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## **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

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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

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<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.

research, which resulted in the creation of his most significant works, such as 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 *Chròniques 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 *Chròniques 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

<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.

also reached the Iberian Peninsula. Carbonell has been studied from various perspectives: as a chronicler, archivist and biographer. However, in the last 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 Gerona'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

<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.

of his life, does not undermine his humanistic tendencies; quite the contrary, like other humanists, Carbonell was raised to follow Christian beliefs, thereby 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 reconciliationisque, 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

<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).

fortunamque suo temperat arbitrio.

...

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 Encolpius, 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 Encolpius 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 Encolpius 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*

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

*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 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

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

<sup>27</sup> WICKHAM 1998, 3–24.

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

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

counter public opinion by means of compurgation. 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>

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<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> ...indicimus assignates eidem ad se canonicè purgandum terminum quindecim dierum infra quem terminum dicta Angelina teneatur se canonicè 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.

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

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

<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.).

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 suspicion (*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.

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

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

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## Тама инквизиције и светлост усред ренесансе: случај Пера Микела Карбонела

*Апстракт:* Овај рад се бави изучавањем дела и личности каталонског хуманисте и повереника католичких монарха, Пера 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.

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