UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

The Tongues of Strangers:

Immigrants and Language in Renaissance Rome

by

Tania Laureen Therien

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

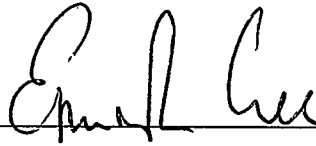DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

CALGARY, ALBERTA

DECEMBER 2003

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of
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Immigrants and Language in Renaissance Rome" submitted by Tania Therien in
partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Abstract

THE TONGUES OF STRANGERS:
IMMIGRANTS AND LANGUAGE
IN RENAISSANCE ROME

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This study focuses on immigrants in fifteenth-century Rome, with emphasis on language use and acculturation. Based on a reassessment of existing studies, and on the examination of immigrant names recorded in the income records of the German, Castilian, and Catalan national confraternities of S. Maria dell'Anima, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, and S. Maria di Monserrato, this study argues that the immigrant experience was complex and multi-faceted, differing from group to group. While the records of the Germans exhibit unusual linguistic activity, including non-uniform use of Latin morphology, German toponomy, mixed prepositions, and a change from German to Italian names, the documents of the Iberians show little linguistic activity, suggesting that an acculturation process was underway at different rates for both groups. All immigrants, rather than forming themselves into isolated enclaves, lived amongst the Romans, occupied a variety of economic niches, and actively participated in daily city life.

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Introduction

Renaissance Rome is often described as a city of non-Romans. The streets of Rome had long been full of foreigners, from the slaves of the ancient Empire to the Christian apostles, and finally to the streams of medieval pilgrims seeking communion with holy sites. A sixteenth-century witness to the Sack of Rome, Marcello Alberini, said of the inhabitants of the Eternal City, "Chiara cosa è, che la minor parte in questo popolo sono romani, perché quivi hanno rifugio tutte le nationi, come a comune domicilio del mondo."[1] Although it is certain that a great variety of non-Romans came to live in Rome—quite apart from the vast numbers of pilgrims—there is piecemeal and scattered evidence of who these foreign immigrants were, their numbers, where and how they lived. Did they really nearly outnumber the native Romans as some scholars have suggested? Were they welcomed and accepted as an indelible part of the image of *Caput Mundi*? Did they acculturate to Roman society, or was the city a mosaic of tongues and cultures?

Based partly on the evidence of separate merchant communities and immigrant ghettos in several late medieval cities, such as Venice and

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[1] "It is clear that the minority of this people are Romans, because here all the nations find refuge, like a common domicile of the world." Marcello Alberini, "Diario," Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria, ed. D. Orano, 18 (1895), p. 344, quoted in Anna Esposito, "I 'forenses' a Roma nell'età del Rinascimento: aspetti e problemi di una presenza 'atipica'," *Dentro la città: Stranieri e realtà urbane nell' Europa dei secoli XII-XVI*, ed. Gabriella Rossetti (Pisa: Liguori Editore, 1989), p. 163.

Alexandria,[2] some scholars believe immigrants in Rome had a difficult time acculturating, and thus tended to form themselves into protective groups, maintaining their own languages and customs. But Rome was a city unique among its Renaissance neighbours, and the particular configurations of history and local politics led to a different experience for immigrants. Romans were accustomed to waves of Christian pilgrims and visiting dignitaries, as well as the numerous foreigners who filled the Curia. They were unsurprised by— though not always happy about—the election of non-Roman popes, and expectant of the compatriots who would arrive at the gates and cheer in the streets when a countryman donned the papal robes. The city was the haven of exiles, intellectuals searching for long-forgotten remnants of antiquity, prostitutes, students, journeymen, and saints, few of whom were natives.[3] For many in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, Rome was a city of tolerance—if not extravagant excess.

While it is true that newly arriving immigrants have serious language and cultural barriers to overcome, and will often seek out and band together

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[2] David Jacoby, "The Migration of Merchants and Craftsmen: a Mediterranean Perspective (12th-15th Century," *Le migrazioni in Europa, seccoli XIII-XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Le Monnier, 1993), p. 548.

[3] For humanists in Rome, see John D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of Reformation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); for exiles in Rome see Christine Shaw, "Rome as a Centre for Italian Political Exiles in the Later Quattrocento," *Roma Capitale (1447-1527)*, ed. Sergio Gensini (Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1994), pp. 273-288; for an exhaustive list of all imaginable 'stranieri' in Rome see Mario Ascheri, "Lo straniero nella legislazione statutaria" *Forestieri e Stranieri nelle Città Basso-Medievali. Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studio Bagno a Ripoli (Florence), 4-8 June 1984*, pp. 7-8.

with their compatriots, they are inevitably forced to make concessions to their surroundings in order to work and live. They must learn some of the local language and culture to understand how the new society functions, so that an existence can be navigated.

The greatest difficulty with studying the acculturation of immigrants in the fifteenth century is that their presence in the city is only prominent while they remain foreigners. Once the process of acculturation is far enough along, immigrants blend in with the other voiceless, anonymous Romans that form the backdrop of the historical record. At the same time, acculturation is not a simple process resulting in complete assimilation. It can be reasonably predicted that many immigrants became active citizens in Roman society, fluent in the local language and culture, while still maintaining ties to their homeland, and continuing to practice their culture and speak their own languages. Equally important is the effect immigrants have on their new home. In Rome, evidence of the influence of various immigrant groups can be found in changes in the local dialect,[4] in confraternity bylaws,[5] in changes in dress, and even in the local palate.[6]

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[4] For the Tuscanization of Romanesco, see Gerhard Ernst, *Die Toskanisierung des römischen Dialekts im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1970); for Spanish influence on Italian in general see Jacqueline Brunet, "Un 'langage colakeutiquement profane' ou l'influence de l'Espagne sur la troisième personne de politesse italienne," *Présence et influence de l'Espagne dans la culture italienne de la Renaissance*, ed. André Rochon (Paris: Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1978), pp. 251–318.

[5] Anna Esposito, "Men and Women in Roman Confraternities in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Roles, Functions, Expectations," *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Nicholas Terpstra (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 86.

This study will first look at immigrants in the context of the greater population, how many there were, where they came from, where they lived and worked. Secondly, it will explore the institutions established by immigrants, their most conspicuous legacies—hospitals, churches, and brotherhoods—and their place in the city. Finally, it will examine a collection of foreigners' names in the records of a German brotherhood for signs of language accommodation or linguistic acculturation. The final chapter will rely on research in onomastics, second language acquisition, and historical linguistics, making use of linguistic analysis to draw out nuances in the relationships of immigrants to one another, and the relations between different immigrant groups and their Roman hosts.

Overall the image that appears is complex and multi-faceted. On the one hand, immigrants filled nearly every economic niche in the city, playing a crucial role in Rome's growing prosperity in the fifteenth century, and were well dispersed through the most populous areas of the city, forcing encounters between Roman and foreigner on a daily basis. On the other hand they

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[6] In a late fifteenth-century cookbook from Naples, then under the crown of Aragon, at least 27 recipes out of 220 are identified as being foreign. Some are identified as being from elsewhere on the peninsula—Sicily, Rome, Florence, Bologna, Lombardy, and Siena—others from further away from the Saracen people, Slavonia, Germany, France, Spain, and Catalonia. Of these recipes, the editor concludes, "But the fact that our writer, along with the other food professionals for whom he is writing, are both conscious of what we might call 'foreignness' and at the same time willing to keep by adoption these other usages shows a significant openness to what other people might consider alien and suspect. There is no evidence of gastronomic xenophobia here..." Terence Scully, ed., *Cuoco Napoletano: The Neapolitan Recipe Collection, A Critical Edition and English Translation*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), p. 32.

established charitable organizations designed to aid the poor from their own countries, provided church services in their own languages, and banded together in artisan guilds with language restrictions. On the one hand they would come to Rome at the election of a compatriot to the papal throne, surmising great opportunities lay ahead for their countrymen, and on the other they would change their names to make them sound more Roman. As with all things Roman, the immigrant experience here was unique. Foreigner and Roman citizen alike were aware of the ideal of *Caput Mundi*—the Romans understanding that their city ruled the world and non-Romans understanding that Rome lay waiting with open arms.

Chapter 1

ROME, A CITY OF FOREIGNERS

By examining extant population sources for the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, this chapter finds that there were more Romans in Rome than had been previously emphasized, and that foreigners, who still made up a significant percentage of the population, were better integrated into Roman society than previous historians might have indicated. Census material indicates that foreigners, both Italian and ultramontane, did not cluster together as extensively as one might expect, but rather were distributed through the city according to their trades and the rest of the population. In terms of city planning, there were no regulations for keeping foreigners to certain areas. In fact, there tended to be measures to encourage integration and participation. That immigrants were able to fit into the city and amongst its citizens fits well with the idea that Rome, for political and economic reasons, offered a more tolerant environment than most other Italian cities of the same period.

Population, 1300-1527

Population figures for any part of Europe and any time before the nineteenth century are difficult to establish. The main obstacle, predictably, is the shortage of adequate sources. For the Medieval and Renaissance periods, records which allow for demographic study come in the form of censi, tax rolls, catasti, parish registers, notarial records and estimates made by contemporary chroniclers; each can reveal valuable detail, providing in some instances the only demographic information available, yet they all must be handled critically and with caution. It is most often those records whose intention was not to provide a statistical sum that reveal the most information, whereas narrative sources which at times provide definite figures, particularly chronicles, usually reflect the style of the person writing and their own motivations. According to Roger Mols' history of European urban demography, Italy, unlike the French Kingdom or Iberia, has a relatively rich collection of population records for the late Medieval/Early Modern period.[7] For the city of Rome, which has quasi-demographic sources dating all the way back to imperial times, there are a number of sources available for the period from the fourteenth through to the sixteenth centuries, which together help

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[7] Roger Mols, *Introduction a la Démographie Historique des Villes d'Europe du XIV au XVIII siècle*, (3 vols, Louvain: Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1954), pp. 504–529.

provide an idea, not only of how many, but also of who the inhabitants of the time were.

Rome underwent rapid population decline in the Trecento and equally rapid growth in the Quattrocento, doubling its numbers in less than a century, due largely to immigration. The decline and stagnation of the fourteenth century occurred in the wake of the Black Plague, warfare, and violent aristocratic power struggles, and also reflects the absence of the chief economic force in the city: the Papacy. A number of population figures have been put forth for Rome in the fourteenth century. Much of the information that exists about Rome's population during this period comes from chronicles and biographies. In 1362, for instance, the chronicler Matteo Villani asserted that an army of 22,000 armed men, plus 600 men on horseback could be raised in Rome. Historian Domenico Gnoli, postulating that each of Villani's armed men was a member of a family averaging 3.5 members, estimated a total population of about 80,000 to 85,000.[8] This figure would have been considerably higher only 14 years earlier when the first bout of the Plague hit, and seems rather unreasonable given the political and social situation of the city during the 1300s. Chroniclers, of course, are sometimes biased and often

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[8] Anna Esposito, "Note sulla popolazione Romana dalla fine del secolo XIV al sacco (1527)," *Un'altra Roma: Minoranze nazionali e comunità ebraiche tra Medioevo e Rinascimento,* (Rome: Il Calamo, 1995), p.19.

describe events long after they have happened, allowing time for the fermentation of a few hundred extra foot soldiers.

According to his anonymous biographer, Cola di Rienzo conducted 20,000 foot soldiers and 800 riding knights from Rome into battle in 1347. Using Gnoli's same formula of 3.5 family members per soldier, Cola's army projects a total Roman population of about 70,000.[9] It is unlikely, when the rest of Europe suffered a loss of possibly as much as a third of its population, that the city of Rome, with an estimated population of 70,000 people in 1347 would have swollen by 10-15,000 souls to a total population of 80-85,000 in 1362. A third estimate swings in the opposite direction: in 1377 the Cancellieri estimated that the inhabitants of the city numbered only 17,000.[10]

One of the most reliable sources for the fourteenth century was a treaty made in 1393 between Boniface IX and the Roman populace concerning civic representatives and voting for the communal council. Only indirectly concerned with the number of inhabitants, the treaty lists the twelve Rioni in Rome and the number of representatives needed from each to go to the communal council. By comparing this treaty to the 1526/27 census, Julius Beloch in his *Bevölkerungsgeschichte Italiens* concludes that approximately

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[9] Anna Esposito, "Note sulla popolazione, p.19.
[10] Egmont Lee, "Foreigners in Quattrocento Rome," *Renaissance and Reformation*, New Series vol. 7, no.2, (May) 1983, p. 138.

25,000 people lived in Rome at the end of the fourteenth century.[11] Beloch assumes that the writers of the treaty were consistently even in their assignment of Rioni representatives, and presupposes that they also had an accurate idea of the total number of people living in each Rione, which in ill-governed Rome is unlikely. However, it remains the most reasonable figure, accepted by Esposito, Lee, and others.[12]

If there were 25,000 people in Rome in the final years of the fourteenth century, there had been a considerable drop from the 35,000 reported to have lived in Rome at the beginning of the thirteenth century, more than 150 years earlier.[13] Yet a significant drop is what we expect to find given the context. Populations across Europe fell dramatically with the Plague and its various resurgences, and Rome specifically had already suffered population losses when numerous people left with the Papacy for Avignon.

[11] Karl Julius Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung des Kirchenstaates, Toscanas und der Herzogtümer am Po*, vol. 2, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte Italiens*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1965), pp. 2-3. The Rioni named and the number of representatives suggested for each are as follows: Ponte - 20, Parione, Pigna, and Trastevere - 15 each, Colonna - 11, S. Eustachio - 10, Campitelli and Trevi - 9 each, Regola - 8, S. Angelo and Ripa - 6 each, Campo Marzio - 4. The Rione Monti apparently had too few inhabitants to warrant a representative, and the Borgo was not yet part of the Roman commune. Based on the assumption that Rione Ripa underwent few changes during the fifteenth century, Beloch took the figure given for the area in the 1526 census (1,355) and divided it by the number of representatives in the 1393 treaty (6) and concluded that there were 226 inhabitants for every representative in the commune, providing a population total of 28,929, or approximately 30,000 if one includes Rione Monti and the Borgo. To then account for a potential population increase in Rione Ripa from 1393 to 1526, Beloch reduced his total population figure to 25,000. This figure has been generally accepted by a number of historians including Torgil Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1958), Roger Mols, *Introduction à la Démographie Historique*, and Anna Esposito, "Note sulla populazione," pp. 19-30.
[12] Egmont Lee, "Foreigners," p. 138.
[13] Robert Brentano, *Rome Before Avignon: A Social History of Thirteenth-Century Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 10.

The Curia in and of itself, though not of the same magnitude it would reach at the end of the fifteenth century, was large enough that its absence made for a significant drop in the city's population. Members of the College of Cardinals often employed vast retinues of learned men, artists, and servants. By the Renaissance, Cardinals would come to view themselves "as Senators of the *respublica Christiana* with the obligation to emulate the splendor of their classical forebears."[14] At any one time between twenty-five and thirty cardinals lived in Rome. In the 1526/27 census, there were 21 cardinals in the city and the average number of *familiares* equalled about 134 per household. In total the *familiae* of cardinals accounted for 2,800 people out of a population of 55,000.[15] With their retinue and commitment to representational expense, the investment of the cardinals in the city's economy was considerable. What is more, like many royal courts of the day, the Curia employed, or at least attracted, a number of non-curial attendants, including servants, and those artisans, craftsmen and professionals, such as shoemakers, tailors, doctors, notaries, chamberlains, butchers, cooks, furriers, stable hands, and jewellers, who catered to the needs of affluent ecclesiastics. It is reasonable to assume that anyone with a service for hire would have quickly recognized that the absence of the Papacy would also mean a direct downturn

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[14] Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), p. 28.

[15] John D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism*, p. 46.

in business. Luciano Palermo, in his studies of economics in the Italian Renaissance, has observed that on the positive side of the Malthusian equation a city where money and resources are invested will have a loosely corresponding increase in population. If money and resources are removed from a city, there will be a corresponding demographic decrease.[16]

It is widely accepted that the population of Rome grew only by a small increment between Boniface IX's accord and the end of the Great Schism (1378-1417), which culminated in the return of the restored Papacy to Rome under Martin V. Anna Esposito argues that it is reasonable to assume that the population had reached 30,000 by 1417.[17] Some of the Curia supporting the Roman faction during the Schism may have returned earlier along with non-Italians who had worked for the Papacy in Avignon. The number of inhabitants continued to climb slowly. The salt tax registration that took place at the end of Calixtus III's reign (1455-1458) provides a figure of 34,000,[18] but this is also the point at which population figures began a dramatic climb, increasing in the third quarter of the century by some 10,000 people, largely immigrants.[19]

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[16] Luciano Palermo, "Espansione demografica e sviluppo economico a Roma nel rinascimento," *Popolazione e società a Roma dal medioevo all'età contemporanea*, ed. Eugenio Sonnino (Rome: il Calamo, 1998), pp. 299-326.

[17] Anna Esposito, "Note sulla popolazione," pp. 20-21.

[18] Anna Esposito, "Note sulla popolazione," p. 21; Beloch *Die Bevölkerung des Kirchenstaates*, p. 5.

[19] Egmont Lee, "Foreigners," p. 138.

Romans, Immigrants, and the City in the 1526/27 Census

The first complete survey we possess of the sort of people who filled

the Roman streets and houses comes from the 1526/27 census, first published

in 1894 by Domenico Gnoli.[20] The purpose behind the census is unclear. It

was completed only shortly before Rome was sacked by the Imperial army of

Charles V on May 6, 1527, an attack that had been feared for some months.

Gnoli has suggested that the census was taken to assess the number of mouths

that might be in need of grain if the city fell under siege, as many at the time

believed would imminently occur.[21] The census names 9,324 heads of

household, both men and women, together with the number living and/or

working in each home. The number of people per household, identified as

bocche in the census, range from single individuals up to over 200 people.[22]

The total population given in the census, heads and household members

together, comes to 53,897; unweaned children (which would have included

infants and small children up to three years of years of age and perhaps older)

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[20] There was also a census conducted under Leo X, and while it contains a long list of the names of heads of households, there are no numbers indicating the number of people per house. See Mariano Armellini, "Un censimento della città di Roma sotto il pontificato di Leone X," *Gli Studi in Italia*, IV-V (1882), 7-143. Domenico Gnoli, "Descriptio Urbis o Censimento della popolazione di Roma avanti il Sacco Borbonico," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 17, (1894). A good number of studies used here have been based on it, including Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVI siècle* (2 vols, Paris, 1959), and Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome 1500-1559: A Portrait of a Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976). A more recent publication, based on what is believed to be the earliest manuscript of the census, that is, the composite copy of the work of many census-takers, will be used here: *Descriptio Urbis: The Roman Census of 1527*, ed. Egmont Lee (Rome: Bulzoni, 1985).

[21] This explanation was first proposed by Gnoli and has been accepted by most scholars, including Delumeau, Partner, Lee and Esposito.

[22] One Francisco Thomaso was the head of a house of 200 souls, as was Monsignor Reverendissimo Ursino. At La Santita di Nostro Signore, there were 700 inhabitants. *Descriptio Urbis*, pp. 79, 77.

were presumably excluded from the tally. The growing insecurity in the city, starting with the activities of the Duke of Albany outside the walls in 1526, the Colonna attack on the city in September of 1526, and the threat of impending war caused many to leave the city,[23] so that the total population of the city was probably closer to 55,000 or perhaps even 60,000 inhabitants earlier in the 1520s.[24]

The census is the best information available on demographics in Rome for this period, and with further study may be used successfully to yield answers to other historical questions. It provides a list of the heads of households in each of the thirteen Rioni and the Borgo by name, sometimes indicating origin and sometimes occupation. Beside each name, the number of people, or *bocche*, living in each home is provided. Like all historical sources it must be analysed with care, for a variety of reasons: the methods of the various census-takers were not uniform in that many of the larger households have rounded numbers rather than exact figures, and when compared with other contemporary sources it becomes evident that certain individuals known to be in Rome at the time were not included.[25] The final total is again only an approximation. The only other estimate comes from Paolo Giovio, who

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[23] Partner puts this forth as a possibility. According to Gregorovius, however, the Romans thought "this [the Colonna attack] ... was not their affair but the Pope's." See Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome 1500-1559*, p. 81, Ferdinand Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome*, vol. 8, part 2, p. 510.

[24] Egmont Lee, "Foreigners," p. 138.

[25] For a full discussion of all the census' shortcomings as a source see the introduction by Egmont Lee, *Descriptio Urbis*, pp. 17-28.

estimated the population of Rome at 85,000, presumably based on a census conducted under Leo X in 1517 to which he may have had access.[26] But only fragments of Leo X's census have survived and, unfortunately, no household numbers are included .

Giovio's estimate of 85,000 is not unreasonable; in fact it is comparable to the population totals of other major Italian cities of the time. Milan, Venice, and Naples all likely surpassed 100,000 inhabitants in the fifteenth century. By 1500 Naples had 150,000 people, while Venice had reached 168,627 by 1563.[27] Acceptance of the figure of 85,000 as the population of Rome in 1517 demands an explanation accounting for the loss of 30,000 people in the decade between Leo's census and the census of 1526/27. Peter Partner asserts that "it is far from impossible that the natural and political misfortunes of Clement VII's reign had drastically reduced Roman population, perhaps even by as much as a third, before the Sack of Rome took place."[28] Gregorovius notes that in June 1522 thousands died from a plague, and thousands fled the city.[29] Additionally, nearly from the day that Clement VII ascended the papal throne, battles were raging in Italy, and immediately

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[26] Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome 1500-1559*, p. 82.

[27] Of the population growth in Italy in the sixteenth century, Mols writes, "Avec le Cinquecento, une période d'euphorie s'ouvre dans l'histoire démographique des villes d'Italie. Une période dont seul le XIXᵉ siècle a connu l'équivalent." Roger Mols, *Introduction à la Démographie Historique*, p. 505.

[28] Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome 1500-1559*, p. 82.

[29] Ferdinand Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome*, p. 426.

preceding the Sack that everyone knew was coming, many prelates and other Romans quickly vacated the city.[30]

The nature of the two popes in the decades between the censi may also have contributed to a downturn in population. Leo X had left the papal coffers next to bankrupt, his successor Adrian was an ascetic not inclined to selling offices or giving gifts to friends in high places, and Clement VII likewise turned Romans, cardinals, and aristocrats against him. The political misfortunes of both Adrian and Clement surely had local economic consequences.

If indeed Rome had 55,000 to 60,000 inhabitants in 1526 this was significant increase from the 34,000 of Calixtus III's salt tax registry (ca. 1458)—the population had doubled over a period of one hundred years, from approximately 30,000 in the 1420s to about 60,000 in the 1520s, an increase which can only be attributed to immigration.

Migration is often linked to the increases in population that Early Modern cities underwent; some suggest that most cities could not have sustained their size without a continual flow of migrants.[31] Indeed, throughout

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[30] Ferdinand Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome*, p. 559.

[31] High rates of death in urban centres have brought some historians to conclude that without immigrants some urban populations would have declined. Birth rates were neither high enough to create growth nor to even replace those who died, thus the considerable increases in populations had to be due to steady immigration. Conversely, Allan Sharlin has demonstrated that the reason death rates were so high in cities in the early modern era was precisely because of immigration. Immigrants were typically single young and unwed men, mostly journeymen and servants, who found it difficult to marry in the cultural climate and

the Trecento this fact was painfully clear in the abandoned streets of Rome. That a significant immigrant population infused life and new prosperity into the city in the fourteenth century is without doubt. The precise numbers of those immigrants, their origins, and their reasons for migrating are more difficult to determine. Something of the multinational make-up of Rome can be seen in the 1526/27 census. Of the 9,324 heads of households listed, for instance, 318 were identified as Jewish,[32] 264 as Florentines,[33] 210 as Spanish,[34] 166 as Corsican,[35] 155 as German,[36] 126 as Milanese,[37] 112 as French,[38] 102 as Lombards,[39] 101 as Bolognese,[40] 88 as Neapolitan,[41] 70 as Genoese,[42] 70 as Venetians,[43] 27 as Slavs,[44] 18 as Greek,[45] 5 as Portuguese,[46] and 2 as English.[47] In total, 3,865 heads of households were identified by origin or ethnicity.

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therefore contributed more to the number of deaths than that of births. Allan Sharlin, "Natural Decrease in Early Modern Cities: A Reconsideration," *Past & Present*, no. 79, May 1978, pp. 126-138.

[32] *Descriptio Urbis*, pp. 317-320.
[33] *Descriptio Urbis*, pp. 285-288.
[34] *Descriptio Urbis*, pp. 310-312.
[35] *Descriptio Urbis*, pp. 282-283.
[36] *Descriptio Urbis*, pp. 313-314.
[37] *Descriptio Urbis*, pp. 293-295.
[38] *Descriptio Urbis*, pp. 288-289.
[39] *Descriptio Urbis*, pp. 291-292.
[40] *Descriptio Urbis*, pp. 278-279.
[41] *Descriptio Urbis*, p. 296.
[42] *Descriptio Urbis*, pp. 289-290.
[43] *Descriptio Urbis*, pp. 315-316.
[44] *Descriptio Urbis*, p. 308.
[45] *Descriptio Urbis*, p. 290.
[46] *Descriptio Urbis*, p. 302.
[47] *Descriptio Urbis*, p. 277.

Jean Delumeau and Peter Partner separately conducted two studies that explore the immigrant factor of the Roman census of 1526/27. Delumeau found that of the 3,495[48] named Christians with a given origin, 16.4% (573) were from Rome or its environs, [49] 63.6% (2,922) were from elsewhere on the peninsula and islands, while 20.0% (683) were from beyond the Alps.[50] Delumeau assumes, and perhaps because of the presumed propensity of popes to favour co-nationals, that the anonymous *bocche* listed under foreign heads of household were foreigners as well. From this, Delumeau extends his percentages to the 44,573 unnamed *bocche*, and arrives at the conclusion that over eighty per cent of the inhabitants of Rome were immigrants of some sort.[51] There is, however, a fault in this reasoning. If the 3,495 named Christians with a given origin constituted a random sample of the census, it would be reasonable to extrapolate the conclusions to the larger whole. However, the named Christians whose origin was recorded make up a distinct group within the census and their characteristics cannot reliably be applied to the unnamed *bocche* or even to the other household heads whose origins were not given. Such an assumption rules out intermarriage between Romans and

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[48] Both Delumeau and Partner used Gnoli's edition of the census. Their figures differ from comparative figures in Lee's edition.

[49] By environs, Delumeau means modern-day Lazio, see Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, p. 199, n.1.

[50] Delumeau's figures are based on Gnoli's edition of the census, which have slightly different totals than those found in Lee's *Descriptio Urbis*, itself based on a different and in some respects more complete manuscript.

[51] Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, pp. 198-199.

non-Romans, indeed between any nationals, as well as the possibility of lodgers, adopted children, or servants being of different nationalities from the head of the household. In short, it rules out acculturation, inter-cultural mixing, and presumes that all immigrants remained solely in the company of co-nationals.

Partner uses the census in much the same way but makes some different assumptions. Unlike Delumeau, he assumes that the unnamed *bocche* living under the 3,495 heads of households, whose place of origin is known, were "predominantly Roman."[52] But much like Delumeau, Partner asserts that 40.6% (3,495) of total 9,324 heads of households constitutes a "reasonable . . . random sample" of the population as a whole, and extrapolates the percentages based on this sample to the entire census.[53] However, there was nothing random in the selection of these 3,495 names. The names were isolated for study precisely because they differed from the other names in the census by having a toponymic.

There are two other difficulties with Delumeau and Partner's findings. First, if one extends Delumeau's figure of 16.4% or Partner's 25% of inhabitants originating from Rome and its environs to the entire population, it results in only 9,000 Romans for Delumeau and 15,000 for Partner, both

[52] Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome 1500-1559*, p. 75.
[53] Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome 1500-1559*, p. 75.

figures significantly lower than the 25,000 people assumed to be have lived in Rome at the turn of the Quattrocento, more than a century before. Presumably some of the 25,000 in the 1393 accord were also non-Romans, but not nearly as many as would have been found in the 1526/27 census after a century of discernibly heavy immigration. The immigrant population was surely not the only group in Rome whose numbers increased and one must wonder where all the Romans went.[54]

Neither Delumeau nor Partner discuss the very significant 5,459 heads of household without a named provenance, who comprise nearly sixty per cent of the total listed heads of household. Also neglected are the 373 identified Jewish household heads, who were both multi-generational Roman citizens (indeed there had been a Jewish community in Rome well before the introduction of Christianity) and foreigners—Italian and ultramontane—who started arriving in Rome in significant numbers at the beginning of Sixtus IV's pontificate and were particularly numerous after the 1492 expulsion from Iberia.[55]

Although there are a small number in the census identified as 'Romano,' it is the majority of household heads without a given provenance who are in fact the Romans, both native Roman and assimilated immigrant.

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[54] Egmont Lee, "Foreigners," p. 139.

[55] Anna Esposito, "La presenza ebraica a Roma dal duecento al sacco: aspetti demografici e sociali," *Un'altra Roma: Minoranze nazionali e comunità ebraiche tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Rome: Il Calamo, 1995), p. 128.

Beyond an individual's given name, second names were, outside of the nobility, most often descriptive and not hereditary. Therefore, as Lee has pointed out, those individuals in the census without any apparent characteristics that might define them as foreign would have been recorded by a different defining feature, such as occupation, and would have been taken for a Roman.[56]

By including also persons not specifically identified as Romans in the equation some strikingly different figures result: more than two-thirds of people listed in the census are Romans and fully assimilated immigrants, nearly one quarter are Italians from elsewhere on the peninsula and islands, and less than ten per cent are ultramontane. These figures are in line with a partial study of notarial records, also done by Lee, of the Rione Ponte from 1450 to 1480. In the records 1,100 people are named, of whom 280, or one quarter, are identified by origin. Of these 280, twenty-one are described as being from Rome, fifty-nine from Rome's environs, 190 from elsewhere in Italy, and thirty-one as being ultramontane. From this study Lee has estimated that between fifty and seventy per cent of the population at this time were native Romans or fully assimilated immigrants, between five and fifteen per cent were from the Roman environs, twenty to thirty per cent originated from elsewhere on the peninsula and islands, and between five and twenty per cent

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[56] Egmont Lee, "Foreigners," p. 139.

were ultramontane.[57] What is surprising is that these percentages match those of the 1526/27 census. Immigration continued between 1480 and 1526, but there is no corresponding increase in percentages. The stable percentages over this period might be explained by a steady stream of immigrants returning home, or by a constant "turn-over" of newly acculturated immigrants, who began identifying themselves as Romans rather than as individuals of other nations.

While assimilated immigrants cannot be pinpointed in the census, those persons whose names include a toponym can be numbered and grouped according to their origin to give us an idea of the larger and smaller ethnic groupings resident in the city. The following table is a condensed version of one appearing in Delumeau:[58]

Iberian	234
French	176
German	152
Flemish	13
Polish	5
Greek	17
"Schiavoni" / Albanian	44
Turkish / Moors	10
Other non-Italians	32
TOTAL ultramontane	**683**

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[57] Other scholars have also accepted this interpretation including Anna Esposito, "Note sulla popolazione," p. 23.

[58] Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, pp. 198-199. Again, Delumeau's figures are based on the Gnoli census and will not in all instances match the Lee edition.

from Corsica	168
from Genoa and Riviera	95
from Sardinia	5
from Piedmont	165
from the Principality of Trento	5
from Milan	120
from the Duchy of Milan and from Lombardy	299
from Bergamo, Brescia, Caravaggio	97
from Verona	12
from Venice, Padua, Treviso, Vicenza and Udine	101
from Mantua	48
from Modena and duchy	47
from Parma and Piacenza	69
from Ferrara	41
from Bologna and Romagna	121
from Siena	70
from Florence	393
from the Marche and Umbria	203
from Kingdom of Naples	142
from Sicily	38
TOTAL Italian Peninsula and Islands (excepting Rome & environs)	**2,922**
TOTAL Rome and Lazio	**573**[59]

Delumeau's count of Gnoli's *Descriptio Urbis* is frequently cited by historians, and it is immediately clear why immigrants have received the attention they have. But the picture may be somewhat misleading. The

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[59] Delumeau may have been mistaken in his addition, or perhaps there is a typographical error, because if these three totals are added up a figure of 4,178 results, higher than the 3, 865 names with origins, including the named Jewish population, given in the census. Following the publication of Lee's *Descriptio Urbis*, based on the best surviving manuscript, it was clear some mistakes had been made in Gnoli's publication which had been based on a copy.

Romans here (not including Lazio) are individuals whose name includes 'Romano' or 'Romana', but the majority of Romans would have had no need to indicate their Roman origin, as it would have been taken for granted. If we again take Lee's suggestion of including in the tally those names for which no provenance is specified because presumably they were visibly Roman or did not otherwise call attention to their cultural distinctiveness, the result is considerably different:

Total ultramontane	683
Total Italian Peninsula & Islands	2,922
Total Rome & Lazio, incl. assimilated immigrants	6,032

Although the immigrant number is still significant, this adaptation gives Rome back to the Romans. It must be kept in mind, however, that these figures are based only on the heads of households and that nothing can be said with any certainty about the members of the households and their origins. Rather, these figures should be considered as a rough sketch of the Roman population in the third decade of the sixteenth century. In many cases, the information here can be affirmed in less direct ways, such as the records kept at national hospices and confraternities, which tell us that, for example, the German community in Rome was indeed of considerable size and influence.

A surprising aspect of the census that may point to the turmoil leading up to the Sack in May 1527 is the considerable number of women listed as

household heads. Among the group identified as *Romano* or *Romana*, nearly sixty per cent, or 223 out of 385, were women. Four of these women were named as widows, but the majority simply had a first name followed by *Romana*.[60] Second names were uncommon for women in this period. Generally, women throughout the medieval and well into the Early Modern period were given only a first name, and if necessary, were further identified by their father's or husband's name.[61] In the unusual circumstance that a woman was alone, or unassociated with a male member of her family, a toponym might be used. A number of these Roman women in the 1526/27 census lived alone, but a good number more were listed as the heads of considerable households. One woman, a Felice Palimi Romana, in Rione Regola, had eighty people living in her house.[62] On average, each Roman female head of household had about four household members.

Other national groups also exhibited a strong female presence in the census. Of the seventy households identified by a Venetian head, fifty-four, or seventy-seven per cent, were women. Of the Slavs, eighty-two per cent of the heads of household were women. Of the Spanish, fifty-seven per cent were women, and of the Germans thirty-seven per cent. There are a couple of

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[60] *Gratiosa Romana vidua*, no. 966, *Maria vidua Romana*, no. 1155, *Pelegrina vidua Romana*, no. 8067, *Lucretia Romana vidua*, no. 8130, in *Descriptio Urbis*.

[61] François Menant, "What Were People Called in Communal Italy?" *Personal Names Studies of Medieval Europe: Social Identity and Familial Structures*, vol. 43, *Studies in Medieval Culture*, ed. George Beech, Monique Bourin, and Pascal Chareille (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002), p. 99.

[62] No. 6289 *Descriptio Urbis*.

possible explanations for the large number of women represented in the census. It is well known that a large number of women worked as prostitutes in Rome—in this largely celibate society, there were at least four women for every six men.[63] Indeed, the census-takers named twenty-nine women explicitly as courtesans, six of whom originated from outside of Italy.[64] Prostitutes in the medieval period seldom worked in their city of origin, frequently travelling to other countries and adopting new names.[65] Lozana, a prostitute in Rome at the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the celebrated play bearing her name, adeptly shifts identity and origins depending on her needs, but is in the end a foreigner to the city.[66]

A second possibility is that the women belonged to a *casa santa*. At the end of the fourteenth century religious houses for women who took a vow of poverty but who were not members of an official order, founded by the likes of S. Francesca Romana and S. Brigitte of Sweden, were fairly numerous in Rome. As the presence of prostitutes increased within the Aurelian walls, the idea of these *case sante* fell to suspicion, appearing to many eyes very similar to brothels. However, it is possible that a small number of them

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[63] Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance*, p. 28.

[64] Two were Sicilian, one Spanish, two German, one Valencian. Nos. 6048, 6069, 2230, 5746, 5791, 6049 in *Descriptio Urbis*.

[65] Leah Lydia Otis, in a study of prostitutes in medieval Languedoc found that the majority of prostitutes did not originate in the cities in which they worked and were identified by nicknames. See *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), pp. 63-64.

[66] Francisco Delicado, *Portrait of Lozana: The Lusty Andalusian Woman*, Bruno M. Damiani, trans. and ed., (Potomac: Scripta Humanistica, 1987).

survived into the sixteenth century and made it into the census. The simplest explanation is that the women listed as household heads were simply the ones who opened the door to the census takers.

One of the arguments used as evidence that immigrants tended to group closely together comes from the census. However, an examination of the census material demonstrates that immigrants, or more specifically heads of households with a given origin were dispersed fairly evenly throughout Rome's Rioni. In certain Rioni one or other nationality was particularly populous, but they did not all cluster exclusively in one area. According to Delumeau, the greatest number of household heads with a given ultramontane origin was found in Rione Regola, while non-Roman Italians were most numerous in Rione Ponte.[67] When the total of all heads of households with a given origin are tallied, excluding the 385 identified as *Romano* or *Romana*, Rione Regola leads with the highest concentration of recognized immigrants (41.3%), while the greatest number of immigrants can be found in Rione Ponte (571), also the most populous area.[68]

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[67] Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, pp. 198-199.

[68] Based on tables in Egmont Lee, "Gli Abitanti del Rione Ponte," *Roma Capitale (1447-1527)*, Sergio Gensini, ed., (Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1994), p. 326.

RIONE (in order of des-cending per-centage of hshlds with given origin)	NUM-BER OF HSHLD IN RIONE	NUM-BER OF BOCCHE IN RIONE	NUM-BER OF HSHLD HEADS WITH GIVEN ORIGIN [69]	PER CENT OF HSHLDS WITH GIVEN ORIGIN IN RIONE [70]	PER CENT OF HSHLDS WITHOUT GIVEN ORIGIN IN RIONE
Regola	1,178	5,537	486	41.3	58.7
Trastevere	824	3,827	340	41.3	58.7
Campo Marzio	1,068	5,282	440	41.2	58.8
Ponte	1,446	7,621	571	39.5	60.5
Campitelli	251	1,902	98	39.0	61.0
Colonna	510	3,037	192	37.6	62.4
Borgo	563	4,920	211	37.5	62.5
Pigna	377	2,862	130	34.5	65.5
S. Angelo	597	3,319	193	32.3	67.7
Parione	909	6,315	283	31.1	68.9
Monti	476	2,835	147	30.9	69.1
Trevi	372	1,754	112	30.1	69.9
S. Eustachio	432	3,122	128	29.6	70.4
Ripa	325	1,356	58	17.8	82.2
TOTALS	**9,327**	**53,689**	**3,389**	**36.3**	**63.7**

[69] Excluding those identified as *Romano* or *Romana*, of which there were 385 total.

[70] The percentages are strikingly large, and make Rome indeed appear as a city of non-Romans. However, when the total number of *bocche* for each rione is used instead, the percentage of known foreigners drops significantly. In Regola for example, there were a total of 5,537 *bocche* of which the 571 heads of households with an identified origin is only 10.3%. Likewise in Ponte, 616 heads of households with a given origin out of the total 7,621 number of *bocche* is only 8.1%. Surely a number of the unidentified *bocche* had similar origins to those who headed their households, but there is no way of being certain.

Between all identified non-Romans, the distribution across the city is quite even; immigrants lived in highest concentrations in the areas of the city that were also the most populous.

Heads of household identified as originating in Tuscany (excluding the Florentines, who form a significant group on their own) number most highly in Ponte at 46, but were most dense in Pigna, if only at 3.4% of all the Rione households. Those from Florence were also most numerous in Ponte at 92 households and also most dense at 6.4%. The Lombards, who far outnumber the Tuscans and the Florentines in the city, were most numerous in Campo Marzio with 88 households, and were most dense at 10% in Campitelli, the Rione with the fewest number of households in Rome (251, of which the Lombards had 25). Residents with a given provenance of southern Italy numbered greatest in Regola, but were most dense in Rione S. Angelo at 3.5%. Of those heads of household with a given Spanish origin, the most numerous group of 41 households could be found in Campo Marzio, but the highest concentration, 4.9%, was found in S. Eustachio. The French were most numerous in Regola with 22 households, and were most dense at 3.4% in the Borgo. Finally, the Germans had the greatest number of households in Rione

Regola at 50, and were also the most dense at 4.2% of the Rione's households.[71] .

While the heads of households with a named provenance were most numerous in Rione Ponte, it is clear from the distribution of nationals that immigrant groups did not cluster together into exclusive areas or ghettos. The total number of identified German households in the 1526/27 census was 155, who like other national groups were found most numerous in the most populated Rioni, but who were also represented in nearly all sections of the city.

RIONE	NUMBER OF IDENTIFIED GERMAN HEADS OF HSHLD[72]	PER CENT OF TOTAL IDENTIFIED GERMAN POPULATION
Regola	50	32.3
Parione	29	18.7
Borgo	20	12.9
S. Eustachio	15	9.7
S. Angelo	12	7.7
Colonna	9	5.8
Ponte	9	5.8
Campitelli	3	1.9

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[71] Based on tables in Egmont Lee, "Gli Abitanti del Rione Ponte," pp. 326-329.
[72] Based on tables in Egmont Lee, "Gli Abitanti del Rione Ponte," p. 329.

Trevi	2	1.3
Campo Marzio	2	1.3
Pigna	2	1.3
Monti	1	0.6
Trastevere	1	0.6
Ripa	0	0
TOTAL	**155**	**100**

The distribution of population, both native and foreign, is due in large part to the layout of the city. The most populous Rioni lay in close proximity to the river and the Vatican; the least populous are either furthest from the river, or downstream of heavily populated sections of the city. The Borgo was dominated by the Vatican and Castel S. Angelo, and housed an established community of foreigners who had been residing in the area for centuries. St. Peter's Basilica was the most important pilgrimage site, and among papal palaces the dilapidated state of St. John Lateran moved the popes to make the Vatican home. By the middle of the century, the papal residence on the other side of the river was firmly entrenched. Rione Ponte, nestled into a crook in the Tiber, was by far the most populous area because of its close proximity to the Borgo and the main bridges across the river to the Vatican. Immediately south along the east side of the Tiber lay Rione Regola, with the third highest

population and the highest percentage of households heads identified by origin. Immediately north of Ponte along the river was Campo Marzio, the fourth highest in population. Those Rioni with the lowest populations lay furthest downstream, such as Rione Ripa, or form the eastern periphery, such as Colonna, Trevi, Monti (also the largest by area), and Campitelli. Not surprisingly, rent was most expensive in the Borgo, Ponte, and S. Angelo, and lowest in Monti, Trevi, Colonna, Campo Marzio and Ripa.[73]

For much of the fifteenth century residents in Rome were limited in where they could live. Most of the population was concentrated near the river, despite the fact that it often overflowed its banks and served simultaneously as central water source, transportation route, sewer, garbage dump, and—inadvertently—carrier of disease. The ancient aqueducts were in ill-repair, a facet of the city that a number of popes, including most memorably Nicholas V and Sixtus IV, made efforts to fix.[74] Rome's unique topography, social organization and economy also dictated how—and where—its inhabitants would live. Closed in by hills, with an environment that allowed for little local industry other than ranching, the presence of the papacy, and even the

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[73] Etienne Hubert, "Population et habitat à Rome aux XIIIᵉ et XIVᵉ siècles," *Popolazione e società a Roma dal medioevo all'età contemporanea,* Eugenio Sonnino, ed., (Rome: Il Calamo, 1998), p. 60.

[74] For discussions of the work undertaken under and ordered by Popes Nicholas V and Sixtus IV see Torgil Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1958); Carroll William Westfall, *In this Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V, and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447-1455* (London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974); and Charles Burroughs, *From Signs to Designs: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990).

planning and physical alteration of the city under Renaissance ideals shaped the immigrant experience. There was no one central piazza in Rome, but several focal points—the Campo dei Fiori, Piazza Navona (made the new central market by Sixtus IV), Porta del Popolo, the Pantheon, St. Peter's, S. Maria Maggiore—around which people gathered. Nor were the wealthy and poor divided into different quarters. Merchants, cardinals, prostitutes, bakers, weavers, beggars and Roman nobility all lived side by side, and sometimes in the same building. In Parione, for example, one finds old Roman families such as the Mezzatosta, the Mellini, the Cibo, the Bonadies, the Stefanuzi, the Tartari, and the Leoni, among others, tucked in amongst the dense inns and taverns of the Campo dei Fiori and Piazza Navona.[75] With the steep climb in the population, the building of strip or row houses increased, and the *Maestri delli strade* were made responsible for keeping roadways clear of makeshift homes, additions, and porticoes. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, palace building became regular work in Rome. The most characteristic feature of Roman palaces was the designation of the ground floor for commercial use

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[75] Bartolomeo de Mezzatostis was treasurer of the papal camera from 1431-1437 and a *nobilis vir* according to the *Repertorio delle Famiglie romane*; the De' Mellini family is first mentioned in a document from 1026; Gaspare Bonadies was rector of the university, a position reserved for Roman professors; Giulio de Stafanuzi was elected *Conservatore di Roma* in 1511; Petrus Tartarus was elected *caporione* of Parione in 1404; the Leoni were among the oldest noble families of Rome with branches in various Rioni of Rome – the Bussa were the branch that lived in Parione and one Paulo Bussa was the father of S. Francesca Romana. For these and others, see A. Proia and P. Romano, *Roma nel Rinascimento: Parione (VI Regione)*, (Rome: Tipografia Agostiniana, 1933), pp. 6-7.

and the upper story for residential use, bringing different social levels into close daily contact with one another.[76]

Nowhere in the city plans for this period, with the possible exception of the Jewish quarter, was there discussion of a quarter dominated by a single group. In a sense one might speak of a Florentine quarter or street, which was in effect the street of the merchant bankers, located conveniently close to their most important clients: the Pope and his cardinals. But it was more a placement of convenience for the bankers and for the Florentines (who happened to dominate banking in the city) than a planned or required living area. Indeed, throughout the fifteenth century, there were several attempts to entice residents to spread out in the city. In April 1437 Cardinal Vitelleschi advised that a concession be made to residents and would-be residents of the Borgo exempting them from all taxes and duties imposed by the Commune for twenty-five years, freeing them from obligations to creditors for ten years, and pardoning them of crimes, excepting murder or rebellious acts against the Church. A similar concession was made by Nicholas V in May 1447 in the hopes of repopulating Rione Monti.[77] In 1474, Sixtus IV allowed curial clerics

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[76] James Ackerman, "The Planning of Renaissance Rome, 1450-1580," *Rome in the Renaissance: the City and the Myth, Papers of the Thirteenth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, P. A. Ramsey, ed., (Binghamton (NY): Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1982); Torgil Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture*; Charles Westfall, *In This Most Perfect Paradise*.

[77] Pio Paschini, *Roma nel Rinascimento*, vol. 12, *Storia di Roma* (Bologna: Licinio Cappelli Editore, 1940), pp. 159-160.

and laymen who died in Rome to will their property to their families, encouraging permanent residence in Rome.[78]

By all accounts Rome appeared to be a city being reborn. Before Martin V entered Rome, following his election and the end of the long schism, he sent money for the restoration of churches.[79] Twenty-odd years later Nicholas V implemented a plan of building and repair,[80] followed by a similarly large program initiated by Sixtus IV, whose papacy also inaugurated an extended period of palace construction for cardinals.[81] In the Quattrocento, social mobility was easier in Rome than elsewhere on the peninsula,[82] and apostolic poverty, not conducive to the employment of large numbers of people, was a thing of the past, replaced by a cultivation of splendour.[83] In such an atmosphere, immigrants were welcomed and there were was little room for regulations regarding where they should live.

An important factor in the acceptance of non-Romans in the city may well have been their contribution to the economy. The Roman economy in the fifteenth century is frequently characterized as one with few natural resources, few self-sustaining industries, and a heavy reliance on imports, much of which

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[78] John D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism*, p. 70.

[79] Torgil Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture*, p. 31.

[80] Torgil Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocentro Architecture*, p. 55.

[81] Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance*, p. 29.

[82] John D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism*, p. 62.

[83] This according to Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger, secretary to Eugenius IV, see Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance*, p. 28.

was fuelled by the wealth of the papacy, and executed by the influx of immigrant skilled workers.[84] But as Luciano Palermo recently demonstrated, the view of Renaissance Rome as a parasitic city, an economy based solely on the presence of the papacy and pilgrims, needs to be abandoned. This view underestimates the ability of the city to produce its own goods, is in contrast with the evidence of the complex economic and financial growth that occurred in the fifteenth century, and the unsustainability of such a consumptive economy.[85] Traditionally, Rome was reliant on agricultural and pastoral production in the form of ranching, grain, and vine production, on which most of the Roman nobility based their wealth. The importance of agriculture is highlighted by the fact that it was the only art referred to as *nobilis*.[86] There were also a number of trades that maintained the urban economy, the most prominent of which were merchants of all sorts, spice dealers, builders, blacksmiths, masons, carpenters, tailors, bakers, fish vendors, hospice and tavern keepers, and not surprisingly a variety associated with animal products, such as shepherds, tanners, furriers, and butchers.[87] Like most pre-industrial

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[84] Arnold Esch, "Le importazioni nella Roma del primo Rinascimento (il loro volume secondo i registri doganali romani degli anni 1452-1462)," *Aspetti della vita economica e culturale a Roma nel Quattrocento*, Arnold Esch et al, eds., (Rome: Il Centro di Ricerca, 1981), pp. 9-79.

[85] Luciano Palermo, "Espansione demografica e sviluppo economico a Roma nel Rinascimento," *Popolazione e società a Roma*, p. 307.

[86] One of the more important Roman confraternities in fourteenth-century was that of *nobilis ars bobacteriorum*, see Isa Lori Sanfilippo, *La Roma dei Romani: Arti, mestieri e professioni nella Roma del Trecento*, (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2001), pp. 95-99.

[87] For details on each trade in the city see Isa Lori Sanfilippo, *La Roma dei Romani*.

economies, Rome was subject to cycles of growth, stagnation, and recession. While the fourteenth century saw a number of events—the Plague, the political unrest in the city, and the absence of the papacy—that hindered the economy, the fifteenth-century economy was supplemented by the re-entrance of the papacy into the Italian economy, the infusion of Florentine capital into the city's economy, and a large number of skilled immigrant labourers who produced, distributed, and consumed goods.[88] Rome's acceptance of workers from abroad was in sharp contrast to German cities at the beginning of the fifteenth century where the market for craftsmen stagnated and journeymen were locked out of mastership.[89]

The distribution of immigrants parallels the distribution of trades through the city. An examination of twelve of the more common trades in the 1526/27 census shows that, like immigrants, they were most highly concentrated in those areas that were also most populous. The trades included were masons, carpenters, weavers, barbers, shoemakers, tailors, butchers, bakers, spice merchants, delicatessen operators/grocers, hostellers, and tavern keepers. Again, Ponte—the most populous Rione in the city—was where the largest number of identified tradesmen lived, and also where the greatest

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[88] Luciano Palermo, "Espansione demografica e sviluppo economico a Roma nel Rinascimento," *Popolazione e società a Roma*, pp. 299-326.

[89] Alfred Doren, *Deutsche Handwerker und Handwerkerbruderschaften im mittelalterlichen Italien* (Berlin: R. L. Prager, 1903), pp. 18-19.

number of identified immigrants lived. In Ponte, the resident 243 tradesmen made up 16.8% of the households, while the resident identified immigrants made up 39.5%. Similarly, the twelve trades selected were most highly concentrated in the most pilgrim-centred area, the Borgo, where they made up 25.4% of the households. As with the various nations, different trades tended to favour different areas of the city, likely seeking the area where their trade would be most successful. But also like the various national groups, the trades were well represented in most areas of Rome. Of the trades selected, that which had the largest number listed in the census were the 257 tailors. The majority of them, or 22.6%, lived in Ponte, another 16% lived in Parione, 14% lived in the Borgo, and nearly 11% in Regola. The remaining 40% were dispersed amongst the other ten Rioni. Shoemakers, butchers, delicatessen owners, barbers, and carpenters were all most numerous in Ponte. Masons, weavers, and tavern keepers favoured Campo Marzio, bakers were most numerous in Regola, and spice merchants and hostel operators marginally preferred the Borgo over Rione Ponte.[90]

The majority of flourishing trades found in Rome in the fifteenth century were not part of the traditional Roman economy. With few other natural resources in an otherwise marshy area of the country, agricultural and pastoral trades were the most sustainable over the long term in Rome. In the

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[90] Based on tables in Egmont Lee, "Gli Abitanti del Rione Ponte," pp. 326-329.

context of the city, service trades such as butchers, bakers, fish vendors, masons, carpenters, inn and tavern keepers were present throughout Rome's history, but with the economic troubles of the fourteenth century one expects that many of those involved in service trades would have intermittently migrated elsewhere.[91] In the fifteenth century, these trades came to be dominated by immigrant groups who brought knowledge of new technology and different techniques with them, and Romans only marginally participated.[92] Immigrants thus contributed significantly to the growth and prosperity of Rome; their activity in the city made them a visible and undeniable presence.

Immigrant Groups and their Trades

Among the national groups some trades were more common than others. Bakers and shoemakers were particularly numerous among the Germans, for instance. In the census none of the shoemakers listed are further identified as Germans, and only twenty household heads are identified as both Germans and bakers. Both Germans and bakers were most numerous in Rione Regola, and it cannot be ruled out that many of those listed as being German were also bakers and vice versa. There was good money to be made in this

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[91] Isa Lori Sanfilippo, *La Roma dei Romani.*

[92] Anna Esposito, "I 'forenses' a Roma nell'età del Rinascimento," *Un'Altra Roma*, (Rome: Il Calamo, 1995), pp. 83-85.

city of cultivated opulence, and Germans worked at a great variety of occupations, including "innkeepers, wool and linen weavers, shoemakers, bakers, tailors, furriers, millers, blacksmiths, butchers, barbers, clock makers, carpenters, coopers, veterinarians, potters, crossbow makers, organ builders, saddlers, gold and silversmiths, bucket-chain makers, scribes, money changers, illuminators, grocers, printers, and apothecaries."[93] As innkeepers, the Germans in Rome were renowned. Enea Silvio Piccolomini wrote that, "... le locande non sono numerose e queste son condotte da tedeschi. Questa gente è quella che esercita l'industria dell'albergo in quasi tutte le città d'Italia: dove non trovi tedeschi, val meglio non cercarne altri."[94] At the time of Eugenius IV there were sixty German guesthouses in the Borgo alone.[95] The *Campana* in Parione was for a time one of the most popular drinking places in town and was referred to by Johannes Burckhardt, the papal master of ceremonies, as "the Germans' House."[96] Many of the inns were owned by Germans, but even those owned by Italians often employed Germans to run them, such as the della Valle brothers who had bought the Campana in 1476.

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[93] Clifford Maas, *The German Community in Renaissance Rome 1378-1523*, Supplement 39, *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, (Rome: Herder, 1981,) pp. 3-4.

[94] "... the inns are not numerous and those that exist are run by Germans. These people are those who control the industry of hospices in nearly all of the cities of Italy: where you do not find Germans, it would be best to not bother looking further." Quoted in Umberto Gnoli, *Alberghi ed osterie*, p. 16.

[95] Giovanni Rucellai, who visited Rome in 1450, noted that there were 1022 hostels with signs, and even larger numbers without. Gnoli notes that the figure may have been exaggerated, but also notes that during Jubilee years shop keepers would often put up a few beds in their shops for rent. Umberto Gnoli, *Alberghi ed osterie*, p. 16.

[96] Clifford Maas, *The German Community*, p. 27.

The brothers employed Johannes Teufel, also known as Angelo, to run it and it was he who made it famous.[97]   In 1467 the first printers arrived in Rome, Arnold Pannartz and Conrad Schweinheim, with little initial success, but by the end of the century the Germans had a practical monopoly on printing in Rome, even printing some books in German.[98]

Germans also made up a valuable component of the Curia in the fifteenth century; among members of the community, curials were second in number only to craftsmen.[99]   In Avignon, out of 4253 clerics, 2224 of which had a named provenance, only sixty-nine were German, but back in Rome the German participation at every level of the Curia increased dramatically.[100] During the first half of the fifteenth century, nearly two-thirds of Germans in the Curia originated from the large and affluent Church dioceses of Köln and Mainz.   They were most numerous under Eugenius IV (1431-1447)—many of them followed him into temporary exile in Florence—when 1170 were engaged.   The numbers, at 975, were only slightly less under Eugenius' predecessor Martin V (1417-1431), and few hundred shorter still with 707 under Nicholas V (1447-1455).[101]   After 1447, the provenance of German

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[97] Umberto Gnoli, *Alberghi ed osterie*, pp. 50-55; Clifford Maas, *The German Community*, p. 28.

[98] Clifford Maas, "German Printers and the German Community in Renaissance Rome," *The Library*, vol. 31, no. 2, 1976, p. 118-126; Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, p. 203.

[99] Christiane Schuchard, *Die Deutschen an der päpstlichen Kurie im 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert*, vol. 86, no. 1-2, *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 1991, p. 79.

[100] Christiane Schuchard, *Die Deutschen an der päpstlichen Kurie*, p. 29.

[101] Christiane Schuchard, *Die Deutschen an der päpstlichen Kurie*, p. 81, n. 13.

curialists widened considerably to include Trier, Bremen, and eventually many from the southern German bishoprics of Worms, Speyer, Konstanz, as well as further east from Würzburg, Bamberg, Regensburg, Augsburg, and Freising.[102] Many of these origins are represented in a list of 81 German curialists who contributed the considerable sum of 1000 ducats, in exchange for the life of a colleague who had deflowered a young girl, to Sixtus IV's bridge building project in 1473.[103]

At the time of the census, the Spanish community, into which Castilians and Catalans are often lumped, constituted Rome's largest non-Italian nation; a nation which would, in effect, come to rule Rome by the end of the sixteenth-century.[104] Castilians and Catalans first arrived in great numbers under Pope Calixtus III (1455–1458), and again under his nephew Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503) both from Catalonia, knowing that a fellow national in office could mean great opportunities. It was broadly assumed that popes favoured their own, a fact which had led to so many of the difficulties with the Roman nobles in the past. Noble Italian families would cultivate sons and nephews for careers in the Curia as it brought not only social prestige but also tangible financial profit. Some popes tended to appoint people they were

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[102] Christiane Schuchard, *Die Deutschen an der päpstlichen Kurie*, p. 81.

[103] Ulrich Schwarz, "Sixtus IV. und de deutschen Kurialen in Rom: eine Episode um den Ponte Sisto (1473)," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, vol. 71, 1991, pp. 340-395.

[104] Thomas Dandelet, "Spanish Conquest and Colonization at the Center of the Old World: The Spanish Nation in Rome, 1555-1625," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 69, no. 3, 1997, pp. 479-511.

familiar with, both linguistically and culturally. Beyond the benefit of personal convenience, the favouring of a compatriot in Rome could have a reciprocal advantage for the pope's family at home. Pius II (1458-1464) brought Sienese to Rome, Sixtus IV (1471-1484), Innocent VIII (1484-1492), and Julius II (1503-1513) brought Ligurians with them, Adrian VI (1522–1523), suspicious of Italians, clearly favoured his Flemish country folk, and the Florentines at home and in Rome celebrated in the streets at the election of the first Medici pope Leo X.[105] Alexander VI certainly knew how to reward his family well; between the years 1492 and 1500, Alexander appointed twelve Spanish cardinals, four of whom, including his son, were Borgias.[106]

The size of the Spanish community under Alexander VI must have been considerable. Politically, Rome was bordered on two sides by Iberian influence, being only across the water from the Iberian peninsula, with which a great deal of trade went on, and little more than 50 miles to the southeast of Rome lay the Kingdom of Naples, under Aragonese rule since 1442. That there was considerable trade with Iberia is attested to by the size of the Spanish, and more particularly Catalan, merchant community, who much like the Florentine merchants, formed itself into a consulate in the early sixteenth

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[105] Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, p. 208; Melissa Bullard, "'Mercatores Florentini Romanam Curiam Sequentes' in the Early Sixteenth Century," *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1 (1976), pp. 51-53.

[106] Conradus Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi: Sive Summorum Pontificum, S. R. E. Cardinalium, Ecclesiam Antistitum Series, ab anno 1431 usque ad annum 1503 perducta*, vol. 2, (Regensburg: Monasterii, 1914), pp. 21-25.

century. These merchants can be classified into two types: those who worked locally in the production and distribution of cloth and leather products for the Roman market, and those who worked long distance between Venice, Barcelona, Cagliari, Naples, and Palermo importing and exporting grains, fish, sugar and wine.[107] There are many indications that the Iberian community was large. The membership register at the Catalan confraternity of S. Maria Monserrato, which was founded after the death of Alexander VI, lists a total of 450 people—Catalans, Valencians, Aragonese, Majorcans, Navarrese, and Castilians—for the years 1506-1518.[108] In 1500, Cesare Borgia is said to have commanded an army of two thousand Spanish soldiers in the city.[109] And although the precise numbers are unknown, there were also a large number of Spanish women working as prostitutes in Rome, as reflected in Francisco Delicato's *La Lozana Andalusa*.[110]

The French, who totalled 110 households in the 1526/27 census, were the second largest ultramontane group in the early sixteenth century. They were numerous at the papal court and included several cardinals among whose households presumably French retainers were numerous. In the employ of the Apostolic Chancery between the years 1471 and 1527 were 129 French,

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[107] Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro, "Una Realtà Nazionale Composita: Comunità e chiese 'Spagnoli' a Roma," *Roma Capitale*, pp. 481-482.

[108] Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro, "Una Realtà Nazionale," pp. 479-480.

[109] Thomas Dandelet, *Spanish Rome 1500-1700*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 26.

[110] Francisco Delicado, *Portrait of Lozana: The Lusty Andalusian Woman*, Bruno M. Damiani, trans. and ed., (Potomac: Scripta Humanistica, 1987); Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome*, p. 76.

second only to the Spanish among the ultramontanes.[111] They also served as musicians, notaries, and innkeepers, the latter coming to the fore possibly in the face of the declining number of Germans over the Cinquecento who had been the predominant innkeepers in the fifteenth century. J. Lesellier found that among 1,268 registered notaries during the years 1507 to 1519, 319 were French, followed by 160 Iberians, 135 Germans, 39 Flemings, 519 non-Roman Italians, and 59 Romans.[112]

The Spaniards, the French, and the Germans formed the largest ultramontane immigrant populations in Rome, but there also was a noticeable Slavic community, a small group of Greeks, a dozen Flemings, a handful of Poles, and a smattering of Englishmen, Scandinavians, Turks, Hungarians and certainly others hidden in the nameless *bocche* of the census. *Schiavoni*, a term which seems to indicate a number of different nationals (much as *Tedeschi* included not only Germans but also Hungarians and Scandinavians at times), had come to Italy en masse after the Turkish conquest of Kossovo in 1389, and continued to come under the Skanderbeg Wars in the fifteenth century. As attested by the tombstones in the church of S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni, built in the fifteenth century, many *Schiavoni* were merchants from

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[111] Study by Thomas Frenz cited in C. Schuchard, "I Tedeschi alla Curia pontificia nella seconda metà del quattrocento," *Roma Capitale*, p. 57, n. 21.

[112] J. Lesellier, "Notaires et archives de la Curie romaine," *Mélanges Archeologiques et Historiques*, (XLX, 1933,) pp. 10-11, cited by Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, p. 202.

Ragusa who travelled back and forth for trade.[113]   On the whole, the

community was not wealthy, perhaps in part due to their lower numbers. In

the census of 1526/27, many of those identified as *schiavoni* were women,

heading households of small sizes, ranging from one to usually no more than

four.[114]

Though the English had been associated with a "burgh" near St. Peter's

Basilica since the eighth century, their numbers were quite low by the time of

the census in 1526/27.[115] English wool merchants had been common in Rome

in the fourteenth century, and there were a number of English at the papal

court in the fifteenth century.[116] Yet according to the census there remained

but a few priests at the English College, as well as one man, living in the

Campo Marzio, and one woman, who lived in the Borgo, with their

households.[117] There were forty known English living in Rome in the sixty-

year period between 1360 and 1420.[118] Much like the Germans and the Slavs,

the contemporary definition of what "English" signified varied considerably

and included not only the whole of the British Isles, but Gascony as well.[119] A

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[113] Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome*, p. 77 and Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, p. 205.

[114] The only exception was the house headed by Angela Schiavona, who had eight people living with her. *Descriptio Urbis*, p. 308.

[115] Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome*, p. 76.

[116] Margaret Harvey, *The English in Rome 1362 – 1420. Portrait of an Expatriate Community*, (Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 107.

[117] Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome*, p. 76.

[118] Margaret Harvey, *The English in Rome 1362 – 1420*, p. 91.

[119] Margaret Harvey, *The English in Rome 1362 – 1420*, pp. 30, 91.

number of English also worked in the Curia, the most famous of whom was undoubtedly Cardinal Wolsey.[120]

Greeks had a long history with Rome, sometimes amicable, sometimes confrontational; in the Renaissance revival of antiquity the Greeks, their culture and language were of particular interest, and already in the last decades of the fourteenth century, Italians were travelling to Greece and Byzantium to study.[121] The most memorable Greeks in Rome during this period were the scholars, such as Cardinal Bessarion, who came to Italy to take part in the Councils of Florence and Ferrara and the debate over the reunification of the Eastern and Western Church. Bessarion later elected to stay in Italy and was appointed to the Cardinalate shortly after the end of the council. Bessarion's house came to be a draw to all humanists interested in Greek philosophy and literature, Plato in particular.[122] In the wake of the rising Turkish threat in Byzantium, Greek scholars began immigrating to Italy, including Ioannes Argryopoulos who began teaching Greek, rhetoric, ethics, logic, physics and metaphysics in Florence in 1457 and who ended his days in Rome.[123] The fate

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[120] Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome*, pp. 415, 455.

[121] John Monfasani, "L'insegnamento universitario e la cultura bizantina in Italia nel Quattrocento," first publication in *Sapere e/ è potere. Discipline, Dispute e Professioni nell'Università Medievale e Moderna: il caso bolognese a confronto. Atti del 4o Convegno (Bologna, 13-15 aprile, 1989),* Luisa Avellini, et al, eds., (Bologna: Istituto per la Storia di Bologna, 1990), this publication in John Monfasani, *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Émigrés,* (Aldershot (UK): Variorum, 1995), p. 45.

[122] L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann,*" (Paderborn: Scientia, 1923, reprint 1967).

[123] John Monfasani, "The Byzantine Rhetorical Tradition and the Renaissance," first publication in *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric,* James Murphy, ed., (Berkeley, 1983), this

of Greek scholars in Italy was not as illustrious at its end as at its beginning, however. In his last days, Ioannes Argryopoulos was forced to sell his books to live.[124] In the 1526/27 census, only eighteen households are headed by someone with a given Greek origin.[125] The number of Greeks identified in the city would rise by 1576 when a Greek College was established with the blessing of Gregory XIII, boasting sixty inhabitants including priests, students, and staff by 1601.[126]

The greatest immigrant population in Rome in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries however, came from elsewhere on the Italian peninsula and islands. Throughout Rome's history a number of groups seasonally migrated in and out of the city. Lombard labourers appeared in the vineyards that stretched from the edges of the populated centre out to the Aurelian Walls annually for harvest. And shepherds from Amatrice, Norcia, and Aquila in the Neapolitan Kingdom wintered their livestock in the city from the Middle Ages well into the nineteenth century.[127]

The Lombard labourers formed a very large group in the 1526/27 census, numbering 540 heads of households. Aside from the seasonal grape harvesters, the Lombards also dabbled in livestock as tanners, curriers, and

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publication in John Monfasani, *Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Émigrés*, (Aldershot (UK): Variorum, 1995), p. 181.

[124] John Monfasani, "L'insegnamento universitario," pp. 45-46.

[125] *Descriptio Urbis*, p. 290.

[126] Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, pp. 205-206.

[127] Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome*, pp. 78-79.

butchers. They were also smiths, wine merchants, and worked in textiles and armoury.[128] But they were particularly well represented in the building trade that was active in both the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. In a study of accounting records known as *Fabbriche* located in the State Archives in Rome, Ivana Ait found that workers from the Duchy of Milan dominated construction sites in the fifteenth century by comprising thirty-three per cent of all labourers.[129] They also seem to have taken the widest variety of jobs within construction: masons, stone-cutters, general labourers, and quarrymen. Each of these jobs was also carried out by other Italians, but no other group featured as prominently in all of them. For example, during the period 1460-64 while Lombards were employed in each of the four studied occupations, Florentines only worked as stone-cutters, and transalpines worked either as general labourers or quarrymen, but not as masons or stone-cutters. In the two-year period 1474-75, the number of Romans and non-Romans working in the building trade increased considerably.[130] The Lombards dominated in two of the four occupations: masons and general labourers, stone-cutters were again predominantly Florentines, while those from the Venetian and Genoese Republics, as well as the Papal States, were represented in each of the four

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[128] Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome*, p. 78.

[129] I. Ait, "Mercato del lavoro e 'forenses' a Roma nel XV secolo," *Popolazione e società a Roma dal medioevo all'età contemporanea*, (Rome: il Calamo, 1998), pp. 335-358.

[130] Ivana Ait, "Mercato del lavoro e 'forenses'," p. 342

given occupations. Not all Lombards were labourers, however. Some notable exceptions were three individuals from the town of Caravaggio: Polidoro da Caravaggio, who worked under Raphael on the Borgia apartments, the architect Francesco del Pozzo, and the painter known as "il Sodoma," Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, who evidently found a more open and accepting society in Rome than in his native duchy of Milan.[131]

Many non-Roman Italian groups appear in the census to favour similar jobs, as with the Lombards in the building trade. The Genoese, who headed seventy households in the census, were also predominantly labourers, with many working in the Roman port.[132] Calixtus III employed a large number of labourers to construct ships for a new crusade against the advancing Turks. Seventy-one per cent of the labourers were either from the Balkans or the Kingdom of Aragon, but of the Italians, the Genoese formed the largest contingent at nearly sixteen per cent of the total work force. Unlike Venetian or Lombard workers at the docks, the Genoese were represented in many of the available jobs.[133]

In the 1526/27 census 168 heads of households are identified as Corsicans, comprising nearly five per cent of the total number of households

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[131] Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome*, p. 78.

[132] *Descriptio Urbis*, pp. 289-290.

[133] According to Ait's study, Genoese could be working as *maestri d'ascia* - highly specialized hull workers, *calafati* - caulkers, and *sutores velarum* – makers of covered shoes. See Ivana Ait, "Mercato del lavoro e 'forenses'," pp. 348-349.

with a given provenance. Although most national groups were relatively well dispersed throughout the more populated areas of the city, the Corsicans, according the census, concentrated themselves in one area. Out of the 168 Corsican households, 129 were in Trastevere, making up nearly sixteen per cent of the Rione's 824 recorded households. This concentration was a new development of the sixteenth century, however. In the fifteenth century, Corsicans appear only rarely in the city records, and when they do appear, they were often living with their employers, far removed from other individual Corsicans.[134]

Typically, Corsicans worked as transporters of goods from Corsica to mainland Italy and therefore were only itinerant residents of Rome and the surrounding area. But in the city they could also be found working as servants, soldiers, or general labourers in the employ of hospitals and churches. Few of them practiced trades or entered into the long apprenticeship process that led to skilled labour. As a result, the Corsicans were largely socially and economically marginalized, a position which may have been partly responsible for their reputation for violence. This marginalization did not lead the Corsicans to greater national cohesiveness, however. Until the beginning of the sixteenth century they were scattered in the city, and not one

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[134] A. Esposito, "Una minoranza ed il suo insediamento: i Corsi," *Un'Altra Roma*, (Rome: il Calamo, 1995), p. 97.

founded a hospital for Corsican pilgrims, nor a Corsican confraternity. When they did begin living closer together, it was in Trastevere, across the Tiber and outside the Aurelian walls, emphasizing their historically distant relationship with the city and its inhabitants.[135]

The most numerous and influential group of non-Roman Italians in Rome in the Quattro- and beginning of the Cinquecento were the Tuscans— and in particular the Florentines. Including immigrants from both Siena and Florence, the total number of identified Tuscans in Rome in the 1526/27 census was 464, or 12.3% of the households with given origins.[136] Florentines must have arrived in force in the first half of the fifteenth century—by 1448 the Florentines had established a national confraternity to provide for the needs of impoverished fellow Tuscans.[137] Under Innocent VIII (1484-1492) in 1488 a religious society open exclusively to Florentines was also founded. The most notable Florentines in Rome were bankers, merchants, and artists, and, of course, members of the Curia. A number were also artisans and labourers, as is evident from Ait's work.[138] Though the community was important throughout the fifteenth century, the height of Florentine power, influence, and wealth came under the two Medici popes: Leo X (1513-1521) and Clement

[135] A. Esposito, "Una minoranza," pp. 93-106.
[136] Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, p. 207.
[137] Irene Polverini Fosi, "I Fiorentini a Roma nel Cinquecento," *Roma Capitale*, p. 399.
[138] Ivana Ait, "Mercato del lavoro e 'forenses'," p. 344.

VII (1523-1534). Most of Leo X's *familiares*, his ambassadors, his first depositor general, Filippo Strozzi, the treasurers general, Bibbiena and Ferdinando Ponzetti, the directors of the datary, Pucci, Passerini, Beneassai, and Turini da Pescia, and even his buffoons came from Florence, or elsewhere in Tuscany.[139]

In addition to directly providing employment to Tuscans, Leo X's pontifical court was "the point of coagulation of Florentine political interests, in addition to the financial concerns, of the major Florentine merchant-banker families in Rome."[140] It is no surprise that only two years after Leo's election, the Florentines formed a merchant consulate to regulate economic interests.

Contemporary writers such as Lodovico Ariosto and the Venetian Ambassador, Marino Giorgi, commented on the expenditure of wealth under Leo, and on his proclivity for hiring and promoting nephews and relatives. Giorgi once remarked that the reason so much money was spent was because of the great numbers of voracious Florentines who had to be fed by the pope.[141] During the Medicean papal period, Tuscan families, including the Gadi, Capponi, Alamanni, Strozzi, Altoviti, Sauli, and Chigi, controlled some thirty banking firms, which along with banking duties, often also took on merchant capacities, dealing in luxury textiles, providing grain for Rome, and

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[139] Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, p. 208.
[140] Irene Polverini Fosi, "I Fiorentini a Roma nel Cinquecento," *Roma Capitale*, p. 400.
[141] Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*, p. 208.

operating the papal mint.[142] Agostino Chigi, a very successful banker from Siena, controlled the papal monopoly on the alum mines at Tolfa. Alum was an essential commodity to the very lucrative textile trade, and it contributed to making Chigi a very wealthy man—no less than Raphael would design his tomb.[143]

The importance of the Tuscans in Rome can be clearly and remarkably seen through language change. The influence of the Tuscan dialect on literary Italian was at issue in the debate on the *Questione della Lingua* and is well enough known, affecting the entire peninsula at some point or another. In the more particular instance of Rome, the Roman dialect, *Romanesco*, underwent clearly discernible changes because of Florentine influence.[144]

Not to be forgotten among the immigrants, were the native Romans, who comprised the heart of the old city. It is difficult to know what the Romans thought of the numerous foreigners in their streets, but the legacy of the Empire, centuries of Rome as *caput mundi* replete with the numerous non-Italians who made up the church and the pilgrims who annually thronged the capital, made the presence of foreigners part of everyday reality in Rome.

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[142] Melissa Bullard, "'Mercatores Florentini Romanam Curiam Sequentes' in the early sixteenth century," *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1, (Spring) 1976, pp. 51-72.

[143] For a lively look at the life of Agostino Chigi, as well as the culture and society in High Renaissance Rome, see Ingrid Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[144] Some examples include medial assimilation (-nd-, -mb- > -nn-, -mm-), voicing following nasals and laterals (ns, ls, rs > nz, lz, rz) and affrication in certain environments (si > ?) among a number of others. See Gerhard Ernst, *Die Toskanisierung des römischen Dialekts im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1970).

The acceptance or rejection of a particular national group by the native population was more political than personal. The Catalans who came to the city under Calixtus III met with hostility, but thirty-four years later, when Calixtus' nephew Rodrigo Borgia was elected pope, several thousand Romans cheered, "Spain, Spain, and long live Pope Alexander the Roman!"[145] Rodrigo had been in Rome since before the time of his uncle's election, more than fifty years, and it seems the Romans, initially, were happy to call him a fellow Roman.

The general upswing in the economy over the century since the close of the Schism and the return of the papacy, with the marked increase in visible wealth, the improvements and beautification of the cityscape, and the simultaneous increase in population must not have been lost on the Romans. The fact that immigrants lived amongst native Romans, were not sequestered and did not sequester themselves into enclaves, and participated actively in the local economy points to a degree of mutual interaction and interdependency that is frequently overlooked.[146] The following chapter will take a closer look at the more overt markers of foreignness run by immigrants in the city, their "national" hospitals, churches, and brotherhoods, the existence of which

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[145] Thomas Dandelet, *Spanish Rome*, p. 3.

[146] Margaret Harvey asserts that the English at the turn of the fifteenth century "were very well integrated." If this is the case for a relatively small community at the beginning of the great immigrant influx that would characterize the century, then the observation may have held for other goups as well. Margaret Harvey, *The English in Rome 1362 – 1420*, p. 112.

bespeaks the willing isolation of non-Romans on the surface, but which, in fact, have a more complex relationship with the city and its inhabitants.

Chapter 2

IMMIGRANT INSTITUTIONS IN ROME

The most visible vestiges of fifteenth-century immigrant life in Rome were the immigrants' institutions—hospitals, churches, and confraternities in particular. Much like their Roman counterparts, these institutions served social and religious functions and provided companionship and security. Unlike Roman institutions, however, immigrant organizations were often defined by the origin of their members or by the origin of those who utilized their services. Related contemporary documents frequently make explicit the fact that an institution was for the use of people of a given nation. The existence of these "national" organizations raises questions about the will and ability of immigrants to acculturate to Roman society and about the extent of Roman openness to newcomers. Yet, much like similar organizations today, corporate membership defined by origin, while perhaps suggesting a nostalgia for homeland, language, and culture, does not preclude integration or active participation in the society at large.

The wealth of information contained within the archives of various national churches, hospitals, and confraternities in Rome makes them the logical place to begin an examination of immigrant groups and has inspired

much important work, especially concerning the Germans, the Florentines, and the Spanish, who were among the largest communities in this period. Some early twentieth-century studies failed to examine immigrant organizations in context, going so far as to consider particular groups as extensions of external national history. The focus on immigrant institutions, in and of themselves, though providing invaluable information about individuals and the group as a whole, underemphasized the role they played in greater Roman society. More recent work has begun to relate immigrant groups to Roman society, calling attention to the difficulty of defining immigrant communities and the extent of their cohesiveness.

It is important to state that national brotherhoods, churches, and the hospital charities they supported cannot be used as evidence for the existence of tightly segregated national communities. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, fifteenth-century immigrants in Rome were dispersed throughout the city, many of their occupations necessitated frequent contact with both other immigrants and Romans. This chapter will re-examine existing evidence, comparing immigrant organizations with their native counterparts to demonstrate that the place of national institutions in Rome was complex; immigrant groups possessed some elements of cultural identification and preservation but were not isolated bastions of foreignness.

The terms "nation" and "national" used here should not, of course, be equated with the modern "nation state" or citizens of a "nation state," as such concepts were alien at this time. Contemporaries roughly catalogued people according to certain characteristics. In some instances these "nations" were very specific, such as the Florentines whose members were quickly identified by speech, dress, mannerisms, family names, or other factors. In other cases, the term "nation" was applied broadly, often with striking awareness of geographically distant political struggles. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, for instance, a member of the English nation in Rome may have included not only anyone from the British Isles, but also those who originated in Gascony.[147] Gascony had been a part of the English patrimony since Eleanor of Aquitaine in the twelfth century, but was hotly contested at the end of the fourteenth, finally being lost to France in 1453. Similarly members of the German nation included many people who originated from what was at the time part of the Holy Roman Empire, including not only the Low Countries but also Bohemia and Hungary. There was clearly also a linguistic element to the classification in that Scandinavians, who were not part of the Empire, might also be described as of the German nation, or at least grouped in with the Germans. Perhaps the vast influence of the Hanseatic League, whose language of operation was Low German, played a part in the classification. In

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[147] Margaret Harvey, *The English in Rome 1362 – 1420*, pp. 30, 91-92.

terms of the national churches, hospitals and confraternities in Rome, the nation was usually self-defining: the Germans readily accepted Hungarians, Bohemians, and Scandinavians in their mix; the Catalans had few Castilians among their membership, while the Castilians readily welcomed Catalans. Few national organizations had explicit "national" prerequisites for involvement.

Early History

That national organizations were well integrated into general Roman society is suggested by their long history in the city. A number of foreign associations, including churches and hospices, appeared early in Christian Rome. The earliest known establishments for foreigners by foreigners were a variety of *scholae* located within the Borgo near St. Peter's Basilica, such as the *Schola Langobardorum*, *Schola Saxonorum*, and the *Schola Francorum*, among others. These organizations were modelled on, or directly descended from the *scholae* of the pagan Empire, which housed the annual feasts of funerary societies, and which also came to shelter Christian ceremonies in the hostile setting of the early centuries after Christ.[148] Much like these early *scholae*, the institutions established for the use of particular communities of

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[148] Rodolfo Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, (London: MacMillan and Company, 1892), pp.116-119.

foreigners provided a meeting place and sometimes a cemetery specifically for the use of compatriots.

The *Schola Saxonum* appears to be the earliest known of the foreign *scholae*, believed to have been founded by King Ine of Wessex around the year 727, for the use of Saxons living in and visiting the Borgo at the time. The district around St. Peter's was home to a number of non-Italian communities from an early period, and it is known that English pilgrims were travelling to Rome as early as the seventh century.[149] The *Schola Saxonum* included the church S. Maria in Saxia, a hospice for Saxon pilgrims, and later the well known hospital of S. Spirito, still in operation today, built during the reign of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) and rebuilt under Sixtus IV (1471-1484).[150]

Similarly, the Lombard Queen Ansa, wife of King Desiderius, founded the *Schola Langobardorum* around the year 770.[151] There was also a *Schola Frisonorum*, whose foundation is uncertain, though it is known to have taken part in a public ceremony welcoming Leo III. It is possible that an early Frisian merchant colony was responsible for the establishment of this *schola*,

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[149] Francis Aidan Gasquet, *A History of the Venerable English College, Rome: An Account of its Origins and Work from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, (London: Longman, Green, 1920), pp. 11-12.

[150] Christian Hülsen, *Le Chiese di Roma: Cataloghi ed appunti*, (Florence: Olschki, 1927, reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1975), p. 363, n.83; Clifford Maas, *German Community in Renaissance Rome*, p. IX.

[151] Christian Hülsen, *Le Chiese di Roma*, p. 279, n. 35.

although the political connections between Frisia and the papacy are unknown.[152]

Charlemagne, on the occasion of his stay in Rome in 797, is credited with founding the Schola Francorum,[153] including the church S. Salvator, its hospice, and cemetery, the Campo Santo, or 'holy field', containing soil shipped especially from Jerusalem, located on the former site of the martyrdom of many early Christians at the hands of the Emperor Nero.[154] S. Salvator and the Campo Santo were initially intended for citizens of the Carolingian Empire in Rome in need of spiritual guidance and/or a consecrated place for burial.

By the late Middle Ages, national churches came to provide religious services in the vernacular, and presumably the language service was also part of the mandate of the early national churches. For a pilgrim, there could be few fates worse than dying in a foreign land without a confessor who spoke

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[152] Rudolf Schieffer, "Charlemagne and Rome," *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough,* Julia M. H. Smith, ed., (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 292.

[153] Charlemagne is generally believed to have been the founder of the *Schola Francorum*, but doubts as to the extent of his role have arisen. A document known as Charlemagne's privilege, which outlines the emperor's possession of the site, and his generous support and enrichment of the church of S. Salvator through gifts, relics, estates, and even a regular contribution from the kingdom, and purporting to be authored contemporaneously with the foundation, is more likely a forgery from around 1000, apparently in an attempt to resist proprietal claims by St. Peter's nearby. See Rudolf Schieffer, "Charlemagne and Rome," *Early Medieval Rome,* pp. 279-296.

[154] The name of the Campo Santo is discussed in detail in Albrecht Weiland, *Der Campo Santo Teutonico in Rom und seine Grabdenkmäler,* (Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte, 43 Supplementheft, vol I, Rom: Herder, 1988), pp. 38-41. See also Aloys Schmidt, *Das Archiv des Campo Santo Teutonico nebst geschichtlicher Einleitung,* (Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte, 31 Supplementheft, Rome: Herder, 1967), p. 11; Christian Hülsen, *Le Chiese di Roma,* p. 455, n. 41; Clifford Maas, *The German Community,* p. IX.

one's own tongue, or a proper grave. The national churches were funded in part by the bequests of their members but also by the ruling powers at home, so that the souls of compatriots would not be lost. The site of St. Peter the Apostle's martyrdom and burial attracted international pilgrims early in the history of Christianity, many making long and treacherous journeys, and many choosing to live out their lives at their destination.

All early foreign *scholae* were located in the Borgo, testifying to their religious purpose, with one exception: the Schola Graecorum, founded likely around 800 C.E. near the Forum Boarium inside the city walls.[155] This small community was likely composed of Greeks who had long been residents of the city and only after the schism of the Eastern and Western churches felt the need to organize themselves in the same manner as the northerners in the Borgo.[156] In 1054, Pope Leo IX acknowledged the importance of foreign establishments in a bull entitled *Convenit Apostolico moderamine*, in which he officially decreed the Campo Santo to be the burial place of all pilgrims, with the noted exceptions of the Frisians and the Italians who had access to other cemeteries. In time, with the establishment of other national churches, the Campo Santo became the final resting place for Germans alone.[157]

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[155] The Forum Boarium was the cattle-market of ancient Rome. See Samuel Ball Platner, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), pp. 224-225.

[156] Rudolf Schieffer, "Charlemagne and Rome," *Early Medieval Rome*, p. 293.

[157] Clifford Maas, *The German Community*, pp. ix-x, n.3.

The proliferation of religious institutions devoted to the aid of pilgrims from afar attests to both the cosmopolitan nature of the Eternal City and to the international embrace of the medieval Church. Over the next few centuries the number of national churches and *scholae* steadily increased. In 999, Emperor Otto III dedicated a church to Adalbert of Prague on the Tiber Island (where S. Bartolomeo in Isola now stands), and had German priests and monks operate it.[158] Two Iberian churches, S. Andreas de Hispanis and S. Thomas de Hispanis, are both mentioned in a bull issued by Urban III in 1186. Likewise, a document dated April 13, 1325 attests to the existence of an Armenian church in Rome, S. Maria de Harmenis.[159] A number of these establishments, including the Campo Santo, and the churches of S. Maria in Saxia and S. Giacomo de Coliseo, survived several centuries. The latter was an Iberian church which was established in the thirteenth century and continued to thrive until its closure in 1815, though its hospital had ceased functioning by the end of the fourteenth century.[160]

The period from the mid-fourteenth to the sixteenth century saw an unprecedented growth in national associations, churches, hospices and confraternities. This spike has been attributed to a number of factors, including

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[158] Clifford Maas, *The German Community*, p. x; Alois Hudal, in *Die Deutsche Kulturarbeit in Italien*, claims that no documents for this church are known to exist, and thus little is known about its functioning, p. 33.

[159] Christian Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo*, p. 313, n. 14.

[160] Christian Hülsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo*, pp. 265-266.

the advent of the Jubilee years, which were inaugurated in 1300 by Boniface
VIII (1294-1303) after an Old Testament tradition, and the increase in
immigration that coincided initially with the return of the Papacy from
Avignon in 1377.

As one of the most important Christian pilgrimage sites, Rome hosted
a continuous traffic of travellers, but during the Jubilee years, particularly in
the months between Advent and Easter, the number of religious visitors
increased dramatically. Contemporary accounts of the first Jubilee year in
1300, though the figures differ wildly, put the number of pilgrims as high as
one or two million.[161] Giovanni Villani describes the diversity and number of
pilgrims whom he saw about the streets of Rome as the "gran parte de'
chrisitiani che allora viveano, feciono il detto pellegrinaggio, così femmine
come uomini di lontani e diversi paesi e di lungi e d'appresso … al continuo in
tutto l'anno durante, avea in Roma oltre al popolo romano, duecentomila
pellegrini, sanza quelli che erano per li cammini andando e tornando."[162]
While the actual figures given by the various chroniclers of the Holy Year in

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[161] A chronicler of Asti wrote, "As I rode away from Rome on Christmas Eve, I found the roads encumbered
with a multitude of pilgrims which no man could count, and amongst the Romans it was said that more
than two millions of men and women had come to the city in all." As cited by Herbert Thurston, S. J., *The
Holy Year of the Jubilee. An Account of the History and Ceremonial of the Roman Jubilee,* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1900),
pp. 11-27; Clifford Maas, the German Community, p. 67; Alois Hudal, *Die Deutsche Kulturarbeit,* p. 8.

[162] "… a large part of Christians living at this time, made the said pilgrimage, women as well as men from
distant and diverse countries, from far and near, continuously throughout the whole year; there was in
Rome, besides the Roman population, 200,000 pilgrims, not including those who were on their way and
turned back." As quoted in Mario Romani, *Pellegrini e Viaggiatori nell'Economia di Roma dal XIV al XVII
Secolo,* (Milan: Società Editrice, 1948), p. 12.

1300 might be exaggerated, it is clear that the mass of people who descended on the city left an impression on contemporaries.

By all accounts, the number of pilgrims swelled at the 1350 Jubilee, in spite of the absence of the papacy and (or perhaps because of) the recent first disastrous outbreak of the Plague in 1348. The pilgrims found a city in ill repair, with insufficient resources for lodging or sustaining their masses, much as Cola di Rienzo had warned in the years previous. His biographer reports that in a speech at S. Giovanni Laterano he rallied his fellow citizens with, "Romans, you do not have peace; your lands are not ploughed. Though in fact the Jubilee is approaching, you are not provided with food or provisions, and if the people who come to the Jubilee find no food here, in their ravenous hunger they will seize the very stones of Rome. And even the stones are not enough for such a multitude."[163] A number of chroniclers commented on the unpleasant conditions. Matteo Villani describes the crush of people and the difficulties they encountered:

> On the Feast of the Nativity, 1349, the Holy
> Indulgence commenced for all those who went
> on pilgrimage to Rome, visiting, as ordered by
> Holy Church, the Basilicas of St. Peter, St.
> John Lateran, and St. Paul without the walls, to
> which pardon men and women of all sorts and
> conditions ran in great and incredible numbers,
> and they made the pilgrimage with great
> devotion and humility, bearing with much

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[163] Anonymous, *The Life of Cola di Rienzo*, John Wright, trans. and ed., (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1975), pp. 36-37.

> patience bodily discomforts of all kinds,
> arising from extreme cold, frost, snow,
> inundations, rough and broken roads, and
> insufficient shelter. Germans and Hungarians
> in multitudes passed the night in the open air
> herding together and making great fires to
> lessen the cold. The hosts at the inns were too
> busy—not, indeed, to provide bread, wine, etc.,
> but to take the money that was offered for
> them. To number the crowds was impossible,
> but it was estimated that from Christmas to
> Easter there were constantly at Rome from ten
> to twelve hundred thousand people, and at
> Ascension and Pentecost eight hundred
> thousand.... The roads were so crowded that
> all the pilgrims, whether they travelled on foot
> or on horseback, went very slowly.[164]

In part, such descriptions explain the increase in organizations devoted to the aid of pilgrims from certain nations.

National Hospitals

In the last decades of the fourteenth century, organizations devoted to the aid of pilgrims were most commonly hospitals—charitable corporations who not only looked after the sick and dying, but also provided housing for poor pilgrims, widows, orphans, and the temporarily unemployed.[165]

The number of lodgers that a hospital could take in depended on the establishment. By the early seventeenth century, S. Spirito in Saxia was able

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[164] Matteo Villani as cited by Herbert Thurston, *The Holy Year of the Jubilee*, pp. 57-58.

[165] Christopher Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 184.

to accommodate up to 400 patients in its 150 beds,[166] while the hospital of S. Niccoló dei Catalani in the fourteenth century could only hold six or seven people at any one time.[167] Often the type of visitor dictated the duration of his or her stay. The hospital of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli stipulated in its statute of 1485 that the appointed governors "would be entrusted with the task of taking care of the poor with the greatest diligence and charity, allowing the ill to remain in the hospital until they recovered and the healthy a stay of not more than eight days."[168] A stay at an inn could be expensive, and these hospitals were able to provide inexpensive, if not gratis, housing for compatriots.[169]

National hospitals that emerged during this time included one started by Giacoma Ferràn, who bought a house in the Rione Arenula sometime during the pontificate of Innocent VI (1352-1362) and turned it into a hospital dedicated to San Niccolò dei Catalani, named after a small chapel in the house devoted to the same Saint. In 1363, following Ferràn's lead, Margherita Pau of Majorca bought a house and ran a hospital from it, dedicated to her namesake, Santa Margherita. Both hospitals were intended for sick and impoverished Catalans, as evidenced in the will left by Margherita Pau. Pau

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[166] Christopher Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 192.

[167] Justo Fernández Alonso, *S. Maria di Monserrato*, (Roma: Marietti, Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate, 1968), p. 6.

[168] Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro, "L'ospedale della nazione castigliana in Roma", p. 62.

[169] One night for a man and a horse at an inn would cost between 30 and 40 lire, see U. Gnoli, *Alberghi ed Osterie*, p. 10.

left the hospital to the care of Pons Astori, another Catalan, "pro se videlicet, sua vita tantum durante et vice et nomine pauperum catalanorum peregrinorum."[170] It is clear from this statement that the hospital was intended specifically for impoverished Catalan pilgrims. Both hospitals were founded and run by Catalan immigrants to Rome, but they served itinerant travellers on religious business. In addition to the two Catalan hospitals, a Portuguese hospital is known to have existed in 1367, and was supplemented by another hospital for Portuguese pilgrims, founded in 1417 by one Giovanni da Lisbona. Both were in close proximity to the church of S. Antonio, also founded in the first half of the fifteenth century by Cardinal Martinez de Chaves.[171] An English hospital dedicated to St. Thomas Beckett was founded in 1362, and in 1396 a hospital for impoverished English sailors under the protection of St. Edmund was established in Trastevere.[172] S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni began serving the needs of poor pilgrims from Dalmatia and Slovenia in the second half of the Quattrocento; a hospital for Bohemians, dedicated to S. Venceslao, was founded by Emperor Charles IV and rebuilt in 1457; S. Stefano, a hospital for Hungarian pilgrims was rebuilt twice in the

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[170] Justo Fernández Alonso, *S. Maria di Monserrato*, (Rome: Marietti, 1968), pp. 5-9.

[171] Pio Paschini, *Roma nel Rinscimneto*, p. 457.

[172] Pio Paschini, *Roma nel Rinascimento*, pp. 456-457.

fifteenth century; and there was a hospital each for pilgrims from Brittany (Sant' Ivo) and pilgrims from Flanders (S. Giuliano dei Fiamminghi).[173]

Some institutions that have been described by modern scholars as operating for pilgrims may not originally have been intended for that purpose. As Paul Berbée has demonstrated, the increase in foreign establishments may have had less to do with the increase in the number of pilgrims—who were temporary visitors—than it did with more local issues. At the very least this might be true of the S. Andreas hospice, which has traditionally been described as the oldest German organization in Rome after the *Schola Franconum*, founded by Nicholas Henrici from Kulm. Historians have attributed its establishment to the need for a pilgrim hospice for German nationals, in much the same fashion as the two Catalan hospitals, but Berbée found no clear correlation between pilgrims and the hospital's foundation. Nicholas Henrici appears to have very purposefully and carefully planned the purchases of the six houses that would become the hospice over those years, each house located next to the other. In fact, rather than a hospital for German pilgrims, the hospice appears to have been a home for impoverished women of any nationality—a *casa santa*, or religious house for lay women to live in poverty, much like the house run by S. Francesca Romana, or that of S. Brigitte of Sweden. Such houses were built with the finances of wealthy

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[173] Pio Paschini, *Roma nel Rinascimento*, pp. 456-459.

noblewomen, many Italian, and some foreigners resident in Rome. That the S. Andreas hospice later came to be associated with Germans was partly due to its later purchase by the German national church, S. Maria dell'Anima, and partly because a number of German women had lived there. Nicholas Henrici had also founded another hospice of the same type on the other side of the river in Trastevere, but as no Germans came to live there, it was never labelled a "national" hospice. Both hospices were intended to serve the poor in need, and had more in common initially with the various *case sante* for women than they did with hospitals for foreign pilgrims.[174]

Hospitals founded and run by non-Romans had explicit purposes: the aid of poor, and/or infirm foreigners of a particular nation, of which the founder and governor of the hospital was often also a member. These organizations, though national in scope, were not vehicles to aid or hinder acculturation to Roman society, but rather provided short-term help for people in the middle of a usually difficult and dangerous journey. One might hazard a guess that it was foreigners who undertook to found such hospitals because they themselves had had their own initial difficulties in Rome. It was, however, not only foreigners in the city who provided services to pilgrims.

[174] Paul Berbée, "Von deutscher Nationalgeschichte zu römischer Lokalgeschichte: Der Topos von 'nationalen Pilgerheim' am Beispiel des deutschen Frauenhospizes St. Andreas in Rom (1372-1431)," *Deutsche im Rom des 15. und 19. Jahrhunderts: Ein Symposion, (Römische Quartalschrift für christiche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte,* 86, n. 1-2, 1991), pp. 23-52.

The Società dei Raccomandati del Salvatore, one of the most prestigious devotional societies in Rome, ran a hospital "pro consolatione pauperum" and for pilgrims of "diversis mundi partibus."[175]

The fact that there were so many hospitals founded for the aid of pilgrims attests to their considerable and continuous presence in the city. But that so many foreigners of various origins were moved to establish hospitals for the aid of pilgrims from their own countries suggests that something was missing in the Roman hospitals. The key factor, I believe, was language. While many people in the late Middle Ages were multilingual, native Romans could not meet pilgrims' language needs in the same way that resident compatriots could.

Although national hospitals were one type among many hospitals in Rome, some administrators were able to call on leaders at home for financial support. In the summer of 1380, Giacoma Ferrán wrote to King Pere IV of Aragon, "regarding the poverty and the hardships in which she struggled with the institution, [hardships] which also dishonoured all the Aragonese *nazione.*"[176] The king must have taken her words to heart as he quickly took up a tax to improve the Roman hospital's patrimony and also sent a Catalan

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[175] A. Esposito, "Le confraternite romane tra arte e devozione: persistenze e mutamenti nel corso del XV secolo," *Arte, Committenza ed Economia a Roma e nelle corti del Rinascimento (1420-1530)*, Arnold Esch and Christoph Frommel, eds., Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Rome, 24-27 October, 1990, (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1995), pp. 107-108.

[176] Justo Fernández Alonso, *S. Maria di Monserrato*, p. 6.

layman to Rome to help Giacoma with the hospital administration (perhaps

feeling that this woman's leadership was also part of the problem). Such active

interest in a small charity across the Mediterranean, which housed at most

seven people at a time, is remarkable and perhaps foreshadows the

representative function national organizations would take on later.

National Churches

While the national hospitals were predominantly for the use of

pilgrims, national churches served the needs of both short-term visitors as well

as local residents. Many of these churches started out as small chapels. Most

hospitals had a chapel, and if their governors succeeded in garnering a large ,

number of bequests and donations, or perhaps the recognition of a foreign

leader, the hospital administrators would transform it into a church, often

devoted to the same saint as the previous chapel. It was the generous

patrimony of Johanne Petri of Dordrecht and his wife, Katherina, that bought

several houses for the hospital of S. Maria dell'Anima.[177] That patrimony, in

addition to whatever rents were collected from letting rooms, must have been

considerable, because the Anima was quickly able to rebuild the hospital and

church. In 1431 the provisors voted on the new church, and decided to hire

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[177] The date of the foundation of the Anima is uncertain. Some sources have put it at 1350, others at 1386. It is generally accepted that Petri was the founder, with the help of Dietrich von Niem, and since Petri was in the papal army from 1389 to 1404, it is unlikely that he founded a church in 1350. See Clifford Maas, *The German Community*, pp. 70-71.

Sienese architect, Petrus Pisanelli, to direct work on the façade and the interior.[178]

National churches provided important services to non-Romans, including religious services in the vernacular, and a consecrated burial space. It appears, however, that members of a national church congregation did not exclusively attend the one church. Florentines who worshipped at S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, for example, continued to maintain close ties to other churches and parishes, including S. Celso e Giuliano and S. Maria Sopra Minerva.[179]

Italian and National Confraternities

While hospitals and hospices operated as charitable foundations, confraternities served a different but related purpose. As brotherhoods of lay people who came together for a variety of spiritual purposes, they were a public expression of collective piety that was an essential component of medieval religion. Late medieval and Renaissance public life was a highly corporate environment made up of numerous associations: artisan guilds, civic communes, political leagues, and family alliances.[180] There is evidence of

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[178] The style of the church was Early Roman Quattrocento, demonstrating how well integrated the Germans at the Anima already were. Over the next decade, four other churches imitated the style. Clifford Maas, *The German Community*, pp. 81-82, n. 58.

[179] Irene Polverini Fosi, "I fiorentini a Roma nel Cinquecento," p. 401.

[180] Ronald F. E. Weissman, "Cults and Contexts: In Search of the Renaissance Confraternity," *Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University Medieval Institute Publications 1991), pp. 207-208.

brotherhoods of religious nature from early in the history of Christianity, but the brotherhoods that would characterize the end of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance were more closely modelled on the mendicant orders of the thirteenth centuries.[181] Many people during this period wanted to express religious beliefs in an active, public way without having to take vows or join an order. This desire manifested in an increase in brotherhoods, which incorporated spiritual notions of the mendicant orders.

Many confraternities grew out of, or alongside of, existing national hospitals and churches. Like the proliferation of hospitals in the second half of the fourteenth century, the abundance of confraternities in the fifteenth century was part of a larger pious movement across Europe. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries confraternities multiplied rapidly throughout the Italian peninsula. Florence counted fifty-two brotherhoods of various sorts in 1400; by the end of the century, that number had tripled to 156. Genoa had upwards of 130 by the same time. Likewise Venice boasted more than 120 by 1521. In the sixteenth century alone, eighty-four new confraternities were founded in Rome.[182] The popularity of confraternities was explainable in part by their ability to serve a number of religious as well as social functions. Membership

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[181] Nicholas Terpstra, "Death and Dying in Renaissance Confraternities," *Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University Medieval Institute Publications, 1991), p. 180.

[182] Konrad Eisenbichler, *The Boys of Archangel Raphael*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 12-13.

was open to all classes, providing a network of clientele, patronage, and forged allegiances, as well as promoting peace across social lines.

In many ways, national confraternities were very similar to their Roman counterparts. Both were religious lay organizations that provided regular services for members, including annual observances or feasts, mandatory visits to sick members, loans, burial services, and posthumous prayers. Both invested considerable resources in running a charity. For national brotherhoods the charity was usually a hospital for poor or sickly pilgrims from their home country; for Romans the charity could range from providing dowries for young women of poor families to comforting condemned prisoners on their way to the scaffold.[183]

National and Roman brotherhoods had similar administrative systems and electoral processes, which were based in part on the Franciscan order but also incorporated procedures of the civic commune.[184] Almost all Roman confraternities were organized the same way: two to three guardians or priors, usually lay; a secretary, who was always a notary; a treasurer; two syndics; and thirteen officers to represent each Rione. Most of these offices were held for one year, with the usual exception of the secretary who often held his

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[183] Both the confraternity of the Gonfalone and the Florentine confraternity, S. Giovanni Decollato, or the Misericordia as it was also called, provided this service for criminals. See Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 5, pp. 42, 44.

[184] Ronald Weissman, "Cults and Contexts," 1991, p. 207.

office in perpetuity.[185]   At the German national confraternity, S. Maria

dell'Anima, procurators were elected annually. Some members were elected

more than once, sometimes in succession. At the German shoemakers'

confraternity there were four governors, elected for three-month terms.[186]

Confraternities served the important function, particularly in violence-

rife Italian societies, of consciously promoting harmony and civic peace. In

the statutes of many early confraternities from several cities in Italy, there is a

repeated clause regarding the establishment of the brotherhood for the purpose

of promoting civic peace and order. Indeed, city governments viewed the fact

that numerous confraternities distributed charity to the urban poor as part of

their overall civic duty to promote peace in the city.[187] Much like kin-based

alliances through marriage, confraternities created patronage-clientele

networks and close brotherly associations that extended beyond the physical

confines of the brotherhood. Civic peace could be accomplished both by

extending charity to the poor and thereby suppressing unrest in the greater

community, and by solidifying relationships and networks between families

within the brotherhood. Often people joined a confraternity with the express

purpose of maintaining a long-standing family tradition. Encouraging the

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[185] Anna Esposito, "Men and Women in Roman Confraternities," p. 86.

[186] Clifford Maas, *The German Community*, p. 6.

[187] Jennifer Fisk Rondeau, "Homosociality and Civic (Dis)Order," p. 37; Ronald Weissman, "Confraternity and Context," p. 204.

younger members of a family to join their father's or uncle's confraternity would help build on existing relationships with other families represented in the confraternity.[188]

One of the major factors in contributing to civic peace was the broadly inclusive nature of some confraternities. Christopher Black describes the different ways that brotherhoods promoted peace:

> Those [confraternities] that were socially exclusive could constitute an extended family, a way of cementing relationships and fostering peace between groups of families, much like godparenthood associations. ... Other confraternities aimed at social protection by cutting across family and status divisions to intermingle social groups; these can be seen as creating clientele networks and being part of a wider patronage system ... Social tension might be dissipated in major cities by making rich and poor, master craftsmen and journeymen, mutually dependent.[189]

In religious terms, the policy of welcoming individuals from every social class was based, again, on the practice of the mendicant orders.[190] The inclusion of noble, merchant and artisan alike in the brotherhoods reminded members that all were equal in the eyes of God. The socially heterogeneous nature of many

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[188] Anna Esposito, "Men and Women in Roman Confraternities," p. 85.

[189] Christopher Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 271.

[190] St. Francis, the founder of the mendicant orders, represented two levels of society at once: the wealthy merchant class from whence he came, and the wandering poor whom he strove to emulate. See Lester Little, *Liberty, Charity, Fraternity: Lay Religious Confraternities at Bergamo in the Age of the Commune* (Northampton: Smith College, 1988), pp. 96-98.

confraternities was an essential component of some forms of Renaissance piety, bringing to the fore rites of humiliation and inversion that served to reinforce the social hierarchy.[191]

Theoretically, all Roman citizens were welcome at each of the Roman confraternities in Rome.[192] Within their own communities, the suppression of social difference was also characteristic of certain national confraternities. Of the members at the Catalan confraternity of S. Maria di Monserrato established in 1506, for instance, the majority—forty-two per cent—were members of the Curia, representing all levels of the Church; artisans such as shoemakers, tailors, goldsmiths, and swordmakers comprised twenty-one per cent; merchants made up sixteen per cent; ten per cent of the total membership were professionals like doctors, notaries, and lay functionaries of the Curia; and the final nine per cent of members were listed as domestic servants or *familiares*.[193] In the first half-century after its establishment, the German national confraternity of S. Maria dell'Anima had a similar assortment of trades and professions. A wide variety of curials and clergy were active at the Anima, as well as a good assortment of trades, such as goldsmiths, builders,

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[191] Ronald Weissman, "Confraternity and Context," pp. 209-211.

[192] Anna Esposito, "Men and Women in Roman Confraternities," p. 83.

[193] Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro, "Una realtà nazionale composita: comunità e chiese 'Spagnoli' a Roma," *Roma Capitale (1447-1527)* (Sergio Gensini, ed., Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1994), p. 480.

tanners, linen weavers, tailors, smiths, furriers, shoemakers, merchants, innkeepers, weavers, and a couple of physicians and notaries.[194]

In practical terms confraternity membership served different, though related, ends for all. At some confraternities monetary loans were available to members in need, at others there were dowry funds for poorer members' daughters.[195] Confraternity membership ensured that fellow brothers could be expected to provide companionship in times of sickness, a significant fact during a time of recurrent plague. Perhaps most importantly, membership provided death services, including a funeral procession, a consecrated grave, and regular posthumous prayers.

Although in theory membership in Roman confraternities was open to all, in practice gaining membership could be difficult. In some confraternities, it was advantageous if an applicant had a relative who was already a member, living or deceased. For example, the 1331 statutes of the Roman Raccomandati del Salvatore brotherhood, which Anna Esposito suggests had a tendency "to exploit social connections as a basis for unity and integration in its membership," state that sons and brothers of deceased members could be admitted to the confraternity. If there was no family connection, other stipulations were made. All of the leading brotherhoods of fifteenth-century

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[194] Arch. Anima, *Liber Receptorum*, various folia.
[195] Nicholas Terpstra, "Death and Dying in Renaissance Confraternities," p. 181.

Rome required "a commission to investigate the 'reputation, way of life and morals'" of applicants.[196] Difficult entrance requirements could also be found elsewhere in Italy. At several confraternities in fifteenth-century Bologna, for instance, would-be brothers were screened and voted on twice, once before the entrance committee and once before the brotherhood as a whole. At many brotherhoods, new recruits were the most frequently expelled. Clearly membership in a confraternity was not something into which one entered lightly. The fact that Roman confraternities had difficult entrance requirements had little to do with the fact that national brotherhoods had more lenient ones. The Roman confraternities were not attempting, especially, to exclude foreigners, but rather to protect the sometimes substantial resources of the brotherhood.

By contrast, gaining membership in many national confraternities was less difficult. There were no apparent restrictions on membership at either the S. Maria dell'Anima confraternity, the confraternity at S. Giacomo, or the confraternity of S. Maria di Monserrato. This is hardly surprising as Clifford Maas has pointed out, because the churches that the brotherhoods were associated with were known by everyone as national churches. With some exceptions, there would have been little incentive for non-nationals to join. There were, however, two brotherhoods of foreigners that had a very particular

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[196] Anna Esposito, "Men and Women in Roman Confraternities," p. 83.

restriction on membership: the Campo Santo confraternity and the guild of German shoemakers both required that members be speakers of German. This prerequisite was made clear in the guild's statutes, in the phrase "alle gar tutsche sollen syn und keiner andern zungen oder sprache."[197]

Generally, national confraternity statutes were not so specific about the nationality of their members. For the most part, the fact that the majority of the members of the confraternity would be fellow countrymen appears to have been taken for granted. Many of S. Maria di Monserrato's extant documents from the early sixteenth century, for instance, were written in Catalan, evidently the language in which the brotherhood operated. At the outset, national hospitals and churches existed to provide a linguistic service that their Roman counterparts were unable to provide. It follows that members of the confraternities who administered the hospitals and churches would speak the language of the group to whom they were ministering. Because there were only so many individuals of a particular nation who would fit this criterion, there was no need to have stringent admission restrictions. And there was little reason for a Roman to join a brotherhood where the focus was the running of a church that provided services in a foreign language.

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[197] "Everyone should be German and of no other tongue or language." As cited in Clifford Maas, *The German Community*, p. 8, n. 20; in the Campo Santo archives, Liber 77, fol. xviii[v].

The fact that the German shoemakers' guild and the Campo Santo confraternity had explicit language requirements is an anomaly that perhaps can be explained on grounds other than that they intended to keep Romans out. According to Maas, the Campo Santo confraternity was formed in large part as a response to changes in the membership at the older Anima confraternity.[198] Although the Anima had no overt restrictions on membership and, like its Roman counterparts, appears to have welcomed members from all levels of society, Maas has pointed to a shift in the membership composition starting in the 1450s. During the exile of Eugenius IV, from 1434 to 1443, many of the clerical members of the brotherhood fled to Florence with the pope. In their absence, the Anima confraternity, church, and hospital were governed exclusively by a group of lay artisans.[199] Maas postulates that the clerics who returned from exile in 1443 were displeased with how the Anima had been run and how little progress had been made on construction of the church.[200] Shortly after, the records show a changed attitude towards artisans in the brotherhood. In 1447, the membership roster for the first time divides the members into two columns: one for the clerics and one for the lay. By 1448 there were no new lay recruits. Another significant factor reflecting the

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[198] Maas, *The German Community*, p. 86-88, 113-114.

[199] Specifically the provisors elected fom the brotherhood during that period were nine bakers, seven weavers, five cobblers, four merchants, two smiths (one was also a merchant), a barber, a furrier, a carpenter, a mason, and an innkeeper. For a list of names and years serving as provisors see Maas, *The German Community*, pp. 83-84, n. 65.

[200] Maas, *The German Community*, pp. 84-85, n. 696.

diminishing number of artisans at the Anima was that after 1443, very few artisans were buried in the church's cemetery, presumably because the Anima was requiring rather large donations for burial rights.[201] The Campo Santo confraternity was founded very shortly after in 1450. Unlike the Anima, it was composed primarily of artisans and labourers. Tellingly, the Campo Santo confraternity promised inexpensive funerals to its members and requested no dues beyond what an individual could afford. Conceivably, the Campo Santo required members to be German speakers because they wanted to distinguish themselves from the cleric-dominated, and Latin speaking, Anima.

The language restriction at the German shoemakers' guild, on the other hand, can be explained in the context of the heavy competition all shoemakers in the city would have faced.[202] Cobbling, in a city of pilgrims, was a rather common occupation filled not only by Germans. In addition to the numerous Germans who worked as shoemakers, there was a traditional shoemakers' society in Rome that had existed perhaps since the tenth century, the Confraternity of S.S. Crispino and Crispiniano dei Calzolai.[203] Presumably, like other Roman confraternities their membership was restrictive, and the

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[201] Maas, *The German Community*, pp. 83-88.

[202] It is interesting to note that the German shoemakers' guild had a private chapel at the Church of S. Agostino, but not at the German national church. Maas, *The German Community*, p. 4.

[203] Both the German guild and the Roman guild had the same name, after S.S. Crispino and Crispiniano, the patron saints of shoemaking.

Roman confraternity may have been incapable - or unwilling - to accommodate the large number of foreign shoemakers who descended on the city in the first decades of the fifteenth century. The German shoemakers were so numerous and entering the city at such a rapid rate early in the fifteenth century that it was natural and perhaps necessary for them to form their own guild, to regulate and support their fellow countrymen in a manner similar to the guilds they would have known in Germany. Indeed, there would have been so many shoemakers in the city that, without a language restriction, the German guild would have grown beyond its capacity. The total number of names in the membership roster for the German guild exceeds 2000 for the period 1430 to 1530. During the short period from 1417 to 1434, 924 men joined the shoemakers' guild in Rome, though during the longer period from 1447 to 1499, growth of the membership slowed but remained substantial: 793 new members joined, a number of whom were likely only pilgrims passing through.[204]

The large number of German shoemakers participating in the German guild did not, however, represent the full community of Germans in Rome who worked repairing and making shoes. In comparing the membership list of the Anima with that of the German shoemakers' guild, Schultz estimated that 60% of German shoemakers working in the city were not members of the

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[204] Clifford Maas, *The German Community*, pp. 131-146; Knut Schulz, *Deutsche Handwerkergruppen*, p. 11-12.

German shoemakers' guild.[205] There are two plausible explanations for such a large number of Germans working outside the guild. Rome's relationship with its guilds was less interdependent than in other more northerly cities and did not require that a craftsman be a member of a guild in order to work.[206] Thus many craftsmen were able to ply their trade in the city without ever joining a guild. Alternatively, they may have been members of a different non-German confraternity.

As yet, no study of the number of foreign members of Roman confraternities exists. But there is evidence to suggest that it was not uncommon for immigrants to join Roman confraternities. At the end of the fifteenth century some Roman confraternities adopted a rule that stated that one of their three governors had to be a foreigner, ensuring that the non-Roman members had a representative in the upper administration.[207] It appears that non-Romans who were members of various national confraternities, could at the same time also have been members of Roman brotherhoods. The frequently repeated regulations against multiple memberships in confraternity bylaws indicates that this was a common occurrence. As Terpstra has argued, multiple membership, for those who

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[205] Knut Schulz, "Deutscher Handwerkergruppen," p. 12.

[206] In the bylaws of the German shoemakers' guild, no regulations regarding trade exist. Maas suggests that trade regulations could not have been successfully applied in Rome. Clifford Maas, *The German Community*, p. 10.

[207] Anna Esposito, "Men and Women in Roman Confraternities," p. 86.

could afford it, served a precise religious purpose.[208] Individuals would be selective about the types of brotherhoods they belonged to, so that each performed a different religious function. For instance, an individual could complete two important aspects of late medieval devotion by belonging to both a penitent and a laudatory society.

National organizations had a long and complex history in the city of Rome which preceded the great influx of immigrants in the fifteenth century. Although national institutions increased greatly in number starting in the second half of the fourteenth century, they had ancient precursors and shared many of the same characteristics as their Roman counterparts. Both hospitals and churches were aimed at impoverished pilgrims who, if they became fatally ill, would have been at a serious loss without a confessor who spoke their tongue, and consecrated ground in which they could be buried. National confraternities were often founded around charities which they then administered and maintained. The fact that many immigrants decided that these charitable deeds were necessary and right, and therefore joined the confraternities to do their part, did not preclude their membership in similar Roman organizations. As for the lives of the non-Romans in the city, it is clear that the existence of national confraternities cannot be taken as evidence

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[208] Nicholas Terpstra, "Death and Dying."

of tightly segregated national communities in Rome. What is not clear, is the role that national institutions played in the acculturation of immigrants.

C h a p t e r   3

LANGUAGES, NAMES, AND IMMIGRATION

One of the more difficult obstacles many immigrants must negotiate is language. In the modern age this is a commonly recognized difficulty, and steps are usually taken to help newcomers learn the language of use in their new home. Although the same linguistic obstacles existed for medieval immigrants, contemporary writers do not often complain of these sorts of difficulties, unless they refer specifically to learning classical languages. In his memoirs, Vespasiano da Bisticci mentions men who are skilled in certain languages, such as one Nicolo Secondino from Negroponte who at the Council of Basel translated "de verbo ad verbum" Greek to Latin and Latin to Greek. But when he discusses Maestro Tomaso da Serezana, later Pope Nicholas V, and his trip to Germany for a year, he makes no mention of any specific linguistic difficulties or even discomfort. Vespasiano does say that Maestro Tomaso and the Cardinal he accompanied "suffered privately much pain and weariness," but the emphasis was on their encounters with the German people, "who [were] still barbarians." Because the goal of the mission was to arbitrate in disputes amongst German princes, it is likely that Maestro Tomaso encountered German daily, if even through an interpreter, and after a year's

time certainly would have learned some of the language. Later Vespasiano notes that Maestro Tomaso did not employ Italian servants, but rather preferred Germans and French—not for explicit linguistic reasons, but rather because " 'even if you employ [them] on the vilest work, [they] will serve faithfully'."[209] Likewise, in Francisco Delicado's 1528 play *Portrait of Lozana: The Lusty Andalusian Woman*, although the main character purports to have travelled extensively throughout the Mediterranean and encounters a variety of non-Roman Europeans while living in Rome, the question of language or difficulty in communicating never arises.[210] When language learning or competence is mentioned in late medieval writing it usually concerns either Latin or Greek, rarely the tongues of the vernacular.

This very absence of evidence suggests that language learning, other than ancient languages, was taken for granted. There can be no doubt that travellers in the late Middle Ages encountered languages other than their own and that they occasionally were forced to acquire some means of communicating, either by learning a second vernacular, a *lingua franca*, or making some other speech accommodation. While learning Latin required memorization and recitation, learning a foreign vernacular required

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[209] Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates: The Vespasiano Memoirs, Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*, trans. William George and Emily Waters (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963), pp. 34, 39.
[210] Francisco Delicado, *Portrait of Lozana*.

immersion. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was an awakening interest in the vernacular and a corresponding eruption in the production of grammars for contemporary languages. These grammars were intended for foreigners rather than native speakers, and it is clear from the authors' stated purposes that the normal manner of learning a foreign language was immersion. The first Castilian grammar by Nebrija stated that, "Los vizcainos, navarros, franceses, italianos, y todos los otros que tienen algun trato y conversacion en España y necessidad de nuestra lengua, si non vienen desde niños ala deprender por uso, podran mas aina saber por esta mi obra."[211] Another grammar of the Tuscan language asserted that it was intended for foreigners who did not know the language "per natura."[212] Prior to the sixteenth century, then, it can be assumed that the normal way one learned a foreign vernacular was by contact with native speakers.

Foreigners in fifteenth-century Rome could be found all along the language-learning spectrum. Pilgrims, whose length of stay was generally limited to a few weeks or months, may have learned some basic phrases, or perhaps even have been able "to get around" in the local dialect. More

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[211] "The Biscayans, Navarese, French, Italians, and all the others who have no contact or conversation in Spain and have need of our language, if they have not learned the language from childhood and must quickly learn, my work is for them." As quoted in Herbert J. Izzo, "Elitist and Egalitarian Attitudes Toward Language and Dialect in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Sources of Social History: Private Acts of the Late Middle Ages*, Paolo Brezzi and Egmont Lee, eds., (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), p. 277.

[212] Nicolò Tani dal Borgo San Sepolcro, *Avvertimenti sopra la lingua toscana*, 1550 as quoted in Herbert J. Izzo, "Elitist and Egalitarian Attitudes," p. 280.

permanent immigrants, however, would have needed a wider-ranging vocabulary, the ability to converse with a variety of people on a variety of different subjects, and the ability to negotiate the different Italian dialects they would have encountered in the streets.

Linguistic processes for this time period are only visible in written documents. Written language is a sometimes less-than-effective medium for analysing degrees of second language acquisition, but it can nonetheless contain valuable clues. One method of confirming whether immigrants in Rome learned the local language is to examine the personal names recorded in the documents of national churches and confraternities. Such documents provide access to a large number of immigrant names, at various stages of acculturation. Although the documents in their entirety could reveal much of linguistic interest, including vocabulary choices, direct translations and other written evidence of second language acquisition, there are several reasons that the personal names contained in them are a good vehicle for discerning acculturation among immigrants in Rome.

From the perspective of a social historian, medieval names are a valuable key to examining sections of society that are otherwise obscured in the historical record. The names of the nobility, along with their family history, property, and political and intellectual endeavours are well recorded for posterity, but much of the rest of the population only appears smattered

throughout a variety of public documents such as notarial records, court proceedings, or institutional archives. Frequently there is little continuity between documents, and little opportunity to learn more about the people identified within them, except by the information contained in their names. Late medieval surnames, outside of the aristocracy, were rarely inherited or passed on to children, and were usually based on one or more of three valuable identifying criteria: the name of the bearer's father, the bearer's occupation, and the bearer's origin or place of residence (many second names also described striking physical characteristics or noticeable behaviour).[213] Second names serve, in effect, as compact synopses of the lives of individuals and allow modern scholars to extrapolate a variety of statistical information, such as occupational or migrational patterns in any given city or village.[214]

Because second names often died with the individual, the use of them during an individual's lifetime could change; the names used to identify a person could change as aspects of that person's identity changed. Anna Esposito noted in her sample of names of Corsican immigrants from Roman

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[213] For onomastic studies in the Romance language countries, see George Beech, Monique Bourin, and Pascal Chareille, eds., *Personal Names Studies of Medieval Europe: Social Identity and Familial Structures*, (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002); Holger Bagola, "Italienisch: Anthroponomastik," *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik* Günter Holtus et al, eds., vol. IV, "Italienisch, Korsisch, Sardisch," (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1988), pp. 419-431; Dieter Kremer, "Spanisch: Anthroponomastik," *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik*, Vol. I, 1, "Aragonesisch/Navarresisch, Spanisch, Austrianisch/Leonesisch," (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1992), pp. 457-474 ; Enric Moreau-Rey, "Katalanisch: Interne Sprachgeschichte III. Onomastik," *Lexikon der RomanistischenLinguistik* vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 162-166.

[214] A still relevant and useful article warning against taking medieval surnames too much at face value is Richard W. Emery's article, "The Use of the Surname in the Study of Medieval Economic History", *Medievalia et Humanistica* (vol. VII, January, 1952), pp.43-50.

notarial records, for example, that immigrants who were new to the city tended to have toponymic names that were specific to certain cities or geographical regions. But after a period of ten or twenty years, a number of those toponymic names became more general by indicating only the nation or nationality, and eventually may have disappeared altogether. One Corsican was identified in several documents over a twenty-year period as *magister Cerbo aurifex olim Confortini corsus de regione Arenula*. In later documents, he was referred to as *magister Cerbo de Confortinis aurifex*. Eventually, the notarial records indicate that the Confortini family came to be considered a Roman family.[215] Given this evidence, it is reasonable to assume that the names of immigrants in confraternity archives may exhibit the same sorts of tendencies.

In order to gauge the extent of linguistic acculturation, which in turn serves as a sign of cultural adaptation, this chapter will investigate the personal names of the immigrants who belonged to the German national church and confraternity of S. Maria dell'Anima, as recorded in the institution's income records for the period 1426 to 1512. By comparing names recorded over a series of entries, it is possible to discern whether an individual made any

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[215] Anna Esposito, "Una minoranza ed il suo insediamento: I Corsi," *Un'altra Roma*, p. 99. This trend was particularly true in large urban areas, but in rural areas, immigrant groups of notable size tended to keep their distinctive names much longer, even through the next generation. See Carlos Laliena, "Personal Names, Immigration, and Cultural Change: *Francos* and Muslims in the Medieval Crown of Aragon," *Personal Names Studies*, Beech et al, eds., pp. 121-130.

conscious linguistic changes to his or her name, or alternatively, whether a change was made for them. The presumption is that, in order to acculturate, some individuals would choose to render their names more palatable to the tongues of their neighbours, or their neighbours—or indeed the scribe who produced the document—would nativize the names and the immigrants would come to adopt the new pronunciation. In either case, the attempt was to make the immigrants more Roman.

There are many national organizations in Rome whose records could be examined, but the records at the Anima make a good starting point for a number of reasons. Most of the Anima's income records for the period, as well as the confraternity membership roster (*Liber confraternitatis*), are in excellent condition, while a number of records at other national institutions, such as the Campo Santo, were destroyed in the 1527 Sack of Rome. Second, the members of the Anima confraternity were predominantly German, and therefore spoke a mother tongue which was not closely related to either Latin or Italian.[216] Most of the signs of language acquisition are more obvious among speakers learning a more distantly related language than those learning a closely related language. Third, the Anima is one of the better studied

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[216] Witold Mańczak makes a convincing case for classifying the Germanic language group as a closer relative of Slavic, and then Baltic languages, before Romance ones, in "Germanic and other Indo-European languages," *Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries, In Honour of Jacek Fisiak on the Occasion of His Fiftieth Birthday*, vol. I *Linguistic Theory and Historical Linguistics*, Dieter Kastovsky & Alexander Szwedek (eds.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1986, pp. 491-500.

national organizations in Rome of the period, providing a wider context against which to place the names and the individuals.

Before examining the names in the various documents, however, it is necessary to establish what languages were in use at this institution and in the greater city, as well as how language was perceived, learnt, and what sort of linguistic processes one might encounter as a traveller and immigrant.

A Linguistic Portrait

The languages spoken among members of the German and other national organizations in Rome were older counterparts of modern languages, classified according to modern scholars in much the same way that the historical periods of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance are labelled. The divisions are fluid and open to interpretation. For most European countries the Renaissance was a period of transition, increasingly involving a move away from Latin towards a more standardized use of the vernacular. Numerous factors were involved in this transition, including a growing written and oral tradition of local languages and literatures, the invention of the printing press, and the Reformation among others.

At S. Maria dell'Anima, members of the confraternity came from all over the Germanic speaking North. According to Alois Hudal, the majority of

the Germans at the Anima stemmed from northern and western Germany.[217]

Germans were divided into two large linguistic subgroups, High and Low German, which corresponded respectively to the geographical regions of the mountainous south and the low plains of the north. The traditional dividing line between the two is the so-called "Benrath Line." Early twentieth-century scholars pinpointed the dialectal division between speakers on the one side of the Benrath Line who used medial /k/ and those on the other side who used medial /x/, as in Low German 'maken' and High German 'machen.' While this division may have been roughly accurate in 1900, the division for earlier periods cannot be so easily demarcated.[218] In the fifteenth century, both High and Low German were in the century-long transition period between what is termed Middle High/Low German and Early New High/Low German.

The extent of mutual intelligibility between High and Low German of the period is unclear. High and Low German first diverged at the time of the Old High German Consonant Shift, which occurred between about 500 and 750 C.E.[219] A number of later developments, the lack of one central standard, and a large geographical area further set the subgroups apart, as well as the dialects within each of the subgroups. That one group may have had difficulty

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[217]Alois Hudal, *Die Deutsche Kulturarbeit in Italien*, (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934), p. 33.

[218] C. J. Wells, *German: A Linguistic History to 1945*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 40-44.

[219] For an overview of the High German Consonant Shift, see Charles Russ, *Historical German Phonology and Morphology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 44-51.

comprehending the speech of the other is evident in the fact that at St. Peter's there was a confessionary for speakers of High German and another for Low German.[220]

Certainly Germans were in the majority at the Anima, but there were also names recorded in the income records of the confraternity that suggest Scandinavian, Dutch, Bohemian, and Hungarian origins. It is difficult, therefore, to determine what the predominant language of conversation would have been. The Scandinavians, mostly Danes and Norwegians, who were part of the Danish Kingdom at this time, would have had as their mother tongues Middle Danish with a vast variety of dialects (while the Swedes at the confraternity of S. Brigitte would have spoken Younger Period Old Swedish).[221] Also during this period, the Holy Roman Empire included much of the Netherlands and a large portion of eastern Europe. No one language dominated in this vast territory, but political interaction and close trade relations, including the influence of the Hanseatic League, make it reasonable to assume that even in outlying areas of the empire, many speakers could manage some form of German.[222] The connection of Scandinavia with the

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[220] Christiane Schuchard, "Deutsche an der päpstlichen Kurie im 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 86, nn. 1-2 (1991), p. 122.

[221] There may also have been Icelanders at the Anima. There is evidence of a handful of them at the Campo Santo confraternity later in the century. See Maas, *The German Community*, n. 21, p.8.

[222] Knut Schulz argues that groups of craftsmen in cities associated with the Hanseatic League very much resemble groups of German craftsmen in Rome—in particular the prominence of certain groups, i.e. shoemakers, bakers, weavers. It is therefore less important to think of a common uniting German tongue

Hanseatic League would also have necessitated some conversational ability in Low German, the language of this league of traders and merchants.[223] Although many non-Germans might have been able to converse in Low German, the lack of a standard (practically impossible given the short extent of political cohesiveness and limited opportunity for long distance communications) surely meant that a speaker of German living at the eastern end of the Baltic Sea would have had some difficulty comprehending another German speaker a short day's journey away, let alone at the other end of the Empire.

The Anima may have had a diverse and possibly mutually unintelligible collection of dialects and languages, but there would have been a tendency towards linguistic compromise. Immigrant groups comprised of speakers of multiple variants of a language commonly tend to make concessions to one another's speech. The more striking characteristics of a particular dialect will be suppressed in favour of maximizing understanding.[224] Even the contact of mutually-intelligible dialects will cause one or both speakers to make accommodations, for a variety of reasons that are not

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among the Germans in Rome, but more of the trade groups organizing themselves in the same way they would have at home. Knut Schulz, *Deutsche Handwerkergruppen in Rom*, p. 20.

[223] C. J. Wells, *German: A Linguistic History to 1945*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 128. Numerous Low German words entered Swedish and Danish vocabulary during this period, demonstrating the importance of the League.

[224] Hans Heinrich Hock, *Principles of Historical Linguistics*, vol. 34 *Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs*, edited by Werner Winter (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1986), p. 470.

necessarily related to efficient communication.[225] Bruno Migliorini notes in his history of the Italian language that Italians working abroad tend to develop their own *koines*.[226] For example, a more general Italian was found in the documents of the Borromei Bank of London, while contemporaneous Milanese documents exhibited strong dialectal features.[227] Thus at the Anima, and wherever immigrants spoke their native tongue with one another, a continual give and take occurred, marked by accommodation and compromise towards a language that the interlocutors—whether two or twenty—could most easily understand.

Pressure to learn the local Italian dialect would also have been present. Migrants, now as well as in the fifteenth century, tend to be linguistic minorities, and as minorities their native tongues tend to lack prestige. Prestige plays an enormous psychological and real role in language contact situations, simultaneously promoting assimilation and initiating rejection of the native language. But the amount of time it takes for an immigrant

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[225] See Peter Trudgill, *Dialects in Contact*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Ltd., 1986), for the variety of psychological impulses behind accommodation, including recognition or suppression of social status.

[226] Hock defines *koine* as: "A special type of contact situation, found in many areas of the world, is characterized by the following features: (i) The varieties of speech which are in contact with each other are closely related languages or even mutually intelligible dialects. (ii) For cultural and political reasons, these linguistic varieties are considered by their speakers to be of about equal prestige, each being the proper linguistic vehicle for a group with its own cherished identity. (iii) No outside language suggests itself as a link language. These conditions seem to be the most ideal for the development of koinés." Hans Heinrich Hock, *Principles of Historical Linguistics*, p.485.

[227] Bruno Migliorini and T. Gwynfor Griffith, *The Italian Language*, (New York: Barnes & Noble Inc., 1966), p. 179.

community to "shift languages" is difficult to predict. The linguist Peter Nelde explains that,

> Language shift, the yardstick of integration efforts, is the result of contact-linguistic factors which cannot be determined quantitatively, factors such as social pressure on a minority, the prestige of given language varieties, the strength of identity consciousness, language loyalty based on extralinguistic factors, prejudices, stereotypes, and attitudes of an ethnic group.[228]

Some communities are forced to shift within a generation, while others may create a linguistic enclave that lasts for centuries. Generally, in a language contact situation, the dominant group, usually the host culture, will "impose normative requirements which demand linguistic adaptation," with the failure to meet those requirements resulting in the "sanction[ing of the minority group] with economic and political disadvantage."[229]

Even when a linguistic minority community is able to maintain its native language, significant changes to both the language and its use will occur as bilingualism in the community increases. The prestige of the host language ensures that it will impact more on the minority language than the other way around.[230] In addition to borrowed vocabulary and constructions, the minority

[228] Peter H. Nelde, "Ethnolinguistic minorities within the European community: migrants as ethnolinguistic minorities," *Language Contact: Theoretical and Empirical Studies,* Ernst Håkan Jahr, ed., (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), p. 135.
[229] Peter Nelde, "Language Contact," *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics,* 15, 1995, p. 86.
[230] Peter H. Nelde, "Ethnolinguistic minorities," *Language Contact,* p. 135.

language itself will begin to "simplify" as it is used in fewer sociolinguistic contexts. Stylistic variants and "the need for more formal, elaborated, or context-independent speech varieties is ... limited" in favour of greater efficiency and less ambiguity.[231]

The majority of extant documents at the Anima from the period are recorded in Latin, and therefore provide no obvious clues as to the habitual spoken language, or languages, of the confraternity. Until about 1450, the inclusion of artisans in the confraternity makes it unlikely that Latin was the language of conversation among members. Although some artisans were capable of at least writing in Latin, the majority would not have been afforded the opportunity. At the Anima in particular, two artisans, namely Erasmus Rosso, a tavernkeeper, and Ulricus Cardinal, a linen weaver, who were provisors during the exile of Eugenius IV, were able to maintain the record books in Latin.[232] Yet, even after the majority of Anima craftsmen moved to the Campo Santo brotherhood around 1450 and the Anima membership

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[231] Julianne Maher, "A crosslinguistic study of language contact and language attrition," *First Language Attrition*, Herbert Seliger and Robert Vago, eds., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 80-81. More specifically, Maher details the characteristics that tend to develop over time in migrant languages: "a) Reduction in the number of allomorphs (i.e. more invariable forms, or fewer context sensitive rules). Increased paradigmatic regularity. (b) Replacement of synthetic forms by analytic ones or by periphrastic constructions. (c) Progressive reduction in inflectional morphology, entailing less flexible word order. (d) Preference for coordinate rather than embedded constructions. (e) Distinctive aspectual constructions in verbal systems," see Maher, "A crosslinguistic study", p. 68.

[232] Erasmus Rosso was elected provisor in 1435, 1440, and 1443, while Ulricus Cardinal was elected provisor in 1436, 1437, 1440, and 1443. There were a number of other artisans who were provisors of the Anima during the exile of Eugenius, see Clifford Maas, *The German Community*, pp. 83-84, n. 65 but both Erasmus Rosso and Ulricus Cardinal are noted as the income-record scribes in a number of this study's selections from the *Liber Receptorum*.

became predominantly clerical, it is uncertain whether Latin or another language dominated in conversation.

In comparison, the confraternity of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli was much like the Anima in the second half of the fifteenth century in its predominantly clerical membership. The church had very few lay associated with it; the majority were curialists of Castilian origin. Most of the extant documents from the period were in Latin. Yet the fact that the church was established to provide services for pilgrims from the Kingdom of Castile means that the language of use with visitors would have been some variant of Castilian in the same way that the language used with visitors to the Anima would have been some variant of German.[233]

However, at S. Maria di Monserrato, where the composition of members was more socially diverse than at the Anima or at San Giacomo, we find that most of the confraternity's documents were in the vernacular. Although the language of the written Monserrato documents suggests that Catalan was the usual language of conversation among members of this brotherhood, it cannot conversely be assumed that Latin was the language of conversation at S. Giacomo or the Anima because their documents were in Latin. In fact, it is more likely that a number of languages, possibly including Italian, were spoken among members at national confraternities. Based on the

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[233] Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro, "Una realtà nazionale composita," p. 483.

early composition of the Anima alone, one can imagine that members spoke numerous varieties of German, Scandinavian, Dutch, Czech, Hungarian, Latin, and even Italian.

Second Language Acquisition[234]

Second language acquisition in the Middle Ages occurred, more or less, either through formalized training (which included immersion of a sort), in the case of classical languages, or total immersion in a natural environment, in the case of the vernaculars.[235] With minor adjustments relative to the type of approach undergone, the mental processes of acquisition were the same as they are today. Thomas Scovel depicts the process of second language acquisition as occurring in four stages. First, there is a brief period of excitement when stereotypes are formed and recognized. Second, there is a period of shallow comprehension combined with culture shock. The third stage brings deeper comprehension and a distancing from both the new culture as well as the old.

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[234] The term 'second language' is used to indicate any language learned in addition to the mother tongue, and should therefore be taken to potentially include third, fourth, fifth, etc., languages as well. At present the language learning process for three or more languages is understudied, but existing work suggests that the process is similar though more complicated. While the final result of second language learning depends on both the mother tongue and the target language, the final result of learning three or more languages can depend on all languages or only a certain group depending on genetic and typological relationships between the languages in question. See Jasone Cenoz, "The effect of Linguistic Distance, L2 Status and Age on Cross-Linguistic Influence in Third Language Acquisition," *Cross-Linguistic Influence in Third Language Acquisition: Psycholinguistic Perspectives*, ed. Jasone Cenoz, Britta Hufeisen, and Ulrike Jessner (Cleredon (UK): Multilingual Matters Ltd., 2001), pp. 8-20.

[235] On multilingualism and vernacular learning see Arend Mihm, "Oberschichtliche Mehrsprachigkeit und 'Language Shift' in den mitteleuropäischen Städten des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 68, n. 3 (2001). 257-287.

It is at this stage that the majority of language learning takes place. Eventually, a period of empathy arises, followed by permanent adjustment. It is in this fourth stage that the least amount of language learning occurs. Because the subject is already acculturated; accepted and understood by the community, there is little motivation to learn more.[236]

A common characteristic of adult learners of second languages is a foreign accent, or the seeming inability to completely acquire the phonology of the target language. Because child learners of second languages rarely develop an accent, many linguists believe that there is a critical age, around twelve, after which language learning becomes increasingly difficult and is likely to result in imperfect acquisition. However, second language acquisition at any age also depends on the learner's aptitude, learning environment, the genetic relationship between first language and target language, previous languages learned, the perceived prestige of the target language, and empathy with the target language and culture. Not only do linguists believe that age is important in language because of the capacity and malleability of a child's brain, but also because children are more willing to compromise their identity. Elaine Tarone asserts that children have "more fluid language ego boundaries" and are therefore "more likely to identify with

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[236] Tom Scovel, *Learning New Languages: A Guide to Second Language Acquisition*, (A TeacherSource Book, Donald Freeman, series ed., Boston: Heinle & Heinle, 2001), p.30

speakers of a [target language] than are the adults, who have more rigid language ego boundaries. Essentially adults have decided on their cultural identity and use their *accent* to identify themselves appropriately. They essentially have no motivation to change their accent when it communicates perfectly well who they are."[237]

Attempts at achieving correct speech may be thwarted through another social factor. Where the errant speech of children will readily be corrected by native speakers, the errant speech of adults, as long as the intended message is clear, will oftentimes be ignored for fear of offending the speaker. Thus children continually receive direction and reinforcement, whereas adults may continually make the same mistake without ever being corrected. Many adult language learners may never master the standard grammar or pronunciation.

The fact that many adult language learners do not learn second languages completely leads to the common perception that the state of being bilingual or multilingual is somehow unusual and exceptional. However, statistically, the majority of the world's population is bi- or multi-lingual, suggesting that, in fact, the opposite must be true.[238] While there are varying

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[237] Elaine E. Tarone, "The Phonology of Interlanguage", *Interlanguage Phonology: The Acquisition of a Second Language Sound System*, (Cambridge (MA): Newbury House Publishers, 1987), p. 82; see also John N. Green, "Representations of Romance: contact, bilingualism and diglossia", *Trends in Romance Linguistics and Philology*, Rebecca Posner and John N. Green, eds., (Volume 5: Bilingualism and Linguistic Conflict in Romance, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1993), p. 13.

[238] Vivian J. Cook, "Wholistic Multi-Competence – Jeu D'Esprit or Paradigm Shift?", *Current Issues in European Second Language Acquisition Research*, Bernhard Ketteman & Wilfried Wieden, eds., (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1993), pp. 5-6. Cook draws attention to the fact that much of the research on second language

degrees of competence among second language learners, the primary objective in second language learning is communication. As Guus Extra has pointed out, the "paradoxical property of [second language] acquisition is that [second language] learners must learn in order to communicate and at the same time must communicate in order to learn."[239] The attainment of a learner's communicative objective in the target language may preclude further learning, in much the same way that monolingual speakers would not need to learn the jargon of a particular profession if it served no purpose in their communication strategies. If understood in terms of communicative objectives, multilingualism becomes a less exceptional human attainment.

Much of what might be considered incomplete second language acquisition (speakers with strong foreign accents or noticeably ungrammatical usage) is due to the modern perception of correct language usage. Most modern Indo-European languages have a standard form that is used in public communication and the media, and is maintained through printed dictionaries, writing guides, and in some cases a regulatory body. In some European nations with highly divergent dialects, the standard serves as a type of *koine*, or a middle ground dialect that everyone can understand. Often the standard is

acquisition comes from the predominantly monolingual Anglophone nations, and that the perception would likely shift if more work came from areas of highly multilingual populations, such as Central Africa.

[239] Guus Extra, "Language Acquisition, Shift, and Loss of Immigrant Groups in Europe", *Current Issues in European Second Language Acquisition Research*, Bernhard Ketteman and Wilfried Wieden, eds., p. 364

also considered the "correct" form of the language, and variations from it are seen as deviant and undesirable. Standards are also usually defined nationally, so that the standard for Canadian speakers of English is not necessarily the same as for British speakers of English.

It would, however, be anachronistic to apply this perception of standard language to the Middle Ages. Perceptions regarding language differed from modern ones in several important ways. First, the only standard language was Latin, which was everywhere a foreign language accessible to only a relative few.[240] For most of the medieval period, anyone who wrote words on paper needed to know Latin—"the art of writing itself usually inclined people toward Latin," as Migliorini has pointed out.[241] It was the primary language of the Church, the universities, and learned professionals, serving as an international *lingua franca* to the initiated. In some areas, more people may have learned Latin and/or writing than in others. Michael Richter notes that comparative results from public inquiries, one from England in 1307 and another in Poland in 1339, where the literacy of testifying witnesses is indicated, demonstrate that a considerable number of lay people were literate and therefore able to read Latin. In both England and Poland, individuals who

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[240] Of course, the use of Latin was not uniform. As a written language it tended to be conservative, and there were numerous guidebooks, grammars, and vernacular glossaries to aid learners in attaining good Latin form. The fact that there was an idealized form that learners and teachers aspired to, where there was none for the vernaculars, gives it the quality of a standard language.

[241] Bruno Migliorini & T. Gwynfor Griffith, *The Italian Language*, (New York: Barnes & Noble Inc., 1966), p. 35.

were able to speak more than one language tended to be city dwellers. In Poland, those who were literate tended to know one vernacular plus Latin, while in England most literate people learned French as their first second language and then Latin.[242] Yet the overwhelming majority of medieval Europeans did not speak and could not read or write Latin.

Regardless of the extent of Latin usage across the levels of medieval European society, it was the only language that came with directions for use. Until the sixteenth century, there were no vernacular grammars or teaching guides and the only vernacular vocabularies that existed were ones that included Latin glosses. This is not to say that prestigious forms of various vernaculars did not exist. Most politically prominent courts in Europe preferred one dialect over another (usually their own), and in some places, such as the French-speaking royal court in London, the preference had a vast impact on the development of the language as a whole. A number of dialects across Europe came to be preferred through the works of literature which embodied them—Provençal through the chansons de geste, and Tuscan through the writings of Petrarch, Boccaccio and Dante, for instance. Certainly many speakers would have aimed their speech to emulate these dialects, but these prestigious forms of the language did not dictate correct usage. It is

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[242] Michael Richter, "Monolingualism and Multilingualism in the 14th Century," *Studies in Medieval Linguistic Thought*, ed. E. F. Koerner, Hans-J. Niederehe, and R. H. Robins, pp. 212-216.

therefore reasonable to predict that foreigners learning a new vernacular would have found ready acceptance in their ability to communicate, rather than in their ability to imitate prescribed grammatical correctness.

Personal Names in the Account Books of Santa Maria dell'Anima

Because of the large numbers of pilgrims that came through the city, and because of the prestige that the Anima gained in the latter half of the fifteenth century both in the city and with German dignitaries passing through, the brotherhood's membership roster, or the *Liber Confraternitatis*, is not the ideal document for a study of personal names belonging to long-term residents. Pilgrims and dignitaries visiting Rome for brief periods were encouraged to become members in name for the cost of initial dues, and for the sake of maintaining this important institution for future travellers.[243] Indulgences were also sold in Germany, in return for a donation to the church, though it is not clear whether memberships may also have been sold and later registered in the confraternity book.[244] All those who purchased a membership, whether they participated in the life of the confraternity on a

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[243] Fifty-five bishops of German origin were consecrated at the Anima and became members between 1448 and 1500. Clifford Maas, *The German Community*, pp.91-92.

[244] Pope Boniface IX awarded the Anima the privilege of selling indulgences of seven years and seven quarantines in return for a donation to the church in the papal bull *Quanto frequentius* of November 1398. Clifford Maas, *The German Community*, p. 109.

regular basis or were simply passing through, were entered into the membership roster.

More than the membership rosters, the records of the fraternity's income provide a window into the daily life and operations of the national church and its brotherhood. The Anima owned several houses, as well as various other sorts of property that it let to members, new immigrants, and the occasional non-German. The surviving income book for the fifteenth century, *Recepta ab anno 1426 ad annum 1512*,[245] 359 folia in length, details the income from such rentals, as well as donations to the church, and lists of members who had paid their quarterly confraternity dues.[246] Although a handful of non-German names appear throughout, the majority are of Germanic extraction. The income books are thus a better means of studying long-term residents and what changes their personal names might undergo.

Most folia start formulaically with the date, the name of the scribe (though not consistently), and occasionally his fellow provisors. Usually following the opening paragraph are simple statements of the amounts that individuals have paid to the brotherhood or church, as well as what they have paid for, or in some cases, for what expenditures they were reimbursed.

Die xvii Januarii de Jacobo de zagarolo pro pensione

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[245] Archive at the church of S. Maria dell'Anima, *Recepta ab Anno 1426 ad Annum 1512*, commonly referred to as Liber Receptorum, hereafter: Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept.

[246] For examples of such lists see Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., ff.37r/v (1438), 53v (1443), 54r/v (1443), 55r (1443), 75r/v (1447), 232r (1488).

domus _____ floreni curentes _____ ii
Eodem die dicto clemente pro una cassetta __ bollendini _ xvii _ denarii _ x
pro uno cocleare de ottone _____ quattrini ___ii
pro una bursa de corame ____ bollendini _ i
pro una serateca de corame ____bollendini _iiii[247]

From select folia of the Liber Receptorum a total of 256 names, belonging to about 179 individuals (some names were repeated several times but clearly belong to the same person), were extracted. Seven of the individuals were female, two of whom were simply listed as *uxor*.

Six individuals possess only a Christian name, but no identified surname. Whether these six names are simply short referents for a full name listed elsewhere in the account book is not clear. Second names came into use in German-speaking lands in the thirteenth century, particularly in denser urban areas, although they were not "officially" required until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in some rural areas were unknown until the nineteenth.[248] As is evident from the account books the majority of German immigrant members at the Anima had second names, most of which, it appears, were acquired before the journey to Rome was undertaken.

Of all of the first names, the most common was *Johannes*, belonging to twenty-six individuals.

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[247] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.53v (1443).
[248] C. J. Wells, *German: A Linguistic History to 1945*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp.102-103, n. 17-19.

Nine Most Common First Names:	Number of Individuals Bearing Name:
Johannes	26
Hans (a derivative of Johannes)	18
Nicolaus	8
Henrich	5
Michil (a variant of Michael)	5
Petrus	5
Georgio/Georgius	4
Mathia(s)	4
Michael	4

The majority of first names (thirty-six) were Germanic in origin, such as *Alherdis*, *Fadericus*, *Ludowick*, *Wolffgangus*,[249] or were Germanic versions of biblical or otherwise ancient names, such as *Hans* and *Hensel* (both derivatives of *Johannes*), and *Caspar* (from *Jasper*). A number were biblical,[250] more were of Latin or Greek origins,[251] and a number were uncertain, but likely of Germanic origin.[252]

There is a curious inconsistency in the recording of first names throughout the selection studied. Most first names were Latinized; that is, they had been given a Latin morphological ending, such as the nominative ending

[249] *Albertus, Alherdis, Anteloy* (Dutch), *Arnoldus, Bertold, Caspar, Conge* (possibly Scandinavian, as in *kong*, 'king'), *Conradus, Eckhardus, Egidius, Egolhardus, Ernest, Evernerus, Fadericus, Franciso* (originally Frankish, but after Francis of Assisi very common in Romance speaking lands as well), *Gabelius, Hannas, Hannos, Hans, Hedwiga, Henchim, Henige, Heinrich/Henricus, Hensel, Hermanus, Hertnidus, Huglin, Ludowick, Lupold, Rupertus, Theodericus, Ulrich/Ulricus, Wilhelmus, Wolffgangus.* See Ernst Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch,* (Vol. 1, "Personennamen", 1st printing Bonn: P.Hansteins Verlag, 1900; 2nd printing Hildesheim:Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966) for Old German first names and roots.

[250] *Adam, Andrea(s), Caspar (Jaspar), Elysabeth, Gabriel, Jacobus, Johannes, Maria, Mathia(s), Paulus, Petrus.*

[251] *Clemens, Erasmus, Georgio, Gregorius, Katerina, Juliana, Martinus, Michael/Michil, Nicolaus, Unohil, Vincencio, Vitus.*

[252] *Angelmus, Anglo, Bosvouus, Cipuris, Hengel, Herunduus, Heynemanus, Cvÿnadus, Peng, Reynerus, Spuzkob, Throdum, Tilinduus, Tybnarius.*

of the first declension, -us. For instance, the common German name Eckhard was rendered *Eckhardus*. However, there were also a number of names that had not been Latinized, despite their Latin context. In traditional Latin, names of Latin origin were marked for case, with the exception of Hebraic names which were considered indeclinable and whose case was discernible through context alone. By the medieval period, the indeclinability of Hebraic names had extended to all foreign names (of non-Latin origin) in standard written Latin.[253] The fact that a number of names belonging to German members of the Anima would appear un-Latinized in the confraternity's Latin documents is thus unremarkable. There were a number of Germans, for example, with biblical names such as *Adam*,[254] *Caspar*,[255] *Clemens*,[256] *Gabriel*,[257] and *Michael*[258] (17 instances out of 256) that were undeclined throughout. Likewise, common German names derived from longer names, such as Hans (<Johannes) or Claus[259] (< Nicholaus), were also un-Latinized throughout the documents. The majority of names extracted from the Anima's account book

[253] C.H. Grandgent, *An Introduction ot Vulgar Latin*, (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1962).
[254] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept, ff.37v (1438), 75r (1447).
[255] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept, ff.37r (1438), 54r (1443), 232r (1488).
[256] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept, ff.37v (1438), 53v (2x), 54v, 55r (all 1443).
[257] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept, ff.54v, 55r (1443).
[258] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept, ff.37r (3x), 37v (1438).
[259] *Claus Ritterspan*, Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept, f.26v (1435).

were, in fact, Latinized (156 out of 256 total instances of names, or 61%) but

the application of Latin endings was inconsistent.[260]

A few of the names in the account book alternate between having a

Latinate ending and not having one. For example, the name *Ulricus* appears in

the opening paragraph of one entry in the following manner:

> 1a.) Anno domini millesimo cccc quadragesimo
> tertio prima die januarii ... electi iii magistros et
> provisores hospitalis sancte marie de anima videlicet
> Theotonicorum Erasmus Rosso tabernarius Ulricus
> Cardinalis Johannes Bohemi et Henchimus
> leineweber qui posuerunt recepta hospitalis
> successive ut infra ...[261]

This paragraph precedes a list of members, the amounts that they have paid for

various items, and/or membership dues. Ulricus appears again later in the list:

> 1b.) *die ultima Januarii dedit Ulricus Cardinalis pro parte de Johan gerber*
> _____ *tertios* ____ *xxii*[262]

However, further down the same list, on the following folio, recorded by the

same scribe, *Ulrich* appears instead of *Ulricus*:

> 1c.) *ulrich mitdemormnen mude iii tempora* _____*bollendini* ____ *ix*

Ulrich Mitdemormen Mude appears to be a different individual from Ulricus

Cardinal, and the different representations of the same first name suggest that

one preferred *Ulricus* and the other *Ulrich*. Ulricus Cardinal was elected

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[260] Deciding whether an ending was a latinate addition was based on the nominative endings of the five Latin declensions. Many of the instances of names extracted were declined, but it was usually clear which declension they belonged to.

[261] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.53v (1443).

[262] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.53v (1443).

provisor of the Anima several times, and it is clear fom some entries in the income book that he was able to write in Latin; perhaps he identified more with the Latinized version of this name than the Germanic one.

There are also instances of first names with alternating endings belonging to the same individual. In the example paragraph 1a.) above, *Henchimus leineweber* appears with a Latinate ending like the other names given alongside. Yet, a couple of entries later, following Pentecost the same year, the name appears again, but this time without the Latinate ending:

2a.) *henchim leineweber_____ bollendini iii.*[263]

If both instances of the name *Henchim(us)* had been recorded by different people, we might assume that one preferred writing with Latin endings and the other did not, but both instances were in fact recorded by the same scribe. Moreover, Henchim(us) Leineweber was an elected provisor of the Anima and presumably well-known to the scribe who recorded both instances of the name. We might also assume that the alternation was conditioned by context: in the middle of a list with no syntactic requirements, or in the middle of a sentence within a paragraph, with definite syntactic constraints. But throughout the selected folia, names appear in both contexts with Latin endings and without. No functional explanation for the alternation is apparent.

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[263] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.55r (1443).

There also does not appear to be any phonetic explanation for the alternation. Latin endings appear following syllable-final stops (t-, c- [k], b-, d-, and g-), liquids (r-, and l-), and nasals (m-, and n-). Yet many of those sounds are also present finally in names that do not have Latin endings. Even sounds in final position that are not permissible in Latin, such as ch- [x] as in the name *Ulrich*, are deftly altered to take a Latin ending in some instances, so that Ulrich > Ulricus[264]. The only syllable final sounds that never appear with a Latin ending are *-ns* and *-s* as in *Hans, Hannas,* and *Hannos.*

SYLLABLE-FINAL SOUND		FIRST NAMES WITH LATINATE ENDINGS	FIRST NAMES WITHOUT LATINATE ENDINGS
STOPS	-t-	*Rupertus Spigel*[265]	N/A
	-c- [k]	*Fadericus Hezuig*[266]	N/A
	-b-	*Jacobus de Arnhem*[267]	N/A
	-d-	*Conradus Cureberg*[268]	*Conrad capellarii hospitalis*[269]
	-g-	*Hedwiga uxor Francisci Mercatoris*[270]	N/A
LIQUIDS	-r-	*Reynerus pastori Mehendorp*[271]	*Caspar von awspurg*[272]
	-l-	*Paulus Tabernarius*[273]	*Fridel de Corbeke*[274]

[264] Another example of a name with alternate endings: *Ulrich Cardinalis* appears on f.54r (1443), while *Ulricus Cardinalis* appears on a number of folia: ff.37v (1438), 53v (1443) twice, 54v (1443).

[265] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.232r (1488).

[266] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.232r (1488).

[267] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.75r (1447).

[268] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.75v (1447).

[269] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.213r (1481).

[270] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.55r (1443).

[271] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.232r (1488).

[272] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54r (1443).

[273] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.26v (1435).

[274] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.213r (1481).

NASALS	-m-	*Jeronimus Pawer Pelliparius*[275]	N/A
	-n-	*Hermannus Padeborne*[276]	*Huglin Molner*[277]
FRICATIVES	-s-		*Claws Ritterspar*[278]
	-ch- [x]	*Henricus Wandergeselle Pistor*[279]	*Heinrich Wandergesella*[280]
CONSONANT CLUSTERS	-ns-	N/A	*Hans Gerngros*[281]
	-ng-	*Wolffgangus Zinzdorffer*[282]	*Peng Ackerman*[283]
	-ld-	*Bertoldus Pistor*[284]	*Lupold Pistor*[285]

Interestingly, a similar study of names done on the *Codex latinus monacensis*, an income register of the Austrian diocese of Passau, dated 1324, found strikingly equivalent results. Like the Anima income records, the Austrian *Codex* was also recorded in Latin, and also like the Anima records, most of the names in the *Codex* had Latin endings (68%). Likewise a number (136 out of 422 names, or 343 individuals, or 32%) did not take Latin endings, maintaining typically Germanic syllables and consonant clusters in final position, such as –orf, -precht, -werd, -veld, -pach, etc.[286] The percentage of

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[275] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54v (1443).

[276] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.75r (1447).

[277] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54r (1443).

[278] Claws is actually a derivative of Nicolaus, a name of Greek origin which is declinable in Latin contexts. However, there is no evidence of Claws being declined in any of the folia under study here, so it is tentatively placed in this list. The 'w' is simply an alternative of 'u' here, and should be taken as part of a diphthong 'au/aw', rather than as a consonant. Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.26v (1435).

[279] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.37r (1438).

[280] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., ff.53v, 55r (1443).

[281] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54r (1443).

[282] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.232r (1488).

[283] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., ff.53v, 54v (both 1443).

[284] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54r (1443).

[285] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54v (1443).

[286] G. Lipold, "Namen in und um Wien im 14. Jahrhundert", *Sprache und Name in Österreich, (Festschrift für Walter Steinhauser zum 95. Geburtstag,* P. Wiesinger, ed., Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, Universitäts

names without Latin endings in the Austrian material is nearly identical with that of the material at the Anima in Rome (30%, or 77 instances out of 256).

The alternation between the addition of a Latin morpheme or no morpheme suggests a degree of unease in writing in Latin. Uncertainty over how to treat non-Latin names in Latin writing may have been a by-product of medieval Latin education. Any youth privileged enough to attend a school, whether a cathedral, public, or merchant school, learned some Latin at an elementary level.[287] Because Latin was the international language used for most writing, it was a necessary step in learning to read. The pedagogical method for learning Latin was the memorization and repetition of grammar, phrases, and later whole texts. The fact that the medieval word for a teacher's aid was *repetitor* (or *affirmator*, or *refirmator*) is telling of the teaching methods.[288] Students were taught the basics in their own language, in much the same manner as the older *Ælfric's Colloquy*, a textbook for beginners that provides short dialogues on everyday topics in both Latin and Old English.[289] Whether working from classical texts or more contemporary documents, the memorization of set texts, however valuable a teaching tool, would have left

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Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1980), pp.227-254. For Old German morphemes and first names, see E. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*

[287] P. Grendler, "Schooling in Western Europe", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43, 1990, p.783.

[288] P. Grendler, "The Organization of Primary and Secondary Education in the Italian Renaissance", *Catholic Historical Review*, 71, 1985, p.198.

[289] The first sentence of Ælfric's Colloquy begins in Old English, and then is translated into Latin below. G. N. Garmonsway, ed., *Ælfric's Colloquy*, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1965).

little room for skills in dealing with new linguistic elements not encountered in the schoolbooks. Those students who went to advanced levels eventually were able to creatively converse and compose in Latin—as the writings of any number of the humanists attest. At the lower levels, a proficiency in writing documents such as income records was attained, but creativity and adaptability might not have evolved.

Thus the alternation between first name endings found in the income records at the Anima may have been a result either of the personal preference of the individual or of the scribe's uncertainty over what the correct representation was. More interesting and to the point is the fact that the alternation was between German and Latin forms, with no evidence of Italian interference. However, this fact should not be taken as evidence that the German immigrants were not learning the local language. The Latin ending alternation is only characteristic of first names, and Italian interference is evidenced in a few individuals' second names.

Second names in this period were of four basic varieties: the patronymic based on a father's first name, usually with Latin genitive or sometimes nominative case ending; the toponymic, a name designating a geographic provenance; the occupational designation, which in German-speaking areas increased in usage as the influence of artisans grew in urban

politics;[290] and the nickname, sometimes derogatory, based on physical characteristics or pronounced behaviour. Second names were inconsistent, and not officially required, but by the fifteenth century were common in large urban areas. The Roman census of 1526/27 lists a number of people with no second names, and it is not unreasonable to assume that the census takers "gave" some individuals second names based on visible characteristics. The example of the practices of the nobility caused many people to bequeath their second names to their children, ensuring that there were no identification difficulties in legal matters, particularly in the transfer of property.

In the Anima documents, the forms of second names for a single individual often varied, even within the same entry. One of the variations included coupling second names, as in *Caspar de Awspurg Pistor*,[291] *Erasmus Rosso Tabernarius*,[292] and *Johannes Wilhelmi Textore*,[293] exemplifying, respectively, a toponymic plus occupational name, a nickname plus occupational name, and a patronymic plus occupational name. Elsewhere in the Anima documents, *Erasmus Rosso Tabernarius* also appears as just *Erasmus Rosso*,[294] as well as *Erasmus Rosso olim de bodingen*.[295]

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[290] C. J. Wells, *German: A Linguistic History to 1945*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp.102-103.

[291] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.37r (1438).

[292] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.53v (1443).

[293] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.37v (1438).

[294] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54v (1443).

[295] From the expense volume, *Expense ab Anno 1426 ad Annum 1485*, vol. II, f.54r, year unstated.

The majority of the Germans in the *Liber Receptorum* records were identified with at least two names, if not more. There are two reasons why having a second name might have been important. First, the function of the account book, which was to keep track of payments coming and going to the Anima coffers, required the accurate identification of those making or receiving payments. Second, given the substantial German community in Rome, with considerable numbers joining and leaving the community each year, all residing in an ever-growing city with no uniform street addresses in the modern sense, and many possessing the same first name, it is clear that whatever descriptors could be used to qualify an individual's name were necessary for proper identification.

Of the second names in the selected folia, only three are patronymics: *Johannes Wilhelmi Textore*,[296] *Andreas Petri*,[297] and *Nicolaus Mathei Sutor*.[298] Forty-three second names indicate their bearers' origins, as in *Eckhardus de Amenburg*,[299] *Michil von Awspurg*,[300] and *Johannes Ubelark de Franckfor*[301]. Nearly eighty individuals possess second names recording an occupation, the overwhelming majority of which related to some sort of craft, as with the

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[296] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.37r (1438).
[297] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.75r (1447).
[298] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.75r (1447).
[299] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.75r (1447).
[300] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.55r (1443).
[301] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.259v (1495).

furrier *Jeronimus Pawer Pelliparius*,[302] while a few referred to positions in the

Curia, as in *Hertuidus Boldv Abbreviator*.[303] Only three individuals had a

nickname as a last name, as was the case with *Erasmus Rosso*.[304]

Unlike first names in the Anima documents, the German-sounding

second names, such as *Pawer*,[305] *Ackerman*,[306] *Grosbroth*,[307] and *Wynstein*,[308]

were almost uniformly unaltered, un-Latinized and left in their Germanic

forms. Perhaps this is not surprising given that the translation of such names

would have required considerable proficiency in Latin. Yet even the

patronymics, all bearing the appropriate genitive form, were easily

translatable. The patronymic *Wilhelmi*, with its somewhat cumbersome initial

sound—for Italian speakers at least—, could be made more palatable to the

Italian tongue by altering it to *Guillelmi*, in much the same way Italians had

altered *Guelphs* and *Ghibellines* centuries before. The Germanic form of

second names was preferred even by individuals who had long been Roman

residents, were fluent in Latin and likely competent in the local Italian dialect.

Germanic surnames were common in the entries of Johannes Burckhardt, who

was the Papal Master of Ceremonies from 1485 to 1506 and a resident of

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[302] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54v (1443).

[303] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.232r (1488).

[304] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54v (1443).

[305] As above: *Jeronimus Pawer Pelliparius*, Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54v (1443).

[306] *Peng Ackerman*, Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54v (1443).

[307] *Niclos Grosbroth*, Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54r (1443).

[308] *Jeronimo Wynstein Sutor*, Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.37r (1438).

Rome for nearly thirty years before taking on the job of provisor and record-keeper at the Anima.

Was German identity an important aspect in the maintenance of Germanic surnames? In the Roman census of 1526/27, a number of people were identified as being German, or 'Todesco', either because they called themselves Todesco or exhibited some characteristic hat made the census-taker label them as such. However, almost none of the individuals identified as being German in the census had Germanic elements left to their name, certainly not in the same way that they do in the Anima records: there are no typically German patronymics like *Wilhelmi*, and no tongue-tripping consonant clusters as in the name *Grosbroth*.[309] Conceivably, if the Roman census-taker met a man at his front door who claimed to be 'Grosbroth' the Roman might simply write 'Todesco' in much the same way he might write 'Genovese' based on the subject's apparel. The unaltered Germanic second names of the Anima records were, in a way, a figurative bastion of cultural solidarity in the face of the knowledge that out in the streets the same names would have meant little to their Roman neighbours.

Germanic integrity did not, however, appear to apply to nicknames serving as last names. The nicknames serving as surnames in the Anima account book appear not only in German, but also Latin and Italian. The three

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[309] *Descriptio Urbis*, pp.313-314.

German examples belong to *Conge Mitdempleche,*[310] *Michil Sehrot,*[311] and *Ulrich Mitdemordnen Mude.*[312] With the possible exception of *Michil Sehrot,* these names would have been difficult to translate into Latin or Italian.

The one nickname in Latin belongs to *Nicolaus Parvus Sutor.*[313] Clifford Maas cites a similar name belonging to a *Nicolaus Kleyne Sutor,* which appeared in the shoemakers' guild membership roster. Maas finds the same man listed in the Anima confraternity's membership roster as *Nyclos Klein von Locka.*[314] Nicolaus Kleyne Sutor was one of the seven members of the shoemakers' guild who remained in Rome from 1434 to 1439, when much of the rest of the guild followed Pope Eugenius IV into exile in Florence. That *Nyclos Klein von Locka, Nicolaus Klyne Sutor,* and *Nicolaus Parvus Sutor* were the same individual is reasonable, given that all three instances of the names appear in documents around the same decade (circa 1430 to 1443). Why the same individual would be referred to as *Klein* (*Klyne*) in two documents and *Parvus* in another is unclear. Both of Maas' citations come from membership rosters that predate Nicolaus' appearance in the Anima account book. The first folio of the *Liber Receptorum* on which *Nicolaus Parvus Sutor* appears was recorded by Michael de Awspurg and he, like the

[310] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., ff.37r (1438), 54r (1443).
[311] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., ff.54r, 55r (both 1443).
[312] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54r (1443).
[313] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., ff.37v (1438), 53v (1443).
[314] Clifford Maas, *The German Community,* p.136, n.7.

other provisor scribes, mixed Latinized names with non-Latinized names. For example, *Mathia de Bruna* appears in the same entry as *Martinus Keyser*, *Johannes Sturmer*, and *Georgio Ungaro de Septemcastra*.[315] It is possible that Michael de Awspurg was simply practicing his translating skills by rendering 'Klein' as 'Parvus,' but it is more plausible that Nicolaus himself made the switch, since the next folio on which *Nicolaus Parvus* appears, five years later, is recorded by a different scribe, Erasmus Rosso. While the reasons for the change are unknown, *Nicolaus Klein/Parvus* demonstrates that changing one's name was certainly a possibility.

The three Italian nicknames in the Anima documents belong to *Hans Galli Bariliari*,[316] *Johannes Gallo*,[317] and *Erasmus Rosso Tabernarius*.[318] Though Hans was a cooper, both Erasmus and Johannes were innkeepers who were also members of the Anima. There were a great number of Germans in Rome employed as innkeepers—they were, in fact, the preferred nation for the job. The nature of their profession brought them into close daily contact with local Italians, particularly given that while the Germans were the hosts of the taverns, Italians were often the owners. The Italian patrons of one of the most popular taverns in Rome, the Glocke, owned by the Della Valle brothers,

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[315] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.37v (1438). Note that 'Septemcastra' is Latin for Siebenbürgen, illustrating the German penetration of Hungary.

[316] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., ff.54r, 55r (both 1443).

[317] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.75r (1447).

[318] Numerous entries: Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., ff.26v (1435), 53v, 54r, 55r (all 1443), and 75v (1447).

nicknamed their long-standing and well-loved German host *Johannes Angelus*, a playful turn on his German name, *Johannes Teufel*.[319] Conceivably a similar onomastic fate befell Erasmus Rosso and Johannes Gallo.

In sharp contrast to the mixed linguistic bag of nicknames, the majority of second names that fall under the category of toponymics (nearly eighty out of all the selected names) are in German. This is particularly curious given that there were acceptable and presumably well-known Latin alternatives to many of the place names. 'Awspurg' appears on several occasions instead of the Latin 'Augustensis', as in *Michael de Awspurg Pistor*,[320] *Michil von Awspurg*,[321] and *Caspar de Awspurg Pistor*.[322] Likewise 'Frankfor' appears instead of Latin 'Franckofurtum', as in *Magistro Johanne Ubelark de Franckfor*—a name recorded by Johannes Burckhardt, the Papal Master of Ceremonies, who without a doubt knew the Latin name for the city;[323] 'Bronsvig' and 'Bronswig' appears instead of the close Latin 'Brunsviga' as in *Johannes de brunsvig faber*[324] and *Magister Johannes olim de bronswig*;[325] and 'Pettaw' appears instead of Latin 'Petoria', as in *Gregorius de Pettaw Barilarius*.[326] In some cases the Latin version for a place name required no

[319] Clifford Maas, *The German Community*, p. 27.
[320] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.37r (1438).
[321] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.55r (1443).
[322] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.37r (1438).
[323] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.259v (1495).
[324] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.26v (1435).
[325] Arch. Anima, Expense, f. 54r, no year.
[326] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54v (1443).

more than the addition of a final vowel, or a suggestive diacritic marking an abbreviation to indicate that something ought to follow.

There are a few place names, such as 'Bodingen' in *Erasmus Rosso olim de Bodingen*[327] and *Nicolaus de Bodingen Textor*,[328] or 'Urpach' in *Michil von Urpach*,[329] whose existence and location are not easily traced.[330] Possibly the Latin names of smaller towns and villages were unknown to the inhabitants. Yet, Augsburg, Frankfurt and Braunschweig were considerable cities even in the fifteenth century. Braunschweig and Augsburg had populations of around 20,000,[331] Köln was the largest medieval German city at 30 – 40,000 inhabitants towards the end of the century, and Frankfurt had a population of about 10,000 people during the same period. This suggests that the scribes were simply recording what they were hearing, as members spoke their names and intended payments aloud, both scribe and member busy trying to understand one another's dialect, and the scribe unable in many cases to do direct translations on the spot. The vowel alternation between the two recorded instances of *brunsvig* and *bronswig* for example, both recorded by Erasmus Rosso, also bears this out. It would appear that Rosso was uncertain

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[327] Arch. Anima, Expense, f. 54r, no year.
[328] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.26v (1435).
[329] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.55r (1443).
[330] Neither were in Orbis Latinus, but a quick internet search suggests that Bodingen is present-day Büdingen, now part of the city of Merzig in Saarland, and that Urpach may once have been a small village near Bad Tennstedt in Thüringia.
[331] Roger Mols, *Introduction à la Démographie Historique*, pp.509-510.

about what he heard, writing an 'o' in one instance and a 'u' in the other.

The possible trouble with dialectal differences appears with Rosso again later in the case of recording a last name. In two lists, separated by only one folio in the *Liber Receptorum*, we find one *Hans Binder* and one *Hans Pinter*. It is possible that they are two separate people, in which case this argument is null; however, it is also possible that they are the same individual, in which case we have an interesting discussion at hand.

The recording scribe, Erasmus Rosso, was originally from Bodingen, likely present-day Bödingen along the Saar river, close to the French border. Rosso would have most likely spoken the Rhine-Frankish dialect of Early New High German, a dialect which as early as the 7th century A.D., through the effects of the High German Consonant Shift, was differentiated from more northerly German dialects by a tendency to substitute voiced stops (b, d, g) with their voiceless counterparts (p, t, k) in writing.[332] Such a tendency might explain where the confusion between 'binder' and 'pinter' arose. 'Binder' is the more permissible of the two in German, but Rosso could have easily misheard and misunderstood the bearer of the name if his dialect was markedly different.

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[332] The actual phonetic changes of the High German Consonant Shift are more complicated than orthographical practices would imply. For a general introduction to the Consonant Shift, see John Waterman, *A History of the German Language: With Special Reference to the Cultural and Social Forces that Shaped the Standard Literary Language*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), pp. 56-57.

There is the added possibility of the compounded influence of particular differences between Latin and the Italian vernacular. In the development from Latin to the vernaculars there was a similar shift from word medial voiceless stops (p, t, k) to voiced stops (b, d, g), particularly in the Tuscan dialect. For example, the word *strata* in Latin became *strada* in Italian, Latin *lacus* became Italian *lago*, and so forth. If Rosso, presumably having learned Latin in his homeland, was now in the process of learning Romanesco he would have had to accommodate for this rule, a rule which was similar on the surface to the dialectal difference between his native Upper New High German and Lower New High German. Such difficulties with auditory perception are common among bilinguals, but Rosso's potential slip serves as an example of the types of details of language contact that can reveal underlying relationships.

While the place names themselves were predominantly in German, the prepositions sometimes used to indicate origin, fluctuated between Latin and German. It was common in Medieval Latin writing to designate place names with a preposition, particularly *de*, translating the place name into Latin where possible. If the German word seemed untranslatable, its meaning was described in Latin.[333] In the names of the Anima account books, the Latin

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[333] Place names were not limited to the names of cities or towns, but also included places like mills, rivers, and even neighbours (if they were especially notable). The prepositions used changed accordingly (*in, iuxta,* etc.). See Günter Lipold, "Namen in und um Wien in 14. Jahrhundert", *Sprache und Name in Österreich,* Peter

preposition—in this case also *de*—is present throughout, but explanatory translations are largely absent. The few place names in the records that were translated into Latin were invariably preceded by the Latin preposition *de*, as in *Petro de Cracovia textore*,[334] *Johanni de Constantia*[335] and *Mathias de Colonia*.[336] The place names in German, which made up the majority of toponymics in the selection, alternate between using the German preposition *von/van*[337] on occasion and using the Latin preposition *de* the rest of the time. Overall, the Latin preposition is chosen 83% of the time when a preposition is used, leading to curious language combinations like *Michael de Awspurg Pistor*,[338] and *Nicolaus de Bodingen Textor*.[339] The alternation appears even between instances of the same name, as in *Caspar von Awspurg*[340] and *Caspar de Awspurg Pistor*,[341] in this case recorded by two different scribes on separate occasions. As with the Latinization of first name endings that we saw earlier, the alternation in choices between German and Latin appears between the work of different scribes as much as within the work of a single scribe. All of

Wiesinger, ed., (Festschrift für Walter Steinhauser zum 95. Geburtstag, Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, Universitäts Verlagbuchhandlung, 1980), pp. 238-239, 244-245.

[334] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.37v (1438).
[335] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.37v (1438).
[336] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.75r (1447).
[337] The forms 'van' and 'von' competed for some time, at least in a district outside Köln, but likely elsewhere as well. In Sittard (west of Köln, in present-day Netherlands, near the German border), the preference for 'von' establishes itself finally by the mid-sixteenth century. See Dirk Otten, *Schreibtraditionen und Schreibschichten in Sittard im Zeitraum von 1450-1609*, (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, 1977), pp. 86-92.
[338] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.37r (1438).
[339] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.26v (1435).
[340] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54r (1443).
[341] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.37r (1438).

the scribes in the folia selected for study,[342] alternated between using Latin and German prepositions, regardless of their length of residence in the city or their clerical or lay status. If the scribes were simply recording what was spoken to them verbatim, then examples of *von* and *de* alternations like Caspar von Awspurg's might point to a conscious effort on Caspar's part to assimilate his name, however slightly. Many Italian names of the same period used 'de', 'di', 'd', 'da', or 'dell', all of which easily could have been heard as 'de'. Alternatively, the scribe may have been unsure which option was more appropriate. In many aristocratic names the preposition is an important component, and based on aristocratic examples, the scribe may have understood the preposition as part of the complete surname. During this period, however, second names were more likely to be descriptions than permanent appellations, particularly among artisans. As with the first name alternations between Latin and non-Latin endings, the alternation between Latin and German prepositions in front of toponymics is likely an indication of the degree of unease translating between Latin and German.

Strikingly, when it came to occupational surnames, there was little hesitation translating from German to Latin. In the selection from the account books studied, there were numerous artisans bearing the names: *pistor*, *textor*,

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[342] We know the names of seven scribes out of eight total for the folia under study. They are: Micheal de Muspurg, Erasmus Rosso, Ulricus Cardinal, Albertus Cork, Arnoldus Clouer, Johannes Burckhardt, Nicolau Crapitz.

sutor, and *barilarius*, and a couple each with the appellations: *Aurifaber*, *barbitonsor*, *doctor*, *ductor aquarum*,[343] *notarius palacii*, *pelliparius*, *speciarius*, and *tabernarius*. Some individuals were identified by their function at the Anima, as was the case with *Conrado cappalano nostro*,[344] others by their occupational association with the Church, such as *Hertuidus Boldv abbrevitor*.[345]

Out of about seventy-five individuals with occupational second names, only three were in German; they belonged to: *Hans Gerber* (tanner),[346] *Henchim Leineweber* (linen weaver),[347] and *Mathias Smyt* (smith).[348] The fact that so few of the names selected included occupational names in German might indicate that those names were actually last names, inherited, and did not indicate those individuals' jobs. Clifford Maas notes that there was one Hans Gerwer who was elected provisor at the Anima confraternity in 1438, and whose regular job was not a tanner, but rather a baker.[349] Similarly, Matthe Smyt was also elected provisor at the Anima in 1441, and worked as a

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[343] A *ductor aquarum* is the captain or helmsman of a ship according to the Oxford Latin Dictionary, but in Rome, more likely a water carrier.

[344] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.26v (1435).

[345] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f. 232r (1488).

[346] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., ff. 53v, 54v, 55r (all 1443).

[347] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., ff. 53v, 54r, 55r (all 1443).

[348] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., ff. 54r/v, 55r (all 1443).

[349] Maas, *The German Community*, pp. 83-84, n. 65.

carpenter rather than a blacksmith.[350] Yet, Hannes Smed, an elected provisor during the year 1435, was in fact a smith as his name indicated.[351]

Three individuals had both a German and a Latin occupational name: *Hans Pawer Pelliparius*,[352] *Henricus Wandergeselle Pistor*,[353] and *Jeronimo wynstein sutor*.[354] In these cases, it is almost certain that their German second names are in fact inherited surnames, while the occupational names in Latin served to indicate their vocation. Thus, although agriculture was a major economic factor in the city, Hans Pawer Pelliparius was most likely a furrier in Rome rather than a farmer. Henricus Wandergeselle Pistor is more difficult to unravel, as his second name indicates a journeyman, while the third indicates a baker. He may well have been both. Wynstein ('wine stone') usually would indicate an individual involved in winemaking, which was a common enough occupation in Rome, but it is more likely that Jeronimo worked as a shoemaker, a much more common career for Germans and other immigrants.

In the examination of the names of German immigrants recorded in the income records at Santa Maria dell'Anima, three definitive examples of Germans taking an Italian last name exist: Hans Galli, a cooper by trade, and Johannes Gallo and Erasmus Rosso, who were both inn-keepers. There is,

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[350] Maas, *The German Community,* pp. 83-84, n. 65.
[351] Maas, *The German Community,* pp. 83-84, n. 65.
[352] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.54v (1443).
[353] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.37r (1438).
[354] Arch. Anima, Lib. Recept., f.37r (1438).

unfortunately, no way of knowing how long any of these three had spent in Rome before their names appear in the records at the Anima. All of them were members of the German confraternity in the 1430s and 1440s, during the period in which the rate of German immigration to Rome was at its highest for the fifteenth century. Both Erasmus Rosso and Johannes Gallo left the Anima to join the new German confraternity at the Campo Santo sometime in the 1450s, but there does not appear to be another mention of either of them thereafter.

Otherwise, in the names under examination, there does not appear to be any other evidence of Italian. It should be kept in mind, however, that many of the Germans at the Anima were recent immigrants and were likely eager to maintain their identities as Germans—at least for the short-term. The fact that three Germans, two of whom would have been in close daily contact with Italians at their taverns, used Italian second names suggests that it was also not unusual for individuals to quickly acculturate.

While there is little apparent evidence of direct acculturation in the names, there is evidence of a great deal of linguistic "activity" in the documents. The majority of names recorded exhibited curious alternations between Latin and German morphological endings, Latin and German prepositions, and a combination of predominantly German place names on the one hand, and predominantly Latin occupational names on the other. Few

individuals' names were recorded in the same way more than once. Whether the scribes recorded the names as they were spoken to them, or whether they recorded them from memory, a degree of linguistic confusion is present. Such confusion might have been as a result of incomplete Latin training, contemporary orthographical practices (which differed widely and resulted in multitudinous spelling variations), or the very common by-product of the second language acquisition process—a seeming inability to keep one's languages straight. Furthermore, if it is true that the scribes were recording names as they were spoken, the alternations point to a continuing process of identity re-evaluation on the part of the members of the confraternity.

A quick comparison with similar records from two other national confraternities underscores the extent of linguistic activity in the Anima records. The income records of two Iberian confraternities, the Catalan brotherhood of Santa Maria di Monserrato and the Castilian brotherhood of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, show very little, if any, linguistic activity in the names listed. They were confraternities of immigrants much like the Anima, but unlike the varieties of Germanic spoken at the German brotherhood, both Catalan, spoken at Monserrato, and Castilian, spoken at San Giacomo, were members of the Romance family of languages, direct descendants of Latin and close siblings to Italian.

The extent of mutual intelligibility between Romance languages is contested even today—many travellers will attest to their ability to "get by" using one Romance language while in a country where a different Romance language is spoken. Although standardization, mass communication, and literacy aid in modern inter-Romance intelligibility, in the fifteenth century, Romance languages were more closely related, in time, if not in other aspects, than they are today. It was long accepted that the Romance languages began to branch away from Vulgar Latin sometime around the sixth or seventh centuries C.E. The first attestation of a Romance language that is clearly not Latin is in the Oaths of Strasbourg, recorded in 842 by Louis the German and Charles the Bald.

From the ninth century through to the fifteenth, there are several factors that would have encouraged the nascent distinctiveness of the various Romance tongues and several factors that may have maintained a degree of mutual intelligibility. Factors encouraging distinctiveness include the lack of a standard, the use of Latin in most written documents, poor communications, poor roads, unstable political situations and invasions. Factors which may have encouraged a continuing mutual intelligibility include travelling merchants, trade, travelling soldiers, emissaries, and close political ties between Romance language speaking areas. By the fifteenth century, Catalan, Castilian, and Italian, with their multiple dialects, were certainly recognized as

separate languages, and were labelled as such.[355] Each had evolved from Latin in slightly different directions and was influenced by particular circumstances and events, but the extent of mutual intelligibility is unclear. For those who knew Latin, the leap of understanding would have been considerably lessened.

At the very least, Castilian, Catalan, Italian and Latin shared a greater degree of mutual intelligibility than did German and Latin or German and Italian. The Germanic and Romance language branches diverged from one another long before Latin developed into the various Romance languages. From these genetic language relations alone, it is reasonable to hypothesize that German immigrants in Rome had greater difficulty learning the local language than did the Spanish immigrants.[356] Greater difficulty in learning the language would result in greater linguistic "activity" in the written documents of the Germans than in the written documents of the Spanish. The income records in the Spanish archives bear this conclusion out.

The confraternity of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, founded in the 1450s by Don Alfonso de Paradinas, was one of the wealthier national

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[355] Paul Lloyd, "On the Names of Languages (and Other Things)," *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Middle Ages*, edited by Roger Wright. (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 9-18.

[356] Michael Richter believes that it was as easy for Italians to understand Spaniards as it was for Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Germany to speak German. Michael Richter, "Monolingualism and Multilingualism in the 14th Century," p. 211.

confraternities in Rome at the time.[357] Much like at the German Anima, the income records at San Giacomo, contained in a volume called the *Libro de Carmarlengo e Yglesia de los Años 1498 y 1499*, were written in Latin.[358] The *Libro* contains the details of the properties owned by the confraternity, including their location, the identity of the renter, and the payment schedule (i.e. annual or semestral).

The records of the Catalan confraternity of Nuestra Señora de Montserrat contained in the *Libro de Cofadria* form the second Iberian source.[359] The confraternity book is written entirely in Catalan, with the exception of the opening paragraph, and mostly imparts information concerning the members of the confraternity, their appointed duties if any, and money paid to the confraternity in the form of dues and rents.

These books differ from the German Liber in a number of ways. Both Iberian books are dated to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, while the German book dates to the second and third quarters of the fifteenth century. The scribes at the German confraternity were usually explicitly identified with every new entry, and variations in handwriting were very clear. In neither of

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[357] Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro, "San Giacomo degli Spagnoli a Roma: Beni e redditi alla fine del XV secolo," *Medioevo: saggi e rassegne*, vol. 13, 1988, p. 144.

[358] AEER, Liber Rationem Administrationis, vol. 494.

[359] AEER, Libro de Cofadria, vol. 664.

the Iberian sources are the scribes identified and the manner of recording names in the Iberian books is consistent from entry to entry.[360]

More important, the Iberian names are dramatically different from the German names. A number of linguistic "half-way houses" were present among the German names, such as the variation in first names between Latinized endings and non-Latinized endings, as well as between Latin articles and Germanic articles, the overwhelming retention of German last names and German toponymy, but the consistent use of Latin terms for occupations. Among the Iberians, both in the volume written in Latin and that written in Catalan, there are very few, if any, linguistic "half-way houses". In the volume written in Latin at the San Giacomo brotherhood, the majority of the names extracted were Latinized to conform to the Latin context. This is an expected mechanism of writing in Latin, and the Iberians appear to be much more consistent in their application of the rule. Indeed the Latinization rule applies to all names, that is, forenames as well as last names, unlike in the German source. This is perhaps not surprising, given that many Romance names originated from Latin, and most borrowed names were nativized.

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[360] In the introduction to the Catalan volume there is a paragraph listing the newly appointed officials of the confraternity (the introduction of the book coincides with the foundation of the brotherhood) where the notary identifies himself. The notary later explains that three of the offices, that of the prior, *clavari*, and syndics were only to last a period of four months, but does not give a period for his own office of notary. What is more, a number of the entries appear to have been written over a period of years; whenever someone made their annual payment it was recorded underneath the record of the previous year's payment, making it difficult to pinpoint the writer.

Romance names, such as Andrea, Cola, and Benedicto, frequently end in vowels, or with a single consonant to which another vowel can be palatably added, making the addition of Latin morphology almost seamless. Germanic names, however, such as Heinrich, Hans, Wolfgang, etc., frequently end in consonant clusters, and the addition of a non-native syllable becomes cumbersome and perhaps difficult to pronounce.[361]

Other than the expected use of Latin morphology, the names in the income book of the San Giacomo confraternity exhibit little to suggest linguistic interference. The brothers at San Giacomo were predominantly Castilian, and included names such as *Magister Petrus didaci de la Carrera*, *Magister lignorum* and *Magistro Jacobo Carpentario*, *Benedicto* and *Francisco de Petruchis* (both of whom were Roman citizens), *Magistro Ernao Fanenn*, *Magistro Francisco Ferraro*, and *Iohannes Tornier* and his wife *Ysabeta*. Listed alongside the Castilians were a number of Italians, like *Magistro Antonio Clavigero Lombardo* and *Johanne Petro Clavigero Lumbardo*, as well as *Bartholomeo de Leuco mercatori mediolanensis* and his wife *Katherina Paduana*. The book from which these names were taken was written in the last years of the reign of Alexander VI (1492-1503) who had by this time appointed a number of fellow countrymen to the cardinalate and

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[361] Also voiced stops (b,d,g) appearing word-finally in German are pronounced like their voiceless counterparts (p,t,k). The addition of a final vowel would likely alter the German sound rule, forcing an unusual pronunciation of a native word, that might have seemed overly cumbersome for speakers.

various other Church offices.[362] An aspiring Italian would be well put to join

an Iberian confraternity if it were possible. It is possible that the Italian names

given here are the spouses of Iberians, though exogamy is not directly evident

in the folia samples I studied.

The Catalan *Libro* appears void of discernible Italian influence. The

written context from which the names were extracted was entirely in Catalan,

and most components of the names are Catalan including titles and toponymy.

According to Moreu-Ray, common Catalan surnames include *Soler*, *Ferrer*,

Marti, *Serra*, *Puig*, *Vidal*, *Pujol*, *Torres*, *Font*, *Pons*, *Vila*, *Cases* and

derivations of *casa* and *mas*, a number of which appear in the list from the

confraternity records. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the most popular

forenames for men were *Pere*, *Bernat*, *Guillem*, *Joan*, *Francesc*, *Antoni*,

Javme, and *Miquel*.[363] A number of names are shared by Castilian and Catalan

speakers, but differ in spelling to some extent. For instance, *Joan* is equivalent

to *Juan*, and *Miquel* to *Miguel*. Catalan and Castilian are two separate

languages, but unlike the speakers of numerous Germanic languages that were

grouped together into the one German confraternity, the Brotherhood of San

Giacomo and that of Nuestra Señora de Montserrat were two separate entities,

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[362] Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 5, pp. 398-416.

[363] Enric Moreau-Rey, "Katalanisch: Interne Sprachgeschichte III. Onomastik," Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik, (Günter Holtus et al, eds., vol. V, 2, "Okzitanisch, Katalanisch," Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1991), pp. 164-165.

indeed they were located at two different churches, the former at *Santiago y San Ildefonso de los Españoles*[364] and the latter at *San Nicolás de los Catalanes*.[365] Unlike with the Germans, it is difficult to conceive that dialect levelling between larger Iberian groupings, such as Castilian and Catalan, occurred. From the division of churches, hospitals, and confraternities, the Iberians appear to have formed themselves into groups along similar loyalties as they would have had at home. With one of the largest non-Italian populations in Rome, greater diversity within the larger Iberian group is not surprising.

The fact that there is little linguistic activity in the recorded names of the Iberians suggests that in the process of acculturating to Roman society, the Iberians had little reason to reconsider their identities as represented by their names. Although there were differences, particularly with the Catalans, overall Iberian names were quite similar to Italian ones and Iberian identities would have been more transparent to their Italian hosts than the Germans'. This is not to say that Castilian and Catalan immigrants did not undergo acculturation, but that the process for them would have been quicker and likely less complete in the end.

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[364] Manuel Vaqueo Piñeiro, "San Giacomo degli spagnoli a Roma; Beni e redditi alla fine del XV secolo," *Medioevo; saggi e rassegne*, vol. 13, 1988, p. 143.

[365] J. Fernandez Alonso, "Las iglesias nacionales de España en Roma. Sus orígenes," *Anthologica annua*, vol. 4, 1956, Appendix 9, p. 93.

Possibly a closer examination of the language of the income documents at both Santa Maria di Monserrato and San Giacomo degli Spagnoli would reveal details of second language acquisition and cultural adaptation in the form of specific vocabulary used, direct translations, or instances of code-switching. While the Iberians names do not elucidate processes of acculturation among the confraternity membership, they do provide a contrast that serves to highlight the significant amount of activity present in the German names. The Iberian and German names also suggest that a much more complex and multi-layered portrait of Roman society exists, composed of a myriad of individuals at various stages of linguistic and cultural acculturation.

Conclusion

Immigrants, from north of the Alps, west of the Mediterranean, and all over the Italian peninsula, had a significant impact on fifteenth-century Roman society. They quickly filled gaps in the Roman economy as the Papacy returned and infused new life into the city. They were numerous at building sites, in the ports, in the trades, in the markets, in the banks, and in the Curia. As brotherhoods, they aided pilgrims from afar, providing hospitals and churches with religious services in foreign languages and consecrated places for burial. They lived among, were employed by, and worked alongside their Roman neighbours. Immigrants contributed to the rebuilding of the city, designing, constructing, and filling palaces, squares, and new churches.

In Chapter One we saw that although there were not as many immigrants as previous historians had estimated, their numbers were still significant enough to impact on the political, social and economic landscape of the city. Furthermore, these immigrants were better integrated than previous historians had portrayed; they did not live in enclaves or ghettos, but lived and worked where the rest of the population lived and worked. Without the influx of immigrants in the fifteenth century, the resurgence and diversification of the economy would not have been possible, as many immigrants stepped in to fill

the voids left in previous centuries through plague, war, and neglect. The relationship of immigrants with native Romans was complicated, now congenial, now confrontational. But to the civic authorities, immigrants were welcomed with tax incentives, sanctioned organizations, and a city that was physically built around inclusion and the promotion of growth.

National institutions in the form of pilgrim hospitals, vernacular churches, and brotherhoods were the most visible edifices of immigrant life in Rome. Chapter Two examined existing historiography on these late medieval organizations in order to demonstrate that their place in Rome was complex. They were neither isolated bastions of foreignness nor instruments of assimilation. Foreign associations had a long history in Rome, a fact which demonstrates Roman familiarity with their presence and suggests a degree of integration with the city that a newer establishment would not have shared. National institutions were also complex in their individual functions and the interplay of those functions. National hospitals were devoted to the aid of impoverished pilgrims from particular origins, while national churches served both pilgrims and the local immigrant population. National confraternities formed around national churches and hospitals in order to administer them, and served predominantly the needs of immigrants resident in Rome.

Because these institutions were defined by the non-Roman origins of their members and users, they appear to be organizations for the preservation,

maintenance and celebration of non-Roman culture and language. But, as we saw in Chapter Two, the national associations in Rome behaved very much like their Italian counterparts. Both Italian and national hospitals provided aid for pilgrims, both Italian and national churches served the needs of both pilgrims and locals, and both Italian and national confraternities provided their members with security in this life and the next, promoted civic peace by crossing social boundaries, and functioned under similar administrative structures, electoral processes, and by-laws guiding behaviour.

The most significant difference between Italian and national associations was language. National hospitals and churches provided comfort and religious services in foreign vernaculars, a characteristic that was of the utmost importance to pilgrims who fell fatally ill. National confraternities required speakers of their respective vernaculars to administer the hospitals and churches, and to provide aid to confraternity members new to the city and in need of shelter and work. There is evidence that immigrants joined and participated actively in Roman confraternities, and also evidence of a handful of Italians who joined immigrant confraternities, though most Romans would have seen little need to join associations who existed primarily to aid pilgrims or newcomers to the city.

Though national confraternities were mostly made up of immigrant members, two of the immigrant brotherhoods under discussion required their

members to speak a foreign vernacular, in both cases German. But rather than a means of keeping Romans out of the brotherhood, the prerequisites were surely a result of the competition both organizations faced from other brotherhoods or the needs of members.

Chapter Three examined the personal names of German immigrants at S. Maria dell'Anima, the German national church, as recorded in the organization's income records, in order to gauge the extent of linguistic and cultural acculturation of the Germans to Rome. It found that there was in fact a great deal of linguistic activity in the German names. In writing first names, scribes alternated, without discrimination, between using Latin morphology and using no proper noun morphology. In writing last names, the scribes recorded patronymics with the proper Latin genitive, toponymics almost entirely in German, and occupational names almost entirely in Latin. Many toponymics were preceded by prepositions, where the scribes again alternated between German and Latin. Finally, half of the given nicknames were in Italian. The extent of linguistic activity in the folia pulled from the Anima's income records suggests that accommodation to their Roman hosts, acquisition of the Roman tongue, and acculturation to Roman culture among these relatively new immigrants was well underway.

Interestingly, the amount of linguistic activity in the Anima records, and the acculturation process it suggests, is supported by the near lack of the

same activity in the documents of two other national confraternities: S. Maria di Monserrato and S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli. Both of these Iberian confraternities' documents show very little activity in the personal names recorded. In the S. Giacomo documents, recorded in Latin, the names are very nearly all in Latin, with none of the alternations between Latin and the vernacular that is evidenced in the German documents. In the Monserrato income records, recorded almost entirely in Catalan, the personal names similarly exhibit very little linguistic interference. In neither Iberian confraternity is there evidence of the members changing the form of their names to make them sound more Italian or taking on Italian nicknames. However, as was concluded in Chapter Three, the lack of linguistic activity in the Iberian documents points more to the similarity and shared history of the Iberian and Italian languages and cultures than it suggests that the Iberians did not acculturate. Iberian acculturation, for the most part, would have involved considerably less intense language learning, less intense cultural familiarization, and few reasons to renegotiate their existing identities.

The move to Rome affected immigrants in various ways, completely altering the lives of some, simply expanding the horizons of others. The Romans themselves did not escape the unprecedented influx of immigrants in the fifteenth-century unchanged. By far one of the largest and most influential groups of immigrants in the city were the Tuscans, and their prominence and

prestige in the city is well evidenced by the impact that their dialect had on the local Romanesco.[366] The Tuscan eminence in Rome was supplemented by the general esteem with which they were held throughout the peninsula. It was during the fifteenth and early sixteenth century that Italians began to consider the *questione della lingua*, or a pan-Italian language that would provide a suitable means of expression for an increasingly widespread vernacular literature. The renown of the three crowns of Florence, Petrarch, Dante, and Boccaccio, and the vast influence of Florentines in banking, statesmanship, art, and philosophy, helped make the Tuscan dialect an important contender, though not an unchallenged one. Similarly, the Spanish in Rome would, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, come to consider the city as part of their extensive new empire, which reached well into the vast geography of the New World. Under their influence, the Italian language would adopt a new formal third person.[367] In the end, it was not only Romans who impressed on immigrants, but also immigrants who impacted on Romans.

This study has attempted to bring to light the complexity the immigrant situation in Renaissance Rome, to highlight the rich mix of languages and cultures that filled the streets, and to demonstrate that

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[366] Gerhard Ernst, *Die Toskanisierung des römischen Dialekts im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1970).

[367] Jacqueline Brunet, "Un 'langage colakeutiquement profane' ou l'influence de l'Espagne sur la troisième personne de politesse italienne," *Présence et influence de l'Espagne dans la culture italienne de la Renaissance*, ed. André Rochon (Paris: Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1978), pp. 251-315.

acculturation was an important aspect of the immigrant experience. It also means to demonstrate in a preliminary way that linguistic analysis can serve as a valuable tool for historians, allowing them to uncover detail that might otherwise remain obscure. Although we cannot access the languages spoken in fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Rome, a window onto the names and people is opened.

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