



Roda da Fortuna

Revista Eletrônica sobre Antiguidade e Medievo
Electronic Journal about Antiquity and Middle Ages

Paulo Esmeraldo Catarino Lopes¹

Allies or occupants: the identity of the “Spanish” community in the capital of Christendom by the voice of a Portuguese traveler from the medieval twilight

Aliados ou ocupantes: a identidade da comunidade “espanhola” na capital da Cristandade pela voz de um viajante português do entardecer medieval

Abstract:

At the beginning of the 16th century, the Spanish community in Rome possessed a special status, directly indebted to the fact that the papacy found in the Hispanic sovereign the great support for the pursuit of the internal and external policy of the States of the Church. However, this "privilege" raises important questions: who exactly are these "Spaniards"? What political outlines define its presence in the capital of Christendom in the opening years of the 16th century? How was this foreign community perceived by the native population of Rome? What is the reaction of the Romans to an ever more massive, constant and influential presence on the part of the Spaniards in the conduct of the destinies of the *Eternal City*? And, above all, what is the role of the main Roman families in this scenario? Written at the end of the first quarter of the 16th century and having for sole recipient Jaime (1479-1532), IV duke of Braganza, for whom the author worked as a servant, a singular Portuguese document that came to be known as *Memoirs of a Nobleman from Chaves* sheds light on all these questions.

Keywords:

Identity; Community; Spaniards *vs.* Romans

Resumo:

No início do século XVI, a comunidade espanhola em Roma possuía um estatuto especial, directamente devedor do facto de o papado encontrar no soberano hispânico o grande suporte para a prossecução da política interna e externa dos Estados da Igreja. No entanto, tal “privilégio” levanta questões importantes: quem são exactamente estes “espanhóis”? Que contornos políticos definem a sua presença na capital da Cristandade nos alvares de Quinhentos? Como era percebida esta comunidade estrangeira pela população nativa de Roma? Qual a reacção destes

¹ PhD Researcher, Paulo Catarino Lopes is a full member of the Institute of Medieval Studies (IEM), a Research Unit of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities (Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas) of Universidade Nova de Lisboa (NOVA FCSH). This work is funded by national funds through the FCT - Foundation for Science and Technology, I.P., under the contract-program provided for in numbers 4, 5 and 6 of art. 23 of D.L. N.º. 57/2016, of August 29, amended by Law N.º. 57/2017, of July 19.

últimos face a uma presença cada vez mais massiva, constante e influente por parte dos primeiros na condução dos destinos da *Cidade Eterna*? E, sobretudo, qual o papel das grandes famílias romanas neste estado de coisas? Redigido no final do primeiro quartel do século XVI e tendo por único destinatário D. Jaime (1479-1532), 4º duque de Bragança, de quem o anónimo autor é criado, um singular documento português que passou a ser conhecido como *Memórias de um Fidalgo de Chaves* traz luz sobre todas estas interrogações.

Palavras-Chave:

Identidade; Comunidade; Espanhóis *vs* Romanos.

The following text intends to reflect on the influential presence in Rome of the community of "Spaniards" in the early years of the 16th century by the voice of a Portuguese traveler, who lived there between 1510 and 1517. Officially regarded as allies of the States of the Church, was that in fact the condition of the "Spaniards" in the eyes of the local population or, instead, were they perceived as occupants? Even more, who exactly are these "Spaniards"? What political outlines define the Spanish presence in the capital of Christendom in the opening years of the 16th century? How was this foreign community perceived by the native population of Rome? What is the reaction of the Romans to an ever more massive, constant and influential presence on the part of the Spaniards in the conduct of the destinies of the *Eternal City*? And, above all, what is the role of the main Roman families in this scenario?

As a case study, the great value of the testimony in question lies in the fact that the image it conveys of the Spanish in Rome allows for an analysis that goes well beyond the circumscribed context of the case itself, enabling, instead, to address questions of a more general nature in interpretive terms such as the Iberian identity construction in Rome and the processes of otherness that ensue. In other words, it refers to the relevant topic of conception among the inhabitants of the *Eternal City* about this *Other* brother of faith but coming from the western borders of the same continent at the turn of the 15th century to the 16th century, a particularly intense period in the history of Europe and, more specifically, of the Italian peninsula.

1. The document and its author

On the 21st of May of 1510, an anonymous nobleman set off from the Portuguese city of Chaves in the direction of Rome, only to return to the kingdom of his birthplace in September of 1517. Sometime later he wrote an extensive and impressive account of his travels, entitled *Tratado que hum criado do duque de bragança*

*escreueo pera sua senhoria dalgumas notavees cousas que vio hindo pera Roma. E de suas grandezas E Indulgençias, E grandes aconteçimentos que laa socçederam em espaço de sete años que hi esteue*². (A treatise that a servant of the duke of Braganza wrote for his lordship about some notable things he saw on his journey to Rome. And of its grandiosities And Indulgences, And great events that took place there during the seven years I was there).

Representative of a crucial period in European history, this document – which came to be known as *Memórias de um Fidalgo de Chaves*³ (*Memoirs of a Nobleman from Chaves*) – were written in the second half of 1521⁴, and its only intended recipient was Jaime (1479-1532), IV duke of Braganza, for whom the author worked as a servant (*Memoirs*, fl. 139v).

Its content combines different literary genres, including travel narratives, personal letters, urban chronicles and descriptive reports. It is worth mentioning the historical concurrence of both the narrated accounts and chronological data, with the most secure documentary records of the period⁵.

The existence of a taxonomy will therefore be mixed and always refer to the general category of history (Amado, 1997: 9-28; Kayser, 1944). This, in turn, makes the intention of truth - expressed, for example, in the use of the copy of official documents - serve as an instrument of certification and legitimation of the message transmitted. That is, the *truth* index is decisive in the text, insofar as it is its ultimate object: give to see the recipient of the narrative, even if filtered by the author's appraisal judgment, what happened during the seven years in which it remained in the capital of Christendom.

The text has a quasi-confessional tone and a free, spontaneous style. It is imbued with value judgement and personal opinion, attributes that give vivacity to the text, as well as a unique tone. Almost all of the content relates to events and figures that have taken place in Italy, in the time frame already mentioned.

In other words, the fact that the author first witnessed the events and wrote his text in years not too far removed from the events he narrates, associated with the fact that he was not subject to the official pressure of a royal letter (still that "pressed" by the spectrum of interests and expectations of the only recipient of his

² Integrated in the *Colección de Don Luis de Salazar y Castro* of the Academia de História of Madrid with the classification N-76 / Several Portuguese (Signatura 9/I.081, pages 136 to 227v), this document occupy the folios 136r-227v of a miscellany of Portuguese manuscripts (Eugenio Asensio, 1970: 7-28).

³ Henceforth the work is referred to in the abbreviated form: *Memoirs*.

⁴ The clues provided by the author, when combined with the data available today, lead us to conclude that the wording of the final text did not take place before mid-July 1521 and after the beginning of December of the same year.

⁵ Compare, as examples, with the narratives of coeval authors, particularly Paolo Giovio (1483-1552), Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540) and Paride de Grassi (1470-1528); (Castro, 1991: 7-16).

narrative), makes the final result a testimony punctuated with diverse anthropological and ethnographic details, which, in turn, in addition to dynamizing the speech and lending an unmistakable coloring to it, humanize the account as a whole. The author marks his text with descriptions and almost visual panoramas, even photographic. It privileges not only what it sees, but also the particular emotions and attitudes inherent. And not infrequently, with enthusiasm, express particularly in the details of the lived and the observed. It is in situations like these, incidentally, that his narrative departs absolutely from the aridity traditionally associated with official documents. A paradigmatic example lies precisely in the representation of the relations between the Spanish community in Rome and the native population.

In essence, this unique document constitutes a privileged testimony of a specifically Portuguese look at the Rome of the 16th century dawn as a founding political-religious space where the great coeval powers disputed hegemony over the *Old Continent*.

The author informs us that he arrives in Rome on 26 August 1510. From here he begins what is really his great objective: to inform in a plurithematic way – but always with a special focus on political and governance issues – his lord, Jaime, IV duke of Braganza and nephew of King Manuel I (1469-1521, sovereign of Portugal since 1495), of what is happening in Rome and, by extension, in Italy (*Memoirs*, fl. 139v). These words associated with the ones he presents in the prologue (*Memoirs*, fl. 136r) leave no doubt about his purpose in Rome, as well as about who sent him and with what mission: the author was in the capital of Christendom as an agent of Jaime (Matos, 1956, 20), head of the second greatest aristocratic household in the kingdom, as well as the king’s nephew, and his intimate (“privado”) and favourite.

Rome, and especially the pontifical curia, were increasingly the privileged center of universal information (Barata, 1991, Cruz, 1969). It is not surprising, consequently, that the Crown and the great Portuguese lords promoted follows the general European tendency to opt for permanent diplomatic representations in Rome with parallel informative actions, of which the establishment of networks of agents and contacts is probably the best example (Cardim, 2004a). The Italian journey of the author of *Memoirs* seems to be a good example of this phenomenon, in this case under the guidance of the head of one of the largest aristocratic houses of the Iberian Peninsula: Jaime of Braganza.

Indeed, the author represents Jaime's eyes and ears where he cannot be. Basically, it is about sending someone to observe, listen and describe, thus keeping his lord aware of the big issues. It is no conspiracy project, but the need for someone to stay informed because of the social position he occupies, the specific interests of his aristocratic House, and the important role he plays as a counselor to the king (in this particular case his uncle).

Risky, because it does not benefit from the protection and immunity that the official position of ambassador guarantees, the activity of these agents/“observers” often functions as a genuine act of espionage (Preto, 2010, 41-86, 185-234, 247-260, 301-380 and 433-446). The important thing is that it provides information of a different nature from the official reports. Predominantly spontaneous, genuine and emotional, they derive from personal opinion that is not constrained by formal dictates. They are therefore more real and often more valuable.

These “collateral” agents make clear in their reports what they really feel and think about the people and events evoked. The authentic opinion and not what they should and can say. Good examples are some *Memoirs* passages concerning the two popes and various cardinals with whom the author coexisted in Rome⁶.

Specifically, the House of Braganza was able to secure the necessary administrative arrangements and conditions, like the Royal House, to develop external relations at a much broader level than previously attempted. Especially because the 16th century is the time when the first secular princes were able to implement and execute political strategies of world projection (Cardim, 2004a; 2004b). Thus, like the Crown (which wished to maintain a prudent policy of neutrality with regard to European conflicts), it was vital that the highest Portuguese nobility should develop permanent official and unofficial diplomatic intervention in Rome.

2. The context: Europe at a turning point

The turning period between Four Hundred and Five Hundred has seen a triple process of displacement of the powers. Firstly, because of the transcontinental movement of European civilization, the effects of which, circumstantial in the beginning, soon began to influence the balance of powers within the European continent itself. Then there was an acceleration of the process of centralization of power in the most important monarchies of Christendom. And finally, the Turk imposed its power on the eastern "door" of Europe, that the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 was a decisive step in a dynamic of imperial growth that strongly conditioned the history of the continent in the 16th century (Goffman, 2002; Inalcik, 1989; Kitsikis, 1996; Quataert, 2008; Turnbull, 2003).

On the other hand, at the time of the author's departure for Rome, much of the European territory was far from having defined boundary lines. To the North

⁶ In essence, the two popes evoked by the author, Julius II and Leo X (1475-1521, elected pope in 1513), and that correspond to the period in which he remained in Italy, constitute the axes around which the whole testimony will develop. From both pontiffs, the author draws an impressive picture, not only physical and psychological, but also at the level of spiritual and, above all, secular conduct as leaders of Christendom.

and the East, peripheral zones, the process of full integration into the political, social and cultural dynamics of the continent would be long. The Center of Europe and the South Italic, in turn, constituted a political reality completely fragmented. Only about a century later would Europe's political divisions know more clarification. But at the same time, it was from this period, the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, that the *Old Continent*, always in transformation and recomposition, began to be defined in terms of political thought: the search for the equilibrium of forces between powers - in particular the national monarchies, at the time in free rise and affirmation - would be the way to go, instead of the European unity so desired by the Holy Emperor (Fossier, 1990; Hale, 2000, 23-142; Tenenti, 1985).

The *Hundred Years' War* (1337-1453), though fought between France and England, demonstrated that the feudal system was already anachronistic. In particular, France comes out of the long conflict with a monarchy reinforced and animated by a spirit that heralded the national sentiment, symbolized by the figure of Joan of Arc (1412-1431), also beginning a period of political growth, first stage by Louis XI (1423-1483, king since 1461) and Charles VIII (1470-1498, king since 1483), which largely define the French national space. Hence, symbolically, this conflict is sometimes evoked as one of several landmarks to point out the medieval twilight. At the end of the 15th century, France emerged as one of the greatest powers in Western Europe, ready, therefore, to internationalize its political and military ambitions as a way of affirmation and dynastic identity on the part of the Valois.

In short, the foundations of French consolidation as a new European power were laid at the end of the 15th century and at the beginning of the next century. Thus, both domestically and externally, the guiding political principle has always been the creation of a strong national monarchy.

On the other hand, the building of Spain as a national monarchy and a set of unified kingdoms was based on the weakening of local freedoms and the retreat of feudal privileges in favor of the Crown, increasingly consistent and strong, together with the original trust placed in the royal council, who from the earliest years the Crown sought, with success, to free of the domination of the high nobility.

Castile and Aragon were united in 1479 by the marriage, held ten years before, between Isabel of Castile (1451-1504)⁷ and Fernando of Aragon (1452-1516)⁸, while the Muslim kingdom of Granada was incorporated by the Catholic Kings⁹ in 1492 and Navarre annexed in 1512¹⁰. Decisive contribution to the victory

⁷ Queen of Castile since 1474 (as Isabel I), queen-consort of Sicily from 1469, Aragon from 1479 and Naples in 1504.

⁸ King of Sicily since 1468, Aragon since 1479 (as Fernando II), Castile between 1474 and 1504, and Naples since 1504. He was still regent of the Castilian Crown from 1507.

of the Spanish royal authority was religion, as a unifying element of the diversified and heterogeneous Hispanic peoples (Bethencourt, 2000, 95-131, *Idem*, 1994)¹¹.

The Catholic Kings made use of the spirit of crusade to make real the so desired Hispanic unity, which was first of all a religious unit. On the other hand, as in France, the monarchs at an early stage attempted to control the Church within the limits of the territory over which they were sovereign through the exclusive right to appoint the holders of the most important ecclesiastical offices of the kingdom, as well as ensuring that a part of church tithes went to the royal treasury. At this point it is important to refer to the Portuguese case, whose sovereign Manuel I played a decisive role in Rome in the sense of asserting the autonomy of royal power with regard to the appointment of the Portuguese prelates (Paiva, 2006).

In Spain, as in the French and English case, were also important the extension of the king's power to the regions, traditionally under the strict control of the nobility, and the constitution of a competent administrative and bureaucratic machine, which in turn would allow building a strong treasury thanks to the efficient collection of taxes, reflecting all this in the creation of a powerful army that would dominate the European battlefields in the next years.

Unity of faith and unity of peoples, through a prior discipline and a rigorous assurance of the establishment of order as pillars of authority and centralization of a royal government that was consolidating.

Instead of Spain and France, where territorial combinations tend to unity under royal authority, the vast territory of Central Europe – corresponding to the Holy Roman Empire (Erlanger, 2000; Ernest Cebrià, 2002)¹² –, and Italy are experiencing a political environment which, like the territory itself, is characterized by complete sharing.

Italy, in particular, was divided into a multitude of small states, from which, by their greatest power, stood out five: the Duchy of Milan, the Republics of Florence and Venice, the States of the Church, and the Kingdom of Naples. None of them were strong enough to dominate the others, but they were aimed to it.

⁹ Title by which the couple of monarchs became known.

¹⁰ This is despite the fact that there are still innumerable internal differences and unification is still fragile, especially in relation to Castile and Aragon which, after 1469, retained much of their own political institutions.

¹¹ The political unification of Spain passed largely by a new institution, which the Catholic Kings put to the service of the strengthening of monarchical power: the Inquisition. In fact, it became an instrument of power at the service of the Crown, which was truly decisive in forging unity and creating a strong monarchy, especially since it was increasingly under the control of the Crown.

¹² In fact, there is no unity but division between multiple principalities, episcopates, counties, different lordships and autonomous cities. A true political kaleidoscope based on a fragmented territorial mosaic, where, however, the Habsburg dynasty progressively asserts itself, especially through the action of the future emperor Charles V (1500-1558).

A country so divided, but so exceptionally rich, invited the invasion. Milan in the North and Naples in the South were the excuse, as they were at the very center of the dynastic ambitions of Spain and France, the European powers on the rise at the time. Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) followed closely the Italian reality to ground his political thinking. However, the appeal he made in the last chapter of *The Prince*¹³ could not be further from reality.

Unity and political identity were, therefore, attributes simply absent from the Italian peninsula in this turning period. Hence, in their territory, the most diverse forms of State have been tried, from principalities and monarchies to republics.

Aware of this fact and taking advantage of it, the foreign powers exploited the Italian internal conflict and eventually turned the Italic soil into the great battlefield of the early 16th century, deciding there the fate of Western Europe (Browning, 1895; Shaw, 2006; Taylor, 1921). The peninsula suffered in this period the passage and the devastating presence of successive foreign armies. A high point of this reality occurs when it assists, helpless, to the sack of Rome of 1527 by the mercenary forces of Charles V (Chastel, 1983; Lenzi, 1978).

3. The foreign policy of the Kingdom of Spain in the early 16th century and the place of Rome in its expansion agenda

At the dawn of the 16th century in Rome, a community of foreigners is gaining more and more prominence, both by the number of elements it integrates and by the political and military weight that increasingly assumes in the government of the *Eternal City*. This is the community of "Spaniards", which in the document analyzed here includes all Christian peoples of the Iberian Peninsula: Portuguese, Spanish, Andalusian, Aragonese, Basque, etc.

It is a community whose participants share a clear corporate spirit, which is based on a common goal: political, economic and military dominance in the capital of Christendom.

As we have already pointed out, the transition from the 15th century to the following century is a time of rapid and profound change for Spain, which witnesses the rise of the State and the consolidation of the national territory into the figure of a strong and tending centralizing monarchy. Identity aspects such as language, religion, territorial unification and the appearance of a certain nation-consciousness or, at least, of a sense of belonging to a certain collective entity, allied to an innovative administrative body and an army more and more powerful, are characteristics that distinguish the rise of Spain as a national state and the assertion of its monarchy as a great ruling House.

¹³ Written in 1513 and published posthumously in 1532.

Against this backdrop, Spain, like France, was moving towards temporal autonomy with Rome as a pontifical seat. The capital of Christendom had only a predominant spiritual position, no longer in secular terms. Indeed, in these transitional years, nations are not only opposed to each other but to the two great medieval institutions: the papacy and the empire. Reinforced, the power of the kings vis-a-vis the pope and the emperor is now notorious and a declared cause of rejection of any attempt of supremacy on the part of these institutions. In a movement that spreads for conjunctural reasons to almost the whole of Western Europe, sovereigns make it appear to the emperor that, in fact, he did not have an effective authority over Europe. Nor could the papacy ever have such a claim, especially since it was too much involved, particularly from a political and military point of view, in the secular, institutional and territorial strengthening of its own state. A process which, coupled with the fact that at that time the top of the Church was experiencing a profound phase of mundanisation and temporality, especially in customs, was not at all unnoticed by believers and would constitute a good part of the accusations raised by Luther in 1517¹⁴.

However, from Europe that prevails from the political and civilizational point of view, that is, the Western one, a search for hegemony is raised by two great protagonists: France and, precisely, Spain. It will be the rich and splendid Italy the great stage of such a dispute, whose final materialization are the *Italian Wars*, which unfold on Italian soil between 1494 and 1559 (Shaw, 2006). If in a first phase, with obvious difficulty, France is able to stand out after the imperial election of Charles V in 1519, Spain will finally take the lead in the conflict (Kamen, 2003; Mallett and Shaw, 2012). Confirmation of this Spanish supremacy over Europe by the end of the 16th century will occur with the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis in 1559. However, what stands out from all this long process is the evident priority of the search for the balance of power. This will be the key in Europe's political future (Salmann, 2003).

Indeed, this whole process of *furor politicus* causes Spain to look at Italy in a very special way, in particular for the Kingdom of Naples in the South, and for Rome, the capital of Christianity. As a result, because of its coeval centrality, the Spanish community in the latter grows non-stop. Thus, in the first decades of the 16th century, its importance in the government and in the daily life of the historic city is unquestionable.

The truth is as simple as this: the pope needs the Spaniards to maintain their power and, above all, to secure the borders of Church States. In other words,

¹⁴ In 1517, the year in which the author of the *Memoirs* left Italy to return to Portugal, the Augustinian monk Martin Luther (1483-1546) posted the 95 Theses against the Indulgences at the door of the church of the castle of Wittenberg, symbolically beginning the religious Reformation in Europe and one of the most traumatic moments in the history of Christianity: the one that marks the end of the unity of faith, something that not even moments like the *Captivity of Avignon* (1308-1377) and the subsequent *Great Schism of the West* (1378 to 1417) had obtained.

conscious of losing ground in secular power for the state and the royal figure, the Church tried to maneuver in a different direction whenever it could. One of the best examples is the continued search for support from Spain against France in the pontificate of Julius II (1443-1513, elected pope in 1503).

Nations such as France and Spain would by no means accept absolute submission to the pope (and still less to the empire, after all, the two great medieval institutions), as a spiritual authority who continues to seek to interfere in the internal affairs of government of the secular states of Christendom (Prodi, 1987).

On the other hand, the voracious appetite of foreigners, especially the Spaniards, for Italy and especially Rome, also originated in the flourishing economy - based above all on commerce and industry - and the unequaled cultural and artistic brilliance that resulted precisely from territorial and political fragmentation that characterized the territory and had as a last consequence the multiplication of artistic centers. Each lord / family wanted to present themselves as culturally more powerful than their neighbor and potential adversary. Hence the patronage flourished like in no other European area and, in parallel, took place the availability of real treasures without defense throughout the peninsula. Central place of European policy, Italy was thus also its heart in terms of cultural life and civilizational progress (Burns, 1981, II: 91-195; Delumeau, 2004: 35-82; Corvisier, 1977: 49-64; Green, 1991: 39-47 e 103-112; Gregorovius, 1972).

4. The centrality of Rome, *Caput Mundi*

On the other hand, as we have pointed out, Rome benefits from the condition of spiritual leadership and central toponym in the collective imagination of the community of the faithful. More than Jerusalem itself, which was then in the possession of the infidels.

The *Eternal City* was possible to visit despite all the difficulties that such a journey implied. It was a tangible, palpable reality. Yet, Jerusalem or even Constantinople, which had fallen for more than half a century in the hand of the Turk, symbolically becoming its capital, were inscribed in the universe of the just imagined.

In its sacred ground lie the largest churches in the world and at the point where the founder of the Church died, Pope Julius II builds the Church of St. Peter which, when completed, will be the largest temple in the world (Shaw, 2005: 37-45).

At the symbolic level, since it is based on belief, it is a model for *peregrini* on earth and also represents the ultimate glorification of the Church and by extension of the whole believer.

The Christian monuments of the *mirabili urbe* leave a striking impression, at the same time that Roman customs surprise and fascinate the foreigner.

But Rome is also a cosmopolitan city (Cohen and Cohen, 2001, Cruciani, 1983, Delumeau, 1975, Heers, 2001, Lee, 2006, Pinelli, 2007, Portoghesi, 1971, Proia, 1933 and Stinger, 1998). As the author of the *Memoirs* says, «Rome is therefore the head of the cities of the world, for what in other places would be greatly regarded as strange and dishonest, here is gentleness, praise, honor, and nobility of court.» (*Memoirs*, fl. 184r).

Everyone surrenders to the energy and movement of the *Eternal City*, which always refers to the concept of *Caput Mundi*, for in it everything is universal, great and grandiose.

The *mirabili urbe* is the symbolic center from which everything emanates and the physical point where everything converges. Their «towers and palaces of the cardinals and great lords» impress both by the richness and the liveliness that permeates them. Palaces, gardens and fountains are thus always to be praised.

Rome attracts everyone, for somehow they all want to benefit from what they can potentially offer, whether special privileges, various benefits, or forgiveness for their sins. On the other hand, in their lively squares and streets everyone, Italians and foreigners, can find entertainment reasons; from Cardinals to Barons passing through the common people (Biagi, 1988, Cesareo, 1938, Nichols, 1889). Its daily rhythm is vibrant, with streets full of diverse people to watch secular and religious processions go by (Paschini, 1940; Rodocanachi, 1983; Visceglia, 2002). From clothing and the rich jewels used by the noblemen and great prelates to the sumptuous palaces of the cardinals, everything in this city is a unique spectacle (Partner, 1979; Pettinelli, 1991; Gensini, 1994).

But Rome is not only the spiritual headquarters for Christianity. It is also an urban space that wants to assume itself as the great political axis of Europe, at least in the sense that all Christian nations have to somehow go through - and show - to assert their international claims.

The Portuguese embassy of 1514 is the best example of this scenario: at the same time it reveals the capacity of representation of the reigning Portuguese house, it announces the Roman diplomatic capitality (Gouveia, 1992: 24-27).

On the other hand, it should be remembered that Rome is the capital of the Papal States, assuming itself in this sense as a perfect representation of temporal power – the city as the nerve center of a politicization (and hence of a bureaucratization) of space, a fundamental element of secular politics.

As we pointed out earlier, at the same time that they assumed themselves as the heart and the political axis of Christendom, Rome and particularly the papal curia affirmed themselves as a privileged center of universal information. All important political and geostrategic news passed through the *Eternal City*, so it was vital and urgent for the European monarchies to keep a constant presence there so as to be as well informed as possible of the governmental developments and major

political decisions taken in the *Old Continent*, which invariably passed through the knowledge of the papacy (Shaw, 2007: 621-638, Signorotto y Visceglia, 1998). As Yves Renouard points out (quoted in Cruz and Lázaro, 2004: 602):

Rome was the most active and international “post office” in Italy and certainly in Europe: the new military, commercial, and spiritual policies were converging on it and by all means from there on. The *Eternal City* was the most well-informed center of the news of all Christendom, and the one from which they spread in all directions.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Spanish Crown wanted to assume a decisive presence in the capital of Christendom, a presence that was not limited to the armies, but also to the constitution of a strong community of Spaniards, intervening in all the daily acts of the city.

In short, at the time, the international context obliged the Iberian nations to keep their attention fixed on Rome and, above all, to try to maintain an effective presence in the most diverse fields, in particular the religious, the political and the diplomatic. After all, what was decided there had repercussions in the center of interests of the foreign policy of these nations.

In fact, when, on August 26, 1510, the author entered Rome, he immediately realized that he was facing a unique city, both politically and spiritually (*Memoirs*, fl. 139v). A city so complex, populous, diversified, international and cosmopolitan that no other capital could compare to it, neither Lisbon or Seville, at the time real international urban centers due to the trade that passed through its ports (Araújo, 1990; NúñezRoldán, 2004; Otte Sander, 2008; Torres Ramírez y Hernández Palomo, 1983).

We note from the author's description of the events that it is in the *Eternal City* that major European disputes are decided, even though they take place in the furthest points of Italy, particularly at warlike level¹⁵. Following the political and geostrategic world of the narrator-traveler, the destiny of Europe necessarily passes through Rome. This is what clearly informs Jaime of Braganza.

5. The Spanish community in Rome: definition and outlines.

The community of the Spanish in Rome in the early 16th century consisted largely of courtiers and military men. It undoubtedly had a special status and autonomy, directly indebted to the fact that the papacy found in the Spanish

¹⁵ See, for example, the folios relating to the battles of Ravenna (*Memoirs*, fls. 154v to 158r) and Marignan (*Memories*, fls. 209r to 211r).

sovereign the great support for the pursuit of the internal and external policy of the Church's States (Estévez Fernández, 1964: 75-110). However, this "privilege" gave rise to important tensions with the inhabitants of Rome, in particular its most prominent figures: the great Roman families.

A good example provided by the author refers to the ambience in Rome after the dramatic battle of Ravenna (1512), a great armed confrontation that profoundly marked the first phase of the *Italian Wars*¹⁶. Indeed, a few days after the conflict, out of which the French were victorious, the Portuguese traveler described in detail the tension that dominated the courtiers, especially the Spaniards, who frequented the curia: «The pope, the cardinals, and the courtiers, especially the Spaniards, were in such great agony and fear because the French were conquerors and masters of the battlefield, and it was said that they were coming to Rome» (*Memoirs*, fl. 157v).

This passage reveals an important scenario that the author develops throughout his testimony: the Spanish community in Rome is composed of individuals linked to the most diverse areas, from religion to commerce. However, two components deserve special mention, both by the number of elements that make it up, and by their activity in relation to the city government: courtiers and warriors.

The most prominent feature of the author's evaluation of the Spaniards relates to his warrior value, particularly in terms of weapon dexterity and the level of his rare courage: «The galleys [of the Venetians] went up against Ferrara, and the Spaniards went out to them, and broke them, and took several vessels, and put the remainder in flight» (*Memoirs*, fl. 141v).

Indeed, there are several references to the Spaniards in these terms, which somehow predict their rise as a hegemonic power in Europe as well as their dominance in the Italian peninsula during the following two centuries:

There were in Verona four thousand Spaniards who guarded it from the French and Venetians by order of the emperor, who were so aware of

¹⁶ The military successes of France in Italy in the first decade of the 16th century and the consequent consolidation of its presence on the peninsula worried Pope Julius II, who then decided in 1510 to establish an alliance with the Republic of Venice against France in a reversal political, culminating with the formation of the Holy League in 1511, against the kingdom of the *fleur-de-lis*. The Holy League consisted of a political-military alliance (1511-1512) established between Pope Julius II, Fernando II of Aragon, the Holy Emperor, the Republic of Venice and King Henry VIII of England against Louis XII of France. Created on the initiative of the papacy, this league was aimed at strengthening the Papal States and, above all, removing the French presence of Italy. The expansionist policy of the French in Italy had become a real danger to the Papal States and to Italy itself, while threatening the European balance, something that put the other European powers in check. The process culminates with the Battle of Ravenna, fought on 11 April 1512 between the forces of the Holy League – in which the main armed contingent and leader of the operations was Spanish – and the Kingdom of France, which was the winner of the contest. All these alliance and counter-alliance movements, as well as the associated armed clashes, are part of the so-called *Wars of the League of Cambrai* (1508-1516), a major conflict which, in turn, forms an integral part of the more general framework of *Italian Wars*.

Lopes, Paulo Esmeraldo Catarino

Allies or occupants: the identity of the “Spanish” community in the capital of Christendom by the voice of a Portuguese traveler from the medieval twilight

www.revistarodadafortuna.com

the war that every time Pero Navarro, captain of the French people, confronted them, they mistreated him.;

And those Roman captains who intended to kill the Spaniards from Rome came to their homes wounded and shattered from the hand of the Spaniards who were with Duke Francisco Maria¹⁷. ... And wherever they laid their faces, their impetus could not be withheld, so that the towns and cities surrounded by strong walls, like the hosts of the field, were all in their hands. ... And those who escaped came wiped out and lost to Rome, telling the Pope [Leo X] that as long as the Spaniards supported Duke Francisco Maria, his holiness would always be defeated and lost. And it was only because he carried with him five thousand Spanish captains, because each of them was so practical in the war that it was enough to command great armies. (*Memoirs*, fls. 216v to 217v)

Also the integrity and honesty of the Spanish are emphasized in the description of the author: «for not belonging to the people of Spain the classification of traitors» (*Memoirs*, fl. 218r).

And if they lose battles like Ravenna's, this is due only to the cowardice, insecurity and incompetence of their commander, never to the lack of commitment of their forces, whose value is recognized by all: «the things that the Italians said knowing how well the Spaniards fought, and that the Viceroy had lost the battle» (*Memoirs*, fl. 158v.)¹⁸

Revelatory is the demonstration of the value and loyalty of the Spanish by direct comparison with the lack of virtues in the code of military honor on the part of the Italians and the Germans, who end up functioning as the negative reference from which the author constructs a favorable image of Hispanics. The author gives two main examples. The first, concerning the siege of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, in the Italian city of Padua, where it is emphasized that only the evocation of the name "Spain" was sufficient to put enemies on the run. The second, in the same warlike context, is so expressive that it assumes itself as almost caricature: the Spaniards, desirous of combat, demanded that the emperor advance to the battle, needing only to be paid after the confrontation; the Germans, on the contrary, were very contrary to the Spaniards' desire, asking the wages owed to them before they went to battle. And when it was said that the fighting was about to happen, they mutinied, shouting «gelte gelte» which means “money money” (*Memoirs*, fl. 142v).

It is therefore not surprising that, according to the author, precisely the one who is nicknamed the *Warrior Pope* or the *Fearsome Pope* (*il Papa guerriero* or *il Papa terribile*), Julius II, prefers the Spaniards to the detriment of the Germans to constitute the main armed force of the armies of the States of the Church (Shaw,

¹⁷ Francesco Maria I Della Rovere (1490-1538).

¹⁸ Don Ramón de Cardona (1467-1522), viceroy of Sicily (1507-1509) and of Naples (1510-1522).

1996). However, for more specific tasks, such as his personal guard standing in the sacred palace, he rejects the Spaniards in favor of the Germans because of the difference of temperaments and attitudes. The latter were less noisy (less conflictual and more respectful of the sacred space) than the Spaniards, especially in the case of disputes involving Roman women (*Memoirs*, fl. 170r). This is a precious moment of identity construction on the part of the author with respect to the Spanish in Rome.

We move from the evaluation of warrior character to the evaluation centered on the customs of the European *Other*. In other words, we leave the scope of war to enter the purely cultural and civilizational field - manners, in the perspective of Norbert Elias (2006: 164-183). Premise reinforced by the passage in which the author shows, in terms of customs, the importance that the feminine element has in the daily life of the Spanish warriors: «There were found after the battle [of Ravenna] three thousand women in whose power the principal money and spoil of the Spaniards which they had left in their guard were found, as they usually do» (*Memoirs*, fls. 156r and 156v).

If there is a divergence between Germans and Spaniards as regards bravery and military ethics, the same is not true of the merciless cruelty of both, emotionally leveled at the moment of the *Memoirs*:

[In the battle of Ravenna] was arrested João Paulo Valbom lord of Perosa who was captain of the people of arms of the Venetians. And counting [to the pope] the things of this battle one day, he said, tears falling on his face, which had never been found in a battle so cruel and devastating, that in the Germans, who were three thousand, like the Spaniards there was no mercy, because before his eyes they killed forty men of arms his servants (*Memoirs*, fl. 165v).

Much of the appreciation of the Germans is made through a comparative analysis with the Spaniards, generally presented by the author as superiors, particularly in the eyes of the Romans. From this confrontation, with the exception of the question of manners, Northern Europeans are inferior. The author's referential system thus contemplates an unmistakable level of antithetical apprehension between Germans and Spaniards, with the Italians acting as the “evaluator” element.

The most illuminating passage of the *Memoirs* as to the value of the Spaniards as warriors and the way they were seen by the adversaries in Rome is found in the discourse that the Duke of Tract made to the Romans, evoked following the conflict between the powerful House of Orsini and the Spanish inhabitants in Rome. But we will deal with this topic in the following subchapter.

A word still in relation to this passage of the source to refer to the protagonism of a Portuguese captain of “light horses” called Tinoco, that gives

voice to what goes in the soul of the Spanish contingent as opposed to the German contingent. The Germans are the perfect mercenaries, while the Spaniards are warriors who follow the code of honor and military valor.

6. The community of Romans or the power of families

In a slow but irreversible process, the family unit becomes in Italy the motive of individual effort and dedication. It is the familiar feeling that guides the action of the Italian man: Florence, Venice, Siena, Rome, even - and in particular - the papacy are living proofs of it.

The importance given to family unity throughout Italy, particularly as a condition and element that promotes private interests and as the mold of social behavior, is in some way the result and a specific dimension of individualism that has matured vigorously since the passage of old communal system to oligarchic structures of domination. The family is therefore the great Italian social and political unit, reflecting this scenario in the very way that politics, as an integrated whole, evolves in the peninsula at the turn of the 15th century to the 16th century.

The *Memoirs* clearly describe the remarkable way in which the principal Italian families participate in the *Italian Wars* and not infrequently determine the international policy of the foreign powers as well as of the papacy in relation to the destinies of the Italian peninsula.

Important to this state of affairs is the fact that many of the prominent figures of these powerful noble Houses have had long and fruitful careers as *condottieri* or in the hierarchy of the Church itself, particularly in the Curia.

Cases such as those of the Baglioni family in relation to Perugia, the Bentivoglio in Bologna, the House of Este in Ferrara, the Sforza in Milan or the Petrucci in Siena, among many others, reflect well the complex, dispersed and sinuous form as Italian politics evolved at the turn of the Middle Ages into modernity. It is not possible to think of Italy in the 15th and 16th centuries without mentioning the role played by these families, which the author refers countless times directly in his testimony.

In the specific case of Rome, the author pays particular attention to the almost permanent conflicts between the two main local families - the Orsini and the Colonna – as well as the role played by some of his most prominent members, especially the Colonna, in the Italian political-military scenario (Shaw, 1983; *idem*, 2007).

Counselors of princes and popes, the most influential members of these families emerge in virtually every major Italian conflict at the turn of the 15th century to the 16th century, sometimes assuming prominence in several of them, such as the

wars that occurred during pontificates of Alexander VI (1492-1503), Julius II and Leo X, involving France, Spain, the Empire and the Papal States. The power of both factions was such that foreign rulers with interests in Italy repeatedly resorted to their advice and political and military support.

7. Spaniards and Romans in the capital of Christianity: conflict or harmony

In the *Memoirs* the author reports on a major conflict between one of the most powerful Roman noble families, the Orsini family, a declared supporter of France, and the Spanish community in Rome, which in turn has the support of the rival family of that, the equally influential Colonna.

Despite initial skirmishes, large-scale armed conflict does not happen. However, the fragilities between both communities are clear, as is the tension that generally accompanies the presence of the Spanish in Rome.

It all begins with the description of a Roman boy who runs on horseback through the streets of Rome at great speed and causing the animal to kick indiscriminately.

At a time when the Cardinal of Santa Cruz was with Pope Leo X, it happened that the young man passed the street in which were the cardinal's quarters and almost hit a nobleman, servant of the cardinal, who was at the door of one of his houses. In sequence the nobleman rebuked the young Roman for the unconsciousness of what he was doing. The young man returned to the nobleman and, calling him *marrano*¹⁹, tried to injure him with his horse. The Castilian took refuge in house, going the Roman in its persecution. Meanwhile, the other servants of the cardinal came to the aid of the nobleman, putting the young man on the run.

Meanwhile, when the cardinal came out of the palace and told him what had happened, he was shocked and furious at such an:

insult and discourtesy, because the houses of the cardinals are very guarded and respected, so no justice officer or other person enters them armed to offend to any person who takes refuge in it. And if justice or some other person wants to arrest or mistreat someone in the streets, when the persecuted is near a cardinal's house, by shouting the surname of the cardinal, all the relatives go out with arms to come to him as if he were a brother to all (*Memoirs*, fl. 215v).

The day after that, the Cardinal of Santa Cruz addressed the pope and complained about the behavior of the Roman, who did not respect one of the principal traditions of Rome. However, precisely at the moment when the cardinal

¹⁹ An injurious and derogatory name given to the Jews and Moors who at the time lived in Portugal.

Lopes, Paulo Esmeraldo Catarino

Allies or occupants: the identity of the “Spanish” community in the capital of Christendom by the voice of a Portuguese traveler from the medieval twilight

www.revistarodadafortuna.com

was with the pontiff, it happened that the same Roman with a relative, both armed and on horseback, accompanied by four «moços de esporas»²⁰, also armed, went to the churchyard of St. Pedro and confronted the cardinal's home master, who was Portuguese, and was at that time waiting for the cardinal.

After an exchange of discourtesy, where the pejorative and injurious designation of «marranos» prevailed, and recognizing the Romans, the cardinal's young stable boys who were with the mule in the courtyard of the palace approached two by two, in a total of eight. Then:

seeing that the Romans offended more than they owed in their words with discourtesy and too much pride they fought with them, so that one of them died in a few days. And this done, the master of house took refuge with the stable boys at the house of the cardinal. And it was not long before many of the main Roman citizens, relatives of those who were wounded, came upon them to claim vengeance, but they with other cardinal servants who were in the house went out to the Romans and pushed them with spears to the *Sant'Angelo* bridge (*Memoirs*, fl. 215v).

However, in the midst of the turmoil, the brother of the Roman who was mortally wounded was also wounded:

As the Spaniards were already at home, the Romans met the cardinal on the *Sant'Angelo* bridge, who came from the palace knowing what had happened. He brought with him many guardians and relatives of the pope whom His Holiness had sent with him. And being already in the middle of the bridge, the Romans confronted him in such a way that he was forced to retreat to the castle. And from there he went to the palace of the pope by the secret wall where he was a few days. Meanwhile, his servants barricaded themselves well protected and prepared in his house, but they immediately put to safety those who had injured the Romans. And the master of the house considering himself without guilt stayed, never thinking that things would come to such extreme conflict. Yet, one of the Romans died of the wounds and his death was most felt of the relatives who promised revenge on all the Spaniards present in Rome (*Memoirs*, fl. 216r).

Therefore, a mere situation of contempt between a young Roman and a servant of a Spanish cardinal, nothing extraordinary in the day-to-day life of the tumultuous capital of Christendom, assumes an extreme dimension, calling into question the safety of all Spaniards shelves in Rome and revealing the enormous tension between both communities.

²⁰ Young men who deal with horses.

Lopes, Paulo Esmeraldo Catarino

Allies or occupants: the identity of the “Spanish” community in the capital of Christendom by the voice of a Portuguese traveler from the medieval twilight

www.revistarodadafortuna.com

A tension that masks a fractured international political dispute between France and Spain for political-military supremacy in Europe, with the support of the main Roman families, the Orsini and the Colona.

In the sequence, a wave of brutal violence gains irreversible contours, deciding the Romans to assassinate all the Spaniards who inhabited in the *Eternal City*. The title the author attributes to this chapter is revealing: «How the Romans woke up among themselves to slay the Spaniards of Rome with swords» (*Memoirs*, fl. 216v). As simple and objective as this.

Let us see the enlightening observation of the author:

These two nobles were Roman relatives of all the principal members of the house of Orsini who is the main family of the Romans, after the Colona. And these are two sides that always have brawls and conflicts with each other. The Colona serve the king of Castile, while the Orsini are adherents of the King of France (*Memoirs*, fl. 216r).

In other words, a political dispute of an international dimension between the two main European powers at the time, ends up materializing in the streets of Rome, in the form of a verbal aggression between a Roman and a Spanish. From this, we can say, simple contention, the two main families of Rome reveal their political positions, regarding Italy and Europe.

In the meantime, things get complicated, because the captain-general of the Church, Lorenzo II of Medici (1492-1519)²¹, nephew of the Pope, stands by the Romans, exposing the ever-hidden support of Pope Leo X to the French party, since in the recent past the curia was always on the side of the Spaniards, its great political and military support in the Italic quarrels (see the example of the Battle of Ravenna in 1512).

Then the relatives of the murdered Roman gathered at the capitol and agreed with the captain-general of the Church to attack the Spaniards. But before that, they agreed that Lorenzo should go to the pope and demand the arrest of the master of the cardinal's house. The goal was that he should be handed over to them for justice by cutting off his head. And, in fact, it happened, with papal approval.

Given this, again the Romans took counsel. And after three days of debate the majority's vote was that «they would slay all the Spaniards of Rome without pardoning any social group, saying that it was not acceptable to be commanded and governed by them and so mistreated, that in their own land and city they smote them and slew them» (*Memoirs*, fl. 216r).

²¹ Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici was the ruler of Florence from 1516 until his death in 1519. He was also Duke of Urbino during the same period. His daughter Catherine de' Medici became Queen Consort of France, while his illegitimate son, Alessandro de' Medici, became the first Duke of Florence.

Lopes, Paulo Esmeraldo Catarino

Allies or occupants: the identity of the “Spanish” community in the capital of Christendom by the voice of a Portuguese traveler from the medieval twilight

www.revistarodadafortuna.com

Comes in this way to the surface the long accumulated tension between Romans and Spaniards, derived from the increasingly striking presence of the latter in Rome.

These events did not even happen in a secret way, by which the Spaniards:

debated with one another in counsel. And on being warned they gathered themselves strong in their houses and with the strong determination to defend themselves and to resist the power of the Romans. And not only were they determined to resist the Romans, but three thousand were in favor of attacking them and setting fire to the capitol, burning them all there (*Memoirs*, fl. 216r).

In the meantime, in order to avoid such a tragedy, meetings were held between men considered wise and more experienced both of the Romans and of the Spaniards. From the side of the council of the Romans stood out the Duke of Tracto, which the author states that «Was exiled from the Kingdom of Naples where he had his property, because King Fernando of Castile had taken it and gave it to Monsieur Prospero de Colona» (*Memoirs*, fl. 216v).

The speech of this duke deserves special mention on the part of the author of the *Memoirs*, since it was decisive for the peaceful resolution of the conflict:

Placing my person at risk, I am here with you to say what seems to me to be the best advice about what should be done in this situation so dangerous and to accept what you decide. But before anything is decided, I want to know how many Romans we can gather to fight the Spaniards, and how many Spaniards experienced in the war exist in Rome. It was told him that twenty thousand Romans would be assembled, and that the Spaniards could be six thousand. Then the duke replied that it seemed to him that they had enough people to fulfill the purpose of killing the Spaniards, however he warned that the Spaniards were so knowledgeable and experienced in war, and had so much courage and warrior impetus that they would sell very dearly their lives, giving cruel death to all they met on the way, just as, as you well know, every day that passes they puts in work in this our Italy in the battles and affronts in which they are all the time (*Memoirs*, fl. 216v).

In the meantime, making use of a subtle and astute argument, the duke gains the support of the elders and manages to delay the attack on the Spaniards:

I have no doubt that being committed by your strong arms and spirit the Spaniards will be overcome, and though many of us lose their lives in a short time they will all perish. But I am also very much afraid that the Germans, French, English, Hungarians, and those of other nations,

seeing that we have begun to kill the Spaniards and fearing that we will do the same to them another day, they will join with the Spaniards. And together do to us what we want to do to them. And even if this did not happen and instead our whole purpose would be fulfilled, I do not believe that kings and Christian princes would close their ears to this. I believe that before such cruelty on our part they will all join and with great armies will enter Rome, giving us and our wives and children very cruel death. I also believe that they will overthrow and destroy our houses and possessions, extinguishing the name and generation of the Romans forever. And the glorious fame that our predecessors have gained in dominating the world will be erased and lost in us, by such an ugly case as this will be (*Memoirs*, fls. 216v and 217r).

The events ended with the news of the attempted recovery of the dukedom of Urbino by Duke Francesco Maria, which caused the captain of the Church and other Roman nobles to abandon this scenario and turn their weapons to other places of Italy. Expressive is the pope's clamour: «the pope being aware of how this case passed by, while waving his hands to the sky said, “God save me from the Spaniards”» (*Memoirs*, fl. 217v).

Identity affirms and validates itself in the face of the existence of difference, so it only makes sense to speak of the first if the second is conceived, that is, otherness (Camacho, 2003: 55-81). And it exists clearly in this duality Roman vs. Spanish. A dichotomous game of forces that refers to the mirror function and to the question of the ego and the alter-ego. Since there is an *Other*, in this case the Spaniards, before whom the *Self*, the Romans (individuals and groups), seeks at every step of the events described – by opposed to the point of confrontation – to claim and to realize their identity, it becomes pertinent in this passage of the *Memoirs* to speak of dynamic and procedural identities, that is, processes of identity construction and processes of differentiation.

Identity itself does not exist. It is we who create it from the exercise of alterity based on the cultural and social variability that characterizes and distinguishes the context in question, which proves to be decisive, since two fundamental notions for the delimitation of the concept of identity are space (Rome) and the time (first years of 16th century). After all, by definition, man is a territorial animal, in both physical and symbolic terms. It needs space. Their survival and happiness depend on this, as humanity's own course demonstrates, and, more specifically, this period when Europe begins to turn to the far-away overseas spaces, making almost its *raison d'être* (case of the Portuguese and the Spaniards, in a narrow sense, in the 15th -16th centuries). And, in turn, to each space corresponds its own identity, resulting from the geographic and climatic specificities of the place itself, as well as the particular ideas and societies that inhabit it (Camacho, 2003) – at this point the capital of Christendom proves to be a true paradigm for all that it represents physically and symbolically.

On the other side, and this is fundamental when it comes to the Spaniards and the Romans, different cultural specificities, determine diverse identities (Ferret, 2011: 459-461; Levi-Strauss, 1977). The Spaniards of the years in question are by definition warriors, with an evident code of honor. They are focused on fighting beyond their borders in a clear expansionist movement that arises, almost naturally, after the conquest of the kingdom of Granada in 1492. The same scenario, we can say, which characterized the Romans of the times of the Republic and the Empire. In this context, identity has to do with how one lives, with the interrelationships and networks that are established, with attitudes, representations and, of course, with needs and aspirations/ambitions. It has also to do with reference points, with characteristic elements and own values. Culture, therefore, is decisive in the definition of the matrix, of the support and, finally, of the construction of identity (Camacho, 2003). Notice the evocation that the Duke of Tracto makes of the Roman past. Memory thus assumes a central operability in the definition of identity, a process, as one may conclude, complex and dynamic. In another perspective, what his words express is the importance of the feeling of cultural continuity for the constitution of the identity system, both individual and group.

Although body and its image constitute basic supports of personal identity, the identity process necessarily passes through the relative positioning of the *Self* and of the *Other* (in fact, the question of the *Other* appears absolutely as constitutive of identity) and by the clarification of a system of relations which, more than the order of nature, belongs to the order of culture (Giraud, 1987: 59-67). This is what the passage of the *Memoirs* concerning the confrontation between Romans and Spaniards in the streets of the *Eternal City* clearly shows us.

Both Romans killed in the dispute with the Spaniards were from Orsini's house, which, through revenge among families, transforms a street offense and a civilian crime into a political conflict of international dimensions, which reflects much the fragile political situation in Italy and more particularly in the capital of Christianity. The involvement of the pontiff himself, as well as that of his nephew, the captain-general of the Church and the Duke of Urbino, are proof of this.

In other words, what seems to be a fortuitous sheer, without major consequences, quickly turns into an antagonism of great proportions that leaves the whole city of Rome in a state of alertness. The papal guard itself cannot contain the wave of violence between Romans and Spaniards residing in Rome.

Of course, such an outburst of hatred and violence does not just come out of nowhere. Rather, it imposes itself as the culmination of a slow cumulative process of tensions, setbacks and rivalries, which can be perceived throughout the Portuguese traveler's testimony.

Such an “identity” shock is due in no small part to the fact that since the Borgia popes – Callixtus III (1455-1458) and especially his nephew, Alexander VI, both of Spanish origin – the presence of Spaniards in Rome is growing, with the

particularity of its influence on the governance of the city, especially as regards the curia (the heart of the capital of Christendom and the Papal States) to be increasingly relevant; a fact that never ceased to displease the Roman families, although with them they had important relations of power.

If we add to all this the Spanish government in Naples and the fact that the pontificate of Alexander VI is very controversial, not only because of the simony and corruption, but above all the nepotism towards his sons, in particular Cesare Borgia (1475-1507) for whom he tried to establish a kingdom associated with the Church in Central Italy, it becomes easy to understand the “antipathy” of the Roman nobility towards such a growing population and, above all, such an increase of power and political influence in the destinies of Rome and Christianity on the part of the Spaniards – to the detriment of the main noble Roman families who in this way were secondary in the exercise of power in their city of origin.

From a small dispute between a young Roman and the servant of a cardinal, it is possible to dismantle the great international conflict of the time, which opposes the two main coeval powers, namely France and Spain, both on the rise. A conflict, where the intervention of the papacy, intimately associated with the powerful Florentine family of the Medici (especially through nepotism), and of the main families of Rome assume a unique role.

All this situation is aggravated inside, that is, by the fact that Roman society itself is divided in relation to the foreign presence in the capital of Christendom. Indeed, the two main Roman families are divided in support of the most influential foreign forces in Rome: the Orsini family serves the King of France, while their great rival, the Colonna family, supports the Spanish party.

Noting that the Romans agreed to kill all Spaniards in Rome, regardless of their status and activity, the author leaves no doubt as to the important role of this cleavage in the life of all Roman society and in the daily life of the city.

On the other hand, hatred between families expresses, after all, the conflicts between the two major European coeval powers, in dispute for the dominance of the rich and palatable italic peninsula. On the other hand, the way both families compete with each other is a faithful reflection of Italy's political situation from the turn of the 15th century to the 16th century: crime, conspiracy, revenge, nepotism, armed confrontation, declared or not, traffic of influence, corruption, bribery and impunity. The end result is the placing of personal interests above the national interests and the political unity of the territory, which, in the Italian case, becomes more and more a mirage.

The cultural ascendancy of these families and of the Italian courts in general, characterizes precisely, in the opposite sense, the political incapacity of the peninsula as a whole. Members of the Orsini and Colonna managed to reach the highest political and military places. But they also succeeded in the religious level. In this last case stands out the rise of the Orsini House, which counts among its most notable

members the Popes Celestine III (1191-1198), Nicholas III (1277-1280) and Benedict XIII (1724-1730). It is not by chance that Machiavelli, in different points of *The Prince*, refers very objectively to these two families and to the power they held, especially in Rome and in relation to the papacy.

Wise knower of the real Italian situation, the Duke of Tracto sends with his wise and realistic words to Machiavelli, who proclaims in the last chapter of *The Prince* the urgency of liberating the Italian peninsula from the foreign yoke and the elevation of a true national and unified Italian state, the only solution for the calamitous existence lived at the time by his compatriots:

Exhortation to lead Italy and free her from the barbarians. [...] It seems to me that so many things are in favor of a new prince that I do not even know if there ever was a better time. It is also seen all ready and willing to follow a flag, so there is someone here who will take it. [...] One should not, therefore, let this occasion pass, in order that Italy may see, after so long a time, its redeemer. Nor can I express with what love he would be received in all those provinces which have suffered from these foreign alluviums, with which vengeance, with what obstinate faith, with what pity, with what tears. What doors would close? What people would deny him obedience? What jealousy would he oppose? What Italian would deny him the favor? To all, this barbaric domain smells bad. (Machiavelli, 2008: Chapter XXVI, 235-239).

Final Notes

The relationship between the Spaniards and the Romans reveals, after all, how the problem of the evaluation of the European *Other* is very present in the *Memoirs*.

Knowledge of the *Other* (and of the *Self*) is always obtained through analogical reasoning: “I know the *Other* by analogy with me” (after all, interpersonal communication is fundamentally based on the dialogue that safeguards the *Self* and the *You* as subjects, as people). However, this analogical reasoning has two levels. One superficial and one deeper and complex. The knowledge of the Spanish *Other* by the Roman is based more on spontaneous communication, on the duality of sympathy / antipathy and on intuition than on reflective knowledge, that is, on the deep analysis of their behaviors (Avelar, 2003a: 117-168 and 185-190; *idem*, 2003b: 82-83, 149-176 and 273-280; Buescu, 1990: 71-77, *idem*, 2001: 81-86 and 92-94). As can be noticed in the text, everything appears to the skin. The greatest disdain for the Spaniards on the part of the Romans is sensitive. From this point to the state of conflict, rivalry and dominance over one another goes a small step, as indeed can be verified in the author's expressions.

Proof of this “superficiality” is also the representation in the *Memoirs* of one of the basic aspects of the identity construction developed by the Romans in relation to the “Spaniards” and which has to do with the fact that this concept, as we mentioned earlier, encompasses all the Christian peoples of the Iberian Peninsula: Portuguese, Castilian, Andalusian, Aragonese, Basque, etc.

On the basis of this whole exercise of otherness stands out the look of the Roman as bearer of their own patterns of social behavior; patterns that inevitably condition his judgment. We are thus faced with an anthropological evaluation that works according to the *Other*, in the image that the author constructs, approaches or departs from the pattern that *a priori* defined for himself and that does not abdicate.

From this we can also deduce that it is by the appearance of the *Other* that I have the possibility of making a judgment about myself as about an object.

On the other hand, the overwhelming and not always favorable presence of the Roman *Other* greatly contributes to the strengthening of a collective conscience (but not national) on the part of the diverse Spanish populations present in Rome.

The ancestral division of the “Spaniards”, taken in a broad sense, ends in this way in the face of the opposition of the Italian *Other*, passing this one to function as the agglutinating element of the Spanish community in Rome. In other words, at the beginning of the 16th century, the Romans contributed decisively to the creation of an unprecedented collective consciousness among the Spaniards, something that in their homeland, the Iberia, was only an incipient and slow possibility, so often marked by retreats as sudden as brutal.

Otherness is therefore fundamental in establishing the more or less tense relationship between Spaniards and Romans in the *Eternal City* and also in the establishment of a Hispanic collective identity. After all, it is always by the presence of the *Other* that the identity of the *Self* is defined, affirmed and consolidated.

In short, *Memoirs* are a privileged testimony, on the one hand, to the way in which the Romans looked at the *Other* Spanish in the early 16th century and, on the other hand, how they looked at themselves for reaction to this same European differential. All having eternal Rome as background.

Memoirs also unequivocally show that there is a connection between the growing role of the Spanish community in Rome and the foreign policy of the Spanish sovereign, Fernando, *the Catholic*. The molds in which this connection takes place mainly concern the Curia's dependence on Spanish forces to maintain their power and authority, especially in the case of the first papacy evoked in the document, that of Julius II. On the other hand, it is evident the Spanish expansionist spirit in the Italian peninsula, which is not limited only to the kingdom of Naples. Not surprisingly, the Roman reaction, which progressively sees the Spaniards as an occupier rather than a genuine ally. In the face of Spanish ambition, which does not turn out to be very different from the French, Roman society –in

particular its apex, the Roman families – begins to react openly, giving rise to violent clashes and an increasingly difficult instability to control by the supreme authority, the papacy, who in this way finds himself trapped between the reality of his city and the pressing needs of government at the international level. After all, from the condition of political rehearsal territory, absolutely fragmented, highlights a fragile and easy prey to the rising European powers like Spain and France. Because of that its territory will become, from the end of the 15th century, the theater of the great European political-military conflicts. And also for this reason, in some way, the top of the Church states is, consciously and without alternative, so dependent on the Iberian forces.

A final word to emphasize that, as the *Memoirs* show, it is not only in the context of the process of European Expansion that we find remarkable testimonies concerning the civilizational shock resulting from encounter and contact with the *Other*, considered as different. Indeed, on the roads of much traveled Europe, especially when in the direction of Italian spaces, contacts are drawn and mutual evaluations glimpsed. These routes constitute the continental European equivalent of the Atlantic routes, and through them the Portuguese also went to meet other peoples and other cultures.

Stage of political, social, economic, religious and cultural convergences and divergences, the *Old Continent* was, in fact, a source of precious records of otherness among Europeans in the late Middle Ages. Even in the most dramatic contexts:

The Spanish people who survived the battle [of Ravenna] went on their way to the mark of Ancona. And in each place where they passed the hospitals were full of wounded and sick. [...] And the custom of the warriors in Italy is that in the places where they pass with their armies they eat at the discretion, that is, at the expense of the guests without paying anything. And they do it so unreasonably that they are not content with rams, oxen and cows, chickens, roosters, and other birds and game, as well as the wine that the people have. They also violate their daughters and their wives. It is the French and the Germans that the Italians receive more damage and discourtesy in this. And by such actions they are hated by the inhabitants of the villages and castles. And when it happens to give itself some battle it joins great multitude of towns of these places to watch to the combats in distant places. And seeing some of the armies fleeing they quickly put themselves in their pursuit. At that point they steal everything they can and kill all who can, in this way taking vengeance on the evils and dishonor they receive. And so it happened to the Spaniards who fled from this battle, especially those of horse that put themselves in the hands of the villains thinking in this way to save themselves. In fact, they put themselves in greater danger, for the villains to whom they had surrendered themselves had been greatly abused. (*Memoirs*, fls. 158r-158v)

References

Sources

Tratado que hum criado do duque de bragançaescreueo pera sua senhoria dalgumas notauees cousas que vohindo pera Roma. E de suas grandezas E Jndulgencias, E grandes aconteçimentos que laasocçederam em espaço de sete años que hiesteue. In: *Colección de Don Luis de Salazar y Castro*, N-76 / Varios Portugueses, Signatura 9/I.081, hojas 136 a 227v. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia.

Giovio, P. (1568). *Elogios o vidas breues de los cavalleros antiguos y modernos*, [Elogia virorumbellicavirtuteillustrum veris imaginibussupposita, quaeapudMusaeumspectantur, Florence, OfficinaLaurentiiTorrentiniDucalisTypographi, 1551]. Granada: Casa de Hugo de Mena.

Grassi, P. (1884). *Il Diario di Leone X di Paride De Grassi, Maestro delle ceremonie pontificie*. Dal volumi manoscritti degli Archivi Vaticani della S. Sede, Mariano Armellini (a cura di). Roma: s. n..

Grassi, P. (2010). *Le Due Spedizioni Militari Di Giulio II: Tratte Dal Diario Di Paride Grassi Bolognese*. Bologna: BiblioBazaar.

Guicciardini, F. (2006). *Storia d'Italia*, 3 vols., Edizione originale 1540. Milano: Garzanti Editore.

Guicciardini, F. (1998). *Storie Fiorentine dal 1378 al 1509*, Alessandro Montevercchi (a cura di). Milano: Biblioteca UniversaleRizzoli.

Maquiavel, N. (2008). *O Príncipe*, Diogo Pires Aurélio (ed.). Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores/Temas e Debates.

Bibliography

Amado, T. (1997). Os géneros e o trabalho textual. In: *O Género do Texto Medieval. Actas do 1.º Colóquio Organizado pela Secção Portuguesa da Associação Hispânica de Literatura Medieval (1996)*, Cristina Almeida Ribeiro e Margarida Madureira (coord.). Lisboa: Cosmos, 9-28.

Araújo, R. de (1990). *Lisboa a Cidade e o Espectáculo na Época dos Descobrimentos*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte.

Asensio, E. (1970). Memórias de Um Fidalgo de Chaves (1510-1517), Descripción de la Roma de Julio II y León X. *Memórias da Academia das Ciências*, Classe Letras, tomo XIII. Lisboa: Academia das Ciências, 7-28.

- Avelar, A. P. M. (2003a). *Figurações da alteridade na cronística da Expansão*. Lisboa: Universidade Aberta.
- Avelar, A. P. M. (2003b). *Visões do Oriente: formas de sentir no Portugal de quinhentos*. Lisboa: Colibri.
- Barata, M. do R. de S. T. (1991). *Os Diplomatas Portugueses em Roma no Século XVI e as Informações Acerca do Turco e da Índia*, Sep. *PortugaliaeHistorica*, 1, 2ª Série. Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa.
- Bethencourt, F. (2000). A Inquisição. In: Azevedo, C. M. (dir.). *História Religiosa de Portugal*, vol. II. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 95-131.
- Bethencourt, F. (1994). *História das Inquisições. Portugal, Espanha e Itália*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores.
- Biagi, M. C. (1988). *Il carnevale romano*. Roma: Ass. alla Cultura.
- Browning, O. (1895). *The age of the Condottieri - A short history of mediaeval Italy from 1409-1530*. London: Methuen & Co.
- Buescu, H. C. (1990). *Incidências do olhar: percepção e representação*. Lisboa: Editorial Caminho.
- Buescu, Helena Carvalhão (2001). *Narrativas da Modernidade: a Construção do Outro*, Lisboa, Colibri.
- Burns, E. M. (1981). *História da Civilização Ocidental*, vol. II. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores.
- Camacho, J. C. (2003). Identidade, Tradição e Modernidade, *Boca do Inferno. Revista de Cultura e Pensamento*, 8, Câmara Municipal de Cascais, 55-81.
- Cardim, P. A. (2004a). A Diplomacia Portuguesa no Tempo de D. João III: Entre o Império e a Reputação. In: *D. João III e o Império – Actas do Congresso Internacional Comemorativo do Seu Nascimento, Lisboa, 2004*, Roberto Carneiro e Artur Teodoro de Matos (dir.). Lisboa: Centro de História de Além-Mar e CEPCEP, 627-660.
- Cardim, P. A. (2004b). A prática diplomática na Europa do Antigo Regime. In: *História e Relações Internacionais. Temas e Debates*, Luís Nuno Rodrigues e Fernando Martins (ed.). Lisboa: Colibri-CIDEHUS, 11-53.
- Castro, A. P. de (1991). Uma voz do diálogo luso-italiano na época de quinhentos, a do ‘Fidalgo de Chaves’, *Mare Liberum*, 2, 7-16.
- Cebrià, E. (2002). *El imperio de Carlos V: las coronas y sus territorios*. Madrid: Península.

- Cesareo, G. A. (1938). *Pasquino e Pasquinate nella Roma di Leone X*. Roma: Casa Ed. Leonardo de Vinci.
- Chastel, A. (1983). *The Sack of Rome: 1527*. s. l.: Princeton University Press.
- Cohen, E. S.; Cohen, T. V. (2001). *Daily life in Renaissance Italy*. Westport: Greenwood Press,.
- Corvisier, A. (1977). *História Universal – O Mundo Moderno*, vol. III. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 27-114.
- Cruciani, F. (1983). *Teatro nel Rinascimento: Roma 1450-1550*. Roma: Bulzoni.
- Cruz, M. A. L. (1969). *Contribuição Para o Estudo dos Correios Entre Portugal e Roma no Século XVI*, Sep. *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, 1. Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (Centro Cultural Português).
- Cruz, M. A. L.; Lázaro, A. M. (2004). A Linguagem Criptográfica na Correspondência Diplomática Portuguesa de D. Miguel da Silva e de Pero Correia: Origens e Significado. In: *D. João III e o Império – Actas do Congresso Internacional Comemorativo do Seu Nascimento, Lisboa, 2004*, Roberto Carneiro e Artur Teodoro de Matos (dir.). Lisboa: Centro de História de Além-Mar e CEPCEP, 601-620.
- Delumeau, J. (2004). *A Civilização do Renascimento*. Lisboa: Edições 70.
- Delumeau, J. (1975). *Rome au XVIe Siècle*. Paris: Hachete.
- Egmont, L. (a cura di) (2006). *La popolazione di Roma nel Rinascimento*. Roma: Università La Sapienza.
- Elias, N. (2006). *O Processo Civilizacional: Investigações Sociogenéticas e Psicogenéticas*, 2ª edição. Lisboa: Dom Quixote.
- Erlanger, P. (2000). *Carlos V*. Madrid: Ediciones Palabra.
- Estévez Fernández, A. (1964). *Los españoles en Italia*. Sevilla: Escuela Gráfica Salesiana.
- Ferret, C. (2011). L'identité, une question de définition, *Cahiers d'Asie centrale*, 19-20, (La définition des identités), 459-461.
- Fossier, R. (1990). *Le Moyen Age - Le temps des crises: 1250-1520*, vol. III. Paris : Armand Colin.
- Gensini, S. (1994). *Roma capitale (1447-1527)*. Roma : Pacini.

Giraud, M. (1987). Mythes et Stratégies de la “double identité”. *L’Homme et la Société*, n° 83, Paris, 59-67.

Goffman, D. (2002). *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gouveia, A. C. (1992). De Lisboa a Roma para mostrar a Índia, *Noesis*, Lisboa, 22, 24-27.

Green, V. H. H. (1991). *Renascimento e Reforma*. Lisboa: Dom Quixote.

Gregorovius, F. (1972). *Storia di Roma nel medioevo*, vol. VI, 1503-1534. Roma: Newton Compton Italiana.

Hale, J. R. (2000). *A Civilização Europeia no Renascimento*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 23-142.

Heers, J. (2001). *La Roma dei papi ai tempi dei Borgia e dei Medici, 1420-1520*. Milano: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli.

Inalcik, H. (1989). *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600*. New Rochell (NY): Aristide D. Caratzas.

Kamen, H. (2003). *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492–1763*. New York: Harper Collins.

Kayser, W. (1944). *O problema dos géneros literários*. Coimbra: Instituto Alemão da Universidade.

Kitsikis, D. (1996). *O Império Otomano*. Porto: Rés Editora.

Lee, E. (a cura di) (2006). *La popolazione di Roma nel Rinascimento*. Roma: Università La Sapienza.

Lenzi, M. L. (1978). *Il sacco di Roma del 1527*. Firenze: La Nuova Italia.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1977). *L’Identité*. Paris: PUF.

Matos, L. de (1956). *A corte literária dos Duques de Bragança no Renascimento*. Lisboa: Fundação da Casa de Bragança.

Nichols, F. M. (1889). Preface. In: *Mirabilia Urbis Romae – The Marvels of Rome or a Picture of the Golden City*. London: Ellis and Elvey, v-xxvi.

Núñez Roldán, F. (2004). *La vida cotidiana en la Sevilla del Siglo de Oro*. Sevilla: Silex Ediciones.

- Paiva, J. P. (2006). *Os Bispos de Portugal e do Império: 1495-1777*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade.
- Partner, P. (1979). *Renaissance Rome 1500-1559: A Portrait of a Society*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Paschini, P. (1940). *Roma nel Rinascimento*. Bologna: Cappelli.
- Pettinelli, R. (1991). *Tra antico e moderno: Roma nel primo Rinascimento*. Roma: Bulzoni.
- Pierre, R. (1983). *Cortigiane e buffoni di Roma: studio dei costumi romani del 16. Secolo*. Bologna: Li Causi.
- Pinelli, A. (2007). *Roma del Rinascimento*. Roma: GLF Editori Laterza.
- Portoghesi, P. (1971). *Roma del Rinascimento*, 2 vols.. Milano: Electa.
- Preto, P. (2010). *I servizi segreti di Venezia. Spionaggio e controspionaggio ai tempi della Serenissima*. Milano: Il Saggiatore.
- Prodi, P. (2006). *Il sovrano pontefice. Un corpo e due anime: la monarchia papale nella prima età moderna*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Prodi, P. (1987). *The Papal Prince. One Body and Two Souls: The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge.
- Proia, A. (1933). *Roma nel Rinascimento*. Roma: Tipografia Agostiniana.
- Quataert, D. (2008). *O Império Otomano. Das origens ao século XX*. Lisboa: Edições 70.
- Rodocanachi, P. (1983). *Cortigiane e buffoni di Roma: studio dei costumi romani del 16. Secolo*. Bologna: Li Causi.
- Romano, R. y T. (1971). *Los fundamentos del mundo moderno. Edad Media tardía, Renacimiento, Reforma*, Historia Universal Siglo XXI, vol. XII. Madrid: Ediciones Castilla.
- Salmann, J-M. (2003). *Géopolitique du XVIe siècle. 1498-1618*. Paris: Seuil.
- Sander, E. O. (2008). *Sevilla, siglo XVI: materiales para su historia económica*. Sevilla: Centro de Estudios Andaluces.
- Shaw, C. (2005). Cardinal Giuliano dellaRovere: The man, the politician, the prince of the church. In: *Giulio II: papa, politico, mecenate*, Savona, Fortezza del Priamar, Sala della Sibilla, 25-26-27 marzo 2004, Atti del Convegno, Giovanna Rotondi Terminiello and Giulio Nepi (ed.). Genova: De Ferrari & Devega Editoria, 37-45.

Lopes, Paulo Esmeraldo Catarino

Allies or occupants: the identity of the “Spanish” community in the capital of Christendom by the voice of a Portuguese traveler from the medieval twilight

www.revistarodadafortuna.com

Shaw, C. (2006). *Italy and the European powers: the impact of war, 1500-1530*. Boston: Brill.

Shaw, C. (1996). *Julius II: The Warrior Pope*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Shaw, C. (2007). *The political role of the Orsini family from Sixtus IV to Clement VII: barons and factions in the Papal States*. Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo.

Shaw, C. (1983). *The political role of the Orsini family in the Papal States, c.1480-1534*. Oxford: University of Oxford.

Signorotto, G.; Visceglia, M. A. (a cura di) (1998). *La corte di Roma tra Cinque e Seicento teatro della politica europea*. Roma: Bulzoni.

Stinger, Charles L. (1998). *The Renaissance in Rome*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Taylor, F. L. (1921). *The art of war in Italy, 1494-1529*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tenenti, A (1985). *La formación del mundo moderno, Siglos XIV-XVII*. Barcelona: Editorial Crítica.

Torres Ramírez, B.; Hernández Palomo, J (eds.) (1983). *Andalucía y América en el siglo XVI. Actas de las II Jornadas de Andalucía y América, Santa María de la Rábida marzo de 1982*, 2 vols. Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

Turnbull, S. (2003). *The Ottoman Empire 1326-1699*. New York: Routledge.

Visceglia, M. A. (2002). *La città rituale: Roma e le sue cerimonie in età moderna*. Roma: Viella.

Recebido: 30 de abril de 2019
Aprovado: 09 de agosto de 2019