



*Humanism and Spanish Literary
Patronage at the Roman Curia:
The Role of the Cardinal of Santa
Croce, Bernardino López de Carvajal
(1456–1523)*

Marta Albalá Pelegrín

Humanism and Spanish Literary Patronage at the Roman Curia:
The Role of the Cardinal of Santa Croce, Bernardino López de Carvajal
(1456-1523)¹

Marta Albalá Pelegrín

Abstract: This article aims to analyze the role of Bernardino López de Carvajal (1456 Plasencia-1523 Rome) as a literary patron, namely his contributions to humanism in Rome and to Spanish letters, in the period that has been loosely identified as Spanish Rome. Carvajal held the dignities of *orator continuus* of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, titular cardinal of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, and Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, and was even elected antipope with the name of Martin VI in the Conciliabulum of Pisa (1511) against Julius II. He belonged to the avant-garde of humanists devoted to creating a body of Neo-Latin and Spanish literature that would both foster the Spanish presence at Rome and leave a mark on the Spanish literary canon. He sponsored a considerable body of works that celebrated the deeds of the Catholic Kings and those of the Great Captain, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba. He also commissioned literary translations, and was involved in the production of theatrical pieces, such as those of Bartolomé Torres Naharro.

Key Words: Bernardino López de Carvajal; Literary Patronage; Catholic Kings; Erasmus; Bartolomé Torres Naharro; Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba.

Bernardino López de Carvajal (1456 Plasencia-1523 Rome) was a foremost figure in Renaissance Rome. During his long and stormy career at the curia, he enjoyed the offices of *cubicularius* of Sixtus IV, *orator continuus* of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, titular cardinal of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme (starting 1495), and Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem (1503-1511 and 1513-1523). Eventually, he became Bishop of Ostia (1522), which made him second in rank only to the pope.² He also endured the hardship of excommunication (1511) for heading the Conciliabulum (pseudo-council) of

¹ A preliminary version of this article was presented at the conference *Renaissance Cardinals: Diplomats and Patrons in the Early-Modern World*, held at St Mary's University on 13 and 14 March 2015. I thank Glenn Richardson for his encouragement. My special thanks go also to Ottavio Di Camillo, Valeria López Fadul, and Hilary Haakenson for their revisions and precious insights. I also thank Roger L. Martínez-Davila and Michele Lodone, who graciously shared their findings with me.

² Bernardino López de Carvajal was Bishop of Cartagena, Cardinal-priest of SS. Marcelino e Pietro, then Cardinal-Priest of S. Croce in Gerusalemme (2 February 1495), cardinal-bishop of Albano (3 August 1507), Cardinal-Bishop of Tusculum (17 September 1507), Cardinal-Bishop of Palestrina (22 September 1508), and Cardinal-Bishop of Sabina (28 March 1509). He was excommunicated and deposed on 24 October 1511 for his participation in the schismatic pseudo-council of Pisa and reinstated on 27 June 1513 as Cardinal-Bishop of Sabina, then Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia and Velletri (24 July 1521). He died on 16 December 1523.

Pisa against Julius II, which entailed the temporary suspension of his positions.³ This article aims to analyze Carvajal's role as a literary patron, namely his contributions to Roman humanism and Spanish letters. It situates Carvajal in the avant-garde of humanistic and vernacular attempts at creating a body of Neo-Latin and Spanish literature that would foster the prestige of the *nación hispana* and of its past, while leaving a mark in the Spanish literary canon. His construction of *Hispania* in direct connection with the Roman imperial past appears linked to a strong calling for a new crusade, the evangelization of the Americas, Africa, and Asia, as well as to a world of literary self-fashioning frequently practiced by high-prelates and humanists.⁴

At the turn of the century, Carvajal was part of the Spanish cultural elite at the Roman curia, a group of Italian and Spanish humanists that actively constructed and projected a strong image of Spain and its historical past. This network of authors included prelates, such as the cardinal Raffaele Riario in whose palace were performed several Spanish plays, members of the Pomponian Academy, such as the short-lived Paolo Pompilio whose *Vita Seneca* dealt with Spain and Spanish literary history and that of its illustrious men and cities, as well as a number of Spanish agents, diplomats, and secretaries that were part of a program of exaltation of the Catholic Kings under the papacy of Alexander VI.⁵ The crucial years of the siege of Granada, the encounter with the Americas, the military campaigns in Northern Africa, and the pontificate of Rodrigo Borgia coincided with Carvajal's own ascension within the hierarchy of the church. In his artistic and literary patronage, Carvajal soon started to differentiate himself from other Spanish contemporaries. As his titles and commissions grew bigger, his influence, freedom of alliance, and artistic patronage did too.

³ Louis XII and Maximilian I sponsored the *conciliabulum* of Pisa against Julius II, who in response summoned the Fifth Lateran Council and condemned Louis XII and his allies as schismatics adhering to the conventicle of Satan. Tyler Lange, *The First French Reformation: Church Reform and the Origins of the Old Regime* (New York, 2014), 49.

⁴ This article would not have been possible without the recent studies of Álvaro Fernández de Córdova Miralles, dealing with Carvajal's role in promoting a literary and political propaganda for the Catholic Kings, and those by Flavia Cantatore, Jack Freiberg, and other scholars who have analyzed his role in patronizing key monuments of Renaissance Rome, such as Bramante's Tempietto. These recent contributions need to be complemented with Johann Georg August Roszbach's now classic study of Carvajal's life, published in 1892. Roszbach was conscious of the importance of Carvajal as a patron of the arts, and envisioned a second volume that he unfortunately never completed. See J. G. A. H. Roszbach, *Das Leben und die politisch-kirchliche Wirksamkeit des Bernaldino Lopez de Carvajal, Kardinals von Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rom, und das schismatische concilium Pisanum* (Breslau, 1892). For a bibliography of Bernardino López de Carvajal, see Román de la Higuera, *Vida de Bernardino de Carvajal, cardenal de Santa Cruz* (Madrid, unpublished ms.); G. Fragnito, "Carvajal, Bernardino López de", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bernardino-lopez-de-carvajal_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bernardino-lopez-de-carvajal_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)>; J. Goñi Gatzambide, "López de Carvajal, Bernardino", in *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, eds. Q. Aldea Vaquero and J. Vives Gadell, Suplemento I (Madrid, 1987), 442-450; and A. Fernández Cordova y Miralles, "López de Carvajal y Sande, Bernardino" in *Diccionario Biográfico Español*, vol. 30, (Madrid, 2009), 395-401. In spite of recent studies, an edition or a catalogue of Carvajal's epistolary, dispersed through local and international archives and libraries, is still lacking. I have been able to locate letters addressed to the cardinal at the Archive of the Crown of Aragon, the Royal Academy of History, the Vatican Secret Archives, and the National Library of Madrid (BNE).

⁵ The works of Paolo Pompilio are contained in a miscellaneous codex in Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 2222. A close examination of his *Vita Senecae*, as Chiabò has pointed out, reveals Pompilio's interest in Spain, since he dedicates its second chapter to the nobility of the Spanish people ("De nobilitate gentis Hispaniae") and its twenty-first to the nobility of Cordoba and the rest of Spain ("De nobilitate Cordubae et reliquae Hispaniae"), in Chiabò, Maria, "Paolo Pompilio, professore dello Studium Urbis", in *Un pontificato ed una città: Sisto IV (1471-1484): atti del convegno, Roma, 3-7 dicembre 1984*, ed. Massimo Miglio (Roma, 1986), 503-514 (510).

Carvajal commissioned some of the most celebrated masterpieces of Renaissance architecture in Rome, and took on the patronage of three major ecclesiastical sites. In 1488 he initiated the construction of the church of Saint Pietro in Montorio and by the beginning of the sixteenth century he laid out the foundation stone for Bramante's famous Tempietto, which stands in its courtyard. In 1491, as the newly elected governor of Saint Giacomo degli Spagnoli, he took on the task of expanding the church.⁶ By 1495, as titular cardinal of the basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme (one of the Seven Pilgrim Churches of Rome), he was in charge of overseeing its renovations in his own name, continuing the work that he had initiated years earlier on behalf of Pedro González de Mendoza (1478-1495).⁷ Among the renovations he commissioned were the frescoes in the apse and the chapel of Saint Helena. All these renovations were part of a coordinated program that sought to exalt the figures of the Spanish monarchs, Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, by featuring some of the finest architects of Renaissance Italy. In addition to Bramante himself, Carvajal also relied on Baldassare Peruzzi and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger.

In the literary realm, Carvajal was considered a cultivated man and an avid reader.⁸ A patron of numerous humanists and scholars, he also sponsored a considerable body of Neo-Latin and Spanish works that celebrated the deeds of the Catholic Kings and those of the Great Captain, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba. He was involved in the printing of the theatrical pieces of Bartolomé Torres Naharro. Carvajal's lifespan coincided with the period that has been loosely identified with that of a "Spanish Rome," in which the recently joined crowns of Castile and Aragon held a paramount predominance at the curia in both religious and cultural affairs. Spaniards, second in number only to the Italians, sought to produce a body of cultural works in competition with Italian scholars and humanists and to establish themselves as the historical heirs to the Roman Empire.⁹ Carvajal's literary and artistic patronage complemented his theoretical writings, creating a political and cultural space for Spain at the curia. However, his long career at the curia, paired with the instability of political and temporal alliances, made of his cultural program a multifaceted and plural one at the service of often changing alliances. Yet, the heterogeneous nature of the works he sponsored over the course of his life, which ranged from learned texts in Latin and even Syriac to some of the foundational pieces of Spanish theater, coincide in that they follow a few trends that were a main feature in his own sermons since his arrival to the curia: the importance of Hispania within the Roman Empire, the illustrious men of letters originating from Spanish soil, the exploits of the Catholic Kings

⁶ F. Cantatore, "Un committente spagnolo nella Roma di Alessandro VI: Bernardino Carvajal", in *Roma di fronte all'Europa al tempo di Alessandro VI*, 3 vols., eds. M. Chiabo, S. Maddalo, M. Miglio and A.M. Oliva (Roma, 2001), vol. 3, 862-871 (861); F. Cantatore, *San Pietro in Montorio: la chiesa dei Re Cattolici a Roma* (Roma, 2007).

⁷ J. Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto, The Roman Renaissance, and the Spanish Crown* (Cambridge, 2014), 10.

⁸ V. Calvo Fernández, ed., *El Viaje de Ludovico Varthema* (Madrid, 2010), 10.

⁹ For the paramount role that Spain played in Rome during this period, see T. J. Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700* (New Haven, 2001); J. T. Dandeleit and J. A. Marino. *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700* (Leiden, 2007); C. J. Hernando Sánchez, *Roma y España un crisol de la cultura europea en la Edad Moderna (actas del Congreso Internacional celebrado en la Real Academia de España en Roma del 8 al 12 de mayo de 2007)*, vol. 1 (Madrid, 2007). For the Spanish presence in Rome, see the works of Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro, especially, "La presencia de los españoles en la economía romana (1500-1527): Primeros datos de archivo", *En la España medieval*, vol. 16 (1993), 287-306; and "De los Reyes Católicos a Carlos V: el cambio dinástico visto desde la corte de Roma", in *Política y cultura en la época moderna: (cambios dinásticos, milenarismos, mesianismos y utopías)*, coords. J. Contreras Contreras, A. Alvar Ezquerria and J. Ignacio Ruiz Rodríguez (Alcalá de Henares, 2004), 135-144.

and the Great Captain, the call for a new crusade, and the evangelization of the Indies and North Africa –all of this followed by a curiosity in the news arriving from the New World, Africa, and Asia.

Carvajal understood literature's vital role in the creation of propaganda that would present a favorable image of the Spanish monarchs or the Great Captain to the diplomatic world, while at the same time promoting his own interests at the papal curia, including the call for a new crusade. None of this was new to his family. He may have learned the importance of carving a lasting image of the Spanish Crown and himself through the strategies that the Carvajales of Plasencia had been using for over a century.¹⁰ In Rome his uncle the cardinal Juan de Carvajal (1400-1469) had notably served as a diplomat and a strong supporter of a crusade against the Ottoman Turks. What was in fact new in his time was the emerging importance of the printing press, which enabled a faster and widespread circulation of knowledge. The Catholic Monarchs, especially Isabella, held it dear, and Carvajal used it via his secretaries to distribute pertinent information into the Spanish Peninsula.

A man of letters himself, Carvajal enjoyed the company of humanists and was attuned to the new literary trends. He was a friend of Italian scholars at the Roman curia such as Pomponio Leto (c.1428-1498) and Paolo Pompilio (c.1455-1491), as well as others working in Spain for the monarchs, such as Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (1457-1526), who praised him in the *editio princeps* of the *De orbe novo* (1511), one of the first ethnographic and historiographical accounts of the New World that included eyewitness descriptions by Christopher Columbus and others involved in the recent discovery.

In Rome, Carvajal was likewise celebrated for sheltering many compatriots in his household after strong anti-Spanish sentiment arose following the death of Alexander VI in 1503. The poet and canon from Seville Alonso Hernández recalls in his *Historia Parthenopea* (1515) how the Cardinal's palace became "the ark where all noblemen from Spain have fled, and if it had not been opened, after that great hate, resentment and cruelty that Alexander [VI] had left to us [the Spaniards], it would have been a miracle if someone would have been able to escape [the Italian cruelties]".¹¹

Carvajal resided in some of the most splendid households of Renaissance Rome. He stayed at the Mellini Palace (*palatium Milinis*) from 1496 to 1504 and again in 1517.¹² According

¹⁰ By the end of the fifteenth century the Carvajals allied themselves with the monarchs to overthrow their contenders, the Estúñigas, from the city of Plasencia "riding into the city in order to return it to direct royal rule, the Carvajals and their supporters called out to the residents," shouting "Plasencia! Plasencia! For the Monarchs don Fernando y doña Isabel", R. L. Martínez-Davila, *From Sword to Seal: The Ascent of the Carvajal Family in Spain (1391-1516)* (Austin, TX 2008), 44. <<https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/handle/2152/17987/martinezr12197.pdf>>. [Accessed 20 May 2016].

¹¹ "Tu casa fue el arca donde an escapado/Toda nobleza de gente despaña/Segun el gran odio rencor y gran saña/Que tanta alexandre nos ouo dexado/La qual si abierta no ouiera estado/Milagro se viera alguno escapar/Pues luego con causa deuemos te dar/Ynmensas las gracias del bien cas obrado." Alonso Hernández, *Historia Parthenopea* (Roma, 1515), 160. For an analysis of the *Historia Parthenopea*, see E. Sánchez García, "La imagen del gran capitán en la primera mitad del cinquecento: textos latinos, españoles e italianos", in *Nápoles-Roma 1504. Cultura y literatura española y portuguesa en Italia en el quinto centenario de la muerte de Isabel la Católica*, eds. V. J. Gómez-Montero and F. Gernert (Salamanca, 2005), 139-163 (esp. 146-149).

¹² According to Simona Speriendi, Carvajal lived in the street of Santa Maria dell'Anima (via di Tor Millina) at the Rione Parione from 1496 to 1504. The building had a tower and was owned by Pietro Mellini. See S. Speriendi,

to the bishop of Scala, Baltasar del Río, Carvajal also dwelled at the Palazzo Farnese during the last years of his life. In a letter to the Marquis of Tarifa from circa 1530, del Río noted that the water from the deluge arrived up to the windows of the Farnese Palace “where Carvajal lived,” alluding to the residence in which the Cardinal inhabited during his later years, and the one that the Marquis knew during his stay in Rome around 1518-1520.¹³ The Mellini palace, situated in the Parione near Sant’Agnese in Agone, was singled out in Poliziano’s *Miscellanea* as a place to admire the remains of Roman artifacts, since it housed one of the most prestigious collections of antiquities, first assembled by Pietro Mellini. Certain passages of the *Miscellanea* incidentally call the reader’s attention to the spirit of antiquarian research and the enthusiasm for collecting and studying the remains of ancient art, which accompanied the revival of learning.¹⁴ As an inhabitant of the Mellini Palace, Carvajal surrounded himself with costly objects and had frescoes painted by some of the most well-known Italian artists, getting to know architects and painters such as Bramante and Tommaso Conti.¹⁵ It is worth noting that both the Mellini family and Carvajal shared a devotion for the cult of the Cross, since the altar of the family in Sant’Agnese in Agone and the chapel in Monte Mario’s villa were dedicated to the Saint Cross.¹⁶ As noted by the humanist Platina (Bartolomeo Sacchi), the artistic treasures held at the Mellini palace played an important role in the Roman society of the time by providing stimulating encounters for both prelates and secular citizens.¹⁷ Among these treasures, one could name the extensive epigraphic collections assembled in Rome by the Mellini family and others among Carvajal’s acquaintances and friends, such as Olivero Caraffa

“Repertorio delle residenze cardenalizie”, in *Roma. Le Trasformazioni urbane nel Quattrocento. II Funzioni Urbane e Tipologie Edilizie*, ed. Giorgio Simoncini, (Firenze, 2004), 143.

¹³ B. Del Río, “Traslado de una carta que enviò de Roma el muy reverendo señor don Baltasar del Río”, aii, v. The Farnese palace was situated at the Rione Regula, where now lies piazza Farnese, and had been bought by cardinal Farnese to the monks of Sta. Maria del Popolo in 1495. See S. Speriendi, “Repertorio delle residenze cardenalizie”, 149. Besides Del Río’s own testimony, Del Río’s knowledge of the Cardinal is further proved by his participation in the letter that Carvajal, and Del Río himself, addressed in 1521 to congratulate Charles V on his condemnation of Luther and his encouragement to direct his efforts to the Turkish menace. See B. López de Carvajal, *Epistola ad invictissimum Carolum in Imperio E. super declaratione M. Suae contra Lutherana facta*.

¹⁴ As noted by Greswell, the antiquities of the Mellini palace appear in Poliziano’s *Miscellanea*. “I lately saw”, says Poliziano, “in the vestibule of the Mellini palace at Rome, a marble fragment, which appeared to have been the basis of an antique statue, bearing the following inscription (...) which signifies in Latin, ‘Seleucus rex. Lysippus faciebat.’” See W. P. Greswell, *Angelo Poliziano, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Jacopo Sannazaro, Pietro Bembo, Girolamo Fracastoro, Marco Antonio Flaminio, Girolamo Amalteo, Giovanni Battista Amalteo, and Cornelio Amalteo. Memoirs of Angelus Politianus, Joannes Picus of Mirandula, Actius Sincerus Sannazarius, Petrus Bembus, Hieronymus Fracastorius, Marcus Antonius Flaminus, and the Amalthei: Translations from Their Poetical Works: and Notes and Observations Concerning Other Literary Characters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (London, 1805), 91. According to Modigliani, “le statue e le iscrizioni che si potevano ammirare nella sua casa sono ricordate sia nell’*Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* di Francesco Albertini, del 1510, sia nell’*Itinerarium* di fra’ Mariano da Firenze del 1518. La casa del M. era sempre aperta a visitatori illustri e letterati”. See A. Modigliani, “Pietro Mellini”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol 73 (2009). <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-mellini_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-mellini_(Dizionario_Biografico)/)> [accessed 25 May 2016]. See also Cantatore, “Un committente spagnolo”, 864.

¹⁵ Cantatore, *San Pietro in Montorio*, 47, note 49.

¹⁶ See A. M. Corbo, “La committenza nelle famiglie romane a metà del secolo XV: il caso di Pietro Millini”, in *Arte, committenza e economia a Roma nelle corti del Rinascimento (1420-1530)*, eds. A. Esch and C. L. Frommel (Torino, 1995), 121-153 (127).

¹⁷ Cantatore, “Un committente spagnolo”, 863.

and Pomponio Leto.¹⁸ Carvajal himself owned two ancient inscriptions and according to Francesco Albertini, he seems to have also possessed classical Roman statues as well as rich tapestries in his own apartments.¹⁹

The artistic richness of Carvajal's residences in Rome also acted as a site of encounter for men of letters, as the cardinal both promoted Spanish literary figures and employed young Italian humanists in his retinue. Among the Spanish writers who frequented Carvajal's household were the founding fathers of Spanish theater Juan del Encina and Bartolomé Torres Naharro, as well as other compatriots, such as the above-mentioned Alonso Hernández and the Spanish soldier Diego García de Paredes who came to be called "el Sansón de Extremadura", due to his extraordinary physical strength and his remarkable deeds. Furthermore, in his retinue Carvajal employed noted learned young Italians such as Sigismondo Pindaro and Francesco Cedrario, a main interlocutor in Mario Equicola's humanist dialogue *De opportunitate* and in Jacopo Sadoletto's *Phaedra*.²⁰

A patron and a writer

A writer and a distinguished orator himself, Carvajal's own formation mirrored the princely customs of Rome, which at the turn of the century were characterized by both humanist and theological endeavors. According to Martire d'Anghiera, Carvajal's elevation to the cardinalate in 1493 was due to his literary inclinations: "it was of great value to be well versed in those disciplines and letters through which man flies up with his intelligence to the celestial mansions and clarifies the truth of our faith."²¹

Carvajal's extant orations, sermons and homilies bear witness to his Christian

¹⁸ The foundation stone of Bramante's Tempietto, as Freiberg has noted, bears witness to Carvajal's knowledge of epigraphy. See Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto*, 139-140.

¹⁹ For Carvajal's inscriptions see, S. Magister, "Censimento delle collezioni di antichità a Roma: 1471-1503", *Xenia antiqua*, vol. 8 (1999), 129-204 (157). F. Albertini, *Opusculum De Mirabilibus Nove Et Veteris Urbis Rome* (Lugduni, 1520), 37-38. The tapestries seem to have represented a cycle of the Holy Cross, see G. Cantalicio, "Appendix. Edition and translation of Cantalicio's cycle poems dedicated to Bernardino de Carvajal", in B. Schirg, "Betting on the antipope. Giovambattista Cantalicio and his cycle of poems dedicated to the schismatic Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal in 1511 (with an edition and translation from Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. XVI A1)", *Spolia. Journal of Medieval Studies*, (December, 2015), 1-38, 28.

²⁰ According to Schirg, Francesco Cedrario (Franciscus Citrarius) entered the retinue of Carvajal in or before 1496, and accompanied him in a couple of legacies. He is one of the main characters in Mario Equicola's dialogue *De opportunitate* (1506-1507), where he is introduced as "ab epistulis magister" of Bernardino de Carvajal. In M. Equicola, *De Opportunitate* (Napoli, 1507), fol. 4v. He is also a character in Jacopo Sadoletto's dialogue *Phaedra*, together with the late Tommaso Inghirami, and could be considered a representative of curial humanism. In a recent visit to Rome, I have encountered Cedrario's tombstone standing in one of the entryways of the Basilica di San Lorenzo in Damaso, located in Raffaele Riario's palace. The inscription acknowledges Cedrario's friendship with Sadoletto, who was responsible for the inscription, and makes him a familiar of Leo X, and *secretarius* of Giuliano de Medici, future Clement VII, thus noting his ascension in the curia during his later years. It characterizes Cedrario as "literis ac moribus cultissimis", and states that he died at 48. Sigismondo Pindaro entered Carvajal's *familia* later, and his name appears at the end of the testimonies for the canonization of Saint Francis of Paola (1416-1507). See B. Schirg, "Betting on the antipope." 8; 33 n55. <<http://www.spolia.it/online/it/documents/schirg.pdf>> [accessed 7 January 2017].

²¹ The translation is mine. T. González Rolán, "Diplomacia y humanismo a finales del siglo XV: El cardenal extremeño Bernardino López de Carvajal", in *Nulla Dies Sine Linea. Humanistas Extremeños de la fama al olvido*, eds. C. Chaparro Gómez, M. Mañana Núñez and D. Ortega Sánchez (Cáceres, 2009), 143-155, (147).

Humanism.²² Although his literary production is not extensive, it still provides a complex portrait of the Cardinal. When he first arrived at the curia, Sixtus IV asked him to deliver a public *oratio*, the *Sermo die festo omnium sanctorum in basilica Sancti Petri habitus* (1482). On that occasion, he received praise for his theological and scriptural knowledge from Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra, who in his *Roman Diary* considered Bernardino “vir non inelegans.” In his diary, Volterra emphasized Carvajal’s theological knowledge, while being less enthusiastic about his mastery of the humanistic rhetoric prevalent at the curia.²³ A few years later, his *Oratio de Circumcisionis Domini* (1484) was so favorably received that it went through two editions.²⁴ In these two first sermons Carvajal deployed what O’Malley has called a “rhetorical theology” based on the use of the Scriptures, the Patristic writings, and punctual references to classical sources.²⁵ As resident ambassador or *orator continuus* to the Catholic Kings in Rome between 1487-1493, Carvajal defended, through his speeches and diplomatic efforts, the Spanish monarchy’s interests, a work that, in a letter to the Duke of Gandía, he considered perfectly suited to his religious and intellectual life.²⁶ His sermon *De eligendo Summo Pontifice Romano ad Cardinalium Senatium in Basilica Sancti Petri* (1492) shows us a man who advocated the reform of the church and an ecumenical council, while praising the accomplishments of the Spanish Monarchs, notably the conquest of Granada, in a style that the cardinal’s secretary Juan Valesio characterized as “resonantis verba Demostenis.”²⁷ The sermon, printed by Stephan Planck in Rome, was sent as a letter to Diego de Muros, archdeacon of Carmona, who in turn was in charge of delivering the letter to Cardinal Mendoza and the Marquis of Villena, Diego López Pacheco, who had fought as general of the “frontier” in the Granada War. Ultimately, the letter was addressed to the most noble Spanish princes “serenissimi Hispaniarum principis.” Carvajal’s addressees and his intended readers were in fact major players in what the cardinal considered to be Innocentius VIII’s major accomplishments, namely the extermination of the heretics in Spain and the Waldensians in France, and the victory of Granada, which marked the ultimate authority for the most Christian Monarchs of Spain (“inter que hereticos Hispanie et Valdensis Gallie ex termino dedit: ac Granatense bello ad ultimam usq; victoriam auctoritate: consilio et auxilio Christianissimis Hispanie Regi & Regine semper astitit”).²⁸ Another copy in a refined and elegant edition was delivered to the humanist Lucio Marineo Siculo, who praised its elegance.²⁹ The equal praise of both the King and the Queen, as well as a highly constructed history of Hispania, is conveyed in *Oratio super praestandae solemnii obedientia Alexandro papae ex parte Christianissimorum dominorum Ferdinandi et Helisabeth, regis et reginae Hispaniae habita Romae in*

²² González Rolán, “Diplomacia y humanismo”, 147.

²³ A. Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *Alejandro VI y los Reyes Católicos. Relaciones político-eclésiásticas (1492-1503)* (Roma, 2005), 81.

²⁴ J. Goñi Gaztambide, “Bernardino López de Carvajal y las bulas alejandrinas”, *Anuario de historia de la Iglesia*, vol. 1 (1992), 93-112.

²⁵ J. W. O’Malley, “Preaching for the popes”, in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion; Papers from the University of Michigan Conference*, eds. Charles Edward Trinkaus and Heiko Augustinus Oberman (Leiden, 1974), 408-440 (437).

²⁶ A. Fernández de Córdova Miralles, “Imagen de los Reyes Católicos en la Roma pontificia”, in *En la España medieval*, vol. 28 (2005), 259-354 (269).

²⁷ López de Carvajal, *De eligendo Summo Pontifice*, ai.

²⁸ López de Carvajal, *De eligendo Summo Pontifice*, aiii r-v.

²⁹ Fernández de Córdova Miralles, *Alejandro VI y los Reyes Católicos*, 140.

consistorio publico (1493).³⁰

Both orations in praise of the Spanish monarchs were highly admired at the curia as well as in Spain. Their reception in Castile was best described by Martire d'Anghiera, who pointed out that Carvajal's elegant speeches showed a mastery of theology and rhetoric that combined both divine and humane matters.³¹ Carvajal's training in Ciceronian Latin dated back to his early years in Plasencia and Salamanca.³² Prior to his arrival at the curia, he graduated as *magister* of Arts and Theology from the University of Salamanca, and in 1480 he was elected rector of the university, a position that was always held by a student. Upon his arrival in Rome, Carvajal quickly made contact with humanists connected to the Roman Academy, founded by Pomponio Leto. Members of Leto's circle were known for their studies aimed at the recovery of the classical heritage of Rome. They examined architectural remains, studied classical Latin, and even adopted ancient Roman customs. Most notably, the academy's founder, usually gardened in the Roman fashion, went around wearing a Roman toga, and every year celebrated Rome's birthday.³³

Through Carvajal's friendship with members of the academy, Spanish deeds gained particular resonance in Roman cultural life. On the occasion of the fall of Baza (1490), a symbolic triumph for the Spanish kings in the Granada War, he engaged Paolo Pompilio to celebrate the news among intellectual circles. To this end, Pompilio composed the *Panegyris de Triumpho Granatensis*, an epic poem in hexameters that exalted the military exploit by crediting the victory to the monarchs' military virtues, and by depicting them as peacekeepers of the Christian world.³⁴ Most notably, Pompilio's dedicatory letter to Carvajal described him as a man with authority and influence over the Spanish monarchs, the pope and the vice-chancellor Rodrigo Borgia, the future pope Alexander VI. Pompilio claimed that Carvajal possessed virtues "rarely found in these times, especially among courtiers," and, echoing the words of the Catalan poet Jeroni Pau, he called him a theologian, a Ciceronian orator and a philosopher.³⁵

In addition to commissioning the epic poem from Paolo Pompilio, in 1490 Carvajal

³⁰ For a further theoretical analysis of these orations and their relationship with figures linked to the University of Salamanca, such as Alonso de Madrigal el Tostado, and with an expansionist prophetism see I. Ianuzzi "Bernardino de Carvajal: Teoría e propaganda di uno spagnolo", *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, vol. 62 (2008), 25-45 (38-39). Like other humanists at the curia who were connected to Carvajal, Pietro Paolo Pompilio would build in his *Vita Senecae* upon the idea of Spain as the historical heir of the Roman Empire. *The Vita* also had the objective of exalting the writers of the Hispania Romana.

³¹ B. López de Carvajal, *La conquista de Baza*, ed. Carlos de Miguel Mora (Granada, 1995), 15.

³² For a biographical sketch of his early years and his devotion to study, see G. Cantalicio, "Appendix", 26.

³³ H. Beyer, "Carlo and Marcellino Verardi's *Fernandus Servatus* and the Poem *Supra Casum Hispani Regis* by Petrus Martyr: Drama and Diplomacy in Papal Rome Under Alexander VI", in *Drama, Performance, and Debate: Theatre and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Period*, eds. J. Bloemendal, P. Eversmann and E. Strietman (Leiden, 2013), 36.

³⁴ P. Pompilio, *Panegyris de Triumpho Granatensis*, (Roma, 1490), ai r-v. In his preface, Pompilio seems to take issue with the fact that the deeds of the Spanish monarchs had not resounded strongly enough in Rome, and thus his poem is publicized as remedying the "silence of the Roman muse".

³⁵ Pompilio, *Panegyris*, aiii r-v. "And you often speak in public about the word of the Lord and you do it learnedly and copiously, and as corresponds to the skills of your talent with the most extreme wit. I would also say how illustrious you are as a philosopher and as a theologian." On the artistic production and biography of Jeroni Pau, see Mariàngela Vilallonga, "El viatge dels catalans a Roma durant el segle XV", in *Estudis de Filologia Catalana. Dotze anys de l'Institut de Llengua i Cultura Catalanes. Secció Francesc Eiximenis*, ed. A. Rafanell, P. Balsalobre (Barcelona, 1991), 201-221; and Jeroni Pau, *Obres*, Mariàngela Villalonga, (ed.) *Col. Autors Catalans Antics, n. 2 i 3*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1986). See also Fernández de Córdova Miralles, "Imagen de los Reyes Católicos", 297.

wrote an oration on the surrender of Baza (*Sermo in commemoratione victoriae Baecensis*), calling attention to his privileged position as a first-hand witness. The speech, as analyzed by de Miguel Mora, was intended not only to praise the monarchs' achievement but also to issue certain immediate and pragmatic requests aimed at allowing Ferdinand and Isabella to subdue the infidels and their lands.³⁶ With the motto "Haec est victoria quae vincit mundum, fides nostra" ("This is the victory that triumphs over the world: our faith") Carvajal argued for the legitimacy of the conquest of infidel territories, and therefore for the holiness of the Granada War.³⁷ The oration concluded by requesting the Pope's support for the Spanish Crown in order to expel the Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula and to pursue them in Africa,³⁸ thereby making the Pope the only one who could bestow legitimacy and holiness to the aims of the Spanish Crown.³⁹

Two years later, on the occasion of Granada's capitulation, the news of the Muslim defeat spread with unprecedented speed from Spain to Rome and from Rome all over the continent.⁴⁰ The event was celebrated in a variety of ways, including street celebrations and songs – such as the joyful *Elegia* by the humanist Marcellino Verardi of Cesena – exhorting everyone to dance.⁴¹ The news arrived at the time of the Roman carnival, a major festivity in the city that was celebrated in the Testaccio and Agone neighborhoods. The Granada victory became the main theme of the carnival jubilation, which served as a platform to construct an international image for the Spanish monarchy, whose deeds were pictured as a triumph that could be credited as belonging to all Christianity. The festivities were carefully planned by Carvajal and the Castilian ambassador Juan Ruiz de Medina. As recorded in the diary of the public notary, Gaspare Pontani, the celebrations began on 3 February, with bells tolling in every Roman church soon after the news of the conquest arrived. On the following Sunday, a procession moved from Saint Peter to San Giacomo degli Spagnoli in Piazza Navona, where the pope celebrated the mass. Following Spanish custom, a bullfight took place in the

³⁶ See De Miguel Mora's preface in López de Carvajal, *La Conquista de Baza*, 40-41. For an analysis of Carvajal's nuanced rhetorical and scholastic argumentation and his construction of a theoretical support for the deeds and aims of the Spanish Crown, see Iannuzzi, "Bernardino de Carvajal: Teoria e propaganda di uno spagnolo", 33.

³⁷ Bernardino López de Carvajal echoed technocratic ideas advanced in 1253 by Enrique de Segusia, cardinal Ostiensis, in *bis Summa Aurea*. Segusia argued that after the advent of Christ all the lands and principalities were taken from the infidels and transferred with full rights to the followers of Christ. Goñi Gaztambide, "Bernardino López de Carvajal y las bulas alejandrinas", 101, and Iannuzzi, "Bernardino de Carvajal: Teoria e propaganda di uno spagnolo", 33-34.

³⁸ See Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, "Imagen de los Reyes Católicos", 296.

³⁹ Carvajal affirms that the pontiff could allow virtuous monarchs to carry out political actions of territorial and religious expansion in order to (re)conquer the territories in Muslim hands. This theological and political discourse would have important implications for the conquest of the New World. Iannuzzi, "Bernardino de Carvajal: Teoria e propaganda di uno spagnolo", 33-35.

⁴⁰ For a detailed account of how the news were disseminated, see Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, "Imagen de los Reyes Católicos", 299-300.

⁴¹ M. Dolores Rincón Gonzalez, "La divulgación de la toma de Granada: objetivos, mecanismos y agentes", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* (AEM), vol. 40, no.2 (2010), 603-615 (604-605). Poems and songs of celebration were composed both in Latin and a hybrid of Italo-Spanish such as the Latin *Elegy* by Marcellino Verardi of Cesena, published in Salamanca in 1499, but composed right after the Conquest of Granada. Another enthusiastic song praising the Monarchs deeds, and composed in a hybrid language made up of Italian and Spanish, closed Eucharius Silber's publication of Carlo Verardi's *Historia Baetica* and Marcelino Verardi's *Fernandus Servatus* in Rome, in 1493.

afternoon. Day after day while the Carnival lasted, actors and mime artists walked through the streets.⁴² Carvajal and Ruiz de Medina commissioned the construction of a wooden castle with a tower that symbolized Granada, where soldiers reenacted the conquest of the last Muslim kingdom in European soil.⁴³ In his exhortation *Ad poetas*, in a tone and style heavily marked by classical references, the same Marcellino Verardi of Cesena described the enthusiasm of people of Rome as they witnessed this military representation. The walls of the wooden structure (*sub imagine ficta*) were hit by stones, flying javelins, and spears.⁴⁴

As in the ancient entries of Roman conquerors, triumphal chariots depicted the rulers' deeds. They featured Ferdinand and Isabella with the Moorish king at their feet, a symbolic image that contravened historical accounts and that was also carved in the choir stalls at the cathedral of Toledo. As part of the Roman carnival, there were also the traditional races of old men, prostitutes, and Jews, who ran naked through the streets. Other theatrical spectacles were centered on celebrating the conquest, such as the performance of Carlo Verardi's humanistic comedy *Historia Baetica* in Raffaele Riario's palace.⁴⁵

In August of the same year, Rodrigo Borgia was elected pope, taking the name of Alexander VI. A few months later, in December 1492, King Ferdinand of Aragon was the victim of an assassination attempt in Barcelona. His prompt recovery gave rise to a new wave of literature that included another humanistic drama by Marcelino Verardi, *Fernandus servatus*. These events again prompted the reprinting of earlier speeches on the capitulation of Granada, now bound with new literary works that emphasized the messianic nature of the king's quick recovery.⁴⁶ One year later, Carvajal was the principal negotiator whose ability and diplomatic skills succeeded in granting the Catholic Kings two very important papal bulls, *Inter Caetera* and *Eximia Devotionis*. These gave Ferdinand and Isabella possession of the islands discovered (and to be discovered), dividing all newly found lands between Spain and Portugal.⁴⁷

As Cardinal of Saint Peter and Marcellinus (1493-1495) and then, since 1495, as Cardinal of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Carvajal participated in the negotiations that granted the Spanish kings the prestigious title of Catholic Monarchs, and he was in charge of announcing, on 19 December of 1496, that the pope and the Sacred College of Cardinals had

⁴² See F. Cruciani, *Teatro nel Rinascimento, Roma 1450-1550* (Rome, 1983), 228-229. Fernández de Córdova Miralles, "Imagen de los Reyes Católicos", 301 gives the alternative date of 4 February, providing as well a meticulous account of the festivities.

⁴³ This ephemeral architecture, as noted by Fernández de Córdova y Miralles, was frequent in the court of the Catholic Monarchs and echoed the late medieval chivalric tournaments. The castle, representing the city of Granada, was erected at the center of the Stadium of Domitian (or *circus Agonalis*), today's Piazza Navona, so that it might be spectacularly defeated and conquered. Fernández de Córdova y Miralles, "Imagen de los Reyes Católicos", 302.

⁴⁴ M. Verardi, *Elegiae de Triumpho Granatensi* (Salmanticae, 1499), a iv.

⁴⁵ Raffaele Riario was one of the Roman cardinals who most enthusiastically embraced the Spanish faction and contributed to the propagandistic aims of the Spanish monarchs. He was linked to Spain through the several dioceses that he had administered there, such as Cuenca, Salamanca, and Osma. See Fernández de Córdova Miralles, "Imagen de los Reyes Católicos", 263.

⁴⁶ Rincón Gonzalez, "La divulgación de la toma de Granada", 605-606. The participation of Carvajal in these events is further described in the preface of *Fernandus Servatus*, and interestingly, as Rincón González has studied, in the French translation of the events, in two extant incunabula preserved at the BNF.

⁴⁷ Goñi Gaztambide, "Bernardino López de Carvajal y las bulas alejandrinas", 107. See also Martínez-Davila, *From Sword to Seal The Ascent of the Carvajal Family in Spain (1391-1516)*, 304-306.

deliberated to concede them the title.⁴⁸ This was a title, as Fernández de Cordova Miralles has noted, that raised their international reputation from princes of questionable legitimacy to Catholic sovereigns, making them universal advocates of the Church and pillars of a New Christianity that expanded its wings over Africa and the New World.⁴⁹ It would also entail a highly influential change of name, which would have paramount political impact, allowing for the recognition of the monarchs as king and queen of Hispania (“de las Españas”), instead of Monarchs of Aragon, Leon, and Castile.⁵⁰ The negotiations that would lead to the concession of this title, however, date back to 1494, when the reliance of the Curia on the Spanish Monarchy had become apparent.⁵¹ The military deeds of the Spanish monarchs both within and outside the Italian Peninsula (including the conquest of Granada, the Atlantic Expansion and the African endeavors, together with their military intervention in Naples and a policy of marital alliances aimed at diminishing the power of France and Charles VIII) had certainly put them in a privileged situation. More even so, the pope conceived of the title as a way to discredit the French monarchs, which already bore the denomination of “Most Christian.” A group of diplomats, churchmen, and humanists close to the Spanish Crown displayed a strong political propaganda that acclaimed Ferdinand and Isabella on those lines. A year before the start of the negotiations, Carvajal had celebrated the preeminence of the King and Queen as advocates of the Christian faith in his *Oratio pro Obedientia* to Alexander VI (1493), delivered to accompany the oath of allegiance of the Spanish monarchs and their ambassadors at the curia (Diego López de Haro, Gonzalo Fernández de Heredia, Juan de Medina, and Carvajal himself). Conceived as an *Oratio pacis*, it articulated the political convenience of an alliance between the Pope and the Spanish monarchs. Furthermore, the *Oratio* proposed the idea of *translatio imperii* in the belief that Spain was the historical heir to the Roman Empire.⁵² By sketching a history of Hispania that stressed its Roman, Gothic, and Christian connections, Carvajal intended to equally praise the nobility and status of the Borgia and that of Ferdinand and Isabella, while making them interdependent. Moreover, pointing out that the election of a Spanish pope

⁴⁸ As Fernández de Córdoba Miralles has noted, the petition of the title came indeed from the Spanish Monarchy. However, Spanish diplomats negotiated with the pope that the granting of the title should come from the latter, so as to present it to the public opinion as if it were an initiative of the papacy. See Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, “Imagen de los Reyes Católicos”, 315.

⁴⁹ A. Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, “Reyes Católicos: mutaciones y permanencias de un paradigma político en la Roma del Renacimiento”, in *Roma y España. Un crisol de la cultura europea en la Edad Moderna*, ed. C. J. Hernando Sánchez (Madrid, 2007), 136.

⁵⁰ A. Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, “El ‘Rey Católico’ de las primeras guerras de Italia. Imagen de Fernando II de Aragón y V de Castilla entre la expectación profética y la tensión internacional (1493-1499)”, *Medievalismo*, vol. 25 (2015), 197-232 (223, n. 116).

⁵¹ See Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, “Imagen de los Reyes Católicos”, 314.

⁵² For a further theoretical analysis of these orations and their relationship with figures linked to the University of Salamanca, such as Alonso de Madrigal el Tostado (1492), and with an expansionist prophetism (1493) see I. Ianuzzi “Bernardino de Carvajal: Teoría e propaganda di uno spagnolo”, 38-39. Pietro Paolo Pompilio, among other humanists at the curia who were connected to Carvajal, and the Borgias, would build upon the idea of Spain as the historical heir of the Roman Empire in his *Vita Senecae*. The *Vita*, as previously noted, had among its objectives exalting writers of the Hispania Romana, as well as the nobility of its cities. Many writers shared this interest by the turn of the century, and it was one of the main foundations of Francisco Delicado’s *La Lozana andaluza*. See M. Albalá Pelegrín, “La Lozana andaluza: migración y pluralismo religioso en el Mediterráneo”, *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 41, no. 1 (2016), 215-242.

coincided with the fortunate victory of Granada⁵³ and that Iberia, and most precisely Castile, identified with the lion of Leon, was to be seen as a tireless bulwark of the faith: “Et quid rectius per leonem explicet q̄ invictissimum Principem: et hodie q̄dem: Hispaniae christianissimos Regem et Reginam: nullo pro infidelium & criminum victoria defatigatos labore: ac de leone stemmata titulos e insignia ferentis gentis suae.”⁵⁴ And yet, Castile and the Spanish people conformed to the Roman one (“Conformitas Romanorum et Hispanorum”). The resemblance of the weather, healthy waters, great soldiers, and emperors (Nerva, Trajanum, Adrianum, and Theodosius) are all counted as signs of the *conformitas* between Hispania and Rome both in classical and current times. By drawing both regions closer, and building on the apparent predilection of the empire for Hispania, almost as noble as the Latium, the cardinal goes on naming the most illustrious learned men in all sciences who have inhabited the Iberian peninsula, whether Christian or pagan, including, among others, Lucan, Martial, Quintilian, Pomponius Mela, Isidorus, Averroes, Maimonides, and, following a mistake common in the sixteenth century, Avicenna. Carvajal goes as far as to declare Aristotle’s Hispanic origin, noting that although he was born in Stagira, his family came from Spain (“Aristotelem quoque philosophiae summum principem: quis ortu Stagiritam: ex Hispania tamen oriundum”).⁵⁵

It is not a coincidence that Anniius of Viterbo (Giovanni Nanni) wrote his *Antiquitates* (1498) under Carvajal’s patronage.⁵⁶ This work, which praised in its preface the religious policy of the Catholic monarchs, was meant to remedy the lack of ancient information regarding Spain’s history, and to provide an iconic alternative history that situated the origins of the Papal States in the old Etruria.⁵⁷ In his efforts to narrate a Spanish past that stood as preeminent in cultural matters, and that appeared as ancient as that of the Greeks and the Romans, and even superior to them, Anniius went as far as to resort to historical forgeries.⁵⁸

When the news of the death of prince John, heir to the throne, reached Rome in 1497, the famous humanist-actor Tommaso Inghirami (known as Fedra after having recited with great success this classical character in one of Seneca’s tragedies) delivered the funeral oration in the presence of the pope in San Giacomo degli Spagnoli. The piece was published in 1498 under the title *De obitu Iohannis Hispaniae principis oratio*. It should be noted that Inghirami had

⁵³ López de Carvajal, *Oratio pro Obedientia*, aii

⁵⁴ López de Carvajal, *Oratio pro Obedientia*, aiii.

⁵⁵ López de Carvajal, *Oratio pro Obedientia*, aiiiv.

⁵⁶ According to Freiberg, Anniius bequeathed his library to Carvajal upon his death, J. Freiberg, *Bramante’s Tempietto*, 118.

⁵⁷ Annio da Viterbo’s historical recreations of the past would be further reimagined by Antonio de Nebrija in his *Muestra de la Historia de las Antigüedades de España* (1499). It would provide a foundation for a reconstruction of the past that lasted for centuries and that involved several preeminent humanists in the entourage of Ferdinand and Isabella, such as Nebrija himself and Pietro Martire d’Anghiera. See I. Iannuzzi “Le radici culturali di uno spagnolo alla corte papale: Bernardino de Carvajal”, in *Metafore di un pontificato Giulio II (1503-1513)*, eds. F. Cantatore *et al.*, (Roma, 2010), 45-59 (57).

⁵⁸ As noted by Iannuzzi, these forgeries were part of the propagandistic policies of the Spanish monarchy, aimed at building the image of a messianic monarchy that relayed in a reconstruction of its past, see I. Iannuzzi “Le radici culturali di uno spagnolo alla corte papale”, 57; and B. Tate, “Mythology in Spanish Historiography of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance”, *Hispanic Review* vol. 22, no. 1 (1954), 1-18 (11-12). A. Grafton, “Traditions of Inventions: Inventions of Tradition: Anniius of Viterbo”, in *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in the Age of Science 1450-1800* (Cambridge, MA, 1994).

dedicated earlier to Carvajal a *Panegyricus in memoriam divi Thomae Aquinatis* (1495), where he emphasized Carvajal's theological knowledge and good judgment.⁵⁹ On the occasion of the unfortunate death of the prince heir, Carvajal drafted a consolatory epistle addressed to the Catholic Kings and written in Castilian, which seems to have been sent as early as 1 December 1497. He also commissioned from his secretary, Garcia de Boadilla, a Latin translation, printed c.1500-1502 with the title *Consolatoria Epistola in obitu Serenissimi Domini Jobannis Hispaniae Principis*.⁶⁰ Apart from its consolatory function, the epistle had an immediate political aim, as Carvajal strongly advised the Catholic Kings not to divide their Crown among their remaining heirs. As can be gleaned from this episode, Carvajal was very aware of the importance of addressing the monarchs both in Spanish and Latin, reserving the Spanish for a more familiar and immediate context, and the Latin for an international one. As he himself stated in the *Oratio pro Obedientia*, Latin was the shared language in imperial Rome, and that which highlighted the continuities between the Latium and Hispania.⁶¹

Carvajal's intense support of the monarchs at this time was also practiced by well-known intellectual figures who frequented his literary gatherings, such as Pomponio Leto, Paolo Cortesi, and Pietro Marsi.⁶² Carvajal is frequently mentioned in Cortesi's princely mirror of customs for cardinals, *De Cardinalatu*. Given the importance that princely manners had for a cardinal, Cortesi had considered *De principe* for the initial title of his *De Cardinalatu*. However, following the advice of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, he decided to change it in view of the preponderance of Rome over Florence, and of clerical positions over secular ones by the turn of the sixteenth century.⁶³ Among interesting details of daily life, *De Cardinalatu* describes the type of ventilation used in Carvajal's palace, the number of daily meals the cardinal considered adequate, or the nightmares or "somni frigidi" that reading Duns Scotus provoked in him. Additionally, *De Cardinalatu* provides us with a description of one of Carvajal's celebrated gatherings. In the chapter on "De victu quotidiano" Cortesi discusses the two types of reading that could be done *post prandium*, that is, *exotericum* and *acroamaticum*. *Exotericum* referred to the model of commentary practiced by Pomponio Leto, more suited to academies and universities, for it consisted of narrating and unraveling knowledge. The other kind, *acroamaticum*, was the reading done at the gathering that Bernardino de Carvajal had celebrated in his house. This type of discourse was mainly of a theological nature, and was organized by judging and

⁵⁹ As Inghirami notes, the oration was requested by many ("multi a me petunt"), and by people from whom he could not refuse to publish it. See T. Inghirami, *Panegyricus in memoriam divi Thomae Aquinatis* (Rome, 1500), a. However, he decided to dedicate it to Carvajal, with whom he would participate in the delegation of writers sent to the emperor Maximilian during the summer of 1496. See Stefano Benedetti, "Tommaso detto Fedra Inghirami", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 62 (2004). [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/inghirami-tommaso-detto-fedra_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/inghirami-tommaso-detto-fedra_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)

⁶⁰ T. González Rolán and P. Saquero Suárez-Somonte, "Un importante texto político-literario de finales del siglo XV: la Epístola consolatoria a los Reyes Católicos del extremeño Bernardino López de Carvajal (prologada y traducida al latín por García de Bovadilla)", *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos*, vol. 16 (1999), 247-277 (259-260). An edition of the Latin epistle can be found on pages 267-277.

⁶¹ López de Carvajal, *Oratio pro Obedientia*, aiiiv: "Idem ferme clima: par coeli temperies: lingua eadem. Nec nam hispani alias quam Romane loqui assuescunt: mores et victus non alii ingenia istis & illis clara."

⁶² See Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, "López de Carvajal y Sande, Bernardino", 397.

⁶³ K. Weil-Garris and J. F. D'Amico, "The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's 'De Cardinalatu'", in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. 3, Studies in Italian Art History 1: Studies in Italian Art and Architecture 15th through 18th Centuries* (1980), 45-119 and 121-123 (49).

summarizing arguments in a dialectical fashion – what Cortesi defines as a “combative manner” and the poet Cantalicio would further characterize as a heated debate that consisted on “many darts” being shot back and forth.⁶⁴ Although in Cortesi’s view Leto and Carvajal represented two different modes of exercising knowledge, both men held a high opinion of one another. According to Della Torre, Leto had great admiration for the cardinal, who seems to have granted a preeminent place in his daily routine to the study of books.⁶⁵

In the same light, Cantalicio’s encomiastic poetry dedicated to Carvajal describes how, after the meal had been served, no actor or musician appeared in the Cardinal’s house, but, instead, “the heavenly doctrines become the subject of discussion, and a foundation for controversial discussions is established.” These consisted of erudite young men discussing a wide array of topics in Carvajal’s presence. To conclude the debates, the cardinal ordered silence and resolved all the doubts aroused in the discussion.⁶⁶

As *orator continuus* of the Spanish Kings, Carvajal’s literary interests could be seen as a reflection of his commitment to the Spanish monarchy and to the kind of eloquent oratory found in the academies and *sodalitates* in which he participated. Much like his friend Pomponio Leto and other members of the Roman academy, he was interested in the study of the Latin language, Roman history, and Neo-Latin poetry and prose.⁶⁷ Unlike Leto, however, he directed most of his energy to link the history of Spain with that of Rome and of the emergence of the Christian Church, as well as to the idea of the reconquest and evangelization of the territories seized by the Muslims.⁶⁸ It is very likely that his lost work, *De restitutione Constantini*, a refutation of Lorenzo Valla’s *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione*, may have worked in that direction, stating that the question of the territorial possessions of the Church needed to be determined by theology rather than history.⁶⁹

Other highly debated topics occupied Carvajal’s mind as well, one of which was prophecy. In his writings, he espoused the end of time. In 1502 he presided over a ceremony in which a reading of the “rediscovered” copy of the *Apocalypsis Nova* by Blessed Amadeus da Silva took place in San Pietro in Montorio. This ceremony, as Cantatore has noted, could have marked the beginning of the work of construction of Bramante’s Tempietto. In fact, 1502 is the date that appears in the foundation stone of the temple which attributes its foundation to Carvajal using two epigraphic styles, pointing again to Carvajal’s interest in the study of inscriptions.⁷⁰ Benigno Salviati was in charge of opening the sealed manuscript, and circulated

⁶⁴ P. Cortesi, *Pauli Cortesii Protonotarii Apostolici De Cardinalatu libri tres* (Castro Cortesio, 1510), lxxviii. Cantalicio, “Appendix”, 27.

⁶⁵ As noted by della Torre: “E il Ferno ci dice che unica eccezione Pomponio faceva per il cardinale di S. Croce, Bernardino Lopez de Carvaial: cum flocci faceret patres istos superciliosos omnes, in quibus maiestas accedere creditur, si se quam paucissimorum faxint, si se fortasse ad vices quasdam intra penetralia contineant, unum Sanctae Crucis Carvaial Cardinalem nostrum, in omni facultate excellentissimum in praecipuo cultu habebat; aperiendi capitis contentione, genuflexibus et humili semper illum venerabatur affectu”. A. della Torre, *Paolo Marsi da Pescina: contributo alla storia dell'Accademia Pomponiana* (Rocca S. Casciano, 1903), 242. For Carvajal’s daily habits, see G. Cantalicio, “Appendix”, 26.

⁶⁶ See Cantalicio, “Appendix”, 27.

⁶⁷ Since 1490 Carvajal had assimilated Cicero’s orations and thoroughly mastered the art of rhetoric. Goñi Gaztambide, “Bernardino López de Carvajal y las bulas alejandrinas”, 105.

⁶⁸ Iannuzzi “Le radici culturali di uno spagnolo alla corte papale”, 52.

⁶⁹ Iannuzzi, “Le radici culturali di uno spagnolo alla corte papale: Bernardino de Carvajal”, 51-52.

⁷⁰ Cantatore, “Un committente spagnolo nella Roma di Alessandro VI: Bernardino Carvajal”, 865. For a further

an extended copy of the text of revelations attributed to Amadeus. It seems that Salviati had rewritten (and maybe even authored) the text, apparently at the behest of Carvajal.⁷¹ The revelation contained the prophecy of the *Pastor Angelicus* and a severe critique of the newly elected pope Julius II.⁷² The *Pastor Angelicus* was described as a new angelic pope who would lead the reformation of the Church, marking the beginning of a new era. If we are to believe a contemporary, Mariano da Firenze, it was Carvajal who thought of himself as that “angelic pope.” His views on prophecy were later developed in a homily on the *Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (Homelia doctissima Reverendissimi domini Cardinalis sanctae Crucis)*, pronounced in 1508 before the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I and a vast retinue of key figures, among whom was the emperor's grandson, the future Charles V. Apparently, Carvajal was initially reluctant to publish his speech, but upon the insistence of Benigno Salviati the homily was printed in Rome with Salviati's additions.⁷³ The work envisaged the end of an era, in which the Muslim faith would finally be defeated and in which Christianity, as predicted by the Scriptures, would be effectively preached to the entire world. An early interest in eschatology appeared already in Carvajal's previous orations, and was also present in the iconographic program of celebration of the Spanish monarchy displayed in the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, which included the True Cross cycle portraying Cardinal Mendoza.⁷⁴ As previously mentioned, Carvajal continued the works initiated by Cardinal Mendoza when he succeeded him as titular cardinal of the Basilica in 1495, and took on, among other endeavors, the renovations of the Chapel of Saint Helena. Carvajal sponsored the renovations during all his life, involving every area of the basilica and the monastery, and employing architects as Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. He also invested in the renovation of the mosaic of the Saint Helena vault, which Francisco Albertini described as most beautiful in his guide of Rome.⁷⁵ Each of the arches in the vault of the chapel contained a medallion with an image of Christ returning at the End of Time. A portrait of Carvajal appeared alongside that of Helen, consciously inscribing the cardinal in this apocalyptic iconography. A majolica inscription at the entrance of the chapel memorialized Carvajal's renovations, of which we have a passing mention in his personal

evidence on Carvajal's interest in epigraphy, see Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto*, 139. For a note on the question of authorship and an analysis of the *Apocalypsis Nova*, see J. W. Nelson Novoa, “Imagination as Exegesis in the *Apocalypsis Nova* Attributed to Blessed Amadeus da Silva”, in *Faith and Fantasy in the Renaissance: Texts, Images, and Religious Practices*, eds. E. Matt Kavaler and O. Zorzi Pugliese (Toronto, 2009), 71-83. Also a further note on the works of Saint Pietro in Montorio is found on F. Cantatore, *San Pietro in Montorio*, 115-118 and 159-164.

⁷¹ As Pasti has stated, it is very likely that the *Apocalypsis Nova* attributed to Amadeus da Silva was written by Giorgio Benigno Salviati in 1502, therefore 20 years after the death of Amadeus. See S. Pasti, “L'Apocalypsis Nova, Giulio dei Medici e i quadri per la Cattedrale di Narbonne”, *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History* vol. 81, no. 4 (2012), 231-237 (231).

⁷² Cantatore, “Un committente spagnolo nella Roma di Alessandro VI: Bernardino Carvajal”, 865-866. On this topic, see Fragnito, “Carvajal, Bernardino López de” [accessed 25 May 2016].

⁷³ An edition of Carvajal's 1508 homily was apparently published in Rome by J. Besechen of Speyer, probably in 1509. See N. H. Minnich, “The Role of Prophecy in the Career of the Enigmatic Bernardino López de Carvajal”, in *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period*, ed. M. E. Reeves (Oxford, 1992), 111-120, (113-114, n. 11).

⁷⁴ Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto*, 20.

⁷⁵ Carvajal sponsored the renovations during all his life, involving every area of the basilica and the monastery, and employing architects as Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. He also invested in the renovation of the mosaic of the Saint Helen Vault, which Francisco Albertini describes as most beautiful in his guide of Rome. Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto*, 24.

heritage.⁷⁶

Likewise, this interest in the end of times accompanied Carvajal all his life and was carved in some of the objects that were part of his personal collection. For instance, the title-page of his personal missal (f2r), now held at the Pierpont Morgan Library, bears an illumination with various apocalyptic motifs: the throne of God with a sword in his mouth, a black bird uttering three woes (ve, ve, ve), an angel blowing the trumpet and numerous saints holding palms. Elsewhere in the margins, one also finds a Madonna of the Apocalypse and the seven-headed Dragon with falling stars.⁷⁷ The illumination of this missal was executed by a disciple of the miniaturist Matteo da Milano (c.1520), when Carvajal hoped to become pope.⁷⁸ Years earlier, around 1502-1506, he commissioned a map of the world, highlighting Africa's importance as a symbolic paradise that should be conquered by the Spanish Crown, situating himself at the center of such an imperial enterprise.⁷⁹ The particularities of this *paradisus terrestris* have been thoroughly studied by Alessandro Scafi. According to his reading, the paradise is represented as a walled garden, depicting the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, as well as a parrot. Carvajal's coat of arms hangs on the larger tree of paradise. The map, featuring Columbus's and Vespucci's discoveries, also makes reference to the treaty of Tordesillas, signified by two figures labeled *Rex Hispaniae* and *Rex Portugalis* shaking hands on the Iberian peninsula. The emphasis on Africa is meant to show the important role of this land in the plan that Carvajal and the Catholic Kings entertained for Spain's political expansion, and the idea of a prophetic *Reconquista*. Recent events such as the Moors' expulsion from Spain, the Spanish empire's expansion to the "Indies" (the new territories in the Atlantic Ocean), as well as the latest Portuguese victories in Africa and India all availed for the preaching of this new era. As Minnich has pointed out, Africa held primary importance in some of Carvajal's discourses, as mentioned in the analysis of his *Sermo in commemoratione victoriae Baecensis*.⁸⁰ This was also one of the topics of the *Oratio super praestanda obedientia*, in which Carvajal justified Spanish claims over Africa "referring to the ancient Visigothic rule."⁸¹ A key component of this discourse was the

⁷⁶ The document concerning Carvajal's heritage refers to the renovation of the chapel of Saint Helen, and links Carvajal and some of his family members with Genoese merchants. See Clement VII, (Pope), "Autograph signature to document" 1532 Nov. 16, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, in *Misc Popes*.

⁷⁷ Missal of Bernardino López de Carvajal, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 1023. I thank Roger L. Martínez-Davila for calling my attention to this missal. The illustration depicting the apocalypse is found in fol. 2r. For a description of the illuminations, see "Nineteenth Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library", (New York, 1981), 54, and the detailed description available in the Pierpont Morgan Library Catalog. The margins are decorated with a floral border, containing masks and medallion enclosing pearls and blue gems.

⁷⁸ For the attribution of the missal's miniatures to Matteo da Milano, see J. Docampo, "La importación de manuscritos iluminados y su influencia en la miniatura de la península ibérica: 1470-1570", in *La miniatura medieval en la península Ibérica*, ed. J. Yarza Luaces (Murcia, 2007), 177-233 (194). Cristina Romano, however, argues that the work should be attributed to Matteo da Milano's entourage. See C. Romano, *Matteo da Milano, Miniatore (e Pittore?) Gli esordi e l'affermazione nel contesto della corte sforzesca con alcune precisazioni e approfondimenti sulle vicende biografiche e sull'evoluzione stilistica dell'artista*. (Università degli studi di Udine, 2012/2013), 30. The date of the Missal coincides also with Carvajal's participation as godfather in the baptism of al-Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Wazzan, Leo the African, on the Feast of the Epiphany on 6 January, 1520. See N. Z. Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds* (New York, 2006), 63-64.

⁷⁹ The map is now preserved at Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Cod.icon. 133.

⁸⁰ Minnich, "The Role of Prophecy", 115.

⁸¹ For further information on Carvajal's map and his involvement in Spanish policy in Africa, see A. Scafi, "The African Paradise of Cardinal Carvajal: New Light on the 'Kunstmann II Map. 1502-1506'", *Renaissance and*

negation of every other faith's access to the truth. In fact, Carvajal was involved in sponsoring the *Liber de confutatione hebraicae sectae* (1500), in which the learned convert Johannes Baptista Gratia Dei refuted the teachings of Jewish commentators through transliterated Hebrew scriptures and their Latin translations, in favor of the Catholic exposition of the Gospels.⁸² According to Aliprandini, Carvajal could have been instrumental in the composition of the *Comedy of the Triumphs* or *Trophea*, a theatrical piece of circumstances composed by Bartolomé Torres Naharro on the occasion of the 1514 Roman embassy of the Portuguese Tristão da Cunha, and the arrival at the curia of the news of the Portuguese capture of the Moluccas.⁸³ The play opens with a praise of King Manuel I by Fame, and with a complaining Ptolemy, whose now outdated maps have just been overwritten by the Portuguese discoveries. At its core lies the idea of the evangelization of Africa and Asia, as the third journey offers a display of a series of kings ready to be baptized. Thus, the kings from Western Africa, up to the Cape of New Hope and the Persian Gulf are represented as most Christian and supporting the requests of the Portuguese to the Pope by an anonymous interpreter.⁸⁴

Years before the performance of the *Trophea*, Carvajal's alliances were further complicated and his program of exaltation of the Spanish Crown somehow halted. With the papacy of Julius II (1503-1513), his personal enmity with the pope, and the death of Isabella I of Castile (his great advocate) in 1504 contributed to his deteriorating relationship with the Spanish crown.⁸⁵ Equally determinant were the deaths of many of the humanists who had frequented his house, as well as the shift of political alliances, as he lost the favor of past friends and supporters, such as the humanist Martire d'Anghiera, and the Catholic king, Ferdinand II of Aragon.⁸⁶ By the beginning of the century, Carvajal seems to have worked in favor of Philip I the Fair, until his death in 1506. He also allied himself with the rivals of Ferdinand of Aragon, Ludovico Moro, the emperor Maximilian, and the king of France, Louis

Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme vol.31, no. 2 *Special issue/ Numéro spécial : Sub-Saharan Africa and Renaissance and Reformation Europe: New findings and New Perspectives* (2008), 7-28, (13-15).

⁸² T. Wiener, "Among Recent Acquisitions: Christian Polemics", *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* vol.1, no. 1 (1953), 48-52 (48).

⁸³ J. E. Gillet and O. H. Green, *Propalladia and Other Works of Bartolomé De Torres Naharro*, 4 (Philadelphia, 1961) 474. For the correspondence between Leo X and Manuel I of Portugal on the evangelization of Africa, and Ethiopia, see Davis, *Trickster Travels*, 68.

⁸⁴ L. Aliprandini, "La representación en Roma de la Tinellaria de Torres Naharro", *El teatro durante l'Edat Mitjana i el Renaixement: actes del I Simposi internacional d'història del teatre sobre «L'Edat Mitjana i el Renaixement en el teatre», Sitges, 13 i 14 d'octubre de 1983*, (Barcelona, 1986), 127-135 (127-128).

⁸⁵ For his political alliances during those years and his support of the faction of Philip I the Fair and "el gran capitán", González Fernández de Córdoba, see Fernández Córdoba y. Miralles, "López de Carvajal y Sande, Bernardino", 398-400.

⁸⁶ The relationship between Martire d'Anghiera and Bernardino de Carvajal seems to have almost faded by 1511, when in a letter to Pedro Fajardo Chacón regarding the council of Pisa, Anghiera blamed Carvajal for his conduct: "Bernardino de Carvajal, Cardenal del título de Santa Cruz, se proclama el Typhis de esta nave, el Automedonte de este carro. Nuestro monarca amonesta a Carvajal para que este se aleje de esta empresa. Bernardino accede y, por medio de sus mensajeros, promete que en las galeras reales desde Piombo embarcará para Nápoles. Pero muchos se temen que la ambición le haga desistir de lo prometido. Es por su natural en extremo orgulloso y, aunque erudito, se fia demasiado de sí propio y en su ciencia. Parece que sobrestima sus méritos y no sabe mantenerse en su lugar". See González Rolán and Saquero Suárez-Somonte, "Un importante texto político-literario de finales del siglo XV", 256.

XII.⁸⁷ After the dissolution of the league of Cambrai in 1510, Louis, with the support of the emperor Maximilian, was in favor of organizing a council against Julius II. The council, better known as the pseudo-council of Pisa, was constituted by a group of French, Spanish and Italian cardinals, who urged Julius to join them to discuss necessary reforms at the heart of the Catholic Church. Carvajal took a leading role in this council and was even proclaimed Pope (or antipope) Martin VI, a highly symbolic name that echoed the reputation of his predecessor Martin V, a famous conciliarist.

Now in Milan, in 1510 Carvajal resided in the Jesuati convent of San Girolamo in *porta Vercellina*, where he seems to have been actively engaged in artistic patronage.⁸⁸ His ascension to the papacy was certainly considered a likely outcome during the late summer of 1511, when, according to Schirg, the Neapolitan poet Giovambattista Cantalicio dedicated to him a cycle of encomiastic poetry. The poet traced a biography of the cardinal in a series of Latin poems, giving an account of his appearance, virtues, origins, education, entourage, embassies, daily habits, as well as his relationship with the Spanish monarchs. Cantalicio wishes Carvajal the “maxima mitra,” openly noting his longing for the papal tiara.⁸⁹ Carvajal’s biographical and intellectual sketch provides us with a wealth of details about the cardinal’s daily habits and entourage, while also noting his devotion for poetry.⁹⁰

It was also during that summer of 1511 that a Milanese edition of the Latin translation of the *Itinerary* by Ludovico di Varthema, commissioned by Carvajal, appeared in the midst of conciliarist discussions. The translation was carried out by Arcangelo Madrignani, with whom Carvajal got acquainted through his relationship with the monks of Chiaravalle.⁹¹ Although the first edition had appeared in Rome a year earlier, the one produced during the summer of 1511 contained a letter addressed to Carvajal, which, in addition to praising the Cardinal’s career, revealed the reason behind the re-edition of the book, introduced as an encouragement for Christendom to deepen its knowledge of the Orient in order to be able to conquer again the territories of Jerusalem, of whom Carvajal was the patriarch.⁹² Madrignani’s translation not only enjoyed great European success, but was also part of Carvajal’s idea of acquiring knowledge of the world in order to prepare Christendom for the re-conquest of the Holy Shrine.⁹³

On 18 July 1511, Julius II called the Fifth Lateran Council in response to the Council of Pisa; six days later he deprived Carvajal and other schismatic cardinals of all their

⁸⁷ González Rolán and Saquero Suárez-Somonte, “Un importante texto político-literario de finales del siglo XV”, 257.

⁸⁸ E. Rossetti, “Il cardinale Bernardino Carvajal e il monastero di San Girolamo”, in *Le duché de Milan et les commanditaires français (1499-1521): [actes du colloque ... Université de Genève, 30-31 mars 2012]*, eds. F. Elsig and M. Natale (Roma, 2013), 197.

⁸⁹ Schirg, “Betting on the antipope”, 5-6. This was not Cantalicio’s first attempt at approaching the Cardinal and his current political faction as he has already composed poems on the deeds of Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba.

⁹⁰ Schirg, “Betting on the antipope”, 12-13. Cantalicio’s poetry traces a biography of the cardinal in a series of Latin poems on his appearance, virtues, place of birth, education, embassies, relationship with the Spanish monarchs, entourage, daily habits and so on. It also wishes Carvajal the “maxima mitra,” openly noting his longing for the papal tiara, 17.

⁹¹ E. Rossetti, “Il cardinale Bernardino Carvajal e il monastero di San Girolamo”, 200.

⁹² V. Calvo Fernández, “El cardenal Bernardino de Carvajal y la traducción latina del ‘Itinerario’ de Ludovico Vartema”, *Cuadernos de filología clásica: Estudios latinos*, vol. 18 (2000), 303-322 (305).

⁹³ Rossetti, “Il cardinale Bernardino Carvajal e il monastero di San Girolamo”, 201.

ecclesiastical possessions, and on 1 November he excommunicated Carvajal. And yet, what stands out about Carvajal's fall in disgrace is that he managed to create a counter discourse that circulated widely among European scholars, and that fully questioned Julius II's agenda.⁹⁴ In the Neo-Latin dialogue *Julius exclusus e coelis* (*Julius Excluded From Heaven*), long attributed to Erasmus of Rotterdam, Carvajal was cast under an extremely positive light, as a man of "blameless life."⁹⁵ Carvajal received high praise, not only from the character of Peter, but also from that of Julius II himself, as he declares that Carvajal does not only have a blameless life, but is also "an ascetic, an old man, and a theologian." As Peter asks for the ultimate reasons of Carvajal's behavior in calling the Council of Pisa, Julius notes: "He keeps saying that no times had ever been more disturbed than ours, that the sickness in the church had never been more virulent, and that therefore a council was needed to cure it." Carvajal is also portrayed as the figure that reminded Julius of his oath that he would call a council for the reform of the Church. Julius goes on to tell that what enervates him even more is that at the Council of Pisa all the request were done "with astonishing moderation, and not only refraining from abusing [him], but used a respectful formula every time they mentioned [his] name." It is precisely their moderation that stirred up feelings about them at the curia, especially because they had used the Scriptures to complement their arguments. Carvajal and the other cardinals are said to have "brought in some scholars to help. In addition, they made use of fasting, prayer, and an extraordinary frugality in their lives, hoping that their reputation for holiness would put more pressure on [him]."⁹⁶ The dialogue, first printed in the early months of 1517, circulated in manuscript copies in 1516 when Carvajal had been restored to most of his privileges, benefices, and influence at the curia.⁹⁷ *Julius Exclusus* denounces at length the vices of Julius II, whom Peter does not even allow entrance to Heaven, and defends the actions of the schismatic cardinals and of Carvajal as their leader, portrayed as an irreproachable figure, a rigorous theologian and a brilliant man, in contrast with a despicable Julius II. As the argumentation and counter-argumentation between Peter and Julius develops, Julius notes to Peter that his ultimate goal when calling the Fifth Lateran Council was not the reformation of the Church, but rather to "use a nail to drive out another." The arch-famous rivalry between Carvajal and the pope is evident in the text when Julius recalls that the first session of the council was spent in solemn ceremonies, and "through two services, that of the Holy Cross and that of the Holy Spirit," so that people could believe that Julius was inspired – or rather had usurped the Holy Cross ceremonies from Carvajal. Soon after that, Julius II goes on to

⁹⁴ Isabella Iannuzzi first noticed the importance of the ideas of reform proposed by Carvajal in relationship to his depiction in the dialogue. Iannuzzi, "Le Radici culturali di uno spagnolo", 58-59.

⁹⁵ For the polemic attributions to Erasmus, see Michael J. Heath "Julius Excluded from Heaven A Dialogue", 156. For the moderation of Carvajal and other schismatic Cardinals, see N. H. Minnich "Paride Grassi's Diary of the Fifth Lateran Council" in *The Catholic Reformation: Council, Churchmen Controversies* (Ashgate, 1993), 370-460 (376-377).

⁹⁶ Erasmus, *Julius Excluded from Heaven*, 182-183.

⁹⁷ As noted by Michael J. Heath, *Julius Excluded From Heaven's* first dated edition was printed in Louvain in September 1518, but was preceded by undated editions dating back to the early months of 1517, in addition to manuscript copies from 1516. Its writing, however, as suggested by Heath, could be dated back to the years immediately following Julius II's death. Even though there is no evidence for this assumption, further news on the date of the text's composition could help illuminate the attempts of Carvajal at rewriting his past in the light of new enterprises. Since its publication, the dialogue became a pan-European success and an object of controversy, especially regarding its authorship. Heath, "Julius Excluded from Heaven", 156-157.

recount how he excommunicated the cardinals and stripped them out of their rank in a public ceremony, transferring their benefices to others, as effectively happened, and considering them “persons of Satan.”⁹⁸

After his reconciliation with Leo X (1513) and the recovery of most of his ecclesiastical benefices, Carvajal took the lead in sponsoring Spanish drama and epic poetry. With the beginning of Leo X’s papacy, the Roman fascination with theater became even more acute than in the years of Pomponio Leto and his Roman Academy. Leo X, who brought Florentine performers with him, loved theater and the arts, and used theater as a symbol of power and status. All those who walked towards the Capitoline hill in September 1513 could not avoid the sight of the ephemeral mammoth theater that Leo X had commissioned to celebrate the awarding of honorary Roman citizenship to Giuliano di Lorenzo de Medici and Lorenzo di Piero de Medici, the pope’s brother and nephew.⁹⁹ Over the course of the first two decades of the sixteenth century, as we saw on the occasion of the 1492 carnival, theatrical performances and spectacles had become a way in which diplomats, cardinals, and the pope himself could show their cultural and political power to the people and to foreign ambassadors. Comedies were usually performed within cardinals’ or aristocratic palaces, a consolidated trend in the Italian peninsula that was repeated in countless residences of the nobility in Florence, Mantua, and Ferrara. Carvajal would soon join the avant-garde of the theatrical scene by promoting the work of Torres Naharro, the above mentioned author of the *Trophea*, who was one of the first dramatists to write a treatise on comedy, and whose plays are considered the foundation of Spanish theater. Carvajal was instrumental in the publication of the comedy *Tinellaria*, c.1516, requesting a copy from the author after the play had been represented for Leo X and Giulio de’ Medici, the future pope Clement VII, and encouraging him to publish it.¹⁰⁰ The comedy,

⁹⁸ Erasmus, *Julius Excluded from Heaven: A Dialogue*, 183-184.

⁹⁹ In a model of city-state, such as those of Rome and Florence, the concession of citizenship transformed the Medici into members of the Roman community, consolidating the allegiance between the two states, so that the Florentine members were no longer seen as foreign diplomats. Contemporary descriptions give an account of the magnificence of the accomplished theater, its marvelous interior paintings, and the brilliant transformation of the square, which had required the demolition of some houses at the top of the hill. That same square had been described in 1446 by Flavio Biondo as “filthy and disorganized ..., embarrassing and accruing the dishonor of the hill”. The Mammoth Theater was conceived therefore to reclaim the honor of the Capitoline Hill, providing a scenic view of it that aimed at moving anyone who came across it, whether Roman inhabitants, foreign diplomats, prelates at the curia, or pilgrims. The program of the celebrations, which extended over two days, contained allegorical eclogues and the comedy *Poenulus* by Plautus. The ephemeral theater building, however, stood for several years, securing the pontiff a symbolic power, as did the official accounts written on the occasion of the performances and the celebrations themselves. See F. Cruciani, and Arnaldo Bruschi. *Il teatro del Campidoglio e le feste romane del 1513* (Milano, 1968).

¹⁰⁰ A *suelta* edition (single play) of the comedy *Tinellaria* now preserved in the Municipal Library of Oporto (Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, shelfmark, X1-3-26) contains a prologue dedicated by Torres Naharro to Carvajal, in which he Torres Naharro talks about the staging of the comedy for Leo X and his patron, the future Clement VII. The *suelta* was probably printed between 1513 and 1517, and most probably, according to Gillet, ca. 1516, as the playwright noted that he has not yet published any of his plays. His collection of works would appear in Naples on 1517. In J. E. Gillet, *Propalladia and other works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro* (Pennsylvania, 1943) vol. 1, 79-80, and plate xxxiv. For the chronology and the analysis of this *suelta*’s prologue see also L. Aliprandini, “La representación en Roma de la Tinellaria de Torres Naharro”, 127-128. A later *suelta* of *Tinellaria*, published in 1524 in Toledo bears in its title page a factotum representing Leo X and the following title: “Comedia Tinellaria compuesta por Bartholome de Torres Naharro. Fecha al papa Leon decimo. Agora nuevamente impressa”, Gillet, *Propalladia*, vol.1, plate XLIV.

whose protagonist was a cardinal's household, consisted of sketches that narrated the misadventures of servants failing to comply with their master's requests. Naharro's aim, which might have pleased Roman prelates, was to expose his audience to the trickeries and vices of servants within their masters' households. *Tinellaria* is therefore a self-referential piece, one in which the daily life of a Roman palace could be seen through the deformed eyes of literary characters. It is possible that other comedies, such as *Ymeneá*, and the *Trophea*, were also produced at Carvajal's behest, and that the publication of his collected works in Naples (1517) was the result of Carvajal's previous literary and political enterprises.¹⁰¹ Another author-soldier, Diego de Paredes, the Samson of Extremadura, who lived between Rome and Naples, portrayed Carvajal in his autobiography as a man always ready to help his fellow compatriots.¹⁰² Diego de Paredes's Neapolitan connections seem to have been established through the intervention of Carvajal, who since 1504 was promoting the military exploits of Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba.¹⁰³ Among these literary works was the epic poem *Historia Parthenopea*, written by Alonso Hernández to exalt the deeds of the Great Captain and printed in Rome in 1516, and to bring to the fore Spanish military virtue in the war against the Turks. On a few occasions Carvajal's literary correspondence shows an interest in pairing literature and doctrinal advice. As Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero has noted, by 1521, a year after the Roman publication of *Amadis*, the cardinal writes a letter full of chivalric references, from Charlemagne to Godfrey of Bouillon to Charles V, with a long reflection about the way in which the monarch should govern."¹⁰⁴

Carvajal's influence in Naples may explain why this city was the place to send Torres Naharro by recommending him to the Colonna-Pescara family, who, in turn, helped him publish the *Propalladia*. As Sánchez García has noted, Torres Naharro's work can be seen as a larger project in which the Pescara-Colonna sought to establish relations with the imperial power by showing their patronage of the Spanish arts. This patronage, as that of Carvajal, was focused on vernacular works that would portray Naples to the newly elected emperor as a city in which Spanish was elegantly spoken.¹⁰⁵ This connection would run even more deeply if we consider how Carvajal's protégés had a fluid relationship with Naples, repositioning Carvajal's aims and those of Spain from Rome to Naples.

Carvajal engaged in an intense literary patronage throughout his lifetime, as he served the interests of some of the mightiest Christian principalities. Through the use of the printing press he contributed to extol the deeds of the Catholic Kings, Louis XII or the Great Captain.

¹⁰¹ J. E. Gillet, and O. H. Green, *Propalladia and Other Works of Bartolomé De Torres Naharro* (Philadelphia, 1961), vol. 4, 516-517.

¹⁰² D. García de Paredes, "Suma de las cosas que acaecieron a Diego García de Paredes y de lo que hizo, escrita por él mismo cuando estaba enfermo del mal del que murió" in *El Sansón de Extremadura: Diego García de Paredes en la literatura española del Siglo XVI*, ed. A. Sánchez Jiménez. Newark, 2006), 41-48 (42).

¹⁰³ Sánchez García, "La imagen del gran capitán", 147.

¹⁰⁴ The letter is preserved in the Royal Academy of History (RAH), Colección Salazar y Castro, A-21, fol. 82v. See J. L. G. Sánchez-Molero, "Antonio de Salamanca y los libros españoles en la Roma del siglo XVI", in *Roma y España. Un crisol de la cultura europea en la edad moderna: (actas del Congreso Internacional celebrado en la Real Academia de España en Roma del 8 al 12 de mayo de 2007)*, ed. Carlos José Hernando Sánchez. (Madrid, 2007), 335-365 (358).

¹⁰⁵ E. Sánchez García, "Sobre la princeps de la *Propalladia* (Nápoles, Ioan Pasqueto de Sallo, 1517): Los mecenas (Fernando D'Avalos, Vittoria y Fabrizio Colonna, Belisario Acquaviva) y la epístola latina de Mesinerius I. Barberius", in *Lingua spagnola e cultura ispanica a Napoli fra Rinascimento e Barocco: testimonianze a stampa*, ed. Encarnación Sánchez García (Napoli, 2013), i-xxxii.

For that, he benefited from his connections with the Roman, Milanese, and Neapolitan literary elites to engage some of the most prominent humanist of the time, and was instrumental in supporting new literary figures that left their marks on the history of Spanish letters.

Bibliography

Primary sources

- Albertini, Francesco, *Opusculum De Mirabilibus Nove Et Veteris Urbis Rome* (Lugduni: I. Marion), 1520.
- Cantalicio, Giovambattista, “Appendix. Edition and translation of Cantalicio’s cycle poems dedicated to Bernardino de Carvajal”, in B. Schirg, “Betting on the antipope. Giovambattista Cantalicio and his cycle of poems dedicated to the schismatic Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal in 1511 (with an edition and translation from Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. XVI A1)”, *Spolia. Journal of Medieval Studies*, (2015), 1-38. <<http://www.spolia.it/online/it/documents/schirg.pdf>>
- Clement VII, (Pope), “Autograph signature to document”, 1532 Nov. 16, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, in *Misc Popes*.
- Cortesi, Paolo, *Pauli Cortesii Protonotarii Apostolici de Cardinalatu libri tres* (Castro Cortesio: Symeon Nicolai Nardi, 1510).
- Del Río, Baltasar, *Traslado de una carta que envió de Roma el muy reverendo señor don Baltasar del Rio al muy ilustre señor el marqués de Tarifa, en que le recuenta mas por entero todo lo que en el espantoso diluvio de Roma acaesció* (Roma: Bartolomé Pérez, 1530).
- Equicola, Mario, *De Opportunitate* (Napoli: Ioannes Antonius de Caneto, 1507).
- Hernández, Alonso, *Historia Parthenopea* (Roma: Stefano Ghisleri, 1515).
- Inghirami, Tommaso, *Panegyricus in memoriam divi Thomae Aquinatis* (Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1500).
- Erasmus of Rotterdam, Desiderius, “Julius Excluded from Heaven. A Dialogue”, ed. M. J. Heath, *Collected Works of Erasmus Volume 27, Literary and Educational Writings 5: Panegyricus, Moria/Julius Exclusus, Institutio Principis Christiani, Querela Pacis*, ed. A.H.T Levi (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 170-197.
- García de Paredes, Diego, “Suma de las cosas que acaecieron a Diego García de Paredes y de lo que hizo, escrita por él mismo cuando estaba enfermo del mal del que murió” in *El Sansón de Extremadura: Diego García de Paredes en la literatura española del Siglo XVI*, ed. A. Sánchez Jiménez. (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2006), 41-48.
- López de Carvajal, Bernardino, *Missal*. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.1023.
- , *Sermo in die omnium Sanctorum* (Roma: G. Herolt, 1482).
- , *Oratio in die Circumcisiones* (Rome: S. Planck, 1484).
- , *Sermo in commemoratione victoria Baecensis* (Rome: S. Planck, 1490).
- , *Oratio de eligendo Summo Pontifice* (Rome: E. Silber, 1492).
- , *Oratio ad Alexandrum VI nomine regum Hispaniae habita super praestanda solemni obedientiae* (Rome: S. Planck, 1493).
- , *Epistola consolatoria in obitu Johannis Hispaniae principis ad Catholicos regem et reginam eius parentes* (Rome: E. Silber, ca. 1500-1502)

- , *Homelia doctissima reuerendissimi d[omi]ni cardinalis Sancte Crucis utriusq[ue] philosophie facile principis habita coram maximo Maximiliano Cesare semper Augusto* (Rome: J. Besicken, c.1508).
- , and Baltasar Del Río, *Epistola reuerendiss. domini Car. S. [Cren] ad inuictis. Carolu[m] in Imp. E. sup. declaratione M. suae co[n]tra Luth. facta* (Rome: s.n, 1521).
- , *La Conquista de Baza*, ed. Carlos de Miguel Mora (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1995).
- , Letter to Charles V, Royal Academy of History (RAH), Colección Salazar y Castro, A-21.
- Pau, Jeroni, *Obres*, ed. Mariangela Villalonga, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Curial, 1986).
- Pompilio, Pietro Paolo, *Panegyris de Triumpho Granatensis* (Roma, Eucharius Silber, 1490).
- , *Vita Senecae*. Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 2222.
- Torres Naharro, Bartolomé, in Gillet, J. E. (ed) *Propalladia and other works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, 4 vols. (Pennsylvania: Bryn Mawr, 1943-1946).
- Verardi, Marcellino, *Elegiae de Triumpho Granatensi* (Salmanticae, Juan de Porrás, 1499).

Secondary Sources

- Albalá Pelegrín, Marta, “La Lozana andaluza: migración y pluralismo religioso en el Mediterráneo”, *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 41, no. 1 (2016), 215-242.
- Aliprandini, Luisa de, “La representación en Roma de la Tinellaria de Torres Naharro”, *El teatre durant l'Edat Mitjana i el Renaixement: actes del I Simposi internacional d'història del teatre sobre «L'Edat Mitjana i el Renaixement en el teatre»*, Sitges, 13 i 14 d'octubre de 1983, (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1986), 127-135.
- Benedetti, Stefano, “Tommaso detto Fedra Inghirami”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 62 (2004), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/inghirami-tommaso-detto-fedra_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/inghirami-tommaso-detto-fedra_(Dizionario_Biografico)/)
- Beyer, Harmut, “Carlo and Marcellino Verardi's *Fernandus Servatus* and the *Poem Supra Casum Hispani Regis* by Petrus Martyr: Drama and Diplomacy in Papal Rome Under Alexander VI”, in *Drama, Performance, and Debate: Theatre and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Jan Bloemendal, Peter Eversmann and Elsa Strietman (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
- Bracke, Wouter, “Paolo Pompilio, una carriera mancata”, in *Principato ecclesiastico e riuso dei classici. Gli umanisti e Alessandro VI. Atti del convegno, Bari-Monte Sant'Angelo*, eds. Davide Canfora, Maria Chiabò and Mauro de Nichilo (Roma: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Direzione generale per gli archivi, 2002), 429-438.
- Calvo Fernández, Vicente, “El cardenal Bernardino de Carvajal y la traducción latina del ‘Itinerario’ de Ludovico Vartema”, *Cuadernos de filología clásica: Estudios latinos*, vol. 18 (2000), 303-322.
- , ed., *El Viaje de Ludovico Vartema* (Madrid: Akal, 2010).
- Cantatore, Flavia, “Un committente spagnolo nella Roma di Alessandro VI: Bernardino Carvajal”, in *Roma di fronte all'Europa al tempo di Alessandro VI*, 3 vols., eds. Maria Chiabò, S. Maddalo, M. Miglio and A. M. Oliva (Roma: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Direzione generale per gli archivi, 2001), vol. 3, 862-871.
- , *San Pietro in Montorio: la chiesa dei Re Cattolici a Roma* (Roma: Quasar, 2007).
- Chiabò, Maria, “Paolo Pompilio, professore dello Studium Urbis”, in *Un pontificato ed una città: Sisto IV (1471-1484): atti del convegno, Roma, 3-7 dicembre 1984*, ed. Massimo Miglio

- (Roma: Ist. Storico Ital. per il Medio Evo. 1986), 503-514.
- Corbo, Anna Maria, “La committenza nelle famiglie romane a metà del secolo XV: il caso di Pietro Millini”, in *Arte, committenza ed economia a Roma e nelle corti del Rinascimento (1420-1530)*, eds. A. Esch and C. L. Frommel (Torino: Einaudi, 1995), 121-153.
- Cruciani, Fabrizio, *Teatro nel Rinascimento, Roma 1450-1550* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1983).
- , and Arnaldo Bruschi. *Il teatro del Campidoglio e le feste romane del 1513* (Milano: Il Polifilo, 1968).
- Dandele, Thomas James, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).
- , and John A. Marino, *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).
- Davis, Natalie Zemon, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006).
- Docampo, Javier, “La importación de manuscritos iluminados y su influencia en la miniatura de la península ibérica: 1470-1570”, in *La miniatura medieval en la península Ibérica*, ed. Joaquín Yarza Luaces (Murcia: Nausicaa, 2007), 177-233.
- Fragno, Gigliola, “Carvajal, Bernardino López de”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* vol. 21 (1978), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bernardino-lopez-de-carvajal_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bernardino-lopez-de-carvajal_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)
- Fernández de Córdova Miralles, Álvaro, *Alejandro VI y los Reyes Católicos. Relaciones político-eclesiásticas (1492-1503)* (Roma: Edizioni Università della Santa Croce, 2005).
- , “Imagen de los Reyes Católicos en la Roma pontificia”, *En la España medieval*, vol. 28 (2005), 259-354.
- , “Reyes Católicos: mutaciones y permanencias de un paradigma político en la Roma del Renacimiento”, in *Roma y España. Un crisol de la cultura europea en la Edad Moderna*, ed. Carlos José Hernando Sánchez (Madrid: Sociedad estatal para la acción cultural exterior, 2007), 133-154.
- , “López de Carvajal y Sande, Bernardino” in *Diccionario Biográfico Español*, vol. 30 (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2009), 395-401.
- , El “Rey Católico” de las primeras guerras de Italia. Imagen de Fernando II de Aragón y V de Castilla entre la expectación profética y la tensión internacional (1493-1499), *Medievalismo*, vol. 25 (2015), 197-232.
- Freiberg, Jack, *Bramante’s Tempietto, the Roman Renaissance, and the Spanish Crown* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- Gillet, Joseph E. and Green, Otis Howard, *Propalladia and Other Works of Bartolomé De Torres Naharro*, 4 vols. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1961).
- González Rolán, Tomás, “Diplomacia y humanismo a finales del siglo XV: el cardenal extremeño Bernardino López de Carvajal”, in *Nulla dies sine linea. Humanistas extremeños de la fama al olvido*, eds. César Chaparro Gómez, Manuel Mañana Núñez and Delfín Ortega Sánchez (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 2009), 143-155.
- González Rolán, Tomás and Saquero Suárez-Somonte, Pilar, “Un importante texto político-literario de finales del siglo XV: la Epístola consolatoria a los Reyes Católicos del extremeño Bernardino López de Carvajal (prologada y traducida al latín por García de Bovadilla)”, *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos*, 16 (1999), 247-277.
- Goñi Gaztambide, José, “Bernardino López de Carvajal y las bulas alejandrinas”, *Anuario de*

- historia de la Iglesia*, 1 (1992) 93-112.
- Grafton, Anthony, "Traditions of Inventions: Inventions of Tradition: Annius of Viterbo", in *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in the Age of Science 1450-1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994).
- Greswell, William Parr, *Angelo Poliziano, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Jacopo Sannazaro, Pietro Bembo, Girolamo Fracastoro, Marco Antonio Flaminio, Girolamo Amalteo, Giovanni Battista Amalteo, and Cornelio Amalteo. Memoirs of Angelus Politianus, Joannes Picus of Mirandula, Actius Sincerus Sannazarius, Petrus Bembus, Hieronymus Fracastorius, Marcus Antonius Flaminius, and the Amalthei: Translations from Their Poetical Works: and Notes and Observations Concerning Other Literary Characters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1805).
- Heath, Michael J. "Introductory note" in "Julius Excluded from Heaven. A Dialogue", in *Collected Works of Erasmus vol. 27, Literary and Educational Writings 5: Panegyricus, Moria/Julius Exclusus, Institutio Principis Christiani, Querela Pacis*, ed. A.H.T. Levi. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 156-167.
- Hernando Sánchez, Carlos José, *Roma y España un crisol de la cultura europea en la Edad Moderna* (actas del Congreso Internacional celebrado en la Real Academia de España en Roma del 8 al 12 de mayo de 2007), 2 vols. (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2007).
- Ianuzzi, Isabella, "Bernardino de Carvajal: teoria e propaganda di uno spagnolo all'interno della curia romana", *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, vol. 62 (2008), 25-45.
- , "Le radici culturali di uno spagnolo alla corte papale: Bernardino de Carvajal", in *Metafore di un pontificato Giulio II (1503-1513)*, eds. F. Cantatore, M. Chiabò, P. Farenga, M. Gargano, A. Morisi, A. Mondigliani and F. Piperno, (Roma: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2010), 45-59.
- Landi, A. *Concilio e papato nel Rinascimento (1449-1556). Un problema irrisolto* (Torino: Claudiana, 1997).
- Lange, Tyler, *The First French Reformation: Church Reform and the Origins of the Old Regime* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2014).
- Lodone, Michele, "Carvajal, Bernardino López de", in *Machiavelli: enciclopedia machiavelliana*, ed. Gennaro Sasso (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2014), 285-286.
- Magister, Sara, "Censimento delle collezioni di antichità a Roma: 1471-1503", *Xenia antiqua*, vol. 8 (1999), 129-204.
- Martínez-Davila, Roger Louis, *From Sword to Seal The Ascent of the Carvajal Family in Spain (1391-1516)*. (Austin, TX: University of Texas, 2008).
<https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/handle/2152/17987/martinezr12197.pdf>
- Minnich, Nelson H., "The Role of Prophecy in the Career of the Enigmatic Bernardino López de Carvajal", in *Prophetic Rome in the High Renaissance Period*, ed. Marjorie E. Reeves (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 111-120.
- , "Paride Grassi's Diary of the Fifth Lateran Council" in *The Catholic Reformation: Council, Churchmen Controversies* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1993), 370-460.
- Modigliani, Anna, "Pietro Mellini", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 73 (2009) [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-mellini_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-mellini_(Dizionario_Biografico)/)
- Nelson Novoa, James W., "Imagination as Exegesis in the *Apocalypsis Nova* Attributed to Blessed Amadeus da Silva", in *Faith and Fantasy in the Renaissance: Texts, Images, and*

- Religious Practices*, eds. Ethan Matt Kavaler and Olga Zorzi Pugliese (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009), 71-83.
- O'Malley, John W., "Preaching for the popes", *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion; Papers from the University of Michigan Conference*, eds. Charles Edward Trinkaus and Heiko Augustinus Oberman (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 408-440.
- Pasti, Stefania, "L'Apocalypsis Nova, Giulio dei Medici e i quadri per la Cattedrale di Narbonne", *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, vol. 81, no. 4 (2012), 231-237.
- Rincón Gonzalez, María Dolores, "La divulgación de la toma de Granada: objetivos, mecanismos y agentes", *Annuario de Estudios Medievales*, vol. 40, no. 2 (2010), 603-615.
- Romano, Cristina, "Matteo da Milano, Miniatore (e Pittore?)", in *Gli esordi e l'affermazione nel contesto della corte sforzesca con alcune precisazioni e approfondimenti sulle vicende biografiche e sull'evoluzione stilistica dell'artista* (Udine: Università degli studi di Udine, 2012-13).
- Rosbach, Johann Georg August Hugo, *Das Leben und die politisch-kirchliche Wirksamkeit des Bernaldino Lopez de Carvajal, Kardinals von Santa Croce in Gierusalemme in Rom, und das schismatische concilium Posanum* (Breslau: Gen.-Buchdr, 1892).
- Rossetti, Edoardo, "Il cardinale Bernardino Carvajal e il monastero di San Girolamo", in *Le duché de Milan et les commanditaires français (1499-1521): [actes du colloque ... Université de Genève, 30-31 mars 2012]*, eds. Frédéric Elsig and Mauro Natale (Roma: Viella, 2013).
- Sánchez García, Encarnación, "La imagen del gran capitán en la primera mitad del cinquecento: textos latinos, españoles e italianos", in *Nápoles-Roma 1504. Cultura y literatura española y portuguesa en Italia en el quinto centenario de la muerte de Isabel la Católica*, eds. V. Javier Gómez-Montero and Folke Gernert (Salamanca: Semyr, 2005), 139-163.
- , "Sobre la princeps de la *Propalladia* (Nápoles, Ioan Pasqueto de Sallo, 1517): Los mecenas (Fernando D'Avalos, Vittoria y Fabrizio Colonna, Belisario Acquaviva) y la epístola latina de Mesinerius I. Barberius", in *Lingua spagnola e cultura ispanica a Napoli fra Rinascimento e Barocco: testimonianze a stampa*, ed. Encarnación Sánchez García (Napoli: Tullio Pironti Editore, 2013), i-xxxii.
- Sánchez-Molero, José Luis Gonzalo, "Antonio de Salamanca y los libros españoles en la Roma del siglo XVI", in *Roma y España; un crisol de la cultura europea en la edad moderna: (actas del Congreso Internacional celebrado en la Real Academia de España en Roma del 8 al 12 de mayo de 2007)*, ed. Carlos José Hernando Sánchez. (Madrid: Sociedad estatal para la acción cultural exterior, 2007), 335-365.
- Scafi, Alessandro, "The African Paradise of Cardinal Carvajal: New Light on the 'Kunstmann II Map', 1502-1506", *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, vol. 31, no. 2 Special issue/ Numéro spécial: *Sub-Saharan Africa and Renaissance and Reformation Europe: New findings and New Perspectives* (2008), 7-28.
- Speriendi, Simona, "Repertorio delle residenze cardenalizie", in *Roma. Le Trasformazioni urbane nel Quattrocento. II Funzioni Urbane e Tipologie Edilizie*, ed. Giorgio Simoncini, (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2004), 137-158.
- Tate, Robert B., "Mythology in Spanish Historiography of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance", *Hispanic Review*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1954), 1-18.
- Torre, Arnaldo della, *Paolo Marsi da Pescina: contributo alla storia dell'Accademia Pomponiana* (Rocca S. Casciano: L. Cappelli, 1903).
- Vaquero Piñeiro, Manuel, "La presencia de los españoles en la economía romana (1500-1527):

- Primeros datos de archivo”, *En la España medieval*, vol. 16 (1993), 287-306.
- , “De los Reyes Católicos a Carlos V: el cambio dinástico visto desde la corte de Roma”, *Política y cultura en la época moderna : (cambios dinásticos, milenarismos, mesianismos y utopías)*, coord. Jaime Contreras Contreras, Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro, José Ignacio Ruiz Rodríguez (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 2004), 135-144.
- Vilallonga, Mariàngela, “El viatge dels catalans a Roma durant el segle XV”, in *Estudis de Filologia Catalana. Dotze anys de l’Institut de Llengua i Cultura Catalanes. Secció Francesc Eiximenis*, eds. A. Rafanell and P. Balsalobre (Barcelona: Institut de Llengua y Cultura Catalanes de la Universitat de Girona / PAM, 1991), 201-221.
- Weil-Garris, Kathleen and John F. D’Amico, “The Renaissance Cardinal’s Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi’s ‘De Cardinalatu’”, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. 35 (1980), 45-119 and 121-123.
- Wiener, Theodore, “Among Recent Acquisitions: Christian Polemics”, *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1953), 48-52.