to documenting bureaucratic inquisitorial proceedings, which were highly uncommon for this type of legal documents as they were filled with lines from Latin literature. Based on this analysis of the work of Carbonell, who was a prominent figure of his time, this paper will subsequently extrapolate the influence of humanism as a prevailing moment in Europe and depict the dark side of the heresy inquisition, whose causes and goals are still a matter of discussion among historians.

*Key words:* Pere Miquel Carbonell, heresy inquisition, Judeo-Converts, Early Renaissance Barcelona, Catalan humanism, *Satyricon*, compurgation.

Influenced by the Italian movement that flourished from the middle of the fourteenth century, Catalan humanism gathered well-educated and erudite individuals, who derived, recovered and interpreted works of classical literature, shared interest in methodological innovations and novelties, and frequently challenged medieval beliefs and practices. With the emergence of the Renaissance in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, intellectual and cultural interactivity was established between the two peninsulas – Apennine and Iberian. As humanism spread from Italy to the lands of the Crown of Aragon, especially in Barcelona, Valencia and Zaragoza, the widespread effects of the movement were evident. Although incomparable to the productivity of other European cities, where humanist works flourished, the influence of Catalan humanists in Italy is indisputable (e.g. Jeroni Pau), as is the direct

---

<sup>1</sup> This paper was written as part of the 2020 Research Program of the Institute of Social Sciences, with the support of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

impact of some of the crucial writings of Italian Latin humanism on Catalan literary tradition.<sup>2</sup>

One of the most renowned members of Catalan humanism was bibliophile, Royal archivist and public notary Pere Miquel Carbonell (1434–1517). He was born in the Town House in Nova Square (Casa gran de la Plaça Nova) in Barcelona. The first years of his life are vaguely documented, but it is believed that he dedicated himself to studying history and classics until the age of twenty-four.<sup>3</sup> In 1458, Carbonell was appointed public notary by King Alfons V. He was recommended for this title by his uncle, Jaume Pau, who was a Doctor of Law and whose son, Jeroni Pau, was one of the most influential humanists in Catalonia. From 1476 until his death in 1517, Carbonell served as a Royal archivist in The Royal Archive of the Crown of Aragon (today: Arxiu General de la Corona d'Aragó, and originally: Reial Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó) and worked as a Royal scribe.

Scholars have more recently reconstructed Carbonell's trajectory and opus in an impressive manner by publishing a volume titled *Pere Miquel Carbonell i el seu temps (1434–1517)* in 2016, which is a compilation of the latest scientific contributions regarding his works and its reception.<sup>4</sup> This study will also take into consideration publications of the historiographers and philologists who investigated Pere Miquel Carbonell's humanistic credentials.<sup>5</sup> However, none of these works have addressed the significance of Carbonell's work documenting the bureaucratic inquisitorial proceedings while serving as inquisitorial notary of the Barcelona Tribunal. Hence, the purpose of this study is to reflect on and reconstruct the individuality of Pere Miquel Carbonell, who, in addition to a Renaissance humanist, was also a member of the bureaucratic machinery of the Barcelona Tribunal. Based on the analysis of the different types of work of Carbonell, who was a prominent figure of his time, this paper will subsequently extrapolate the influence of humanism as a prevailing moment in Europe and depict the dark side of the heresy inquisition, whose causes and goals are still a matter of discussion among historians. While performing his public duties, Carbonell conducted extensive archival and historiographic research, which resulted in the creation of his most significant works, such as

<sup>2</sup> For the debate of particular 'Catalan humanism' see BUTIÑÁ 2002, 92–93; BADIA 1980, 41–70; BADIA 1996, 20–23.

<sup>3</sup> BOFARULL I DE SARTORIO 1864, 2.

<sup>4</sup> GUZMÁN ALMAGRO / ESPLUGA / AHN 2016.

<sup>5</sup> On this notion see COROLEU 2014, 90–101; ALCOBERRO PERICAY 1993; ALCOBERRO PERICAY 1994; ALCOBERRO PERICAY 2000; COROLEU, 2009; COROLEU 2010; COROLEU 2016; VILALLONGA 1993; VILALLONGA 2001.

the collection *De viris illustribus catalanis suae tempestatis libellous*.<sup>6</sup> It was published in 1476 and was influenced by *De viris illustribus* of Italian humanist Bartolomeo Fazio. It contains fifteen biographies of Carbonell's contemporaries; mostly professional lawyers and notaries. The biography form has roots in classical antiquity, hence Carbonell, like Jeroni Pau who wrote *De Hispaniarum viris illustribus*, strived to revive this form and introduce it to Catalan humanist literature.<sup>7</sup> Carbonell's second significant historiographical piece was contemporary chronicle *Cròniques de Espanya*,<sup>8</sup> written between 1495 and 1513 in rhetorical style, which was characteristic for humanism. It was published posthumously in 1547. From the methodological perspective, the *Cròniques de Espanya* is characterised by unmistakable features of modernity and sophisticated techniques of textual and historical criticism through three aspects: first, the discussion of source reliability; second, the utilisation of archival records; and third, its return to archaeology and etymology. From the content perspective, it casts doubt on certain medieval historical myths.<sup>9</sup>

Carbonell belonged to Barcelona's early Renaissance humanists and had a close bond with the intellectual and cultural elite of fifteenth-century Catalans. Even though he probably had never visited Italy, with his cousin Jeroni Pau and other Catalan intellectuals, Carbonell participated in introducing the humanist movement with its classical heritage to Catalonia. This movement involved a small but influential group of his friends and colleagues, and Carbonell also maintained an epistolary relationship with most of his intellectual contemporaries, including Joan Vilar (*Correspondència amb Joan Vilar, 1475*), Jeroni Pau (*Correspondència amb Jeroni Pau, 1475*), Guillem Fuster (*Correspondència amb Guillem Fuster, 1475*) and Italians Lorenzo Lippio (*Correspondència amb Lorenzo Lippio, 1476*) and Alessandro Geraldini (*Correspondència amb Alessandro Geraldini*), many of whom appeared in his *Viris illustribus Catalanis*.<sup>10</sup>

From the beginning of the fourteenth century, enhanced by the humanism that flourished in Padua and was subsequently propagated by Petrarch, the growing interest in antiquity and its sources influenced scholars to analyse inscriptions and their sophisticated techniques of textual and linguistic critique. Originating in Italy, this model spread across Europe, during which time it also reached the Iberian Peninsula. Carbonell has been studied from various perspectives: as a chronicler, archivist and biographer. However, in the last

<sup>6</sup> For *De viris illustribus Catalanis* see Adroher Ben 1957; VILALLONGA, 1988.

<sup>7</sup> VILALLONGA 2001, 482.

<sup>8</sup> For *Cròniques d'Espanya* see CARBONELL 1997; ALCOBERRO PERICAY 2000, 79–98.

<sup>9</sup> ALCOBERRO PERICAY 2000, 79–98.

<sup>10</sup> VILALLONGA 1993, 64.

two decades, there has been growing interest in examining his inscriptions and epigraphical skills.<sup>11</sup> As Guzmán pointed out, Carbonell was probably the first author in the field of Hispanic epigraphy.<sup>12</sup>

Carbonell's library has been comprehensively studied. The inventory of his library is found in several private documents. Besides the volumes listed in his testament, twenty-two primary sources relating to written and early printed copies (most of them incunabula) can be found in the Rare Book and Manuscript CRAI Library (Biblioteca de Reserva de la Universitat de Barcelona),<sup>13</sup> where an online exhibition was recently held. The exhibition, named *Exposició virtual: Pere Miquel Carbonell i els llibres (col·lecció del CRAI Biblioteca de Reserva)*, included an introduction by professor Toldrà.<sup>14</sup> The library collection includes literary manuscripts, historical documents and early printed books collected from Carbonell's library, complemented by exceptional images and commentary.<sup>15</sup> In the manuscript kept in the Archive of the Girona's Cathedral, (Girona, Arxiu Capitular, MS 69.) on folium 245 v., Carbonell wrote the list of books kept in his library. This inventory was written during August of 1484 and was almost destroyed and rendered illegible due to an ink spill. However, Rubió Balaguer was able to decipher the list and had it published in 1955.<sup>16</sup> There is also a document which contains Carbonell's instructions to his booksellers attending the Venice and Lyon Book fairs in 1488 and 1501.<sup>17</sup> By examining these documents, which provide valuable insight into Carbonell's scholarly orientation, it becomes evident that his literary taste had changed from classics to theological texts. For instance, the inventory written during the summer of 1484 contains Greek philosophical texts translated into Latin as well as Roman poets and historians.<sup>18</sup> By contrast, his intellectual preoccupation from the 1490s shifted to theological writings, Christian Latin poetry and spiritual texts. However, the premise of this paper is that Carbonell's interest in religious texts, which persisted throughout the last three decades of his life, does not undermine his humanistic tendencies; quite the contrary, like other humanists, Carbonell was raised to follow Christian beliefs, thereby

---

<sup>11</sup> On this notion see ESPLUGA 2014; ESPLUGA / GUZMÁN 2010; CARBONELL MANILS 2016; GONZÁLEZ GERMAIN 2016.

<sup>12</sup> GUZMÁN ALMAGRO 2002, 21–30.

<sup>13</sup> TOLDRÀ 2007, 9–31.

<sup>14</sup> TOLDRÀ ET ALII 2013.

<sup>15</sup> For seventeen incunabula from this collection see MAYER 2016, 225–245.

<sup>16</sup> MADURELL MARIMÓN / RUBIÓ BALAGUER 1955.

<sup>17</sup> COROLEU 2016, 133–134.

<sup>18</sup> ADROHER BEN 1957, 116–119.

he considered the Bible as a fundamental text.

The following section of the paper will focus on Carbonell's bureaucratic obligations, which he assumed while serving as an inquisitorial notary of the Barcelona Tribunal. He documented proceedings of the heresy inquisition in Early Renaissance Catalan and Medieval Latin in the records - *Super facto expulsionis hereticorum* and *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum ALIAS de Gestis Hereticorum*.<sup>19</sup> During inquisitorial proceedings, scribes wrote down all depositions of the accused and witnesses while notaries, although present during the trials, reduced them to an acceptable form after the trials. Another duty of the notaries was keeping records of offenders and their genealogies; they formed specific indexing documents and a data system in order to keep records of the committed crimes and to simplify investigations.<sup>20</sup> The first Barcelona Tribunal after its renewal in 1497 employed notaries Pere Aimat and Joan Raimat.<sup>21</sup> In 1496, Jaume Ferrer joined Carbonell as a notary and renowned scribe of Provincial Government of Catalonia.<sup>22</sup>

The most striking example of Carbonell's humanistic impulses from the manuscript *Liber descriptionis* is found in the form of four verses taken from *Epigramma Petronii*, written in Medieval Latin on the margin of a document he wrote recording the inquisitorial case against Judeo-conversa Angelina Vilella. Wife of merchant Joan Vilella, Angelina was placed on trial for slight suspicion of heresy<sup>23</sup> due to performing of Judaizing activities<sup>24</sup> on Tuesday, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May 1497, in Barcelona's square Plaça del Rei, in the church of the Palau Reial Major. She was sentenced to canonical purgation. The four verses rewritten by Carbonell presented the epigram in elegiac couplets taken from Petronius' fictional work, *Satyricon* (137.9):

quisquis habet nummos, secura navigat aura  
fortunamque suo temperat arbitrio.

...

---

<sup>19</sup> These manuscripts are kept in the General Archive of the Crown of Aragon (Barcelona, ACA, *Real Cancilleria registros numero 3684*).

<sup>20</sup> BLÁZQUEZ 1990, 95.

<sup>21</sup> FORT COGUL 1973, 165.

<sup>22</sup> CARBONELL *ca.* 1487-1507, fol. CL.

<sup>23</sup> Since even the suspicion of heresy was in fact a crime requiring penalization, it was classified in two levels, such as a light (*de leve*) and grave (*de vehementi*) suspicion (LEA, 3, 1906, 86).

<sup>24</sup> ...de criminibus heresies delatam fore fuisse et esse de fide catholica suspectam ac de dictis criminibus heresis... (CARBONELL *ca.* 1487-1507, fol. CLIV).

Multa loquor quod vis nummis praesentibus opta,  
et veniet. Clausum possidet arca Iovem.  
Whoever has money can sail in a safe wind  
And direct fortune according to their own desire.

...

I have spoken much. Choose what you shall do with the money in  
hand,  
And it will come true. Your moneybox has Jupiter locked inside it.

These verses describe the Oenothea episode when Enclopius, protagonist and narrator, pacifies sorceress Oenothea with an offer of money as compensation for killing the temple's sacred geese (Petronius, *Satyricon*, 136–137). Oenothea's corruptible character affirms the idea that money is all-powerful and represents an important lesson acquired by Enclopius during this experience. Even the priestess is no exception to the cynical aphorism, "whoever has money can sail in a safe wind", thus revealing the 'depraved' values of a world where the worship of money is universally practiced. In the following two verses Enclopius reverses the mythological roles of Danae and Jupiter, by trapping the supreme god instead of King Acrisius' daughter in the *arca*, translated here as a moneybox. Hence, the wealthy not only possess money, but can also 'lock up Jupiter', implying that those who have money are above the supreme god himself and have the power to dictate everything.<sup>25</sup>

When considering Carbonell's humanistic propensity, we must address the question: why did he choose to write these specific verses on the margin of the document describing the trial against Vilella? Was it just one more piece of evidence for his humanistic impulses or were these verses specifically connected to this case? This paper proposes that both answers are plausible. It is reasonable to deduce that the inquisitorial proceeding against Vilella triggered Carbonell's Christian views on morality issues, thus explaining the choice of verses, because the Oenothea episode perfectly describes, objectively, realistically and ironically, a common truth about the essence of people. Carbonell thus drew an analogy between the moral corruption in Imperial Rome and the religious insincerity of privileged members of medieval Catalan society and the compromises they made with the inquisitorial authorities. For this reason, Carbonell wrote on the margin of the Vilella case: *Hoc epigramma excripsi pro divitibus: quorum Gloria in hoc saeculo manet sepulta*.<sup>26</sup> This provided a creative criticism of both sides of corrupt society: those whose money makes

---

<sup>25</sup> These verses had been discussed in detail by SETAIOLI 2011, 329–345.

<sup>26</sup> CARBONELL *ca.* 1487–1507, fol. CLVII.



them feel superior, and those who consciously accept and yield to this reality. By writing these verses, he thus implied the undeniable effect of the relationship between Vilella and influential members of medieval Catalan nobility, the cerebral but risky tactic of the inquisitorial system and the inquisitor's powerlessness within this process that in the end resulted in Vilella's release.

In order to create an accusation of formal heresy, medieval inquisitorial courts relied mostly on witness depositions. However, in the absence of a deposition, as a rule, suspicion of heresy remained, which was considered a crime requiring punishment. Hence, the inquisitorial authorities used public rumour, i.e. *publica fama* as evidence against the offender. Even without depositions, the judges began to operate relying legally on rumours in creating a specific narrative about certain persons within their community where this type of allegations were socially believed as reliable.<sup>27</sup> Since proof against Angelina was by no means decisive, the accusation was based on her *fama*.<sup>28</sup> Clearly she was considered guilty because of her reputation as a Judaizer, and had already been accused by public opinion. This practice demonstrates the importance of public rumour in medieval Barcelona as an offence strategy frequently used by the heresy inquisition. The reinforcement of moral values served the purpose of distinguishing the dominant Catholic caste from the converso group within the social and political life of Barcelona's citizens. Additionally, in the absence of evidence, if torture did not provide expected results or was not possible due to the advanced or young age of the defendant, and when suspicion was too severe to seek for acquittal, the offender was subjected to compurgation. Since the proof was considered ambiguous in Angelina's case, the inquisitor relied on compurgation, a defence created in the medieval period and used in both secular and canon law. Hence, when prosecuted for heresy, Angelina could maintain her innocence by taking an oath and providing witnesses (i.e. compurgators) who would testify that she was a sincere Christian and was innocent of heresy. If the witnesses swore unanimously, she would be acquitted and released at a later date.<sup>29</sup> Since Angelina was considered guilty in the eyes of the community, in the absence of any tangible proof which could prove her offence, she was given a chance to counter public opinion by means of compurgation.

---

<sup>27</sup> WICKHAM 1998, 3–24.

<sup>28</sup> ...et de dictis criminibus *infamate* canonicam purgacionem indicimus... (CARBONELL *ca.* 1487–1507, fol. CLIV).

<sup>29</sup> For the definition of compurgation see DU CANGE 1678, 472.

In the trial against Angelina Vilella presided Barcelona's inquisitor Pere Pariente.<sup>30</sup> The inquisitor requested that the accused appoint seven compurgators<sup>31</sup> who would testify not only as character witnesses, but who would also conscientiously swear to their belief in her oath. These witnesses had to be zealous Catholics who had known Angelina for at least ten years prior to the advent of the inquisition in Barcelona, and were familiar with her life, habits and social interactions. The inquisitor assigned a term of fifteen days for Angelina to find compurgators. Since compurgators were obliged to testify with regard to the period of the past decade, it was also required of them to know the underlying facts of the specific heresy offence Angelina was on trial for.<sup>32</sup> Alternatively, if she could not find seven witnesses in the required period and under the required terms, Angelina would be prosecuted for severe offences, in the manner of a heretical offender.<sup>33</sup>

Francesc Vilella, a defence lawyer, met Angelina in a secret jail of the inquisition in the presence of the inquisitor, scribe, notary and prosecutor since a lawyer was not allowed to be left alone with the defendant.<sup>34</sup> Once again, Pariente read the accusation against Angelina in front of the present parties. In the heresy inquisition that evolved from the medieval inquisition, in which the bishop acted as a judge, the inquisitor took over this ecclesiastical role while allowing the accused to be defended by an attorney. However, in truth, it was just a farce acknowledged even by contemporary scholars, since the inquisitor was not only a judge; he also received and examined witness testimonies, interrogated compurgators as well as the accused, and finally, he was the one who delivered the sentence. Thus, his power through the process of examining trial materials, executing the trial and determining the fate of the defendant was incontestable.<sup>35</sup>

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of May 1497,<sup>36</sup> Angelina provided her lawyer with a list of wit-

---

<sup>30</sup> CARBONELL *ca.* 1487–1507, fol. CLIV.

<sup>31</sup> Although the number of compurgators was usually twelve, according to the Nicolau Eymerich's *Directorium Inquisitorum* the number of compurgators vary of the severity of the crime (EYMERICH 1821, 51–52).

<sup>32</sup> ...indimus assignates eidem ad se canonice purgandum terminum quindecim dierum infra quem terminum dicta Angelina teneatur se canonice purgare manu septem virorum catholicorum qui vitam mores et conversacionem dicte Angelinae agnoverint per spacium decem annorum antequam inquisitio intravenit in civitate Barcinone... (CARBONELL *ca.* 1487–1507, fol. CLIV).

<sup>33</sup> For this notion see EYMERICH 1821, 52

<sup>34</sup> For this notion see ARGÜELLO 1630, 30.

<sup>35</sup> PÉREZ 2005, 134.

<sup>36</sup> Sic! It should be written the 26<sup>th</sup> of May 1497.

nesses. The names of the testifiers included in the register were: Countess of Prades Isabel de Cabrera,<sup>37</sup> Margarida de Cabrera,<sup>38</sup> wife of monsignor Dionis Miquel Isabel de Cabrera, theologian Berenguer Lentes, physician Miquel Montelló, vicar of Sant Cugat Antoni Peyró, and his brother Pere Peyró (*Liber descriptionis*, fol. CLIV r.). On Friday, the 26<sup>th</sup> of May, prosecutor Martin Ximenez stated that Berenguer Lentes had to be rejected as an eyewitness in the trial due to the close relationship he maintained with the accused.<sup>39</sup> However, two days later, inquisitor Pariente declared that Lentes would be kept as a witness in the case against Vilella.<sup>40</sup>

When Angelina was brought in from the secret jail, the inquisitor once again read the list of offences in the presence of compurgators, and asked Angelina whether she was guilty of them, to which she declared innocence. Next, the witnesses were sworn to tell the truth and inquisitors asked them if they believed the accused was telling the truth. No further questions were asked.<sup>41</sup> During the trial, all compurgators unanimously stated that they believed that the accused, Angelina Vilella, had sworn honestly.<sup>42</sup> Then, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June 1497, in an auto-de-fe held in Palau Reial Major in the presence of inquisitors Pere Pariente, Pere Buada, and presbyter of Urgell, Bernat Teixedor, the public prosecutor, Martin Ximenez, requested from Angelina to abjure heresy. Angelina compliantly abjured all heresies and especially those of which she was suspected. The inquisitors therefore read her sentence, declaring her to be a light suspect of the crimes which she had abjured and, as these suspicions and crimes could not be left unpunished, the inquisitorial authorities penanced her by forbidding her to commit any heretical or Judaizing offences in the future. Since Angelina was released from jail with only a light suspi-

---

<sup>37</sup> Isabel de Cabrera (ca. 1504†) was the Countess of Prades and a Catalan noblewoman from the House of Cabrera. A daughter of Bernat Joan de Cabrera (1400–1466), Count de Mòdica and Violant de Prades (ca. 1395–1471) baroness de Caccano. In 1455 Isabel got married to Joan Ramon Folc de Cardona, Count of Cardona and Count-consort of Prades, as well as Viscount of Vilamur with whom she did not have children (PONS I GURI 2001, 155–224).

<sup>38</sup> Illegitimate daughter of Bernat Joan de Cabrera (CARBONELL I DE BALLESTER ET ALII 1996).

<sup>39</sup> ...clarissime affectatus delate et quia multi ex parentella illius sunt reconciliati et condempnati CARBONELL ca. 1487–1507, fol. CLIV.

<sup>40</sup> ...quod testis ille est christianus et in theologia magister vir apud bonos et vulgares bone fame et testimony et alias propter justas causas animum suum moventes admisit illum in testem una cum aliis desuper scriptis... (CARBONELL ca. 1487–1507, fol. CLIV v.).

<sup>41</sup> For this notion see: ARGÜELLO 1630, 580.

<sup>42</sup> ...et virtute dicti juramenti dixit se credere illam Angelinam verum jurasse (CARBONELL ca. 1487–1507, fol. CLV v.).

cion (*de leviter*) of heresy, her property was returned to her.<sup>43</sup>

Employing the defence of compurgation was a risky tactic due to its involvement of compurgators whose depositions could not be influenced, thus putting the fate of the accused in their hands. However, this tactic proved highly strategic and calculative in the case against Angelina Vilella. In the following decades compurgation remained a defence form frequently used in the inquisitorial proceedings, although it contradictorily conflicted with one of the significant characteristics of the legal inquisitorial system, the secrecy, by including freely elected eyewitnesses.

While the Renaissance blossomed in the Apennine Peninsula, in the lands we now call Spain, the Middle Ages lasted longer than in the rest of Europe, prolonged by severe religious politics of Catholic Kings and their pervading ideas of religious homogenization through cultural assimilation of religious minorities. According to the concept of historical continuity, every period of great intellectual and artistic expression is necessarily preceded by one of lesser cultural excellence. Menéndez and Pelayo had thus metaphorically described Hispanic fifteenth century as »una especie de pórtico de nuestro Renacimiento«. <sup>44</sup> In this transitional period, Pere Miquel Carbonell, like many other humanists of the time, adjusted to the political and social climate. However, although humanism revived ancient Greek and Roman models, it was never a fundamentally secular movement and it often turned to religious questions. Carbonell's work affirms this notion as this characteristic is repeatedly present as one of the main features of his significant opus for future historians to follow.

## Sources

ARGÜELLO 1630 = G. I. Argüello de, *Instrucciones del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición*, Madrid: Imprenta Real.

BOFARULL I DE SARTORIO 1864 = M. Bofarull i de Sartorio, *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón, tomo XXVII, Opúsculos inéditos del cronista catalán Pedro Miguel Carbonell I*, Barcelona: Publicada de real orden por su archivero, D. Manuel de Bofarull y de Sartorio.

BOFARULL I DE SARTORIO 1865 = M. Bofarull i de Sartorio, *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón, tomo XXVIII, Opúsculos inéditos del cronista catalán Pedro Miguel Carbonell II*, Barcelona: Publicada de

---

<sup>43</sup> CARBONELL ca. 1487–1507, fol. CLVII.

<sup>44</sup> MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO 1959, 11.

real orden por su archivero, D. Manuel de Bofarull y de Sartorio.

CARBONELL ca. 1487–1507 = P. M. Carbonell, *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemmnationis hereticorum ALIAS de Gestis Hereticorum*, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón: Regum sobre negocios de la Inquisición de Fernando II, Real Cancellaria registros numero 3684.

EYMERICH 1821 = N. Eymerich, *Manual de inquisidores, para uso de las inquisiciones de España y Portugal ó Compendio de la obra titulada Directorio de inquisidores*, Montpellier: Imprenta de Feliz Aviñon.

## References

ADROHER BEN 1957 = M<sup>a</sup>. Adroher Ben, »Estudios sobre el manuscrito Petri Michaelis Carbonelli adversaria. 1492 Del Archivo Capitular de Gerona«, *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins* 11, 109–162.

ALCOBERRO PERICAY 1993 = A. Alcoberro Pericay, »L'Arxiu Reial de Barcelona i la historiografia humanista: les Cròniques d'Espanya de Pere Miquel Carbonell«, *Pedralbes: Revista d'història moderna* 13, 515–524.

ALCOBERRO PERICAY 2000 = A. Alcoberro Pericay, "Les Cròniques d'Espanya de Pere Miquel Carbonell: algunes claus per a la seva lectura", *Història, economia i cultura* 40, 79–98.

ALCOBERRO PERICAY 1994 = A. Alcoberro Pericay, »Pere Miquel Carbonell, historiador, humanista, i la historiografia Catalana del segle XV«, *Pedralbes: Revista d'història moderna* 14, 209–220.

BADIA 1996 = L. Badia, »El terme 'Humanisme' no defineix la cultura literària dels nostres escriptors en vulgar dels segles XIV i XV«, *L'Avenç* 200, 20–23.

BADIA 1980 = L. Badia, »L'humanisme català: formació i crisi d'un concepte historiogràfic" in: *Actes del Clivè Colloqui Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes*, Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 41–70.

BLÁZQUEZ 1990 = J. M. Blázquez, *La Inquisición en Cataluña, El Tribunal del Santo Oficio de Barcelona (1487–1820)*, Toledo: Editorial Arcano.

BUTIÑÁ 2002 = J. Butiñá, »Barcelona, Nápoles y Valencia: tres momentos del Humanismo en la Corona de Aragón«, *Revista de filología románica (Extra Issue)* 3, 91–107.

- CARBONELL I DE BALLESTER ET ALII 1996 = J. Carbonell i de Ballester et alii, *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana digital* in: [HTTPS://WWW.ENCICLOPEDIA.CAT/EC-GEC-0013192.XML](https://www.enciclopedia.cat/EC-GEC-0013192.XML)
- CARBONELL MANILS 2016 = J. Carbonell Manils, »Inscripcions itàliques en el ms. 69 de l'ACG de Pere Miquel Carbonell. Primers resultats« in: A. Guzmán / Almagro X. Espluga / M. Ahn (eds.), *Pere Miquel Carbonell i el seu temps (1434–1517)*, Barcelona: Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres, 41–77.
- COROLEU 2010 = A. Coroleu, »Christian Classics and Humanism in Renaissance Barcelona: the case of Pere Miquel Carbonell (1434–1517)«, in: *Humanism and Christian Letters in Early Modern Iberia*, edited by Barry Taylor and Alejandro Coroleu, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 37–46.
- COROLEU 2016 = A. Coroleu, »Pere Miquel Carbonell i les novetats que venien d'Itàlia« in: A. Guzmán / Almagro X. Espluga / M. Ahn (eds.), *Pere Miquel Carbonell i el seu temps (1434–1517)*, Barcelona: Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres, 133–141.
- COROLEU 2009 = A. Coroleu, »Printed Sacred Text in Early Modern Barcelona (1480– 1530)«, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 86(6), 743–750.
- COROLEU 2014 = A. Coroleu, »Printing and Reading Italian Latin Humanism in Renaissance Europe (ca. 1470–ca. 1540)«, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- DU CANGE 1678 = C. F. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis 2.*, Niort: L. Favre.
- ESPLUGA 2014 = X. Espluga, »Materiales anticuarios en el ms. ACG 69 de Pere Miquel Carbonell«, in: *El Imperio y las Hispanias de Trajano a Carlos V: clasicismo y poder en el arte español*, eds. Sandro de Maria and Manuel Parada López de Corselas, Bononia: Bononia University Press, 367–382.
- ESPLUGA / GUZMÁN 2010 = X. Espluga / A. Guzmán, »Inscripciones béticas en la sylloge epigráfica de Pere Miquel Carbonell, archivero de Fernando el Católico« in: J. M. Maestre / J. Pascual Barea / L. Charlo Brea (eds.), *Humanismo y Pervivencia del Mundo Clásico. Homenaje al profesor Antonio Prieto IV/4*, Madrid / Alcañiz: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, CSIC, 2255–2262.
- FORT COGUL 1973 = E. Fort Cogul, *Catalunya i la Inquisició*, Barcelona: Editorial aedos.
- GONZÁLEZ GERMAIN 2016 = G. González Germain, »Pere Miquel Carbonell i

- l'inici dels estudis epigràfics a Catalunya» in: A. Guzmán / Almagro X. Espluga / M. Ahn (eds.), *Pere Miquel Carbonell i el seu temps (1434-1517)*, Barcelona: Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres, 77-107.
- GUZMÁN ALMAGRO 2002 = A. Guzmán Almagro, «La notícia de Pere Miquel Carbonell a propòsit d'una inscripció tarragonina (cu. 11,4426; RIT 693)», *Sylloge epigraphica Barcinonensis: SEBarc* 4, 21-30.
- GUZMÁN ALMAGRO / ESPLUGA / AHN 2016 = A. Guzmán Almagro / X. Espluga / M. Ahn (eds.), *Pere Miquel Carbonell i el seu temps (1434-1517)*, Barcelona: Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres.
- LEA 1906 = H. C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain III*, New York: The MacMillan Company.
- MADURELL MARIMÓN / RUBIÓ BALAGUER 1955 = J<sup>M</sup>. Madurell Marimón / J. Rubió Balaguer, *Documentos para la historia de la imprenta y librería en Barcelona (1474-1553)*, Barcelona: Gremios de Editores, de libreros y de maestros impresores.
- MAYER 2016 = M. Mayer, «A tall de conclusió. Nemo libris et uxori deservire potest: la passió d'un bibliòfil, Pere Miquel Carbonell» in A. Guzmán Almagro / X. Espluga / M. Ahn (eds.), *Pere Miquel Carbonell i el seu temps (1434-1517)*, Barcelona: Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres, 225-243.
- MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO 1959 = M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Poetas de la corte de Don Juan II*, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- PÉREZ 2005 = J. Pérez, *The Spanish Inquisition*, New Haven / London: Yale University Press.
- PETRONIUS 2000 = A. Petronius, *Satyricon*, Indianapolis / Cambridge: Hackett Publishing.
- PONS I GURI 2001 = J<sup>M</sup>. Pons i Guri, «Les jurisdiccions dels vescomtats de Cabrera i de Bas, l'any 1527», *Revista de Dret Històric Català*, Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Jurídics 1, 155-224.
- SETAIOLI 2011 = A. Setaioli, «Arbitri Nugae Petronius' Short Poems in the Satyrica, The Omnipotence of Gold (Petr. 137.9)» *Peter Lang, Band* 165, 329-345.
- TOLDRÀ 2007 = M. Toldrà, «El testament de Pere Miquel Carbonell» in E. Miralles / J. Solervicens (eds.), *El (re)descobrimet de l'edat moderna: Estudis en homenatge a Eulàlia Duran*, Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona, 9-31.

- TOLDRÀ ET ALII 2013 = M. Toldrà, »Exposició virtual: Pere Miquel Carbonell i els llibres (col·lecció del CRAI Biblioteca de Reserva)« in: [www.crai.ub.edu/es/node/1318](http://www.crai.ub.edu/es/node/1318)
- VILALLONGA 1988 = M. Vilallonga, *Dos opuscles de Pere Miquel Carbonell*, Barcelona: Asociación de Bibliófilos de Barcelona (edició limitada).
- VILALLONGA 2001 = M. Vilallonga, »Humanisme Català«, *Estudi General* 21, *Revista de la Facultat de Lletres de la Universitat de Girona*, 475-490.
- VILALLONGA 1993 = M. Vilallonga, *La literatura llatina a Catalunya al segle XV*, Barcelona: Curial.
- WICKHAM 1998 = C. Wickham, »Gossip and Resistance among the Medieval Peasantry« *Past & Present* 160, 3-24.



Ивана Н. Арсић  
Научни сарадник  
Институт за друштвене науке, Београд  
[iarsic@idn.org.rs](mailto:iarsic@idn.org.rs)  
ORCID: 0000-0003-4767-8559

## **In the Middle of the Renaissance Brightness and Inquisitorial Darkness: Pere Miquel Carbonell's Case**

*Апстракт:* Овај рад се бави изучавањем дела и личности каталонског хуманисте и повереника католичких монарха, Пере Микела Карбунеља (1434–1517). Дуалност у Карбунељовом делу се исказује књижевним и научним контрастом између његове хуманистичке прозе и ангажмана у бирократским инквизицијским процесима. Циљ рада је да укаже на комплексност интелектуалне личности у периоду на прелазу епоха, чији је Карбунељ елитни представник.

*Кључне речи:* Пера Микел Карбунељ, јеретичка инквизиција, Јудео-конверти, рана ренесансна Барселона, каталонски хуманизам, *Сатирикон*, компургација.