

BETWEEN ROMAN HOME AND PORTUGUESE HEARTH. JERÓNIMO DA FONSECA IN ROME

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Resumen: El artículo presenta el caso del mercader-banquero Jerónimo da Fonseca y sus actividades en Roma para mostrar la dicotomía entre el deseo de parte de componentes de la comunidad judeo-conversa portuguesa de Roma de arraigarse en Roma y mantener vínculos con su país de origen. En particular el testamento de Fonseca, que se publica en el artículo, muestra hasta que punto estas dos tendencias están presentes en sus estrategias de acumular patrimonio, capital social y afianzarse en Roma, manteniéndolo, al mismo tiempo, vínculos familiares y una identidad fuertemente ibérica.

Palabras clave: migraciones, casa, hogar, Portugal, Roma

Abstract: The article presents the case of the merchant-banker Jerónimo da Fonseca and his activities in Rome in order to display the dichotomy evinced among members of the Portuguese *converso* community in Rome between rootedness in Rome and maintaining links to their homeland. Fonseca's will, in particular, which is published in this article, displays up to what point both these tendencies were present in their strategies to accumulate patrimony, social capital and to consolidate themselves in Rome, all the while maintaining family ties and a strong Iberian identity.

Key words: migrations, home, hearth, Portugal, Rome

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1. Introduction

In a seminal article on human migrations and the relations of immigrants to their host societies, the French Sociologist Paul-André Rosenthal, distinguished between the experience of immigrants who leave a place yet maintain links (immigration de maintien) with their place of origin and that of others for whom the fact of leaving implied a rupture with the forms of sociability of the societies they came from (immigration de rupture). His are mental creations, categories or ideal-types of the possible immigrant experience. In the first paradigm people maintained ties, lifestyles and habits in the new places they moved to while in the others they distanced themselves from it. While Rosenthal's case studies were drawn from rural France to Paris at the end of the nineteenth century, his analysis of the preservation and dissolution of ties can be applied to other cases, even in the early modern period.¹ His categories have been appropriated by historians who have successfully applied them to other immigrant groups who were confronted with the dichotomy of choosing to make of a foreign setting a place to pass through or to permanently settle in.²

The French Sociologist found that over time the sense of belonging to a common place of origin tended to weaken, especially after the first generation of a group of people from the same place. In the case of an immigration which seeks to maintain ties to the place of origin the sense of belonging to a distinct group is preserved in the host society through means such as endogamy, solidarity networks and shared patterns of sociability.³ Thus an immigration which seeks to maintain ties and patterns of sociability tends to transpose the life of the place which a group left in the new locale by favouring closely-knit national or regional communities while that of rupture seeks integration and adaptation to the detriment of those ties.

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1 ROSENTHAL, P-A., “Maintien/rupture: un nouveau couple pour l'analyse des migrations”, *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 45, 6, (1990), pp. 1403-1431.

2 See for example RANCE, K., “L'émigration nobiliaire française en Allemagne: une ‘migration de maintien’ (1789-1815).” *Genèses*, 30, 1998, pp. 5-29 and BOURDIN, P., “Mémoires d'ex-, mémoires d'exil: l'émigrante noblesse auvergnante”, *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 343, 2006, pp. 3-27.

3 Rosenthal, *Op. cit.*, pp. 1406-1410.

One such case where Rosenthal's categories can be applied is that of Portuguese merchant-bankers in early modern Rome. No study exists, as such, of them as a group. They were one of many national groups which converged upon Rome, especially in the sixteenth century to reap the benefits open to bankers who could deal with the Apostolic Chamber and were designated *Mercatores Romanam Curiam Sequentes*. These men were granted the right to deal, in various capacities as bankers, with the Apostolic Chamber: lending money and bringing money to its coffers through the yields deriving from taxes and tithes due to the Chamber throughout the Catholic world and taxes and customs duties in the Pontifical State, which they were contracted to rein in.⁴ The sixteenth century saw the enormous growth of pontifical bureaucracy hence the increased need of such men.⁵ It saw the surge of importance of Florentine mercatores in Rome after several of them obtained the coveted post of *depositario*, the overseer of the entry of funds for the Apostolic Chamber.⁶

The Portuguese, though a sizeable group among the *mercatores* in Rome never reached the prominence of the Florentines, the Genoese or even the Spanish. By the middle of the sixteenth century they were a group well established in Rome in the midst of an entrenched and consolidated Portuguese community which could boast a National Church and hospice, like many other National communities in one of the most International cities in Europe. Following along the lines of Rosenthal's categories they had the choice of conceiving of the city they conducted their affairs as an "espace-resources", an environment which they availed themselves of for their business interests though with a view to returning to or maintaining ties with their homeland, or as an "espace investi", a place to establish and consolidate lasting ties with a view to staying.⁷

2. Jerónimo da Fonseca New Christian Portuguese merchant banker in Rome

Using the case of one of these Portuguese merchant-bankers, Jerónimo da Fonseca, who will be held to be indicative of the group as a whole, it can be shown that they brought with them and sought to perpetuate patterns of sociability and ties of kinship to Rome but with a view to making of the city a permanent abode for them and their families. The documentary evidence regarding him which is held, mostly in notarial records in the State Archive of Rome, strongly suggests that his marriage strategies and business partnerships were pursued with this view to ensouling himself and his family in Rome, all the while maintaining a strong sense of belonging to a distinct group, in his case, the Portuguese in Rome. In this way an individual like Fonseca can be said to bring together both of Rosenthal's categorizations of the ideal-type of immigrant.

Jerónimo da Fonseca was linked by ties of kinship to a group of men who were in Rome since at least the middle of the sixteenth century and had consolidated themselves as *Mercatores Romanam Curiam Sequentes*. As such they belonged to a class which was international by definition, established in the pivotal points of the European credit economy. As their very name suggests, they carried out their double function

4 For these merchant-bankers and their function in sixteenth century Rome see GUIDO BRUSCOLI, F., "Mercanti-banchieri pontifici e appalti nella prima metà del Cinquecento", in JAMME, A, PONCET, O, *Offices, écrits et papauté (XIIIème-XVIIème siècles)*, Rome, Publications de l'école française de Rome, 2007, pp. 517-532; and "Banchieri appaltatori e aumento della pressione fiscale nello Stato Pontificio tra Quattro e Cinquecento", in CAVACIOCCHI, S, (a cura di), *Fiscal systems in the European Economy from the Thirteenth to the Eighteenth Century. Atti della Trentanovesima Settimana di Studi 22-26 aprile 2007*, Firenze University Press, 2008, pp. 863-870.

5 On the Pontifical bureaucracy and its finances see PARTNER, P, "Papal Financial Policy in the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation", *Past and Present*, 88, 1980, pp. 17-62; and STUMPO, E, "La fiscalità pontificia tra medioevo ed età moderna", *Società e Storia*, 33, 1986, pp. 509-520.

6 On Florentine mercatores romanam curiam sequentes see GUIDO BRUSCOLI, F., *Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome. Benvenuto Olivieri and Paul III 1534-1549*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2007; BULLARD; M. M., "Mercatores Florentini Romanam Curiam Sequentes", *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 6/1, 1976, pp. 51-71.

7 Rosenthal, *Op. cit.*, pp. 1407-1409.

as merchants on a grand, European scale, moving important quantities of merchandise, commodities and goods the world over and while at the same time having money circulate throughout important European economic hubs by letters of credit.⁸ Throughout the sixteenth century several merchant-banker families established important branches throughout Europe and settled in cities, making of them the headquarters of their operations. Families such as the Fugger established in several European centres, especially in Spain and Portugal,⁹ the Ruiz in Medina del Campo¹⁰ the Bonvisi in Lyon¹¹ and the Giraldi in Lisbon.¹²

At the beginning of the century Portuguese merchants settled in force in Antwerp, the northern European port city, the headquarters of an important bourse, of Portugal's important emporium, feitoria (1499-1549) and of the exchange of that item of which the King of Portugal held the monopoly of the pepper trade since 1508. This managing of the trade was leased out to prominent merchant-bankers, such as Gian Carlo Affaitati (1500-1555) and the Fugger and Welser families.¹³ These foreign merchant-bankers were flanked by important Portuguese, chief among them Diogo Mendes (ca. 1485-1545) in the city from at least 1512, who participated in the purchase and sale of Portugal's pepper making of him, in a short time, one of Europe's most important businessmen.¹⁴ Mendes, like many members of the Portuguese community in the city, was a descendant of Portuguese Jews, forcibly converted in 1497 under King Manuel of Portugal (1495-1521).¹⁵

Compelled to the baptismal font under duress, in the first decades of the sixteenth century these converted Jews and their children, called *cristãos novos*, New Christians, coexisted with Portugal's long standing Old Christian majority in an uneasy peace interspersed with episodes of violence thanks to royal guarantees not to make investigations into the true sincerity of the acceptance of the Christian faith among the Jews and their descendants in Portugal.¹⁶ Widely suspected of continued allegiance to the Jewish faith, it was against them that the tribunal of the Inquisition was requested, established and justified in Portugal in 1531 under King João III (1521-1557).¹⁷

Bouts of persecution and discrimination had already provoked the exodus of many *cristãos novos* from Portugal before the fateful year of 1531. If the existence of Jewish converts and their descendants

8 On the European market of credit and the role of merchant bankers in it see ROOVER, R. de, *L'évolution de la lettre de change, XIVème-XVIIIème Siècles*, Paris, Armand Collin, 1953; RIBEIRO, A. S., "Letras de câmbio e correspondência comercial como materiais da historia. O acto de cooperar sob olhares distintos", *Cultura, Espaço e Memória*, 2, 2011, pp. 159-169.

9 KELLENBENZ, H, *Die Fugger in Spanien und Portugal bis 1560. Ein Grossunternehmen des 16 Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols, München, Ernst Vögel, 1990; EHRENBERG, R, *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance. A Study of the Fuggers and their connections*, Trans. Lucas, H. M, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1928.

10 LAPEYRRE, H, *Une famille de marchands: les Ruiz*, Paris, Armand Collin, 1955; RUIZ MARTÍN, F. *Pequeño capitalismo, gran capitalismo. Simón Ruiz y sus negocios en Florencia*, Barcelona, Editorial Crítica, 1990.

11 BAYARD, F, "Les Bonvisi, marchands banquiers À Lyon, 1575-1629", *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilizations*, 26, 1971, pp. 1234-1269.

12 RAU, Virginia, "Um grande mercado-banqueiro italiano em Lisboa: Lucas Giraldi", *Estudos italianos em Portugal*, 24, 1965, pp. 3-35,

13 On foreign merchants in Antwerp see GORIS, J. A, *Études sur les colonies marchandes méridionales à Anvers de 1488 à 1567: portugais, espagnols, italiens*, Louvain, Librairie Universitaire, 1925.

14 On Mendes see SOLAMON, H. P, and LEONE LEONI, A. "Mendes, Benveniste, de Luna, Micas, Nasi: the State of the Art (1532-1558)", *JQR*, 88/3-4, PP. 135-212.

15 For a recent account of the forced conversion see SOYER, F, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal*, Leiden, Brill, 2007.

16 On the period see TAVARES, M. J. P. F., "Expulsão ou integração", in *Judaísmo e Inquisição*, Lisboa, Presença, 1987, pp. 17-66.

17 On the origins of the Portuguese Inquisition and its early years see the classic work by HERCULANO, A, *History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal*, Prol. YERUSHALMI, Y. H, trans. BRANNER, J. C, New York, KTAV, 1968; and MARCOCCI, G, *I custodi dell'ortodoxia. Inquisizione e chiesa nel Portogallo del Cinquecento*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2004, "A fundação da Inquisição em Portugal: um novo olhar." *Lusitania Sacra*, 23, Janeiro-Junho 2011, pp. 17-40.

had been difficult before that, the tribunal signalled a very real treat against them, sanctioned by the crown and Church. The existence of a stereotype of suspected New Christian beliefs and practices had dogged them since after the forced conversion and was at the basis of the accusations which the tribunal (there were already six of them throughout the land in 1541) levelled against them and which were often the fruit of popular enmity and the settling of scores.¹⁸

It was in part to avoid harassment and Inquisitorial prying that New Christians streamed out of the land, especially after 1531. By that date they had already constituted important communities, receiving the right to settle in Antwerp (1526) and in 1535 Rome officially recognized their right to have representatives there present their appeals against sentences of the tribunal, sanctioning the presence of individuals who were already in the Eternal City from at least 1532 onwards, ostensibly to plead their cases and to attempt to influence Papal policy regarding the fledgling institution in Portugal.¹⁹ By the middle of the century their presence was not only tolerated, they were officially invited to Italian cities and states such as Ancona (1547), Tuscany (1549) and Ferrara (1550), a recognition, however grudging in some cases, of their importance in international commercial networks. From the forced conversion onwards, in fact, New Christian hubs had sprung up, literally in the four corners of the earth, especially in those territories linked to the Portuguese expansion in Asia and the Americas.²⁰

The group of merchant-bankers to which Jerónimo was linked to by professional ties and by kin was also of Jewish origin. He was the son of one António da Fonseca da Miranda, very likely a prominent banker who, from 1560 onwards, was in charge of the affairs of the Chapter of the diocese of Miranda.²¹ The diocese of Miranda was relatively new, having been erected only in 1545 and work on its cathedral began in 1552 and was completed in 1566 and a man like António would have been useful to represent the interests of the fledgling diocese in Rome.²² The beginning of his tenure coincided with that of the Portuguese ambassador Lourenço Pires de Távora (1500-1571) who was present in the city from 1559 to 1562. The Távoras were the feudal lords of nearby Mogadouro and held important estates and property in Miranda and throughout the north of Portugal.²³ Surely some kind of connection must have formed between both men and Távora could have assisted Fonseca in securing influence in Rome.

Jerónimo was one of seven siblings who lived in Rome: António, Manuel, Francisco, Maria, Justa and Filipa. Jerónimo was apparently fifty years of age upon his death on 20 August 1596, meaning that he could have arrived as a child after other members of the group had arrived at the beginning of the 1540s.²⁴ These included members of the Fonseca and Furtado families from Lamego, another town in the

18 On alleged New Christian religiosity, practices and accusations see SARAIVA, A. J., *The Marrano Factory. The Portuguese Inquisition and its New Christians*, SALAMON, H.P. and SASSOON, I.S.D (eds.), Leiden, Brill, 2001; REVAH I. S., “Les ‘marranes’”, *Revue des études juives*, 118, 1950-1960, pp. 29-77, “Les marranes et l’inquisition portugaise au XVI ème siècle”, *Études portugaises*, Paris, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1975, pp. 185-230.

19 On these individuals see NELSON NOVOA, J. W., “The Vatican Secret Archive as a source for the history of the activities of the agents of the Portuguese New Christians (1532-1549)”, *Miscelanea di Studi dell’Archivio Segreto del Vaticano*, number 3, 2009, pp. 171-196.

20 On the Portuguese diaspora see STUDNICKI-GIZBERT, D. A., *Nation upon the ocean sea. Portugal’s Atlantic Diaspora and the crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492-1640*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2007.

21 His father’s name is gleaned from António da Fonseca, of Lamego’s will. Notari del’Auditor Camera busta 1055, fol. 475 v, Archivio di Stato di Roma. CASTRO, J. de, *Bragança e Miranda (Bispado)*, vol, 1, Porto, Tipografia Porto medico, 1946, p. 139.

22 On the creation of the diocese see CASTRO, J. de, *Bragança*, pp. 15-18; ALVES, F.M, *Abade de Baçal, Memórias arqueológico-históricas do distrito de Bragança*, Tomo 3, Bragança, Câmara Municipal de Bragança, Instituto Português de Museus, 2000, pp. 9-18.

23 On the Távora family see MARQUES PIRES, M. A., *Ascensão da Família Távora no Século XV*, Unpublished Master’s dissertation in Early Modern History presented at the University of Lisbon, 2000.

24 The information is derived from an inscription on his tomb, now lost yet recorded in Ms. 254449 Archivio Storico Capitolino. Roma.

north who arrived in Rome to protest imprisonment and accusations against their families and quickly began dedicating themselves to commerce.²⁵ Rome did not enact blood purity statutes as the ones which increasingly made life difficult in Portugal for descendants of Portugal's Jews did. By the beginning of the seventeenth century any "tainted" blood, Jewish ancestry of any degree, effectively excluded them from the liberal professions, the clergy and university education.²⁶ No such exclusion was instated in Rome, not even in the confraternities of the Iberian national churches of Santiago e Ildefonso degli spagnoli, the Castilian church, Santa Maria de Montserrat, the church of the Catalans and Aragonese nor even Sant'Antonio dei portoghesi, the Portuguese national church.²⁷

Jerónimo himself begins to appear in Roman documents as a *Mercatore Romanam Curiam Sequens* around 1583, appearing as a procurator in the profitable business of the exchange of ecclesiastical benefices for Portuguese clerics who could not make the journey to Rome, most often than not, from Miranda. It is conceivable that his father he played a role in securing his position as a *mercator curiam sequens* representing clerics from his home town.²⁸ In addition he regularly appears as a guarantor for people in Rome who are looking to obtain cash for a letter of credit sent from the Iberian Peninsula, a sign that he was a man who was trusted and to whom such a responsibility could be regularly delegated and which also attests to his economic solvency.²⁹

3. Jerónimo, Portugal in Rome

In Rome Jerónimo apparently settled in the quarter where the Fonseca family had chosen to reside, in the rione Parione, near the church of San Biagio della Fossa. It was there, on 9 February 1578, that he married Violante da Fonseca (1556-1602), the daughter of Diogo Luis and Felipa Nunes, Portuguese who lived in Pisa.³⁰ Since 1556 the parish was the abode of António da Fonseca from Lamego, certainly the most prominent among the Portuguese merchant-bankers of the second half of the sixteenth century. Aside from his importance attested to by the steady flow of well to do clients, mainly Portuguese clerics, who sought out his services, Fonseca earned a name for himself as an important member of the Portuguese community in Rome, being very close to the ambassador Lourenço Pires da Távora who regularly counted on him for funds and occupying key roles in the Portuguese confraternity and the management of the hospice and church.³¹ António cast himself in Rome in the guise of a true Portuguese gentleman, conducting his affairs in a stately house ladden with Portuguese and Indo-Portuguese objects and furniture in addition to portraits of Portuguese monarchs and popes.³²

25 NELSON NOVOA, J. W., "The Trial of Diogo Fernandes Neto by the Tribunale del governatore di Roma", *Hispania Judaica*, 7, 2010, pp. 277-31; BASTOS MATEUS, S. and NELSON NOVOA, J. W. "A Sixteenth Century Voyage of Legitimacy. The Paths of Jácome and António da Fonseca from Lamego to Rome and Beyond", *Hispania Judaica*, 9, 2013, pp. 169-192. "The case of New Christians in Lamego as an example of resistance against the Portuguese Inquisition in Sixteenth century Portugal", *Hispania Judaica Bulletin*, vol. 6, 2008, pp. 83-103, BASTOS, "De Lamego para a Toscana: o périplo do médico Pedro Furtado, cristão-novo português", *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas*, n.º 5, 2006, pp. 313-338.

26 On blood purity statutes in Portugal see VAZ MONTEIRO DE FIGUEROA REGO, J. M., *A honra alheia por um fio. Os estatutos de limpeza de sangue no espaço de expressão ibérica (sécs. XVI-XVII)*, Braga, 2009; OLIVAL, R. "Rigor e interesses: os estatutos de limpeza de sangue em Portugal", *Cadernos de Estudos Sefardita*, 4, 2004, pp. 151-182.

27 Estatutos de la archicofradia de la Santísima Resurrección de Cristo Nuestro Redentor de la nación española de Roma. En Roma por Estevan Paulino, 1603, pp. 10-12.

28 See for example Camera Apostolica, Resignationes 290, fols. 28v-30 r, Archivio Segreto Vaticano.

29 See for example, Notari del Auditor Camera 1066, fol. 836r. Archivio di Stato di Roma.

30 San Biagio della Fossa, matrimoni 1572.1616, fol. 3 v. Archivio Storico del Vicariato, Roma.

31 On him see NELSON NOVOA, J. W., "The Foncescas of Lamego betwixt and between commerce, faith, suspicion and kin", *Storia economica* (in print).

32 NELSON NOVOA, J.W., "Gusti e saperi di un banchiere portoghese a Roma nel Rinascimento", *Giornale di Storia*, 10, 2013, <http://www.giornaledistoria.net/index.php?Articoli=557D0301220A740321070500777327> and "Unicorns and

António was Violante's uncle as he was the husband of Antónia Luis, the sister of Violante's father, Diogo Luis. Jerónimo da Fonseca had thus chosen to marry into the Fonseca family which he was likely related to, in keeping with the endogamy which was typical of New Christian families at the time.³³ Diogo Luis had possibly settled in Pisa around 1569, the date in which his son, Rodrigo da Fonseca (ca.1556-1622) claimed to have settle in the city.³⁴ The Luis's were one of several New Christian families which settled in the Tuscan city on the heels of the 1549 invitation to them made out by the Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo de' Medici (1537-1574).³⁵

The provisions of Jerónimo's will, made out on 17 August 1596, demonstrate up to what point ties of kinship played an important part in his deliberations. A sister, Maria de Spirito Sancto, a poor Clare, was to be left forty scudi, every year for the rest of her life.³⁶ His sister Justa da Fonseca's daughters were left fifty scudi each for their dowries.³⁷ His brother António was named his universal heir as he must have been the eldest.³⁸ He and his family were invited to live in Jerónimo's home alongside Manuel and António is to show him the ins and outs of the family business. He was left 10,000 scudi to invest in property and *monti* and in the event of his death, they are to be entrusted to António's children. In case António was to die childless as Jerónimo did, the money, property and investments are to be inherited by his sister, Justa da Fonseca's oldest son. Jerónimo insists that if such a situation were to arise the son was to live in Rome and use the Fonseca last name, an indication that possibly this was not the case at the time.

Apparently he had already been engaged in business with his brother Manuel who had a university education as he is called *licenciato*. In the will Jerónimo pardoned any outstanding debts which Manuel may have owed him on account of money which he had lent him in Rome. He claims that Manuel had regularly been sent to Portugal on his behalf, where he collected sums of money for him and that the said sums are to be given to António. At the same time he left him 1,000 Portuguese escudos. His other brother, Francisco, on the other hand was only left five hundred Portuguese escudos.

In his will Jerónimo left his wife six thousand scudi which were to be invested in *monti* and property. Jerónimo and his wife Violante da Fonseca had been left three thousand *scudi* to be evenly divided among them by António da Fonseca in his will of 1586. In case Jerónimo were to die she was to receive the total amount. They had already been given five hundred scudi by António da Fonseca's wife, Antónia Luis in her will and António offered them an addition thousand scudi stipulating that his son Manuel Fernandes da Fonseca (died 1625) was to tend to Violante in case of Jerónimo's death.³⁹ In fact upon Jerónimo's death Violante's estate was managed by her brother Rodrigo, who apparently took care of her until her death in Pisa in 1602.⁴⁰ Rodrigo himself was left one hundred *scudi* and his sisters Dionisia and Graça Dinis received fifty *scudi* each. Duarte Lopez, who had married another sister of Violante's, Catarina, received a room with leather wall covering in Jerónimo's home and one hundred pieces of Spanish porcelain. Another brother-in-law, António Gomes, received his carriage and horses.

bezoars in a Portuguese house in Rome: António da Fonseca's Portuguese inventories", *Agora, Estudos Clássicos em Debate*, 14.1, 2012, pp. 91-112.

33 GRAIZBORD, D., "Researching the Childhood of 'New Jews' of the Western Sephardic Diaspora in the light of recent historiography", REBOLLO LIEBERMAN, J (ed.), *Sephardi Family Life in the Early Modern Diaspora*, Lebanon, N. H, The University Press of New England, 2011, p. 230; SCHORSCH, J., *Swimming the Christian Atlantic*, vol, 1, *Judeoconveros, Afroiberians and Amerindians in the Seventeenth Century*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, pp. 57-58.

34 NELSON NOVOA, J. W., "Being Portuguese, Becoming Roman", in *Seconda e terza generazione. Integrazione e identità nei figli di migranti e coppie miste/Second and third generations. Integration and identity in children of migrants and mixed couples*, a cura di/edited by Simona Marchesini, Nicoletta Martinelli, Anna Painsi, Maria Clara Rossi, Verona, (Alteritas) 2014 (in print).

35 On this invitation see FRATTARELLI FISCHER, L., "Il principe, i nuovi cristiani e gli ebrei", *In Vivere fuori dal Ghetto. Ebrei a Pisa e Livorno (secoli XVI-XVIII)*. Torino, Silvio Zamorani Editore, 2008, pp. 15-68.

36 Notari del Auditor Camera 1086, fol. 409 v. Archivio di Stato di Roma. The will is published at the end of the article.

37 Notari del Auditor Camera 1086, fol. 409 v. Archivio di Stato di Roma.

38 Notari del Auditor Camera 1086, fol. 410 r. Archivio di Stato di Roma.

39 Notari del Auditor Camera 1055, fol. 476 r. Archivio di Stato di Roma.

40 Notari del Auditor Camera 1086, fols. 420-425r. Archivio di Stato di Roma.

His New Christian family past would seem to have followed him to Rome. After his death a Portuguese Franciscan, Francisco de Goes based in Rome provided testimony to the Holy Office stating that Jerónimo was widely suspected of harbouring Jewish beliefs and following Jewish rituals.⁴¹ At the time of his death he apparently was housing a nephew António da Fonseca, *il gioveno*, from Porto, who had denounced a close friend of his uncle's to the tribunal of the Roman Inquisition earning him Jerónimo's enmity. The nephew apparently related his uncle's disbelief to the Franciscan friar who then conveyed it to the Holy Office, stating that Jerónimo was incapable of pronouncing the name of Jesus Christ at the time of death, the ultimate testimony to his secret Jewish identity. News of Jerónimo's alleged apostasy was not limited to António *il gioveno*. After Jerónimo's death other Portuguese in Rome reiterated his allegations, perhaps in an attempt to deflect attention to their own New Christian origins.⁴² In any case in death Jerónimo was plagued by the kinds of suspicions which had likely accompanied him his whole life as a descendant of Portugal's Jews.

4. Jerónimo da Fonseca: a Portuguese among the Spanish in Rome

Upon his death Jerónimo was buried in the Fonseca family chapel which had been erected after the death of Antónia Luis in 1582 by her widower, António da Fonseca, in the Castilian National church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli. The stately chapel, which still exists, with frescoes by Baldassare Croce and Cesare Nebbia, was to be the perpetual resting place of the FONSECAS of Lamego in Rome, a testimony to their presence in the city.⁴³ As a member of the family from Lamego thanks to his marriage to Violante, he availed himself of the privilege to be remembered there, thus declaring, in death, his links to the Spanish community of Rome.⁴⁴

Such a choice was, both in his case as of that of his uncle António before him, of course justified by the political reality which prevailed in Portugal with the kingdom incorporated into the Habsburg Spanish empire under king Philip I of Portugal (1580-1598) after the death of the last monarch of the Avis dynasty, king Henrique (1578-1580). To throw in their lot with the Spanish community of Rome was the recognition of the authority of Portugal's new overseers, a situation which offered certain advantages, notably to merchants such as access to the markets of the vast territories of Spain's empire and protection for Portuguese vessels in addition of the hint of more advantages to come.⁴⁵

António da Fonseca dedicated the chapel to the Most Holy Resurrection, a gesture towards to most prestigious confraternity of the day in the church and hospice of Santiago e Ildefonso, the Archiconfradía de

41 IOLY ZORATTINI, P. C., *Processi del Santo Uffizio di Venezia contro ebrei e giudaizzanti. Appendici*, vol. 13, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki editore, pp. 262-265, 1997.

42 IOLY ZORATTINI, *Processi...*, pp. 263-266.

43 On the chapel see NELSON NOVOA, J. W., "Legitimacy through art in the Rome of Gregory XIII: The commission to Baldassarre Croce in the Fonseca chapel of San Giacomo degli spagnoli", *Riba Journal*, 95, July 2014

44 On the Spanish in Rome and their two national churches see DANDELET, T. J., *Spanish Rome 1500-1700*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2001; FERNÁNDEZ ALONSO, J., "Las iglesias nacionales de España en Roma. Sus orígenes", *Anthologica Annuaria*, 4, 1956, pp. 9-96; VAQUERO PIÑERO, M., "La presencia de los españoles en la economía romana (1500-1507. Primeros datos de archivo", *La España Medieval*, 16, 1993, pp. 288-305; "L'ospedale della nazione castigliana in Roma tra medioevo ed età moderna", *Roma moderna e contemporanea*, gennaio-aprile, 1993, pp. 57-81; VAQUERO PIÑERO, M., "Una realtà composita: comunità e chiese 'spagnole' a Roma", in *Roma Capitale (1447-1527)*, Roma: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali. Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici, 1994: 473-491; *La renta y las casas. El patrimonio inmobiliario de Santiago de los españoles de Roma entre los siglos XV y XVIII*, Roma: «L'Erma», di Bretschneider, 1999.

45 On the rule of the Habsburgs and the incorporation of Portugal to the Spanish crown see VALLADARES, R., *La conquista de Lisboa. Violencia militar y comunidad política en Portugal 1578-1583*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2008; BOUZA ÁLVAREZ, F., *Portugal en la monarquía hispánica (1580-1640). Felipe II, las cortes de Tomar y la génesis del Portugal Católico*, Unpublished PhD dissertation, Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1986.

la Santísima Resurrección, created only a few years before, in 1579.⁴⁶ Jerónimo not only chose to be buried in the chapel, he actively participated in the life of the confraternity. The inscription on his tomb, which no longer exists, proudly stated that he had been a prior of the confraternity of the Santísima Resurrección and he was a member of it at the time of his death as is borne out by his will.⁴⁷ As was the case with the statutes for the confraternity in general, they did not exclude New Christians from becoming priors, a position which lasted two years and Portuguese, as subjects of the Spanish crown, could take up the post.⁴⁸ Jerónimo used the prestigious position to ingratiate himself to the Spanish in Rome, apparently taking a major interest in the fireworks display which was part of the well known and very public processions held on Easter and Corpus Christi, which the confraternity was especially known for.⁴⁹

His will left money for the confraternity, a sign of his desire to be counted among its benefactors.⁵⁰ While his uncle had taken an active part in the life of the confraternity of the Portuguese church and hospice Jerónimo does not seem to have ever been a member and left it ten *scudi*, the same amount he left to his own parish of San Biago della Fossa.⁵¹ Jerónimo was evidently more intent on consolidating his ties with the Spanish community as a Portuguese member of it than in casting his lot with the Portuguese. In a further indication of how he had taken his cue from his uncle for involvement in the Spanish church he instructed that the rent from a house he owned in Campo de' fiori was to be used to give dowries to young Portuguese and Spanish girls just as António had done before him, in imitation of another Spanish benefactor who had had a chapel built in the church in 1551, Constantino del Castillo the Dean of Cuenca.⁵² Jerónimo encharges his brother António with distributing the money while Violante is to choose the girls to whom the funds are to be given.⁵³

Aside from a recognition of what was (and was likely to remain for some time) the status quo of the Spanish domination of Portugal, Jerónimo's ties with the Spanish community of Rome obviously served to make greater inroads for himself in Rome itself. His will is proof enough of the prestige which he had been able to garner in the city, something which plays out in the money he left for devotional uses and charitable works. Aside from the confraternity he had been part of Jerónimo left money for thirty masses for the repose of his soul to be said in the church of San Gregorio.⁵⁴ As a show of concern for the lot of the sick and destitute of the city he left ten *scudi* to the hospital of San Giacomo degli Incurabili, Orfanelli, the Fate Bene fratelli and hospital of the Pazzarelli, in addition to 25 to tend to mendicants.⁵⁵ In particular it was common for Spanish residents of the city to leave funds to those charitable institutions and Jerónimo's provision must have kept this in mind.⁵⁶

The people involved, in some way, with the making out of his will and to who he entrusted its execution are a cross section of the Roman society he was part of. In it he names cardinals Cesare Baronio

46 On this confraternity see FERNANDEZ ALONSO, J., "Santiago de los Españoles y la Archiconfradía de la Santísima Resurrección de Roma hasta 1754", *Antologia Annua*, 8, 1960, pp. 279-329.

47 "D.O.M. Hieronymus de Fonseca/Antoni nepos/natione Lusitanus Patria Mirandensis/Prior Archiconfraternitas Santissima Resurrectionis cui pro maritandis puellis/singulis annis/Relicto legato/cum pie visset annos L. Obiit Die XX Augusti MDXCVI. Executores ex testamento/PP/Pro se itirusque haeredibus", Ms. 254449 Archivio Storico Capitolino. Roma.

48 Estatutos de la archiconfradía, pp. 13-18.

49 DANDALET, T. *Spanish Rome...*, p. 115.

50 The poor condition of the copy of the will does not allow to see the quantity of the money he left. Notari del Auditor Camera, 1086, fol. 408 r.

51 Notari del Auditor Camera, 1086, fol. 408 r.

52 Notari del Auditor Camera, 1086, fol. 411 v. The provision in António da Fonseca's will is in Notari del Auditor Camera 1055, 424r-425 r. Archivio di Stato di Roma.

53 Notari del Auditor Camera, 1086, fol. 411v-412r. Archivio di Stato di Roma.

54 Notari del Auditor Camera, 1086, fol. 408 r. Archivio di Stato di Roma.

55 Notari del Auditor Camera, 1086, fol. 408 v-409r. Archivio di Stato di Roma. Dandelelet,

56 Dandelelet, *Spanish Rome*, p. 152.

(1538-1607) and Francesco Mantica (1534-1614) its overseers along with a Spaniard, Alonso de Torres, a Portuguese Jerónimo Perez and his brother-in-law, António Gomes. After his death the validity of the will itself was recognized by an illiterate Portuguese, Simão António and a physician from Pisa, one Giovanni Battista Morello.⁵⁷ The same men had been present at Jerónimo's dictation of the will the day before along with several other witnesses.⁵⁸

5. Jerónimo da Fonseca and the art of staying in Rome

Drawing upon Rosenthal's categories it can be said that Jerónimo's strategies, especially as evinced in his will, played into an immigration of *maintien*, but with a view to remaining in the place he had chosen to locate to. There were no radical breaks with his Portuguese roots. He was in constant contact with his home country, which was the source of his livelihood and the manner by which he defined himself in Rome as a mercator portugalis in Romanam Curiam sequens. He made detailed provisions for his siblings, to participate in his fortune and his professional activities. Having chosen to marry a Fonseca, but from Lamego, he also included his family through marriage into the dispositions of his will and culled the advantages which his marriage offered him, especially the links to the church of San Giacomo through his relation to his uncle. It was a recognition of his Portuguese and New Christian roots and at the same time demonstrates his awareness of what his Spanish connections, inextricably linked to the situation of Portugal at the time, could do for him and his family in Rome.

His professional activities played into an overall scheme of fashioning a public Lusitanian identity in Rome with a concern for the preservation of his family's heritage and name, tellingly demonstrated in the pains he took that there be a descendant who should perpetuate the Fonseca name. Jerónimo thus aimed at preserving, solidifying and making sure that the FONSECAS had some kind of lasting presence in Rome, certainly exemplified in the tomb he was to be buried in within the Fonseca chapel. The fact that the tomb and chapel which was to perpetuate that memory was in the church of San Giacomo was, in a sense, testimony to the unique possibilities which Rome offered them. By choosing the Castilian national church and throwing in their lot with its confraternity António and his nephew Jerónimo were publicly defending a particular way of being Portuguese in a way that added to their prestige and that of their family in their adopted city.

Neither António nor Jerónimo after him brought about a radical break with their Portuguese identity. Their business partners were still largely Portuguese and in Rome, as procurators for people back in Portugal they were, in a very real sense, the face of Portugal in Rome. At the same time as New Christians, Rome signified a marked change in their fortunes. Although suspicion of lingering Jewish loyalties may have followed them their situations could not be compared to the ones they had left in Portugal where "tainted" blood could almost invariably imply exclusion, however sincere their true adherence to the Christian faith actually was. They made no radical break with their Portuguese roots. They were, on the contrary, the source of their *raison d'être* in Rome. On the other hand António da Fonseca from Lamego and António da Fonseca from Miranda and his son Jerónimo chose to make inroads in the city, to make of it a place of permanent abode for themselves and their families, not simply a place to pass through. Theirs was a voyage of no return, a rupture of sorts, with Portugal, in the sense that their choices there were dictated by a conscious will to make of the city a place to stay in.

Their objective was the maintenance of a Portuguese identity but in the new Roman context which they found themselves in. It was this end which dictated their diverse strategies and decisions with a view to accruing social capital. To be Portuguese and a representative of the Portuguese in Rome is what justified their presence there, what gave them legitimacy in their dealings there. At the same time they sought to

57 Published as document 2 in the appendix.

58 Published as document 3 in the appendix.

emulate the habits of Romans and their fellow Iberian inhabitants of Rome in their piety and almsgiving. In this way they literally incarnated Portugal in Rome, divided between Portuguese households and the Roman houses they chose to establish. The complex relationship with their homeland, at once the seat of their roots but also the source of their decision to leave due to potential exclusion, is evinced in their negotiations between perpetuating an identity which they brought with them and incorporating elements of their new home.

Documentary Appendix

1.

1596 agosto 17, Roma

TESTAMENTO

ROMA, ASR, Notai Auditor Camerae, 1086, ff. 408r-413r

In nomine sanctissime et individue Trinitatis, Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti, amen. Considerando io Gieronimo de Fonseca l' homo esser mortale, e quanto sia be[ne] e cosa laudabile accomodare le cos[e] sue mentre vi è il tempo non si sapen[do] l' hora e posto certo della morte, trova[ndomi] in letto se bene infermo del corpo, m[a] di mente, senso et intelletto sano, però risoluto fare sì come fo il presente testamento chiuso nel modo che segue, c[ioè]:

Primeramente raccomando l'anima mia al creatore nostro Signore Giesù Cristo et alla sua gloriosissima madre Vergine Maria e tutta la corte celestiale humil[mente] supplicandoli habbino misericordia [dell'] anima mia, e quando li piacerà sepa[rarla] da questo corpo la riponghino in [...] di salvatione.

Il corpo mio voglio sia seppellito nel[la] chiesa di San Giacomo della [nazione] spagnola di Roma, inanzi la [ca]pella del quondam signor Antonio de Fonseca et appresso la sepoltura e lapide [del] signor Antonio sopradetto, la quale mia sepoltura [...] lapide del modo che [a]ll'in[frascritti] [ese]cutori del presente mio testamento [parerà] [f.408v] pagando a detta chiesa quello li perviene direttamente e quel più che si suole pagare per la sepoltura e lapide. Item voglio che il mio corpo sia accompagnato alla sepoltura con moderata pompa ad arbitrio di detti miei esecutori.

Comando che il dì della morte mia si dichano tutte quelle messe si potran per l'anima mia in detta et altre chiese e di più il trentenario de messe che si suol dire nella chiesa di San Gregorio, dando di elemosine un giulio per una.

Item comando che oltre alle dette messe si dichano altre ducento messe per l'anima mia et i miei defunti in altari privilegiati, se sarà possibile, dando un giulio d'elemosina per una; e che dentro di sei mesi dopo la mia morte si dichano tutte et in questo gravo la coscienza delli miei esecutori.

Item lasso d'elemosina all'archiconfraternita della Santissima Resurrectione fondata in detta chiesa di San Giacomo, della quale al presente son priore, scudi [...]nto di moneta e prego li signori priori e confratelli di detta archiconfraternita faccino oratione a Dio nostro Signore per l'anima mia.

Item lasso alla chiesa di Sant'Antonio della nazione de Portughesi d'elemosina scudi diece di moneta.

Item lasso alla chiesa della Parrocchia sotto la quale al presente sto scudi diece [di moneta].

Item l[asso] per elemosina alli hospitali di San Giacomo degli Incurabili, de [f.409r] Fatebenefratelli, alli Passarelli [...] orfanelli di Roma scudi diec[e di] moneta a ciascuno di detti hospitali e lo[chi].

Item lasso si diano per elemosina alli lochi [ove] albergano poveri mendicanti in R[oma] scudi venticinque di moneta consegnando[li] alli superiori o suprintendenti. Di [detti] lochi a ogni uno la rata li toccherà [...]mente

Item comando, voglio e tale è l'ultima [mia] volontà, che a Violante de Fo[nseca] mia molto chara et amata con[sorte] se le paga la dote, che constarà [nello] instrumento dotale e più la quart[a parte] di essa, conforme alli statuti di [...] e voglio che medesimamente se le pagh[ino scudi] mille che'l signor Antonio di Fonseca [me] le lassò nel suo testamento, li quali h[avrà] oltre alla detta dote.

Item lasso iure legati a detta Violante Fonseca mia consorte, per il grand'amore che sempre li ho tenuto,

l'usufrutto di scudi seimilia di moneta, li quali i miei esecutori più presto sarà poss[ibile] l'intestiranno comprando monti [non vacabili] o beni stabili come sarà più uti[le] ad arbitrio loro, quanto al detto usufrutto [di] [f.409v] scudi seimila voglio che lo goda per tutto il tempo della vita sua, vivendo vedove e non accasandosi e, dopoi la morte sua o tornando a maritarsi, li detti seimilia scusi e suo usufrutto torni alli miei heredi infrascritti e mentre non s'investiranno detti seimilia scudi in monti o beni stabili come resta detto voglio e comando se li dia della mia robba per ragione del usufrutto tanto quanto importerà l'intrata di detti monti o beni stabili [di scu]di cinque[cento]⁵⁹, e comprati che siano non se li dia più della mia robba, solo goderà di detto usufrutto come è detto.

Item lasso iure legati a mia sorella Maria de Spirito Sancto, monaca nel monasterio «di» Sancta Chiara de Montiaro del Porto del ordine di San Francesco, scudi quaranta di moneta ogn'anno durante li giorni di sua vita; et perché si sappia certo di che cosa si hanno da pagare comando che della mia robba si comprino tanti loghi di monti non vacabili, li quali fruttino detti scudi quaranta di moneta l'anno per dare a detta mia sorella, li quali monti non si potranno vendere né alienare, e dopo delli giorni di detta mia sorella al mio herede o heredi infrascritti e voglio che durante la vita di [detta mia sorella] monasterio et ordine, dove è professa, possa pretendere sopra detti scudi quaranta [f.410r] cosa alcuna et in caso che lo pre[tenda] giudicialmente et estraudicialmente voglio che [detto] legato sia nullo e di niun valore, ma che se diano et paghino solam[ente a detta] mia sorella per li suoi bisogni e dop[o di] sua morte tornino al mio herede come è detto.

Item lasso iure legati alle figliole femine [et a mia] sorella Giusta de Fonseca moglie [di] Diego Fernandez [..]piña scudi cinquecento [di moneta] di Portugallo per ciascuna di esse per la [dote] loro o per agiuto d'entrare in alcuna [religione], li quali scudi cinquecento si diano [.....] per ciascuna, subito si haveranno marita[to o] fatta professione nel monasterio in ch'entreranno, con il quale s'haveranno da mari[tarsi per] chè in tal caso se li pagaranno confor[me l']uso che sarà in detti lochi dove ent[reranno] in religione e si maritaranno; et in caso morano senza figli o senza far [profes]sione non se li habbino da pagare, [et in] caso s'haveranno sborsati s'habbino [da re]stituire e restituiscino a detto mio [herede] o heredi. E mentre che dette figliole non [si marita]ranno o intreranno in religione v[oglio che] detti scudi cinquecento per una s'investino [in monti] non vacabili et che l'usufrutto di essi accres[ca ciascuna] dote pro rata. [f.410v]

Item lasso iure legati alle figlie femine di mia sorella Felippa de Fonseca, moglie di Enrico Camallo scudi cinquecento per una della moneta di Portugallo per la dote loro o per agiuto d'entrare in alcuna religione, nel modo detto nel retroscritto legato fatto alle figliole dell'altra mia sorella Giusta de Fonseca in tutto e per tutto.

Item lasso ad Antonio de Fonseca figliolo di detta Felippa de Fonseca et Enrico Camallo scudi mille di moneta.

Et per quanto a mio fratello il lic(entia)to Emanuele de Fonseca stando in Roma li diedi et imprestai alcuni denari della quantità de' quali precisamente non mi ricordo e di più ha riscosso in Portugallo molte e diverse somme de prestito de denari per me, li quali mi deve. Voglio e tale è la mia volontà che tutti li denari che li ho dati et imprestati stando lui in Roma non se li dimandino né lui habbia obligatione a pagarmeli perché li fo gratia di essi e li perdono senza che'l mio herede o heredi glieli possino dimandare né riscuotere da lui, e tutto il resto che in Portugallo ha riscosso per me e mi è debitore voglio che lo paghi e che detto mio herede o heredi li possino dimandare e riscuotere da lui et quanto alla somma e quantità che sarà mi rimetto alli miei libri e conti che tengo con detto mio fratello, lasciandoli per ragione di legato scudi mille della moneta di Portugallo.

Item voglio che li miei vestiti si vendino et il loro prezzo si dia per amor d'Iddio a chi vorrà Violante de Fonseca mia consorte et miei esecutori. [f.411r]

Item lasso per ragione di legato a Francesco de [Fonseca] mio fratello per charità et amor fratern[o et per]

59 [di scu]di cinque[cento] added in at the margin.

obligatione che li tengo scudi cinquecento⁶⁰ della [moneta] di Portogallo.

Item lasso iure legati a Roderico de Fonseca mio cognato scudi cento di moneta.

Item lasso iure legati a Dionisia e Gran[.....]dini sorelle di detto Roderico e mie [.....] scudi cinquanta di moneta per ciascuna.

Item lasso iure legati al dottor Odoar[do] mio cognato una stanza di corami [.....]noni che sono della mia prima cam[...] più cento pezzi di porcellana de Sp[agna] ad arbitrio della grandezza e qualit[à delle] pezze di porcellana delli esecutori infrascritti.

Item lasso a Antonio Gomez mio cognato il m[io cocchio] con li cavalli fornimenti et altre cose p[ertinenti] al cocchio, con la provisione di fieno, p[.....], orzo e biada de quali se leveranno [stai] sei, quali lasso al predetto dottor Odo[ardo].

Item lasso iure legati a Bartolomeo Olalla[...] portionario de Siviglia, mio respond[ente i] quadri grandi che tengo in casa, u[no di Santa] Susanna, l'altro di Santa Cecilia.

Item dechiaro che quanto alli beni mobili [miei] mi riferisco al mio libro e quello si le[ggerà] [f.411v] per inventario che prego et incarico la coscienza de' miei esecutori lo faccino con diligenza come dalla loro virtù e conscientia spero.

Quanto alli beni immobili dechiaro tengo una vigna appresso Porta Maggiore⁶¹, come dalla compravendita di essa costa per li atti del Boccarino notario dell'Apostolica Camera: voglio et è mia volontà che vada al mio herede o heredi, quali non la possino vendere né alienare per parte né modo alcuno e succeda sempre ne' loro heredi⁶² et che delle frutte e non del vino siano obligati a dare a Violante de Fonseca mia consorte ogni anno la metà.

Item dechiaro ch'è la mia volontà che a detta Violante de Fonseca mia consorte si diano quelli mobili sufficienti che parrà conveniente a detti miei esecutori nella qual cosa incarico la loro conscientia e quanto oltre allegato predetto⁶³.

Item dechiaro che tengo una casa in Campo di Fiore, come costa per instrumento della compra di essa rogato dal sopradetto Boccarino la quale affitto «per» scudi ducento l'anno e paga di censo a San Giovanni Laterano scudi 37. e mezzo⁶⁴ di moneta l'anno. Voglio ed è la mia volontà che de' frutti di detta casa si maritino in San Giacomo de Spagnoli ogni anno quattro zitelle con quella dote che per rata toccherà delli frutti che detta casa renderà ogn'anno più o meno, le quali zitelle si maritaranno con le medesime conditioni e qualità del Castello, eccetto [che] se debbiano sempre preferire quelle della natione portughese, nella nominatione delle quale doverà tenere [f.412r] doi voti Antonio de Fonseca mio fratello [et, a] la morte sua l'infrascritto mio herede o heredi et successori, di mano in mano stando in Roma.

Item dechiaro ch'è la mia volontà che durante [la vita] di Violante de Fonseca mia consorte, [ella] sola e senz'altro voto possa et elega [una tra] dette zitelle alla quale s'habbia da dare [.....] come di sopra e dopo la morte sua succ[eda in] questa nominatione et electione il sopradetto An[tonio de] Fonseca et heredi soprascritti.

Et per quanto io tengo de affettione all'habitatione d[i Roma] in quella Iddio mi ha fatto molti favori e gr[.....]tomi mediante la mia industria, voglio e[d è la mia] volontà che mio fratello Antonio de Fonseca [con la sua] famiglia vengano ad habitare in essa, do[ve] a tener compagnia il detto mio fratello Emanue[le de Fonseca] per incaminaro et indurarlo e seguiti li [negoti et la] corrispondenza di quelli ch'io ho tenuti e tengo [...] mediante la sua industria. Iddio l'aggiuti e f[....]tare la sua famiglia

60 added in at the margin to correct mille which was cancelled out.

61 In the margin.: [.....]pieta delli [.....]le terre [...]di scudi [.....]porto l'anno [.....]lla varrà [.....]a di 3. Barili alla cappella di S. Lorenzo.

62 [.....]tive in [.....] added in at the margin.

63 Added in at the margin.: [.....] dico voglio [.....]dissima [.....]si tenghi la [.....]o [.....] con suoi [.....]n altro [.....] con dui [.....] una co[.....]ro di [.....]le [.....]naletti [.....]lei ha [.....]e sue [.....]arie [.....]salusette [.....]uttili [.....]dusece n

64 37. e mezzo] correction of trentasette

honoratamente e, perché questo [possa] fare con più comodità, voglio ed è la mia volontà [che de la] mia robba si cavino scudi diecemilia di [moneta i] quali si consegnino a detto mio fratello Antonio de Fonseca [perché] possa negoziare e trattare ed essi [detti diece]milia scudi habbino a star sempre in p[.....] tratto in che l'infrascritto mio herede o heredi o q[ualsivoglia] di loro siano d'età e di anni venticinque, che all[ora] debbano far conto con la heredità e perché spero in Dio che in detto tempo detto mio fratello haverà guadagnato tanta robba che possa con[.....] e negoziare, voglio che di detti diecemilia [scudi di com]prino tanti beni stabili o monti non vacabili [...] altra mia robba si dirà dabbasso e di [essa] |f.412v| godano detti miei herede o heredi né più né meno che dell'altra robba [e nel] far de conti et investire detti diecemilia scudi toccherà a detti miei heredi ed con intervento del detto Emanuel de Fonseca mio fratello standosi in Roma, e caso che detto Antonio mio fratello venesse a morte o non volesse venire a Roma, detti diecemilia scudi s'habino da investire come l'altri⁶⁵. In tutti li miei beni mobili, immobili, actioni, ragioni et crediti in qualsivoglia modo pertinenti a me e che me se devono presenti e futuri, in qualsivoglia loro esistenti nomine, fo et instituisco per miei heredi universali li figlioli maschi di detto mio fratello Antonio de Fonseca, ugualmente, alli quali prohibisco e interdico l'alienatione di detti miei beni fin tanto che'l maggiore di essi sia di età di anni venticinque, e voglio et è la mia volontà che se riscuota detta mia robba e cambi li sopradetti legati e scudi diecemilia che si hanno da dare e consegnare a detto Antonio de Fonseca mio fratello per trattare con essi. Del resto della mia robba s'habbin da comprare beni stabili e monti non vacabili il più stabile e sicuro che si trovarà, le quali detti beni detti miei heredi non li possino vendere né alienare frattanto che'l maggiore di loro sia di età di venticinque anni come sta detto. Et in caso che senza figli legittimi e naturali, substituisco per mio harede il figliolo maggiore di mia sorella Giusta de Fonseca sopradetta, il quale voglio che pigli il cognome de Fonseca e venga ad habitare a Roma, e questa è la mia volontà.

Protectori di questo mio testamento e volontà nomino e fo l'illustrissimi et reverendissimi signori cardinali Baronio e Mantica⁶⁶, don Alonso de Torres, Gieronimo Perez d'Amverso et Antonio Gomez mio cognato⁶⁷, alli quali do potestà ampla, libera e tanto quanto tengo e posso dare e concedere [.....] tutto il contenuto in questo mio testamento, la qual potestà et [.....] durerà a loro et passato l'anno, fin tanto che in tutto [.....] sia adempiuto et eseguito quello che per me resta ordinato e |f.413r| comandato⁶⁸ e dechiaro esser questo l'ultimo mio testamento et ultima volontà e come tale voglio che vaglia e se non valerà per testamento vagli per codicillo o donatione causa mortis et nel miglior modo che di ragione habbia loco, revocando come revoco qualsivoglia altro testamentoe codicilli che avanti di questo habbia fatto, li quali non voglio che vaglino ma solamente questo et in testimonio della verità ha sottoscritto di mia propria mano questo.

Di xvii d'agosto 1596 in Roma.

Hieronimo Fonseca affermo e disp[ongo] quanto di sopra⁶⁹.

Apertum fuit die vigesima augusti 1596, hora undecimam. I. Lapius locumtenens.

65 e caso che ... come l'altri] added in over the line

66 [...] Mendez [Man]tica mio nipote added in at the margin.

67 [.....] Ruiz [.....] di essi added in at the margin undersigned by G. Fonseca.

68 "detto Antonio mio nepote lo prego che attendi a fare i conti et esigere e metterli in locho sicuro secondo parerà a Antonio Gomez o investirli in speditioni sintanto venga a Roma Antonio de Fonseca mio fratello, che allora si darà ordine alli negocii." Added at the margin undersigned by G. Fonseca

69 Signature of G. Fonseca

2.

1597 agosto 20, [Roma]

ROMA, ASR, Notai Auditor Camerae, 1086, f. 413v

Die 20 augusti 1597. Reverendus dominus Simon Antonius vlixobonensis et dominus Johannes Baptista Morellus Pisanus medicus tactis etc. recognoverunt eorum et aliorum retroscriptorum manus et sigilla que interfuerunt et cum simili iuramento tactis etc. dixerunt et deposuerunt retroscriptum dominum Hieronimum de Fonseca hac nocte et hac vita migravisse et illum mortum in eius domo vidisse.

3.

1596 agosto 19, [Roma]

ROMA, ASR, Notai Auditor Camerae, 1086, f. 413v

Die lune xix augusti 1596. In nomine Domini amen. Magnificus dominus doctor Hieronimus de Fonseca lusitanus Romane Curie [sanus] mente, sensu et intellectu, licet (.....) languens in lecto [...] sibi intellectus et sana mens viget de rebus et (.....) Deo constatis et conferendis disponere iur(e) eius vol[untatem ante] obitum velit ordinare suum ultimum testamentum et ult[.....]ptis condidit et fecit ac voluit et ordinavit et [.....] heredes instituit ac alia fecit pro [...] in(frascriptis) fo[liis] subscriptis et suo proprio sigillo, ut apparet ab eius sig[illo] consignatis, quod testamentum dictum velle valere iure te[.....] non censebitur nomen et ius habere talis testamenti velut [.....] testamenti nuncupativi seu codicillorum vel donationis causa mortis [.....] ultime voluntatis ac aliter omni meliori modo etc. volens et [.....] aperiri statim sequuta eius morte absque solemnitatibus [...] in domo solite abitationis ipsius domini testatoris, presentibus ibidem [testibus]: [...]valerio Sulmone et (filio eius), Johanne Baptista de Arena Collen(...) et familiaribus illustrissimi cardinalis Mantice, Marcantonio [...] Filatrano Aurismano [...], Octavio Fortino Romano [.....]naturis de Cappellis et Johanne Baptista Morello [...] de Austria vienense [.....] dicti domini testatoris signaverunt et sigillaverunt cum quinque sigillis nempe [.....] cum sigillo ecc(...) I(ohannis) Marcus Antonius cum suo, Johannis Baptista [cum sigillo]pari Mendez, dominus Johannis Baptista de Arena cum suo, [.....] pro quo nesciente scribere se subscribet [.....] de Sandominicis et ipse faciet (sic) signum crucis et [Oratio de Be]nedictis cum sigillo domini Johannis Baptiste [..... nesciente] scribere se subscribet rev[.....] vilxbonen.

Io Emilio Florio fui presente et testimonio quanto di sopra.

Io Giovanni Battista della Rena fui presente et testimonio quanto di sopra.

Io Marcantonio Arcantis fui presente et testimonio quanto di sopra.

Io Ottavio Fortino fui presente et testimonio quanto di sopra.

Io Giovanni Battista Morelli fui presente et testimonio quanto di sopra.

Io Simone Antonio per Oratio de Benedetti non sapendo lui scrivere ho sottoscritto. (signum crucis)

Io Giovanni dominum Giandominici ho sottoscritto per [.....]chiero per non saper lui scrivere.

(signum crucis)

[.....] Boccarinus [.....]