

Claude Opus 4.6

March 31, 2026

[Fourteenth Century ACA Transcriptions and Translations/](#)

I have another letter in Catalan from 1387, written in fourteenth century Gothic Secretarial hand. Please do your best to transcribe for Stage 1.

4:05 AM

Preparing comprehensive Stage 1 transcription with uncertainty markers

Preparing comprehensive Stage 1 transcription with uncertainty markers

I'll examine the manuscript image carefully and produce a Stage 1 transcription.

Wrestled with paleographic ambiguities across multiple manuscript lines

Wrestled with paleographic ambiguities across multiple manuscript lines

This is a challenging hand with some compressed letter forms in the middle section. Here's my best Stage 1 reading:

Document identification: Catalan compulsory mandate (*compulsòria*) from Joan I to two named individuals, ordering the delivery of a ward (Bernardona, *pubilla*) to the Governor of Valencia. ACA, Cancillería, Reg. 1751 (?), f. 98v. Date: April 1387.

Rubric (marginal/heading):

Bernardona filha [?] d'en Bnard · opus [?] g° [?]

Note: The rubric is in a different hand/module. The first line likely reads "Bernardona filla" as a content summary. The second line is largely opaque to me — "d'en B[er]nard" is plausible, but the remaining abbreviation(s) do not parse clearly. Possibly an archival or chancery notation.

Body transcription:

En Joh[a]n als amats e feels nos moss[en] Garas [?] d·Lòric [?] e en Ffrancesch Viues [?] habitants d·parc [?] salut e dileccio. Ja per ço que [ab?] diuerses letres nos [?] vos haja molt expressament e ab grans penes manat q[ue] liurasseu [?] al Governador d·Ualencia na Bernardona pubilla filla e hereta de Bn [?] vos q[ue] sabinador [?] d·Ualencia la qual vosaltres temps encomandament [?] no contrestant q[ue] d'[e]sprestituir [?] aquella staua prou e reconeguts [?] q[ue] lo dit En madar [?] al qual vos dit Fferrer [?] e en cada comes [?] frare cor danger [?] presa ab tres [?] d·y [?] q[ue] flos [?] restituir aquella core vegada d'uegro [?] ne sfiros [?] empero tro si no [?] d'antes [?] colguts [?] vna la dita pena e alio [?] pero pena dubs d'antes [?] comayo [?] E com en nits [?] prometeys no regu- te [?] de alguna core q[ue] gen [?] q[ue] nobedrenas [?] d'nits [?] manamens per- dits e mana trespasses [?] e d·tra [?] pra pera encorrimet d·la ira q[ue] a e indignacio e pena d· d[?] morabatins dor [?] vista la present liurets la dita Gnac[Ber]dona [?] al dit Governador o aqu[e]n ell volra y a la mana restaffeta [?] vos q[ue] nos mandem al dit Governador pera per q[ue] pera la car q[ue] d'abtes [?] vos longue e espes [?] e ffreus [?] e bens y nadairu [?] vos patris [?] nos per mand q[ue] d'vots q[ue] nobedrennes [?] portats la pert [?] d·mesos [?] Q[ue] nos mays q[ue] vos te peno o q[ue] red [?] si comes [?] frare q[ue] en vos bens pera e ingressa [?] verguno [?] E la denboi d[?] neltro [?] core enada e qua atraymer [?] e als portmeys [?] ne pendra [?] compl[i?] Dada en barç[elon]a a nj [?] dies d'abril el any [?] del naiss[ament] d·n[ost]re s[eny]or M CCC lxxx set. Rex [?] Afirmacio [?] en est [?]

Paleographic notes and structural observations:

1. **Protocol (L1–2):** The intitlatio ("En Johan") and salutatio ("salut e dileccio") are clear. The addressees are two individuals: "mossen [Garas?] de Lòric" and "en Francesc [Viues?]," identified as "habitants de [parc?]." The first name is uncertain — the initial letter could be G, C, or T. The place name after "habitants de" is crucial but unclear; it may be a Valencian locality.
2. **Narratio (L2–9):** The text follows a standard compulsòria structure: "Ja per ço que ab diverses letres nostres vos haja molt expressament e ab grans penes manat que liurasseu al Governador de Valencia na Bernardona pubilla filla e hereta de Bn·..." — i.e., Joan I reminds them he has already commanded them multiple times, with escalating penalties, to deliver Bernardona (a *pubilla*, female minor heir/ward, daughter and heiress of a certain Bernat) to the Governor of Valencia. Lines 5–9 describe circumstances of non-compliance, but the readings here are very poor and require HTR comparison. The word I'm tentatively reading as "sabinador" (L5) does not parse — it could be a surname (perhaps "Ça Vinador [?]") or a garbled reading of an occupation/title.

3. **Dispositio (L10–15):** After the "E com" clause marking the transition, the operative command is: "vista la present liurets la dita [Bernardona] al dit Governador o a qui ell volra" — "upon seeing the present [letter], deliver the said Bernardona to the said Governor or to whomever he wishes." The penalty formula includes "morabatins d'or" (gold morabatins), but the amount is illegible.
4. **Sanctio/Enforcement (L15–21):** Contains threats regarding seizure of property ("bens" is visible) and penalties for continued non-compliance. This section is the most opaque and will benefit substantially from HTR reconciliation.
5. **Eschatocol (L21–22):** "Dada en Barçelona a [?] dies d'abril l'any del naissament de nostre Senyor M CCC LXXX set" = Given at Barcelona, [?] days of April, year of the birth of our Lord 1387. The day number is unclear. The royal subscription appears to read "Rex [?]" followed by what may be a notarial or registration formula.
6. **General assessment:** The first four lines and the dating formula are the most legible. The middle section (L5–9) describing the circumstances of non-compliance, and the enforcement section (L15–21), are substantially degraded in my reading. This document will benefit heavily from HTR comparison in Stage 2.

Ok, here is the output from the other HTR for Stage 2: Heading: Bernadona filla d'en Bernat Reus q[uon]dam Body: 1. En Johan per la g[ra]çia de deu Rey d'Arago... als amats e feels n[ost]res moss[en] Garçia de Loriz e en Françesc 2. Vives b[at]lles de p[ar]t Salut e dileccio. Havets sabut p[er] d'altres lletres n[ost]res 3. com vos haja molt recomanada e ab grans precis instat l'on[ra]t 4. En Tornador de Salou na Bernadona pubilla filla e hereva de Bernat 5. Reus q[uon]dam sots-b[at]lle de Salou la qual vossaltres tenets en uarda [guarda] e manam[ent] 6. no contrastant q[ue] d'i responguens aquella siats p[er] p[ro]curar de lo d[i]t de 7. uarda [guarda] al qual vos dits fermam[ent] e vos cada any fats tot d'enguany 8. empesa ab p[er]s[on]a o ja p[er] respontre aquella v[ost]re vegada d'enguany 9. no fossets empero tro d'aquells volguen ens ladeure pena e ali[s] 10. pens s[er]ve d'uns d'uns d[...] e tot ay tant p[ro]moro no regu[ard]ant 11. rès alguna cosa que p[er] la n[ost]ra obidiençia e n[ost]res manam[ent]ts 12. d'açí a una s[e]tmana e d'en ssa p[er] encarrerar dita n[ost]re pa[re] 13. e indignaçió e pena de m[il] lliures monedes d'oro vista la p[rese]nt lliurets 14. la dita Bernadona al dit Tornador o a qui ell voldrà tota d'altra mana 15. certificat vos q[ue] nos mandem al d[i]t Tornador p[er] p[ar]t d'altre lo[...] 16. car si abans vos fingué e fés p[er] l'autr[e] e be y uadeu [guadeu] vos 17. trists no nos p[ro]curas q[ue] de v[ost]ra inobidiençia portars la p[er]a [pena] 18. q[ue] n'esperts que no se s[er]vat p[er] tot lo pens o q[u]e d'aci sia remès 19. fare f[er]t ab dits bens seus e ingressi vegina q[ue] la dita ho 20. mès p[er] s[er]ve e g[u]arda atropar e d'altre p[er]mès no penat 21. s[er]ve. Dada en

Barçh[ino]na a III dies d'abril en l'any M CCC LXXX VII 22. de n[ost]re senyor. El Rey En Johan.

Show more

4:21 AM

Reconciled manuscript readings by systematically comparing transcriptions against source document

Reconciled manuscript readings by systematically comparing transcriptions against source document

Thank you, Jonathan. This is a very productive HTR output — it resolves many of my garbled readings, especially in the middle and closing sections. Let me work through the reconciliation systematically.

Stage 2 Reconciliation

(a) Where the HTR corrects my reading

Rubric: HTR's "Bernadona filla d'en Bernat Reus q[uon]dam" is vastly superior to my opaque reading. This parses as a standard content summary: "Bernadona, daughter of the late Bernat Reus." What I was reading as "opus g°" was almost certainly "Reus q[uon]d[a]m" — the *R* misread as a vowel cluster and the *quondam* abbreviation misread as "g°."

Addressee names (L1): HTR's "Garçia de Loriz" is clearly correct over my "Garas [?] d·Lòric." Garcia is a standard name; "Loriz" is a recognizable toponym (likely Lóriz/Lorís). I was misreading the *ç + i* as a single stroke.

L2 — Opening of narratio: HTR's "Havets sabut per d'altres lletres nostres" is more coherent than my "Ja per ço que [ab?] diuerses letres nos[tres]." Both are formulaically plausible openings, but "Havets sabut per d'altres lletres nostres / com vos haja molt..." produces better syntax: "You have known through other letters of ours how we have greatly..."

L5 — Bernat Reus's identification and guardianship formula: HTR's "Reus quondam sots-batlle de Salou la qual vossaltres tenets en guarda e manament" is a breakthrough. My reading was almost completely garbled here. This gives us: Bernat Reus was the late sub-bailiff (*sots-batlle*) of Salou, and the addressees hold Bernadona in guardianship and custody (*guarda e manament*). The geographic coherence of Reus/Salou (neighboring towns in the Camp de Tarragona) confirms the HTR.

L6 — "no contrastant": HTR's standard spelling "contrastant" is preferable to my "contrestant," though both are attested variants.

L7 — "fermament... cada any": HTR's "al qual vos dits fermament e vos cada any fats tot d'enguany" is more coherent than my garbled "Fferrer e en cada comes frare cor danger." What I misread as the name "Fferrer" was likely "fermament" (firmly). The passage seems to describe the addressees affirming their guardianship duties annually.

L11 — Obedience formula: HTR's "res alguna cosa que per la nostra obediència e nostres manaments" is clearly correct. My "nobedrenas" was a garbled reading of "n[ost]ra obediència" (our obedience). Standard formula for recalcitrant subjects.

L13 — Penalty and delivery command: Both agree on the core formula "vista la present lliurets" (upon seeing the present letter, deliver). HTR gives the penalty as "mil lliures monedes d'or" — I'll address the denomination below.

L15 — "certificat vos": HTR's "certificat vos que nos mandem al dit [Tornador]" is clearly right. My "restaffeta" was a bad misreading. "Certificants-vos que nos mandem..." is a standard chancery formula: "certifying to you that we command..."

L17 — "inobediència... portars la pena": HTR's reading makes contextual sense: "that from your disobedience you will bear the penalty." This matches the escalating rhetoric of a compulsion order.

L21-22 — Dating and subscription: HTR gives "Dada en Barchinona a III dies d'abril en l'any M CCC LXXX VII / de nostre senyor. El Rey En Johan." — April 3, 1387, at Barcelona. My dating was garbled. "El Rey En Johan" is Joan I's standard Catalan subscription, which I had misread as "Rex Afirmacio."

(b) Where my reading is preferred or the HTR should be questioned

Full intitulatio (L1): The HTR inserts "per la gràcia de Déu Rey d'Aragó..." between "En Johan" and "als amats e feels nostres." Looking at the manuscript, the text appears to proceed directly from "En Johan" to "als amats e feels nostres" without the full titlature. The line does not appear long enough to accommodate the full royal style even with heavy abbreviation. I believe the HTR has hallucinated the standard formula from training data. Many less formal mandates use the short form "En Johan" alone. **Flag for archival verification.**

"Encorrimment de la ira" (L12): My reading of "per a encorrimment de la [nostra] ira" (to incur our wrath) is a standard penalty formula in Aragonese chancery documents. The HTR

garbles this as "per encarrerar dita nostre pare." The formula "encorriment de la nostra ira e indignació" (incurring our wrath and indignation) is well-attested and leads naturally into L13's "e indignació e pena de..."

Orthographic preferences: Where visible, manuscript forms should be preserved. I believe the scribe writes "ffrancesch" (double-f initial), not HTR's normalized "Frañesc." Similarly "vossaltres" vs "vosaltres" — both are attested; the HTR may be right about the geminate ss but both are possible.

(c) Where both readings are uncertain — major cruxes

1. "Gouernador de Valencia" (my reading) vs. "Tornador de Salou" (HTR) — MAJOR CRUX

This is the single most consequential divergence. It appears on L4 and again on L14–15. My reading gives us the Governor of Valencia as the intended recipient of the ward; the HTR gives us a person named "Tornador" from Salou.

Arguments for HTR ("Tornador de Salou"): The geographic context strongly favors Salou — the pupilla's father was sots-batlle *de Salou*, and the addressees appear to be local officials in the same area. The Governor of Valencia has no jurisdiction in the Camp de Tarragona, making my reading geographically incoherent. However, "Tornador" is not a recognizable Catalan personal name or surname. Could this be a misreading of "Torner" (an occupational surname — turner) or "Torroella"?

Arguments for my reading ("Gouernador"): The letter forms for the initial capital could be G or T in this hand. "Gouernador" is a real title; "Tornador" is not a recognized name. But the geographic mismatch with "de Valencia" is a serious problem unless the Gouernador in question has some cross-jurisdictional role.

This crux requires archival verification. If the reading is "Tornador," we need prosopographical identification. If it is "Gouernador," we need to explain the jurisdictional anomaly. A possibility I'd flag: could the word be "Comendador" (commander of a military order)? Salou had connections to military orders, and "Comendador de Salou" would be both institutionally and geographically coherent.

2. "batlles de part [?]" (HTR L2) vs. "habitants de parc [?]" (my reading)

The HTR's "batlles" (bailiffs) makes much better contextual sense than my "habitants" — these are officials with custodial authority over a pupilla, not mere residents. However, "de

part" is unusual. Could "part" be an abbreviated place name? Or could "batlles de part [nostra]" mean "bailiffs on our behalf"? This needs checking.

3. "recomanada e ab grans precs instat" (HTR L3) vs. "expressament e ab grans penes manat" (my reading)

This divergence changes the document's rhetorical tone. My reading implies previous commands with threats ("expressly and with great penalties commanded"); the HTR implies previous entreaties ("greatly commended and with great prayers urged"). Both are formulaically plausible. The overall document structure — escalating to "ira e indignació" and monetary penalties — is consistent with *either* opening: Joan I may be saying "we previously *asked nicely*, but now we're *commanding*." The word forms for "recomanada" vs. "expressament" and "precs" vs. "penes" are quite different paleographically, so this should be resolvable at the manuscript.

4. Penalty denomination (L13): HTR reads "mil lliures monedes d'or"; I read "morabatins d'or." The HTR's formula is somewhat unusual — "lliures monedes d'or" is redundant. "Mil morabatins d'or" is more standard for Aragonese chancery penalties. The amount ("mil" = 1000) seems plausible in both cases. Needs verification.

5. L6–10 — The narrative middle section: Both readings remain substantially garbled through this stretch, which describes the circumstances of the addressees' non-compliance with previous orders. The HTR provides more coherent fragments — "d'i responguens aquella siats per procurar" (L6), "cada any fats tot d'enguany" (L7), "no fossets" (L9) — but neither reading produces a fully parseable continuous text. The overall sense appears to be: despite the addressees' acknowledged duties as guardians (which they affirm annually), they have not fulfilled the obligation to deliver/present the pupilla as commanded.

6. L16–20 — Enforcement provisions: Both readings are partially garbled. The HTR gives some useful fragments: "car si abans vos fingúes" (L16; "for if before you feigned/pretended"), "de vostra inobidiença portars la pena" (L17; "from your disobedience you will bear the penalty"), "bens seus" (L19; "his/her goods" — suggesting property seizure), "guarda atrobar" (L20; "guardianship to find/recover"). But neither reading produces a fully continuous text for this section.

(d) Reconciled transcription

Incorporating the best readings from both sources, with remaining uncertainties marked:

[Rubric:] Bernadona filla d'en Bernat Reus q[uon]dam

[Body:]

En Johan als amats e feels nostres mossen Garçia de Loriz e en Francesch Viues b[at]lles [?] de part [?] salut e dileccio. Havets sabut per d'altres lletres nostres com vos haja molt recomanada [?] e ab grans prec[s] [?] instat [?] l'on[ra]t [En Tornador [?]] de Salou na Bernadona pubilla filla e hereva de Bernat Reus q[ue]dam sots-b[at]lle de Salou la qual vossaltres tenets en guarda e manam[en]t no contrastant q[ue] d'i responguens [?] aquella siats [?] per procurar [?] de lo dit de guarda al qual vos dits fermam[en]t e vos cada any fats [?] tot d'enguany empesa [?] ab p[er]s[on]a o ja per respontre [?] aquella vostre vegada d'enguany no fossets empero tro d'aquells [?] volgu[ess]en [?] la [deure?] pena e ali[s?] [?] pe[n]s [?] [serve?] d'uns [?] [...] e [tot?] [ay?] tant [?] no regardant [?] res alguna cosa q[ue] per la nostra obidiençia e nostres manam[en]ts per- dits [?] e d'ací a una setmana e d'en çà per a encorrimet de la nostra ira e a [?] e indignació e pena de [mil?] [morabatins / lliures monedes?] d'or vista la present lliurets la dita Bernadona al dit [Tornador [?]] o a qui ell voldrà [tota d'altra mana?] [?] certificat [?] vos q[ue] nos mandem al dit [Tornador [?]] per [part?] [d'altre?] [?] per [a?] la [?] car si abans [?] vos fing[ue]s [?] e fés [?] per l'autr[e] e bé y [guadeu?] [?] vos trists no nos procur[eu] [?] q[ue] de vostra inobidiençia portar[e]ts la pena [?] q[ue] [n'esperts?] [?] q[ue] no [se?] s[er]vat per tot [lo pens?] o q[ue] d'ací sia remès [?] far[em] [?] f[er]t ab dits bens seus e [ingressi?] [vegina?] [?] q[ue] la dita [ho?] m[é]s per s[er]ve e guarda atrobar [?] e d'altre permès [?] no pen[a]t [?] s[er]ve [?]. Dada en Barch[inon]a a III dies d'abril en l'any del naissam[en]t de nostre senyor M CCC LXXX VII. El Rey En Johan.

Summary of document as currently understood:

Joan I writes to mossen Garcia de Loriz and en Francesc Vives, bailiffs [?] of [part?], reminding them that through previous letters he has commended/urged the honorable [Tornador? / Governador?] of Salou [regarding] Bernadona, ward (*pubilla*), daughter and heiress of the late Bernat Reus, sub-bailiff of Salou, whom the addressees hold in guardianship. Despite their acknowledged duties, they have not complied. He now commands them, under penalty of incurring his wrath and indignation and a fine of [1000?] [morabatins/lliures?] in gold, to deliver Bernadona upon sight of this letter to the said [Tornador?] or to whomever he designates. Dated at Barcelona, April 3, 1387.

The document is a **compulsory mandate** (*compulsòria*) escalating from prior entreaties to a direct command with financial penalties, concerning the custody of a minor heiress in the Camp de Tarragona.

Ready for your corrections before proceeding to Stage 3.

Line 4 starts with al Governador de Valence. The name of Bernadora's father was Bernard Vines (both you and the other HTR are mis-reading the V for an R). Line 5 begins with Bernard's last name: Vines qui habitador de Valence la qual vosaltres tenits amagadament... There is no mention of Salou in this document. With those corrections, please proceed to Stage 3.

4:37 AM

Integrated corrections and prepared reconciled transcription for Stage 3

Integrated corrections and prepared reconciled transcription for Stage 3

Clear — those corrections are decisive. "Governador de Valencia" restores geographic coherence, "Bernat Vines" resolves the patronymic, and "amagadament" (secretly/in hiding) transforms the document's tone entirely. Let me produce the Stage 3 edition.

Pivoted to markdown format for workflow compatibility

Pivoted to markdown format for workflow compatibility

Now let me produce the Stage 3 scholarly edition as a markdown file.

Acknowledged corrections and prepared to advance documentation analysis

Acknowledged corrections and prepared to advance documentation analysis

Here's the Stage 3 edition. A few things worth flagging:

The most consequential word in this document is *amagadament* — Joan I is accusing these bailiffs (if "batlles" is correct) of actively *hiding* a minor heiress from the Governor of Valencia's jurisdiction. That's a serious charge, not routine administrative foot-dragging. It raises obvious questions about whether the addressees have a financial interest in controlling Bernadona's patrimony.

The middle section (L6–10) remains the weakest part of the edition — neither my reading nor the HTR produced anything fully continuous there. That stretch apparently describes the specific history of non-compliance, which would be valuable for understanding the dispute's timeline. Worth close attention on your next archival pass.

Your correction on "Governador de Valencia" vs. the HTR's "Tornador de Salou" was critical — it not only fixes the recipient but eliminates a phantom geographic context (Salou/Camp de Tarragona) that the HTR had constructed from the misread patronymic "Reus." The entire document is Valencian in setting.

Aca joani compulsoria bernadona vines 1387 04 03

Document · MD

Want to be notified when Claude responds?

[Claude is AI and can make mistakes. Please double-check responses.](#)