DISSIDENT
GIRONA

16th-18th centuries



Museum of Jewish History

29th October 2014 - 6th April 2015

DISSIDENT GIRONA

Part of the temporary exhibition "Girona in modern times: From the workshop to the bastion (16th-18th centuries)" Girona History Museum.

Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the population of Girona and the surrounding area was not homogeneous, but rather the contrary. In the city there were people who lived, thought, believed, felt and prayed differently to that dictated by Christian orthodoxy.

These were groups of people with beliefs that differed from those stipulated by Catholic dogma. Some continued to practice the rituals of the Jewish religion, which had ancestral roots in the city, but had been formally eliminated in 1492. The doctrines of Luther and other heretic spiritual currents also had their followers in Girona. There were also those who had romantic and sexual customs that went against the norm. Others, especially women, were the victims of accusations of sorcery or witchcraft due to their ancestral knowledge.

This exhibition presents the different ways of thinking and living which shaped part of the history of Girona during difficult times; and it highlights the interruption of a cultural, social and spiritual heritage that, despite everything, contributed to forging the city's history.



Visit the exhibition at the Girona History Museum

FORCED CONVERSIONS

In the summer of 1391, a violent attack on Girona's Call (Jewish Quarter) led many Jewish people to turn in desperation to the baptismal fonts in order to save their lives. The assault cry, that sad night of Saint Lawrence, was "baptism or death!" Years later, in the spring of 1409, the Valencian preacher Vicent Ferrer gave fierce sermons from Sant Domènec Church in order to convert the Jews, and the people of the Call were forced to listen to them confined within a wooden enclosure amid the shouts and insults of an enraged population who saw in them the cause of all their woes. After that, a large number of Jews accepted baptism. Then in February 1414, the end of the Disputation of Tortosa called for by Benedict XIII - a strong psychological offensive against Catalan Judaism - led to a new wave of baptisms in Girona, not all of them sincere. Three years later, the community of Castelló d'Empúries converted en masse. And finally, when in April 1492 King Ferdinand announced the edict of expulsion against the Jewish population of his kingdoms, most in Girona chose the only way to remain in the city and the country: Christian baptism.

Some of these conversions were sincere. But many were forced by fear and violence, made in haste, without the time or aptitude to learn the new religion. Many people embraced the new faith without conviction, without knowing its meaning or its rituals, and continued to practice the ancient Law of Moses in secret.



Detail of the Saint Marc altarpiece in the See of Manresa
Arnau Bassa (1346)
Santa Maria Basilica Collegiate of Manresa

DISSIDENCE

Following these imposed baptisms, part of the Jewish population who had been baptized Christian secretly continued to observe the Law of Moses, maintaining traditions and complying with Judaic rituals in secret. However, heterodoxy in Girona included practices other than those of the Jewish faith. In the Girona of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, there were Lutherans, reformists and people with beliefs and attitudes deemed heretical by the ecclesiastical powers. There were people who had sexual thoughts or activities considered sinful. Others cured people using arts and remedies qualified as magic and witchcraft. All of these dissident behaviours were persecuted by the dominant system in order to eradicate them from the citizenry and control how the whole population felt, believed and thought.

FORBIDDEN OBJECTS

In 1491, Francí Falcó and his wife Elionor, from Girona, were charged with Judaizing due to suspicious objects being found buried in the stable of their house in the Call, including a "metal plate in the form of a tower with Hebrew letters", in other words, a *mezuzah* (small cylinder containing a rolled up scroll bearing the Hebrew prayer Shema Yisrael).

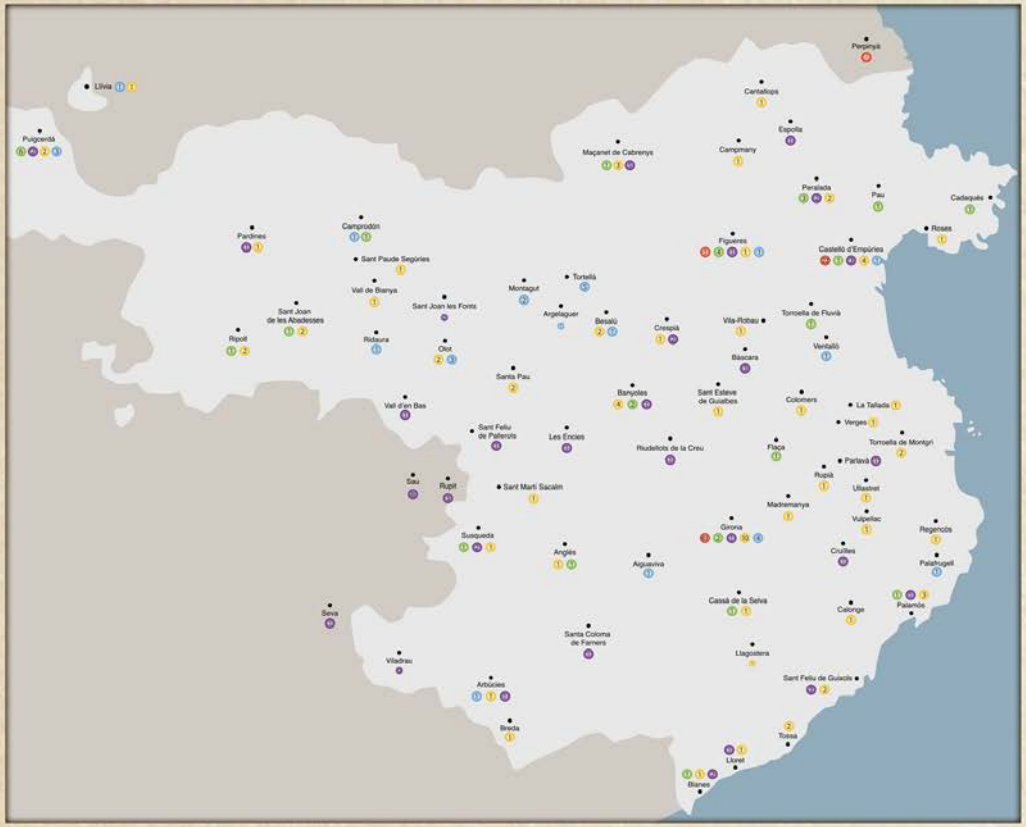
Another practice considered Judaizing was the use of amulets during childbirth to protect the mother and child from evil spirits. An amulet might be a scroll with symbols and Hebrew texts, taken from the Zohar or other Kabbalistic treatises, containing the names of protective angels.



Mezuzah case
Iron
Israel, 20th century
Jewish History Museum

Hebrew amulet with Kabbalistic writings invoking protective angels
Ink on parchment
Eastern Europe, 17th century
Jewish History Museum

MAP OF TRIALS AGAINST DISSIDENTS IN THE GIRONA REGION



- **1. Judaizing**
- **2. Heresy and apostasy:** includes apostasy (Islam), Lutheranism, mysticism and Molinosism (quietism)
- **3. Witchcraft and magical practices:** includes witchcraft, fraudulent behaviour, making supposed cures with remedies or owning a grimoire (book on demonology)
- **4. Sexual offences:** including saying that fornicating is not a sin, bigamy, bestiality and sodomy; (within the clergy) marriage and solicitation
- **5. Others:** includes profanity, sacrilege, bearing false witness or putting obstacles in the way of the Inquisition

OUR LORD ALMIGHTY

Poetic composition of the Lord's prayer, of unknown authorship (Barcelona, fifteenth century), according to the editions by Pierre Vidal (1888) and Ramon Aramon (1961)
This was a prayer said by converts from Judaism to Christianity. It demonstrates a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish tradition and the ancient history of Israel.

DANGEROUS TRADITIONS

Undertaking any of these practices was enough to raise the suspicion of Judaizing, which meant observing the Law of Moses instead of that of Christ, despite having accepted Christian baptism; and that was to commit heresy. Accusations might come from a neighbour, servant, friend or family member. The consequence was a long and hard process that almost always ended with the repression, condemnation and public punishment of the person accused.



While kneading dough, removing a small part of it to burn as a sacrifice	> Kashrut (dietary laws)
When sacrificing an animal for human consumption, first checking that the knife has no nick, and then covering the animal's spilled blood with earth	> Kashrut (dietary laws)
Cleaning the meat of all kinds of blood and fat before cooking it, and removing the sciatic nerve from the thigh of an animal	> Kashrut (dietary laws)
Not eating cheese after eating meat and rejecting hare or rabbit meat, any fish without scales, and any bird that is suspected of having been drowned	> Kashrut (dietary laws)
When the days are shorter, lighting up to ten small candles and then extinguishing them again, while saying Jewish prayers	> Jewish Calendar: Hanukkah (Lights), in memory of the miracle of the lamp of the Temple of Jerusalem following the victory of the Maccabees (second century BCE)
Around September, fasting, going barefoot all day and saying Jewish prayers; and asking family and friends for forgiveness, parents placing their hand on their children's heads, without making the sign of the cross or saying anything to them, or saying "may you be blessed by God and by me"	> Jewish calendar: Yom Kippur (Day of Forgiveness or Atonement), the most important festival on the Jewish calendar
Around Easter time, celebrations with unleavened bread, eating lettuce, celery and other vegetables during these days, but not eating meat from the butcher's; and immediately washing the dishes and cooking utensils with ashes after eating	> Jewish calendar: Pesach (Passover), in memory of the hastened departure from Egypt and the bitterness of years in the desert
In early autumn, making huts from branches and green leaves in the courtyards of houses as a place to gather to eat and invite family and friends	> Jewish calendar: Sukkot (Feast of Tabernacles), in memory of the precariousness of the material living conditions in the desert during the exodus from Egypt
Wearing amulets with supposedly magical properties during childbirth; and after childbirth, the woman waiting forty days before entering a church	> Life cycle customs: maternity and procreation
Washing a seven-day-old baby with water containing gold, silver, pearls, wheat, oats and other things, saying specific words	> Life cycle customs: birth
When a person is about to die, turning them towards the wall	> Life cycle customs: death
Washing the body of a deceased person with hot water before shrouding them with a new fabric, putting clothes on them, and placing a coin or jewel in their mouth	> Life cycle customs: death
Upon the death of someone close, as a sign of mourning, throwing water from the jugs and jars of the house, eating fish and olives, but not meat, on the ground, and not leaving the house for a year	> Life cycle customs: death and mourning
At the table, taking a glass of wine in hand, saying specific words over it and giving it to each person to drink a sip	> Domestic rituals
Observing the Sabbath, which begins on Friday evening by lighting lamps and ceasing to do any manual work, even cooking	> Sabbath, day consecrated to God
Changing towels and sheets on Saturday, putting on clean clothes (to hide this, changing them again on Sunday), and eating only cold food cooked on Friday	> Sabbath, day consecrated to God

FORBIDDEN BOOKS

The possession of books forbidden by the ecclesiastical authorities was considered serious heresy. In some houses of converted families were found Judaic texts, Catalan translations of the Hebrew Bible or books referring to the history and tradition of Israel. Also, some private libraries were classified as heretical because they contained books by Luther or enlightened authors such as Voltaire. The Inquisition confiscated them, often burned them and always punished their owners.

The type of book betrayed the tendencies of its owner:
Judaizing
- The Torah or scroll containing Jewish Law (in Hebrew)
- *The Old Testament* (in Catalan, translated directly from Hebrew)
- *Psalters* or prayer books (in Catalan, translated directly from Hebrew)
- De *Bello Judaico* by Flavius Josephus (known as the *Jucefus*)
- *Antiquities of the Jews* by Flavius Josephus
- *Visión delectable* by Alfonso de la Torre

Lutheranism and other cults
- Any work by Luther
- *Histoire del etablissement des moynes mendiants*, Avignon, 1767
- *Atajo espiritual para llegar el alma segura, y en breve, à la intima union con Dios*

Enlightenment/Liberalism
- *Letres de madame la marquise de Pompadour*, London, 1774
- *Voiage de Robertson aux terres australes*, Amsterdam, 1767
- *Romans, et contes philosophiques, par Mr. Voltayre*, London, 1773
- *De l'importance des opinions religieuses, su autor M. Necker*, London, 1788
- A manuscript entitled *Historia del divorcio* (History of divorce)

Diabolical practices, magic or witchcraft
- *Lemegeton Clavicula Salomonis* (grimoire or treatise on demonology)

THE INQUISITION IN CATALONIA

The Catholic Kings requested that Pope Sixtus III create a tribunal to control and unify their kingdoms under one religion. In 1480 the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition was officially established in Castile, designed primarily to persecute Judaizing converts.

Its implementation in Catalonia met strong opposition from the Catalan government and the Councillors of Barcelona, alleging that the country already had an Inquisition (of medieval origin) and stating that in Catalonia there was no need for the control and repression of Judaizers because, they said, there virtually were none. In fact, there was particular opposition to foreign intervention "against the liberties and laws of Catalonia". Finally, in 1484 King Ferdinand was able to impose the model of Spanish Inquisition on Catalonia.

The tribunal worked with great zeal to end the heresy of converts and carried out a brutal persecution in a very short space of time. Between 1484 and 1503, 1,263 people were tried, of whom 609 were burned in effigy, and 629 were burned alive. By 1503, there were almost no Judaizers in Catalonia and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries few descendants of converts suffered the repression of the Inquisition. In 1623, Jeroni Pujades wrote that "there are usually very few autos-da-fé in this Inquisition (in Barcelona) because there is no Judaism here...".



THE INQUISITION IN GIRONA

The Catalan tribunal was based in Barcelona. Due to an outbreak of the plague, it was moved to Girona between August 1490 and June 1491, returning in the summer of 1494. During the time the tribunal was in the city, 47 people were tried for Judaizing; among them, 41 were burned in effigy because they had fled and 8 were burned alive. In 1504 and 1505, the tribunal returned to Girona, issuing two convictions in effigy and two more to the ships' galleys. In 1593, and again due to an outbreak of the plague in Barcelona, it was moved back to the city.

Usually in Girona, however, as in other Catalan cities, the Inquisition delegation consisted of just a few members: the notary, the commissioner, the lieutenant, the jailer and some guards. The so-called *familiars* (lay collaborators of the Inquisition) were informants and acted as intermediaries between the accused and the court. In 1600, in Girona province, at least 99 towns and villages had *familiars* of the Inquisition. By way of example, there were 9 in Girona; 6 in Olot; 5 in Castelló d'Empúries and La Bisbal; 4 in Sant Feliu de Guíxols and Torroella de Montgrí; 3 in Camprodon, and 2 in Besalú.

In places where there was a delegation of the tribunal, it tended to have a house or headquarters. In larger towns, the headquarters had a large stone shield outside, which sported a cross, the Christian symbol, a sword to represent the persecution of heresy and an olive branch symbolizing reconciliation through repentance. This shield of the Inquisition may have been on Sant Domènec convent, headquarters of the Holy Office in Girona. There is a year engraved there, 1789, and a name, Miquel Tomàs, possibly a prominent character in the city's inquisitorial delegation.



Shield of the house or headquarters of the Inquisition in Girona
Stone
Girona, 18th century
Archaeological Museum of Catalonia-Girona

CHRONOLOGY OF THE COURT OF INQUISITION IN CATALONIA

1184 – Founding document of the Inquisition in Europe, signed by Pope Lucius III
1232 – Pope Gregory IX and Ramon de Penyafort organize and shape the Inquisition in Catalonia: the inquisitors are made permanent and their territories are defined
1478 – Papal bull of Pope Sixtus IV. Most convictions are at the stake
1483 – The Pope, at the request of the Kings, appoints Friar Tomás de Torquemada Inquisitor of the Kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia and the Principality of Catalonia
1484 – The Inquisitor Torquemada appoints Friars Joan Franco and Guillem Caselles Inquisitors of the Principality of Catalonia, but the authorities of Barcelona and Lleida do not allow them to act
1486 – The Inquisitor Torquemada appoints Master Joan Crespo Inquisitor to the Bishoprics of Lleida and Huesca and the Lleida authorities agree to provide him with support for his actions
1487 –Torquemada appoints Friar Alonso Spina Inquisitor to Tarragona, Barcelona, Girona and Vic. The Councillors of Barcelona and the diputats del General (representatives of the General) swear to provide support for his actions. First sentences against four converts in Lleida and first procession of fifty convicted converts in Barcelona
1489 – Start of proceedings against converts in Tortosa. First procession of twenty-seven convicted converts in Tarragona
1490 – Start of proceedings against converts in Girona. First procession of forty-five convicted converts in Balaguer
1491 - First sentencing of thirty-three fugitive converts in Girona
1492 - Conquest of the kingdom of Granada, the last Muslim kingdom on the Iberian Peninsula. Torquemada dismisses Friar Alonso Spina and replaces him with Antonio de Contreras and Pedro Pariente. From Granada, Royal Order of baptism or expulsion of all Jews in the Spanish kingdoms. On October 12th, Christopher Columbus lands on the island of Guanahani (Caribbean)
1495 – First procession of twenty-two convicted converts in Perpignan
1502 – Royal Order of baptism or expulsion for Muslims
1536 – The Inquisition established in Portugal
1540 – Council of Trent
1556 – The monarchy defends Catholicism against the Lutheran Reformation. War with the Netherlands
1558 – War with England, which defends the Lutherans
1565 – War with France, which protects the Calvinists
1609 – Expulsion of the Moriscos (descendents of Muslim converts) from Valencia
1614 – Rejection of fire as a punishment for witches
1618-1648 – First stage of the Thirty Years' War (Protestants against Catholics)
1640 – The Catalan Revolt (the Reapers' War). A Catalan inquisitor is demanded. The Catalan Inquisition is in operation until 1653
1665 – Theatre productions are banned
1700 – Rupture of absolutism and the Inquisition
1746 – Economic progress
1759 – Influence of encyclopaedists
1767 – Expulsion of the Jesuits from the territories of the Spanish Crown
1808 – War of Independence. Reactionaries are identified with the Inquisition. During the short reign of Joseph Bonaparte, the Inquisition is abolished
1812 –Cádiz Courts. First abolition of the Inquisition (1813)
1814 – Restoration of the tribunal, with more of a political than religious impact
1834 – Abolition of the Inquisition by the Minister Martínez de la Rosa

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE OF THE INQUISITION IN BARCELONA

In 1820, as part of the popular euphoria caused by the Riego uprising that led to the Liberal Triennium, the headquarters of the Inquisition in Barcelona was attacked and burned to the ground. This meant the destruction of files containing most of the trials carried out in Catalonia between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. The possibility of knowing its history in depth was therefore lost forever.



Destruction of the Inquisition House in Barcelona
Hippolyte Lecomte engraving
Barcelona, 1820
City of Barcelona Historical Archives

ACTS OF FAITH (AUTOS-DA-FÉ)

These were the public ceremonies with which the Inquisition ended trials. They consisted of a sermon, a joint profession of faith and a religious procession. Those who had been tried, wearing defamatory symbols, followed the procession led by the *familiars* (lay collaborators) of the Inquisition. They climbed the scaffold, where they heard the judgements and then their sentences.



Auto-da-fé (Act of faith) and procession to the stake
Engraved in *Historia Inquisitionis* by Philipp van Limborch
Amsterdam, 1693
National Library of Catalonia

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, acts of faith were filled with great drama, in accordance with the spirit of the times. They were very closely related to religious theatre performances, promoted by the Church in its desire to indoctrinate people against heresies. They were punitive and expiatory ceremonies, and also spectacles designed to educate the masses. But while in Castile they were overcrowded, steeped in high drama, and attended by the highest local authorities, in Catalonia they were lacklustre and modest events, often without an official representative, when the Councillors of Barcelona refused to attend. The Barcelona inquisitors testify to the poverty of the acts of faith conducted there, writing in 1621: "this Inquisition is different in that the acts of faith are not carried out with the grandeur and decency (...) with which other inquisitions are held; this is a very poor inquisition".

Triumphant faith, by Francisco de Garau

One of the most dramatic acts of faith to be held in Catalan countries was in Palma de Mallorca in 1691, trying the descendants of converted Jews (*xuetes*). Some were burned alive, many others were burned in effigy and others received severe sentences. That bloody act of faith, as well as the accusation, denunciation and persecution of the Majorcan Judaizing population, are described in detail in a text written by the hand of the inquisitor who led the trial, and who was from Girona: Francisco Garau.


LA FE TRIVNFANTE
EN QVATRO
AVTOS

The triumphant faith in four acts held in Mallorca by the Holy Office of the Inquisition, in which there were eighty-eight defendants and of the thirty-seven "relaxed" there were only three unrepentants / expressed by R. F. Francisco Garau
Majorca: the widow Guasp Printing House, 1691
The Montserrat Library



Records of the Inquisition's actions in Girona
Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries
Girona Historical Archives
a) Notarial register Girona-5, no. 767, by the notary Benet Casellas (from 29th December 1572 to 26th September 1575).
b) Notarial register Girona-5, no. 769, by the notary Benet Casellas (from 30th April 1585 to 13th October 1588).
c) Notarial register Girona-6, no. 662, by the notary Joan Miquel Savarres (from 20th April 1626 to 19th August 1630). Includes a proclamation against the French teachers suspected of bringing Lutheran ideas to the city.

THE INQUISITORIAL TRIALS

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the tribunal mostly tried Judaizers. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was dedicated mainly to suppressing reformist currents associated with Lutheranism. Some peculiar cases stand out in relation to Girona, such as that of Benet Ferrer, born in Camprodon and burned alive in Madrid for heresy; or the outbreak of Lutheranism in Peralada, which led to the conviction of 10 of the town's inhabitants. The Inquisition also persecuted sodomy, cases of which are documented in Girona, like that of the Priest of Els Angels shrine, Joan Pons, accused by his altar boy. Witches, on the other hand, were not very often the object of inquisitorial trials because the inquisitors gave little credence to such allegations. It was the local civil courts, which judged many people and found them guilty of ancient actions, customs and practices that escaped the understanding of the local people.



The penitents' sanbenito



The *samarra* or tunic with drawings of flames and fiendish faces indicates that the condemned has not repented and is to be burned alive.



Fuego revolto
The repentant prisoner, condemned at the stake, was shown pity and executed before being burned.



Inquisitorial procession to the act of faith, with authority figures, inquisitors and the accused

Engravings in *Historia Inquisitionis* by Philipp van Limborch
Amsterdam, 1693
National Library of Catalonia

Trial of Joana Libiana (1495), Joan Pons (1605), Elisabet Martina (1620) and Benet Ferrer (1621)

Dialogues based on statements collected by Manuel de Bofarull (1864), Jaume Riera (2014) Antoni Pladevall (1986) and Josep M. Casas (1975).
Voices: Cristina Cervià and Jordi Subirà

SENTENCES AND PUNISHMENTS

An Inquisitorial trial began with the denunciation which, always anonymous, warned the inquisitors of dissent, whether true or otherwise. Thus was the macabre machinery of the Inquisition activated, starting with a detailed investigation of the behaviour of each accused person, which led to his or her arrest. Following an initial interrogation, the accusation was officially formulated. Torture was practiced not only in inquisitorial courts but also in all other types of court. People were taken and shackled, and prison conditions were subhuman, regardless of the institution the prison was run by.

Following the accusation, interrogation and torture, the court passed a sentence, which was made public with great drama during the celebration of the act of faith. The principal sentences were, from lowest to highest severity: reconciliation (if no evidence was found for the accusation); de *levi* abjuration (for a misdemeanor); *vehementi* abjuration (for a serious crime) and "relaxation", which meant death at the stake. If the accused had fled, he or she was tried and burnt in effigy. As it was a religious institution, the Inquisition could not kill people, so the secular arm executed death sentences.



Stocks from Foixà Castle
Wood and iron
Fourteenth?-sixteenth? centuries
Girona Museum of Art

SANBENITO

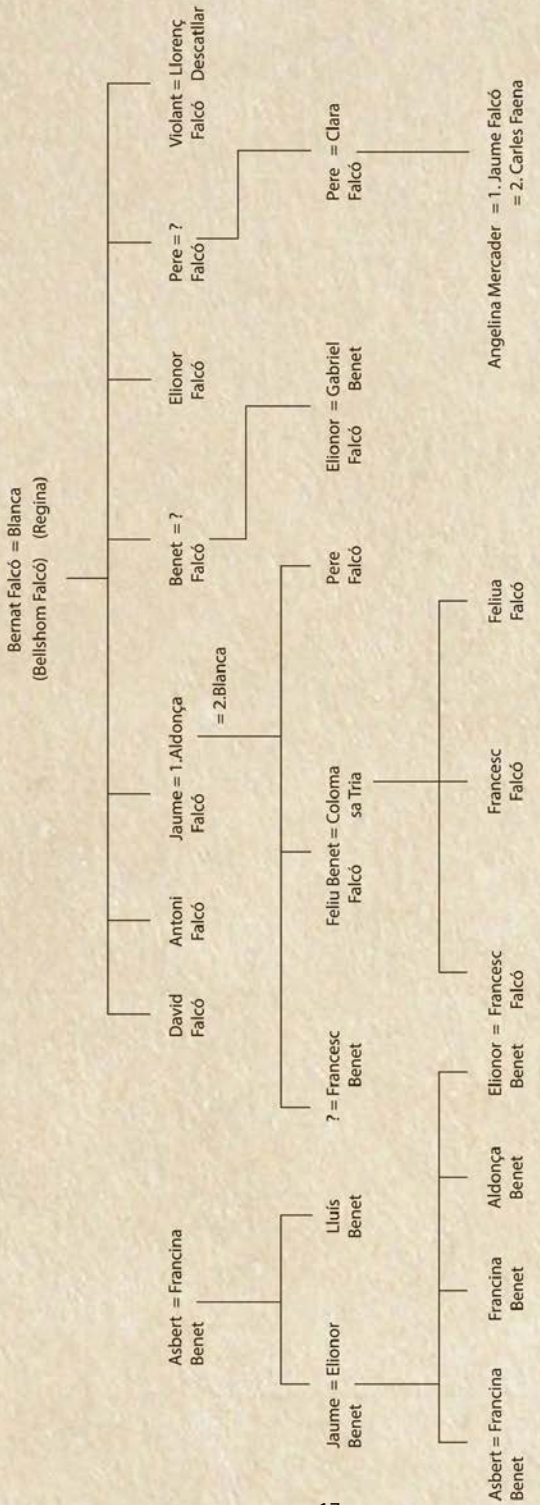
Those condemned by the Inquisition were obliged to cover themselves with sackcloths known as sanbenitos (penitential tunics). These symbolized psychological and social punishment and brought infamy to them and their families. They had a red cross painted on the chest and another on the back and had to be worn over clothes for the length of time ruled by the Inquisitorial sentence. Once this was over, they were hung in a church, in full view of everyone, for the perpetual scorn of the whole family.

Sanbenitos were not well regarded by the families of victims of the Inquisition, and were often taken down over the years. We know that in Barcelona they were exhibited in Santa Caterina Church. In Girona, this took place in Sant Domènec, but they were removed in 1569 and sent to Barcelona, where they also soon disappeared. By the 18th century, almost none remained in Catalonia.

The only sanbenitos preserved in Spain are in Galicia. They are from the 17th century and found in Tui, where they were exhibited for many years in the cloister of the Cathedral. They are now preserved in the Diocesan Museum.



Sanbenito of a man "relaxed" in effigy by the Inquisition
Linen and oil painting
Tui (Galicia), 1619
Diocesan Museum of Tui-Vigo



The Girona families Falcó and Benet were particularly castigated by the Inquisition
(In bold, names of family members tried by the Tribunal of the Holy Office)

OBLIVION AND SURVIVAL: THE TESTIMONY OF NAMES

In the Girona of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, there were people who carried out their dissent in absolute secrecy, surviving it all to preserve their stories in anonymity. Others, however, saw their secret life discovered, denounced, persecuted and eradicated. The repression of those who acted in contravention of the norm led people to the stake or life imprisonment, brought ruin to many families, caused social conflicts and notably impoverished the cultural fabric of the citizenry.

But the passage of these people through the history of the city has not been lost to oblivion. The trail of their attitudes, traditions and beliefs has survived in the documents of archives, which have preserved the names of those who lived, loved and prayed against the norm.

They were called Blanca, Ferrer, Angelina, Elionor, Dalmau, Llorenç, Joana, Benet, Joan, Elisabet, Jean, Guillaume, Jeroni, Estelina... their names are now a testimony to and memory of their stories and guard the secrets of lives often lived under a false name, which supplanted, through forced baptism, the true first name with which they began life.



Blanca, female convert, from Girona, was reported for having forsworn the new Christian faith and returned to Judaism. She lived in Girona, in a well-positioned family, widow of the convert Pere from Banyoles. She fled to Portugal in 1410, with her second husband, **Ferrer de Montcada**, a baptized Jew and member of a lineage of Barcelona doctors, with whom she returned to the faith of Moses. Queen Yolande of Aragon ordered her persecution, declaration of apostasy and confiscation of property.

Llorenç Badós, convert, was in Girona during the Civil War in 1462; he defended the city in the siege of the Força, where he served Queen Juana Enríquez and Prince Ferdinand; he subsequently became personal physician to the Prince and received many assets and favours from him. In 1503, after his death, he was accused of Judaizing and tried and condemned by the Inquisition in Barcelona. His wife **Joana Badosa** had been burned alive for the same reason years earlier.

Angelina was the daughter of Elionor and Dalmau Mercader. She was tried in the first act of faith to be held in Girona, on 14th February 1491, accused of Judaizing. As she had fled Girona, she was burned in effigy. Her father, **Dalmau**, was also convicted and burned in effigy at the same trial. Her mother, **Elionor,** was burned alive in Barcelona four years later.

Jean de Espuche was a tailor of French origin living in Banyoles. Around 1600, the Inquisition tried him for having Lutheran tendencies, having declared publicly that the Pope was concerned only with enriching himself and that clergymen were women chasers. He was sentenced to reclusion in the monastery and to be educated in the Catholic faith.

Guillaume Roset, of French origin, lived in Maçanet de Cabrenys in the early 17th century. He was reported to the Inquisition for declaring that "fornicating is not a sin". He tried to convince the tribunal that he had said it as a joke, and to clarify, added that he had said that it was not a sin "if she was not dead". The inquisitors cannot have found the story amusing, however, as they condemned him to a year in exile and a pilgrimage to Montserrat Monastery to confess and take communion.

Friar **Jeroni Ferrer Sitjà,** prior of Sant Miquel de Cruïlles, was in 1608 accused of possessing a banned book, *La clau menor de Salomó* (The minor key of Solomon). This treatise, erroneously attributed to King Solomon, was a compendium of magical spells and rituals for invoking demons and other spirits. The accuser was a woman who had been his mistress for over twenty years and with whom he had had a dozen children, hurt because the prior (already old and fearing God's judgment) had abandoned her. He was severely reprimanded and fined 200 pounds.

Estelina's lament

Schma Israel…
Ha-dbasch hu mar.
Hear, O Israel…
honey is bitter in my
mouth.

I speak my false name
with the very dread
of wheat before the scythe.

Hear, O Israel,
The stars are no more...

I am locked in a prison,
a prey to all ills,
like a flower whose colour
is flown.

Hear, O Israel...
The sky above me darkens.

A Jewish girl from Gerona,
I am stripped of all I had,
like a sea without waves.

Hear, O Israel
I go barefoot on the ice.

Death is tapping at the door,
his icy fingers grasp me,
and he snatches me away.

Manuel Forcano, 2006

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MUSEU FREDERIC MARÈS

Caminos de Sefarad
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Photos: front page of an Inquisition record from the Historic Archives of Girona, Legal deposit GI.1868-2014