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Collaborative, Conflicted, and Complicit: A Case Study of Church and State Tension and its
Effect on Lisbon by Josh Brooks

Ever since Charlemagne was crowned by Pope Leo III, creating the Holy Roman Empire, the Papacy and the Monarchy have constantly fought for authority over the other in Europe throughout the centuries. The popes crowned the kings to assert that they held power over who had the crown, while the monarchs worked at putting the Church under their leadership in return. While that ebb and flow existed, it had an often-adverse effect on their countries and led to either rulers or religious leaders being weakened in the face of foreign leaders and their subjects. The lives of the peasants were greatly crippled because their leaders were too busy bickering while the streets were overrun with disease. One such country which highlights this tension clearly is Portugal, and its capital of Lisbon stood as a shining jewel of trade and a chief case of this Church and State quarreling. In Lisbon, the monarchs often fought for control through educational institutions like the universities, which displaced the Church's monopoly on education. Both sides took advantage of the Inquisition for their own political and religious reasons, and sometimes these factions were in direct cooperation and competition with each other due to the lucrative opportunity that was Lisbon's place in the overseas trading world. Though this conflict between Church and kings has existed for a long time, the tension, persecution, and even the cooperation was actively hurting and destroying the respective factions, and Lisbon was razed in the crossfire.

If life is a stage with men and women as its actors, as Shakespeare said, then it is important to begin by highlighting the main cast of Lisbon, the Catholic Church, and the monarchs. In Lisbon, as with the rest of the country, the cathedral chapters wielded a massive amount of power within their local areas, due to the members being life-long residents that

everyone knew and trusted. Over time, the organization began to push for more and more centralization of authority, with their practiced rituals being a means of holding it by the majority of its hierarchical positions.¹ The same trend of centralized authority was occurring in the state as well. Many interactions occurred in which the kings either directly or indirectly came into conflict with the papacy. Among these kings were Dinis, João II, Manuel I, and João III. Each took actions that interfered with or instigated Church action but had tension with the Catholic church in different ways.

Looking at the map of Lisbon by Braun and Hogenberg in 1598, what becomes noticeable is how many of the key buildings are churches, 65 out of 140 to be exact, whereas in stark contrast, there were only ten palaces in the city, and six of them were for dukes. When looking at the map, key locations are typically singled out with a blue roof instead of the typical red, and much of those blue topped buildings are the cathedrals.² While the city of Lisbon was a sight to behold, that beauty would not last due to earthquakes, and while the 1755 tremor is the most cited example, the one in 1531 highlights a key problem with the layout of the city; it was not built to get people out in an emergency. Constant remodeling resulted in the city not having straight roads away from the buildings, as well as some of those roads being blocked up by waste. So, when the 1531 earthquake finally hit, the hill topography of Lisbon combined with the convoluted layout resulted in not only serious destruction, but also the needless loss of life that comes from no safe exit from the city. Those most at risk from such building hazards were the

¹ Hugo Ribero Da Silva. "Projecting Power: Cathedral Chapters and Public Rituals in Portugal, 1564–1650." *Renaissance Quarterly* 69, no. 4 (2016): 1370-74.

² Braun and Hogenberg. *Map of Lisbon, Braun and Hogenberg, 1598*. Accessed November 11, 2021.; Damião De Góis and Jeffrey S. Ruth. *Lisbon in the Renaissance: A New Translation of the Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio*. New York: Italica Press, 1996., xlv-xlvi; Douglas L. Wheeler and Walter C. Opello. *Historical Dictionary of Portugal*. 3rd ed. Historical Dictionaries of Europe. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press. 2010., 171-172.

people who lived there, and a total of 1,001 people were dead after the three phases following natural disaster.³

In the constant war for authority over kingship and papal succession, one such battlefield was in the universities. Education has historically been under the Catholic Church during this time, with lectures and classes taking place inside monasteries. In Portugal, there was a gradual push towards more centralized action from the Monarchy, as the first college was established under Dinis during the late 13th century in Lisbon. For a period however, the Portuguese University would relocate before finally resettling in the Global City in 1377.⁴ To fill these universities, Portugal's monarchs started to bring in Humanist scholars and other intellectuals, such as Erasmus, Nicolaus Clenardus, Garcia D'Orta, and even Damião De Góis, to guide these institutions, bringing new learning techniques as well as administrative duties to the city. The most notable influence in Lisbon's educational sphere was Erasmus, the Christian Humanist, whose teachings the crown under João III to promote heavily.⁵

Though Erasmus was too old to travel, his work lived on in his colleague, Nicolaus Clenardus. Clenardus was a student of Ersamian Humanism, and he came to Portugal to teach the languages of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and even Arabic.⁶ Whether Nicolaus was privately tutoring the son of a Lisbon merchant, or in the classroom of a university, there were several rules that Clenardus had his students follow. While following Erasmus's rule of "Formal Authority" in student interactions, everything spoken in class had to be in Latin, and Nicolaus

³ Antonio Morales-Esteban Sá Luis and Percy Durand Neyra. "The 1531 Earthquake Revisited: Loss Estimation in a Historical Perspective. *Bulletin of Earthquake Engineering.*" *Official Publication of the European Association for Earthquake Engineering* 16 (2018): 4534, 4537, 4547-4548, 4549-4552.

⁴ Aleksander Rusanov, "The Continuity of University History: A Case-Study of Portuguese Studium General (1288-1377)," *History of Education & Children's Literature* 9 (1): 2014. 291,293; Wheeler and Opello, *Historical Dictionary of Portugal*, 111

⁵ Elisabeth F. Hirsch. "Erasmus and Portugal." *Bibliothèque D'Humanisme Et Renaissance* 32, no. 3 (1970): 539, 541.

⁶ Joseph Klucas. "Nicolaus Clenardus: A Pioneer of the New Learning in Renaissance Portugal." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 29, no. 2 (1992): 98.

did everything he could to avoid mundane lessons by making them entertaining and introducing visual aids. As a result of this teaching style, many students saw their language skills improve.⁷

The introduction of Erasmian scholars in the education system of Portugal and Lisbon by the crown did not see a deviation from Christianity but incorporated new elements that would offset the Church's monopoly on education.

Much of the conflict between the kings and popes might have manifested itself in policy and institutional warfare, but there were times they seemed to collaborate with each other. One such attempt was the cleric-military group, the Order of Christ, which Francis A. Dutra delves into as an early modern Brazilian and Portuguese archival scholar. Born out of the ashes of the Knights Templar in 1319, the Order of Christ sought to instill the chivalric, godly values of its predecessor, yet few practiced the creed they were sworn to.⁸ Being partially a military order however gave the Order of Christ many advantages as Dutra writes,

“The most important of these foros dealt with the right...of a monk-knight to have the civil as well as the criminal cases with which he was involved heard in an ecclesiastical court...the right of appeal to the court third instance... In addition, the Order's members and property were protected by a conservador das ordens militares-particularly against the claims of high ecclesiastical officials.”⁹

Because of all these perks, members of the order could skip any sort of oversight from the government, but the same was applied to the church, as members were protected from papal seizure of member's property, which lends to the idea that this group was more about government and religious toleration of each other. Members of the Order of Christ had to be

⁷ Klucas, “Nicolaus Clenardus: A Pioneer of the New Learning in Renaissance Portugal,” 91-95.

⁸ Francis A. Dutra. “Membership in the Order of Christ in the Seventeenth Century: Its Rights, Privileges, and Obligations.” *The Americas* 27, no. 1 (1970): 4-6, 8.

⁹ Dutra, “Membership in the Order of Christ in the Seventeenth Century: Its Rights, Privileges, and Obligations,” 18-19.

ready to serve the king in war while still being a religious institution and acted as a hybridization to facilitate church and state cooperation.¹⁰

Trade was the aspect of Lisbon that was very enriching for the city's people, especially merchants, and the king and Church wanted to have a profit from more than just the coin in the coffers, and decided to make use of the sailor's life as well as the steeples. There was certainly demand for such influence, with Portugal building over 753 ships between 1497 and 1600. Sailing the open sea invited tribulations however, from going on voyages that would last half a year or more, to living in cramped conditions out at sea while passengers, usually nobles, were given spacious cabins. Despite nearly starving or running out of water, the pilots, sailors, and mariners, as Dutra put it, were labeled, "Scum of the Sea."¹¹ This occupation was long known for carrying goods like olive oil, salt, slaves, gold, and different woods, but what finally caused the heads of the nobility to turn was the introduction of spices. It was this spice trade that caused kings like Manuel I to sponsor more expeditions, and reward sailors with knighthood for returning safely, in return for a cut of the spoils. The Church would send members of the Order of Christ on voyages, though it became apparent that the group was not adept at leading expeditions or navigating like the trading ships.¹² Not to be left out however, the Church instead used merchant ships to go to other lands and preach the word of God, but the religious leaders did not approve of spices, with Saint Bernard stating that it was, "taking carnal pleasure in

¹⁰ Ibid, 4, 13-14.

¹¹ Francis A. Dutra. "The Social and Economic World of Portugal's Elite Seafarers, 1481-1600." *Mediterranean Studies* 14 (2005): 95-96; Michael Kronl. *The Taste of Conquest : The Rise and Fall of the Three Great Cities of Spice*. Ballantine books trade pbk. ed. New York: Ballantine Books. 2008., 142-143.

¹² Dutra, "The Social and Economic World of Portugal's Elite Seafarers, 1481-1600," 96, 97; Kronl, *The Taste of Conquest : The Rise and Fall of the Three Great Cities of Spice.*, 115, 133; Annemarie Jordan-Gschwend and K. J. P Lowe, eds. *The Global City : On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon*. London: Paul Holberton Publishing. 2015., 79; Kenneth Maxwell. "Portugal, Europe, and the Origins of the Atlantic Commercial System, 1415-1520." *Portuguese Studies* 8 (1992): 15.

smelling spices or potions or flowers or herbs or foods or other things with a good scent, not out of praise to God, but for immoderate sensual pleasure.”¹³

While the papacy was split on trade, the monarchy under Manuel I further hegemonized the authority of the kings, which included a few actions that greatly improved the trade industry during this time frame. One of those decisions was reworking the River Tagus to be the entrance into Lisbon, with the intention of truly making it the Global City. To facilitate this, Manuel I constructed the Estado de India palace to govern Portugal’s sea network, which was conveniently located close to the merchant’s hub. This location was built with the custom houses built underneath the construction, storerooms full of world maps and sailing guidelines, with new docks built a little ways west of Manuel I’s castle.¹⁴ Changes in support for trade such as this caused much of the educational sphere to not be as prominent because many of Portugal’s young turned to life overseas, which by extension, reduced Lisbon’s possible teachers and students.¹⁵

With all the different types of people in Lisbon --scholars, merchants, and sailors-- a key figure in Portugal’s maritime trade was Prince Henry the Navigator, someone who made use of all three occupations. What makes his title ironic is that he did not actually set sail on any ships, he did, however, use his influence and power to fund the expedition of others, and dedicated his whole life to navigation.¹⁶ Henry supervised expeditions at the cost of leaving the Portuguese court to live around Lagos, and as Routh states, “Here he became immersed in mathematics and cosmography, selected captains and pilots, saw that his charts were continually brought up to

¹³ Krontl, *The Taste of Conquest : The Rise and Fall of the Three Great Cities of Spice.*, 142, 154.

¹⁴ Anderson, R. Warren. “Inquisitions and Scholarship.” *Social Science History* 39, no. 4 (2015): 684; Hatton, Barry. *Queen of the Sea : A History of Lisbon*. London: C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers). 2018., 74-75; Wheeler and Opello, *Historical Dictionary of Portugal.*, 198; Zimler, Richard. “Identified as the Enemy: Being a Portuguese New Christian at the Time of ‘The Last Kabbalist of Lisbon.’” *European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe* 33, no. 1 (2000): 39-40.

¹⁵ Hirsch. “Erasmus and Portugal,” 539.

¹⁶ C. R. N. Routh. *They Saw It Happen in Europe : An Anthology of Eyewitnesses' Accounts of Events in European History, 1450-1600*. Oxford: Blackwell. 1965., 116.

date and collected round him a number of Jewish doctors who, because medicine and astrology were at the time closely connected, were able to advise him on nautical astrology.”¹⁷ One of the criticisms of Henry was that his added title of “Navigator” came less from him sailing and more from his funding, and that what is written about someone sometimes does not encompass the whole truth.

Arthur Davies points out in his article on Prince Henry that much of what is known on the prince can be attributed to the one who wrote on him, Azurara, and Davies asserts that Azurara exaggerated or falsified the current perspective on Henry.¹⁸ It becomes apparent from looking at Davies research that Henry the Navigator’s accomplishments are aggrandized, and his character seems to have been bent as well from the earlier description. Azurara’s testimony, if taken at face value, is a noble one, as he states that Prince Henry was a faithful member of the Catholic Church, who always differed to the authority of the church offices and was pious and respectful. This telling of events would certainly explain why Henry sent missionaries to the Africa, commanded the Order of Christ, and led conquests against Muslims for the sake of the Christian faith. An interesting fact to consider regarding Henry’s piety is that the pope was the one who granted monopolies, especially in concern to the monopolies of trade, discovery, and conquest. When it came to Africa, the authority of the papacy granted the previously mentioned ownerships of the continent to the royal house of Portugal, citing Prince Henry’s 25 years of exploration funding.¹⁹ Despite these clashing perspectives on the prince, Henry the Navigator remained a key figure that helped solidify Lisbon’s status as a trade city by not just supporting

¹⁷ Routh, *They Saw It Happen in Europe : An Anthology of Eyewitnesses' Accounts of Events in European History, 1450-1600.*, 116; Wheeler and Opello, *Historical Dictionary of Portugal.*, 155.

¹⁸ Arthur Davies. “Prince Henry the Navigator.” *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)*, no. 35 (1964): 119.

¹⁹ Davies. “Prince Henry the Navigator.” 119, 120, 122-123; Routh, *They Saw It Happen in Europe : An Anthology of Eyewitnesses' Accounts of Events in European History, 1450-1600.*, 118; Wheeler and Opello, *Historical Dictionary of Portugal.*, 155.

the capital, but the whole country of Portugal as well, and this prince further showed what happens when the Church and state were in accord with each other.

Perhaps the most infamous period in renaissance history was the Inquisition, a church organization that investigated those deemed heretics. With the monarchy gradually consolidating authority and power under itself, the Inquisition was not just a show of Papal force, but also a means of further centralization.²⁰ Though the reasons for the Inquisition's creation in Portugal were for more government control, this intent quickly turned against the king, as it was not long before the organization started purging João III's work in bringing the Humanist scholars into Lisbon along with the Jews. Garcia de Orta, for example, was a respected doctor who was going to be João III's physician, as well as a chair of the Lisbon University. Upon his death, the Inquisition proceeded to burn his remains, his sister, and other relatives at the stake for being practicing Jews.²¹

Damião de Góis was also brought before the Inquisition, and even though he had worked for Manuel I and João III, he was still tried for heterodoxy and put in prison after having his possessions confiscated. Despite being very old and sick, his death was under mysterious circumstances; he was presumed dead by falling into a fireplace at the time, but posthumously was discovered to have a cranial fracture in the back of his head, giving credence to the idea that he was murdered after being released from prison.²² Other intellectuals and Jews, such as Francisco Sanchez were also forced to either flee Lisbon or die. Bookstores, libraries, and universities were inspected routinely to make sure that whatever was printed or in stock did not

²⁰ Wheeler and Opello, *Historical Dictionary of Portugal.*, 159, 163-164

²¹ Hatton. *Queen of the Sea : A History of Lisbon*, 82; Anderson, "Inquisitions and Scholarship," 698.

²² De Góis and Ruth. *Lisbon in the Renaissance: A New Translation of the Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio.*, xiii, xv, xx; Hatton. *Queen of the Sea : A History of Lisbon*. 83-84; Rector, Monica. "Book Review: Lisbon in the Renaissance: A New Translation of the Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio." *Hispanófila* 125 (1999): 116.

include any works that the church had not approved of, leading to mass censorship. While Portugal, and Lisbon by extent, had already been losing scholars before the Inquisition was officially established, this round of purges was not a good sign, in fact, it was another grain of sand in the heap that was the downfall of Lisbon.²³

One wrench in the idea that Lisbon was simply a battleground between the papacy and state is that the Church was not alone in persecution. The monarchs had their hand in the matter of forced religion, and while it was for slightly different reasons compared to the Catholic officials, those reasons were still immoral. When João II ruled Portugal, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain made the decision to banish all ethnic Jews from their country. Taking advantage of the exodus, João II allowed 100,000 Jews, which was one and a half times Lisbon's population, to enter the city. While 630 wealthy families were allowed to stay free of charge, every other refugee had eight months to pay the crown 100 cruzados per person, compared to the craftsman, like black and tin smiths, who only had to pay four cruzados to stay in the city. If the time passed for the payment to be collected, and the Spanish Jews could not get the funds to continue living in the city, then João II had no problem selling them into slavery. Children under eight were taken from their parents, forcibly baptized, and then shipped to the island of São Tomé, where out of 2,000 Jewish kids, as the Lisbon printer Valentin Fernandes writes, 1,400 died before 1506 of malaria, starvation, and dehydration among other causes.²⁴

Years later, Manuel I decided to free the enslaved Jews, but after cutting a deal with Ferdinand and Isabella to marry their daughter, the king began making plans instead to throw out the Jews and Moors. Whether the reason was simple greed or conditions of the marriage, Manuel

²³ Anderson, "Inquisitions and Scholarship," 684, 698.

²⁴ Zimler, "Identified as the Enemy: Being a Portuguese New Christian at the Time of 'The Last Kabbalist of Lisbon,'" 34-35.

began executing a plan to forcibly convert the Jews to Christianity, to keep as many people as possible in the city. He began by shutting off all of Lisbon's ports to keep ships from leaving, and then rounded up as many Jews as he could to be baptized at the font. 20,000 Jews were forcibly converted to Christianity on the grounds of the Estaus Palace, under intimidation, risk of death, or losing their children. Some of the accounts that exist detail how some parents killed their offspring and then committed suicide rather than be compelled into the Christian faith. Despite these coerced conversions by Manuel I, along with giving unwilling converts twenty years to stop their traditions and practices, many of the new Catholics continued practicing their true religion in secret. It also did not stop the persecutions or incarcerations from the common people and Church either.²⁵

While this whole conflict for government control was going on however, there was a serious problem with Lisbon as a whole. For all the greatness of the country and its accomplishments, the city was living in terrible conditions and was tearing itself apart politically. The *Rua Nova* was the key trading street of the city, and was built to be beautiful, but besides that, the city was fraught with filth. Due to chamber pots being flung onto the streets or dumped into the Tagus River, along with plenty of beasts and criminals wandering the streets, there was the lack of sanitation in the city, leading to Lisbon having many instances of diseases.²⁶ This noble visage that Lisbon wore was only a skin, as the people were still incredibly fractured. With the Inquisition and government's push of Christianity on all other peoples, the New Christians, those who were baptized because of Manuel I's forced conversion, were still routinely persecuted and even came to a deadly point on Easter Sunday of 1506. With food shortages

²⁵ Hatton, *Queen of the Sea : A History of Lisbon*, 78; Zimler, "Identified as the Enemy: Being a Portuguese New Christian at the Time of 'The Last Kabbalist of Lisbon,'" 36, 37.

²⁶ Hatton, *Queen of the Sea : A History of Lisbon*, 68-69; Sá Luis and Neyra, "The 1531 Earthquake Revisited: Loss Estimation in a Historical Perspective," 4537.

rampant and the city suffering from the Black Death, hearing the Jew turned New Christian say that there was a sign within the crucifix caused many in the chapel to call it heresy. As a result of these conditions and tensions, over 2,000 New Christians were slaughtered that day, leading to a great emigration of Jews from the city of Lisbon, where the streets were red with blood.²⁷

Strangely enough, Lisbon's wartime abilities were not completely hindered while this power struggle was going on, but instead crippled from the city's focus on trade and scholars. For one thing, Damião De Góis brought up one of the key buildings situated by the Royal Palace that was built under Manuel I; the war armory. In its separate sections, there ranged from war machines to mortars, with it also being fully stocked with every weapon that was known to man at the time. Ships of all kinds were in the Portuguese settlements in Asia, Africa, and Europe, each with their equipment and weapons at ready for use no matter the situation.²⁸ The stored armor was just as impressive, as De Góis stated, "Stored with great vigilance and cleanliness in three halls of this building are forty-thousand suits of armor for the infantry, plus three-thousand sets of armor for the calvary, beyond those destined for routine or extraordinary exercises."²⁹

All those weapons and armor would be meaningless if not for a force of fighting men, and this is where the cracks start appearing. While the papacy and state's bickering can be seen as routine and it caused Lisbon's people to be ill-prepared to fight off enemy forces effectively, as Pedro De Brito points out when looking at the military structure of Portugal. Of the 652 military charters under Manuel I for example, there was a trend of the people not having military experience, they ranged from something as common and useful as a physician, to innocuous, like

²⁷ Anderson, "Inquisitions and Scholarship," 684; Hatton, *Queen of the Sea : A History of Lisbon*, 74-75; Wheeler and Opello, *Historical Dictionary of Portugal*, 198; Zimler, "Identified as the Enemy: Being a Portuguese New Christian at the Time of 'The Last Kabbalist of Lisbon,'" 39-40.

²⁸ De Góis and Ruth, *Lisbon in the Renaissance: A New Translation of the Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio*, 30-31.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 31.

a crown storekeeper. All of them were artisans, but they were considered by those in the Iberian Peninsula to be of the lowest social standing.³⁰

Under João II however, there was a great expansion into new means of war, compared to the nobles trying to keep the traditional view of being a knight to just the man on a horse in a suit of armor, instead of a footman with a pike. In 1481, João II began to have the noble's sons learn how to do double handed fencing and use a halberd, showing a greater emphasis on foot soldiers over simply having cavalry. With a dedicated horse breeding and cavalry unit, along with giving charters to the crossbowmen to be a standing defense, João II was the one who made the fortification of Lisbon, along with the entire country strong. The Lisbon Church did not have a hand in war in any other means than the Order of Christ, but that organization still swore fealty to the king, leaving the task firmly in the monarch's hands.³¹

In terms of foreign relations, both the king and Church had different functions. The monarch made use of the natural beauty of Lisbon, though in some cases, it appears that the splendor that was within the city did not stop negotiations from either falling out or make the agreed upon terms occur for all the wrong reasons. As an example, after a string of battles, for reasons of both church and trade, the king of Portugal and the Ottoman Sultan started exchanging political letters to try and reach an agreement. After a few years of this correspondence, the rivalry of the two countries did not end.³² The biggest political fight that Portugal had was with England, which was the naval superpower of the time. Not only did the countries have opposite

³⁰ Pedro de Brito, "Knights, Squires and Foot Soldiers in Portugal during the Sixteenth-Century Military Revolution." *Mediterranean Studies* 17 (2008): 118-47. 2008. 123.

³¹ Brito. "Knights, Squires and Foot Soldiers in Portugal during the Sixteenth-Century Military Revolution," 119, 127, 128; Dutra, "Membership in the Order of Christ in the Seventeenth Century: Its Rights, Privileges, and Obligations," 4, 13-14.

³² Salih Özbaran. "An Imperial Letter from Süleyman the Magnificent to Dom João III Concerning Proposals for an Ottoman-Portuguese Armistice." *Portuguese Studies* 6 (1990): 25, 27-28, 30.

religious practices, with England being Protestant and Portugal being Catholic, but also the English were plundering Portuguese ships because they viewed Portugal as a threat to English oceanic domination.³³

For negotiation, Queen Elizabeth sent Dr. Thomas Wilson to Lisbon in 1567, but unfortunately the doctor was unable to survey the English community in the city because he got sick upon arrival. When the Portuguese ambassador was notified, he gave Wilson the best of care; the Church however, paid him a visit in the form of the Inquisition. After questioning the reasons for Wilson's arrival and being told that his visit was for diplomatic purposes, the Inquisition officer was much more pleasant. This amicability was not extended to the English merchants of the time, who were imprisoned regardless of innocence, which Oliviera the author, believes was done by the Inquisition under a guise of interrogation. Despite spending a while in Lisbon, speaking to Cardinal Henry and to the court of the Portuguese king, the England and Portugal alliance broke down in 1569.

For the time ambassadorship occurred in both countries, it showed how essential the occupation was for keeping the peace, even though these two world powers were diametrically opposed to each other.³⁴ One of the tactics used was making sure to praise the monarch the ambassador was visiting when making a request, as shown in Pietro Pasqualigo's trip to Lisbon in 1501 to ask for Portugal's support against the Turks, who were at the time, fighting Venice. Much of this high acclaim would be typically about how well the country was run by the ruling monarch, or how virtuous they were, and were the words of one who hoped to get in the good

³³ Susana Oliveira. "Networks of Exchange in Anglo-Portuguese Sixteenth-Century Diplomacy and Thomas Wilson's Mission to Portugal." *In Exile, Diplomacy and Texts: Exchanges between Iberia and the British Isles, 1500–1767*, edited by Ana Sáez-Hidalgo and Berta Cano-Echevarría, Brill, 2021., 33.

³⁴ Oliveira, "Networks of Exchange in Anglo-Portuguese Sixteenth-Century Diplomacy and Thomas Wilson's Mission to Portugal," 41-42, 45-46, 47, 49.

graces of the ruling royalty. The king at the time, Manuel I, did indeed resolve to keep his promise to send a fleet of military ships, but it took a second trip to Lisbon to ensure that the ruler's word was kept. The Church was not far behind either, as they soon declared a holy war against the Turks, and mobilized France and Spain to help as well.³⁵ There was one country that Portugal always fought, and that was Spain. After plenty of fighting between the two countries, eventually, Portugal would be under their control. Out of this foreign occupation sprang forth the Portuguese national epic that would reunify the country after their major political upheaval, *The Lusiads*.

Luis Vaz De Camões was born in Lisbon around 1524. While the plague was rampant in the country, he sent a copy of his prologue and epilogue of *The Lusiads* to João III's son, Sabastião, who assumed the throne at 14 years old.³⁶ It was around this time that much of the Church and state actions came to a head. Aside from the plague, the Christian Humanist scholars that were ushered in by João III had all but fizzled out due to the Inquisition's censorship and religious suppression, and combined with the Council of Trent centralization of the church, the educational reforms of the past were quenched. There was also a power problem because Portugal's new king was a child. Where his predecessors had been extremely influential in the city's growth, Sabastião was weak and vulnerable, and Cardinal Henry tried to rule as king unsuccessfully before Philip I of Spain took over.³⁷ It was during this foreign occupation that Camões', who died in 1580, work began gaining traction. Through the tale of Vasco De Gama,

³⁵ Donald Weinstein and Pietro Pasqualigo. *Ambassador from Venice, Pietro Pasqualigo in Lisbon, 1501* [Limited ed.] ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1960., 18, 20-21, 22, 46-47, 49-50.

³⁶ Luiz de Camões and William C. Atkinson. *The Lusiads Repr ed.* Penguin Classics. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. 1980., 15, 18; Hatton, *Queen of the Sea : A History of Lisbon*, 85.

³⁷ John de Oliveira e Silva. "Reinventing the Nation: Luis De Camões' Epic Burden." *Mediterranean Studies* 9 (2000): 104; Wheeler and Opello, *Historical Dictionary of Portugal*, 291.

who was renowned for his naval expeditions and his voyage to India, this patriotic epic recounted Portugal's glory, and that was what drew in a dispirited people.³⁸

Throughout *The Lusiads*, this celebration of Portugal's past success, where sailors would leave the ports of Lisbon to sail for distant, unknown lands, coming back with many goods while dealing with plenty of trials, is greatly detailed. Camões' tale highlights many things: the greatness of his country; its history; the strength of their faith; respect towards the foreigners; and Portugal's naval success and exploration, pressing on despite facing constant opposition. It also adds the fictional element of Mars and Venus aiding De Gama's voyage with Bacchus seeking to kill them along the way.³⁹ This style of nationalism and patriotism from Camões was a great unifying force for a dejected people, and a united people easily coordinate. Eventually, Portugal rose and reclaimed Lisbon, then following a long conflict, won back the whole country from Spain following the Renaissance in 1641-1668. The people were lead throughout and after by João IV, and the Catholic Church was still a part of life, but now the Church-State struggle was no longer the most important thing.⁴⁰

This conflict between the monarchs and the papacy constantly vying for control of the culture and city of Lisbon, a trade superpower, soon broke the country after losing to Spain. Years of political posturing within and outside the country of Portugal, coupled with a religious power struggle, eventually led to Lisbon's Spanish occupation. It was with the subsequent publication of *The Lusiads* by Camões that the fight between religion and state finally ended under the weight that was the national unification and celebration of Portugal, as well as the city

³⁸ Camões, *The Lusiads Repr ed.*, 19-20; Hatton, *Queen of the Sea: A History of Lisbon.*, 85-86; Oliveira e Silva, "Reinventing the Nation: Luis De Camões' Epic Burden," 108; Routh, *They Saw It Happen in Europe : An Anthology of Eyewitnesses' Accounts of Events in European History, 1450-1600*, 121-123

³⁹ Camões and Atkinson, *The Lusiads Repr ed.*, 28-30, 39, 43-45, 51-53, 70-71, 77-121, 138-139

⁴⁰ Wheeler and Opello, *Historical Dictionary of Portugal*, 175-176, 278-279.

of Lisbon's accomplishments. No matter how the Church and state fought each other, whether it be for educational control, exploiting the Inquisition, or competing for trade and overseas influence, though Lisbon was physically intact, this tension soon consumed and destroyed the whole country because of these two factions. The city of Lisbon, with its trade and cultural influence, stands as a case study of the political and religious warfare occurring between the monarchs and the papacy, and how that tension affects all other aspects of life.

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OLISSIPPO quae nunc Lyboa, ciuitas antiquissima Lusitanicae, ad Saguntum, totius
Orestris, et metropoli seuulaton, sphaericoque et Americae imperio nobilissimum.



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Braun and Hogenberg. Map of Lisbon. Braun and Hogenberg, 1598.