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The Ceremonial Possession of a City: Ambassadors and their Carriages in Early Modern Rome,

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Abstract: The carriage in early modern Rome assumed a powerful role in displaying pretentions to power for the city's aristocracy and clergy. Early modern ambassadors—as representatives of their states—recognised the potential of carriages as a means of broadcasting the honour and prestige of their princes and asserting their states' spatial and ceremonial hegemony in the streets of the papal capital. Ambassadors invested huge sums in purchasing expensive carriages, outfitting them with lavish decorations, and maintaining a retinue to follow them throughout the city. As they made their way through Rome in their carriages, ambassadors performed their state's authority by laying claim to the city's space. As such, the carriages became fraught with political tensions, often leading to violent confrontations between rival ambassadors and their retinues. This paper will argue that ambassadors used carriages as a ceremonial means of possessing the city's space for their respective states.

Key Words: Rome; carriages; ambassadors; entries; Lamego; Los Veles

Several months after his election, a new pope ritually claimed his city in a procession from St. Peter's Basilica, see of the papacy, to St. John Lateran, see of the bishopric of Rome. Once at the Lateran, the pope sat upon his throne and took part in a series of private ceremonies that signaled his newly acquired authority as Bishop of Rome. Masters of Ceremonies and other members of the Curia called this procession the *possesso* since the pope took possession of his city by winding his way through its most important civic and baronial spaces. Along the way the city greeted him as a triumphal hero, erecting arches and cheering the procession as it made its way to St. John Lateran.[1] Throughout the rest of his pontificate, the pope would participate in myriad public rituals that required him to process about the city, spatially demarcating his power and authority on a regular basis.

However, popes were not the only actors to stake a claim to the political and ceremonial space of the Roman stage. Elites, both secular and ecclesiastical, competed and clashed for honour and splendour in the streets and squares of early modern Rome. As Laurie Nussdorfer and Joseph Connors have shown, Roman elites of all stripes played out urban antagonisms and

[1] On the *possesso*, see I. Fosi, "Court and City in the Ceremony of the Possesso in the Sixteenth Century", in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome 1492-1700*, eds. G. Signorotto and M. A. Visceglia (Cambridge, 2002), 31-52; J. M. Hunt, *The Vacant See in Early Modern Rome: A Social History of the Papal Interregnum* (Leiden, 2016), 257-63; M. A. Visceglia, *Morte e elezione del papa: Norme, riti e conflitti: L'Età moderna* (Rome, 2013), 471-88.

aggressions through the domination of the city's precious space.[2] Old baronial families and parvenus alike built imposing façades that projected magnificence and collective strength onto urban fabric; often commanding the city squares and overshadowing the homes of their rivals.[3] The need to impose individual and family honour even featured in churches where private chapels, complete with tombs, altarpieces, and coats of arms, vied for the attention of the pious. Although onerous, the investment in these building projects repaid elites in the possession of cultural capital and influence at the papal court, symbolised by the control of key areas of Rome.

No members of Rome's disparate elite claimed more spatial dominance in the city than the resident ambassadors of the great crowned heads of Catholic Europe and of the constellation of minor powers that dotted the Italian peninsula. Ambassadors, too, attempted to awe the papal court and the city with commanding palaces (usually rented from allies), elaborate processions on national feast days, and a host of ceremonies, often related to royal births and coronations, that accorded great portions of urban space to their princes.[4] Indeed, the ambassador, as well as his liveried servants and minions, came to embody the person of the prince and his state.[5] Consequently, it was not enough for the ambassador to project his prince's reputation and power onto the urban landscape. He also had to be aggressive in the defense of his prince's honour and in challenging rival ambassadors' honour.

In the seventeenth century no object represented ambassadorial power more on the streets than the carriage. From a novelty of the early sixteenth century, used mostly by aristocratic women, to a necessity for any honourable gentleman of the seventeenth century, the carriage came to dominate the streets of Baroque Rome.[6] Ambassadors began to incorporate them into their sumptuous entries through Porto del Popolo, in trips to papal audiences, and in daily outings throughout the city. Ambassadors consciously claimed space through the carriage, as it had come to serve as a mobile representation of both their state and their prince in the streets. Decorated with the symbols of state and followed by a cortège of liveried servants and grooms, the carriage became a prince's ceremonial face.

This article will examine ambassadors' use of the carriage to perform their states' assertions of power and authority in seventeenth-century Rome.[7] The carriage, a highly mobile extension of the palace, allowed ambassadors to extend their presence into the streets. In both quotidian outings and ritual entries ambassadors used carriages to enact the presence of their

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[2] J. Connors, *Alleanze e inimicizie: L'Urbanistica di Roma barocca* (Rome, 2005); L. Nussdorfer, "The Politics of Space in Early Modern Rome", *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. 42 (1997), 161-82.

[3] L. Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton, NJ, 1992), 33-44.

[4] T. J. Dandelet, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700* (New Haven, CT, 2001); M. A. Visceglia, *La città rituale: Roma e le sue cerimonie in età moderna* (Rome, 2002), 119-90; T. Osborne, "The House of Savoy and the Theatre of the World: Performances of Sovereignty in Early Modern Rome", in *Sabaudian Studies: Political Culture, Dynasty, and Territory, 1400-1700*, ed. M. Vester (Kirksville, MO, 2013), 167-90.

[5] A. de Wicquefort, *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions* (Amsterdam, 1730), 5.

[6] On carriages in Rome, see P. Burke, "Conspicuous Consumption in Seventeenth-Century Italy", in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, 1986), 139-140; J. Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale dans le seconde moitié du XVIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1955), vol. 2, 443-46; J. M. Hunt, "Carriages, Violence, and Masculinity in Early Modern Rome", *I Tatti: Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. 17 (2014), 175-96; W. Lotz, "Gli 883 cocchi della Roma del 1594", in *Studi offerti a Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta* (Rome, 1973), 247-66.

[7] On performance in Rome, see the collection of essays: *Performativity and Performance in Baroque Rome*, eds. P. Gillgren and M. Snickare (Burlington, VT, 2012).

monarch, to trumpet his honour and magnificence to court and city, and to lay claim to urban space for their states. Thus, through the carriage ambassadors ritually asserted state hegemony at the papal capital, hub of international diplomacy in early modern Europe. Naturally conflicts over precedence and right of way erupted in this agonistic arena, the *teatro del mondo*, where cutting a good figure at court, and by extension, in the streets, was crucial to honour.[8] Indeed, competition over possession of city space produced notorious altercations throughout the seventeenth century. Carriages were consciously targeted by rivals, which resulted in the infamous contest between Taddeo Barberini and the ambassador of Venice in 1631, and the egregious assault on the Portuguese ambassador's carriage by the Spanish ambassador in 1642. In the latter incident, the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis de Los Velez, instructed his henchmen to attack the Bishop of Lamego's carriage since it was the most conspicuous symbol of the authority of a newly independent Portugal. This attack on the bishop's mode of transportation was not only a proxy for war, but also an effective and most visible means of repudiating Portuguese claims of legitimacy. By assailing the bishop's carriage, Los Velez denied the Portuguese ambassador (and by extension, the Portuguese king) a role in performance of magnificence and splendour, which was necessary for the possession of honour and power at the papal court. Thus, Rome's labyrinthine streets could become a microcosm of the greater conflicts that wracked seventeenth-century Europe.

The Culture of the Carriage

The carriage, a Hungarian invention, first made its way to Rome through Ippolito d'Este, archbishop of Esztergom and later cardinal, in the early sixteenth century. For much of the sixteenth century, the carriage was primarily a female mode of transport.[9] Men, including ambassadors, preferred to ride horseback, a distinctly masculine mode of transport. However, by the pontificate of Pius IV Medici (r. 1559-64) men had so taken to the carriage that the usually mild-mannered pope thundered several times in consistories to leave the carriage to the women and even admonished the clergy to ride in "ecclesiastical majesty" on horseback.[10] But it was too late. During the subsequent pontificates of Gregory XIII Boncompagni (r. 1572-85) and Sixtus V Peretti (r. 1585-90) the carriage had become one of the crucial means to convey magnificence and power in Rome. Despite his well-known austerity, Sixtus V accepted the necessity of carriages in contributing to the splendour of the papal court. Part of the massive building project undertaken during his reign included the widening of the streets to allow carriages easy passage through the city.[11]

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[8] M. Rosa, "The 'World's Stage': The Court of Rome and Politics in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century", in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, eds. G. Signorotto and M. A. Visceglia (Cambridge, 2002), 78-98.

[9] On the early use of the carriage by women, see: J. Munby, "Les origins du coche", in *Voitures, cheveaux et attalages du XVIe au XIXe siècle*, eds. D. Roche and D. Reytier (Paris, 2000), 75-83; J. Munby, "From Carriage to Coach: What Happened?" in *The Art, Science and Technology of Medieval Travel*, eds. R. Bork and A. Kahn (Burlington, VT, 2008), 41-53.

[10] G. Gozzadini, *Delle antiche carrozze e segnatamente di due Veronesi* (Bologna, 1862), 228.

[11] On papal efforts to accommodate existing streets to the carriage and to build wider thoroughfares, see the thoughts of the contemporary architect D. Fontana in *Della trasportatione dell'obelisco Vaticano et delle fabriche di Nostro Signore Papa Sisto V* (Rome, 1590), 101-02. Also see: C. Burroughs, "Absolutism and the Rhetoric of Topography: Streets in the Rome of Sixtus V", in *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, eds. Zeynep Çelik, Diane Favro, and R. Ingersoll (Berkeley, CA, 1994), 189-202.

Ambassadors recognised the importance of the carriage as a way of projecting power and performing authority through the streets, both in the formal entries that they made into the city and in daily visits to allies and friends.[12] As an emblem of magnificence, carriages, especially state carriages, were decorated with their princes' coat of arms, and transported honour and power throughout the city in a way that fixed palaces and family squares could never accomplish. Moreover, an ambassador's carriage was often followed by a train of carriages belonging to allied cardinals and nobles, and by a bevy of liveried grooms and servants. Through their mobility, and the often formidable size of their cortèges, carriages allowed ambassadors to spatially and ceremonially possess the city. Popes inconsistently responded to the spectacular popularity of the carriage and its use by ambassadors. On one hand, popes encouraged ambassadors to ride about in carriages as means to reflect the pomp and magnificence of the centre of the Catholic world. On the other hand, popes tried in vain to stop the carriage from invading all aspects of ceremonial life, especially the processions that took place on feast days.[13]

Ambassadorial carriages required a certain degree of ostentation to broadcast the honour of prince and state (and needless to say the ambassador's personal honour as well). Of primary importance was the number of horses that pulled the carriage, especially when the ambassador made his entry or visited the pope. By the early seventeenth century elites considered six horses, with their sheer ability to dominate the street, the optimal number to display magnificence to the citywide audience.[14] Equally essential were the carriages. Baroque pomp was key and, like the façade of Baroque palaces, the exteriors of the carriages were ornately decorated with silver and gold gilt, and draped in velvet and silk cloth that sported the coat of arms of the ambassador's prince. In addition, the horses that drew the carriage were decorated in trappings of the same "colours" as the liveried servants, and often wore silk ribbons on their manes and tails. These carriages and their accoutrements, all the work of local craftsmen, proved to be quite costly. The diarist Giacinto Gigli, an enthusiastic follower of processions and ceremonies, zealously jotted down the costs and decorations of the cavalcade of cardinals and ambassadors entering Rome in his journal. In 1633, he watched a special envoy from France enter the city in three carriages, all drawn by six horses. The carriages were decorated in golden brocade and black velvet, which, in his estimation, must have cost "many thousands of *scudi*."[15] Five years later he witnessed the special envoy from the Holy Roman Emperor, Prince Johann Anton von Eggenberg, enter the city in a procession that ended in an empty carriage of state drawn by six horses and decorated in silver, worth 35,000 *scudi*. Awed by this display of magnificence, Gigli gushed: "One has never seen a thing more proud."[16] The French

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[12] M. Olin, "Diplomatic Performances and Applied Arts in Seventeenth-Century Europe", in *Performativity and Performance in Baroque Rome* (Burlington, VT, 2012), 25-44. See also: M. Fagiolo, *La festa a Roma dal Rinascimento al 1870*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1997), vol. 1, 182.

[13] Through the Governor of Rome, popes issued several decrees (*bandi*) that regulated carriages. See Archivio di Stato di Roma [hereafter ASR], Governatore, Bandi 410 and 411. The decrees are too numerous to list individually, but there are thirty-nine extant ones covering mostly the carnival races (the *palii*), papal cavalcades and Corpus Christi processions. Enforcement of these decrees was irregular, depending greatly on the personality of the reigning popes and their governors.

[14] J. Soldani, *Satire del Senatore Iacopo Soldani* (Florence, 1751), 111-12.

[15] G. Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, ed. M. Barberito, 2 vols. (Rome, 1994), vol. 1, 235.

[16] "*che non si vidde mai cosa superba*": Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 1, 312-13.

ambassador, not to be outdone by his Imperial rival, met the pope at the Quirinal Palace in 1647 "with a pomp of five carriages," three of which were led by six horses. His cortège consisted of some 210 carriages, carrying more than a thousand Roman and French prelates and notables. With this cortège the French state baldly occupied the ceremonial space of the city.[17]

Sometimes the onerous task of buying and outfitting these carriages cost too much, especially considering the great sums that Roman barons, ambassadors and their states, and cardinals spent to maintain their sumptuous lifestyles. As the grand tourist Richard Lassels indicated in his guidebook, to maintain a carriage many families had to forgo small pleasures.[18] Ambassadors often taxed the resources of their states to maintain a carriage. In a letter to Duke Charles Emmanuel II of 15 March 1655, the Savoyard agent, Onorato Gino, complained that

> beyond the obligation imposed by the quality of the service to Your Highness, I have also been constrained in the past pontificate to sustain the office [of ambassador] with all the greater decorum that is possible, both of house and of carriages, servants and livery […] to acquire to myself some worth at the court.[19]

The words of the Florentine satirist, Jacopo Soldani, in his invective "Contra il lusso", ring true: "there are many estates dragged behind a carriage."[20] The carriage alone, as Gigli's observations have shown, could cost up to tens of thousands of *scudi*. Moreover, his estimates did not include the expense of keeping horses, hiring grooms and coachmen, and renting spaces to park the carriage (for ambassadors whose palaces did not have an entryway large enough to accommodate the vehicle).[21]

As the example of the French ambassador of 1647 illustrates, ambassadorial carriages ritually took over the city with cortèges that could include hundreds of coaches in addition to soldiers on horseback and pages on foot. Although entries, as will be seen, saw large numbers of carriages connected to the ambassador enter the city, quotidian outings – visits to consistories on official business, private audiences with allies, and trips to operas and other entertainments – also saw the ambassador's carriages trailed by a train of carriages. Several carriages always accompanied the ambassador, even when he went out for fun, that is to *andare a spasso*, to ride about in a carriage for no other purpose than to see the city and to be seen.[22]

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[17] Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 2, 504-05.

[18] R. Lassels, *An Italian Voyage, or, A Compleat Journey through Italy in Two Parts* (London, 1698), 10. On the difficulty of maintaining status through consumption that included the ownership of carriages, see: D. S. Chambers, "The Economic Predicament of Renaissance Cardinals", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, vol. 3 (1966), 21-58; Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, vol. 2, 436-37.

[19] "*oltre l'obligo imposto dalla qualità del servigio di SA, sono anco stato astretto nel Pontificato passato a sostener la carica con tutto quell maggior decoro che mi fu possibile si di casa, di carrozze, servitù, e livrea […] per acquistarmi qualche stima in questa corte*": Archivio di Stato di Torino, Carteggio diplomatico, mazzo 66, letter of 15 March 1655.

[20] "*Molti poderi andar dietro una treggia*": Soldani, *Satire*, 104.

[21] The anonymous French author of a guidebook on Rome, written between 1677 and 1681, concurred with Gigli, writing that the French ambassador had three carriages. His primary carriage, including its decorations and trappings, cost twenty thousand *scudi*. See: J. Connors and L. Rice, eds., *Specchio di Roma Barocca: Una guida inedita del XVII secolo* (Rome, 1991), 144.

[22] M. de Montaigne, *The Complete Works: Essays, Travel Journals, Letters*, trans. D. M. Frame (New York, 2003), 1168.

Certain streets and spaces lent themselves to this performative function of the carriage. The Via del Corso – the long street that connected the Piazza del Popolo to the Piazza di Venezia – could easily fit two carriages along its broad passage, lined with the palaces of notables on its path.[23] Those inside the carriage, with their curtains open, could display their magnificence to those looking from above at their balconies and windows. Meanwhile, in a mutual performance, grandees watching from their palaces could be seen by their social equals riding in carriages (as Montaigne astutely observed in his visit to Rome as early as 1580).[24] The Piazza Navona also served this performative purpose after Innocent X Pamphili (r. 1644-55) redesigned the square for carriages to ride around Bernini's Fountain of the Four Rivers.[25]

Fig. 1. Matthaeus Merian, *Roma*, 1640, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

The Ambassador's Triumphal Entry

Regular outings in carriages gave the ambassador the opportunity not only to showcase his own magnificence but to perform the power of his state in the *teatro del mondo* that was Rome. There was, however, no event more important in this regard than the official entry, made by both resident and extraordinary ambassadors.[26] Indeed, without the ritual entry his

[23] On the Corso, see: Connors and Rice, *Specchio di Roma Barocca*, 144-49.

[24] Montaigne, *Complete Works*, 1168. Elites were not the only "actors" performing from the balconies and windows of palaces. Montaigne noted in the same entry of his journal that courtesans displayed themselves to men in carriages, hoping to attract potential customers.

[25] Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 2, 631-32. For the location of Piazza Navona and Via del Corso, see Fig. 1.

[26] C. Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: The Rise of the Resident Ambassador* (Cambridge, 2015), 125-32; P. Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Politics* (Leiden, 2006), 183-97. For important insights on entries in early modern Venice, see: P. Fortini Brown, "Measured Friendship, Calculated Pomp: The

embassy was seen as invalid; in the early modern world, ritual performance made the man and his office.[27] The ritual of the entry consisted of two parts. First, there was the official entry into the city, generally through the northern gate, Porta del Popolo (see Fig. 1). Here the ambassador entered Rome in triumph with a train consisting of his baggage and household members, welcomed by his allies and by members of the papal family. The second part of the entry usually occurred a few days later and consisted of the official ambassadorial visit to the papal consistory at the Vatican or the Quirinal Palace, where the ambassador would perform ritual obeisance to the pope. For much of the sixteenth century, ambassadors preferred to ride in masculine majesty, to play on Pius IV's terms, when entering the city and when visiting the pope for their first meeting. By the early seventeenth century, ambassadors increasingly preferred a stately carriage to the horse. Even when ambassadors chose to display their virility and prowess by riding on horseback, they were accompanied by a carriage of state, drawn by six horses and followed by several carriages pulled by two horses.

The ritual entry, similar to princely advents in that the ambassador represented his lord's entrance into the city, dated to the papacy's definitive return from Avignon with the closing of the Council of Constance (1414-18) and developed through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[28] By the late sixteenth century the ritual had undergone significant changes. Typically, ambassadors entered through Porta del Popolo (the French ambassadors sometimes had the right to use the Porta Angelica, located near the Belvedere) after meeting with several papal relatives and allies near Bracciano. Closer to Rome, the ambassador's party was greeted at Villa Giulia by another papal greeting party, which often included the pope's cardinal-nephew. Generally, the ambassador spent the night at the villa and rendezvoused with noble allies who were resident at the Holy See, both Roman and expatriates from his home nation, along with his state's cardinal-protector. The next day this enlarged party was greeted by the civic and ecclesiastical elite of the Roman body politic that included the drummers of the Popolo Romano (the civic government situated on the Capitoline Hill) and mules carrying bishops' hats that represented the participation of the clergy.

By the first decade of the seventeenth century the carriage began to play a role in both parts of the entry.[29] Instead of being welcomed by elites on horseback, the ambassador and his train was met by a cavalcade of carriages that carried his hosts and was followed by crowds of onlookers. The number of carriages that received an ambassador reflected his power and magnificence. Competitions ensued between ambassadors, especially the French and the Spanish ambassadors who were frequently fierce enemies throughout the war-torn seventeenth century, over the number that greeted him. Contemporary observers attentively counted the number of carriages escorting each man. During much of 1622 the resident ambassadors from all over Europe and Italy made entries to perform fealty to Pope Gregory XV Ludovisi, who had been elected pope a year earlier. Newsletters during these months counted the number of

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Ceremonial Welcomes of the Venetian Republic", in *All the World's a Stage: Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Early Baroque*, eds. B. Wisch and S. Scott Munshower (University Park, PA, 1990), 136-86.

[27] Olin, "Diplomatic Performances and Applied Arts", 27-28. On the power of ritual to transform people and things, see: E. Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), 7-8.

[28] Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome*, 125-28. On princely advents, see the essays by L. M. Byrant and L. Attreed in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, eds. B. A. Hanawalt and K. L. Reyerson (Minneapolis, MN, 1994), 3-33, 208-31.

[29] Olin, "Diplomatic Performance and Applied Arts", 28-29.

carriages that accompanied each ambassador during his entry. French and Italian elites greeted the French ambassador, Noël Brulart de Sillery, showing their support for France's king with over one hundred carriages.[30] Minor powers, too, could muster a significant entourage of carriages. Papal officials and allied nobles greeted the ambassadors of the Duke of Mantua and the Duke of Parma, respectively in thirty and forty carriages.[31] Impressively, the carriages of the Mantuan ambassadors were all drawn by six horses. Even the ambassadors of the Grisons, despite its stout republican tradition, could muster several carriages.[32]

By the middle of the seventeenth century these numbers had skyrocketed since a magnificent ambassadorial entry had become an essential means of overawing the city, allies and rivals alike. The number of carriages had reached the hundreds, and the size of the greeting party prompted increased competition. In 1648 the French ambassador used rumour to inflate the number of carriages greeting him from 131 to 140 because the Spanish ambassador had previously entered the city with 140 carriages.[33] Constant competition among ambassadors spurred these numbers to greater heights. In 1650 the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of the Infantado, was met by three hundred carriages, many loaned to his Italian and Spanish allies by the Colonna and Ludovisi families.[34] Printed festival books ensured that an audience well beyond Rome knew of the magnificence of the ambassador's entry and of the ostentation of his carriages.[35]

Failure to greet ambassadors properly and honourably could provoke diplomatic squabbles and even skirmishes in the streets. In May 1638 the ambassador extraordinary of the Holy Roman Empire, Johann Anton von Eggenberg, felt slighted when the greeting party that met him at Villa Giulia was an anemic affair. Besides a paucity of carriages, Urban VIII had neglected – probably intentionally according to court gossip – to send the Barberini cardinal-nephews out to greet him.[36] In response, rather than stage an official entry, von Eggenberg let it been known that he would go to Naples for two months, while secretly entering Rome with an attenuated and less ostentatious cortège. For the next several months the ambassador hammered out face-saving negotiations with the Barberini and the Masters of Ceremonies that would allow him to conduct a proper entry. Six months later, on a cold November day, von Eggenberg made his entry through Porta del Popolo after meeting the greeting party, consisting of Barberini nephews and the Popolo Romano. Despite the weather he entered with great pomp. Riding on horseback, perhaps to assert his masculinity to the crowds gathered to

[30] Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [hereafter BAV], Urbinate Latine 1091, t. 1, newsletters of 21 and 25 May 1622, fols. 374r, 394v.
[31] BAV, Urb.lat 1091, t. 1, newsletters of 18 March 1622, and 22 and 29 June 1622, fols. 188v-89r, 494r-v, 516v-17r.
[32] BAV, Urb.lat 1091, t. 1, newsletter of 1 January 1622, fol. 1r.
[33] I. Ciampi, *Innocenzo X Pamfili e la sua corte: Storia di Roma dal 1644 al 1655* (Rome, 1878), 213.
[34] I. Ciampi, *Innocenzo X Pamfili e la sua corte,* 213.
[35] For examples, see *Relazione della venuta e solenne entrata dell'eccellentissimo signor Carlo, sire de Créquy* (Rome, 1633); A. Gerardi, *Descrittione della solemissima entrata fatta in Roma dall'Eccellenza del Signor Duca di Cremau, Prencipe d'Ecchembergh, Ambascaitore straordinario per la Maestà Ceserea di Ferdinando III, Imperatore e Re de Romani* (Rome, 1638). The latter report conveniently neglected to discuss the problems that plagued von Eggenberg's entrance in the city, revealing the importance that ambassadors accorded the ritual.
[36] Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 1, 311. See also: Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, 188-90.

watch his entrance, the ambassador made his way into the city followed by several carriages; including a state carriage, gilded in silver and drawn by six horses.[37]

Episodes like this were all too common. This sort of competition could even lead to vehement street battles, in addition to ceremonial and diplomatic squabbles. In April 1646 the Spanish ambassador, Juan Alfonso Enríquez de Cabrera, felt slighted by Innocent X at his entrance into Rome.[38] As a previous viceroy of Naples, Cabrera demanded the honours due to his former office at his entry, but the pope refused him. More importantly, the ambassador slighted Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este, cardinal-protector of France and brother of the Duke of Modena, by not inviting him to take part in the cavalcade of carriages at his entry. At issue were the war between France and Spain and Este's acceptance of the position of cardinal-protector of France. These diplomatic antagonisms played themselves out in the entry.[39] At the time the French and the Spanish states were fighting over the Spanish-controlled Tuscan port of Piombino as well as facing off in the greater arena of the Thirty Years War (1618-48).

Este insisted that the Spanish ambassador meet him in person to offer an apology. Unable to get the pope or cardinals allied to the Spain to broker a peace, he sought to force the ambassador to accord him precedence in the streets. Following the slight, Este daily rode out in his carriage, "all festive and jubilant", taking great pleasure in going about *a spasso* in the hopes of encountering Cabrera and forcing him "to stop" and "to salute him."[40] Thereafter, each of the two grandees demanded that the other yield precedence upon meeting each other. A game of cat and mouse ensued as each man attempted to surprise the other in his carriage.[41] Moreover, each man began filling his palace with soldiers his carriage with vassals. Throughout the rest of the month, tensions ran high between the Spanish and the French allies of Este. These tensions finally exploded on the first of May as the carriage of the cardinal's French allies bumped into the carriage of the Spanish ambassador near the Gesù. Shots were fired and a massive skirmish broke out, leaving several French and Spanish nobles and many servants dead.[42] This episode and the numerous others recounted by contemporary diarists show how the carriages and cortèges of foreign powers routinely held the city and its spaces hostage, both by their sheer size and number, but also by the violence that they provoked.

Conflict, Competition and Reasons of State in the Streets

Competition among ambassadors also spilled into the everyday. With its tangle of narrow streets and alleys, Rome proved treacherous for cumbersome carriages and their retinues. Traffic signals and strictly enforced codified rules did not exist. However, the

[37] Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 1, 311-12.
[38] On this conflict see: Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 2, 468-71; Biblioteca Casanatense [hereafter BC], MS 1833, "Diario della città di Roma notato da Deone hora temi Dio", 31, 40-41, 43-46. Also see: Hunt, "Carriages, Violence, and Masculinity", 192-95.
[39] On the cardinal-protector, see: O. Poncet, "The Cardinal-Protectors of the Crowns in Rome during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century: The Case of France", in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, eds. G. Signorotto and M. A. Visceglia (Cambridge, 2002), 158-76.
[40] BC, MS 1833, "Diario della città di Roma", 34, 38.
[41] Hunt, "Carriages, Violence and Masculinity", 192-93. See also: BC, MS 1833, "Diario della città di Roma", 38; Wicquefort, *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions*, 257.
[42] Hunt, "Carriages, Violence and Masculinity", 194. See also: Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 2, 470-71.

governor of Rome did issue decrees forbidding carriages from interfering with processions on important feast days and commanding the wagons of peasants and porters to give way to the carriages of their social betters.[43] Nonetheless for the elites, including ambassadors, the chaos resulting from the lack of traffic rules was compounded by the competition for precedence. Honour could be lost or won simply by giving way to a rival ambassador's train.[44] This was all the more important when one considered that the honour of the individual ambassador represented the honour of his prince and state. Indeed, ambassadors sought to steal prestige from their state enemies, eagerly taking every opportunity to force others to yield to them and publicly gloating over victories.

By the late sixteenth century, to regulate precedence among elites, ill-defined rules of the road emerged that were partly based on the *ordo regum* and *ordo ducum* for the ambassadors of kings and dukes respectively. The two *ordines* themselves, established by Masters of Ceremonies in the early sixteenth century, never fixed in stone the place of ambassadors in the ritual hierarchy of the papal court.[45] More importantly, by the seventeenth century both were clearly outdated, with certain powers disappearing, such as the Kingdom of Portugal and the Duchy of Urbino, and others appearing, such as the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. These political vicissitudes created intense competition among the minor powers of Italy, who jockeyed for precedence at court and in the streets.[46] As Michael Levin has recently demonstrated, the great powers, particularly France and Spain, also played a game of ceremonial brinkmanship at the papal court.[47] Nor did the precedence established by *ordi* remained fixed, since, to the chagrin of ambassadors, Urban VIII accorded new powers of precedence to the Prefect of Rome and to the cardinals.[48]

The shifting location of the various powers in the pecking order of precedence played out in the streets. According to unspoken rules, which were later written down by Girolamo Lunadoro in his treatises on courtly ritual in papal Rome, whenever two grandees met, the less worthy must give way to the notable of greater status. Lunadoro wrote that "Both in visiting others and in finding oneself out for a ride through the city…in stopping the least worthy must be the first to stop and the last to leave."[49] Moreover, in stopping the less worthy had to salute his better. These rules could become rather complex: cardinals also had to give way to

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[43] ASR, Governatore, Bandi 410 and 411.

[44] On honour, see: T. V. Cohen, "The Lay Liturgy of Affront in Sixteenth-Century Italy", *Journal of Social History*, vol. 25 (1992), 857-77; E. Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta and Factions in Friuli during the Renaissance* (Baltimore, MD, 1993), 247-72; S. K. Taylor, *Honor and Violence in Golden Age Spain* (New Haven, CT, 2008), 17-64.

[45] M. J. Levin, "A New World Order: The Spanish Campaign for Precedence in Early Modern Rome", *Journal of Early Modern History*, vol. 6 (2002), 233-64. See also W. Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach", *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 52 (1980), 452-76; Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome*, 70-74.

[46] On the minor powers of Italy and their diplomatic goals, see: D. Frigo, "'Small States' and Diplomacy: Mantua and Modena", in *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy: The Structures of Diplomatic Practice, 1450-1800*, ed. D. Frigo (Cambridge, 2000), 147-75; T. Osborne, "The Surrogate War between the Savoys and the Medici: Sovereignty and Precedence in Early Modern Italy", *The International History Review*, vol. 29 (2007), 1-21.

[47] Levin, "A New World Order", 233-64.

[48] Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, 191.

[49] "*si nelle visite come anco nel trovarsi per la città a spasso […] nel fermarsi il men degno sia primo a fermare, e ultimo a partire*": G. Lunadoro, *Lo Stato presente o sia la relatione della corte di Roma* (Rome, 1635; repr. 1765), 111. See also the observations of the English travelers: Lassels, *Italian Voyage*, 16; P. Skippon, *An Account of a Journey Made thro' Part of the Low-Countries, Germany, Italy and France* (London, 1746), 684.

ambassadors and other foreigner dignitaries, and, in established opinion, to highly esteemed scholars.[50] Keeping up with the inexplicit rules could be daunting for ambassadors and cardinals new to Rome. Lunadoro warned his readers that "for not knowing these rules, I have seen many cardinals in a coach not stopping for ambassadors who became angered by this deed. In following these rules the occasions that give rise to disagreement could be avoided."[51] Of course, often both ambassadors and cardinals most likely feigned ignorance of the rules in order to save face and claim precedence.

As Rome was the hub of Catholic international politics in the seventeenth century, slights and arguments over precedence could lead to more than disagreements. The tensions surrounding right of way could explode into skirmishes and even cause ruptures in diplomatic relations. The diary of the beleaguered governor, Giovanni Battista Spada, painstakingly reveals the daily squabbles and fights that emerged when ambassadors met.[52] In late October 1635 the governor himself became involved in a "disagreement" with the ambassador of Malta over right of way. As he was about to turn onto the Corso, on his way to the Quirinal Palace to meet with Urban VIII**,** his carriage met that of the Maltese ambassador. The latter's coachman "impertinently began to strike the horses to pass forward and to cross the street before the governor [could do so]."[53] The ambassador failed to give precedence to the Governor of Rome – one of the highest ranking members of clergy outside the cardinalate and an official who could claim precedence over ambassadors. Moreover, the ambassador's coachman had used insulting terms as he passed the governor's carriage. Spada had his coachman take a side street so he could meet up again with the ambassador and upbraid him. Later, Spada demanded "satisfaction" and at the pope's behest the Maltese ambassador sent him a letter of apology. Both men conveniently blamed the coachman for his audacity in insulting the governor – a face-saving measure that protected the honour of both parties.[54] Meanwhile the coachman publicly received the *strappado*.[55] Tellingly, the Maltese ambassador made sure that the coachman was punished in his ordinary clothes rather the livery of the Knights of Saint John.

These "disagreements" could provoke street battles and cause diplomatic ruckuses. One famous quarrel over right away involving an ambassador in his carriage took place in 1631 between the ambassador of Venice and Taddeo Barberini, the lay nephew of Urban VIII. The incident evolved as a collective defence of ambassadorial rights in protest against Taddeo's pretentions and demands for precedence, and ended with a temporary breach in diplomatic relations between Venice and the Holy See. Earlier that spring Urban VIII had accorded his

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[50] Lunadoro, *Lo stato presente*, 112; on scholars, see also the opinion of the Dutch newsletter writer, Teodoro Ameyden, in Rome, BC, MS 1833, "Diario della città di Roma", 84.

[51] "*e per non sapersi questo termine, ho visto più Cardinali in un cocchio, non fermarsi ad Ambasciatori, li quali non restorno sodisfatti di quelle attione, però è da avvertirsi questo punto per fuggirsi l'occasione de' inconvenienti*": Lunadoro, *Lo stato presente*, 113.

[52] G. B. Spada, *Racconto delle cose più considerabili che sono occorse nel governo di Roma*, ed. M. T. Bonadonna Russo (Rome, 2004).

[53] "*impertimente cominciò à toccare i cavalli per passare avanti, et attraversare la strada al Governatore*": Spada, *Racconto delle cose*, 19-22. On the Knights of Malta, see: E. Buttigieg, *Nobility, Faith and Masculinity: The Hospitaller Knights of Malta, c. 1580-c. 1700* (London, 2001).

[54] On coachmen, see: C. Evitascandolo, *Il maestro di casa* (Viterbo, 1620), 57-59. See also: Hunt, "Carriages, Violence, and Masculinity", 186-88.

[55] That is he was tortured by being suspended in the air by means of a rope with weights attached to his legs. This would cause great pain and could even dislocate the shoulders.

nephew the office of Prefect of Rome. This mostly empty title had recently fallen vacant with the death of the last Della Rovere duke of Urbino, the office's traditional holders.[56] The bestowal of the prefecture on Taddeo was controversial enough among the ambassadors resident in Rome, but Urban sought to force luminaries to show deference to his lay nephew and accord him precedence in processions and other ceremonies linked to the papal court. Meanwhile, Taddeo took his newfound honour to another level, as he extended the domain of his precedence from the Vatican and Quirinal Palaces to the very streets of Rome. The inflated Barberini – like a proud peacock – travelled about the streets in an ostentatious carriage drawn by six horses, followed by a vast retinue of nearly eighty carriages and many grooms and footmen. Wherever he went, he demanded that Roman elites and resident ambassadors stop their carriages, salute him, and give way to his entourage.[57] Resident ambassadors, alarmed at this innovation and galled by both their loss of honour and Taddeo's pretention, refused to yield him precedence in the streets. Indeed, they refused to pass him in the streets despite the lay nephew's attempt to provoke encounters. Even traditional enemies, France and Spain, agreed to lay down their differences in mutual disdain for Taddeo and to protest his demands.[58]

No one complained more loudly than the Venetian ambassador, Gianni Pesaro, who refused to accord the Prefect any precedence. When called to a consistory to account for his objections in early September of 1631, he voiced angry complaints before the pope and his nephews.[59] Taddeo, for his part, was determined to wrest precedence from the Venetian ambassador. A few days later, Taddeo apparently bribed the ambassador's coachman to stop his carriage upon meeting him in the street. They had agreed upon a signal – Taddeo's coachman would drop his hat, indicating when the ambassador's coachman would stop. On 6 September the Venetian ambassador, in his carriage, was returning to his palace at San Marco along the Corso. Taddeo, informed by spies of the ambassador's whereabouts, appeared on the Corso and the signal was given. At the drop of the coachman's had, the Venetian ambassador's coachman stopped, forcing the ambassador to give the prefect the respect and precedence he so craved. Nevertheless, the ambassador saved face by shutting his blinds before heading back to his palace. Soon after, a skirmish broke out in the courtyard of the ambassador's palace between Venetians and papal guards sent to retrieve the coachman.

Pesaro hastily departed Rome soon after the incident, almost causing a rupture between the papacy and the Most Serene Republic. He returned several weeks later, but slighted the pope by refusing to meet him upon his entry, an affront that no Venetian ambassador had contemplated even during the Interdict Crisis of 1606.[60] Pesaro's response strikingly shows the tight connection between the ambassador's carriage and state honour. For the remainder of Urban's pontificate, ambassadors treated Taddeo as pariah, jealously guarding their honour and upholding their rights to precedence. Encounters in carriages with him were avoided, and few

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[56] Visceglia, *La città rituale*, 147-52. For the dynastic troubles of the Della Rovere, see: G. Montinaro, *Fra Urbino e Firenze: Politica e diplomazia nel tramonto dei Della Rovere, 1574-1631* (Florence, 2009). For lay nephews of the popes, see: J. M. DeSilva, "Articulating Work and Family: Lay Papal Relatives in the Papal States, 1420-1549", *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 69 (2016), 1-39.

[57] Hunt, "Carriages, Violence, and Masculinity", 189-90; P. Pecchai, *I Barberini* (Rome, 1959), 169-170.

[58] Wicquefort, *L'Ambassaduer et ses fonctions*, 343.

[59] Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 1, 209.

[60] Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 1, 210.

paid him the customary visits accorded a papal nephew. In 1641, for example, the Duke of Parma refused to visit the pope unless Taddeo was made to leave town – Rome was not big enough for the two princes and their entourages.[61] Only with the death of Urban VIII and the ascension of Innocent X in 1644 did the pope restore the right of the ambassadors to ritual precedence over the prefect.[62] Until then, Taddeo rode around Rome with little honour, prefect only in his own mind.

The tensions surrounding precedence and the carriage as a symbol of state, as well as the uncertain rules for precedence, can be seen in the violent assault on the carriage of the Portuguese ambassador by the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis de Los Velez in August 1642.[63] Spurred by the Portuguese Revolt of December 1640 and the Portuguese ambassador's bid to get papal recognition of his state's independence, the attack reveals the Spanish ambassador's recognition of the power of the carriage, both during the entry ritual and for everyday outings.[64] The fact that Los Velez specifically attacked the Portuguese ambassador is revealing as it shows that, through the carriage, a proxy war might be waged in the streets of Rome.

During the early phases of the War of Portuguese Restoration (1640-68), the Portuguese ambassador Miguel de Portugal, bishop of Lamego, left for Rome to meet with the pope. Naturally, Los Velez objected, seeing the ambassador as a traitor who supported João IV, considered to be a usurper of the Portuguese royal title held by Philip IV of Spain. Before Lamego's arrival in November 1641, the Spanish ambassador demanded that the pope forbid the bishop an entry with the usual pomp and panoply accorded other ambassadors extraordinary. According to Los Velez these honours would ritually recognise João IV as an independent sovereign just one year after the start of the Portuguese revolt.[65] Los Velez prevailed; the Portuguese bishop entered Porta del Popolo with a modest cortège of carriages and without the usual festivities and official papal greeting party. For the next several months, Lamego lived unassumingly in the palace of the French ambassador, under the latter's constant protection. Los Velez had spies watch Lamego's movements and vowed vocally and often that he would kill the bishop if he met him in the streets. To this end, Los Velez filled his palace with henchmen from the Kingdom of Naples and soldiers disguised as grooms and servants. He travelled about Rome in a train of four or five carriages, filled with armed cavaliers and gentlemen. Spada, who also had spies following the bishop, recorded in his diary that the Spanish ambassador had "beyond the usual number of grooms and dressed in the same livery twenty men under the name of cavalryman, which gave major credit to his threats."[66]

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[61] Wicquefort, *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions*, 304.

[62] Wicquefort, *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions*, 343. See also: Visceglia, *La città rituale*, 150-51.

[63] There are numerous accounts of the incident; among them see Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 1, 348-51; F. Du Val de Fontenay, *Mémoires de Messire Du Val, Marquis de Fontenay-Mareiul* (Paris, 1826), 283-291; Spada, *Racconto delle cose*, 110-114 and 116-118; Wicquefort, *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions*, 29. See also: F. M. de Mello, *Tacito portuguez: Vida, e morte, dittos e feytos de El-Rei Dom João IV* (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), 79-81.

[64] For the greater context, see: A. Ademollo, "La questione della indipendenza portoghese a Roma dal 1640 al 1670", *Rivista Europea*, vol. 10 (1938), 3-82; J. Fraga, "Three Revolts in Images: Catalonia, Portugal and Naples, 1640-47" (Barcelona D. Phil. thesis, 2013), 189-215.

[65] Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 1, 348-49; "*oltre li soliti Palafrenieri et vestiti della medema livrea altri 20 persone sotto nome di lancie spezzate, diede maggior credito alle sue minaccie*": Spada, *Racconto delle cose*, 110.

[66] Spada, *Racconto delle cose*, 111. Wicquefort wrote that the ambassador brought soldiers into the city, armed them, and dressed them in his livery, see: *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions*, 29.

In addition to calling for a modest entry, Los Velez also demanded that Cardinal Antonio Barberini order Lamego "not to ride about in public with so much pomp and in a cortège because it could cause a scandal capable of troubling the Pope."[67] As a consequence, the cardinal-nephew, after meeting with the Congregation of State, had Lamego ride about the city in an attenuated retinue and few grooms. Moreover, Barberini ordered the bishop to lower the curtains "when they encountered the Spanish carriage."[68] Nevertheless, months later, Los Velez was galled to learn that the bishop had started to keep his curtains open upon meeting him. Many times throughout the next year the two almost clashed. In *L'ambassadeur et ses fonctions*, the Dutch author and ambassador Abraham de Wicquefort recalled that in addition to refusing to pull down his curtains for Los Velez, the bishop "did not stop to give him the honours," and, on one day, his grooms struck the shins of the Spanish ambassador's horses.[69]

Things were coming to a head and through much of 1642 Rome seemed to be an armed camp, especially at Piazza Navona, where the Portuguese ambassador now resided. The Spanish had placed henchmen and disguised soldiers in nearby houses, as did the French allies of the Portuguese bishop.[70] On the night of 20 August 1642 the bishop went to dine with his ally, the newly arrived French ambassador the Marquis de Fontenay, at his palace near the Trevi Fountain. Spies kept both the Spanish and French ambassadors, as well as Cardinal Barberini and Governor Spada, informed of the situation. Los Velez immediately prepared his carriages and his retinue of armed grooms and soldiers, setting out to meet the bishop on his return from dinner. Fontenay, likewise informed, sent carriages full of armed men to accompany the bishop home. Near sunset both parties collided near Santa Maria in Via Lata on a street that opened into the Corso.[71] In the initial confusion of encountering one another both sides immediately fell into a skirmish. In the fray, several cavaliers and pages on both sides were killed or wounded. While diarist Gigli recorded the dead and wounded, he seemed more distraught over the death of the Spanish ambassador's horses that had taken gunshots to their chests when rearing upwards in the fray. Gigli also commented on the sad destruction of the Spanish ambassador's carriage which, along with the horses, he valued at thousands of *scudi*.[72]

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[67] "*parust en public avec tant de pompe & de suite; parce qu'il en pourroit arriver un scandale capable d'alterer le repos de Pape*": Wicquefort, *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions*, 29; Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 1, 355-56.

[68] "*de fermer les rideaux de son carosse, lors qu'il rencontreroit l'Ambassadeur d'Espagn*e": Wicquefort, *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions*, 29.

[69] "*que l'Evesque ne s'arrestast point pour luy faire honneur*": Wicquefort, *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions*, 29.

[70] Spada, *Racconto delle cose*, 111-12.

[71] Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 1, 350-51; Spada, *Racconto delle cose*, 112-13.

[72] Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 1, 351.

Fig. 2. *La Rencontre et combat des ambassadeurs d'Espagne et de Portugal arrive à Romme, l'an 1642*, 1642, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.[73]

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

A contemporary French print of the assault testifies to the ability of ambassadors to occupy the streets and the violence it engendered (see Fig. 2). The anonymous engraver has the two carriages dominate the center of the image, taking up the entire street before Santa Maria in Lata, as the Portuguese ambassador and his French allies rout the Spanish ambassador and his men. The fury of the Portuguese coachman, as he drives the carriage headlong into the shattered Spanish carriage, stands out. But so does the vigour with which Lamego – like a Baroque Turpin – wades into the fray, armed with a sword. Meanwhile, a frightened Los Velez escapes from the carriage's door and a Spanish knight, still in the carriage, throws up his hands in surrender. City constables arrive on the scene, but they are too late to stop the violence. Below the image, the anonymous engraver has included a scurrilous poem mocking the cowardice of the Spaniards which complained they had committed such an egregious act "even

[73] I thank Joana Fraga for sharing her knowledge of this print's existence.

in a place so full of sanctity, before the eyes of the great pontiff, right in the middle of Rome."[74]

Despite the terror in Los Velez's eyes in the image, he managed to escape to the palace of Cardinal Gil Carrillo de Albornoz, located nearby in Piazza Colonna. According to rumour Los Velez had planned the assault but a nearby alleyway that was to offer an escape had been blocked by beams.[75] Nevertheless, the Spanish ambassador was not charged with any crime, although his reputation suffered. After days of tensions that placed a squadron of papal soldiers, complete with cannons, before his palace, the Spanish ambassador left for Naples. The city remained on edge until Los Velez left. The Portuguese ambassador, for his own protection, stayed hidden in his palace in Piazza Navona. However, in order to assert his right to serve as ambassador of an independent Portugal, he occasionally peered out his window so that allies and rivals alike could see him. By December, he too, had left Rome.[76] In time, ambassadors representing both states would return to the Holy See.

Throughout the War of Portuguese Restoration (1640-68), the Spanish and the French fought a war by proxy in Rome that centered on the reception of the Portuguese ambassador and his ability to ride about in a carriage with full honours.[77] During the reign of Innocent X (1644-55), on several occasions, the Spanish ambassador intentionally bumped his carriage against the Portuguese agent's carriage. In another incident in March 1645, Spanish agents fired shots into the Portuguese ambassador's carriage, killing a servant and the horse. In protest against the disruptive clashes Romans supposedly took to the streets shouting that "the war must be fought in Portugal, not in Rome!"[78]

The Portuguese ambassador was constrained by concerns for public order. He could not make a grand entrance that broadcasted his state's power and majesty for fear of offending the Spanish ambassador, who supported Habsburg claims to the Portuguese throne. Nor could he travel about the city with an ostentatious train of carriages and liveried servants. This changed after the Treaty of Lisbon (1668), which officially acknowledged an independent Portuguese state ruled by the House of Braganza. Two years later, a formally recognised Portuguese ambassador made his ceremonial entry into Rome. The cortège consisted of sumptuous carriages of silk and velvet, pulled by six horses, and attended by liveried servants and grooms. Once the cortège made it to the ambassador's palace, the first official entry was celebrated with bonfires, fireworks, and fountains of wine, which the people of Rome enthusiastically enjoyed.[79] Finally, the Portuguese ambassador, like his French and Spanish counterparts, could make a claim of ritually possessing the city through his use of carriage and ceremony.

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[74] "*mesme dans un lieu si plein de santeté/Aux yeaux du grand Pontife au beau milieu de Rome*": Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *La Rencontre et combat des ambassadeurs d'Espagne et de Portugal, arrive à Romme, l'an 1642* (Paris, 1642): n.p.
[75] Spada, *Racconto delle cose*, 117-18.
[76] Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 1, 359.
[77] Ademello, "La questione della indipendenza portoghese", 68-70.
[78] Ademello, "La questione della indipendenza portoghese", 69.
[79] Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 2, 783. See also: J. Castel-Branco Pereira, "Les entrées publiques des ambassadors portugaise aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles", in *Voitures, cheveaux et attalages du XVIe au XIXe siècle*, eds. D. Roche and D. Reytier (Paris, 2000), 171.

Conclusions

In his advice to Louis XIII before his death in 1642, Cardinal Richelieu warned the king that "the best means a prince can employ to stand well at Rome is to put his own house in good order." The advocate of reasons of state not only recognised the importance of Rome as the "diplomatic and geographical centre of the world", but also appreciated the role of the king's ambassador in conveying power through reputation at the papal court.[80] No doubt Richelieu meant to accentuate the role of precedence in stately processions and court rituals, the usual conveyances of power and sovereignty in papal Rome. But surely, as he wrote these words to the king, the carriage crossed his mind. By the seventeenth century, the carriage had come to serve as the primary means of broadcasting individual honour, while it also represented princely magnificence and authority to a citywide audience, both in everyday outings and in the ritual entries that ambassadors made at the start of their residency. Through the carriage and the cortège that followed it, ambassadors laid claim to the precious space of the city, often aggressively asserting their possession of this space through fights over precedence. No space was neutral in early modern Rome, especially in the first half of the seventeenth century when much of Europe was embroiled in the Thirty Years War. Indeed, ambassadors specifically targeted the carriages of rivals as the Spanish assault on the carriage of the Portuguese bishop demonstrates. Thus, through the ambassador's carriage the streets of Rome became a surrogate battlefield for the kings and princes of Europe, who sought to possess honour and prestige at the papal court by possession of precedence gained by riding about the city in their carriages.

[80] A. J. du Plessis, *The Political Testament of Cardinal Richelieu*, trans. H. B. Hill (Madison, WI, 1961), 96.

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