

*SABEN MOLTES COSES CONTRA MOLTS CONVESSOS  
DE XATIVA E DE VALÈNCIA.*

CONVERTED JEWS IN THE KINGDOM  
OF VALENCIA: DENUNCIATION AND SOCIAL  
BETRAYAL IN LATE 15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY XÀTIVA

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**ABSTRACT**

The article analyses the mechanisms of denunciation used in the early years of operation of the Royal Inquisition court of Valencia in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. Our study of the testimony given by a group of old Christians who denounced various Jewish converts in the city of Xàtiva has enabled us to reconstruct how denunciation took place, and the development of the climate of social betrayal which was encouraged by the inquisitorial authorities. We have identified the informants—old Christians—and those denounced—Jewish converts—and their respective socio-professional occupations. The informants were extremely intolerant of their Jewish converso neighbours, whose attitudes they monitored. They used the new horizontal mechanisms for social control, implemented, disseminated and encouraged by the inquisitorial authorities, which encouraged old Christians to observe, monitor and report dissident behaviour and practices among Jewish converts in Valencia.<sup>1</sup>

**KEYWORDS**

Inquisition, Denunciation, Conversos, Xàtiva, Fifteenth century.

**CAPITALIA VERBA**

Inquisitio, Delatio, Conversi, Saetabis, XV saeculum.

## 1. The Breakdown in Social Cohesion Viewed from Below. A Practical Exercise in Microhistory

In this paper we shall delve into the world of converted Jews from the perspective both of the victim —the converted Jew on trial— and the accuser, including under this heading the informer who brings about the incarceration and subsequent prosecution of the converted Jew. It is known and documented that converted Jews denounced other converts —even members of their own family— during their trials, but what future research must seek to clarify is at what point during the trial these denunciations were made, as we suspect that many involved people who had already been tried or who were dead. The documentation should be used to show whether converts did indeed denounce other converts who had yet to be denounced or tried. In principle, we are inclined to believe that such denunciations were infrequent and that, while these informers have been proven to exist,<sup>2</sup> they were neither abundant nor predominant. Instead, we believe that, as has been proven, the Spanish Inquisitors' list of those suspected of practising Judaism was elaborated partly from the self-confessions made by converts during the promulgation of the edicts of grace and partly from the accusations made by neighbours, co-workers or friends who were long-standing Christians and who could sometimes be driven to make their denunciations in bad faith, as would happen with maids, who were often the source of false accusations. This paper aims to study denunciations of this type using the documentation emanated from the Inquisition. We have focused our attention on a little-known character within the history of the Inquisition —the informer— and on the setting for the denunciation and social betrayal.<sup>3</sup>

Our objective, therefore, is to change the perspective from which converted Jews are analysed and to open the issue up to a new vision. For example, when converted Jews are studied as victims of the Inquisition, and recalling the widely accepted proposal by Bennassar, who warned of the social control exercised by the Inquisition, of the 'pedagogy of fear',<sup>4</sup> observation is extended to the controllers as, in the words of Moreno,

*pero si entonces se hablaba del control social vertical, desde la institución proyectada sobre la sociedad, ahora hablamos de control social horizontal, de una suerte de "pedagogía del entorno social" que se expresa a través de la delación, en conexión con una visión del poder*

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1. This article has been written within the framework of the following research projects: *Fundamentos de identidad política: La construcción de identidades políticas urbanas en la Península Ibérica en el tránsito a la modernidad* (HAR2009-08946) and *Inquisición y sociedades urbanas. Los Tribunales de Valencia, Teruel y Cuenca entre los siglos XV-XVI* (HAR2012-34444), both funded by the Ministry of Science and Innovation of the Government of Spain. Used abbreviation: AUV, Archivo Histórico de la Universidad de Valencia.

2. The role played by informers among converted Jews has been analysed in: Caro, Julio. *Los Judíos en la España Moderna y Contemporánea*. Madrid: Itsmo, 1986: I, 295-302.

3. We apply this concept as most denouncers had close contact with the denounced, be they neighbours, co-workers, apprentices or maids of the denounced.

4. Bennassar, Bartolomé. "Modelos de mentalidad inquisitorial: métodos de su 'pedagogía del miedo'", *Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial*, Ángel Alcalá, ed. Barcelona: Ariel, 1984: 174-182.



*hecho migajas que para gobernar una sociedad ingobernable necesita del consenso. En este contexto adquiere nuevo relieve la delación como fermento del cainismo social, de ruptura social y de quiebra de la sociabilidad preexistente.*<sup>5</sup>

In this context, denunciation acquires a new form as the seed for social betrayal, social breakdown and the disintegration of existing sociability.

The inquisitorial mindset would prove a temptation for the individual, a temptation encouraged by the presence of an institutional and religious arm whose use was fully sanctioned by the powers that be. The Inquisition was therefore not only an instrument of ecclesiastical or royal power but also an instrument of power for individuals, enabling them to coerce and exclude their neighbours, and it became a kind of *guardiana de la sociabilidad*.<sup>6</sup> Maria Tausiet's thesis, published in 2000,<sup>7</sup> abounds in this perspective as, in short, it deals with the new Inquisitorial Right<sup>8</sup> (a law which enjoyed the backing of all the powers at the confluence of socio-political interests) which was used to exclude the *otro en beneficio propio*<sup>9</sup> and which would make effective use of newly introduced procedures, such as *la denuncia como medio normal de indagación y en servirse, por una simple sospecha, del arresto, y en practicar el interrogatorio y la tortura*.<sup>10</sup>

Social conflicts, through studies such as Tausiet's study of witchcraft in Aragón, reveal the development of tensions in the domestic sphere; tensions which foster social betrayal.<sup>11</sup> These tensions, brought on by the introduction of the Inquisition and the development of a new legal process which encouraged denouncement and secret testimonies, which enabled friends, neighbours, co-workers, family members and the like to make denunciations with absolute impunity, fanned the flames of this social betrayal, a betrayal which also became rife among family circles, as noted by Escudero in a recent paper on Luis Vives, which revealed that Vives' family did not appear to be one of 'harmony and solidarity' but was instead *aparece como armónica y solidaria, sino entreverada de disensiones y denuncias de unos contra otros* and

5. "where we once spoke of vertical social control, projected from the institution onto society, we now speak of horizontal social control, of a kind of 'pedagogy of the social setting' which is expressed through denunciation, in connection with a vision of crumbling power when what is needed to govern an ungovernable society is consensus". Moreno, Doris. *La invención de la Inquisición*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2004: 292-293.

6. "guardian of sociability". Mereu, Italo. *Historia de la intolerancia en Europa*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2003: 22.

7. Tausiet, María. *Ponzoña en los ojos. Brujería y superstición en Aragón*. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2000.

8. We agree with Italo Mereu's thesis, which proposes the need to define an individual and specific Inquisitorial Right which had arisen under the protection of the new types of judicial procedures developed by the Inquisition. Mereu, Italo. *Historia de la intolerancia...*: 43.

9. "other for personal gain". Moreno, Doris. *La invención de la Inquisición...*: 292-293.

10. "denouncement as a standard means of investigation, and make use of mere suspicion as sufficient grounds for an arrest and the practice of interrogation and torture". Mereu, Italo. *Historia de la intolerancia...*: 42.

11. See: Tausiet, María. *Ponzoña en los ojos...*



which reflected the cruelty of the tribunal in its prosecution of a dead woman and its horrific ruling to disinter and burn her bones.<sup>12</sup>

In the testifications studied for the purposes of this paper, some of the denunciations concerned acts committed at a much earlier date and accused people who had since died. Given that the trials have not been preserved, we do not know the final result of the investigations conducted in the wake of these depositions nor how many of those denounced were dug up and their bones burned, but the Inquisition's obsession with noting and recording these denunciations of the deceased reveals, in the words of Escudero, the *sorprendente dureza de aquella Inquisición de primera hora, y su temprana obsesión por quebrantar la fama y crédito no ya de cualquier hereje o presunto hereje, sino de cualquier persona meramente sospechosa de algo*.<sup>13</sup>

Our analysis provides a micro-social explanation of the Inquisition's actions, in line with the proposal put forward by García Cárcel.<sup>14</sup> The most interesting document used for this work is a fragment from a register of depositions made in the city of Xàtiva. Starting in November 1489 and ending in January 1490,<sup>15</sup> it is of great interest to our study as it contains numerous testimonies given by the people of Xàtiva in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. The depositions are listed in chronological order, to the tune of three or four a day, and provide a valuable source of information which is useful for reconstructing the microhistory of this corner of the Kingdom of Valencia -a corner which had, until 1492, a Jewish quarter, a community of converted Jews and a Moorish quarter. Some of the testimonies take us back in time to years before, as some individuals relate in their denunciations events that had happened 15, 20, 30 and even 50 years previously.<sup>16</sup>

I agree with Echevarría, when she states that

*Cada vez más, nos encontramos ante nuevos planteamientos metodológicos, posibles gracias al descubrimiento de nuevos fondos documentales, su relectura con los conocimientos actualizados, o bien a la aplicación de modelos tomados de otras especialidades. Otro ejemplo sería la posibilidad de escribir en géneros inexplorados hasta ahora para el campo mudéjar,*

12. "driven by disagreements and denunciations against one another". Escudero, José Antonio. "Luis Vives y la Inquisición". *Revista de Inquisición (intolerancia y derechos humanos)*, 13 (2009): 24.

13. "surprising severity of the fledgling Inquisition and its early obsession with destroying the name and reputation not just of any old heretic or alleged heretic but of anybody who was even suspected of anything". Escudero, José Antonio. "Luis Vives y la Inquisición...": 24.

14. García Cárcel, Ricardo. "Prólogo", María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos. Brujería y superstición en Aragón*. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2000: 16.

15. AUV. Varia 02-02. The proceedings appear to be incomplete, as they begin at f. 134. Nevertheless, the document is of great interest for providing a historical insight into an unknown community, that of the converted Jews of Xàtiva.

16. Within the denunciations, the testimony of Ausias Tora stretches back 20 years earlier. AUV. Varia 02-02, f. 136r. (16<sup>th</sup> November 1489). The denunciation of Asensio Miralles harks back to a period 28 or 30 years earlier. AUV. Varia 02-02, f. 143r. (21<sup>st</sup> November 1489). The deposition of wool carder Bertomeu Enguerot goes back 50 years prior to the date of his testimony. AUV. Varia 02-02, f. 162r. (6<sup>th</sup> December 1489).



*como el biográfico, que con el aporte creciente de documentación de todo tipo, y la base proporcionada por los estudios prosopográficos y de caso particulares, es al fin posible.*<sup>17</sup>

From this perspective, I propose a cross-sectional and inter-disciplinary study of otherness and segregation, viewing them from within and from below as part of a formula, the ‘history of below’ which originated from Edward Palmer Thompson and which seeks to exhume the lives of ‘ordinary’ people, in a labour which has been dubbed a veritable *hazaña de gimnasia intelectual*.<sup>18</sup>

This analysis is based upon three historical methodologies —study of the working classes, microhistory and history from below— which are highly developed within studies in Modern History and Contemporary History but which have been barely outlined within Hispanic Medievalism.

It is worth clarifying, albeit very briefly, certain issues regarding history from below. One such issue would be the danger of selecting individuals who do not share the common profile of their social group, as warned against by Sharpe,<sup>19</sup> and another would be the rejection of attempts by specialists in Contemporary History to monopolise history from below, claiming that such an approach can only be taken from the French Revolution onwards. In defence of medievalism, it must be noted that one of the pioneering works in this vein was written by Le Roy Ladurie in 1975, in his work on Montaillou.<sup>20</sup>

Amelang discussed these aspects in the 1980s, pronouncing two categorical statements, noting, on the one hand, the vast number of sources available in Spain for conducting this type of study, such as inquisitorial sources, judicial sources in the broadest sense and notarial sources, and, on the other hand, recalling that popular culture was not exclusively Christian, pointing out instead that Modern Spain was to contain popular cultures in the Jewish, converted Jewish, Islamic and Morisco vein -cultures often at odds with the official line and the elites within these separate communities.<sup>21</sup>

On the other hand, to analyse the individual being studied from such an elemental perspective as that of free will is to observe human beings as subject to their own history. In José María Perceval’s interpretation of the Morisco community, by

17. “We are increasingly finding ourselves faced with new methodological approaches made possible thanks to the discovery of new documentary sources, to existing documents being re-read in the light of updated knowledge or to the application of models taken from other areas of specialisation. One such example would be the possibility of writing in genres hitherto unexplored within the Mudejar field, such as biography, which, with an increasing supply of documentation of all kinds and the foundation provided by prosopographical studies and individual cases, has finally become possible”. Echevarría, Ana. “Los mudéjares: ¿minoría, marginados o ‘grupos culturales privilegiados’?”. *Medievalismo*, 18 (2008): 53.

18. “feat of intellectual gymnastics”. Serna, Justo; Pons, Anacleto. *Cómo se escribe la microhistoria. Ensayo sobre Carlo Ginzburg*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2000: 33.

19. Sharpe, Jim. “Historia desde abajo”, *Formas de hacer Historia*, Peter Burke, ed. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1993: 47.

20. Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel. *Montaillou aldea occitana de 1294 a 1324*. Madrid: Taurus, 1981.

21. Amelang, James S. “La cultura popular a l’Espanya moderna. Possibilitats d’investigació”. *Manuscripts: revista d’història moderna*, 3 (1986): 13.



proposing the individuality of each historical subject in his study of the Morisco collective, he rejects the invention of alterity, of otherness, based on the expression “all are one”, which he masterfully takes apart, affirming that *se construye un todo unificado llamado “morisco”, concluyendo que “todos son uno” para luego eliminarlo mediante la expulsión*.<sup>22</sup> In the case of the Jewish converts, what we are seeking to do is to x-ray this excluded, segregated, persecuted, observed, denounced, watched over and condemned group from the inside, from its diversity, its difference, its tension and its stratification. But we also want to know who were the informers and the engineers behind their downfall.

The creation of otherness, from the Western point of view, has not functioned as a duality. Instead, on many occasions, as shown in the case of the Moriscos, Christians have not *comprende en el fondo la dualidad misma que pretende al concebir un otro, sino que habla en el fondo de sí mismo*. Moriscos are part of Christian society, as the Moriscos do not exist if not within the discourse of the oppressors, the dominant discourse, in the words of José María Perceval, and, as such, when Moriscos *y por ello, cuando intente hablar, tendrá que hacerlo en las coordenadas del discurso impuesto si quiere ser entendido*.<sup>23</sup>

One way of studying otherness, in the shape of segregated or persecuted collectives, is through microhistory. This branch of History is interesting for its ability to disentangle from the sources aspects that usually go unnoticed by historians in their habitual task of writing History: to glean information through unusual and hard-to-explain news, through seemingly inconsequential data or by studying anodyne characters with little or no impact on the bigger picture or on History with a capital H.

I am not suggesting that we write—or even discuss writing—the whole of History based on microhistory. Far from it. What I am suggesting is that we can use the microhistorical method, use part histories, micro-biography, to attempt to access this vision of historical societies from below and, in the words of Jim Sharpe, *los historiadores que trabajan desde abajo han mostrado cómo la utilización imaginativa del material de la fuentes puede iluminar muchas zonas de la historia que, de lo contrario, podrían haberse visto condenadas a permanecer en la oscuridad*.<sup>24</sup>

This is precisely what microhistory proposes: access to fragments, to little bits of historical knowledge so that they can be used, at some point within the evolution of scientific knowledge, to attain a broader, more intense, dense and complex vision of historical knowledge.

22. “a united whole called ‘Morisco’ is constructed with the conclusion that ‘all are one’, only to then be eliminated through expulsion”. Perceval, José María. *Todos son uno. Arquetipos, xenofobia y racismo. La imagen del morisco en la Monarquía Española durante los siglos XVI y XVII*. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1997: 21-23.

23. “actually understood, deep down, the duality they seek by conceiving an other, but are instead talking, deep down, about themselves”; “wish to speak they must do so within the confines of the imposed discourse if they wish to be understood”. Perceval. José María. *Todos son uno...*: 21.

24. “historians working from below have shown how the imaginative use of source material can illuminate many areas of history which could otherwise have been condemned to remain in the dark”. Sharpe, Jim. “Historia desde abajo...”: 55.



Three meanings are therefore added to the microhistorical or microanalytical task proposed by Ginzburg or Grendi: one refers to sources, one to research objectives, and one to the method of knowledge and the inferences to apply. In effect, what is exceptional in Grendi's use of the word, i.e. the document which cannot be serialised but which is significant for being revealing, is one thing; it is a completely different thing to seek a subject for research which, by being exceptional in nature, could reveal historical facts or processes; and, finally, it is a different thing again to use circumstantial evidence as a mechanism for creating a cognitive paradigm.<sup>25</sup>

In the light of Christiane Stallaer's denouncement of studies into the Inquisition, in which she declares that

*la avanzada normalización de la Inquisición no ha dado lugar a la exploración de sus posibilidades comparativas. Más bien la historización del tema ha contribuido a particularizarlo como fenómeno histórico típicamente español. Aunque nadie reivindique hoy en día la singularidad (el carácter único, exclusivo) de la Inquisición, el tema sigue siendo tratado así por sus estudiosos.*<sup>26</sup>

We propose focusing our study from a perspective of universal history, understanding that the social conflicts we analyse and the social betrayal detected—things which took place in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century in cities such as Xàtiva within the context of the introduction of the Inquisition—are mechanisms of social confrontation that could have arisen at another time, in another place and with another timeline. The interesting thing would be to explain the phenomena and subsequently be able to establish guidelines for comparative analysis.

## 2. The Denunciation Mechanism. Social Ruin. Mechanisms for the Social Control of the Masses

The Inquisition tried and prosecuted alleged heretics following the relevant denunciation made about an individual or following the interrogation to which people could be subjected if there were indications that they were not leading a wholly Christian life. Said indications could be the result of self-confessions made previously by converted Jews following the promulgation of an edict of grace.

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25. Serna, Justo; Pons, Anacleto. "El ojo de la aguja. ¿De qué hablamos cuando hablamos de microhistoria?". *Ayer*, 12 (1993): 115.

26. "the advanced normalisation of the Inquisition has not led to an explanation of its comparative possibilities. Instead, historicisation of the subject has helped compartmentalise it as a historical phenomenon that is typically Spanish. While nobody now espouses the singularity (the unique and exclusive character) of the Inquisition, the subject continues to be treated as such by those studying it". Stallaert, Christiane. *Ni una gota de sangre impura. La España inquisitorial y la Alemania nazi cara a cara*. Barcelona: Círculo de lectores, 2006: 20.



With the edicts of grace promulgated by the Valencian Tribunal of the Inquisition during the early days of its operation, individuals did not initially have their assets confiscated. Instead, they only paid some fines or composite penalties which were levied at a collective level, generally the city. Thus, as shown by García Cárcel, with the edicts of grace from 1484 to 1488, the city of Valencia had to pay 11,720 pounds, Xàtiva 1.000 pounds and Gandia 700 pounds.<sup>27</sup> The action of the Inquisition during this early phase reveals, through these figures, the sheer size of the population of converted Jews in the capital of the Kingdom of Valencia and the importance of the converts in Xàtiva, the city with the second highest penalty.

In theory, it was the officials attached to the corresponding Tribunal of the Inquisition who were responsible for denouncing the heretics. In principle, it was a role assigned to the officials of the Inquisition known as *familiars*, as it was one of their main duties, but, as Cerrillo points out, *no destacan por haberla ejercido con demasiado interés ni efectividad*. Similarly, López Vela writes that documentary evidence has not proven the relevant role of *familiars* as informers.<sup>28</sup> Bennassar, meanwhile, has shown that it was not necessary to count on *familiars'* zeal in the performance of their policing duties as it was the Inquisition itself which inspired and heartily encouraged denunciation among all the inhabitants of a place, as anyone was accepted as an informer, including heretics, the excommunicated, lowlifes, criminals, even perjurers. The Inquisition turned informing into a holy activity, which was rewarded with indulgences and which positively encouraged informing by not prosecuting false witnesses. And the social control which the institution was able to develop so flawlessly was further reinforced by other factors such as the network of collaborators and informers who, inflated by the prestige of the Inquisition or terrorised by the holy fear it inspired, repeatedly incited spontaneous confessions and denunciations.<sup>29</sup> It was also possible to denounce people living in another city, with several witnesses for the Inquisition in Saragossa denouncing converted Jews who lived in Valencia and who were tried by the *Tribunal de Zaragoza*.

We have studied and identified two basic methods of making a denunciation. The first is the most orthodox and is the method which has yielded the documentation used in this paper. This is the legal testimony or denunciation which an individual submits to the relevant officials of the Inquisition and which is accompanied by the corresponding copy of the judicial act drawn up by the notary who attended the legal deposition in question. This document is very similar in formal appearance to that of an interrogation or a confession made by a defendant of the Inquisition within the context of an inquisitorial trial. The difference between the two documents is that in the denunciation the deponent denounces events they have seen or heard

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27. García Cárcel, Ricardo. *Orígenes de la inquisición española. El tribunal de Valencia*. Barcelona: Península, 1985: 74.

28. "these were not noted for having performed with much interest or to great effect". Cerrillo, Gonzalo. *Los familiares de la inquisición española*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2000: 219-221. Reference to López Vela: Cerrillo, Gonzalo. *Los familiares...*: 220.

29. Bennassar, Bartolomé. *Inquisición española: poder político y control social*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1981: 112, 116, 337.





regarding another person, without being subjected to any kind of questioning, and it generally appears to give every indication, at least in terms of formal and judicial appearance, of being a spontaneous and voluntary declaration by the person who has made it. By contrast, in the confession of a defendant, the deposition is usually preceded by a question or demand from the corresponding inquisitor and is made against their will.

In the voluntary testifications we have studied, the juridical act is registered by the notary, who first records the date of the deposition, then the first name and surname of the person testifying, their profession and, often, the street on which they live, sometimes accompanied by a geographical clarification to help pinpoint the location of the deponent,<sup>30</sup> who was then sworn in.

The notary then copied, seemingly word for word, the informer's declaration before ending the juridical document of the denunciation by noting the name and rank of the officials present when each deposition was made. Two officials are usually recorded in representation of the Inquisition, with any of the following people tending to appear indistinctly at each testification: a *familiar*, a *alguacil* ("bailiff"), a member of the Order of Preachers, a commissioner and a gaoler.<sup>31</sup>

This role call of officials provides an elegant and practical reflection of the day-to-day workings of the Tribunal of the Valencian Inquisition in cities such as Xàtiva, which did not have their own tribunal and thus depended on that of Valencia. Although we have recorded the presence of one of the inquisitors from the Tribunal of Valencia in the city of Xàtiva, what our study of all the testifications we have consulted shows is that, in addition to the obligatory presence of the notary, it was the officials under the Inquisitors General of the Valencian Tribunal—a bailiff, a *familiar*, a commissioner, a Dominican and a gaoler—who performed these operations which underpinned the proper running of the tribunal. These data also confirm the practical relevance of an office like the bailiff, as demonstrated by Cerrillo Cruz, who also gives a clear explanation of all the bailiff's duties; one of which was to accompany the inquisitors on their tour of the district.<sup>32</sup> The presence of the bailiff in Xàtiva can be justified by this reasoning.

In the register of depositions we consulted, the depositions are noted in chronological—and presumably consecutive order. There are usually three or four testifications recorded for each day.

The other method for submitting a denunciation was the secret and anonymous denouncement. The discovery of an exceptional document—an original anonymous denunciation preserved within the Historical Archive of the University of Valencia—enables us to analyse this type of denunciation.

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30. We suspect that the said geographical clarification, which was often very detailed, was added to help make it easier to locate the deponent during the course of the judicial process.

31. Joan Carrasquer, bailiff; Beltrán de Arrega, *familiar*; Joan de Lapide, Dominican monk; Didaci de Angulo, gaoler; Domingo Gil, commissioner. AUV. Varia, 02-02.

32. Cerrillo, Gonzalo. "Alguaciles mayores de la Inquisición. Alguaciles mayores del Tribunal de Sevilla en el siglo XVIII". *Revista de la Inquisición*, 6 (1997): 163-190.



We have located a denunciation submitted anonymously before the Tribunal of Valencia against a woman native to Orihuela who lived in the city of Valencia. The instrument used is an undated and unsigned letter addressed to the Inquisitor of Valencia. A subsequent note or comment added by the staff of the actual tribunal provides clues to the date of receipt and the method of delivery. At the end of the missive, and in a different hand, written on 12<sup>th</sup> June 1489 at the Royal Palace of Valencia, then seat of the Valencian Tribunal of the Inquisition, it states that on the previous day at around noon, when the servant of the procurator fiscal of the Tribunal of the Inquisition arrived at the Royal Palace of Valencia he found the aforesaid letter on the floor in the doorway. The letter must therefore have been deposited on the date it was discovered, anonymously and secretly left on the floor at the entrance to the Royal Palace.<sup>33</sup>

The denunciation begins with a plea from the denouncer, begging for justice and harshly referring to a *marrana*,<sup>34</sup> a term used for Christians of Jewish origin, on the side of both the father and the mother, who was burned in Orihuela. It specifies the name of the father, Franch, and the name of the denounced party, Franca.<sup>35</sup> It declares that the father and mother were bad Christians but that she, the denounced party, was an even worse Christian than her parents. She is accused of never having confessed and of practising witchcraft. The denunciation was submitted once again by the same anonymous informer via a second missive, again addressed to the Inquisitor General of Valencia. In this second letter of denunciation, it says that a few days earlier a letter of denunciation had been left at the door of the Inquisitor's residence and that no action had been taken against the accused, so the author had decided to repeat the denunciation. In the second denunciation, the informer has added a list of neighbours in Valencia who could confirm everything that had been claimed in the first missive, and has added new accusations.

This is not the place to be analysing this interesting denunciation,<sup>36</sup> as all that we wish to highlight here is the typology of a secret and anonymous denunciation, having had the opportunity to access the original documents thereof. The second denunciation could indicate that, despite the gravity of the facts denounced in the first missive, the members of the Tribunal of the Inquisition preferred to act upon named denunciations, in which the testimony of judicial witnesses could be used to support the subsequent inquisitorial process on judicial grounds, whereas the first totally anonymous and secret letter could have left the inquisitors without solid juridical arguments for intervention. The fact that the second denunciation includes a long list of witnesses suggests that the most widely used and preferred method of the Valencian Tribunal of the Inquisition was judicial action based on

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33. The document is written in very good handwriting with very clear lettering and can thus be read very easily, which reveals the educated background of its author or that it could have been written to order by another person, perhaps even a notary.

34. It is interesting to note that the denouncer uses the term *marrana* to refer to the woman she/he is denouncing.

35. A note in the right-hand margin states that Franca lives in the house of La Boneta.

36. We shall conduct an in-depth study of the scope of this denunciation within another paper.



named testifications which could be used in evidence during the unfolding of the inquisitorial process.<sup>37</sup>

During the first few years in which the Tribunal of the Inquisition began operating in the Kingdom of Valencia, the tribunals would move from place to place,<sup>38</sup> as small and medium-sized cities such as Xàtiva did not have their own inquisitorial tribunal; the tribunal in Valencia had jurisdiction over the city of Xàtiva. In these cases, the Inquisition's activity depended on the actions taken by the ministers of the tribunal, who would travel from one place to another, gathering testimonies and initiating the corresponding proceedings. The subsequent centralisation of the tribunals in the corresponding capital cities meant the development of a new procedural system, with an annual visit theoretically being paid each year, in which an inquisitor would visit an area of a district covered by the tribunal to encourage denunciations and initiate the corresponding inquisitorial proceedings.<sup>39</sup> In the testifications we have studied for this paper, there are often denunciations made in Xàtiva denouncing individuals who were at that time living in the city of Valencia. A group of women who made various denunciations against converts in Xàtiva even claimed that they could denounce many more converts, both in Xàtiva and Valencia.

Both in the city in which the tribunal was based and in its corresponding districts, the inquisitorial procedure usually began with the reading of a general sermon or the edict of grace either in the city's cathedral or in the main church in those towns and cities without their own diocese.<sup>40</sup> All Christians were obliged to attend this reading, which aimed to instil orthodox belief among those present and to encourage the denouncement of neighbours who were failing to comply with Christian standards or who committed acts of heresy or blasphemy. They also sought to encourage self-confession, which would be rewarded in the corresponding edict of grace. Those attending this general sermon were given 40 days' plenary indulgence, while those who collaborated with the Inquisition in its mission would receive three years' plenary indulgence. During the 'period of grace' which was established following the sermon and lasted from 30 to 40 days, or even up to three months, they would

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37. Nor should we disregard the fact that the Valencian Tribunal of the Inquisition was then occupied almost exclusively in persecuting and prosecuting crypto-Judaism, and therefore denunciations involving witchcraft did not rank highly with the members of the tribunal at that time.

38. Haliczzer, Stephen. *Inquisición y sociedad en el Reino de Valencia 1478-1834*. Valencia: Alfons el Magnànim, 1993: 103.

39. Tausiet, María. *Ponzoña en los ojos...*: 83.

40. It may seem incongruent to speak of a city without a cathedral, as the binomial *civitas*-cathedral appears to be indissoluble, but in the Kingdom of Valencia and with regard to the operation of the tribunals of the Inquisition, there are towns such as Orihuela, granted city status in 1437, and Alicante, granted city status in 1490, which did not have a cathedral and which even came under a diocese in another kingdom, coming under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Cartagena-Murcia, who was based within the Kingdom of Castile, while Orihuela and Alicante belonged to the Crown of Aragon from 1296 and then the Kingdom of Valencia from 1304.



receive the denunciations and self-confessions.<sup>41</sup> By contrast, Christians who did not denounce or confess these kinds of heretical actions would be condemned to excommunication.

In the Kingdom of Valencia, the period of grace was even longer than the theoretical three months given, sometimes lasting up to six months.<sup>42</sup> However on certain occasions, when a subsequent edict of grace was published, the 'grace' period could be drastically reduced. In 1627, following the standard three months granted to Portuguese converted Jews, the grace period was limited to six days.<sup>43</sup>

During the reading of the edict of grace, a list was read out of the heretical acts<sup>44</sup> which were punishable, thereby encouraging them to be denounced or confessed.

We have located an exceptional document: an edict of denunciations<sup>45</sup> promulgated by the Inquisitor Pere Sans<sup>46</sup> in the city of Xàtiva on 24<sup>th</sup> November 1487, which was to be executed in the town of Cocentaina and was addressed to Pere Bosch, presbyter of the church in Cocentaina. It contained the order that every person *de cualquier grado, condición, estamento, orden, religión, dignidad o preeminencia*<sup>47</sup> was ordered to denounce to presbyter Pere Bosch —on pain of excommunication and within six days of the reading or promulgation of the edict in Cocentaina— a series of heresies or crimes against the faith which were listed in detail in the edict. They were urged to report if they had knowledge of or had seen or heard

*Si sabían o habían visto u oído, que alguna persona vecina o habitadora de la villa, o que se encontraba fuera del reino de Valencia, vivo o muerto, había actuado como hereje, había dogmatizado contra los santos artículos de la fe, o fuese sospechosa o tuviese fama de realizar prácticas heréticas celebrando ceremonias judaicas, o personas que habían pronunciado blasfemias o abominaciones contra Jesucristo, la virgen o los santos o realicen invocaciones a espíritus malignos, o pronuncien blasfemias heréticas contra Dios, o usen de sortilegios o tengan libros de nigromancia o de reservada lectura.*<sup>48</sup>

41. González de Caldas, Victoria. *¿Judíos o cristianos? El Proceso de Fe Santa Inquisitio*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2000: 113 and 226-227.

42. García Cárcel, Ricardo. *Orígenes de la inquisición española...*: 190.

43. González de Caldas, Victoria. *¿Judíos o cristianos?...*: 227.

44. Haliczer, Stephen. *Inquisición y sociedad en el Reino de Valencia...*: 103.

45. A definition of the edict of denunciations is given in: Jiménez Monteserín, Miguel. "Léxico inquisitorial", *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América. Vol. I: El pensamiento científico y el proceso histórico de la institución (1478-1834)*, Joaquín Pérez Villanueva, Bartolomé Escandell, eds. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1984: 197.

46. Pere Sans de la Calancha, Canon of Palencia, was appointed Inquisitor of Valencia alongside Juan Lop de Cigales in March 1487. They were then removed from office in 1488. The reasons for their dismissal and the grounds for their short mandate on the Tribunal de Valencia remain unknown. García Cárcel, Ricardo. *Orígenes de la inquisición Española...*: 75-76.

47. "regardless of their rank, condition, class, order, religion, position or pre-eminence". AUV. Varia 01-11, without folio (24<sup>th</sup> November 1478. Xàtiva).

48. "any person resident in the town or beyond the Kingdom of Valencia, living or dead, who has acted as a heretic, preached against the sacred articles of faith or been suspected of or reputed to have performed heretical practices by holding Jewish ceremonies, or persons who have uttered blasphemies or abominations against Jesus Christ, the Virgin or the saints, or who invoke evil spirits or utter heretical



They also had to denounce those *a los que siendo cristianos, vivían como gentiles, judíos o musulmanes, en su vida y costumbres, con un tipo de vida y costumbres que sean diferentes a la común vida de los cristianos haciendo cosas contra la santa fe católica*.<sup>49</sup> It also warned people to watch over and observe the converted Jews who had been reconciled, to avoid blame or greater punishment in the event that they admitted to having confessed false crimes, or if those condemned or burned were found to have evaded the confiscation of assets by the royal treasury.

The document provides us with relevant data, including the action taken by individual inquisitors such as Pere Sans, who was then Inquisitor of the Tribunal of Valencia together with Juan Lop de Cigales. Being issued from Xàtiva, the order also provides another valuable piece of information: that the Inquisitor was in Xàtiva on that day, possibly taking inquisitorial action against the converted Jews in that city.<sup>50</sup>

But the most significant aspect of this unprecedented document is that it allows us to analyse the applied practical mechanisms of the tools used by the Valencian Tribunal of the Inquisition to enable it to encourage denouncement during its first few years in operation. In this case, and faced with the theoretical regulations governing how the inquisitors should proceed in order to obtain denunciations, which were to be found in Eimeric's famous inquisitors' handbook, which states that the inquisitorial commissioner must *recibir todas las delaciones, informaciones y acusaciones de quien sea, contra quien sea (dentro de la jurisdicción de la diócesis)*,<sup>51</sup> the edict of denunciations promulgated by one of the inquisitors of the Tribunal of Valencia clearly orders that the denunciations should be received and taken by Pere Bosch, presbyter of the church of Cocentaina. The wording of the document also states that any individual —be they Christian, Jewish or Muslim— was able to make a denunciation and that similarly anybody could be denounced, as, in addition to the crimes of heresy applicable exclusively to Christians, Jews and Muslims could be denounced for blasphemy, performing magical practices, invoking spirits and so forth.

Such coercion or social pressure, which was repeatedly applied year after year in the early years of the Inquisition through the promulgation of the edicts of denunciations and the edicts of grace, must have had a devastating effect on the conscience of individuals who were subjected to it by the inquisitors and preachers and who had to propagate it in their daily life and within their closest circles; among neighbours, co-workers, family members, servants, apprentices and the like.

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blasphemies against God, or who use spells and charms or have books on necromancy or of restricted reading". AUV. Varia 01-11, without folio.

49. "who, while Christians, lived as Gentiles, Jews or Muslims in their life and customs, with a way of life and customs other than the common life of Christians, performing acts against the Holy Catholic Faith". AUV. Varia 01-11, without folio.

50. In the testifications we have studied, references are made to convert Jews detained by the Inquisition, to others in the gaol and to converted Jews of Xàtiva who had been burned.

51. "receive all denunciations, reports and accusations regardless of who makes them and whom they are made against (within the jurisdiction of the diocese)". Eimeric, Nicolau; Peña, Francisco. *El manual de los inquisidores*, ed. Luís Sala-Molins. Barcelona: Muchnik, 1983: 126.



The daily life of each individual must have been affected in one way or another; as someone who could have been denounced for deeds committed in the past, or by feeling forced to denounce acts they had seen or heard at some point in their life.

The document we have used for this research, while incomplete, does show every indication of being a set of accusatory testifications made following a general sermon and its corresponding edict of grace, as the denunciations have been made during the space of three months from 15<sup>th</sup> November 1489 to 29<sup>th</sup> January 1490;<sup>52</sup> a period which coincides with the usual period of grace granted in the edicts promulgated by the Valencian Tribunal of the Inquisition. During this period, the inquisitorial team at the Tribunal of Valencia was comprised by the monks Miquel de Monterrubio, Prior of the Monastery of Dueñas, Fray Diego Magdaleno, Prior of the Monastery of San Alfonso de Toro and Joan Ardiles, who worked as an advisor alongside his predecessor, Soler, who continued to perform his duties.<sup>53</sup>

The document comprises a set of depositions featuring a chronological list of denunciations made mostly by residents of Xàtiva who are denouncing deeds they have 'seen or heard' committed by fellow residents and which may be actions of a heretical nature. Most of the denunciations concern actions which we could file under crypto-Judaism and, following the typology established by David Romano, would cover the beliefs, religious practices, food standards, worship and cultural ceremonies proper to Valencian Judaism as studied by the author.<sup>54</sup> Another interesting aspect of this document is that the denunciations mostly cover actions that were considered heretical when practised by Christians, as they were deemed Jewish ceremonies.<sup>55</sup>

The sense of deposition is clearly seen in one of the declarations made on 24<sup>th</sup> November 1489, *lo qual paper ell tes porta al reverent inquisidor e lo dit reverent inquisidor mana aquell cosir al peu o costat de la present deposició*.<sup>56</sup>

The denunciations made during these proceedings mostly concern recollections of events witnessed or heard several years before—even up to 20 or 30 years previously—and are one-off events that the witnesses claim to have seen and, on occasions, heard. Which is not to say that they did not happen: what is powerfully striking is that, other than events expressly reported in the denunciation as being

52. The document includes two denunciations which fall outside of the document's original timeframe: one from 1482 and another from 1486, in unnumbered folios which appear to have been incorporated or sewn into the register but which do not appear in the original codex.

53. García Cárcel, Ricardo. *Orígenes de la inquisición española...*: 76.

54. Romano, David. "Creencias y prácticas religiosas de los judíos de Valencia (1461-1492). Propuestas metodológicas a base de documentos inquisitoriales", *Lluís de Santàngel i el seu temps. Actes del Congrés Internacional (València, 5-8 d'Octubre 1987)*. Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 1992: 432-448.

55. We have compiled a study into the religious beliefs and cultural practices of converted Jews in Xàtiva. Barrio, Juan Antonio. "Los conversos de judío en la ciudad de Xàtiva: creencias y prácticas religiosas (1439-1490) a través de la visión del 'otro'". *Medievalismo*, 23 (2013): 61-99.

56. "The witness gave the mentioned sheet of paper to the Reverend Inquisitor and the mentioned Reverend Inquisitor ordered the paper to be sewn at the bottom or the side of the present deposition". AUV, Varia 02-02, f. 150r. (24<sup>th</sup> November 1489).



systematically observed, most are events seen or heard by the denouncers just the once, suddenly and accidentally.

### 3. The Denouncers. Betrayal and Social Upheaval

One of the first questions we must ask tackles the root of the denunciation, looking at what drives an individual to denounce their neighbour or a member of their family. We would do well to open our investigation with the words of García Cárcel describing *una sociedad pobre de medios y de ideas, dividida en múltiples facturas, dispuesta siempre a la denuncia del otro como manera de olvidar su propia infelicidad*.<sup>57</sup>

The list of denouncers, featuring their name, profession and social status, can provide a clue to the role of 'social breakdown' and social reversal in permitting the introduction of the Tribunal of the Inquisition and its operation in cities such as Xàtiva.

One of the most relevant pieces of data comes with cross-referencing the surnames on the list of denouncers (see the Appendix) with the list of converted Jews who were tried by the Valencian Inquisition in the city of Xàtiva between the late 15<sup>th</sup> century and the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>58</sup> Among the denouncers featured in the depositions we have analysed, not a single one of their surnames matches the surnames of the converted Jews in Xàtiva.<sup>59</sup> The obvious conclusion to draw is that the individuals who made these denunciations were mainly long-standing Christians.

Through this small documentary sample and this microhistorical study, we have shown that a large part of the denunciations upon which the converted Jews were tried came from long-established Christians who personally knew the people they were denouncing.

### 4. Conclusions

The social guidelines forged and developed in the towns and cities of the Kingdom of Valencia by considerable effort from most of the social sectors and dominant groups involved —the monarchy, nobility, urban ruling classes and the like—

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57. "a society poor in means and ideas, divided into many factions, with people always ready to denounce one another as a way of forgetting their own unhappiness". García Cárcel, Ricardo. "Prólogo...": 17.

58. I have produced three different lists of converted Jews tried in Xàtiva. Two are unpublished and one has been compiled using as its source the list of converted Jews tried by the Inquisition which was published by Milagros García Cárcel. See: Barrio, Juan Antonio. "La comunidad de conversos de judío de la ciudad de Xàtiva en el siglo XV", *Homenaje al profesor José Hinojosa Montalvo*, forthcoming; García Cárcel, Ricardo. *Orígenes de la Inquisición Española...*: 249-314.

59. With the sole exception of Joan Sañç, who was denounced and who also submitted a deposition against two converted Jews, the notary Ausiàs Costa and Joan Alcañiz.



brought forth ways for Christians, Jews and Muslims to coexist and socialise within the cities of the Kingdom of Valencia which had been incorporated into Western Christendom following the conquest by Jaime I. The city of Xàtiva was one of the cities to develop this model of ethnic, economic, social and juridical coexistence.

The events of 1391 marked the point at which this model of peaceful coexistence began to be turned on its head; coexistence which had been sustained with only minor scares and no major problems from the pacification of the Mudejar uprisings in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century through to the late 14<sup>th</sup> century.

The conversion of thousands of Jews to Christianity following those grave events of 1391 marked the slow road towards the end of the model of sociability which had been created following the conquest of the Kingdom of Valencia.<sup>60</sup>

The second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century was then marked by profound social and economic transformations which were to put an end to this model of ethnic and religious tolerance. The events that were to mark the end of one stage and the beginning of another are the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition in the Kingdom of Valencia in 1481 and the expulsion of the Jews in 1492. These two events and the persecution to which converted Jews were subjected not only by the inquisitors but also by members of the working classes, who became the bastions and defenders of a new model of sociability, were to put an end to tolerance and pave the way for intolerance. People's attitudes, the attitudes of the other, were controlled and watched over through the new mechanisms of horizontal social control which were rolled out, propagated and driven by the inquisitorial authorities and which encouraged the old Christians to watch over, control and, where appropriate, denounce the converted Jews who were their neighbours, co-workers, partners, customers, bosses and so forth and who either honoured crypto-Jewish religious practices, festivities, dietary requirements and the like or did not rigorously perform Christian religious practices.

Other works on other historical subjects have spoken of the Spain which could have been but was not.<sup>61</sup> Taking this assertion and extrapolating it to the situation in which the Kingdom of Valencia found itself at the tail end of the Middle Ages, the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition dramatically shattered the Spain or the Kingdom of Valencia which could have been but then never was. As a whole, the kingdoms of Spain went from being one of the most ethnically and religiously tolerant societies in Christian Western Europe to one of the most intolerant. Denunciations and the fermenting and fomenting of social betrayal are merely examples of these new ways of social intolerance, of broken-down coexistence and social reversal. Thus the Inquisition, with the deployment of its political and legal instruments, became the 'guardian of sociability'; a role in which elements of the working classes, who were mainly veteran Christians, collaborated with greater or lesser zeal.

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60. Regarding the impact of attacks on the Valencian Jewish quarter in 1391. See: Hinojosa Montalvo, José. *The Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia from Persecution to Expulsion, 1391-1492*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press-The Hebrew University, 1993.

61. García Fitz, Francisco. "Una 'España musulmana, sometida y tributaria'? La España que no fue". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 31 (2004): 227-248.





## Appendix

This Appendix gives the surname and the first name of the defendant or the denouncer, followed by their trade and the street on which they lived. For women, a surname in parentheses is that of the husband, as we have been unable to find the woman's own surname within the documentation. We have added the date of denunciation to the list of informers.

### *List of Converted Jews from Xàtiva denounced in the testification at the end of 1489<sup>62</sup>*

- Alcañiz, Joanot, confectioner, La Puerta de Santa Tecla street.  
 (Alcañiz), Violante, wife of Joanot Alcañiz, confectioner.  
 Alcañiz, Isabel, daughter of Joan Alcañiz.  
 Alcañiz, Joan, tailor, Placeta dels Morellos square (1489). Corretgeria street (1482).  
 (Alcañiz), Eleonor, wife of Joan Alcañiz.  
 Alcañiz, Pere.  
 Alcañiz, Joan, tailor.  
 Alcañiz, Joan, tailor, arrested one day before being denounced by the inquisitors.  
 Alcañiz, Guillén, being held prisoner by the Tribunal of Valencia at the time of the denunciation.  
 Alcañiz, Guillen, merchant.  
 (Alcañiz), Violante, daughter of Joan Alcañiz.  
 (Amoros), Rulla, wife of Joan Amoros, merchant, and daughter of Joan Castellar.  
 (Arenos), Beatriz, wife of Pere Arenos, merchant, and daughter of Joan Castellar.  
 Avinyo, Joan, procurator fiscal.  
 Ayora, Joan, tailor, Corretgeria street.  
 Bellvis, father of Galceran Bellvis.  
 (Bellvis), mother of Galceran Bellvis.  
 Bellvis, Galceran.  
 (Bellvis), Violante, wife of Galceran Bellvis.  
 (Bonafonat), wife of Joan Bonafonat.  
 Bonafonat, Joan, silversmith, deceased, formerly resident in Gandía.  
 Borja, Joan, doublet maker, living in the Pallaria area of Valencia at the time of the denunciation.  
 (Borja), daughter of Torina, aunt of Joan Borja's wife, Corretgeria street, living in Valencia at the time of the denunciation.  
 (Bormey), father-in-law of Gaspar Bormey, hosier.  
 (Bormey), Violante, wife of Gaspar Bormey, hosier.  
 (Bormey), mother-in-law of Gaspar Bormey, hosier.  
 (Bormey), brother-in-law of Gaspar Bormey, hosier.

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62. AUV. Varia, 02-02.



(Bormey), second brother-in-law<sup>63</sup> of Gaspar Bormey, hosier.  
 Borraz, son of Borraz 'The Lame', tailor.  
 Borraz, Luis, hosier.  
 (Borraz), wife of Borraz 'The Lame', tailor.  
 Borraz, Antoni.  
 (Borraz), Isabel, wife of Antoni Borraz.  
 Borraz, second son<sup>64</sup> of Borraz 'The Lame', tailor.  
 Borraz, 'The Lame', tailor.  
 (Boyl), wife of Luis Boyl.  
 Boyl, Luis, silversmith, deceased. Resident in Gandia 20 years previously.  
 Castellar, Joan, living in Tarastana.  
 (Castellar), Blanquina, wife of Joan Castellar.  
 (Castellar), Isabel, wife of Francesc Castellar.  
 Coscolla, Francesc, tailor, deceased. Formerly resident in Gandia.  
 Costa, Luis, apothecary.  
 Costa, Ausias, notary.  
 (Delgado Castellano), first sister (first name unknown) of deceased Fernando, Valencia Market.  
 (Delgado Castellano), second sister (first name unknown) of deceased Fernando, Valencia Market.  
 (Delgado Castellano), third sister (first name unknown) of deceased Fernando, Valencia Market.  
 (Delgado Castellano), daughter (first name unknown) of deceased Fernando Delgado Castellano, Valencia Market.  
 (Fullus Misage), Isabel, wife of Francesc Fullus Misage.  
 Fullus Misage, Francesc.  
 (Fuster), wife of Jaume Fuster, silversmith.  
 Gines, Manuel, butcher, native of Orihuela.  
 Guasch, Francesc, deceased. Lived in Gandía 20 years previously.  
 Guasch, Luis, hosier.  
 Guasch, members of Joan Guasch's family.  
 Guasch, Joan.  
 (Guasch), wife of Francesc Guasch.  
 (Joan), Franci, Andolça, wife of Franci Joan, merchant, and daughter of Joan Castellar.  
 Wife of Jaume 'The Oven Shoveller', 'young man of Xàtiva'.  
 Malferit, tailor, Corretgeria street.  
 (Malferit), wife of Malferit, tailor.  
 Merina, female friend of Martorell.  
 Moneros, sister of Joan Moneros.

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63. The denunciation states that the brothers of Isabel, wife of Gaspar Bormey, hosier, have been denounced but does not specify the number of brothers, so we have listed the minimum number: two.

64. The denunciation states that the sons of Borraz 'The Lame', tailor, have been denounced, so we have listed the minimum number: two.



Moneros, second sister<sup>65</sup> of Joan Moneros.  
 (Moneros), mother-in-law of Joan Moneros.  
 (Moneros), wife of Joan Moneros.  
 (Muñoz), Gracia, mother-in-law of Pau Muñoz.  
 Muñoz, Pau, deceased, notary from Valencia, formerly resident in Los Castellanos street in Valencia.  
 (Muñoz), Isabel, wife of Pau Muñoz.  
 Nadal, Galceran, absent.  
 Nadal, (first name unknown).  
 Nadal, Luis, silversmith and merchant, Argentería street.  
 (Nadal), Florencia, wife of Luis Nadal, Argentería street.  
 (Olmer), Brianda, wife of Luis Olmer and daughter of Jaume Torregrosa, senior.  
 Pintor, 'The Bearded One', matchmaker, father-in-law of Joan Alcañiz through his first wife.  
 Pisa, Nicolau de.  
 Sanchiz, Joan, tailor, deceased.  
 (Sanz), wife of Joan Sanz, shopkeeper.  
 (Sanz), Natilsa, widow, Los Catalanes street in Valencia.  
 Sanz, Michalet, son of Natilsa Sanz.  
 (Saranyana), wife of Luis Saranyana.  
 Seguet, Luis, shopkeeper.  
 Solanes, Mudejar site contractor.  
 (Solanes), wife of Solanes, Mudejar site contractor.  
 Tamarit, Bernat, living in Valencia.  
 Tenllols, tailor, deceased. Resident of Gandía for 20 years.  
 Torina, aunt of Joan Borja's wife, Corretgeria street, living in Valencia at the time of the denunciation.  
 Torregrosa, uncle of Brianda Olmer, the daughter of Jaume Torregrosa, senior, living in Valencia.  
 (Torregrosa), Damiata, wife of Galceran Torregrosa, junior, Argentería street.  
 Torregrosa, Galceran, senior, silversmith, Argentería street.  
 Torregrosa, Galceran, junior, silversmith, Argentería street.  
 (Torregrosa), Blanca, wife of Galceran Torregrosa, Argentería street.  
 Torregrosa, Jaume, senior, silversmith, Argentería street.  
 (Torregrosa), Aldonça, wife of Jaume Torregrosa, senior, Argentería street.  
 Torregrosa, Jaume, junior, silversmith.  
 (Torregrosa), wife of Jaume Torregrosa, junior.  
 Torregrosa, Joan.  
 (Torregrosa), wife of Joan Torregrosa.  
 Tristan, Joan, shopkeeper, La Plaza de la Ciudad street.  
 Tuscany, Caranyana, sister of Joan Tuscany.

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65. The denunciation states that the sisters of Joan Moneros are being denounced. The number of sisters is not specified, so we have therefore included the minimum number: two.



(Tuscany), Graciosa, wife of Joan Tuscany, alias Malferit

*List in alphabetical order of denouncers in the 1489 deposition in the city of Xàtiva<sup>66</sup>*

- (Albarrazi), Pereta, widow of Luis Albarrazi, cloth shearer. 26<sup>th</sup> November 1489.  
 Alcamora, Joan, wool carder. 20<sup>th</sup> November 1489.  
 Ana, Julián de, tailor, resident of Valencia. 16<sup>th</sup> November 1489.  
 Aparici, Nofre, merchant. 25<sup>th</sup> November 1489.  
 Audies, Pere, tailor from the Castello area of Xàtiva. 27<sup>th</sup> November 1489.  
 Bernat, Jordi, farm worker, living beside the castle. 24<sup>th</sup> November 1489.  
 (Bernat), Miquela, wife of farm worker Jordi Bernat . 24<sup>th</sup> November 1489.  
 (Blesa), Isabel, wife of Miquel Blesa, wool carder, Argenteria street. 24<sup>th</sup> November 1489.  
 (Blesa), Isabel, wife of Joan Blesa, metalworker. Market. 29<sup>th</sup> November 1489.  
 (Bonança), Elsa, widow of Steve Bonança, notary, living in the house of Joan Figuera, swordsmith, on Corretgeria street. 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1489.  
 (Bonança), Elsa, wife of Ferre Bonança, citizen of Xàtiva. D'En Lluís Estany Donzell street. 8<sup>th</sup> December 1489.  
 Cabater, Tomas, wool carder, Argenteria street. 15<sup>th</sup> November 1489.  
 Canamaz, Catalina, living in the house of Francesc Vinader, royal notary, in the city of Valencia. 30<sup>th</sup> June 1489.  
 Candea, Francesc, farm worker, Blanca street in Xàtiva. 21<sup>st</sup> November 1489.  
 (Carbo), Joana, wife of Luis Carbo, delinquent from the Pobla de Corts area. 9<sup>th</sup> December 1489.  
 Carbonell, Andreu, alias Belda, cloth shearer, Corretgeria street. 21<sup>st</sup> November 1489.  
 Carbonell, Bernart, worker. 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1489.  
 (Clara), Catalina, wife of Bernat Clara, farm worker, Fuente del Ángel street. 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1489.  
 (Corts), Beatriz, 12-year-old maid, daughter of Bernat Corts, farm worker from La Ollaria, at the house of Mosén Cruillas. 27<sup>th</sup> November 1489.  
 Crespina, female slave of Luis Costa. 25<sup>th</sup> November 1489.  
 Dealos, Joan, citizen, Los Escribanos street (near the old carpenter's workshop). 6<sup>th</sup> December 1489.  
 Desi, Miquel, crossbowman, Placeta de los Judíos square. 16<sup>th</sup> November 1489.  
 (Domenech), Ausiana, wife of draper Jaume Domenech. 6<sup>th</sup> December 1489.  
 (Esmont), Catalina, maid and wife of Bernat Esmont, farm worker.  
 Enguerot, Bertomeu, wool carder, Ostal del Castella street. 6<sup>th</sup> December 1489.

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66. AUV. Varia, 02-02. We have excluded from the list a woman who was denounced and then interrogated by the Inquisition as a result of said denunciation and who therefore appears on the list of depositions. The woman in question is (Malferit), Isabel, wife of Bernat Malferit, tailor. 8th December 1489.



- Ferrer, Joan, worker, resident of Valencia. 30<sup>th</sup> June 1489.
- Fito, Damiata, maid, daughter of Pere Fito of Montesa, living in the house of Sancho, worker. 20<sup>th</sup> November 1489.
- Fito, Luis, student, Sant Pere street (near the market). 24<sup>th</sup> November 1489.
- (Jaffer), Barona, Caterina, wife of Joan Jaffer, farm worker, Camino de los Pescadores street. 4<sup>th</sup> July 1489.
- Lopez, Bernart, farm worker. 19<sup>th</sup> November 1489.
- Martinez, Joan, barber, Les Barreres. 18<sup>th</sup> November 1489.
- Maulion, Guillen, shoemaker, living in the house of Mestre Audria Lombart, shoemaker, on Xàtiva square. 25<sup>th</sup> November 1489.
- Miralles, Asensio, citizen, Plaçeta de Entorrent square near the Jewish quarter. 21<sup>st</sup> November 1489.
- Monfort, Francesc, notary. 28<sup>th</sup> November 1489.
- (Navarro), Catalina, daughter of Bernat Navarro (deceased), maid in the house of Francesc Joan, notary. 29<sup>th</sup> January 1490.
- (Palau), Damiata, wife of Bernart Palau, farmer, resident of Valencia. 16<sup>th</sup> December 1486.
- Pertusa, Francesc, young nobleman. 29<sup>th</sup> November 1489.
- Pineda, Ausias, wool carder, Plaza de los Judíos square. 25<sup>th</sup> November 1489.
- (Quiliz), Joana, widow of Miquel Quiliz, living in the house of Monseigneur Joan de Sant Ramon. 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1489.
- Ridaure, Bernat, farmer, living in the Jewish quarter. 15<sup>th</sup> November 1489.
- (Roca), Isabel, widow of Luis Roca, squire, living in the house of baker Luis Caranyana. 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1489.
- Rodrigo Osorio, Joan, tanner, La Curtidoria street. 28<sup>th</sup> November 1489.
- Rosell, Luis, presbyter of Valencia. 18<sup>th</sup> October 1482.
- Sanç, Joan, 17<sup>th</sup> November 1489.
- (Stonya) Damiata, wife of the 'magnificent' Luis Stonya, young nobleman, Placeta dels Morellos square. 16<sup>th</sup> November 1489.
- Tolça Negre, Joan. 15<sup>th</sup> November 1489.
- Tora, Ausias, town worker, Xàtiva Market. 16<sup>th</sup> November 1489.
- Tortalla, Pere, gravedigger, living on the street that leads to Las Parras. 21<sup>st</sup> November 1489.
- (Vilar), Isabel, wife of Joan Vilar, shopkeeper. Plaza de la Cal. 20<sup>th</sup> November 1489.

