NOVOA, JAMES NELSON
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Universidade de Aveiro
Aveiro, Portugal

Available in: http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=321027644005
Unicorns and Bezoars in a Portuguese house in Rome. 
António da Fonseca’s Portuguese Inventories

Unicórnios e bezoares numa casa portuguesa em Roma. Os inventários portugueses de António da Fonseca

JAMES NELSON NOVOA

Postdoctoral fellow of the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, Portugal

Abstract: The article deals with lists of objects which belonged to an important Portuguese banker in Rome, António da Fonseca. The inventories, compiled some months before his death in February 1588, reveal a man of refined tastes and interests. In particular they indicate an abundance of objects of oriental provenance which can be deemed exotic, bezoar stones and some supposedly made from unicorn horns. The items contained in his home reflect his interests and activities as a prominent Portuguese merchant banker, linked to an empire which extended itself to the orient, to Africa, and the Indian Ocean.

Keywords: Unicorn; bezoar; Rome; Portuguese; inventory.

On February 17, 1588, the last will and testament of António da Fonseca, a prominent Portuguese merchant-banker in Rome, was rendered public by Maurizio Boccarino, a notary of the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber. Fonseca died two days before in his parish of San Biagio della Fossa in the Parione district of the city. The will had been first prepared

1 Text received on 07/14/2012 and accepted on 08/18/2011.
2 jw_nel@yahoo.com. Linked to the Cátedra de Estudos Sefarditas «Alberto Benveniste» of the University of Lisbon.
3 I am indebted to Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and Donald Beecher for having kindly gone over my text, pointed out some of its deficiencies, making fundamental suggestions and providing me with additional bibliography. I must, in addition, thank Hugo Crespo for his generous assistance and lucid advice regarding bibliography and the comprehension of the objects in the inventory. Roberto Valeriani is to be thanked for his insights into the Roman context of the collection under investigation. I must likewise express my gratitude to Marie-Laure Ville and Daniele Lombardi for having taken the pictures which are published in the article. Abbreviations: ASR: Archivio di Stato di Roma (Rome), ASC: Archivio Storico Capitolino (Rome).
4 The church, located in the Parione district of Rome near the Piazza del Fico, was destroyed in 1813.

two years earlier, in June 1586 and in it he made provision for the distribution of his vast wealth. As was normally the case, upon Fonseca’s death an inventory of his goods was drawn up, clearly indicating the possessions and objects which he left behind. The list in question provides a rare glimpse into the estetical tastes and interests of an important Mercatore Romanam Curiam Sequentes, the designation by which all merchant-bankers were known who dealt with the Curia in Rome, a prominent member of the Portuguese community in the second half of the sixteenth century who, through the objects he amassed in his home, proved that he maintained regular ties with his homeland.5

The inventory was made at the behest of António Pinto, sue catholice maiestatis in hac Alma Urbe Romae agentis, whom, we learn, was the man that Fonseca had entrusted with administering his will.6 Pinto, a cleric from Mogadouro, a town in the north of Portugal, had been in the employ both of the Portuguese court and the court of Rome since at least 1561 in a variety of capacities having, over the years, accrued a number of important ecclesiastical benefices in Portugal and taking up important curial posts in Rome upon arriving in the Eternal City.7 At the same time he was a man of fundamental importance in Portuguese diplomatic circles in Rome, serving, since his arrival in the city, as the secretary to the Portuguese ambassador.


6 Notari del’Auditore della Camara Apostolica, 1055, Fol. 438 r. ASR.

7 See the following works by José de Castro, Bragança e Miranda, vol 1, (1947) 134-140; Dom Sebastião e Dom Henrique, (1942) 81-89.

He even went on to briefly become Portugal’s representative to the Holy See under the reign of Philip I (1581-1598).8

From the inventory made out before the notary of the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber we learn that Fonseca lived in a building in the Campo Marzio quarter near the church of Santa Lucia della Tinta, a church located a stone’s throw from the Portuguese National Church and hospice of San Antonio, which he was intimately linked to for several decades.9 From his arrival in Rome, it would seem at the beginning of 1556, he had first been elected one of the members of the congregation of the Portuguese National Church in Rome, then went on to hold the prestigious post of governor of both Portuguese institutions in Rome at several intervals until his death.10


9 “In primis una casa posta in Roma nel rione di Campo Marzio appresso Santa Lucia della Tenta, con una logia dove supra c’è scritto Fonseca nella casa dove habitava la buona memoria del detto Signore Antonio in la stanza dove faceva il banco.” Notari del’Auditore della Camara Apostolica, 1055, Fol. 438 r. ASR. See the photograph in this page for the location of the church.

António Fonseca was apparently born on December 25, 1515\textsuperscript{11} in Lamego, a town in the north of Portugal which was a diocese since the sixth century. He was born into a prosperous family which could boast important family ties to prominent New Christian families, and whose sphere of influence was in the Douro region in the north of Portugal, chief among them the Paz family, known to historians largely on account of the infamous converso adventurer and self-proclaimed agent of the New Christians in Rome, Duarte de Paz, who was present in the Eternal City from 1532 to 1538.\textsuperscript{12} He had been preceded in Rome by his brother, Jácome da Fonseca, a prominent merchant who lived in the city from at least 1543 to the first months of 1555, active in the spice trade, having, in 1545 sold, along with a partner of his from Lamego, a warehouse of spices to a fellow Portuguese resident of Rome. At the same time, Jácome was publicly recognized as a representative of the Portuguese New Christians before the Roman Curia, engaged as they were, in their struggle with the Portuguese crown after King John III (1502-1557) moved to introduce a Spanish style tribunal of the Inquisition into the realm in 1531.\textsuperscript{13}

António da Fonseca was the first member of the family to remain in Rome, where the family itself would make important inroads into the city, becoming integrated as a \textit{bona fide} Roman family, with its importance and prestige represented through palaces and chapels.\textsuperscript{14} António himself left an indelible mark on the city in form of a family chapel in the Spanish National dell’unione delle corone (1550-1640).\textsuperscript{“}: \textit{Roma y España. Un crisol de la cultura europea en la Edad Moderna}, coordinador Carlos José Hernando Sánchez, (2007) 847-874.

\textsuperscript{11} The information is derived from a seventeenth century description of the Spanish National Church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli. ms. 1245, ASC, Fol. 26 r.

\textsuperscript{12} On the question of family ties between the Fonseca and Paz families see the upcoming article by Susana Bastos Mateus and myself: “A sixteenth century voyage of legitimacy: the paths of Jácome and António da Fonseca, from Lamego to Rome and beyond”: \textit{Hispania Judaica}, (in print.)

\textsuperscript{13} See my article “Portugal in Rome: Glimpses of the Portuguese New Christian representation in Rome through the Archivio di Stato of Rome”: www.giornealedistoria.net, 3 (2010).


Church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, the present day church of Nostra Signora del Sacro Cuore, situated in the center of Spanish influence in the city in the sixteenth century, Piazza Navona. It was first established to accommodate the remains of his wife, Antónia Luís, who died in 1582 and dedicated to the Resurrection, taking its cue from the recently founded Spanish confraternity of the Resurrection which had been established in 1579. In doing so Fonseca made a name for himself in the Spanish community, especially since both Portugal and Spain shared the same crown after 1580. The necessity to carve out a permanent, tangible and visible place for himself in the Iberian communities in the Eternal City was obviously not lost on him. The chapel with António and Antónia’s ornate marble tombs, and embelished with frescoes by Italian Mannerist painters Baldassare Croce (1558-1628) and Cesare Nebbia (1536-1614) they still grace the church, in one of the few chapels to have survived from that period.

The inventory, registered in Italian, occupies some ten folios and reveals a man of exquisite tastes and of considerable means. Paintings, some of them portraits of popes and Portuguese monarchs, apparently adorned the walls of his Roman home. Fine clothes in velvet and damask attest to his social standing in the city. Objects in precious materials such as mother-of-pearl, fine porcelain and majolica demonstrate that he was a man of taste, intent on amassing rare objects which were hard to come by, as much for his personal enjoyment and that of his family, as with a view to consolidate and render his prestige in the city visible.

Portugal, with its empire, which extended itself to the Indian ocean, Africa, and Brazil could be said to have acted as a kind of intermediary or bridge between Europe and Asia, a means by which luxury goods and ideas


17 Notari del’Auditore della Camara Apostolica, 1055, fol. 438 r-444 v.
were exchanged. As a merchant linked to commercial interests in the farflung Portuguese empire, Fonseca’s home contained objects which evoked links to the East (and Far East) and the Americas. They range from objects for everyday use made with materials which came from the Orient, to objects which could be deemed exotic and of Asian provenance. As in the case of objects of Far Eastern and Indian provenance collected by different members of the Portuguese royal family throughout the sixteenth century, the active search for such exotic objects evinces a desire to have one’s personal living quarters suffused with exceptional items for personal pleasure, intellectual interest and as showcase pieces for exhibition.

While it would perhaps be an exaggeration to speak of Fonseca as possessing a veritable kunstkammer, it is, nonetheless obvious that his objects were intended to be admired and displayed by Fonseca and his family for the steady stream of clients which must have passed through his house, since it was there that he conducted his affairs. As the most prominent Portuguese banker and merchant in the city with unparalleled prestige in the Portuguese community in the city and, since 1582, a recognized figure among the Spanish in Rome as well, Fonseca must have taken great care in organizing the space in which he received his clients and conducted his affairs. The objects themselves tell us as much about Fonseca, and the image that he wished to project of a cultivated, worldwise, affluent, Portuguese man of means.

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The Portuguese inventories

The inventory made out on February 17, 1588 abounds in references to objects which can certainly be deemed exceptional and exotic. It mentions at least twenty-one bezoar stones, a solid, stone-like formation derived from the stomach of animals, generally goats, known since Antiquity for its alleged curative powers and as an antidote against poison. With the expansion of international trade and the study of *materia medica*, especially by humanist physicians of the sixteenth century, their procurement was given a renewed impetus. Prominent merchants like the Fuggers actively sought out exotic objects to constitute *Wunderkammeren* both for their delight and for the purpose of presenting themselves as prosperous and refined collectors. The second half of the sixteenth century saw the beginning of a flurry of private collections of natural and exotic objects which would grow exponentially in the seventeenth century, especially in a court such as that of Rome. It is significant that ten of these bezoar stones are called *orientali*, whereas another ten are claimed to be from the New World, *del Peru*: a telling testimony to Fonseca’s collecting acumen given the fact that Peruvian bezoar stones were only known just a decade before

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Fonseca’s inventory was written.\textsuperscript{23} In addition, he had two cups carved from “unicorn” or narwhal horns.\textsuperscript{24}

Interspersed with the inventory made out for António Pinto on February 17, 1588 were four lists of objects which bore different dates, all copied out by the same hand: one in which the objects were stored in a green credenza (\textit{credentia verde}), another in a leather box (\textit{caixa encourada}), yet another in a box near a window “near the spices” (\textit{Na quinta caixa a par das Jenellas roupa oje 28 de dezembro 1587 onde esta a especiaria}) and the last in an Indian box, presumably near the window of Fonseca’s bedchamber (\textit{caixa da India que esta a par da janella na Câmara do Senhor}), made out in Portuguese, on September 12, 1587, December 28 and December 29, 1587 respectively, although these dates were later crossed out and a later date, March 1, 1588, was added by the same hand which redacted the official inventory.\textsuperscript{25} The list, a partial inventory of just some of the objects possessed by Fonseca, was likely made at the behest of the Portuguese banker himself, elderly and perhaps already ill, and in Portuguese, possibly written by a Portuguese notary or even by Fonseca himself. At one point in the list, some pearl buttons belonging to Monsignor António Pinto are mentioned dated December 29, 1587, stating that they are to be left to Pinto on December 30 in anticipation of the new year (à espera do ano bom). The annotation further reinforces the idea that the list would seem to have been made out for Fonseca’s personal use. Throughout, several items are crossed out which could indicate that these partial lists could have been referred to after compiling the inventory on February 17 and that the crossed out items were no longer in the house. The Portuguese lists are published here along with the images of the documents themselves.

\textsuperscript{23} Marcia Stephenson, “From Marvelous Antidote to the Poison of Idolatry: The Transatlantic Role of Bezoar Stones During the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries”: \textit{Hispanic American Historical Review}, 90.1 (2010) 3-39.

\textsuperscript{24} Notari del’Auditore della Camara Apostolica, 1055, fol. 438 v. ASR.

\textsuperscript{25} Notari del’Auditore della Camara Apostolica, 1055, Fols. 445 r, 448 r, 447 r, 448 r. ASR. I am indebted to Dr. Pedro Pinto for his transcription of the list. The images of the documents are published at the end of the transcription of the texts with the permission of the Italian Ministry of Culture under the number ASR 53/2012.

As in the case of the list of his possessions made out upon his death in 1588, the Portuguese inventories grant us a glimpse into the world of a man who evidently was intent on collecting precious objects of Oriental provenance, some of which could be considered exotic. The list mentions for instance, two Maldive coconut shells (dous cocos grandes de maldiva), which, as the *Lodoicea Maldivica*, were held to cure a number of ailments, prevent others, and serve as an antidote for poison.26 The presence of two goblets, ostensibly made with unicorn’s horns one of which would seem to have been encased in a kind of boat form (*um copo de unicórnio com sua barca*), is further testimony to his interest in acquiring exceptional objects. As a prominent Portuguese merchant these objects must have been easier for him to obtain than for other merchants and are testimony to activities as an intermediary between Asia, which he was in contact with on account of his profession, and the court of Rome where he resided.

Aside from these exceptional objects which, it could be claimed, originated in India, were a considerable amount of precious objects of European manufacture. The lists contain a pearl from Castile, gilded goblets, two gilded vases from Central Europe, executed in a South German style, *dous vasos dourados altos d’Alemagna*, a goblet and a pepper container encased in some kind of container (*hum copo e huma pimenteira dourada em barca*), two gilded ewers with lids (*dous goumis dourados em barcas*) and two gilded trays (*duas bendejas douradas*).

The inventory also mentions several objects which linked Fonseca to important figures in Rome belonging to Curial circles, objects which may even have been pawned to him. He apparently had in his possession fifteen silver plates which belonged to the patriarcha albano, possibly Tolomeo Gallio (1526-1607), the bishop of Albano. The list further mentions two cups (*duas tassas*) with the coats of arms of the Cardeal Farnez, probably

Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589), a prominent member of the college of cardinals and an important patron of the arts. In addition it mentions pots belonging to one Monsignor Serafino who could be tentatively identified with Monsignor Serafino de Oliveira Razzali (1531-1609), a judge of the Sacred Rota then residing in Rome. The presence of these objects belonging to figures of importance at the Roman court indicate the dealings Fonseca quite possibly had with them during the more than thirty years that he lived in Rome.

The Eastern and Western items present in these partial inventories attest to António da Fonseca’s firm ensconcement in Rome, his position as a prominent Portuguese merchant-banker, and as a recognized community leader among the Iberian residents in the city. His home and the objects in it, the seat of his business dealings, must have commanded a considerable deal of awe and respect. This was underscored by the court portraits he owned and prominently hung in his residence, which visually confirmed his links to Portuguese court, while his exotic objects which reflected Portugal’s commercial empire, showed how Fonseca remained intimately connected to his former country. His considerable holdings of Asian exotic objects evoke Fonseca’s curiosities, interests, and the notion of distant lands. Fonseca’s stately Roman dwelling can be said to have constituted a veritable Portuguese enclave in the heart of the Eternal City, and due to the numerous objects he amassed, he recreated the ostentation, opulence and exoticism of the Portugal with its expanding and budding empire, he had left behind.

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Lista da ropa que está na Credentia verde.

<Die prima Martij 1588.>

Item dous cocos grandes de maldiua, hum em barco e outro não
Item hum copo de maldiua com seu pe de argento dourado e guarnecido em huma barça
Item hum copo de Vnicornio com sua barça
Item dous vidros hum com balsamo e outro com olio d’abeto
Item hum papel de tacamaca

28 Item trinta cinco pratos de estanho
Item cinco scudellas do mesmo piquenas e mehãs com orellas
Item mais outros dous pratinhos do mesmo e hua salserinha
Item hum copo d’onicornio
Item hum relogio d area metido em huma cuberta
Item hum baril de pao piqueno uazio
Item huma caxetinha laurada com <5>29 pemteis ss 2. brancos 3. negros em que esta hum com dentes meaos
Item pucaros d’estremoz e duas culheres e hum garfo de prata
Item a perola que veo de Castella
Item cinco pedacos de bejouin e 30, huma scatula com dous poucos de bejouin
Item hum relogio velho de latão dourado e laurado
Item hum canestrinho e dentro hum pouco de pao pera cozer com aqua
Item tres maos de marfim com cabos longos duas vermelhas e huma branca

28 Cancelled out: “Item outro com hum pouco de mexoação”.
29 Cancelled out: “dous”.
30 Cancelled out: “hum piqueno de [...]”.

Fol. 446 r

Prata que esta na 4. Caixa emcourada na Camara do senhor

<Die prima Martij 1588.>

Item hum bocal e basil metidos em barças de Monsenhor Serafino
Item hum 32 prato grande 33 em barça de couro vermelho
Item hum 34 salero grande em barça
Item dous gounis dourados em barças
Item outros dous gounis sem barca hum com coperchia e outro sem ella.
Item hum perfumador 35 em barça
Item dous vasos dourados altos d alemagna
Item huma broca com sua coperchia e asa.
Item hum esfriador em barça,
Item outo castisaes em que emtrao dous pequennos
Item trinta <e> outo pratos de prata em que emtrão 12 mais cauos <dico trenta noue>
Item duas albarradas de prata brancos
Item <tredici> 36 Culheres de prata <13>
Item humas temporas [tisouras] de espauitar
Item tres cultellos com manichos de prata, outo manico de prata sem cultello
Item <trenta noue>37 garfos de prata <39>
Item duas tassas de bastiães
Item outra taça que comprei do fuseiro
Item duas tassas com as armas do Cardeal farnez
Item duas tassas de bicos
Item tres Calderinhas de asa., e huma de manico
Item hum bosal de Cauallo com campainhas de prata.
Item tres pimenteis
Item hum pichilino dourado
Item hum tinteiro e huma pouera de prata quadrada.
Item huma escudella de prata de orelhas.
os botões de perolas de Monsenhôr Antonio pinto,, dej os ao dito senhor Antonio pinto em casa a 30 de dezembro bespera de ano bom – 38

31 Cancelled out: “oje 29 de dezembro 1587”.
32 Illegible.
33 Cancelled out: “e dous”.
34 Illegible.
35 Cancelled out: “s”.
36 Cancelled out: “outo noue”.
37 Cancelled out: “vinte noue”.
38 Cancelled out: “hum prato com as armas do senhor”.

Item quinze pratos de argento do patriarca albano em huma seruilletta
Item hua tassa e dous Casticaes em huma seruilletta
Item hua caixetta de preta quadra
40
Item hum pardio [?] dourado com sua cuberta
Item huma salua baixa
Item cinco saleiros .3. com cuberta e dous sem ella
Item huma tassa pequenna
Item <dois>39 coupos chão de pe basso. 2
Item hua pimenteira e saleiro
Item hum coupo e hua pimenteira dourada em barça
Item hum biqueiro dourado em barça
Item hum biqueiro dourado em barca
Item seis fiqueiros cheos e hum vazio
Item seis garfos noue cultellos nos quaes entrão dous com mamcas [sic] brancas em huma vainha.
Item huma escatula com 22 cultellos e hum garfo
Item outra com tesouras.
Item hum pistone.
Item hum coltelli E vna vaggina.

39 Cancelled out: “Na quinta caixa a par das Jenellas roupa oje 28 de dezembro 1583 onde esta a especiaria”.
40 Cancelled out: “Item hum perfumador”.
41 Cancelled out: “hum”.

Caixa da Índia que esta a par da janella na Camara do Senhor

<die prima Martij 1588.>

Item huma casetta com medalhas de couros
Item hum elo de Coremagio de pano de linho vsado
Item huma Camisa velha com o colar lucio [?] laurado
Item huma Camisa piccola laurada de seda roxa
Item huma fadra de fuetagna
Item tres pedacos de huma colcha pequennos
Item hum outro elo de Cortinha
Item hum elo de cortinha rotto da Índia
Item huma Camisa velha com o colar lucio [?] laurado
Item huma corridiza da Índia
Item dezanoue chofias [cofias] vermelhas de dona
Item quatro pecas de seruillettes sotils
Item tres pecas de seruillettes grossos
Item tres toualhas de credenza
Item huma peça de toalhas de Credenza enteira
Item huma seruillette nouo
Item duas bandejas douradas
Item hum pedaco de bombasina velho que foy sinual
Item noue seruillettes velhos
Item dous lencoes velhos
Item quatro enxugadores velhos
Item dous fadretas
Item dous pedacos pequenos de panno de linho
Item huma caixetta de veludo vermelho em que estão os penhores de don Hernando de Avalos
Item dous casticaes 42 outo garfos e outo culheres de prata do dito

42 Cancelled out: “29 de dezembro 1587”.
43 Cancelled out: “do”.

hua peca de Causalam [sic]44
tres meus pecas de bombasim45
hum pedacetto de bombazim
alguns pedacettos de raco [raso] veludo46
hum cordão uermelho de hum pauilhão
Resumo: Este texto trata de listas de objetos que pertenciam a um importante banqueiro português em Roma, António da Fonseca. As listas, compiladas alguns meses antes da sua morte, em fevereiro de 1588, revelam um homem de gostos e interesses refinados. Indicam, em particular, uma abundância de objetos de proveniência oriental, que podem ser considerados exóticos: pedras bezoar e objetos supostamente feitos de chifres de unicórnio. Os objetos existentes em sua casa refletem os seus interesses e atividades como proeminente banqueiro português, ligado a um império que se estendia ao Oriente, Àfrica e ao Oceano Índico.

Palavras-chave: Unicórnio; bezoar; Roma, Português; inventário.

Resumen: El presente texto se ocupa de listas de objetos que pertenecían a un importante banquero portugués en Roma, António da Fonseca. Las listas, reunidas algunos meses antes de su muerte en febrero de 1588, nos dejan ver a un hombre de gustos e intereses refinados. Nos muestran, de forma particular, una abundancia de objetos de procedencia oriental que se pueden considerar exóticos: piedras bezoares y objetos realizados supuestamente con cuernos de unicorno. Los objetos que se encuentran en su casa reflejan sus intereses y actividades como un distinguido banquero portugués, vinculado a un imperio que se extendía hacia Oriente, África y el Océano Índico.

Palabras clave: Unicornio; bezoar; Roma, Portugués; inventario.

Résumé: Ce texte étudie les listes d’objets qui appartenaient à un important banquier portugais à Rome, António da Fonseca. Les listes, effectuées quelques mois avant sa mort, en février 1588, révèlent que c’était un homme raffiné en matière de goûts et d’intérêts. Elles possèdent, en particulier, un nombre abondant d’objets d’origine orientale, qui peuvent être considérés exotiques: des pierres de bézoard et des objets apparemment faits de cornes d’unicorne. Les objets se trouvant dans sa demeure sont le reflet même des intérêts et des activités du réputé banquier portugais, qui se trouvait lié à un empire qui s’étendait à l’Orient, à l’Afrique et à l’Océan indien.

Mots-clé: unicorn; bêzoard; Rome, portugais; inventaire.