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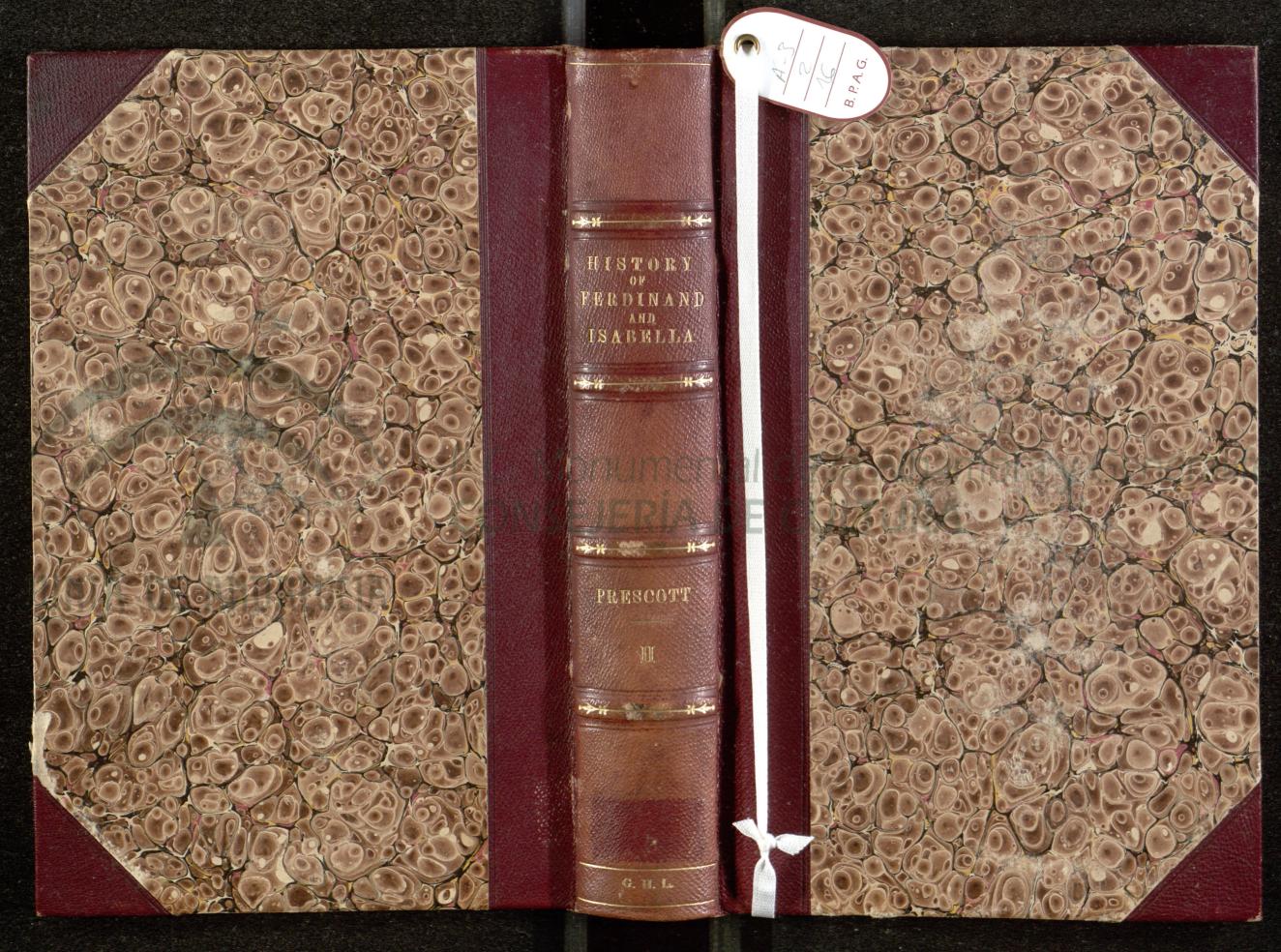
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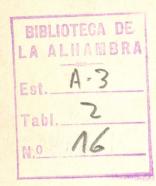
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P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

# HISTORY

THE REIGN OF

FERDINAND AND ISABELLA, Generalife

JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA

VOL. II.

# HISTORY

OF

THE REIGN OF

# FERDINAND AND ISABELLA, THE CATHOLIC.

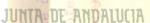
BY WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT.

Quæ surgere regna

Virgil. Æneid. iv. 47.

Crevere vires, famaque et imperi Porrecta majestas ab Euro Solis ad Occiduum cubile. Horat. Carm. iv. 15.

THREE/XOLUMES at VO In Alhambra y Generalife CONSELERÍA DE CULTURA





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UNTA DE ANDALUCIA

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# JUNTA DE ANDALUCIA PART SECOND.

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P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

# PART FIRST.

1406 — 1492.

The period, when the different kingdoms of Spain were first united under one monarchy, and a thorough reform was introduced into their internal administration; or the period exhibiting most fully the dray Generalife domestic policy of Ferdinand and Isabella.

JUNIA DE ANDALUCIA (CONTINUED.)

# PART FIRST.

#### CHAPTER XII.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE KINGDOM. - INQUISITION IN ARAGON.

1483 - 1487.

Isabella enforces the Laws. - Punishment of Ecclesiastics. - Inquisition in Aragon. - Remonstrances of the Cortes. - Conspiracy. -Assassination of the Inquisitor Arbues. - Cruel Persecutions. - Inquisition throughout Ferdinand's Dominions.

In such intervals of leisure as occurred amid their CHAPTER military operations, Ferdinand and Isabella were diligently occupied with the interior government of the forces the laws. kingdom, and especially with the rigid administration of justice, the most difficult of all duties in an imperfectly civilized state of society. The queen found especial demand for this in the northern provinces, whose rude inhabitants were little used to subordination. She compelled the great nobles to lay aside their arms, and refer their disputes to legal arbitration. She caused a number of the fortresses, which were still garrisoned by the baronial banditti, to be razed to the ground; and she enforced the utmost severity of the law against such inferior criminals as violated the public peace.1

Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, iii. lib. 1, cap. 10. — Pulgar,
 67, et alibi. — L. Marineo, Cosas

PART I.

Chastisement of certain ecclesiastics.

Even ecclesiastical immunities, which proved so effectual a protection in most countries at this period, were not permitted to screen the offender. A remarkable instance of this occurred at the city of Truxillo, in 1486. An inhabitant of that place had been committed to prison for some offence by order of the civil magistrate. Certain priests, relations of the offender, alleged that his religious profession exempted him from all but ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and, as the authorities refused to deliver him up, they inflamed the populace to such a degree, by their representations of the insult offered to the church, that they rose in a body, and, forcing the prison, set at liberty not only the malefactor in question, but all those confined there. The queen no sooner heard of this outrage on the royal author eneralife ity, than she sent a detachment of her guard to Truxillo, which secured the persons of the principal rioters, some of whom were capitally punished, while the ecclesiastics, who had stirred up the sedition, were banished the realm. Isabella, while by her example, she inculcated the deepest reverence for the sacred profession, uniformly resisted every attempt from that quarter to encroach on the royal prerogative. The tendency of her administration was decidedly, as there will be occasion more particularly to notice, to abridge the authority, which that body had exercised in civil matters under preceding reigns.2

Memorables, fol. 175. — Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 348.

2 Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap.

66. — A pertinent example of this occurred, December, 1485, at Alcalá de Henares, where the court

Nothing of interest occurred in the foreign rela- CHAPTER tions of the kingdom, during the period embraced by the preceding chapter; except perhaps the marriage of Catharine, the young queen of Navarre, with Jean d'Albret, a French nobleman, whose extensive hereditary domains, in the southwest corner of France, lay adjacent to her kingdom. This connexion was extremely distasteful to the Spanish sovereigns, and indeed to many of the Navarrese, who were desirous of the alliance with This was ultimately defeated by the Castile. queen-mother, an artful woman, who, being of the blood\_royal of France, was naturally disposed to a union with that kingdom. Ferdinand did not neglect to maintain such an understanding with the malcontents of Navarre, as should enable him tobra y Generalife counteract any undue advantage which the French JUN monarch might derive from the possession of this key, as it were, to the Castilian territory.8

In Aragon, two circumstances took place in the Liberation of Catalan period under review, deserving historical notice. seris. The first relates to an order of the Catalan peasantry, denominated vassals de remenza. These per-

Marriage of Catharine of Navarre.

1484.

was detained during the queen's illness, who there gave birth to her youngest child, Dona Catalina, afterwards so celebrated in English history as Catharine of Aragon.
A collision took place in this city
between the royal judges and those
of the archbishop of Toledo, to
whose diocese it belonged. The
latter stoutly maintained the pretensions of the church. The queen with equal pertinacity asserted the supremacy of the royal jurisdictom. v. lib. 35, cap. 2.

tion over every other in the kingdom, secular or ecclesiastical. The affair was ultimately referred to the arbitration of certain learned men, named conjointly by the adverse parties. It was not then deter-mined, however, and Pulgar has neglected to acquaint us with the award. Reyes Católicos, cap. 53.

— Carbajal, Anales, MS., año

3 Aleson, Annales de Navarra,

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sons were subjected to a feudal bondage, which had its origin in very remote ages, but which had become in no degree mitigated, while the peasantry of every other part of Europe had been gradually rising to the rank of freemen. The grievous nature of the impositions had led to repeated rebellions in preceding reigns. At length, Ferdinand, after many fruitless attempts at a mediation between these unfortunate people and their arrogant masters, prevailed on the latter, rather by force of authority than argument, to relinquish the extraordinary seignorial rights, which they had hitherto enjoyed, in consideration of a stipulated annual payment from their vassals. 4

Inquisition in Aragon.

The other circumstance worthy of record, but not in like manner creditable to the character of the sovereign, is the introduction of the modern Inquisition into Aragon. The ancient tribunal had existed there, as has been stated in a previous chapter, since the middle of the thirteenth century, but seems to have lost all its venom in the atmosphere of that free country; scarcely assuming a jurisdiction beyond that of an ordinary ecclesiastical court. No sooner, however, was the institution organized on its new basis in Castile, than Ferdinand resolved on its introduction, in a similar form, in his own dominions.

Measures were accordingly taken to that effect in a meeting of a privy council convened by the king at Taraçona, during the session of the cortes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. cap. 52, 67. — Mariana, Hist. de España, lib. 25, cap. 8.

in that place, in April, 1484; and a royal order CHAPTER was issued, requiring all the constituted authorities throughout the kingdom to support the new tribunal in the exercise of its functions. A Dominican monk, Fray Gaspard Juglar, and Pedro Arbues de Epila, a canon of the metropolitan church, were appointed by the general, Torquemada, inquisitors over the diocese of Saragossa; and, in the month of September following, the chief justiciary and the other great officers of the realm took the prescribed oaths. 5

The new institution, opposed to the ideas of independence common to all the Aragonese, was particularly offensive to the higher orders, many of whose members, including persons filling the most considerable official stations, were of Jewish de-bray Generalife scent, and of course precisely the class exposed to the scrutiny of the Inquisition. Without difficulty, Remontherefore, the cortes was persuaded in the following year to send a deputation to the court of Rome, and another to Ferdinand, representing the repugnance of the new tribunal to the liberties of the

<sup>5</sup> Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. chap. 6, art. 2. —Zurita, Anales, lib. 20, cap. 65.

At this cortes, convened at Taraçona, Ferdinand and Isabella raçona, Ferdinand and Isabella experienced an instance of the haughty spirit of their Catalan subjects, who refused to attend, alleging it to be a violation of their liberties to be summoned to a place without the limits of their principality. The Valencians also protested that their attendance protested, that their attendance should not operate as a precedent to their prejudice. It was usual

to convene a central or general cortes at Fraga, or Monzon, or some town, which the Catalans, who were peculiarly jealous of their privileges, claimed to be within their territory. It was still more usual, to hold separate cortes of the three kingdoms simultaneously in such contiguous places in each, as would permit the royal presence in all during their ses-sion. See Blancas, Modo de Pro-ceder en Cortes de Aragon, (Zaragoza, 1641,) cap. 4.

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Both the pope and the king, as may be imagined, turned a deaf ear to these remonstrances. the mean while the Inquisition commenced operations, and autos da fe were celebrated at Saragossa, with all their usual horrors, in the months of May and June, in 1485. The discontented Aragonese, despairing of redress in any regular way, resolved to intimidate their oppressors by some appalling act of violence. They formed a conspiracy for the assassination of Arbues, the most odious of the inquisitors established over the diocese of Saragossa. The conspiracy, set on foot by some of the principal nobility, was entered into by most of the new Christians, or persons of Jewish extraction, in the district. A sum of ten thousand reals was subscribed to defray the necessary expenses for the execution of their project. This was not easy, however, since Arbues, conscious of the popular odium that he had incurred, protected his person

Conspiracy formed.

(Fueros y Observancias, fol. 11.) The tenor of this clause (although the term inquisicion must not be confounded with the name of the modern institution) was sufficiently precise, one might have thought, to secure the Aragonese from the fangs of this terrible tribunal.

<sup>6</sup> By one of the articles in the Privilegium Generale, the Magna Charta of Aragon, it is declared, "Que turment: ni inquisicion; no sian en Aragon como sian contra Fuero el qual dize que alguna pesquisa no hauemos: et contra el privilegio general, el qual vieda que inquisicion so sia feyta."

by wearing under his monastic robes a suit of mail, CHAPTER complete even to the helmet beneath his hood. With similar vigilance, he defended, also, every avenue to his sleeping apartment. 7

At length, however, the conspirators found an Assassination of Aropportunity of surprising him while at his devo-Arbues was on his knees before the great altar of the cathedral, near midnight, when his enemies, who had entered the church in two separate bodies, suddenly surrounded him, and one of them wounded him in the arm with a dagger, while another dealt him a fatal blow in the back of his neck. The priests, who were preparing to celebrate matins in the choir of the church, hastened to the spot; but not before the assassins had effected their escape. They transported the bleeding bray Generalife body of the inquisitor to his apartment, where he survived only two days, blessing the Lord, that he had been permitted to seal so good a cause with his blood. The whole scene will readily remind the English reader of the assassination of Thomas a Becket. 8

The event did not correspond with the expectations of the conspirators. Sectarian jealousy proved stronger than hatred of the Inquisition. populace, ignorant of the extent or ultimate object of the conspiracy, were filled with vague apprehensions of an insurrection of the new Christians, who

<sup>7</sup> Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisi-tion, chap. 6, art. 2, 3.

 <sup>7</sup> Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisione, chap. 6, art. 2, 3.
 8 Llorente, ubi supra.—Paramo, tom. viii. pp. 37, 38.

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Cruel persecutions.

This promise was abundantly fulfilled; and wide was the ruin occasioned by the indefatigable zeal, with which the bloodhounds of the tribunal followed up the scent. In the course of this persecution, two hundred individuals perished at the stake, and a still greater number in the dungeons of the Inquisition; and there was scarcely a noble family in Aragon but witnessed one or more of its members condemned to humiliating penance in the autos da fe. The immediate perpetrators of the murder were all hanged, after suffering the amputation of their right hands. One, who had appeared as evidence against the rest, under assurance of pardon, had his sentence so far commuted, that his hand was not cut off till after he had been hanged. It was thus that the Holy Office interpreted its promises of grace.9

Arbues received all the honors of a martyr. His ashes were interred on the spot where he had been assassinated. A superb mausoleum was erected

9 Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. chap. 6, art. 5. — Blancas, Aragonensium Rerum Commentarii, (Cæsaraugustæ, 1588,) p. 266. Among those, who after a tedious imprisonment were condemned to do penance in an auto da fe, was a nephew of king Ferdinand, Don James of Navarre. Mariana, willing to point the tale with a suitable moral, informs us, that, although

none of the conspirators were ever brought to trial, they all perished miserably within a year, in different ways, by the judgment of God. (Hist. de España, tom. ii. p. 368.) Unfortunately for the effect of this moral, Llorente, who consulted the original processes, must be received as the better authority of the two.

10 According to Paramo, when