INQUISITION

The inquisition was a special permanent tribunal established by Pope *Gregory IX to combat heresy. It owed its name to the use of a new form of procedure created by Pope *Innocent III, which permitted ex officio the searching out of persons accused of heresy. Although it was instituted to combat the *Cathari and the *Waldenses, the Inquisition later extended its activity to the *Beguines, *Fraticelli, and *Spirituals, as well as to witches, diviners, blasphemers, and sacrilegious person.

Origins. During the 12th century, as in the preceding centuries, the Church was obliged to combat the spread of heresy (*see* HERESY, HISTORY OF).

Antecedents. In 1139 the Second Lateran Council had required secular princes to prosecute heretics under pain of anathema, and these decrees were renewed by Alexander III, who also ordered imprisonment and confiscation of the property (1162-63) of those convicted of heresy. In 1179 the Third Lateran Council in turn passed new legislation. Most important was the decretal Ad adolendam (Nov. 4, 1184) of Lucius III (CorpIurCan X 5.7.9), which anathematized heretics, organized searches for them, and charged bishops with making journeys of investigation. Legislation was completed in 1199 by Innocent III with the decretal Vergentes in senium (CorpIurCan X 5.7.10).

The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) restated all the prior decrees. Negligent prelates were threatened with deposition, and secular rulers were obliged to assist the Church under pain of forfeiture. *Frederic II (1220 and 1224) and Louis VIII and the court during the minority of Louis IX (1226 and 1229) published laws against heretics.

The establishment of the Inquisition. The repression of heresy, however, remained unorganized. To remedy this situation, Gregory IX (February 1231, not 1229) published the fundamental constitution *Excommunicamus* (CorplurCan X 5.7.14), which enjoined life imprisonment as a salutary penance to be imposed on the repentant heretic and *capital punishment for obstinate heretics after their surrender to the secular arm. Gregory implemented this decretal (Oct. 11, 1231) by entrusting its execution in Germany to Conrad of Marburg, allowing him to choose his collaborators freely, Conrad addressed himself especially to the *Dominicans, calling upon the priors of Regensburg, Friesach (near Klagenfurth), and Strasbourg, and through the bull *Ille humani generis*, entrusted to them the mission of punishing heretics and their abettors. For Burgundy, this same commission was given to Robert le Petit, better known as Robert le Bougre, and to the prior of Besancon. For the first time there now existed a body of law that, under the initiative of the papacy, placed the punishment of the enemies of the faith under exempt jurisdiction. This marked the birth of the Inquisition, although the contrary has been affirmed (L. Forg, 66-91).

Limited at first primarily to Germany, and extended to Aragon in 1232, the new institution became general in 1233. Gregory IX announced to the archbishops and bishops of France and neighboring regions that he was relieving them of a part of their burden by choosing the Dominicans to combat heresy. The task of designating the inquisitors was entrusted to the provincials of Provence and France. Because of local difficulties, the Inquisition in central Italy and in Lombardy was not officially organized until 1235 and 1237, respectively. At times papal legates were appointed to encourage the erection of new tribunals: such was the mission of Abp. Jean de Bernin of Vienne, who was active in Provence and in the Midi.

The Inquisitors. The judges, or inquisitors, were recruited almost exclusively from among the Dominicans and *Franciscans. In principle, two inquisitors, with equal powers, were in charge of each tribunal. The term *socius*, implying inferior rank for one of them, is not found in the official documents; the term colleague (*collega*) is used. The inquisitors held their powers directly from the pope, despite the delegation given to the provincials and ministers in designating them. In practice, the two judges belonged generally to the same order and were almost irremovable. Exceptionally, a Dominican and a Franciscan were on the same tribunal, as in Toulouse from 1236 to 1242 and in Provence in 1235. Because of their functions, the inquisitors did not live the conventual life. Among the Dominicans, this situation caused difficulties, and the provincial chapters strove whiteout much success to impose certain obligations on them, such as

that of traveling on foot. "The nature of their duties made them a scattered caste outside the Order rather than an aristocracy within" (R.F. Bennet, 157).

Nevertheless, it was not essential that judges belong to a religious order (Conrad of Marburg had been a secular priest). In 1249 the Dominicans of the province of Provence resigned their offices in the Inquisition. Judges taken from the secular clergy were installed in their place, and under the direction of the bishops, the tribunals of Toulouse and Carcassonne continued to function with the same juridical exemption. At Toulouse the new regime continued until 1255; and at Carcassonne, until 1258: both dates mark the return of the Dominicans (Dossat, *Inquisition toulousaine* 173-188).

The Tribunal. In the early period of the institution the inquisitors rode the circuit in search of heretics, but this practice was short lived. The inquisitors soon acquired the right to summon the suspects from their homes to such places as they deemed suitable and safe. Eventually, the judges confined their activity to the Inquisition center, among their notaries and official family. There, the archives were secure.

The inquisitors were permitted to entrust a part of their powers to vicars and assistants, usually members of their own order. Numerous clerks assisted in the work. In 1248 *Innocent IV censured the inquisitors of Toulouse for their luxurious living and for having too many servants. Later, in 1269, the Count of Toulouse complained about their extravagance.

Territorial Organization. After some experimenting, the territorial competence of each tribunal was established in a precise way. It varied with the number of heretics in the area. The authority of the inquisitors of France, with headquarters in Paris, extended to the greater portion of the kingdom; but during the first half of the 14th century there were inquisitors also at Tours. Ecclesiastical boundaries and political divisions were also taken into consideration. The lands belonging to the King of Aragon in the province of Narbonne were placed under the jurisdiction of the Aragonese Inquisition (1248). The territory of the counts of Toulouse and the domain of the king of France were respectively under the tribunals of Toulouse and Carcassonne. The jurisdiction of the Dominicans extended to the whole of the kingdom of France as it existed at the beginning of the 14th century, to Flanders, Lorraine, the Franche-Comte, Aragon, the Kingdom of Majorca, Lombardy, Romagna, and Tuscany. Franciscans directed the Inquisition in Savoy, the Dauphine, Provence (where until 1249 there was a little-known Dominican Inquisition), Corsica, the Kingdom of Sicily, the Roman Province, Tuscania, the Mark of Ancona, Umbria, and the Mark of Treviso.

Difficulties. Local authorities were often quite reluctant to cooperate with the Inquisition. Even the bishops at times tried to avoid collaboration; Innocent IV reminded them on several occasions of their obligation to give advise to the inquisitors and severely censured them for their lack of zeal. In 1279 Nicholas III took action against the bishop of Padua for impeding the proper functioning of the "Office" (M. Da Alatri, 421-422). The rivalry between the two orders deserves mention. At Marseilles in 1266, the Dominicans brought false accusations and even produced perjured witnesses against the Franciscan inquisitors, causing the Pope to intervene.

More important, the people themselves were often hostile to the inquisition. The fanatical Conrad of Marburg died at the hand of heretics (July 1233). The inquisitors of Toulouse, *William Arnaud and Stephen of Narbonne (Saint-Thibery), and their companions were murdered May 28, 1242, in the chateau of the count of Toulouse at Avignonet. On April 6, 1252, St. *Peter Martyr (Peter of Verona) was assassinated on the road from Como to Milan. Although this famous preacher had held the post of inquisitor for only a few months, he has often been considered the model of inquisitors (Dondaine, "Saint Pierre Martyr: Etudes" 97-103).

Procedure. The inquisitorial procedure was a departure from the traditional forms of accusation or of denunciation, which had been ill suited to the repression of heresy. According to the new procedure the judge could, ex officio, bring suit against any individual who might even vaguely be the object of public rumor. The *inquisitus* became his own accuser. When questioned on the charges brought against him, he was obliged to take an oath to tell the truth. This new procedure, unknown to *Roman law, was spelled out in detail by the decretal *Licet Heli* of 1213, and later complemented by the decretal *Per tuas litteras* (CorpIurCan X 5.3.31-32).

This judicial process, which in time became normal, underwent a number of modifications as a result of various apostolic constitutions, especially those of Gregory IX, Innocent IV, and *Alexander IV. The accused did not know the witnesses for the prosecution and was thus deprived of any opportunity to challenge and confront them. This precaution can be explained by the need to protect informers from reprisals by relatives and friends of the accused. Faced by nameless accusers, the defendant's only recourse was to reveal the names of his principal enemies. Factors that normally disqualified a witness from testifying were eliminated: testimony was accepted from criminals, infamous persons, the excommunicated, and heretics. It was even considered an obligation for heretics to become informers. Blood relationship did not dispense one from testifying. Lawyers and clerks, moreover, were not able to offer their services to the accused, for they would then become accomplices.

The right to appeal to the Apostolic See was denied by the constitution *Excommunicamus* of Gregory IX. This was a general practice in the matter of heresy, and is to be found in the laws of Frederick II. Yet it was admitted that interlocutory judgments could be the objects of appeals to the pope, in contrast to definitive sentences. In fact appeals to the pope were frequent. I[1 1245 the inquisitors complained that suspects and those in contempt of court applied to the Curia as though seeking asylum, and many of them obtained letters from Penitentiaries enabling them to escape the severest penalties. Moreover, in 1246, Innocent IV accepted a petition from the inhabitants of Limoux; and John XXII intervened, in 1323, in the affair of John Larcheveque, Lord of Parthenay, who was prosecuted for sorcery by the inquisitor Maurice de Saint-Paul. Although the latter refused to consider the appeal to the Holy See, the case was thrown out of court (July 1326).

The Inquisitor's Manual. Almost from the beginning inquisitors had access to authentic guides, in addition to the papal constitutions, conciliar decisions, and opinions they had requested. One of the earliest of such guides was the *Processus inquisitionis* (1248-49), prepared at the time when the tribunal of Carcassonne lost a part of its jurisdiction to the Aragonese Inquisition. It was a short, simple work, comprising a limited number of acts accompanied by a brief commentary (ed. A. Tardif). A more complete manual, the *Pracuca officii inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, was prepared by the Dominican *Bernard Gui, the inquisitor at Toulouse from 1307 to 1324. It was divided into five parts and set forth all the texts that could be useful to the judges (ed. C. Douais; tr. and ed. G. Mollat as *Manuel de Inquisition*). The *Directorium inquisitionis*, composed *C*. 1375 by the Dominican Nicholas Eymeric, who became inquisitor of Aragon in 1356, is well known because it was printed as early as 1503. Inquisitorial manuals have been thoroughly studied by A. Dondaine, who distinguished between collections for the information of inquisitors, simple manuals, and systematic treatises (Dondame, *Le manuel de l'inquisiteur 85-194*).

General Inquests and Periods of Grace. The inquisitors proceeded to general interrogations that sometimes extended to the entire populations within their jurisdiction. A portion of the inquest carried on in 1245-46 by the inquisitors of Toulouse, Bernard de Caux and John de Saint-Pierre. is still extant (Dossat, Inquisition toubusaine 226-244). The judges began by giving a general discourse in which they explained their mission to the people, assembled for this purpose. An indulgence of 40 days was granted to all in attendance. Convocations were also held in every parish by the chaplain. All male inhabitants over 14 and all female inhabitants over 12 were required to be present on the appointed day. Those who were summoned and who appeared within the prescribed time and made truthful depositions escaped the graver penalties. This was known as the period of grace, a practice in vogue from the early days of the Inquisition. But the Council of Beziers in 1246 specified that this favor could be granted only once.

The Individual Summons and Interrogation. The summons was served by the pastor, who went to the home of his parishioner; he renewed the summons the following Sunday at high Mass. Each defendant who did not appear within the allotted time incurred provisional excommunication; at the end of the year a definitive sentence was passed against him, and he was considered a heretic. Occasionally suspects were arrested. The inquisitor's sergeant-at-law sought help from the civil authorities in carrying out his mission, since capture of the suspect was often a difficult matter. There was no right of asylum for heretics.

The suspect was questioned by the inquisitor or by one of his aides, in the presence of at least two witnesses. He was given a summary statement of the charges against him; refusal on his part to take an oath to tell everything he knew about the heresy constituted a presumption of guilt. The interrogation was recorded by the clerk of the Inquisition, but no attempt was made to transcribe all the defendant's answers; only their substance was set down, in a way best suited to express the truth (Bernard Gui, *Practica*, ed. Douais, 243). The interrogation, which was always written in Latin, was read to the defendant and translated into the vernacular when necessary. The defendant was then required to submit to almost any demand of the inquisitor. The latter usually found the means of overcoming the stubbornness of heretics who persisted in their denials or who tried to deceive him with equivocal answers. He could always imprison the suspect, either in simple detention or in solitary confinement. On the other hand, he might try either to win over the defendant by acts of kindness or trap him by planting informers in his prison. When a confession was not forthcoming, proof of heresy was achieved by witnesses. The testimony of two witnesses was necessary, but it sufficed that they be in agreement.

Torture. One of the effects of the revival of Roman law was the reappearance of *torture which was alien to canonical tradition. There is no reference to torture in the documents concerning the origins of the Inquisition; its use would have disqualified a judge on the charge of irregularity. The Italian inquisitors were probably the first to make use of it, after Innocent W declared in the bull Ad exstirpanda (May 15, 1252) that the rector or podesta of a city would be required to use torture to force heretics to confess. These regulations do not seem to have been in use in other countries. For other tribunals, the situation was modified by the decision of Alexander Iv to grant judges the faculty to absolve one another from any irregularities they might incur (125-60). It is not certain whether the inquisitors made immediate use of this privilege. In southern France John Galand, the inquisitor of Carcassonne (1278-93), was charged with many abuses in this matter. In the early 14th century, complaints against excessive use of torture resulted in papal intervention.

Relations with Ordinaries and Assessors. Before an inquisitor rendered a definitive sentence he had to obtain approval of the bishop and of a certain number of consultors or assessors (boni viri), both ecclesiastic and lay, chosen because of their competence in the case. The significance of this practice, however, should not be exaggerated. In about 1240, the consultation immediately preceded the proclamation of the decree. In advance of the sentence, the defendant had to pledge himself, in the presence of the judges alone, to perform the penance imposed upon him. Alexander W even dispensed the inquisitors of Lombardy (Jan. 11,1257) from convoking the bishops or their representatives if they thought convocation unnecessary. But it was certainly to the judges' advantage to have the support of the bishops. And as far as the bishops were concerned, consilium and auxilium were a burden and not a privilege (as Guy Foucois, later Clement IV, declared c 1260). After 1260, practice distinguished between the various sentences. On the one hand, surrender to the secular arm and life imprisonment could not be pronounced without the intervention of the diocesan authorities; on the other, minor penalties (arbitrary penance's) were left to the discretion of the inquisitors.

Subsequently the assessors were given a more important role. In 1283 their opinion prevailed. Women were no longer imprisoned, but were condemned only to wearing crosses and making pilgrimages. In the 14th century consultations took on much greater importance. They consisted of large gatherings of distinguished persons (e. g., in 1328 at Pamiers, 35 members assembled, of whom 9 were lawyers). The meetings sometimes lasted for days, and although their recommendations were not binding, the inquisitors generally followed advice.

Penalties. In the common opinion, the Inquisition did not inflict true punishment, but only salutary penance's for the spiritual benefit of former heretics who had returned to the faith. It could not impose sanctions against obstinate heretics, however, and this gave currency to the practice of surrendering them to secular authority.

Sermo generalis. Inquisitors pronounced sentence before a large gathering of people, in a solemn ceremony to which they invited prelates, civil officials, municipal magistrates, and nobles, who took their places on a platform next to the inquisitors. The inquisitor gave a short discourse and proclaimed the usual indulgence. He announced the "decrees of mercy," setting forth various

commutations of punishment. He then summarized the accusations made against each defendant, grouping together the charges incurring the same penalties. Then the penitents, on their knees, abjured heresy, each with his hand on the Gospels held by the inquisitor. Finally the sentences were read, first in Latin, then in the vernacular (Bernard Gui, *Practica*, ed. Mollat, 2:124-130).

Arbitrary Penance's. Under this term the Inquisitor Bernard Gui grouped the minor punishments that the judges on their own initiative could impose, commute, or remit. They might be charged to anyone who had confessed during the period of grace, and included scourging, visits to churches, pilgrimages, wearing the cross of infamy, imposed either separately or in combination. Inquisitors in southern France distinguished between major pilgrimages outside the realm and minor pilgrimages to nearby shrines. In addition to pilgrimages, the penitent might be required to visit certain churches on specific dates. He might also be obliged, for a definite period, to be present at the high Mass on Sundays, rod in hand. Between the reading of the Epistle and Gospel, he would be scourged. Fines were sometimes imposed, either as the principal penalty or as a payment for a dispensation from certain obligations.

Wearing of the cross was a severe penalty. Crosses. of yellow cloth, were sewn on the outside clothing, front and back. For perjurers, the crosses might be double, with a second transverse arm. They had to be worn continually, exposing the wearers to many humiliations in their daily life. Other signs of infamy also were used; the wearing of two "tongues" of red cloth distinguished those who had made false accusations.

Imprisonment and the Care of Prisoners. imprisonment was the normal punishment for the converted heretic when his case did not call for special indulgence. As a rule, it was for life, but commutations were frequent. Bernard Gui commuted life imprisonment in 139 out of 307 convictions. Contrary to accepted opinion, certain inquisitors gave evidence of moderation. in 1246 the inquisitor Bernard de Caux condemned - only 23 to life imprisonment out of 207 sentences passed (Dossat, Inquisition toulousaine 249-259). The prisoner's diet consisted of "the bread of sorrow and the water of tribulation," but certain prisoners were allowed supplementary food. The usual imprisonment was at least tolerable for the incarcerated; but stricter immuration, i. e., murus srictus, involved solitary, confinement, with no regard to health. Prison conditions were sometimes mitigated by the negligence or complicity of jailers, and many prisoners escaped.

It was the bishops' responsibility to provide prisons and to supervise the detention of prisoners. As a rule they performed these tasks with little enthusiasm. At the Councils of Narbonne (1243 or 1244), the bishops of southern France, to avoid the heavy expenses involved, blandly declared that stone and mortar were lacking for prison construction, In practice, the king of France took charge in providing for prison needs.

The Death Penalty. The Church could not herself inflict the death penalty (animadversio debita) on the obstinate heretic. When it became impossible to obtain an abjuration, no choice remained but to pronounce the sentence of surrender to the secular court or secular arm, which, in turn, was required to proceed to the execution, despite the customary formula pleading against mutilation and death. The penalty was death by fire, inflicted in a public place outside the building where the Sermo generalis had been held. In principle the same fate was reserved for relapsed heretics: but in practice they were often spared. This penalty, however, was something exceptional. In Toulouse, C. 1256, only one case of burning at the stake was recorded, compared with 12 sentences to life imprisonment. During his long career (13O7-24), Bernard Qui surrendered only 40 heretics to the secular arm.

Posthumous Condemnations. In matters of faith, even death did not halt the course of justice. Depending on the gravity of the case, the inquisitors decided either simply to exhume the remains of the convicted heretic, or to exhume and burn them. In cases involving only life imprisonment, the heirs were attained of heresy.

Confiscation of Property. Total confiscation of the property of the condemned was the direct consequence of maximum penalties. viz, death and life imprisonment; also, the heirs of those convicted were involved in the punishment. Dowries of wives had to be restored. The right of confiscation was a prerogative of the king and of his great vassals, such as the Count of Toulouse. In actual fact, however, the expenses of Inquisitions were heavy and despite

affirmations to the contrary, profits were small (Dossat, *inquisition toulousaine* 316-318). A special bureau was established for the administration of confiscated property; its officer was the "receiver of seizures," who paid the inquisitors' salaries and the expenses of the tribunal. When the authorities did not assume this responsibility, as was the case in the Dauphine, a portion of the confiscated property was payable to the inquisitors. In Italy, as early as the time of Innocent IV, this portion was set at one-third of the total.

By law the houses where heretics had gathered were to be destroyed and the sites remain uninhabited. These rigorous regulations were rarely applied because there were too many interests at stake.

The Decline of the Inquisition. The Inquisition reached its height in the second half of the 13th century. During this period, the tribunals were almost entirely free from any authority, even that of the papacy, and it was impossible to correct abuses.

Reforms of Clement V. Abuses, charged especially to the inquisitors of Carcassonne, provoked papal intervention. An investigation was entrusted to Cardinals Taillefer de Ia Chapelle and Berenger de Fredol, who were given the responsibility of visiting the dungeons of the Inquisition (March 1306). Measures were taken to improve the lot of the prisoners. investigation had no other results, since Clement V repudiated his legates (1308). However, measures of more general importance were taken. During the Council of *Vienne (1311-12), Clement V promulgated the constitutions *Multorum querela* and *Nolentes* (CorplurCanClem 5. 3. 1-2), which required the collaboration of inquisitors and bishops in all important procedural acts. The use of torture, the promulgation of definitive sentences, and the surveillance of prisoners devolved on bishops and inquisitors alike. They were not to act independently. If one of the parties did not answer the invitation of the other, he had the opportunity of being represented or of sending his agreement in writing. The power of the Inquisition was thereby radically attacked. The famous inquisitor Bernard Gul considered these regulations inopportune. He stressed their disadvantages and attempted to have them amended or revolted, but his efforts were fruitless. In fact, John XXII reminded the judges of their duty to respect these regulations and commanded that Inquisition records be turned over to the ordinaries. In the constitution *Cum Mathaeus* (Dec. 21, 1321), he restricted the powers of the inquisitors with respect to certain papal officials.

Later Development. Nevertheless, during the 14th century the Inquisition continued to exercise important functions in Languedoc. But gradually, for lack of suspects, it too began to decay. An old inventory in the Inquisition archives of Carcassonne mentions only 12 items for the 15th century (often only a single document) as compared with 48 for the preceding century. During the period of the Reformation there was no revival of the Inquisition in the south of France. While the tribunals of Toulouse and Carcassonne actually continued in existence until the beginning of the 18th century, this was a survival merely in theory.

Because of the intervention of royal power, the Inquisition tended to lose its original character and consequently its reason for existence. *Philip IV, the Fair, by his edicts of 1302 and 1304, intervened in the controversy between the people of southern France and the inquisitor of Carcassonne; and his representative, John de Pecquigny, took part in the sack of the prisons (August 1304). In 1403 the Parlement of Paris settled the case between the inquisitor of Cambrai and the archbishop of Reims, deciding in favor of the latter. In 1412 a royal mandate ordered the arrest of the inquisitor of Toulouse, who was actually a zealous agent of Benedict XIII (Vidal, 3, 330, 334). In the Dauphine' the tribunal became increasingly subordinated to the Parlement. The inquisitor was required to register his powers with that body, counselors were assigned to him, and he was subject to permanent control. When the Dauphinois, in the presence of the king of France and his Great Council, attacked the practices of the commissary apostolic and of the inquisitor, the Great Council treated the matter for all intents and purposes as if it were dealing with extortion's by royal officials. On Feb. 27, 1509, it decided that all sentences be quashed and annulled (Marx, 178-197). In France during the Reformation the Parliaments had no difficulty claiming cognizance in cases of heresy.

The Spanish Inquisition. At the end of the 15th century, a new tribunal, created by *Sixtus IV at the request of the Catholic kings, overshadowed in Spain the medieval Inquisition, which had been originally established to deal with the problem of Jews, called *conversos* or

marranos, who had been converted, often only partially, to Christianity. In a bull of Nov. 1, 1478, Sixtus IV granted to the Catholic kings the right to appoint two or three inquisitors who were doctors in theology. The severity of the first inquisitors, installed in Seville in January 1481, gave rise to serious complaints; Sixtus IV (January 1482) opposed the extension of the tribunal to Aragon, required the inquisitors to act in harmony with the ordinaries, and decided upon amnesty measures. But he was unable to hold his own against the protests of *Ferdinand V and the reproaches of *Isabella, and he agreed to recognize the independence of the Spanish Inquisition. In order to assure unified direction, the sovereigns organized a Supreme Council of the Inquisition at whose head they placed the Dominican, Tomas de Torquemada, as inquisitor general. Sixtus IV agreed in 1483 and extended the council's powers to Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia (Oct. 17, 1483).

Organization. Legend has transformed Torquemada into a cruel monster, but he was actually an energetic, uncouth religious, utterly devoid of ambition, who succeeded in giving his own austere character to the new institution. He carried out his mission until his death (Sept. 16, 1498). The Inquisition was provided with a code. But in November 1484 an assembly gathered at the monastery of San Pablo of Seville and clarified the first *Instructiones*, which were again revised in October 1488. In 1561 the Inquisitor General, Fernando *Val. des, prepared a new collection of *Instructiones*, according to which the country was divided into five districts, namely, Valladolid, Seville, Toledo, Jaen, and Avila.

The Inquisition intervened also against converted Moslems, known as the Moriscos. They were brutally treated by Lucero, the inquisitor of Cordova, who in consequence was removed from office and imprisoned (1507). Another category of defendants consisted of the mystics, the *alumbrados*. Illuminism, born in Franciscan circles, possibly had its origins in Jewish or Moslem traditions. The Inquisition reached the New World and many *autos-da-fe' were celebrated in Mexico, at Cartagena, and Lima, usually in cases of sorcery, and only rarely in cases of heresy.

Suppression. The Inquisition in Spain survived down to the beginning of the 19th century. It was suppressed by French authorities during the Napoleonic era (1808) and by the Cortes of Cadiz (1813). However, it was reestablished by Ferdinand VIII (July 21, 1813), but had no practical results, since the inquisitor general did not resume his post. The Spanish Inquisition was permanently suppressed by a decree of July 15, 1834.

Conclusion. Judged by contemporary standards, the Inquisition, especially as it developed in Spain toward the close of the Middle Ages, can be classified only as one of the darker chapters in the history of the Church. Born in the high Middle Ages, it prospered particularly in areas influenced by Roman law, never flourishing in England, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries to the same degree as in southern Europe. Yet any objective evaluation of this institution must properly place it in its own intellectual, religious, and sociological milieu. Political and social factors contemporary with the inquisition favored its growth and development in view of the threat to both political and religious unity posed by doctrinal dissidence. But even when Roman, Byzantine, and emerging national legal precedents are recalled and when due consideration is given to the manipulation of this tribunal for reasons of state, the excesses attendant upon its procedures, especially in southern France and in Spain, make the Inquisition, as it evolved in practice, indefensible.

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