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EMBLEMS OF POWER IN THE EUROPE OF THE BOURBONS

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STORIA, MEMORIA, IDENTITÀ

EMBLEMS OF POWER IN THE EUROPE OF THE BOURBONS

By GIUSEPPE CIRILLO

In copertina
Allegorie della Marianne e di Donna Italia

GIUSEPPE CIRILLO

Emblems of Power in the Europe of the Bourbons.

**Semantic Research Paths
on Historical Archives.**

Ontology edited by Francesco Moscato

**MINISTERO DEI BENI E DELLE ATTIVITÀ CULTURALI
E DEL TURISMO
DIREZIONE GENERALE ARCHIVI
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2. Archives, books, testimony
3. Law, culture, society
4. The Italian Regions: a profile for the cultural heritage

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Scientific Criteria of the European Book Series

'Documents-Monuments of European Identity'

Why create a digital book Series among the countries of the European Union?

Why create a collaboration between different universities and archiving institutions and libraries of the European Union?

The Series intends to address an area of studies emerging from a consideration on certain issues arising from scientific research in recent decades.

This new path involves European universities, research institutions, archives and libraries. Along with the regard to their function, namely the approach to sources (archives and libraries) in paper and digital format, these subjects must all place themselves in this new digital web semantic universe. This Series intends to be a contribution from these cultural institutions to the constitution of this virtual web (or Semantic Web). The web is deeply changing the traditional processes of access, learning and use of information, introducing new challenges to scientific research. Methodological tools must be re-thought both for social sciences and 'hard sciences', through the acquisition of new interdisciplinary tools.

After an initial phase in which history and social sciences, European archiving institutes and libraries have undertaken a fertile multidisciplinary collaboration through the use of innovative methodology, the time has come to find further expertise mainly from anthropology, communication studies, art history, legal history, semantics and semiotics, computer engineering, psychology and social sciences.

All this, nonetheless in compliance with European and international standards. Various are the motivations which drive us in this task.

1. First of all, the gaps in the transfer of knowledge in the social sciences must be filled. Faced with a non-reversible process, which in a few years will lead to the creation of a digital universe, the social sciences must revise methods of procedure and legitimisation, now more than ever as a response to the technological revolution in the communication and organisation of knowledge. Social sciences have

the potential to perform a great task in the collaboration with this work by integrating the process from hard science.

2. The marginalisation of social sciences is not the only issue in the current cognitive process. The passage from real knowledge to virtual knowledge is based on the creation of new vocabularies and new languages. Languages, codes, which are becoming a standard. It is a process of inclusion and exclusion. Those unable to utilise these languages, those unable to speak within these standards – whether it be simple scientific disciplines or the scientific research of entire countries – end up marginalised and risk being excluded. A proposal for the solution of some of these problems must be sought after in a new collaboration between state institutions and the universities of European countries.
3. Another issue this Series wishes to address is the regulation of relations between social sciences and sources, whether in print or digital format. This relation has changed in comparison to the past, as consciously manifested in many western countries and in the renewed analysis of some great events which have impacted collective memory.

This action would address the current ill-advised use of digital media, which has hastened a vision of a universe without history (no future or past), thus creating a view completely engaged with the present. An unacceptable approach, since even a present inflated and crushed by the abuse of communication is still situated ‘in history’. In this course of events, the web has unfortunately played a significant role, because the uploaded sources (originated by a particular institution) are at risk of being quickly de-contextualised in the process of communication and, by means of a semantic transfer, of becoming mere information, in which the past is nullified and only the present holds up.

In the scope of the Series, on the contrary, the relation between history, social sciences and use of sources would be based on an extension of the prospective and a renewed structuring of knowledge resulting from emergence of the Semantic Web. It is not a denial of the present, but rather a transition from the idea of a present without history to one of the present as history, thus raising the stakes of historicising comprehension, by means of historicising its very sources. This is a history which aims at recovering the past – as defined by well-known English writer and critic John Berger,

when, in 2009, he donated his private archive to the British Library – by looking at the present.

Archives are another way of people who lived in the past who perhaps are still living or perhaps are dead being present. This seems to me absolutely one of the quintessential things about the human condition. It's what actually distinguishes man from any other animal: living with those who have lived and the companionship of those who are no longer alive. Not necessarily the people that one knew personally, I mean the people perhaps whom one only knows by what they did, or what they left behind, this question of the company of the past, that's what interests me, and archives are a kind of site in the sense of like an archaeological site¹.

An example of what Berger refers to is in the opportunities offered by the research on legal sources. Traditionally only documents (negotiation acts, tomes, procedural documents) are archived in notary archives and libraries, giving a false image of law as atemporal repetition of the legal text. Digitalisation of unpublished material, correspondence, manuscripts, notes, diaries and personal confessions (sources found in private archives and preserved for more than a generation to be then lost forever), which accompany legal acts, offers an essential device in order to restore to legal culture (and thus, political and social culture) the necessary historical depth. Historical depth must be restored, as this example shows, in the field of transmission and use of archives and documents. Archives themselves (both as institutions and documentary sources), as a more thorough European historiography shows, have their own history, which is not just the particular process of gathering and organising information and knowledge in different times, but a significant evidence of the different relations between different generations with their past.

The aim of the Series may metaphorically be summarised as the books and archives which have made Europe. Books and archives as the product of the journey of European countries that has led to the constitution of their identity read – in a path rooted between the constitution of the modern state and the European Union – in the scope of the modern state, the social state, the Renaissance, the Reformation, Enlightenment, the middle class, capitalism, liberalism and democracies.

¹ See <https://reader.paperc.com/books/portraits-john-berger-on-artists/479681/Introduction>.

Libraries and archives are the two sides of power. On the one hand, the public with the production of regulations of modern states, as the practice of archiving and book keeping regards the 'context of production' of the government works. On the other hand, the production of the elite. Both are aimed at establishing and restoring collective or individual identities.

With national states, the subject who produces sources (archives and libraries) is thus conceived as a sort of attribute of documentation, a constituting element of the institution which contributes to the description of its functioning. Hence there is a close connection between the geography of archives and libraries and the institutional morphology of national states.

The aim of the Series is to physically represent, through the study and publication of collections or single texts selected and edited by the different libraries or archives participating in the initiative, in the form of the book-document, the common road which leads to the European identity as the leading player, rather than the residual character of the history of the Western world; as the scene of an original syncretism between different cultures and experiences of the state.

Introduction

History, social sciences and hard sciences: the approach to texts and historical sources

Emblems of Power in the Europe of the Bourbons is more than just a book about historical semantics aimed at collecting sovereignty symbols of the different branches of the Bourbons in Europe. Research inaugurated a new genre of study in response to issues that have emerged from the investigations conducted in recent decades. This is an initial theoretical study, sponsored by the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism, and is addressed to European countries which follow EUROPEANA standards (the European Digital Library). This is the narrative of how history and social sciences today must be set to their primary function, which is the approach to documentary sources. It is born of projects on some of the large European archives; prototypes for verifying the placing on line of a large amount of documents and semantic research on the same sources.

The involvement of social sciences in the construction of the virtual web (or Semantic Web) is still radically changing the traditional methods of access, learning and use of information, setting new challenges for scientific research. This is about re-thinking the tools and methodologies of social sciences through the acquisition of new interdisciplinary paths.

Following a phase during which history and social sciences have found mutual multidisciplinary collaboration, through the use of ground-breaking methodologies, now it is time to identify other competences largely from anthropology, communicative sciences, art history, legal history, semantics and semiotics as well as computer engineering. A path between human sciences and hard sciences focused on researching the signs and languages of texts that offer common elements of dialogue for the construction of ontologies: domain fields that operate within the sphere of artificial intelligence. It is no coincidence that computer scientists adopt ontologies for a variety of purposes, including inductive reasoning, classification and various other techniques when solving issues. It is a fact how computerised ontologies adopt controlled vocabularies based on semiotic and semantic categories through which everything must be described within the specific models used. With the new universe of the World Wide Web (WWW), the dimension of multimedia hypertexts has been surpassed, to be replaced by the construction of the Semantic Web. The large amount of data available on the web has raised the issue of having to resort to large 'search engines', which however do not go beyond the simple processing of 'syntactic' terms

present within hypertexts on the web. It was Tim Berners-Lee who emphasised the need to move from a purely 'syntactic' model to one based on 'semantics' (the Semantic Web)¹.

Why did social sciences emerge while participating in the construction of the WWW?

There are many reasons for this. To start filling some considerable voids accumulated by social sciences in this domain of knowledge transmission. Being faced with an irreversible journey, that in the coming years will bring to the edification of a digital universe, these transformations have been ignored or, to be more specific, underestimated. Social sciences have not fulfilled a crucial collaborative task in this work, while populating content in the construction of ontologies. In doing so, certain distortions have formed in the field of knowledge. In the transition to a virtual language, there is the risk that ontologies are built only by experts (computer engineers), although, in the formulation of mathematical theses, they adopt semiotic and semantic linguistic knowledge.

The problem is not just the marginalisation of the social sciences, in the current cognitive process. As mentioned earlier, the transition from real knowledge to a virtual one is based on the creation of new vocabularies as well as new languages. Languages and codes that are beginning to be standardised. It is a process of inclusion and exclusion. Those who are unable to use these languages, who cannot dialogue with the standards – whether mere scientific disciplines or the scientific research of entire countries – is marginalised and at risk of exclusion.

A proposal to solve some of these issues was the foundation of important research projects, coordinated by myself, and introduced in Italy and Europe with the support of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism by a team of historians, archivists and other Italian, French and Spanish social sciences researchers. Specifically, starting from the study of some important European archives (the archives of the Court and Royal Bourbon Sites, of the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara and of the Neapolitan Royal Sites of the Savoy²), a new methodological path, open to

¹ T. BERNERS-LEE-J. HENDLER-O. LASSILA, *The Semantic Web*, in «Scientific American», 2001, 84-85, pp. 28-37.

² Initially, the Archivio Storico della Reggia di Caserta (Historical Archive of the Royal Palace of Caserta) was examined including all the administrative material of the main Royal Bourbon Sites, among which the Royal Palace and the State of Caserta. Also the most known funds of the Bourbon Archive and of Bourbon Secretariats of State have been studied, and the files of the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara, the new royal court through which the Bourbon monarchy led the processes of modernisation of the Kingdom, as well

the European standards proposed by EUROPEANA, was developed on the new frontiers of research. This approach has been articulated through careful comparison of the texts – historical-archival, semiotic-literary and iconographic – initially of Neapolitan origin, but also French and Spanish (of the Bourbons of Europe).

This journey addresses at least two reasons.

Firstly, one of a methodological nature. While for France and Spain the primary sources of the Bourbon period have been widely studied, the same cannot be said for the Neapolitan region. As a matter of fact, the archives adopted in this volume allow, thanks to their substantial conceptual significance, to properly frame the issue, from a comparative point of view, at the scientific level.

The other reason regards the perspectives offered by recent studies on the history of modern states, sovereignty and power. We draw from the scientific debate that took place in different European zones regarding the celebrations, in year 2015, of the death of Louis XIV. It turned out how in thirty years there had been a succession of different seasons of study, which can be summarised with these passages:

- a) the genesis and organisation of the modern state;
- b) rituals related to the ‘body of the king’;
- c) the habits and ‘ceremonies of the king’ and the court;
- d) the ‘portrait of the king’;
- e) the spaces of the court, kings and queens;
- f) finally, in recent years, ongoing studies on the languages of nobilities and sovereignty.

To begin with the first point, following the period of the «Annales» there was a return to political history. Important scientific initiatives were coordinated by Jean-Philippe Genet on the genesis of the modern state and on the birth of national identities³. In Italy, the main attempt was with the

as those of the Archivio dell'Amministrazione dei Siti Reali dei Savoia (Archive of the Administration of the Royal Savoy Sites), headquartered in Capodimonte, grouping together the files of the Royal Sites that passed on to the Amministrazione di Casa Reale dei Savoia (Administration of the Royal House of Savoy). For information on the literary texts the LIZ 4.0 support was used. See *Liz 4.0 Letteratura italiana Zanichelli CD-ROM dei testi della letteratura italiana. Quarta edizione per Windows*, a cura di P. STOPPELLI-E. PICCHI, Bologna, 2001. Sistema di interrogazione DBT in collaborazione con il Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. It contains the volume *Schede di letteratura italiana*, 1000 opere, 245 autori, a cura di LEXIS PROGETTI EDITORIALI, 2001. Cf. the paragraph on sources.

³ J.-PH.GENET, *La genèse de l'État moderne*. Les enjeux d'un programme de recherche, in «Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales», CXVIII, 1997, 1, pp. 3-18.

volume *Origini dello Stato. Processi di formazione statale in Italia fra Medioevo ed età moderna*, with contributions from the most renowned national scholars of the modern state⁴. In the early 1980s, research groups were born in several European countries, with the collaboration between historians and humanities scholars who began to study the court⁵. In France, projects were showcased by important historians of architecture and arts such as Anne-Marie Lecoq, Monique Chatenet and Françoise Boudon⁶; Gérard Sabatier investigated the monarchic iconography in France and in Italy⁷, together with Gérard Labrot and Louis Marin⁸.

Regarding the second point, it should be noted that a profitable contact occurred between French historians and Italian scholars – such as the researchers coordinated by Sergio Bertelli⁹ – who analysed, along with the modern state, rituals and ceremonials; still in Italy, the interdisciplinary project ‘Europa delle Corti’ was created with the participation of Cesare Mozzarelli, Amedeo Quondam and other scholars¹⁰. In various European countries, an investigation began on the texts, performances, images,

⁴ *Origini dello Stato. Processi di formazione statale in Italia fra Medioevo ed età moderna*, a cura di G. CHITTOLINI-A. MOLHO-P. SCHIERA, Bologna, 1994.

⁵ The volume by J. Boucher is relevant: *La cour de Henri III*, Rennes, 1986. See also EAD., *Société et mentalités autour de Henri III*, Paris, 2007.

⁶ Équipe n. 3 directed by Anne-Marie Lecoq, coordinating research entitled: ‘Études sur la mise en scène de la personne royale au XVI^e siècle (1484-1610)’.

⁷ Équipe n. 34: ‘Étude des programmes iconographiques étatiques en France et en Italie aux X^e et XVII^e siècles. Figurer l’État’.

⁸ The figure of Gérard Labrot is also relevant as he conducted pioneering studies on a variety of Italian areas (Naples and Rome in particular) and on the iconography of the Farnese Court as well as other Italian princes. G. LABROT, *Le palais Farnèse de Caprarola*, Paris, 1970. Louis Marin (1931-1992) is described in French biographies as a philosopher, historian, semiotician and a specialist in the political analysis of symbolic representation. In our point of view he is to note especially for the volume *Le portrait du roi*, Paris, 1981.

⁹ The following works by Sergio Bertelli are of particular interest: *Il potere oligarchico nello Stato-città medievale*, Firenze, 1978; *Il corpo del re. Sacralità del potere nell’Europa medievale e moderna*, Firenze, 1990; *Il re, la vergine, la sposa: eros, maternità e potere nella cultura figurativa europea*, Roma, 2002.

¹⁰ This initiative saw the publication of a set of volumes: M.A. ROMANI-A. QUONDAM, *Le Corti farnesiane di Parma e Piacenza (1545-1622)*, 2 voll., Roma, 1978; C. OSSOLA-A. PROSPERI (a cura di), *La Corte ed il cortigiano*, Roma, 1980; G. PAPAGNO-A. QUONDAM (a cura di), *La Corte e lo spazio: Ferrara estense*, Roma, 1982. See the review by G. LOMBARDO, *Le Corti d’Europa e L’Europa delle Corti*, in *La Corte in Europa. Fedeltà, favori, pratiche di governo*, a cura di M. CATTINI-M.A. ROMANI, in «Cheiron», I, 1983, 2, pp. 179-185. Please see: *The Politics of Space: European Courts ca. 1500-1750*, Edited by M. FANTONI-G. GORSE-M. SMUTS, Rome, 2009, pp. 107-133.

liturgies, sound and music, architecture and spatial structures of the court¹¹. Studies on the court multiplied, where it became the great laboratory for historiographic research. It was the American ceremonialist school inspired by Ernst Kantorowicz and his famous book *The King's Two Bodies*¹² to especially influence these studies. These researches examined the 'sacred', gestures, funeral sermons, iconographic objects used in ceremonies, and the *lit de justice* tradition of the French kings¹³. The publication of theses on the rituals of French kings by Ralph E. Giesey is quite relevant¹⁴. The influence of this tradition continued into the 1990s, when many scholars distanced themselves from previous suggestions of the American ceremonialist school. Elizabeth Brown made important observations on the subject, from theses on funeral rituals by Ralph Giesey¹⁵ to the criticism of Famiglietti on the book by S. Hanley about the *lit de justice*¹⁶.

From another side, research began on nobility and court ceremonials. The sovereigns, in modern courts, resorted to ceremonies to address three issues: the scrupulous distribution of honours, make money from the market of noble titles and ensure new splendour to the monarchy. In relation to these themes, Lucien Bély studied the princely society in the early modern

¹¹ G. SABATIER, *Rappresentare il principe. Figurer l'État. Les programmes iconographiques d'État en France et en Italie du XV^e au XVII^e siècle*, in J.-PH. GENET (éd.), *L'État moderne: genèse. Bilans et perspectives*, Actes du colloque tenu au C.N.R.S., Paris 19-20 sept. 1988, Paris, 1990, pp. 247-258.

¹² E. KANTOROWICZ, *I due corpi del re. L'idea di regalità nella teologia politica medievale*, introduzione di A. BOUREAU, Torino, 1989.

¹³ R.A. JACKSON, *Vivat rex: Histoire des sacres et couronnements en France, 1364-1825*, trad. de l'anglais par M. ARAV, Paris, 1984; ID., *Vive le roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X*, Chapel Hill-London, 1984; S. HANLEY, *Le lit de justice des rois de France: l'idéologie constitutionnelle dans la légende, le rituel et le discours*, trad. de l'anglais par A. CHARPENTIER, Paris, 1991. See also R. DESCIMON, *Le corps de ville et le système cérémoniel parisien au début de l'âge moderne*, in *Status individuels, status corporatifs et status judiciaires dans les villes européennes. Individuals, corporate and judicial status in European cities (late middle ages and early modern period)*, Actes du colloque tenu à Gand les 12-14 octobre 1995, M. BOONE-M. PRAK (éd.), Louvain, 1996, pp. 73-128; L.M. BRYANT, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony. Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance*, Genève, 1986.

¹⁴ R.E. GIESEY, *Cérémonial et puissance souveraine. France, XV^e-XVII^e siècles*, trad. de l'anglais par J. CARLIER, Paris, 1987; ID., *Rulership in France, 15th-17th Centuries*, Aldershot, 2004.

¹⁵ E.A.R. BROWN, *The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X*, in «Tradition», XXXIV, 1978, pp. 227-271. This theme was picked up by Alain Guéry who noticed how recurring to effigies reflected the preoccupation of impending death. See A. GUÉRY, *Principe monarchique ou roi très chrétien? Les funérailles du roi de France*, in «Revue de Synthèse», CXII, 1991, 3-4, p. 443 ff.

¹⁶ E.A.R. BROWN-R.C. FAMIGLIETTI, *The Lit de Justice: Semantics, Ceremonial, and the Parlement of Paris 1300-1600*, Sigmaringen, 1994.

age¹⁷; while, in 2002, a book was published by Monique Chatenet on the French court of the 16th century, where the architectural approach of the court is integrated with a study of its ceremonies¹⁸.

The relationship between courts, the modern state and the formation of service nobility was thoroughly investigated. The formation of nobility and its hierarchy was very different for France, Spain and the Kingdom of Naples during the Bourbon period. In France, the new status was played out on 'blood royal' attributed to blood princes and recognised royal illegitimates, at least starting from Henry IV, who had precedence at court over royal counts, dukes and marshals; in Spain and in the Kingdom of Naples, service nobility was recruited by an army of 'courtiers' whose official cadres were selected from among the ancient nobility of blood. A military career would be the privileged instrument for accessing the court and the sovereign.

The fourth approach was inaugurated by works studying the relationship between images and power. These new genres especially examined the Court of Versailles¹⁹. The collaboration of Sabatier with Gérard Labrot is considerable, as the latter had experience, as noted, of the iconography of

¹⁷ L. BÉLY, *La société des princes. XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1999. See also ID., *Louis XIV: le plus grand roi du monde*, Paris, 2005.

¹⁸ M. CHATENET, *La cour de France au XVI^e siècle. Vie sociale et architecture*, Paris, 2002; F. BOUDON-M. CHATENET, *Les logis du roi de France au XVI^e siècle*, in J. GUILLAUME (dir.), *Architecture et vie sociale: l'organisation intérieure des grandes demeures à la fin du Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance: actes du colloque tenu à Tours, 6-10 juin 1988*, Paris, 1994, pp. 65-82; M. CHATENET, *Architecture et cérémonial à la cour de Henri II: l'apparition de l'antichambre*, in H. OURSEL-J. FRITSCH (dir.), *Henri II et les arts*, Actes du colloque, Paris, École du Louvre et Musée nationale de la Renaissance, 25-27 sept. 1997, Paris, 2003, pp. 355-380; EAD., *Habits de cérémonie: les mariages à la cour des Valois*, in I. POUTRIN-M.-K. SCHAUB (dir.), *Femmes et pouvoir politique. Les princesses d'Europe, XV^e-XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 2007, pp. 218-232; EAD., *Henri III et "l'ordre de la cour": évolution de l'étiquette à travers les règlements généraux de 1578 et 1585*, in R. SAUZET (dir.), *Henri III et son temps, actes du colloque de Tours du centre de la Renaissance, octobre 1989*, Paris, 1992, pp. 133-139; EAD., *Henri III et le cérémonial de la cour*, in P.-G. GIRAULT-M. MERCIER (dir.), *Fêtes et crimes à la Renaissance: la cour d'Henri III*, cat. exp. (Blois, château royal, 8 mai-24 août 2010), Paris/Blois, 2010, pp. 44-51. See also P. LEMAIGRE-GAFFIER, *Du cœur de la Maison du Roi à l'esprit des institutions: l'administration des Menus Plaisirs au XVIII^e siècle*, thèse de doctorat, dir. D. MARGAIRAZ, Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paris, 2011.

¹⁹ G. SABATIER, *Versailles, un imaginaire politique*, in *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'État moderne*. Actes de la table ronde organisée par le CNRS et l'École Française de Rome, 15-17 octobre 1984, Rome, 1985, pp. 295-324.

the Farnese family of Caprarola²⁰. An overview of the Italian and European historiography on the courts was provided by some volumes edited by Marcello Fantoni²¹. On the other hand, a summary on this specific topic of Italian historiography was done by Maria Antonietta Visceglia²². Studies also started on feminine rituals and ceremonies. The volume by Fanny Cosandey on the relationship between the modern state and the queens of France is considerable²³. Many of these studies examined the spaces and functions of queens and regents²⁴. Researches on the portrait of the king have had an enormous resonance, reinforcing the semiotic interpretation of power. Important iconographic studies on Versailles then followed, starting from the iconography of the Hall of Mirrors²⁵. Thus, the analysis began on the function of Versailles through a new reading of its iconography, starting from the 'Apollonian' programme in its gardens. Alongside these genres, the

²⁰ G. LABROT, *Le palais Farnèse de Caprarola*, cit. At a comparative level between the courts of Spain and France, cf. C. GRELL-B. PELLISTRANDI (dir.), *Les cours d'Espagne et de France au XVII^e siècle*, Madrid, 2007.

²¹ *The Court in Europe*, edited by M. FANTONI, edizione inglese e italiana, Roma, 2012.

²² M.A. VISCEGLIA, *La storiografia italiana sulla corte: un bilancio*, in *Testi e contesti per Amedeo Quondam*, a cura di C. CONTINISIO-M. FANTONI, Roma, 2015, pp. 29-58.

²³ F. COSANDEY, *La reine de France. Symbole et pouvoir. XV^e-XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 2000.

²⁴ F. COSANDEY, *Honneur aux dames. Préséances au féminin et prééminence sociale dans la monarchie d'Ancien Régime (XV^e-XVII^e siècles)*, in G. CALVI-I. CHABOT (dir.), *Moving Elites: Women and Cultural Transfers in the European Court System*, actes du workshop (Florence, 12-13 déc. 2008), EUI Working Papers HEC, no. 2010/02, pp. 65-75; EAD., *Classement ou ordonnancement? Les querelles de préséances en France sous l'Ancien Régime*, in G. CHABAUD (dir.), *Classement, déclassement, reclassement*, Limoges, 2011, pp. 95-103; EAD., *Les préséances à la cour des reines de France*, in I. POUTRIN-M.-K. SCHAUB (dir.), *Femmes et pouvoir politique*, cit., pp. 267-278; EAD., *Participer au cérémonial. De la construction des normes à l'incorporation dans les querelles de préséances*, in A. ROULLET-O. SPINA-N. SZCZECHE (dir.), *Trouver sa place: individus et communautés dans l'Europe moderne*, Madrid, 2011, pp. 135-152; EAD., *L'insoutenable légèreté du rang*, in *Dire et vivre l'ordre social en France sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris, 2004, pp. 169-189; EAD., *Reines de France, héritières espagnoles*, in CH. GRELL-B. PELLISTRANDI (dir.), *Les cours d'Espagne et de France au XVII^e siècle*, cit., pp. 61-76; F. LEFERME-FALGUIÈRES, *Les courtisanes: une société de spectacle sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris, 2007; J.-F. DUBOST, *Le corps de la reine, objet politique: Marie de Médicis*, in I. POUTRIN-M.-K. SCHAUB (dir.), *Femmes et pouvoir politique*, cit., pp. 235-365. See the contributions in G. CALVI-I. CHABOT (dir.), *Moving Elites*, cit.; F. LEFERME-FALGUIÈRES, *Corps modelé, corps contraint: les courtisanes et les normes du paraître à Versailles*, in C. LANOË-M. DA VINHA-B. LAURIOUX (dir.), *Cultures de cour, cultures du corps, XIV^e-XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 2011, pp. 127-150. Finally, C. ZUM KOLK, *Catherine de Médicis et l'espace: résidences, voyages et séjours*, also in G. CALVI-I. CHABOT (dir.), *Moving Elites*, cit., pp. 51-61.

²⁵ G. SABATIER, *Versailles ou la figure du roi*, Paris, 1999. See also F. FUNCK BRENTANO, *La cour du Roi-Soleil*, Paris, 2013; W.R. NEWTON, *L'espace du roi: la cour de France au château de Versailles, 1682-1789*, Paris, 2000; ID., *La petite cour. Services et serviteurs à la cour de Versailles au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 2006.

relationship between the topography and the use of architectural structures, as well as their history and specific destination, was investigated²⁶.

Court spaces were examined in some volumes edited by Marcello Fantoni²⁷.

The relationships between sovereignty and the *forma urbis* was deepened. The historians of architecture were keen, in addition to the categories of magnificence, order and decoration, to the metaphor for the sovereign as an *aedificator*. The space of the princely palace became the new centre, when the sovereigns chose a capital. This process continued with the separation between capital cities and the court that turned from a city within a city into a city outside the city. A metamorphosis of centrality was practised, where the centre coincided with the residence of the sovereign rather than the seat of government apparatuses. The social, symbolical and ceremonial spaces were also studied. According to Marcello Fantoni, the court also delimited an inaccessible and reserved curial space. If during the Middle Ages the closure of the court met defensive needs, since the early modern age the separation of the palace from the city acquired a precise political, ideological and social significance²⁸.

For the Neapolitan region, a recent volume by Robin L. Thomas studied the political language of the architecture of Charles of Bourbon²⁹.

²⁶ W.R. NEWTON, *L'espace du roi*, cit.; ID., *La petite cour*, cit.; F. LEFERME-FALGUIÈRES, *Le fonctionnement de la cour de Versailles. Une modélisation des notions de centre et de périphérie*, in «Hypothèses», III, 2000, 1, pp. 207-218; EAD., *Sièges et préséances*, in «Château de Versailles de l'ancien régime à nos jours», janvier-mars 2012, 4, pp. 12-17.

²⁷ Please refer to the following essays: C. MICHON, *L'historiographie anglaise sur la cour: entre analyse politique, remontée chronologique. Vastes synthèses et large couverture géographique*, p. 27 ff., and R.M. SMUTS, *Court Historiography 1970-2009: One North American's Perspective*, p. 55 ff.: both of them are in *The Court in Europe*, edited by M. FANTONI, cit. See also L.M. BRYANT, *Ritual, Ceremony and the Changing Monarchy in France, 1350-1789*, London, 2009.

²⁸ M. FANTONI, *Introduzione*, in *La corte e lo spazio: trent'anni dopo*, a cura di ID., in «Cheiron», XXVIII, 2011, 55-56, pp. 7-27; G. GORSE-M. SMUTS, *Introduction*, in *The Politics of Space: European Courts ca. 1500-1750*, Edited by M. FANTONI-G. GORSE-M. SMUTS, cit., pp. 89-106.

²⁹ R.L. THOMAS, *Architecture and Statecraft. Charles of Bourbon's Naples, 1734-1759*, University Park, 2013. An ambitious architectonic project, that of Charles of Bourbon. According to the author, the San Carlo Theatre was an extension of the Court and Royal Palace. The architecture of the theatre, the royal box and the seating designated to those with noble rank, provided precedence and status to the new Neapolitan nobility. Another central point in the redesigning of the *forma urbis* was the construction of the Real Albergo dei Poveri (Royal Hospice for the Poor) and the adjoining Piazza Carlo III (Carlo III Square, with an equestrian statue). A major part of the study examines the 'map' of the city of Naples attributed to Giovanni Carafa, Duke of Noja. It is a great example of urban planning that fully embodied the new policy of sovereignty of Charles of Bourbon but underwent major

Studies on spatial semantics are considerable, on new protocols and ceremonies, on the liturgies of the chapels, on hearings, on the location of apartments inside palaces, on rules of spatiality, on architectural design, on public behaviour and the semantics surrounding the body of the sovereign³⁰.

Mathieu da Vinha recently analysed the staff of the French court and focused on the heritage of the ceremonies of the Versailles from the Burgundian³¹, ceremonies that were exported to the Castile court by Charles V³².

Finally, the more recent studies. The attention has shifted towards the language of the king and nobles. Various sources – not only those which are the result of legislation by the modern state, but also literary and iconographic sources – have been used to draw a conceptual map of rhetorical languages (analogies and metaphors) present in texts, aimed at developing a prototype for large European archives that in the coming years will be placed on line conforming to EUROPEANA standards. These initiatives are already under way in several European countries and will be discussed in upcoming seminars; for the Neapolitan archives, several years of collaboration are planned between historians, humanists and software engineers. This volume not only offers an account of the progress and the doubts of historians and humanists in the reconstruction of the texts and of the monarchic and aristocratic languages used, but goes into the scientific research employed by engineers to acquire a minimum level of literacy on the technology adopted for the construction of ontologies.

changes during its construction as a result of different circumstances. Also refer to the bibliography contained in the essay by S. THURLEY, *The Historiography of the Architecture of European Courts*, in *The Politics of Space. European Courts ca. 1500-1750*, Edited by M. FANTONI-G. GORSE-M. SMUTS, cit., pp. 291-301.

³⁰ According to Fantoni, «per studiare la corte europea fra Medioevo e frattura rivoluzionaria, si deve al contempo considerare la trattatistica architettonica, abbinare studio morfologico e diacronicità, prestare attenzione alla prospettiva semiotica e mentale, includere una componente sacra, correlare lettura iconologica e uso degli spazi, e – soprattutto – mai scindere da questi approcci l'agire umano». See M. FANTONI, *Introduzione*, cit., pp. 7-27. The essays by S. Traini are relevant. See also *Lo spazio per gli studi semiotici. Spunti per uno studio semiotico degli spazi di corte*, pp. 29-39, and M. DOMENICHELLI, *Lo spazio della corte nei «cultural studies»*, pp. 39-52, both present in *La corte e lo spazio: trent'anni dopo*, a cura di M. FANTONI, cit.

³¹ M. DA VINHA, *Les valets de chambre de Louis XIV*, Paris, 2004. See also ID., *Le Versailles de Louis XIV. Le fonctionnement d'une résidence royale au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 2009; C. LANOË-M. DA VINHA-B. LAURIOUX (dir.), *Cultures de cour*, cit.; M. DA VINHA, *Structures et organisation des charges de cour à l'époque moderne*, in *The Court in Europe*, edited by M. FANTONI, cit., pp. 275-289.

³² M. DA VINHA, *Structures et organisation*, cit., pp. 275-289.

Two additional points: the semantic universe Neapolitan sources point to, and how the architecture of the volume was conceived.

Studies on Neapolitan sources and the examination of the literature on the Bourbons of France and Spain are linked to allegories and metaphors on sovereignty, monarchies, the state, aristocracy and on the noble semantic universe³³. So, even if the starting angle is an overview of the monarchic iconography of the Bourbons of Naples, the discussion moves onto the main and easily identifiable metaphors, in several texts, not only archival or iconographic, in other countries such as France and Spain. The analysis of texts points to certain core themes, allegories and recurring metaphors rooted in the use and reinvention of the ancient, through a process of semantic transference, which were used at least up to the French Revolution. These were metaphors of monarchic and noble iconography that, absorbed by the Bourbon courts of Europe, may have even originated before the Renaissance period. Actually, we start from how the classical was interpreted during the Renaissance period. On the one hand, this tradition rediscovered and enhanced the Latin historians: from Livy to Tacitus and Sallust; on the other, iconography and the study of the emblems began – through the revaluation of mythology – thanks to authors such as Andrea Alciato and Cesare Ripa. Finally, it set a process in motion which drove this culture of valorisation of ancient history and mythology thanks to some Italian artists, who from Rome and Florence, after the sack of the Holy City, emigrated to the Court of Francis I of France. Renowned artists such as Perin del Vaga, Primaticcio and Rosso Fiorentino had a role in the dissemination of monarchic iconography using the canon of the sovereign or of the aristocrats they depicted or decorated in the ‘guise of’. This way, first the princes and then sovereigns (starting chronologically with Andrea Doria, painted as Neptune, and Francis I, in the guise of Caesar or Jupiter), and then the very exponents of Italian, French and Spanish feudalism were recalled and portrayed as historical characters (Roman Emperors or great leaders) or as mythological characters, such as Jupiter, Mars and Hercules. The very heraldic and genealogical sciences were influenced by this process: the genealogical trees and the noble coats of arms originated from mythological heroes or ancient sovereigns.

³³ In the discussion especially the metaphors contained within the allegories will be considered. Very often these symbols, during the early modern age, while maintaining the same allegorical structure, were subject to a continuous process of internal transfer at the level of meanings. Therefore, the allegorical and metaphorical meaning often becomes very subtle.

With the absolute state and especially the Court of Louis XIV, France became the great laboratory for the iconography of the Bourbons of Europe. It was precisely France and the Court of Versailles to later influence the monarchic iconography of the Neapolitan Kingdom of Charles of Bourbon.

In the meantime, the apparatus of monarchic iconography changed with the innovations brought about by the Court of Versailles. This iconography was not directed at the few princes, nobles or ambassadors introduced into specifically decorated public environments. The court became a grand theatre, with its rituals and ceremonies. The ritual court ballet and the theatre turned into vectors of the large-scale diffusion of monarchic iconographic propaganda that externalised its symbols to a large segment of the population. It is important to note that Louis XIV chose, within the vision of absolute divine power of the sovereign, to be portrayed less as mythological and historical characters (as for the previous Imperial myth of Astraea) and increasingly more as Apollo-Sun³⁴. It was the new metaphor of absolute power, a divine one, which opposed the previous vision of the state (such as *L'Unità dello Stato* by Rosso Fiorentino) wherein sovereignty (represented by Henry IV) was not absolute but shared. This metaphor was soon assimilated by the European nobility. The symbolism of the Sun started to appear in noble coats of arms referring to enterprises, to indicate that the source of noble origin was the very grace of the sovereign: the Sun was so placed at the origin of nobility. A metaphor that was received and adopted by genealogists, who in trees of life (the genealogies, represented by large oaks and robust beeches) began to draw a well-ordered forest and thus exposed to sunlight, in contrast to the old genealogical trees not pointing towards its rays, as to indicate no single source of noble dignity.

In essence, the heraldic and noble symbolism changed with the Bourbons in Naples, France and Spain. Next to the iconography of the old blazons linked to genealogical trees that went far back in time, the symbol of the Sun started to appear in enterprises, pointing to a single source of noble dignity that flowed from the grace of the new Bourbon monarchies. This is the moment in which the various Bourbons of Europe were busy implementing

³⁴ M.-CH. MOINE, *Les Fêtes à la cour du Roi Soleil, 1653-1715*, Paris, 1984; M.-F. CHRISTOUT, *Le ballet de cour de Louis XIV, 1643-1672. Mises en scène*, Paris, 1967; EAD., *Le ballet de cour au XVIIe siècle: la poétique de l'image animée*, Genève, 1987; M. APOSTOLIDÈS, *Le Roi-Machine. Spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1981; J.-P. NERAUDAU, *L'Olympe du Roi-Soleil. Mythologie et idéologie royale au Grand Siècle*, Paris, 1986.

one of their main reforms: the formation of service nobility. The same allegories and metaphors appeared until the French Revolution.

Even after the French Revolution, Napoleon for France and Murat for the Kingdom of Naples resorted to the same mythology: that of Astraea, and therefore the return of justice on Earth (pointing back to 16th century Imperial iconography), or that of Mars the Peacemaker, carried weight.

We will now more clearly examine how the architecture of the volume was conceived.

Three important points had to be challenged.

The first relates to the use of sources on the part of the historian. As with all the modern state archives, over time, the documents mentioned have been subject to varying degrees of recycling or other material losses, commissioned at source, often by State Secretariats; then, due to issues of space or a lack of attention, they have suffered further fragmentation or dispersions. The problem, with the reconstruction of historical archives, is the incompleteness of the materials to be examined, also considering how the scholars were often excessively influenced by the sole narrative provided by certain sources which, it goes without saying, always expressed a partial vision. The second problem is inherent within archivistic documentation. Documents point to incomplete texts, must be supported by other sources, even literary or iconographic ones, in order to locate the semantic context of reference. Finally, the third point: the Bourbons of Naples cannot be studied in isolation without comparatively examining other Bourbons in Europe. This is why the volume has been structured in three parts plus an Introduction, Conclusion and Appendix.

The Introduction and Conclusion reconstruct the path that brings to the publication of the volume. It is a theoretical approach by historians, other social sciences researchers and computer engineers offered for the first time to European scholars, who are challenging the digitalisation and networking of large national historical archives, therefore providing indications on what the contribute should be for various disciplines of social sciences participating in the Semantic Web with the standards provided for countries of the European Union by the European Digital Library. It is a theoretical study built on an important sample of the archives of the courts and of Neapolitan Royal Sites: two of the Bourbons and one of the Savoy. A path that sees European research moving away from governmental sources and the history of the modern state, from the rituals and the ceremonies of the sovereign, queens and their courts, from the portrait and the symbolism of

the king to the symbolic language (allegories and metaphors) of nobility and the sovereign.

Part I tackles this itinerary analytically (*Symbols and emblems of monarchic power in Europe. The path of human sciences in the construction of ontologies*). The first chapter provides a comparative approach, with France and Spain, on the long life of the noble genre, aristocracy and the state policy of noble integration; about how to best approach archival, literary and iconographic sources; on the standards for semantic research of historical sources provided by EUROPEANA. The second chapter (*Between Naples, Spain and France: the Bourbons between iconography and monarchic ritual*) takes on, at a comparative level, studies done in recent decades on courts and monarchic symbolism; the description of ritual and ceremonies and their historiography; the symbolism of sovereignty of the Bourbons in Europe through the portrait of the king; the new symbology of the last sovereignty of the Bourbons of Naples; the new ceremonies and the policy of patronage, and the new noble identity of Neapolitan aristocracies; the monarchic ceremonies of the Savoy in the Royal Palaces of Capodimonte and Caserta.

The second part of the volume explores the ceremonies as well as noble and monarchic identity from the Bourbons to the Savoy. In this part of the volume there is a historical approach which is based on the examination of archival sources. The first chapter examines the Bourbon policies of noble integration; the forms of noble self-portrayal; the formation of the Bourbon Court and of service nobility. The second chapter, the monarchic rituals of the Savoy between Naples and its surroundings. The new Archive of the Royal Sites of the Savoy dynasty at Capodimonte (Ministero di Casa Reale dei Savoia, Ministry of the Royal House of Savoy), enabled a reconstruction of the rituals revolving around the hunting on horseback desired by the Savoy family to carry out their policy of integration of the Neapolitan nobility.

The conclusions of the first parts of this volume are particularly important, which close the contribution made by human sciences in the population of data that will then lead to the construction of ontologies.

By the end of the investigation of the monarchic and noble iconography, about thirty recurring allegories and metaphors were found to appear in texts and were thematically grouped. Princes and rulers were represented in the guise of historical characters such as Caesar, Commodus, Constantine, or in a mythological key such as Neptune, Jupiter, Mars, and Minerva. The Imperial myth of Astraea was a recurring theme throughout the 16th century and was again re-proposed by Napoleon as well as Murat for the Kingdom

of Naples. Afterwards, the new mythology of Apollo-Sun, starting with Louis XIV, prevailed for most of the 18th century. The Sun was a metaphor that would influence noble heraldry itself starting to suggest well-ordered forests in genealogical trees (the trees of life) to replace the 'dense woods'. The tradition of the myth of Hercules was central in the various declinations of the Bourbons of Europe: the Gallic Hercules, the Hispanic or Imperial Hercules; the Farnese and Latin Hercules. Once more we had the negative metaphor of the Hydra, presented from time to time with the monstrous heads of the enemies of the monarchy or aristocracy, which would although become, with the French Revolution, the aristocratic Hydra. By then, the desecration of the mystical body of the sovereign was imminent, starting with the natural portraits of Marie Antoinette and Maria Carolina, and the French Revolution swept away the old metaphors of power replacing them with the new symbols of *Marianne*, the Phrygian cap and the tree of freedom.

The identifying metaphors of the Royal Bourbon Sites in Naples also transformed over time. These were entertainment venues intended for themed ritual hunting, with mythological characters providing the backdrop to conference rooms; environments destined for the paternalistic utopia of the Bourbons, such as the Colony of St. Leucio, or the metaphors indicating the primacies of agriculture and livestock farming, as for Carditello; even more, industrial metaphors for the factories of the king, as for St. Leucio and Pietrarsa.

Another important point. The European historiography has seen how, starting from Louis XIV, the portrait of the king would change. According to Gérard Sabatier, from recent studies of monarchic iconography of the rooms at Versailles, it emerged how Louis XIV abandoned the guise of ancient gods or Roman leaders, even the very Apollo-Sun symbolism. With the country pacified, victor over the Dutch, arbiter of European destinies, the sovereign no longer felt the need for ancient heroes and was portrayed naturally. He himself was the hero. The same tendency was seen at the Court of Philip IV (the 'Planet King') or that of the Austrian Leopold (*austriacus terra*). Charles of Bourbon, the first Neapolitan Bourbon king, as the smallest of the Bourbon kings of Europe, could not do without, in monarchic iconography, the heroes of the past, nor could he relinquish the identity that recalled the common genealogy from Henry IV. The iconography of the Royal Palace of Carditello, the *Apoteosi della dinastia dei Borbone*, was also important as it tied the Bourbons of Naples to the Bourbons of Europe and the founder of their genealogy, Henry IV. Therefore, natural portraits were slow to come and the tendency of being represented in the guise of ancient

heroes continued. Ferdinand IV reversed this trend. The identity of the Bourbons of Naples was no longer sought in the *Apoteosi della dinastia dei Borbone*, but in the *Ercole Farnese*: an ancient hero that was very singular, with a different symbolism from that of the Gallic Hercules and Germanic Hercules. The Bourbons began to embrace a symbology that associated them to other Italian princes rather than to their European cousins. This was a time when the Farnese re-evaluated their identity (sought in Elisabetta Farnese, the mother of King Charles, and in the founder of the dynasty, Alessandro Farnese), with ever more frequent recourse to that monarchic symbolism. The symbolic journey that Gérard Labrot has interpreted for the Farnese, and for other Italian princes, through his considerable work on the Palace of Caprarola, was thus adopted. A scientific interpretation that was of vital importance because it allowed a new generation of French historians to offer innovative interpretations of the Hall of Mirrors and other galleries of the Palace of Versailles in the period of Louis XIV.

The more traditional approach of the historian is clearly identifiable in the second part of the volume. These chapters are all built strictly on the sources of the three major European archives mentioned.

It is the first part, the more consistent and structured, which, starting from the historical-archival results, broadens the range of the investigation. On the one side, an enlargement of the analysis of the research, challenging the same issues but with an interdisciplinary approach employing methodologies akin to those of social sciences, on the literary and iconographic texts; on the other, the perspective comparison with the acquisition of literature on the Bourbons of France and Spain. It is a journey unwinding the contribution of social sciences to the construction of ontologies. The focus is then moved on to the various sources, allowing to view the development of monarchic and noble ideology, as well as the circuits of the court, by cross-examining the specific literature, in the long term, of those three countries. This cross-section of the study proposes a range of readings, by adopting a methodology of social sciences, leading to the interpretation of texts (other than the sources and a vast amount of literature, also the iconographic representations of the noble genre and those of sovereignty have been used) in order to grasp their internal metaphors. The language of metaphors is the basis for the construction of ontologies.

The third part of the volume (*From metadata to ontologies: the contribution of hard sciences to the description and analysis of historical documents*, edited by engineer Francesco Moscato) builds the conceptual map of allegories and metaphors, illustrating the mathematical computerised construction process of

ontologies. With the Semantic Web there is an enormous amount of data being uploaded; how to interpret the meaning of this information is supplied by semantics, whose information then serves to describe other data that is known as meta-data. Its sharing leads to a shared vocabulary. To overcome semantic ambiguity in the choice of languages, when meta-data dictionaries are concerned, formal languages are chosen whose alphabet, vocabulary and grammar are defined through rigorous mathematical rules. This is how the languages of ontology (RDF and OWL) are described, as well as semantic annotation, symbolism and heraldry (description in semantic terminology via ontologies), ontologies for iconography, allegory and metaphors, metaphors and metaphorical reasoning. The description of concepts and semantic relationships that characterise a domain of interest is called an ontology. The way in which a reference may be associated to the semantic concepts describing it is a problem known as annotation of documents. Namely, how meta-data is associated with the parts that make up documents. Domain experts use ontologies within their own applicative scope; historians, archivists and scholars of social sciences deal with connecting the content of documents to the concepts present in domain ontologies. Ontologies are examined in symbology and heraldry, such as the blazon of Charles III of Bourbon, and the Castile Coat of Arms. Finally, the text analyses the relationship between ontologies and metaphors through the construction of new mathematical languages originating from the allegories of sovereignty and the universe of nobility. In this final section of the volume, the path of social sciences and that of IT-engineering intertwine, and offer a new semantic research instrument for the sources of large European archives (the Archive of the Court and Royal Bourbon Sites, of the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara and of the Neapolitan Royal Sites of the Savoy), wanting to develop a methodological path on the new frontiers of semantic research.

In releasing the volume, I thought about the long research path that involved several scholars, including many young researchers I am grateful to and am now friends with.

In the meantime, the Director of the Department of Political Sciences “Jean Monnet”, Gian Maria Piccinelli, who was a strong proponent for the creation of COSME (Observatory Centre for Southern Europe), Pasquale Femia and Francesco Moscato, who are jointly responsible of the structure together with me.

It is also important to acknowledge the encouragement received from Aurelio Musi and Antonino De Francesco, with whom I had long discussions about this project. The contribution of the colleagues who have

guided the other European units of the project was also relevant: Pierre Serna, for the Institut d'Histoire de la Révolution Française of the Sorbonne, and Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño for the Universidad Autónoma of Madrid.

PART I

Symbols and emblems of monarchic power in Europe.

The path of human sciences in the construction of ontologies

CHAPTER I

Between history and social sciences: the contribution of a multidisciplinary approach in the construction of ontologies

1. Introduction. From printed sources to digital sources: the issue of constructing ontologies

The observations expounded in the Introduction will be explained in illustrating the scientific path that is involving, as previously stated, a group of Italian, French and Spanish researchers on a research project concerning the study (digital conversion and uploading) of considerable European archives of the Bourbon period. The starting point was Italy back in 2006, when a group of scholars belonging to various universities, archivists and researchers of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism came together to begin a study on the identity of the territory as a cultural asset¹.

Particular attention was paid to the filing documents produced by these transformations. It was important to identify and study the sources produced by the Court and Royal Site circuits located between Naples and Southern Italy: first by the Bourbons and then by the Savoy family. This vast documentation refers to its own iconographic symbols, rhetorical languages and metaphors found within specific texts².

These sources should be considered as cultural assets; this raises the issue of safeguarding them and, at the same time, that of their optimal fruition by a wider public. Then, in the transition to digital and uploading, their proper internal reading is particularly important, in the meaning and signifier, at the level of the signs and texts. The latter being at the basis of proposing ontologies that can communicate with hard sciences.

Once the path is set, social sciences must dialogue with the various authors of frontier disciplines who have addressed the problem of sign knowledge.

¹ The results of this journey can be traced through the volumes published in the series: *Alle origini di Minerva trionfante*, published by the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism. The volumes can be downloaded in PDF from the digital library of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism. See <http://www.archivi.beniculturali.it/>.

² See the paragraph dedicated to the sources.

Ernst Cassirer already considered the theoretical conception of culture as a set of symbolic forms, alternating the rational order, effective in normal conditions, to a mythical order, which was set in exceptional times. In critical moments, components lose ground in front of mythical conceptions. While rational thinking is built on the categories of space, time, signifier and meaning, in symbolic-mythical thought the words and names of things do not have the simple function to describe, represent, but actually contain in themselves the object and its properties³.

Innovative theses, dealing with these topics, were expressed by Harold Lasswell and Murray J. Edelman⁴.

Lasswell was a scholar of war propaganda, who perceived symbolic competition as an integral part of a broader dispute among the elite, aimed at controlling public opinion and, through it, the conquest of power. The symbols contain irrational characters and are appropriate instruments for obtaining consent through unconscious mediations⁵.

Edelman, on the other hand, included political symbolism in the grand theatrical scenario set up by the political elites to steer the behaviour of the masses and organise consent. The symbols were staged by the elite and emotionally adopted by the masses. These were theatrical politicised actions describing the world through a mythical dimension of time, enabling a selective construction of the past and the future to guard the interests of the present. The symbols, according to this author, are part of the theatre of politics, indispensable elements of a fiction⁶.

These were new theories which went far beyond the formulations of Pareto and Mosca regarding the theory of the elite.

When was this theatrical edifice put in place in the Europe of the Bourbons? It emerged that in monarchic iconography, even though it all starts from a Renaissance vision of power that was entrusted to images, the experimentation carried out since the reign of Louis XIV is especially important. Initially the monarchic iconography was directed at a small audience of aristocrats, politicians and ambassadors, then this scenery changed. Through theatre and other staged events, iconographic messages were directed to a wider audience.

³ E. CASSIRER, *The Myth of the State*, New Haven-London, 1946.

⁴ See theses proposed by these scholars: G. FEDEL, *Simboli e politica*, Napoli, 1991.

⁵ H. LASSWELL, *Psychopathology and Politics* (1930), ried. Chicago, 1977; H. LASSWELL-A. KAPLAN, *Potere e società. Uno schema concettuale per una ricerca politica*, Milano, 1969, pp. 119-127 [or. ed. New Haven-London, 1950].

⁶ M. EDELMAN, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*, Chicago, 1964 [trad. it. *Gli usi simbolici della politica*, Napoli, 1987].

According to anthropologist Victor Turner, small social groups are responsible for developing identity definition processes. Among the detected spheres of social interrelation that the ritual implicates for the individual and the group, we have: separation, marginalisation, aggregation. The mooring, according to the scholar, is not the state but the community as an integration or synthesis for opposing socio-cultural forces. In this dynamic process, still according to this scholar, the ritual is a proving ground in which social conflict is processed⁷.

The attention goes to the ceremonials and rituals put in place by monarchies and court societies. According to the well-known anthropologist Clifford Geertz, the ritual appears both as a mechanism of integration and, above all, as a synchronous force with which a society represents itself more or less homogeneously to what it considers its own cultural model. Culture is a text, an agglomeration of symbols, meanings and actions to be analysed as textual analogies⁸.

It was especially Geertz to criticise Edelman on the concept of symbols as deceptive constructions, and on the theory that they are largely based on actual falsifications of reality. On the contrary, symbols, together with rites and myths, are an integral part of distinct cultural universes, keys for accessing the cultural codes that distinguish them⁹.

Alain Boureau expressed reservations towards Geertz's interpretative anthropology, considering the theses of the latter, and more generally those of the American ceremonialist school, too deterministic, as they simplified Kantorowicz's teaching through a 'constitutionalist' reading of ceremonial rituals. Another limit of Geertz, always according to Boureau, is the reduction of the state ritual to text, thus circumventing the essential problem of its construction and its reception¹⁰.

⁷ V.W. TURNER, *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure*, Chicago, 1969; ID., *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, Ithaca and London, 1967 [trad. it. *La foresta dei simboli: aspetti del rituale Ndembu*, Brescia, 1976]; ID., *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors. Symbolic Action in Human Society*, Ithaca, 1974. On the subject, see M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Rappresentazioni dello stato tra Medioevo e prima età moderna*, in L. BARLETTA-G. GALASSO (a cura di), *Lo Stato moderno e le sue rappresentazioni*, pp. 217-253.

⁸ C. GEERTZ, *Local Knowledge. Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology*, New York, 1983 [trad. it. *Antropologia interpretativa*, Bologna, 1988]. Other than Geertz, Mary Douglas carried considerable weight. See M. DOUGLAS, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*, London, 1970 [trad. it. *I simboli naturali. Esplorazioni in cosmologia*, Torino, 1979].

⁹ C. GEERTZ, *Local Knowledge*, cit.; V.W. TURNER, *The Ritual Process*, cit.

¹⁰ A. BOUREAU, *Les cérémonies royales françaises entre performance juridique et compétence liturgique*, in «Annales», XLVI, 1991, 6, pp. 1253-1264.

The symbolic dimension of politics, according to Wolfgang Reinhard, expresses itself in images, myths, actions; namely, ceremonies and rites that do not translate a clear legal regulation, yet they are polysemous: in regard to them, the conferral of meaning may also translate in action and be generated through performing this¹¹.

The influences of interpretative anthropology end up permeating the very historical sciences: just look at the change of course on the setting of studies on the French Revolution. Recent studies have moved the barycentre of the investigation of political culture to focus on symbolic practices, languages, images, gestures and myths¹².

Studies on dictatorships and totalitarianism were deeply influenced by these processes. See, in the European countries, investigations on the primacy of politics, which unite the research on the French Revolution and the dictatorships of the 20th century, as well as new studies on myths, languages, images, and on what we could define as the new ceremonies. Here are some generational examples: Furet and Renzo De Felice were part of a generation where the primacy of politics emerged at an interpretative level¹³; whereas, in the following generation, Hunt and Emilio Gentile more recently placed rites, mythology and symbolism at the centre of their studies¹⁴.

On the background: the crisis of Marxism, of socio-economic historiography. On the horizon, the birth of the civilisation of the image, with all of its implications, up to the construction of the WWW.

Still at the end of the 1980s, a renowned scholar, David Kertzer, wrote a volume on the rituals of politics, raising a fundamental issue: can the contemporary rational and secular world be compared to a primitive one dominated by irrational beliefs, rituals and symbolism?¹⁵

This was one of the central questions raised as part of the research: the erroneous belief that enlightened modernity wrote out symbols and rituals deemed irrational, in light of the rational idea of progress. Always according to Kertzer, rites and symbols are not only a phenomenon of the past, linked to processes of sacralisation of power, but they are also present in the heart of the contemporary politics.

¹¹ W. REINHARD, *Storia dello stato moderno*, Bologna, 2010 [or. ed. München, 2007], p. 29 ff.

¹² L. HUNT, *La Rivoluzione francese. Politica, cultura, classi sociali*, Bologna, 1995, p. 19 ff.

¹³ E. GENTILE, *Renzo De Felice. Lo storico ed il personaggio*, Roma-Bari, 2003; F. FURET, *Critica della Rivoluzione francese*, Roma-Bari, 1978.

¹⁴ L. HUNT, *La Rivoluzione francese*, cit.; E. GENTILE, *Fascismo. Storia ed interpretazione*, Roma-Bari, 2005.

¹⁵ D. KERTZER, *Riti e simboli del potere*, Roma-Bari, 1989, p. 27 ff.

Every society has its own political mythology and needs new symbols¹⁶.

A final aspect concerns the relationship between history and archives, and between history and memory.

The relationship between history and archives must be different from that in development in many Western countries and the new trend which studies certain major events that have affected collective memory.

Here we refer to the fact that history inspired by the idea of progress looks to the future. Instead, historical memory looks to the past. The future, in the words of Andreas Huyssen, seems to fold back to the past, bringing up an unprecedented structure of hybrid territoriality¹⁷.

This memory-history, often narrated by communicators and journalists, has led, according to this scholar, to memorial obsession, an effect of the musealisation of Western society.

While in a history inspired by the idea of progress the keystone event is in event (for example, revolutions), in memorial history the focus is on a great trauma. It is a dramatic fact capable of transforming the world, not because it characterises a period but because it affected the lives of people and marked their memory¹⁸. The master narrative of the two histories is different: for example, from the French *Grande Révolution* with its role of being script for a major event, a truly epic narrative, which changed the history of the West, up to the history of the Holocaust as a new socio-historical narrative, a tragedy centred on suffering. In the latter case, commemoration of the tragedy is repeated without overcoming it, never leading to catharsis.

Therefore, memory and the recreation of the past through the media have a heuristic dimension. A phenomenon of reconstruction and spectacle of the past that has three characteristics: the subtraction of the use of history from professional historians¹⁹; the centrality of immediate links of correspondence between the past and the present based on the power of cinematographic techniques; the importance of the recent past, which is directly connected to the personal experience of the modern day public²⁰. Instead, from our perspective, the relationship between history and archives is exactly contrary to memorial obsession. It is a history that tends to recover

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30 ff.

¹⁷ A. HUYSEN, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*, London, 1995, p. 8 ff.

¹⁸ D. LA CAPRA, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, Baltimore, 2001. See observations by F. BENIGNO, *Le parole nel tempo. Un lessico per pensare la storia*, Roma, 2013, p. 18.

¹⁹ J. LUKACS, *The Future of History*, New Haven, 2011.

²⁰ M.L. DAVIES, *Historics: Why History Dominates Contemporary Society*, London-New York, 2006.

the past – according to the definition provided for it by the well-known English writer and critic John Berger, at the time of donating his private archive to the British Library in 2009 – by looking at the present.

Berger said about archives:

[They] are another way of people who lived in the past who perhaps are still living or perhaps are dead being present. This seems to me absolutely one of the quintessential things about the human condition. It's what actually distinguishes man from any other animal: living with those who have lived and the companionship of those who are no longer alive. Not necessarily the people that one knew personally, I mean the people perhaps whom one only knows by what they did, or what they left behind, this question of the company of the past, that's what interests me, and archives are a kind of site in the sense of like an archaeological site²¹.

These concepts raised the fundamental issue that had to be challenged in the research. The approach to the sources of the great European archives for the production of ontologies and so a transmission of knowledge, which must be translated into mathematical and computer languages and aimed at identifying the rhetorical languages and the metaphors inside the sources examined.

The approach to sole documentary sources does not allow allegories and metaphors to be fully grasped. These refer to precise signs in complex texts, requiring the use of literary sources or the interpretation of iconography.

For instance, the scholars of the Warburgian school have described the influences of mythology on iconography and modern art. The use of formulae of classical derivation gradually became part of the artistic evolution of the early modern age, so much so that Warburg identified a series of *pathosformeln* (*pathos formulae*) which, since the Renaissance, determined the formal imprint on which new concepts were reprocessed on different contexts, in a repertoire that was rich of expressive charge²².

Signs and semiotic relationships especially refer to the problem of the construction of texts. For Charles Sanders Peirce, semiosis occurs between three elements: a *representamen* (the material part of the sign); an object (the referent to which the sign refers to); an interpretant (what is generated by

²¹ See <https://reader.paperc.com/books/portraits-john-berger-on-artists/479681/Introduction>. See also Donation of John Berger archive, <http://www.bl.uk/johnberger/>.

²² G. BORDIGNON, *L'espressione antitetica in Aby Warburg. La polarità semantica dei gesti dalle Pathosformeln all'arte del Rinascimento*, in «La Rivista di Engramma (online)», aprile 2004, 32, www.engramma.it. See also A. WARBURG, *La rinascita del paganesimo antico*, Firenze, 1966, p. 243.

the sign). In the semiotics of Peirce, the concept of interpretant is the most relevant: a further sign that arises from the relationship between the *representamen* and the immediate object. Central, to the author, is the cognitive theory based on the interaction between the signs and on the production of hypothesis allowing for a constant and continuous pragmatic process of knowledge revision²³.

Instead, Lotman developed an approach to texts based on the semiotics of culture. Semiotic systems are not isolated but immersed in a *continuum*, represented by the semiosphere (drawing from the concept of the biosphere, namely a set of living organisms), characterised by a set of signs which belong to a given space within which it is possible to create communicative processes where new information is processed²⁴. For the observer, the object of analysis becomes relevant, as it points to textualised practices and, in our view, to grasping parts of the fragmented texts of archival sources, identifying the hidden meanings by recurring to related genres such as literary or iconographic texts.

More recently, in the approaches to the study on sovereignty and of the courts, the most referenced author is Algirdas Julien Greimas, who proposed the thesis of generative semiotics. It is not knowledge, but narrative theory which must be considered as the general model for the organisation of each text. It is narrative to affect their architecture. In this way, the structure of the text is interpreted as built in layers, connected by a generative expansion mechanism: from a base level progressing to higher, more articulated ones. The thesis proposed by Greimas is that the generative model requires two basic dimensions: a syntactic and a semantic one. The former coordinates aspects of formal construction of the meaning of text, the latter deals with its content. The deeper elements generate the superficial ones²⁵.

The text becomes, for the semiologist, the place where signification occurs. It is necessary to define a level of expression and one of content inside text. Semiotic studies investigate the structural articulation that builds up the content of text.

²³ CH.S. PEIRCE, *Caso, amore e logica*, Torino, 1956.

²⁴ I.M. LOTMAN, *La semiosfera. I. Semiòtica de la cultura y del texto*, Madrid, 1996; ID., *La semiosfera. II. Semiòtica de la cultura, del texto, de la conducta y del espacio*, Madrid, 1998. On Lotman, M. LAMPIS, *La dimensione sistemica della cultura*, in «E\C», 2013, pp. 1-9 and S. TRAINI, *L'eredità di Lotman*, in «E\C», 2008, pp. 1-14, www.ec-aiss.it.

²⁵ A.J. GREIMAS, *Sémantique structurale. Recherche de méthode*, Paris, 1966 [trad. it. *La semantica strutturale. Ricerca di metodo*, Milano, 1969]. On this author, cf. P. BERTETTI, *L'orizzonte di tutti gli orizzonti. Il concetto di "mondo naturale" in Maurice Merleau-Ponty e Algirdas Julien Greimas*, in «E\C», 2012, pp. 1-7, www.ec-aiss.it; A.J. GREIMAS, *Semiotica e scienze sociali*, Torino, 1991.

The path acts as an expansion mechanism whose starting point lies in a fundamental semantic core: through a series of conversions, this strongly abstract core is translated into more and more articulated forms. The narration is the story, referring to memories, to experiences lived, and memory (therefore a feedback). The narration also leads to a reflection that is a re-working of the content. In the story being told there is a receiver and a transmitter, a narrator and a listener. Telling stories is the best way to transfer knowledge and experience.

Essays began to appear examining court spaces as signifier objects²⁶.

Three large archives have been considered in this study. The first two are the result of the most important state innovations introduced by the Bourbons of Naples: the Archivio Storico della Reggia di Caserta, which includes the papers of the Bourbon Court of Caserta and of the main Royal Bourbon Sites from 1734 to 1860; the Archive of the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara (1734-1806), the Bourbon tribunal that was invested with all institutional innovations and policies. The third archive belongs to the Neapolitan Royal Sites headquartered at Capodimonte, a branch of the Ministero di Casa Reale dei Savoia (1886-1930 approx.).

What were the questions asked to the sources of these archives? Why the choice of such chronologically spaced records?

The former question examines the history of the Bourbons of Naples, of sovereignty, of the edification of the modern state, and the policy which led to the recruitment of service nobility. It is above all the history of how the Bourbons and the Southern nobility were represented in the sources, texts and iconography.

The answer to the latter question is given by the fact that noble identity did not cease with the *Ancien Régime*; on the contrary, it maintained its own specific self-awareness in the long term. It reconsolidated, between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, largely because of the policy of patronage exercised by Umberto I and Vittorio Emanuele III towards the families of the former Southern aristocracy, especially through the ritual of hunting, which continued to be practised at Royal Sites.

²⁶ S. TRAINI, *Lo spazio per gli studi semiotici. Spunti per uno studio semiotico degli spazi di corte*, in *La corte e lo spazio: trent'anni dopo*, a cura di M. FANTONI, in «Cheiron», XXVIII, 2011, 55-56, pp. 32-39.

2. The long life of the noble genre. Nobilities and the policy of state integration: the historical perspective

We will examine the sale of the aristocratic titles in the former Kingdom of Naples and in Italy in the long term.

The sale of honours and aristocratic titles, as was defined by historiography – the qualitative and quantitative production of these particular sources will be the subject of the next paragraph –, was not only limited to the course of the early modern age, but continued for a substantial part of the late modern age.

There were four moments of strong acceleration within this particular sector:

- a) during the Habsburg period, with monarchic integration carried out through noble titles;
- b) with Charles of Bourbon and the *Tavola della nobiltà* (Table of Nobility) reform;
- c) during the new offensive of the old aristocracy, between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, which used its former noble status to monopolise the high offices of the national state (bureaucracy, diplomacy, senior military ranks);
- d) with the new court integration of the old aristocracy carried out by Umberto I and Vittorio Emanuele III.

To begin with the first point, the Habsburg policy relating to the market of aristocratic titles, in the Kingdom of Naples and Spanish Italy, is a well-studied subject. According to the estimates by Spagnoletti, in 1685 there were more than 30,000 noble families in Italy, of which over 6,000 in the Neapolitan region and 2,000 in Sicily²⁷.

The Habsburg dynasty supported the nobility – through the granting of licenses, endowments, pensions, recruiting of military and bureaucratic officers of the Kingdom, through a policy defined as noble integration²⁸.

²⁷ A. SPAGNOLETTI, *Principi italiani e Spagna nell'età barocca*, Milano, 1996, p. 10 ff.; ID., *Le dinastie italiane nella prima età moderna*, Bologna, 2003.

²⁸ A. MUSI, *L'Italia dei Viceré. Integrazione e resistenza nel sistema imperiale spagnolo*, Cava de' Tirreni, 2000; ID. (a cura di), *Il sistema imperiale. L'Italia spagnola*, Napoli, 1994. Now see ID., *L'Impero dei viceré*, Bologna, 2013; J.H. ELLIOTT, *Il miraggio dell'impero. Olivares e la Spagna: dall'apogeo alla decadenza*, II, Roma, 1991; F. BENIGNO, *L'ombra del re. Ministri e lotta politica nella Spagna del Seicento*, Venezia, 1992; M. VERGA, *Il Seicento e i paradigmi della storia italiana*, in «Storica», IV, 1998, 11, pp. 7-42; *Signori, patrizi, cavalieri in Italia centro-meridionale nell'età moderna*, a cura di M.A. VISCEGLIA, Roma-Bari, 1992.

On the one hand, a network of relationships and assistance spreading from the centre that facilitated the integration of aristocratic families from the various domains of the Habsburg dynasty; on the other, a strict socio-political control leading to the disciplining of fideicommissums, majorats, even matrimonial policies.

If such noble integration policy was a priority for the Habsburg monarchy, other equally important motives must not be left out, such as the Spanish effort of seeking discipline within the old aristocratic titles. A standardisation was imposed on old genealogies, since the dignity of the status that was at the foundation of old baronies was somewhat fragmented; priority had to be given, in the hierarchy of honours, to the newly emblazoned, especially to those in possession of military titles granted by the Spanish monarchy. Thus, the system of royal patronage occurred through the conferral of the Golden Fleece and the Order of Calatrava (while the conferral of Grandee titles was limited)²⁹.

José Antonio Maravall, in this regard, recalls how the culture of honours, widespread in all sectors of the noble classes, required a more sophisticated, divided and stratified one to prioritise the whole order according to the possession of requirements that mostly matched the dignity and the person of the monarch³⁰.

The noble integration of the Habsburgs achieved its desired effect in the long term. The most significant part of nobility recognised itself within the new noble values adopted by Spain.

In a recently published paper, based on the sources of the Chamber of St. Chiara (whose Council acquired the documentation of the old Collateral Council), I selected approximately 600 petitions from every corner of the baronies of the Kingdom of Naples, addressed to the Secretariats of State or to the sovereign and sorted by said tribunal. The petitions were sent at a particular time – this was the second moment of strong acceleration of demand in the market of honours – when, following the *Tavola della nobiltà* reform, the new monarchy tried to reform the overall status of baronies through the creation of service nobility. These sources from the Chamber of

²⁹ F. BENIGNO, *Aristocrazia e Stato in Sicilia nell'epoca di Filippo III*, in *Signori, patrizi, cavalieri in Italia centro-meridionale nell'età moderna*, a cura di M.A. VISCEGLIA, cit., p. 88; ID., *L'ombra del re*, cit.; M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Identità sociali. La nobiltà napoletana nella prima età moderna*, Milano, 1998.

³⁰ J.A. MARAVALL, *Potere, onore, élites nella Spagna del secolo d'oro*, Bologna, 1984, pp. 101-124.

St. Chiara allow us to frame the noble status through the course of the early modern age³¹.

There was still a continuity in status and in the sale of honours between the end of the reign of Charles II and the Austrian Vice-Kingdom. Continuity emerged from the examination of the honorific titles supplied, as previously mentioned, by the petitions that hundreds of families of the noble elite (barony, aristocracy and other titles) sent to Secretariats of State and were the subject of consultations by the Chamber of St. Chiara. This continuity was evidenced by the possession of fiefs, honorific and military titles and political assignments. These titles and duties originated without distinction from the antiquity of lineage, the dignity of the country of origin, service and the merits attained at the tribunals of Madrid or Vienna. Even though between the second half of the 17th century and the Austrian Vice-Kingdom a replacement in the aristocratic landscape occurred, there actually was continuity in terms of bonds of loyalty towards the Habsburgs, first of Spain and then of Austria.

According to some authors, the policy of noble integration undertaken, between the end of the 16th century and the Austrian Vice-Kingdom – as is also recognised by the sources of the Chamber of St. Chiara –, led to the granting of 170 prince titles, 300 duke titles and 80 count titles³². This was followed by the new monarchy of Charles of Bourbon and the need for a major reform of the nobility of the Kingdom. This policy was due to several factors: discontinuity with respect to the Austrian Vice-Kingdom, especially towards a nobility that was too tied to the *Ancien Régime*; the need for completely rethinking the formation of nobility and the leading ranks of the Kingdom³³.

Then, it was important to find a solution to three problems: align the source that gave dignity to the nobility, comparing it to the ‘reflected light’ coming from the new monarchy; the creation of a new service nobility; the reform of all the cadres of the power elite through the *Tavola della nobiltà* reform of 1756.

The first operation by the new sovereign seized various fiefs and official positions that had been sold during the Austrian Vice-Kingdom.

Then there were measures concerning the recruitment of urban nobility: families that had the requirements of nobility, although rejected by urban

³¹ G. CIRILLO, *Virtù cavalleresca ed antichità di lignaggio. La Real Camera di S. Chiara e le nobiltà del Regno di Napoli nell'età moderna*, Roma, 2012.

³² P. TROYLI, *Istoria generale del Reame di Napoli...*, tomo IV, parte IV, Napoli, 1752.

³³ G. CIRILLO, *Virtù cavalleresca ed antichità di lignaggio*, cit.

seats, could still appeal to the Minister of Grace and Justice to join aristocracy³⁴.

A third measure aimed at the attribution of a specific noble title issued by the new sovereign. Indeed, up to the end of the 1750s, at least 300 titles of marquis transmittable to the first-born child were released by the monarchy. This specific title provided the initial foothold for entering the new service nobility.

Finally, in 1756, there was the *Tavola delle nobiltà* reform commissioned by Charles of Bourbon that divided the different classes of the elite in three categories³⁵.

Despite the reform, the ruling class was recruited from among the old nobility. Those were exponents of the aristocracy of cities with *piazza chiusa* system (where official seats were reserved to selected families), of cities where classes were separated, or holders of fiefs for at least 200 years. Specifically, this last reform by Charles of Bourbon had at least two intentions: on the one hand, to bring order to the fragmented status of the Kingdom's aristocracy; on the other, to undertake a policy targeting the creation of the backbone of service nobility, the keystone of a new ruling class supporting the monarchy in its program of institutional renewal. Those entitled figures, at least the more fortunate, would complete their social promotion by entering the Bourbon Court.

The Kingdom of Naples became the laboratory where to experiment with the selection of a new ruling class that Charles of Bourbon, starting from the 1760s, applied to Spain. With this policy of recruiting the elite of power based on the clarity of blood, there would be a substantial freezing, in the Spanish monarchy, in the process of constructing the new ruling class. It resulted in a ruling government class which looked to the past, absorbing little of the new values coming from physiocracy, too elitist and not very open to the new requests of provincial territories. It certainly was a step back compared to the great social mobility that had taken place from the time of Philip V when – in Naples as in Spain – a substantial part of the provincial elite became the ruling class³⁶.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35 ff.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38 ff.

³⁶ On these points, cf. A. DUBET, *Los intendentes y la tentativa de reorganización del control financiero en España, 1718-1720*, in G. PÉREZ SARRIÓN (ed.), *Más Estado y más mercado: absolutismo y economía en la España del siglo XVIII*, Madrid, 2011; F. ABBAD-D. OZANAM, *Les Intendants espagnols du XVIII^e siècle*, Madrid, 1992, p. 32 ff.; G. CARIDI, *Carlo III. Un grande reformatore a Napoli ed in Spagna*, Roma, 2014.

We come to the last decades of the 19th century: the third moment of acceleration in the production of noble sources, and of increased demand in the market of noble titles.

The thesis of A.J. Mayer, regarding the continuity of noble prominence, between the early modern age and the late modern age, must be contextualised to the Italian case³⁷.

Between the 19th and 20th centuries, titles and privileges were once again used to recruit the ruling class from high bureaucracy, the officers of the Army and diplomacy. In Italy, not all the nobility of former pre-unification states participated in this process. There were a considerable number of exponents of former Neapolitan and Sicilian noble families, at a first examination of the yearbooks of the Army Chief of Staff and of the main Italian Ministers, between the Crispi and Giolittian era³⁸. One might hypothesise that the mass participation of the Southern and Sicilian political elites in the governments of the Historical Left ended up promoting a large number of members of the old elite to the very top of the new unified state. The prototype was represented by the figure of the noble Consalvo Uzeda, as portrayed in *I Viceré* by De Roberto, based on the Marquis of San Giuliano³⁹.

I examined the work of Francesco Bonazzi, the most important Italian genealogist between the end of the 19th century and the early 20th century. As secretary of the Consulta Araldica delle Antiche Province Meridionali (College of Arms of Ancient Southern Provinces), he provided precise information on the market of genealogies.

The Consulta Araldica, starting from the last decades of the 19th century, was inundated by thousands of requests from alleged aristocrats claiming a blazon.

Why so many requests were made to this institute? Why such a considerable demand of nobility? Still, at the end of the 19th century there were at least two factors to be borne in mind: the high need, from a substantial part of the Southern elite, for noble titles that were invested, as previously mentioned, on the highest positions of state or merely employed in social circles; new heraldic and genealogical studies, which increased exponentially during this period, were meant to compensate for the lack of

³⁷ A.J. MAYER, *Il potere dell'Ancien Régime fino alla prima guerra mondiale*, Roma-Bari, 1982.

³⁸ On the intergration policy of the former Neapolitan nobility by the Savoy, please see the second part of the volume.

³⁹ G. FERRAIOLI, *Politica e diplomazia in Italia tra XIX e XX secolo. Vita di Antonino di San Giuliano (1852-1914)*, Catanzaro, 2007.

publication of *Golden Books* detailing the provincial baronies and patriciates. Hence, endless investigations were carried out, either individually or by the former provincial aristocratic families, by the Consulta Araldica⁴⁰.

A situation which explains the role of Bonazzi, who represented this institution at the Fifth Italian Historical Congress held in Genoa. In his 1892 report, he traced the story of the Neapolitan nobility and its patronage in the long term⁴¹.

Still around the end of the 19th century, it was the policy of the tribunal of the Chamber of St. Chiara to influence the verdicts of the Consulta Araldica⁴².

The sale of noble titles, allowing into the highest positions of the unitary state, was also due to a high degree of uncertainty regarding entitled individuals of the Mezzogiorno. With the abolition of feudalism the only *Golden Book* filed and listed the families enrolled to Neapolitan seats; while the equivalent volumes for other aristocratic cities of the Kingdom were never completed, even those for entitled barons with feudal estates.

This lack of arrangement in the subject of nobility, as opposed to the great opportunities offered by the heraldic market, submerged the Neapolitan and Sicilian colleges of arms with thousands of petitions, also because a noble title was more important than ever when aspiring to a major position at the summit of the new unitary state⁴³.

What was the role of Francesco Bonazzi in the interpretation of such heraldic and genealogical material, and at the level of the decisions taken by the colleges of arms of ancient pre-unitary states?⁴⁴

This is not, in Bonazzi's intricate production, about simple literary idleness or genealogical fixations, directed towards the study of a then defunct social class. Bonazzi understood he was faced with a well-defined phenomenon that can be ascribed to the sphere of new aristocratic sociability.

⁴⁰ On these points, cf. L. ROSSI, *I ceti nobiliari europei nell'Ottocento*, Napoli, 1996; ID., *I caratteri regionali del modello nobiliare italiano: il Mezzogiorno*, Salerno, 1997.

⁴¹ On Francesco Bonazzi di S. Nicandro, see F. BONAZZI, *Famiglie nobili e titolate del Napoletano*, Bologna, 1985; ID., *Elenco dei cavalieri del S.M. Ordine di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme ricevuti nella veneranda lingua d'Italia dalla formazione dell'ordine ai nostri giorni*, Bologna, 1969.

⁴² G. CIRILLO, *Virtù cavalleresca ed antichità di lignaggio*, cit.

⁴³ A.J. MAYER, *Il potere dell'Ancien Régime*, cit.

⁴⁴ F. BONAZZI, *Elenco delle famiglie riconosciute nobili dalla Reale commissione dei titoli di nobiltà del Regno delle Due Sicilie ad occasione delle prove di ammissione nelle Reali Guardie del Corpo*, Tipografia dell'Unione, Napoli, 1879.

The decisions taken by Bonazzi and the Consulta Araldica delle Antiche Province Meridionali regarding the recognition of noble titles were rather restrictive. So, as we shall see, many possessors of coats of arms looking for a reintegration of their noble title had to turn to civil courts for a simple correction of their surnames.

Three issues must be discussed before framing the final 19th century period characterised by a considerable demand for noble titles:

- a) In the Giolittian era, were there two distinct phenomena of sociability present in Italy, the bourgeois and the aristocratic one? Or did the values of the latter ultimately influenced and contaminated the former?
- b) Was there a single model of aristocratic sociability, or a profound differentiation – that the Court of Savoy was unable to standardise – between the aristocratic values of Piedmont, Lombardy, Tuscany or Venice, compared to those of Naples and Sicily?
- c) The aristocratic values of the Mezzogiorno and Sicily, which still looked to the antiquity of blood and seed and to exclusive statuses, thanks to the action of Southern government components at the top of the new unified state, eventually affected the whole nation.

The process, in addition to not having been studied, is not an easy one to frame.

During the Giolittian era and at least up to the first years of the 1930s, the noble elite kept their values intact. However, it set another process in motion, a new phenomenon of noble integration triggered around the Court of Savoy⁴⁵. The main characters involved on the one hand were the two sovereigns, Umberto I and Vittorio Emanuele III; on the other, the exclusive clubs of the Neapolitan nobility. Through the old aristocratic ritual of hunting, as will be seen, this new chain of loyalty was sealed, leading to the integration in royal circuits of a substantial part of the Neapolitan and Southern nobility.

For various months of the year, following a specific path connected to the hunting season of the various Royal Sites (Astroni, Licola, Capodimonte, Carditello and Calvi, and finally hunting in the areas of the current National Park of Abruzzo), sovereigns and the princes of Savoy began to acquire a

⁴⁵ The Archive of the Royal House of Savoy created its own administration for the Neapolitan Royal Sites headquartered in Capodimonte. A temporary inventory of the archive was undertaken by me and my collaborators (it is kept at the Archivio Storico della Reggia di Caserta). The patronage policy carried out by the Savoy is mainly found in the sources dedicated to the Royal Sites of Capodimonte and Carditello. See the paragraph on sources.

new familiarity with Naples and its surroundings. They created, in the city of Naples, a true branch of the Savoy court during the months at the Neapolitan residence, absorbing the Southern Italian families who resided in the former capital; and the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali began to acquire an ever more important role within the Ministero di Casa Reale.

The newly available sources of the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali dei Savoia (with headquarters in Capodimonte), which are going to be briefly described, give an account of this process. It is interesting to note that in the hunting ritual, together with Umberto I and Vittorio Emanuele III, members of the main exclusive clubs of horseback hunters of the Neapolitan nobility were allowed to take part.

Three points of particular importance emerged from the aforementioned documentation: new opportunities of sociability that opened up to the Neapolitan nobility now having a chance to access the narrow circuits of the court of the two sovereigns; the ability to analyse the members of the Neapolitan and Southern nobility integrated into the new circuits of the court; the disproportionate growth of the linked industry of the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali dei Savoia, strongly desired by Umberto I.

These few reflections help explaining why the city of Naples would never be fascist but certainly one with a very strong monarchic consensus: there would be little left of the loyalty to the Bourbons, being linked to the Savoy by deep feelings of affection. This also explains the adherence of the city to the 'Laurino' (from Achille Lauro) regime, which cannot be simply explained by demagogic or patronage policies pursued by the shipowner towards the less wealthy segment of the population of the former capital city.

3. Archival sources as generators of texts: the archival-philological approach

The following study uses three types of sources: archival, literary and iconographical.

Diverse yet important sources, because from sole archival filings it is not always possible to reconstruct the narrative the sources are linked to, thus being able to grasp their internal allegories and metaphors.

In relation to archival sources, as mentioned, we focused on three types of documents: *bozze delle consulte* (drafts of the trials) of the Chamber of St. Chiara; the archives of the State of Caserta (of its Court) and of the main Royal Bourbon Sites; the Archivio dell'Amministrazione dei Siti Reali dei Savoia (Ministero di Casa Reale dei Savoia).

As for the first type of documentation, the monarchic policy underwent the evaluations expressed by the colleges. This source allows an evaluation of the policies of modernisation made by new monarchy on the construction of the state, as well as framing the Bourbon ideology regarding the Royal Palace of Caserta and the policy towards the court.

One of the main objectives of the dynasty, which thus claimed an exclusivity in the granting of honours, was the creation of a nobility born of new social hierarchies.

The reform of 1756, which laid the foundations for the formation of a new service nobility, rethought, with the creation of different degrees of nobility, the entire Neapolitan society. It was an altogether traditional reform since the first degree of the nobility was called to play a primary role in the edification of the modern state.

The recruitment of main officers of the new national Army and the selection of administrative staff in the royal cities (especially captains and feudal governors) were vetted by the old nobility, the co-optation in high administrative and political offices.

Then, with the last years of Tanucci's government and with the coming of Ferdinand IV, the Chamber of St. Chiara was also tasked with reforming city governments. During this period, the privileges of patrician and popular seats were screened and, one after the other, local administrations began to be reformed. There was more than one novelty. The monarchy, as true sovereign guardian, began to interfere in the administrative life of individual cities. At the time, these could not undertake any autonomous initiative nor in the enlargement of aggregations, nor decide on the balance of their internal regiments. Yet another important novelty: the monarchy – adopting the Chamber of St. Chiara – opened the participation in city government also to new classes promoted on-site (the arts, the *Massari*).

In the background, a reference to the Spanish experience of the *Nueva Planta* to bind the new nobility being recruited to military service or other services within royal bureaucracy, before it was co-opted by the court⁴⁶.

Among other things, with its *consulte* the Neapolitan tribunal sought to untie the knot of the institutional process in the Kingdom of Naples with the cadastral reform, the enlargement of the sphere of citizenship and the reform of the ruling class (mainly through the creation of a new service nobility) founded on the state policy of honour. *Consulte* were the instrument through which the *Tavola della nobiltà* reform of the Kingdom of Naples was

⁴⁶ I used, *ad vocem* the *Bozze delle Consulte* of the Chamber of St. Chiara for the various important cities and the main feudal states of the Kingdom of Naples.

carried out (with the creation of new hierarchies at the level of honour and status), and the various profiles were outlined through which to operate the recruitment of the ruling class.

Exponents of baronies, of the aristocracy, of the ruling urban elite sent hundreds of petitions to the Secretariats of State (Internal, Grace and Justice, War or Naval) or directly to the sovereign. Hundreds of claimants requested a higher honorary status, the entrance in the first ranks of the nobility, tasks and roles in the central and peripherals institutions, transfers, the attribution of other types of personal or family privileges.

Once pleas were sent, for its competence, to the Chamber of St. Chiara, the latter began to assign the relevant audits to royal provincial hearings.

An important element is the fact that the legal process was not running directly, as happened for the other royal courts of the Kingdom from supplicant, or city, persons or institutions; the appeal, which opened the process, was addressed to the sovereign or to specific Secretariats of State (generally Grace and Justice, but also Foreign, or War and Naval). Only at a later moment the Chamber of St. Chiara came into play with a *consulta*. A trial was in place: the magistrates examined the reasons of supplication and opened the audit with the verification of the declarations or by examining the witnesses. Finally, the magistrates filled a report with the motivations of the *consulta*⁴⁷.

What is the internal type of the pleas to the Chamber of St. Chiara?

It depended on the institute that emitted the source. In the Kingdom of Naples, there is a profound difference between the *Ancien Régime*, the French Decade and the 19th century of the Bourbons.

A first point: until 1806, the majority of documentation originated from genuine trials, then with the French Decade the type of sources became but a mere administrative act.

In the *Ancien Régime*, there was no separation between the judicial and administrative spheres; nor was there in the jurisdiction of the individual Neapolitan courts. The same occurred in the practice of royal courts. Even when it came to administrative matters, a regular trial was initiated. The proceedings originated from appeals, or gravamen, which were sent directly

⁴⁷ The *Consulte di Giustizia* (Justice Trials) and the *Consulte di Stato* (State Trials) of the Chamber of St. Chiara were used for most of the cities in the Kingdom of Naples. The largest source used was that of the *Bozze delle Consulte*, serie 15 (mazzo no. 1018), years 1731-1808. On the organisation of the Chamber of St. Chiara Archive (Archivio di Stato di Napoli, State Archive of Naples, from now on ASNA), please see G. CIRILLO, *Virtù cavalleresca ed antichità di lignaggio*, cit., p. 12 ff.

to the courts of law or to Secretariats of the State and of Grace and Justice, and determined the opening of judicial-administrative proceedings.

Then we had the second phase: the judicial process with the protagonism of the judiciary officials who personally gathered evidence and information in the provinces. Officials who had to hear witnesses and produced, in copy or original, a whole range of documents. In the course of the trial, during the audit, both defendants, to clarify their position, and the entities which made the appeal, by providing integrations, better specified the adversarial positions, adding if necessary other terms of appeal.

Unlike the foregoing, sources produced in the French Decade and in the 19th century of the Bourbons, in matters of state interest, were administrative ones originating from a public authority.

A second point: what are the types of internal appeals and gravamens?

Internal appeals were produced by subjects or other citizens, the upper classes, corporation guilds or cities or other organised and recognised groups, to ask for grace, favours, privileges, or to point out abuses. Such judicial proceedings gave rise to an administrative act that caused the opening of a specific procedure in offices, courts, and judiciaries.

Gravamens are different than appeals. Unlike other European areas, where gravamens assumed different values (they were either similar to appeals or formulated within well-defined institutional moments, Parliament meetings, General State assemblies, for the purpose of directing to the prince, or territorial lord, the request of respect of privileges or legislative statutes, of legislative exemptions and agreements, also with the intent of moving specific allegations, complaints that often were 'listed'), in the Kingdom of Naples, gravamens were petitions against alleged wrongs endured, genuine *cabier de doléances*.

This sends back to the concept of 'judicial state': the prince seen as the supreme judge, dispenser of justice and grace. Besides, the prince, according to Paolo Grossi, does not make the law but reads the law. There is a juridical order, of medieval ancestry, where laws and regulations – not singular but pluralistic – come from customs and habits, rights and privileges of the natives of a specific territory. Depending on the situation, then, the prince is seen as a father, judge and legislator. From medieval pactism to the absolute sovereignty of the modern state is a winding road, one that feeds on multiple and heterogeneous ideologies.

All judicial audits replacing the administrative deed of the early modern age ceased to exist. They were completely replaced – to move on to the second great archive containing the documents of the State of Caserta and

those of Royal Bourbon Sites – by administrative procedures examined by hierarchies of officials belonging to the public service.

There was a clear separation between the spheres of justice and administration, although the records within the sphere of administration are less interesting. These were produced according to precise templates that referred to the ‘Machine State’ of the new administrative state. In those documents there is little room for the protagonism of the various officials, who had to strictly comply with the compilation guidelines produced from the centre.

The documents show that everything was specifically regulated, even the language used and the emerging political metaphors. The reading scholar, without the adequate critical approach to the sources, in the general appreciation of the efficiency of the state will find great difficulty in contextualising the various problems of the relative sectors.

The Archivio Storico della Reggia di Caserta has a specific internal differentiation, not just due to its specific functions. This differentiation was created by the monarchy itself. One of the highest moments of the Bourbon reform saw the formation of the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali, entrusted to specific intendants. Recent studies have compared the institutional reforms of the Kingdom of Naples to the influence from Spain following the *Nueva Planta* reform by Philip V. State modernisation required the creation of a new service nobility, old from a genealogical point of view, which still had to pursue a ‘military career’. Considerable weight, within this reform, was given to the experiment carried out towards Royal Sites with the creation of figures borrowed from the Spanish system. The institution of an Intendenza (Administration) was grafted on the baronial structure of government of former fiefs. It absorbed its staff, and the judicial boundaries were re-drawn with the co-existence of two administrations. To increase the functionality of the system set up in Royal Sites – including communities, lands, large farms, factories, industries and other workshops – a superintendence or administration was created in 1750, at the head of which was the intendant, mainly responsible for two activities: maintaining daily contact with the capital, receiving and executing orders from the royal house; checking the numerous and complex accounts and operations, especially the management of staff and remittances of the royal exchequer. This management, from an administrative point of view, was framed in the Intendenza degli Stati di Caserta, Valle e Durazzano (Administration of the States of Caserta, Valle and Durazzano). The office was then called Amministrazione dello Stato di Caserta (State Administration of Caserta), with two minor offices: the

Amministrazione di Carditello e Calvi (Administration of Carditello and Calvi), and the Amministrazione di S. Leucio (Administration of St. Leucio)⁴⁸. The most significant section of the archives is comprised of papers regarding the State of Caserta, a part of which pertains to the operation of the Bourbon Court up to year 1860⁴⁹.

The third archive is related to the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte. Starting from the 1880s, the parts of the former Royal Sites passed on to the Amministrazione di Casa Reale dei Savoia (those not merged to form the royal property of the new unitary state or gone to other entities or individual municipalities) were grouped together in the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte. This administration included the site of Capodimonte, the Sites of the Astroni, Licola, the Royal Palace of Caserta, Carditello, and the hunting reserves in Abruzzo. The

⁴⁸ The historical archivistic value of the documentary source is enormous. This is a collection of new archival units that have never been systematically studied before, made available by the archives of the Reale Intendenza dello Stato di Caserta (or Archivio Storico della Reggia di Caserta), which includes about 10,000 bags and volumes (going from 1423 to 1950). This is an archive which has only been known in its entirety since 1981, when the Soprintendenza per i beni architettonici, paesaggistici, storico artistici ed etnoantropologici per le province di Caserta e Benevento (Superintendence for the Architectural and Historical-Artistic Assets of Caserta and Benevento) was established, whose final inventory (managed by Dr. Imma Ascione) was just recently completed. The archive provides the account of the construction of the palace and its furnishing at the artistic level, and displays its cultural and environmental assets; on the court's stay in Caserta, the construction of San Leucio, and the Royal Sites of Carditello, Calvi, Valle and Durazzano. It is an enormous information reservoir, around which the city grew and a large part of its province gravitated, integrating into a single complex Caserta, the municipalities of the area (from Calvi to Durazzano), the various artisan workshops, in addition to the silk factory of San Leucio, and a large farm and dairy company. We are not, however, faced with only one of the well-studied cases of European historiography, of the construction of a large court – as a place for the entertainment and delights of the aristocracy – or of the building of royal factories (where a considerable amount of the population of the city and province found work), for which the monarchy spent enormous amounts of money. See G. CIRILLO, *I Siti Reali borbonici. Alcuni problemi storiografici*, in *Alle origini di Minerva trionfante. Caserta e l'utopia di S. Leucio. La costruzione dei siti reali borbonici*, a cura di I. ASCIONE-G. CIRILLO-G.M. PICCINELLI, Roma, 2012, p. 17 ff. See also I. ASCIONE-E. LOFFREDO, *L'Archivio di Stato di Caserta alla Reggia di Caserta*, in «Rivista di Terra di Lavoro», I, 2006, 3, www.rterradilavoro.altervista.org, an essay we point out for its completeness in describing the archivistic coordinates of the documents stored in the Royal Palace.

⁴⁹ On the internal consistency of the Archivio dell'Amministrazione dello Stato di Caserta (Caserta State Administration Archive), refer to *Alle origini di Minerva trionfante. Caserta e l'utopia di S. Leucio. La costruzione dei siti reali borbonici*, a cura di I. ASCIONE-G. CIRILLO-G.M. PICCINELLI, cit., p. 179 ff. Especially see the reference notes to the sources of this particular administration in part II of this volume.

documents go all the way up to the 1930s, when this administration became the property of the state.

The second type of sources used are literary ones. It is a tradition rooted in how Renaissance authors interpreted the ancient.

The starting point was the humanist historiography by Facio, Pontano and Panormita. With these authors, according to Fueter, the historiography of the Mezzogiorno was a mere rhetoric reworking of previous chronicles or moral short-story writing, in which the tale provided a political kind of example⁵⁰.

Also Eric Cochrane, when considering the historiography of Italian Renaissance and its general (national) stories, noted that: «the use of the ancient or *ars historica* is not a homogeneous product, the ancient is not used to highlight the distance between the conditions of society in the old days and the present without political intention. A mere impolitical antiquity»⁵¹.

But do urban and territorial stories really have an apolitical characteristic? A recent volume by Masi on Tommaso Costo emphasises a path traced by such historiography aimed at strengthening a royal current launching the idea of a consolidation of monarchic power as an identifying prerequisite of the institutions of the Kingdom. This is why the work by Costo became of vital importance for the new *pactum* between the barony and Spain⁵².

Also Sergio Bertelli reassessed this historiography – strong in terms of ideological compactness –, even in the absence of a genuine *ars historica* in the Kingdom⁵³.

It was, however, Giarrizzo to indicate the fact that the local historiography between the 16th and the 18th centuries should not be considered *ars historica* but rather must be seen as a product devoid of internal compositional rules. A product that incorporated various genres contaminating them by de-contextualising places and content.

Giuseppe Galasso and more recently Aurelio Musi have sketched out a profile of Neapolitan historiography between the 16th and the 17th century,

⁵⁰ E. FUETER, *Storia della storiografia moderna*, Milano-Napoli, 1944, pp. 45-49. A judgement borrowed from Benedetto Croce. See B. CROCE, *Storia del Regno di Napoli*, a cura di G. GALASSO, Milano, 1992, p. 22 ff.

⁵¹ E. COCHRANE, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago, 1981, p. 444.

⁵² G. MASI, *Dal Collenuccio a Tommaso Costo. Vicende della storiografia napoletana fra Cinque e Seicento*, Napoli, 1999.

⁵³ S. BERTELLI, *Storiografi, eruditi, antiquari e politici*, in E. CECCHI-N. SAPEGNO (dir.), *Storia della letteratura italiana*, V, *il Seicento*, Milano, 1967, pp. 335-434.

from Pandolfo Collenuccio to Summonte and Tutini⁵⁴. According to these authors, the self-awareness of the Neapolitan Nation was founded mainly on three concepts: the primacy of the capital as the new centre of the Kingdom; dynastic loyalty; the search for an autonomous and homogeneous political space, representing the unity and autonomy of the Neapolitan State towards dominant or hegemonic power⁵⁵.

Monarchic iconography and feudal stories made continual reference to the ancient and to the authority of Livy: the pedagogical utility of the first author reproducing a romanisation of events aimed at presenting Rome as a model for political ascent of the Republican period. The events narrated by Livy are presented as accidental yet necessary developments of the long journey of an idea guided by *fatum*, namely the inevitable development of a state in which moral and politics are conjoined.

The narrative technique used by Livy is also important, being defined as psychological historiography: narration was dramatised according to a rhetorical style that implied story-telling as a development⁵⁶. As observed, the writings of Livy simultaneously became: a methodological paradigm and irreplaceable source of ancient knowledge, also and above all «prestigiosissimo e fortunatissimo paradigma del legame fra il regime politico e l'identità culturale di una repubblica aristocratica e l'autocoscienza della sua élite dirigente»⁵⁷.

Moreover, the attitude towards the ancient no longer considered it an *auctoritas*. Therefore, an author was not studied based on content, but passed on starting from the assumption that classical authors said it all. Hence the transmission of everything that could have a moral and stylistic value. It has been observed that this passive dependence, coupled with the parameter of moral utility, would provoke a crisis among authors considered difficult in the style or scale of their work, such as Tacitus, and, conversely, bestowed great fortune on Livy and Sallust. In addition, the classical no longer coincided with Greek or Roman times, but with all antiquity⁵⁸.

⁵⁴ G. GALASSO, *Il Regno di Napoli. Il Mezzogiorno spagnolo (1494-1622)*, II, in *Storia d'Italia*, XV/2, Torino, 2005, p. 544 ff.

⁵⁵ A. MUSI, *Napoli Spagnola. La costruzione storiografica*, Salerno, 2011, p. 171 ff.

⁵⁶ Cf. the interesting essay: A. D'ANDRIA, *Identità sommerse. L'antico nelle storie locali della Basilicata in età moderna*, in «Bollettino Storico della Basilicata», XXV, 2009, 25, pp. 73-115.

⁵⁷ R. BIZZOCCHI, *Memoria familiare ed identità cittadina*, in G. CHITTOLINI-P. JOANEK (a cura di), *Aspetti e componenti dell'identità urbana in Italia ed in Germania (secoli XIV-XVI)*, Bologna, 2003, pp. 123-124.

⁵⁸ A. BIONDI, *Tempi e forme della storiografia*, in *Letteratura italiana*, diretto da S. ASOR ROSA, Torino, 1984, p. 1079 ff.

Livy became the key for reading both the mythology monarchic iconography drew on and for what created the elements of identity of the European aristocracy. In the case of monarchic iconography, as we will see for the French kings, at least from the reign of Francis I (an inheritance passed to the Bourbons in France, Spain and the Kingdom of Naples).

It all started with the attribution to Octavius of the *Augustus* title: then, the identification with ancient gods was also a prerogative of his family members⁵⁹. The myth of the *gens* Julia, whose vector must be attributed to Livy, was important precisely for the deference that the families of the Roman aristocracy had for Augustus, also taking account of the fact that his identification with Apollo attributed Greek origins to him, therefore preceding Roman families. The Forum of Augustus, also thanks to the Virgilian epic, matched Troy and Rome, Aeneas and Romulus among the ancestors.

Shortly thereafter in the iconography, the emperor was compared to Jupiter and became the symbol of political power. Augustus appeared seated alongside the eagle of Jupiter⁶⁰. This way the deified monarch found an example within the iconography of Alexander the Great that would impose itself in official symbolism. Alexander was portrayed as Jupiter, with a lightning bolt in his left hand and a spear in his right⁶¹. These are all iconographic elements that would be found in the iconography of the European monarchies starting from France and the Kingdom of Naples.

Even the genealogical trees of the great European aristocracies and of the Kingdom of Naples found their identities in the origins of Troy and in the myth of Aeneas. The roots especially link back to Aeneas and the myth of the *gens* Julia: this constituted one of the red threads of genealogies (tree of life).

From a technical point of view, already in ancient Rome elements extraneous to the context were added to facts taking place, just as would later be conceived by the European sovereigns of the early modern age. Therefore, mythology became an element of continuity between the heroic past and the stability of the present.

⁵⁹ Livia, his wife, portrayed as Venus. Cf. S. SETTIS-M.L. CATONI (a cura di), *La forza del bello. L'arte greca conquista l'Italia*, catalogo della mostra, Milano, 2008, p. 167.

⁶⁰ P. ZANCHER, *Augusto ed il potere delle immagini*, Torino, 1989, p. 52 ff.; M. JENKINS, *Il ritratto di stato*, Roma, 1977, p. 4 ff.

⁶¹ On the importance of the iconographic repertoire of the Roman world, cf. P. ZANCHER, *Un'arte per l'impero. Funzione ed intenzione delle immagini nel mondo romano*, Milano, 2002; ID., *Augusto ed il potere delle immagini*, cit., p. 30 ff.; R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, *Dall'Ellenismo al Medioevo*, a cura di L. DELL'ORTO, Roma, 1980, p. 149 ff.

Especially Augustus dictated the *exempla* in iconography for the aristocratic classes.

The reuse of *post mortem* works was crucial. The case of the *Colossus Neronis*, a statue by Zenodorus commissioned by Nero, placed in the vestibule of the Domus Aurea: Vespasian decided to dedicate it to the Sun, while Commodus re-adapted it to his semblance with the attributes of Hercules. Commodus in particular fed off the virtues of Hercules that were poured into the figure of the Emperor⁶².

It still was Livy who was used at a cultural level, with his categorisation between aristocracy, people and plebs, to justify the class distinctions existing in the early modern age. Momigliano observed, in a volume dedicated to the use of the classical in Italian and German political culture, how until the beginning of the 18th century at the cultural level an image of history dominated by the Roman tradition prevailed, as it was conveyed by Sallust, Tacitus and especially Livy⁶³. It was Livy who introduced the link between *urbs* and *gentes* in urban stories⁶⁴. The existence of an unbroken historical bond, concerning both the old and new aristocracy, with the past: the formation of the main aristocratic families deriving from the *gentes* of ancient times⁶⁵.

To convey the image of this identification between *urbs* and aristocratic *gentes* there were genealogical materials inspired by the Roman historian⁶⁶. This was not, in this case, Livy author of Augustus, but the singer of the greatness of the Republic of family memories, the annals of nobility, the genealogist of some illustrious lineages of the Roman Republic: from the *gens* Fabia to the *gens* Valeria and the *gens* Claudia – genealogies that intertwined with the more general narrative of the history of Rome⁶⁷.

⁶² A. CARANDINI, *Domus aurea. La reggia di Nerone*, in «Corriere della Sera», 23 giugno 1999, p. 33.

⁶³ See Arnaldo Momigliano's introduction to K. CHRIST-A. MOMIGLIANO (a cura di), *L'antichità nell'Ottocento in Italia e in Germania*, Bologna, 1988, pp. 8-13.

⁶⁴ For Bizzocchi, the best example of this model is to be found in the *Storie Fiorentine* of young Guicciardini who interpreted the history of Florence from the point of view of the aristocratic citizen. See R. BIZZOCCHI, *Memoria familiare ed identità cittadina*, cit., p. 124.

⁶⁵ R. BIZZOCCHI, *Genealogie incredibili. Scritti di storia nell'Europa moderna*, Bologna, 1995.

⁶⁶ It has been seen that these pay tribute to both the medieval chronicles and the stories of the Kingdom of Naples starting from the tradition of Collenuccio. Cf. G. CIRILLO, «Generi contaminati». *Il paradigma delle storie feudali e cittadine*, in A. LERRA (a cura di), *Il libro e la piazza. Le storie locali dei Regni di Napoli e Sicilia in età moderna*, Manduria-Bari-Roma, 2004, pp. 157-210.

⁶⁷ On these aspects now see A. MUSI, *Storie "nazionali" e storie locali*, in A. LERRA (a cura di), *Il libro e la piazza*, cit., pp. 13-26; F. BENIGNO, *Considerazioni sulla storiografia municipale siciliana di età spagnola*, *ibid.*, pp. 51-68; A. LERRA, *Un genere di lunga durata: le descrizioni del Regno di Napoli*, *ibid.*, pp. 27-50.

The historiographic threads established in the Kingdom of Naples, as is well known, started from the work by Collenuccio that appeared in print in the 1530s, which provided a first account of Neapolitan history. Within his work, there are topoi and stereotypes already widely circulating, also originating from the earlier humanist historiography. The substance of the paper by the historian is that the Kingdom of Naples did not constitute «un solido organismo politico»⁶⁸; actually, faced with the permanent instability of the Kingdom there was the great power of barony which was often politically unreliable. As observed by Galasso, Collenuccio, instead of framing the infirmities of an incurably ill person – what the Kingdom looked like at the beginning of the 16th century –, rather conveyed an accurate depiction of the institutional system still under construction. Starting from the 17th century, other subjects which would become the main characters of the history of the Kingdom – cities, the working classes, the bourgeoisie, the Church, the capital –, all played a marginal role⁶⁹.

Then, in following accounts of the Kingdom, the vision emerging from the *Compendio* – which, according to Galasso, matched the historiographical genre of Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* – on the primacy of barony waned with the emergence of a strong awareness of the primacy of the capital.

Two distinct historiographical lines followed up: on the one side, a work by Di Costanzo which is an expression of the aristocratic and feudal soul of the capital; on the other, the work by Summonte, anticipating the central role of the people in the history of the city of Naples.

Angelo Di Costanzo, with his *Historia del Regno di Napoli*⁷⁰, inspired by Jacopo Sannazzaro and Francesco Poderico, and dedicated to Ferrante Caracciolo, Duke of Airola, provides an accurate judgement of value on the main dynasties from which the feudalism of the Kingdom of Naples originated: cities and territories subject of Lombardy dukes, duchies and

⁶⁸ A. MUSI, *Storie "nazionali" e storie locali*, cit., p. 26 ff.

⁶⁹ G. GALASSO, *L'immagine della nobiltà napoletana nella "Istoria" di Angelo di Costanzo*, in *Medioevo, Mezzogiorno, Mediterraneo. Studi in onore di M. Del Treppo*, a cura di G. ROSSETTI-G. VITOLO, II, Napoli, 2000, pp. 189-198.

⁷⁰ A. DI COSTANZO, *Historia del Regno di Napoli dell'illustre sign. Angelo Di Costanzo gentiluomo e cavaliere napoletano, con l'aggiunzione de dodici altri libri, dal medesimo autore composti, e hora dati in luce, nella quale si raccontano li successi di guerra e di pace non solo nel Regno di Napoli, ma anco nel Regno di Sicilia, Ducato di Milano, Fiorenza, e nello Stato di Santa Chiesa*, Nell'Aquila, appresso Giuseppe Cacchio, MDLXXXI (quote from the edition held at the Biblioteca Provinciale di Avellino, (Provincial Library of Avellino, R. C. 174). For an overview of the period, cf. G. GALASSO, *Dalla «libertà d'Italia» alle «preponderanze straniere»*, Napoli, 1997, p. 46 ff.; still fundamental is the research by B. CROCE, *Storia dell'età barocca in Italia*, Milano, 1993.

cities belonging to Greek-Byzantine domains, the new Norman feudalism⁷¹. But the primacy of the Neapolitan Nation was placed in the Angevin period, which was a sort of golden age of Neapolitan history. A primacy of barony that was identified, for the first time, within a process which founded the Neapolitan Nation.

Instead, with the stories of Summonte, Costo and Tutini, the identification of the Neapolitan Nation was made to coincide with the primacy of the Neapolitan people.

Galasso noted, in his reading of the work by Summonte, how Aragonese sovereigns (and not Angevins ones) represented the most significant period of national history⁷².

Between the Aragonese period and the first decades of Spanish rule, as studied by Giuliana Vitale, a wealth of noble treatises flourished⁷³, from *Galateo* to that by Tristano Caracciolo, from Diomede Carafa's to Giovanni Pontano's one, which inquired about the rapid political, economic and ideological changes the Neapolitan aristocracy was subject to⁷⁴.

Aurelio Musi observed how

la storiografia dall'età umanistica all'età illuministica non produce ancora un suo statuto, codici disciplinari definiti. L'ars historica fu la grande creazione della cultura prima umanistica poi barocca: la storia non aveva ancora assunto un suo statuto di autonoma forma della conoscenza tra Cinque e Seicento, era una contaminazione particolare di generi differenti che dialogavano tra loro, ma cominciava, a partire dalla retorica, dalla scrittura, dall'interesse per la comunicazione, a stabilire regole e procedure discorsive su cui sarebbe stata edificata, qualche secolo dopo, la storia come scienza o, per meglio dire, quasi-scienza⁷⁵.

From the Counter-Reformation the author who became renowned in Italy and the Kingdom of Naples, for the new Baroque ideological structure of nobility, was Scipione Ammirato with his *Delle famiglie nobili napoletane*,

⁷¹ A. MUSI, *Forme della storiografia barocca*, in *I capricci di Prometeo. Percorsi e linguaggi del barocco*, Atti del convegno di Lecce 23-26 ottobre 2000, Roma, 2002, pp. 457-478.

⁷² G. MASI, *Dal Collenuccio a Tommaso Costo*, cit.

⁷³ G. VITALE, *Modelli culturali nobiliari nella Napoli aragonese*, Salerno, 2002, p. 41.

⁷⁴ G. GALASSO, *Napoli spagnola dopo Masaniello*, Firenze, 1983, and especially ID., *Alla periferia dell'impero. Il Regno di Napoli nel periodo spagnolo (secoli XVI-XVII)*, Torino, 1994; T. DEAN, *Le Corti. Un problema storiografico*, in *Origini dello Stato. Processi di formazione statale in Italia fra Medioevo ed età moderna*, a cura di G. CHITTOLINI-A. MOLHO-P. SCHIERA, Bologna, 1994, pp. 425-447. The works of N. ELIAS, *La società di corte*, Bologna, 1980, and *La società delle buone maniere*, Bologna, 1988, are still very relevant.

⁷⁵ A. MUSI, *Napoli spagnola*, cit., p. 170.

published in two volumes⁷⁶. An important circumstance is that the second volume was published in 1651, 70 years after the first one⁷⁷. Finally, *I dialoghi* by Torquato Tasso are crucial⁷⁸. As will be seen, the categories of Scipione Ammirato and Torquato Tasso would be absorbed by successive authors of noble stories such as Filiberto Campanile (*Dell'armi overo insegne dei nobili*, published in 1610, with reprints of 1618 and 1680)⁷⁹ and Giuseppe Campanile (*Notizie di nobiltà*, printed in 1672)⁸⁰. The three volumes by Carlo De Lellis, *Delle famiglie nobili del Regno di Napoli* (published in 1654, 1663 and 1671), close the circle⁸¹. More than the specific works, their extracts, done by the Campanile, Beltrano or contained in numerous almanacs of the Kingdom, were essential, although often de-contextualised – Galasso expressed a very accurate opinion on this matter⁸².

In the 18th century, despite the new political culture linked to the Enlightenment, which began to attack aristocratic privileges, the production of noble materials remained consistent. The numerous genealogical stories of noble families – the proof is provided by the work of Beltrano – continued to be affected in the long term by this noble Baroque ideology. In the 18th century, the works of Vincenzo Tafuri and Placido Troyli were

⁷⁶ S. AMMIRATO, *Delle famiglie nobili napoletane di Scipione Ammirato, parte prima, le quali per levar ogni gara di precedenza sono state poste in confuso*, in Firenze, appresso Giorgio Marescotti, MDLXXX.

⁷⁷ The second volume, printed in Florence in 1651 and dedicated to Ferdinand II Grand Duke of Tuscany, shows that Ammirato had gained a national resonance as the official representative of the Grand Duke for the composition of *Istorie Fiorentine*. Cf. A. MUSI, *Forme della storiografia barocca*, cit., pp. 457-478.

⁷⁸ T. TASSO, *Il Forno overo della Nobiltà; Il Forno secondo overo della Nobiltà*, a cura di S. PRANDI, Firenze, 1999.

⁷⁹ F. CAMPANILE, *Dell'armi overo insegne dei nobili scritte dal signor Filiberto Campanile, ove sono i discorsi d'alcune famiglie, così spente, come vive del Regno di Napoli*, Napoli, nella stamperia di Antonio Gramignani, 1681.

⁸⁰ G. CAMPANILE, *Notizie di nobiltà, lettere di Giuseppe Campanile, accademico, umorista, dedicato a Bartolomeo Di Capoa, Principe della Riccia e Gran Conte di Altavilla*, in Napoli per Luc'Antonio di Fulco, 1672. Cf. G. GALASSO, *Società e filosofia nella cultura napoletana del tardo Rinascimento*, in ID., *Alla periferia dell'impero*, cit., pp. 122-156.

⁸¹ C. DE LELLIS, *Delle famiglie nobili del Regno di Napoli del signor Carlo De Lellis*, parte I, Napoli, nella stamperia di Honofrio Savio, MDCLIV; parte II, Napoli, nella stamperia di Giovan Francesco Paci, 1663; parte III, Napoli, per gli eredi di Francesco Roncaiolo, 1671. Cf. ID., *Delle famiglie nobili del Regno di Napoli del signor Carlo De Lellis*, parte II, cit., pp. 324-332.

⁸² The volume M. SANTORO, *Le secentine napoletane della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, Roma, 1986 is very important.

relevant; then slowly the stories of ‘territorial nations’ would begin to take precedence over class-based stories⁸³.

The noble genre did not end with the *Ancien Régime*, as seen in the work of Francesco Bonazzi, the great historian and genealogist of the late 19th century⁸⁴. A 20th century author, Luigi Volpicella, assessed such work, doing a long-term synthesis on the Southern nobility debate⁸⁵.

There is a double typology in the iconography – coming to the last type of source – which was used, in Italy and in France, by monarchies and nobility. It also goes back to the 16th century, with the interpretation of the classical by Renaissance intellectuals. An initial vector that influenced monarchic or aristocratic iconography were certain works once used as reference handbooks to draw on for an unlimited figurative repertoire. The basic texts that often recurred, even in the design of the blazons of the great European nobility, are the *Emblemata* by Andrea Alciato (over 150 editions in different European languages), published in Augsburg in 1531, comprised of short poems (with illustrations) which, when interlaced, generate mottoes of difficult interpretation. Only a few heraldic experts could understand them⁸⁶. Another important text, for its wide use, was that of Vincenzo Cartari, of 1556, who published his studies on mythology assigning an iconographic imprint to his reflections⁸⁷; then, starting from 1597, *Iconologia*, the work by Cesare Ripa, was widely circulated⁸⁸. It was especially the work of the latter author to be used at an iconographic level up to the middle of the 20th century⁸⁹. According to Luca Scuccimarra – who considered the symbolism

⁸³ V. TAFURI, *Della nobiltà delle sue leggi e dei suoi istituti nel già Reame delle Sicilie, con particolari notizie intorno alle città di Napoli e di Gallipoli*, tipografia degli Accattoncelli, Napoli, 1869, pp. 1-36.

⁸⁴ F. BONAZZI, *Famiglie nobili e titolate del Napoletano*, cit.; ID., *Memoriali della Consulta Araldica*, I-VIII, Tipografia Cotta, Roma, 1873-1888.

⁸⁵ L. VOLPICELLA, *Patriziati e nobiltà civiche nel già Reame di Napoli. Vari appunti bibliografici e archivistici raccolti da Luigi Volpicella*, I, Archivio di Stato di Napoli, bb. I-VII. It is a collection of roughly handwritten notes.

⁸⁶ A. ALCIATO, *Emblemata*, Lugduni, 1541. Now see ID., *Il libro degli Emblemi, secondo le edizioni del 1531 e del 1534*, a cura di M. GABRIELE, Milano, 2009; P. BURKE, *Cultura e società nell'Italia nel Rinascimento*, Torino, 1984, p. 208.

⁸⁷ V. CARTARI, *Le immagini con la sposizione dei dei de gli antichi raccolte per Vincenzo Cartari*, Venezia, MDLVI.

⁸⁸ C. RIPA, *Iconologia*, a cura di P. BUSCARDI, prefazione di M. PRAZ, Milano, 1992, p. 162 ff.

⁸⁹ *Nuova iconologia del Cavalier Cesare Ripa Perugino*, Padua, 1618. On the diffusion of Ripa's work and on the evolution of post-Renaissance iconology cf. M. PRAZ, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery*, Roma, 1964; E. PANOFSKI, *Studi di iconologia. I temi umanistici nell'arte del Rinascimento*, Torino, 1975; C. STEFANI, *Cesare Ripa "trinciante". Un letterato alla corte del*

of the Fasces –, the modern iconic universe sinks its roots back in time in the classical tradition, through which Renaissance and post-Renaissance Europe fuelled its artistic production. This was how iconological treatises were used, often out of context, providing a great and articulated repertoire of images, starting «da quell'*Iconologia* di Cesare Ripa alla quale nel corso dei secoli attinsero artisti come Bernini, Poussin, Vermeer e Milton, oltre che decine di iconologi di diversi paesi»⁹⁰.

Thus, the materials provided by Cesare Ripa, at the end of the 16th century, and his interpretation of classical mythology were at the foundation of the symbols of monarchic absolutism and of the new revolutionary and Republican universe. This also clarifies which archetypes, in Italy and France, affected the monarchic and aristocratic iconography of the early modern age.

Everything originated from Italian cities starting from the end of the 15th century and from Rome, the laboratory in which most of the artists who worked on papal commissioning were concentrated. Some of these artists moved to other Italian cities while others emigrated to various European courts following the diaspora caused by the Sack of Rome.

Scholars have identified, in this period of time, a link between the construction of the Loggia of the Palace of Andrea Doria in Genoa and the subsequent commissions by Francis I for the decorations of the Palace of Fontainebleau. It all originated from the new relationships between the Doria and Spain which led, as is well known, to the capsizing of the alliances operated by the Republic of Genoa that in 1528 sided with Charles V⁹¹. The Genoese admiral, appointed Captain General of the Navy of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, with his galleys contributed to altering the balance of power between Spain and France in the Mediterranean. It was the beginning of what Braudel defined as the century of the people of Genoa.

Cardinal Salviati, in Sapere e potere. Discipline, dispute, professioni nell'Università medievale e moderna. Il caso bolognese a confronto, Bologna 13-15 aprile 1989, II, *Verso un nuovo sistema del sapere*, a cura di A. CRISTIANI, Bologna, 1990, pp. 257-266; E. MÂLE, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932; D.J. GORDON, *Sorte di Ripa*, in ID., *L'immagine e la parola. Cultura e simboli del Rinascimento*, a cura di S. ORGEL, Milano, 1987, pp. 81-111; S. PIERGUIDI, "Dare forma humana a l'Honore et a la Virtù. Giovanni Guerra (1544-1616) e la fortuna delle figure allegoriche da Mantegna all'*Iconologia* di Cesare Ripa", Roma, 2008.

⁹⁰ L. SCUCCIMARRA, *Il fascio littorio*, in F. BENIGNO-L. SCUCCIMARRA (a cura di), *Simboli della politica*, Roma, 2010, p. 35.

⁹¹ Arturo Pacini was instrumental in dealing with the relationship between Andrea Doria, Genoa and the Empire of Charles V. Cf. A. PACINI, *La Genova di Andrea Doria nell'Impero di Carlo V*, Firenze, 1999. See also C. BITOSI, *Il governo dei Magnifici. Patriziato e politica a Genova fra Cinque e Seicento*, Genova, 1990.

Thus, in 1531, together with the prestigious title of the Golden Fleece, Andrea Doria also obtained the State of Melfi⁹².

In 1528, the future doge settled in his Genoa residence and devoted himself to the iconographic decoration of the Doria Palace. He had to show through the use of a certain rhetoric his new status of Prince of Melfi and his international political networks.

Perin del Vaga, one of the artists originating from Rome, designed the decorative architecture of the Palace of the Prince situated at Fassolo, a location that dominated the city and harbour, at the time against the walls, which was completed in 1533.

The focal point of the building was the Loggia degli Eroi, open externally in the direction of the gulf. It was an environment not covered by tapestries and frescoed with a cycle of images: initially, the twelve ancient and modern captains of the House of Doria. The postures and the classical garments drew from the Medici statues created by Michelangelo and placed under the *Incendio di Borgo* fresco. On the third of the five vaults there is a panel with the god Neptune⁹³.

In the portrait of Andrea Doria by del Piombo, the hieroglyphs testify the interests of humanists in encrypted messages. These emblematic messages, included in the portrait, aimed at establishing a relationship of continuity between the individual depicted and antiquity, evoking the prestigious humanist tradition of the medal showing a *recto* and *verso*, the 'external portrait' and the 'internal' one of the client⁹⁴.

The most famous painting of Neptune, inside the residence, was the oil painting on the wall that decorated the vault of the East Hall, representing Neptune calming the storm after the shipwreck of Aeneas⁹⁵.

⁹² G. BRANCACCIO, «Nazione genovese». *Consoli e colonia nella Napoli moderna*, Napoli, 2001; A. MUSI, *Mercanti genovesi nel Regno di Napoli*, Napoli, 1996. See also E. COLAPIETRA, *I Doria di Melfi ed il Regno di Napoli*, in «Miscellanea Storica Ligure», V, 1969, 1, p. 9 ff.

⁹³ H. ZERNER, *L'art de la Renaissance en France*, Paris, 1996; E. PARMA ARMANI, *Perin del Vaga: l'anello mancante. Studi sul manierismo*, Genova, 1986, p. 183.

⁹⁴ M. BROCK, *Entre ressemblance et allégorie: Andrea Doria par Sebastiano del Piombo et Bronzino*, in *Les portraits du pouvoir*, Actes du colloque «Lectures du portrait du pouvoir entre art et histoire» (Rome, Villa Médicis, 24-26 avril 2001), sous la direction de O. BONFAIT-B. MARIN-A.-L. DESMAS, Paris, 2003, pp. 21-23; C. CIERI VIA, *L'immagine del potere: il ritratto di Andrea Doria di Sebastiano del Piombo*, *ibid.*, pp. 35-47; P. COSTAMAGNA, *Entre Raphaël, Titien et Michel-Ange: les portraits d'Andrea Doria par Sebastiano del Piombo et Bronzino*, *ibid.*, pp. 25-33. See also M. MONTE, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 66 (2007), Treccani.it.

⁹⁵ E. PARMA ARMANI, *Perin del Vaga: l'anello mancante*, cit., p. 13.

Instead, Baccio Bandinelli would be tasked with erecting a statue of Andrea Doria as Neptune. The statue was sculpted in 1538; while the portrait of Bronzino, *Andrea Doria come Nettuno*, used to be part of the gallery of Paolo Giovio⁹⁶.

Bronzino's portrait of Doria, like other types of portrait, placed celebratory purposes hiding a double disguise: the timeless garment of a classical matrix; a mask of impassibility. The latter is one of the characteristics of the official portrait, which tended to depict the rank of the individual rather than faithfully representing his features. The image shows the man of court who recalls his essential qualities linked to status⁹⁷. It is interesting to note that only a few of the portraits of Doria were commissioned by the Admiral himself.

In the monarchic or aristocratic iconography, according to Claudia Cieri Via, the personality traits of the depicted never appeared but only metaphoric or allegoric particulars (crowns or sceptres, blazons, signs, or other symbols), which had to indicate the particular rank of the depicted in order to build a biography through images⁹⁸. There was a tendency to portray the status of the character, to make an *exemplum virtutis* out of it. Thus Andrea Doria, the great Genoese Admiral, took on the aspect of Neptune⁹⁹.

The frescoes of the Loggia at the Doria Palace are important for two reasons: the experimentation in the decorations interpreting ancient mythology; and especially the fact that it influenced, as we shall see, the decorations – through other artists such as Primaticcio – of the Palace of Fontainebleau where, thanks to the wide use of Andrea Alciato whose *Emblemata* were translated into French as desired by Francis I, the great experimentation on the monarchic French iconography began that would influence the Bourbons of Europe.

Thus the texts, literary and iconographic sources were inextricably linked starting from the Renaissance period and influenced, in the early modern age, the iconography of the monarchy and of the noble European elite.

Three emblematic symbols, among the most important of the iconography of contemporary political culture, which arose from classicism

⁹⁶ L. MICHELACCI, *Giovio in Parnaso. Tra collezione di forme e storia universale*, Bologna, 2004.

⁹⁷ E. POMMIER, *Le portrait du pouvoir: de la norme à la réalité*, in *Les portraits du pouvoir*, sous la direction de O. BONFAIT-B. MARIN-A.-L. DESMAS, cit., p. 6. See also M. BETTINI (ed.), *La maschera, il doppio e il ritratto. Strategie dell'identità*, Bari, 1991, p. 118.

⁹⁸ C. CIERI VIA, *L'immagine del potere*, cit., p. 41.

⁹⁹ Depicted by Sebastiano del Piombo. Cf. R. CONTINI, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, catalogo della mostra, Cinisello Balsamo, 2008, file no. 46.

but are present in the *Iconologia* by Ripa, and that may be proposed as paradigmatic, are: the Fasces, *Donna Italia* and the Phrygian cap.

The Fasces of the symbolism of ancient Rome, going through the iconography of modern states, as well as France (where unthinkable it also appears to denote, with the Counter-Reformation, the Tribunal of the Inquisition of the Holy Office¹⁰⁰), finally happened to be the main symbol of Fascism¹⁰¹.

The second example is once again Ripa, with references to classical Latin texts, who described Italy as a woman. From his description and from the continuous semantic transference operated in time, it became used as the symbol of the Italian Republic. An interesting juxtaposition of *Marianne*¹⁰², the heroine of the French Revolution, and *Donna Italia*, to the old myth of Minerva, at a time when Republics chose to decline the homeland from masculine to feminine: from *Pater Patriae* to *Mater patriae*¹⁰³.

The origin of the Phrygian cap, which Ripa described, is ancient Rome: it was the symbol of freed slaves. And as such it was identified as a symbol of freedom already in ancient Rome: it appeared after the murder of Caesar, considered a tyrant, as well as after the death of Nero, also considered a tyrant by the people. It symbolised a substantial part of the revolts and Western revolutions, from the Dutch to the Neapolitan revolt of Masaniello, to the American Revolution up to imposing itself as one of the main symbols – together with *Marianne* and the tree of freedom – with the French Revolution¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰⁰ A. PROSPERI, *Giustizia bendata. Percorsi storici di un'immagine*, Torino, 2008, p. 147.

¹⁰¹ L. SCUCCIMARRA, *Il fascio littorio*, cit., pp. 23-44; ID., *Il fascio rivoluzionario. Origine e significato di un simbolo*, in «Storia, Amministrazione, Costituzione», Annale ISAP, 1999, 7, pp. 227-258. On the Fasces, cf. E. GENTILE, *Il culto del littorio. La sacralizzazione della politica nell'Italia fascista*, Roma-Bari, 1998, p. 85 ff. See also A. GIARDINA-A. VAUCHEZ, *Il mito di Roma. Da Carlo Magno a Mussolini*, Roma-Bari, 2000, pp. 212-287.

¹⁰² M. AGULHON, *Marianne au pouvoir. L'imagerie et la symbolique républicaines de 1880 à 1914*, Paris, 1989, p. 22 ff.

¹⁰³ N. BAZZANO, *Donna Italia*, in F. BENIGNO-L. SCUCCIMARRA (a cura di), *Simboli della politica*, cit., pp. 45-84.

¹⁰⁴ F. BENIGNO, *Il berretto della libertà*, in F. BENIGNO-L. SCUCCIMARRA (a cura di), *Simboli della politica*, cit., pp. 222-245.

4. The garden of hyperbole. Noble texts through the literary genres

We mentioned Lotman's theory of culture. This author defines culture as the recording of memory. Culture is the non-hereditary memory (non-genetic) of collectivity¹⁰⁵.

Conceived in this sense, culture takes on the semblance of a machine that allows for the retention of information that may include written texts, images, urban spaces, documents-monuments. Culture, however, is not a static storage of information: it retains information and receives new one through the process of coding and decoding of texts, messages, objects, practices that come from other cultures.

The cultural activity, according to Lotman, consists in translating, by means of its own language, portions of non-culture by transforming it in texts and introducing this novelty in the collective memory.

Language becomes a source of structure. Conceptualised textual forms have the function of modelling an external reality.

The starting hypothesis is that culture is a vast space in which many systems of signification coexist: writing, the living arts, architecture, myths, objects. An isolated system cannot constitute culture, several correlated systems must co-exist. Single sign systems work in unison¹⁰⁶.

In the light of these reflections we will consider, in the long term, the production of the noble genres read as communicating texts – the very documentary sources are part of more extensive texts – with complex plots unfolding within them.

Not all the texts convey original paradigms. Not all the texts leave something in inheritance to subsequent texts. In other words, it is important to establish their relapse not necessarily in relation to their inner complexity and to the use and circulation that they had within the genre.

Thus, in our perspective, we will tend to demonstrate that the genre of noble culture is characterised by a series of communicating texts: from the theses of Renaissance and Baroque authors to the 18th-19th century, to *I Gattopardo* and Italo Calvino's heraldic trilogy.

A pioneering work by Claudio Donati assessed the noble ideology in Italy during the early modern age. In the book, born of the suggestions of the diffusion of the works by Brunner and Berengo, the aristocratic debate is especially examined under a cultural perspective – the passage from an aristocratic status acquired by merit (in terms of military, literary, and

¹⁰⁵ A concept expressed in the volume by I.M. LOTMAN, *La semiosfera. I*, cit.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

jurisdictional activities) to one deriving exclusively from birth¹⁰⁷. Then, the Baroque canons, referring to exclusive genealogies, based on seed and blood, and enriched by different cultural paradigms coming from the culture of the Counter-Reformation, end up involving not only the aristocracy, but the whole of the Italian and European power elite¹⁰⁸. Finally, even these exclusive noble canons linked to the antiquity of lineage would be surpassed by 18th century models binding nobility to rank and property, within a new ethic, which has been defined of the 'Nazione dei proprietari' (landlord Nation)¹⁰⁹.

This is, in Donati, a too schematic paradigm that does not consider a number of issues: of the authors, treaties, or the noble genres examined, only a part is circulated and used within the sphere of the state or in the policies of noble integration; the aristocratic models of Centre-North states that existed prior to Italy's unification and those of the Kingdom of Naples, those of the Church State and of the Kingdom of Sicily, are profoundly different; in the long run, the values underlying noble status of the areas of Naples and Sicily would impact the survival of noble ideology in Italy¹¹⁰.

Our intent is to identify the path, so to speak, from within, of texts conveying aristocratic values which entered circulation and left their heritage, until breaking through the 19th and 20th century.

In this regard, the historiography outlined a dual path within the values of the Italian nobility.

On the one hand, the point of reference is Marino Berengo, who examined the Italy of cities, where classes, corporations and aristocracy greatly affected the idea of nobility that prevailed in urban governments¹¹¹,

¹⁰⁷ C. DONATI, *L'idea di nobiltà in Italia, secoli XIV-XVIII*, Roma-Bari, 1988, p. 291 ff.

¹⁰⁸ *Patriziati e aristocrazie nobiliari. Ceti dominanti e organizzazione del potere nell'Italia centro-settentrionale dal XVI al XVIII secolo*, Atti del seminario tenuto a Trento il 9-10 dicembre 1977, presso l'Istituto italo-germanico, a cura di C. MOZZARELLI-P. SCHIERA, Trento, 1978.

¹⁰⁹ L. MANNORI-B. SORDI, *Storia del diritto amministrativo*, Roma-Bari, 2001, p. 12; M. VERGA, *Da «cittadini» a «nobili». Lotta politica e riforma delle istituzioni nella Toscana di Francesco Stefano*, Milano, 1990; L. MANNORI, *Il sovrano tutore. Pluralismo istituzionale ed accentramento amministrativo nel Principato dei Medici (secc. XVI-XVIII)*, Milano, 1994. See also M. VERGA, *Le istituzioni politiche*, in G. GRECO-M. ROSA, *Storia degli antichi Stati italiani*, Roma-Bari, 2006, pp. 3-58; B. SORDI, *L'amministrazione illuminata. Riforma delle comunità e progetti di costituzione nella Toscana leopoldina*, Milano, 1991, pp. 75-97.

¹¹⁰ C. DONATI, *L'idea di nobiltà in Italia*, cit., p. 90 ff.

¹¹¹ M. BERENGO, *L'Europa delle città. Il volto della società urbana europea tra Medioevo ed età moderna*, Torino, 1999.

aristocratic governments that were favoured, in the regional states of Northern Italy, by the political evolution of the territories belonging to the German Empire. The transfer of sovereignty to the territories, according to Brunner's interpretation, within the areas of the Empire, would have promoted the political maturity of the city-states of the Centre-North¹¹².

Alongside these political forms, a different historical evolution occurred in many other Italian territorial states. Many of these states that existed prior to Italy's unification belonged to Habsburg Spain. Thus, the Kingdom of Naples, the Kingdom of Sicily, the Kingdom of Sardinia, and the Duchy of Milan were associated with Spain¹¹³.

In these states, as in the other Spanish Habsburg kingdoms, honour and the policy of honour were core values of the aristocracy. For Maravall, who referred mainly to the Castile, this ideal virtue was the fundamental principle of being noble and of the insertion of aristocracy into a homogeneous spatial structure. At the basis of integration there was the cohesion of a group. With this strong idea of nobility, starting from the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, aristocracy confronted itself with the state, qualifying as the social group more endowed with those prerogatives that best identified a ruling elite¹¹⁴.

From an ideology based on the ideals of Renaissance knighthood to an idea of exclusive nobility referring to a paradigm of purity of blood (in the Spanish version, it started with the assumption of ensuring the purity of faith)¹¹⁵.

In Spanish dominated Italy, homogeneous canons at the level of noble models soon began to affirm themselves.

¹¹² O. BRUNNER, *Terra e potere. Strutture pre-statali e pre-moderne nella storia costituzionale dell'Austria medievale*, Milano, 1983.

¹¹³ On this point see G. GALASSO, *Alla periferia dell'impero*, cit.; G. SIGNOROTTO, *Milano spagnola. Guerra, istituzioni, uomini di governo (1635-1660)*, Firenze, 1996; *La Lombardia spagnola. Nuovi indirizzi di ricerca*, a cura di E. BRAMBILLA-G. MUTO, Milano, 1997; A. ÁLVAREZ-OSSORIO ALVARIÑO, *Milán y el legado de Felipe II. Gobernadores y Corte provincial de los Austrias*, Madrid, 2001; ID., *La república de las parentelas. El Estado de Milán en la Monarquía de Carlos II*, Mantova, 2002.

¹¹⁴ J.A. MARAVALL, *Potere, onore, élites nella Spagna del secolo d'oro*, cit.; ID., *Stato moderno e mentalità sociale*, Bologna, 1991.

¹¹⁵ A. DOMÍNGUEZ ORTIZ-A. ALVAR EZQUERRA, *La sociedad española en la Edad Moderna*, Madrid, 2005, p. 151; A. DOMÍNGUEZ ORTIZ, *España. Tres milenios de historia*, Madrid, 2001. See also A. ÁLVAREZ OSSORIO Alvariño, *El favor real: liberalidad del príncipe y jerarquía de la República (1665-1700)*, in *Repubblica e virtù. Pensiero politico e monarchia cattolica fra XVI e XVII secolo*, a cura di C. CONTINISIO-C. MOZZARELLI, Roma, 1994, pp. 393-453. See also J. ELLIOTT, *La Spagna ed il suo mondo*, Torino, 1986 [or. ed. New Haven-London, 1989].

In a recent work, I dwelt on the importance of the texts of three authors who had a significant and consistent role in spreading the Baroque genre of aristocracy in Italy: Scipione Ammirato (Kingdom of Naples and Tuscany); Torquato Tasso (Neapolitan nobility and Italian Principalities); Placido Troyli (Kingdom of Naples)¹¹⁶. The theses and texts of these authors continued to influence the noble ideology up to the mid-18th century, when the Baroque and Counter-Reformation canons were replaced by Enlightenment ones.

As already mentioned, Ammirato's genealogical works on Neapolitan aristocratic families were published in two volumes¹¹⁷, and the second was only released in 1651 (by Scipione Ammirato il Giovane), 70 years after the first volume¹¹⁸. For the nobility of Tuscany, the volume *Delle famiglie nobili fiorentine* was printed in 1615¹¹⁹. From my point of view, in the formation of noble ideology, following the treatises on aristocracy of the humanistic period, it was in particular the first volume of the work by Scipione Ammirato *Delle famiglie nobili napoletane*¹²⁰ to have a significant influence on the transformations internal to the idea of nobility¹²¹. The same ideological setting would then be found in the volume dedicated to the Florentine nobility.

It started with a new, twofold assumption: there were no compromises on the idea of nobility, with the old humanistic canons; virtue was insufficient to make a noble, only the lineage mattered¹²².

With respect to the noble models of the early 16th century, some of the themes included served to better characterise noble identity: virtue was no longer associated with writing or weapons. Nobility was inherited deriving from the blue-blood of ancestry. Actually, according to Ammirato, the very

¹¹⁶ G. CIRILLO, *Virtù cavalleresca ed antichità di lignaggio*, cit., p. 126 ff.

¹¹⁷ S. AMMIRATO, *Delle famiglie nobili napoletane*, cit.

¹¹⁸ A. MUSI, *Forme della storiografia barocca*, cit., p. 457 ff.; ID., *La rivolta di Masaniello nella scena politica barocca*, Napoli, 1989; G. GALASSO, *Mezzogiorno medievale e moderno*, Torino, 1985.

¹¹⁹ *Delle famiglie nobili fiorentine* (Firenze, 1615) and *Delle famiglie nobili napoletane* are incomplete works and were printed after his death by Scipione Ammirato il Giovane. The author, in addition to being a genealogist, is best known for the official history of Florence, commissioned by Cosimo I, based on the sources of the public archives of the new principality (S. AMMIRATO, *Istorie fiorentine*, I, 1600; II, 1641). Cf. R. DE MATTEI, *Ammirato Scipione*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 3 (1961), www.treccani.it.

¹²⁰ S. AMMIRATO, *Delle famiglie nobili napoletane*, cit.

¹²¹ A. MUSI, *Mezzogiorno spagnolo. La via napoletana allo Stato moderno*, Napoli, 1991; ID., *La rivolta di Masaniello nella scena politica barocca*, cit.; G. GALASSO, *Mezzogiorno medievale e moderno*, cit.

¹²² S. AMMIRATO, *Delle famiglie nobili napoletane*, cit., pp. 2-6.

best of nobility was derived from *splendour* and *antiquity*¹²³. The author specified what constitutes splendour, namely a series of behaviours functional to maintaining prestige and noble status¹²⁴. It was the concept of *antiquity* to become important within noble ideology¹²⁵. The categories used by Ammirato in his model aristocracy were: antiquity, number of years of nobility, splendour and the abundance of riches, new noble dignities and patriotic nobility.

Ammirato's concept of *homeland* is not exactly what L. Febvre studied. For the French historian the homeland is something bodily that finds its fundamental physical element within the territory, unlike the concept of honour, one of the key elements of the paradigm of the idea of European nobility which is internal to class and to people.

Only that Febvre, for France of the 17th-18th century, identified the homeland as an element of popular and non-aristocratic identity. Homeland, patriot and patriotism drew a close relationship between the local and national level, between a local territorial dimension and a wider membership. The citizen and the patriot were part of the same identity sphere that bound them to the land, low in terms of social connotation yet exquisitely popular¹²⁶.

The arguments of Febvre are, in other words, close to those of Victor Turner. As we have seen, this scholar related the construction of identity processes to the local, to community, in a path of continuous clash and confrontation between social forces¹²⁷.

Together with Scipione Ammirato, it was Torquato Tasso who influenced the noble Baroque models and those of the Counter-Reformation period. These theses emerged in particular from *I dialoghi*: a work not appropriately appreciated within the vast Italian and European cultural panorama¹²⁸.

The twenty-eight dialogues that we received, composed between 1578 and 1595, must be read within the quite flourishing behaviourist literature of the 16th century. The dialogues having a greater effect on the formation of

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8 ff.

¹²⁶ C. DONZELLI, *Prefazione*, in L. FEBVRE, *Onore e patria*, Roma, 1997, pp. X-XII.

¹²⁷ V.W. TURNER, *The Ritual Process*, cit. Cf. also R. BIZZOCCHI, *In famiglia. Storie di interessi ed affetti nell'Italia moderna*, Roma-Bari, 2001.

¹²⁸ *Storia della letteratura italiana. La critica letteraria dal Due al Novecento*, a cura di E. MALATO, Roma, 2003; T. TASSO, *Tutte le opere*, a cura di A. QUONDAM, Roma, 1997.

the aristocratic paradigm were those on business, virtue, dignity, courtesy, the court, and on nobility¹²⁹.

It is interesting to associate some passages of these dialogues by Tasso with the two distinctive forms of Italian nobility: the second skin, the armour; the colour of aristocracy – black.

To Amedeo Quondam, the armour of the Renaissance knight, who cultivated literature and the arts, was no longer an instrument of war but the ‘second skin’ of the gentleman. The founding myths of aristocracy were engraved on the armour that was never worn by Henry IV, a parade armour and a ceremonial dress. It was engraved with the genealogy and the founding and identifying myths that legitimised power¹³⁰.

Clothing was its visual representation, the set on the worldly stage; clothing denoted membership, it defined identity.

Quondam then investigated the colour of clothing.

The colour of aristocracy was black, to indicate *gravitas*, the depth of thought, its *fortitudo animi*, but it was also the symbol, according to Castiglione, of scorn; from said black every noble grace flowered¹³¹. Black identified the style of *gravitas*, a poetry of life, the cloak of power. The colour of clothing was a visual representation decoding the social standing.

Clothing denoted membership, defined identity, not just the being but also its desire to be, a portrait of self destined to others. It covered the natural body to exhibit the cultural body. Black was the cloak of power, as demonstrated by the portraits of Italian princes of the 16th century or of Charles V or Philip II. The portrait as *ars vivendi*, the rule of life to turn it into a work of art.

Those clothes initially considered beautiful, as they were precious, eventually became excessive and of bad taste.

Already the Bourbon sovereigns, in portraiture, at the end of the 18th century, as shall be seen, would betray black as the form of *modus vivendi* and adopt white, the sign of purity, giving life to new chromatic paradigms.

According to Stendhal, the colour black, after the Congress of Vienna, was the colour of preservation, of the clergy; red, the colour of the uniforms of the ‘old guard’ or of Napoleon’s dragoons, was to be the new colour of modernity.

¹²⁹ T. TASSO, *Il Forno ovvero della nobiltà; Il Forno secondo ovvero della nobiltà*, cit.

¹³⁰ A. QUONDAM, *Cavallo e cavaliere. L'armatura come seconda pelle del gentiluomo moderno*, Roma, 2003.

¹³¹ A. QUONDAM, *Tutti i colori del nero*, Costabissara (VI), 2007.

Returning to Tasso, according to Tateo, the fortune of his noble paradigm is explained by the fact that in the 17th century the heroic poem was widely circulated in provincial feudal centres¹³².

Two other significant elements followed: the direct influence that Tasso exerted on the Neapolitan elite during his stays in Naples; and the extensive correspondence by the writer with the leading families of Italian aristocracy. What is significant is that Tasso's dialogues, in particular those on nobility, were very popular throughout Italy.

Three points must be considered: the context in which the two versions of the dialogue on nobility are placed (*Il Forno overo de la nobiltà*); the paradigm on which the idea of nobility by the renowned scholar is based on; the modernity of the aristocratic model expressed by the author¹³³.

The focus of the work already emerges in the Introduction by the author – dedicated to Scipione Gonzaga – to the second draft (1586). The work was, in fact, written at a time of celebrating the marriage between Cesare d'Este and Virginia de' Medici, when Tasso moved from Turin to Ferrara. In the new city, he established ties with the Este and so with the Gonzaga, while still benefiting from the benevolence of the Medici. It is no coincidence that the author refers to the royal nobility of all three princely families.

In the 1580s, when Tasso wrote the dialogues, a new system of political balance was formed between the aristocratic dignities of Spanish and non-Spanish Italy, and between the great Italian principalities. The thesis proposed by Tasso regarding the new idea of nobility – «gentilezza di virtù di schiatta onorata per antica chiarezza»¹³⁴ – takes account of these changes. The paradigm of the author was based on a clear hierarchy that would distinguish, from within, the nobility of most Italian principalities and of Mediterranean Europe. Several passages of the dialogue point out the three types of existing nobility: heroic, royal and civil¹³⁵.

Tasso interpreted the transformations taking place within European nobility and especially in the ancient Italian states. In addition to a series of independent principalities, there were a large number of holders of Imperial feudal titles of other territorial potentates. In the various versions of *Il Forno*, Tasso provides a more focused definition of the distinctive traits of honour:

¹³² F. TATEO, *Letteratura italiana*, Bari, 1972.

¹³³ *Il Forno overo de la nobiltà prima versione del dialogo* a. 1581; *seconda edizione del dialogo*, a. 1586, in T. TASSO, *I dialoghi*, a cura di C. GUASTI, Firenze, 1958, pp. 90-290.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* (ed. 1581), p. 164.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

virtue of lineage for ancient and continued clarity¹³⁶. Therefore, the nobility of lineage had to be related to ancestry and so to the homeland and to the «orrevolezza» (honourability) of parents. It is acquired only «per onorata per antica e continuata chiarezza»¹³⁷. A more stringent definition of nobility followed where it was related to the categories of «laude», fame and glory¹³⁸.

Another point he debated concerns the idea of nobility. Did honour, which was so important to Baroque culture, as Maravall pointed out, depend on virtues or on works? It had little to do with works, and more to do with virtue. But nobility and honour depended more on moral virtues rather than intellectual ones¹³⁹.

Tasso also questioned the existence of a relationship between nobility and ancient genealogies. Namely, the «virtù di seme, è forza [interna al ceto]» or «che questa virtù a lungo andare scemi ed invecchi». He observed one cannot say «che la lunga antichità non rechi oscurità: ma questa oscurità non toglie pregio»; it actually «accresce autorità alle famiglie ed a lor città». This way «la virtù del seme invecchia per antichità»¹⁴⁰.

The author concludes that «la nobiltà tanto più è antica tanto è più orrevole [onorevole] e più gloriosa»¹⁴¹.

The last author examined, the Abbot Placido Troyli, assessed the condition of Southern aristocracy in a mid-18th century volume¹⁴². Troyli identified three types of nobility that formed over time in the Kingdom of Naples: the magnate, the old and legal nobility. Alongside these nobilities, it was also important to consider those deriving from urban aristocracy. Then, among the establishments that provided noble dignity, one had to add orders of honour (Grandato of Spain; the Golden Fleece or, in the 18th century and for the Kingdom of Naples, the Order of St. Januarius) as well as military ones (Knights of Malta, of Calatrava and of the Order of Alcántara).

In the hierarchy pictured by Troyli, it was magnate nobility, the oldest, to enjoy the main honours. The author started from a precise paradigm: it was the dignity of the feudal estate that impinged on the specific honorary title of nobility. The honour of the fief was transmitted to the status, in the first instance, of baronial lineage.

¹³⁶ The definition of 'nobility' is slightly different in the dialogue of 1585: «virtù di schiatta conosciuta per molte e continuate operazioni». *Ibid.*, p. 195.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

¹⁴² P. TROYLI, *Istoria generale del Reame di Napoli...*, tomo IV, parte IV, cit.

Another difference was found between barony having first, second and third class fiefs. The first type belonged to barons who had «molti luoghi a se sottoposti, ed alcune città primarie e che hanno sotto di essi altri»; in the second class there were «quei [nobili riconosciuti] dal principe Sovrano ed i loro feudi [che] non hanno suffeudatario»¹⁴³. Finally, the third class was for those who «da altri baroni e non dal principe immediatamente riconoscevano l'investitura dei lor feudi»¹⁴⁴. What counts in noble hierarchy, the author observed, are the owners of the Body of the Kingdom.

The old nobility especially involved Army officers who had been honoured for military service and «vengono dal principe decorati [...] quelli che rappresentano la persona del principe nobilissimi sono e del primo ordine della nobiltà magnatizia»¹⁴⁵.

The third type was for «tutti coloro che sono destinati al pubblico regio servizio [che] divengono nobili [...] consiglieri di stato, segretari di stato»¹⁴⁶. According to the author, «la nobiltà legale ha il solo privilegio di non pagare le collette»¹⁴⁷.

The most important part of Troyli's volume is the perception of the change taking over the legal status of fiefs during the early modern age, from the few principalities, counties, marquisates and dukedoms present in the Kingdom up to the Aragonese period, to an exorbitant number of these that overran the hierarchy of honours within the nobility of the Kingdom¹⁴⁸.

Another process, identified by the author, is the new role played by the city of Naples and by Neapolitan seats. Troyli pictured the trend that led, in the second half of the early modern age, to an overlap between the large-scale magnate nobility and urban patriciates, especially regarding Neapolitan nobility. All main magnate families found aggregation in Neapolitan seats¹⁴⁹.

Only in the first half of the 18th century did the unique noble canon disappear. Two main factors were at the heart of this: the new enlightened society, and the new ownership ethic born of physiocratic ideas and of the cadastre. These two elements created profound differences between the noble canons of the regions of the Centre-North and those of the Mezzogiorno and Sicily. For the latter areas one must raise the issue if there

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, cap. III, *De vari titoli, ne quali è divisa la nobiltà*, p. 53.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71 ff.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

really was a crisis of Counter-Reformation noble ideology due to the purity of genealogy, the seed and blood-lines.

There was much discussion on the times of crisis of noble values. As seen in the thesis by Arno J. Mayer, the clear contrast between the *Ancien Régime* and the age of bourgeois modernity was also discussed. The certainty surrounding the paradigm of modernisation ceased to be, a fact which defined the process of development of societies on the economic, social and institutional level, especially regarding the transmission of the models of values. The survival and the good health of strong and enduring noble models contributed to the collapse of this paradigm also in England, a country where the survival of aristocracy, material and cultural, strongly affirmed itself¹⁵⁰. Its class-based characteristic influenced the power elites that employed an aristocratic style of behaviour. The same process took place in 19th and 20th century Germany where, in terms of transmitting values, the conditioning operated by noble classes of landowners to the political system was heavily felt¹⁵¹.

So not just in Italy – it is the main thesis argued – but in significant European countries we had, in the 19th century and part of the 20th century, the persistence of the influence of aristocratic values which affected, by slowing it, the affirmation of cultural models of bourgeois extraction.

The 18th and 19th centuries, however, were characterised by a new aristocratic sociability.

New cultural models were imposed thanks to which such sociability could influence – in parlours, academies, societies and cafes – the power elites.

The ballet of the French court and, more generally, the theatrical industry set up at the Palace of Versailles assumed a great importance. Notwithstanding, the Duke of Saint-Simon in his *Mémoires* ridiculed and criticised the vast spaces of the French palace, where «fra tanti saloni ammucchiati l'uno sull'altro, non c'è una sala per il teatro, né una sala pei banchetti, e neppure una sala da ballo»¹⁵².

Then, in the seventies, the *Ballet de cour* underwent a transformation, a change that led it to bear the hallmarks of an opera¹⁵³.

¹⁵⁰ L. STONE, *Famiglia, sesso e matrimonio in Inghilterra tra Cinque e Ottocento*, Torino, 1983 (London, 1977); EAD., *La crisi dell'aristocrazia. L'Inghilterra da Elisabetta a Cromwell*, Torino, 1965; O. BRUNNER, *Vita nobiliare e cultura europea*, Bologna, 1972.

¹⁵¹ A.J. MAYER, *Il potere dell'Ancien Régime*, cit.

¹⁵² P. MORAND, *Il Sole offuscato*, Milano, 1996, p. 133.

¹⁵³ J. ROUSSET, *La letteratura dell'età barocca in Francia. Circe e il pavone*, Bologna, 1985, p. 36.

Theatrical performances became the privileged subjects of courtier portrayals, the theatre being an unlimited and more appropriate source of entertainment and leisure, frequented by the very sovereign and his entourage¹⁵⁴. The more intimate and discreet buildings fostered the diffusion of intellectual salons, clubs accommodating philosophers, writers and artists. In France, one important consequence of the interest that society had in the arts was the establishment in 1737 of the Salons, biennial exhibitions organised in the Salon Carré of the Louvre¹⁵⁵.

It is known that certain *Encyclopédie* entries were vectors of cultural formation, as they were read and commented on within aristocratic lounges. They became teaching texts in different courts, to be read and commented to several princes¹⁵⁶.

Lotman, in this regard, studied the role of aristocratic lounges in the development of the Russian noble culture of the 18th century. According to this author, there was an enormous transformation of values: a detached attitude of the aristocrats, almost like foreigners in their own country, yet strongly maintaining their sense of national identity. The author spoke of poetics of behaviour, as behavioural norms were oriented according to the forms of artistic texts and experienced in an aesthetic way¹⁵⁷.

The people viewed aristocrats as if they were masks. The semiotisation of everyday behaviour led to the creation of different types of life styles: anthropologists would later speak of ceremonials. Lotman recalled that the Russian noble of the 18th century chose to impersonate a theatrical part, a role that simplified daily life and elevated it to an aesthetic level. Thus, the aristocrats were inspired depending on the case: by a historical figure, by a man of state, or by a scholar. The behaviour also included a plot; namely, it had to be regulated by a structure that referred to the main characters of a high literature or described by ancient historians, or characters of tragedies, or *exempla* of the lives of saints¹⁵⁸.

¹⁵⁴ N. ELIAS, *La società di corte*, cit., p. 88.

¹⁵⁵ D. GOODMAN, *Sociabilità*, in *L'Illuminismo. Dizionario storico*, a cura di V. FERRONE-D. ROCHE, Roma-Bari, 1998, pp. 256-262; E. TORTAROLO, *Opinione pubblica*, in *ibid.*, pp. 283-291.

¹⁵⁶ G. RICUPERATI, *Uomo dei Lumi*, in *L'Illuminismo. Dizionario storico*, a cura di V. FERRONE-D. ROCHE, cit., pp. 5-21; D. ARASSE, *Immagini e simboli*, in *ibid.*, p. 189 ff.; V. FERRONE, *L'uomo di scienza*, in M. VOVELLE (a cura di), *L'uomo dell'Illuminismo*, Roma-Bari, 1992, pp. 199-243.

¹⁵⁷ I.M. LOTMAN, *Lo stile, la parte, l'intreccio. La poetica del comportamento quotidiano nella cultura russa del XVIII secolo*, in *Testo e contesto. Semiotica dell'arte e della cultura*, a cura di A. SILVESTRI, Roma-Bari, 1980, pp. 201-230.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.* These points were dealt with by S. TRAINI, *L'eredità di Lotman*, cit., p. 8 ff.

In 18th century noble values, the economic ideology or that of good governance of the household remained central. O. Brunner observed that this traditional vision of society is long-lasting; actually, between the 19th and the 20th century, when the transition from ‘economics’ to economics, as political economy, occurred, this constituted the true fracture in the culture of Western history as the aristocracy continued to subscribe to a class-based vision of society based on good governance of the household seen as good governance of the state¹⁵⁹. The ‘economics’, as we have seen, dictated the system of values of noble behaviour: governance of the household was the qualifying activity of a gentleman, at the basis of the distinction between male and female tasks, of relationships with servants and children, and of political and administrative activity¹⁶⁰. The aims and instruments used by the father of the family were ethical and characterised by moderation. The ‘economics’ also drove the relationships into the rules that applied to family: property, wealth, paternal authority, domestic power and ownership of assets. These were important metaphors deriving from the governance of the household. The home was a small city; conversely, the city was a large home¹⁶¹.

We recalled the 600 audits opened by aristocrats of the Kingdom of Naples where titles and genealogical trees were presented: the metaphor of the governance of the household as good political government linked to the other metaphor, that of a statement of assets and liabilities, always ended up being present¹⁶².

According to Frigo, the noble ideology will remain the glue of society and of Italian aristocratic culture of the *Ancien Régime* for a long time. This is demonstrated by the fact that the emerging bourgeoisie never ceased to

¹⁵⁹ O. BRUNNER, *Terra e potere*, cit.

¹⁶⁰ *Introduzione*, in *Governo della casa. Governo della città*, a cura di M. BIANCHINI-D. FRIGO-C. MOZZARELLI, in «Cheiron», II, 1985, 4, pp. 5-8. On the passage from ‘economics’ to economics, as political economy, see M. ALBERTONE, *Economia politica*, in *L'Illuminismo. Dizionario storico*, a cura di V. FERRONE-D. ROCHE, cit., pp. 342-350.

¹⁶¹ *Introduzione*, in *Governo della casa. Governo della città*, a cura di M. BIANCHINI-D. FRIGO-C. MOZZARELLI, cit., p. 7; D. FRIGO, *Il padre di famiglia. Governo della casa e governo civile nella tradizione dell'«economica» tra Cinque e Seicento*, Roma, 1985, p. 45 ff.

¹⁶² For the governance of the household seen as good political governance, within a political metaphor that points to a traditional view of sovereignty drawing on the Enlightenment of the *Encyclopédie* see F. VENTURI, *Settecento Riformatore. Da Muratori a Beccaria*, I, Torino, 1969. The political metaphor of the sovereign as tutor, with specific reference to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, has been discussed by L. MANNORI, *Il sovrano tutore*, cit. See also M. MERIGGI, *Gli Stati italiani prima dell'Unità. Una storia istituzionale*, Bologna, 2002; M. VERGA, *Le istituzioni politiche*, cit., pp. 3-58.

strive for the noble status¹⁶³. As we have seen for Naples and Sicily, this process seemed constant: the ultimate aim of the careers of magistrate, bureaucrat or of men of success was the acquisition of a blazon and so of a status *more nobilium*, or greater noble status.

Among the long-lasting elements that the ‘economics’ poured into 18th century noble ideology, especially in the Mezzogiorno, in Sicily, in Lazio, we had: the rejection of the value of wealth, when not subject to ethics of class; the need to act with prestige, distinction and decoration; the rules of the good family father in social action¹⁶⁴.

Slowly but already by end of the 18th century, there was change in aristocratic self-awareness.

The texts the Italian nobility referred to are, on the one hand, the characters of the tragedies by Alfieri¹⁶⁵, on the other those of the novels by Rousseau, such as *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* or *Émile ou De l'éducation*¹⁶⁶ but at the end of the 18th, Goethe himself, as emerged in his report, *Italianische Reise*, was known and appreciated for the *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*¹⁶⁷, which projected vectors of a new private and family moral. A morality that became incompatible with the libertine lounges of the Enlightenment; at that time, the life of a couple pointed to the intimacy of the home, the affectionate care of children, and for women to the duties of wife and mother. And alongside Pre-Romanticism and the search for elective affinities, in contrast to the refusal of a social life which was programmed by class ethics, also the presence of proto-nationalistic values emerged. However, in *Le ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis* by Foscolo, a text that produced much fortune in the new self-awareness of the Italian elites, there is a holding onto the old noble model: a clear class division emerged that still has its effects today¹⁶⁸.

At the end of the 18th century Italian nobility did not follow a single path in terms of noble values.

¹⁶³ D. FRIGO, *Governo della casa, nobiltà e “repubblica”: “l’economica” in Italia tra Cinque e Seicento*, in *Governo della casa. Governo della città*, a cura di M. BIANCHINI-D. FRIGO-C. MOZZARELLI, cit., pp. 75-94.

¹⁶⁴ G. CIRILLO, *Virtù cavalleresca ed antichità di lignaggio*, cit., p. 201 ff.

¹⁶⁵ V. ALFIERI, *Tragedie* [quote from the ed. Einaudi, 1993].

¹⁶⁶ J.-J. ROUSSEAU, *La nuova Eloisa* [quote from the ed. Rizzoli, 1992]; ID., *Emilio* [quote from the ed. Laterza, 2006].

¹⁶⁷ W. GOETHE, *Viaggio in Italia (1786-88)* [quote from the ed. Mondadori, 2013]; ID., *I dolori del giovane Werther* [quote from the ed. Einaudi, 2014].

¹⁶⁸ U. FOSCOLO, *Le ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis* [quote from the ed. Le Monnier, 1993; before ed. 1955, a cura di G. GAMBERINI].

In the pre-unified Italian states of the Centre-North, the aristocratic class, which was placed at the foundation of civil society, was influenced by a different ethic that referred to physiocratic values and the birth of what has been defined as the *Nazione dei proprietari*. In these regions, the taxation model became the foundation of reforms; self-administration was theorised 'from below', no longer based on the structure of bodies, but on the community of owners. By simplifying the political space, property put owners directly in contact with the sovereign. The territorial Nation replaced the old state of classes¹⁶⁹. The ruling political-administrative class was integrated, the power elite widened to the people¹⁷⁰; the *Nazione dei proprietari* acquired self-awareness, not only by its own virtue, but also through the decisive support of the state. From here, the emergence of a noble ideology searching for its distinctive sign more in the ownership of goods than in the ancestry of aristocratic or baronial genealogical trees.

In the Mezzogiorno and Sicily the process was very different. There would be no unified ruling class characterised by a different ethic that referred to the values of physiocracy and property. The distinction between classes remained clear. Land and census simply had to allow the continuation of the aristocratic status. Here, the antiquity of seed and blood continued to carry weight within noble values.

Then, the French Revolution and, in Italy, the period of the Sister Republics (1766-1799) and the Napoleonic era irreversibly weakened these forms of 18th century aristocratic sociability¹⁷¹.

The crisis of the *Ancien Régime* definitively broke down the old visions of society that stood on the 'economics'; besides, Pre-Romanticism was knocking at the door. The first national sentiment is recognised, as previously said, fully in the tragedies by Alfieri or in *Le ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis* by Foscolo¹⁷².

Certain texts, referring to the Napoleonic era, became paradigmatic such as those of Stendhal, conveying new models of identity and behaviour of the 19th century aristocratic generation which was inspired by liberalism¹⁷³.

¹⁶⁹ L. MANNORI, *Il sovrano tutore*, cit., p. 72 ff. See also M. VERGA, *Le istituzioni politiche*, cit., pp. 3-58.

¹⁷⁰ G. DELILLE, *Le maire et le Prieur. Pouvoir central et pouvoir local en Méditerranée occidentale (XV^e-XVIII^e siècle)*, Paris-Rome, 2003, p. 50 ff.

¹⁷¹ For information on the experiences of Cisalpina and the Italic League see A. DE FRANCESCO, *L'Italia di Bonaparte. Politica, statualità e nazione nella penisola tra due rivoluzioni 1796-1821*, Milano, 2011.

¹⁷² V. ALFIERI, *Tragedie*, cit.; U. FOSCOLO, *Le ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, cit.

¹⁷³ STENDHAL, *Il rosso ed il nero* [quote from the ed. Einaudi, 2014]; ID., *La certosa di Parma* [quote from the ed. Feltrinelli, 1992].

The emblematic case of such change in self-awareness is represented by the biographical account of Alessandro Manzoni's family. The famous writer, as is well known, was the son of Count Pietro Manzoni and Giulia Beccaria. The family generations preceding that of the poet were allowed in the circuits of aristocratic sociability. Cesare Beccaria allowed much freedom to Teresa Blasco who died very young of a venereal disease. Also, Giulia Beccaria had a *Cicisbeo* who was the younger brother of Pietro Verri, Giovanni. It was the general consensus that the father of Manzoni was Giovanni Verri. Thus, Manzoni would have been the nephew both of Cesare Beccaria and Pietro Verri. Then, everything changed: the Manzoni generation, the marriage in 1808 to Enrichetta Blondel and the new marriage values inspired by a stern religious moral¹⁷⁴.

However, in the 19th century, Italian customs, even though mutated, were not yet comparable to those of more civilised European nations. Leopardi made important observations on the role of the lounges of the new aristocratic and bourgeois elite that in Italy failed to produce a genuinely civil society. According to this author, Italians did not have customs, only traditions. Leopardi introduced a profound distinction between the two terms, which have become synonyms. Customs belong to the collective moral and are based on the values of a common culture of civilised nations. Traditions only reflect the particular habits of associative life, behavioural patterns inherited from history or from local traditions¹⁷⁵.

Giacomo Leopardi challenged *topoi* which would introduce certain prejudices, influencing Italian history in the long term, on the state of civilisation of Italy and in particular of the Mezzogiorno, starting from the climate theory by Montesquieu¹⁷⁶.

An important work on the 'Nation of the Risorgimento' in Italy, primarily based on the memories of a generation of very young patriots who participated in the Expedition of the Thousand, investigated the cultural formation of the protagonists of the new unified Italian State. It was a

¹⁷⁴ R. BIZZOCCHI, *Cicisbei. Morale privata e identità nazionale in Italia*, Bari-Roma, 2008. The biography of Manzoni's grandparents has been reconstructed in the final part of this volume.

¹⁷⁵ On these points, see G. LEOPARDI, *Discorso sopra lo stato presente dei costumi degl'italiani*, a cura di A. PLACANICA, Venezia, 1989. On Leopardi's evaluation, see also P. BOUTRY, *Società urbana e sociabilità delle élites nella Roma della Restaurazione: prime considerazioni*, in *Sociabilità nobiliare e sociabilità borghese*, in «Cheiron», V, 1989, 9-10, pp. 59-86.

¹⁷⁶ A. DE FRANCESCO, *La palla al piede. Una storia del pregiudizio antimeridionale*, Milano, 2012. Please see the observations made by the author regarding the journey to Naples by Montesquieu, p. 16.

generation infused with a Romantic culture that was formed over a certain number of books, dedicated to freedom or death and made up of young men and women. Many of these belonged to families of the first Italian aristocracy¹⁷⁷.

These are, to paraphrase Lotman, educational texts – memoirs, records, novels and other genres – referring to genuine blood pacts between the conspirators, with reference to a culture of honour and the sanctity of the family and its women. A cultural as well as political heritage that flowed into the construction of the cultural canon of the ‘Nation of the Risorgimento’¹⁷⁸. These new Romantic canons dictated their own rules. They proposed texts that referred to new couples of the Risorgimento, deeply imbued with romantic love and the will to make the ultimate sacrifice for the Italian homeland. One symbolic case is that of aristocrat Federico Confalonieri and Teresa Casati. The patriot was condemned to death, and only through the intercession of his wife, who moved the Empress in Vienna to pity, did he obtain a resizing of the sentence to be served imprisoned in Špilberk Castle¹⁷⁹.

Blood pacts between conspirators, to conquer or to die, resembled the profiles of the dekabristy, the Russian revolutionaries studied by Lotman¹⁸⁰. Many of these, according to the known scholar of semiotics, were of noble extraction and in December 1825, at the death of the Czar Alexander I, participated in the insurrectional movements.

According to Lotman, the study of documents from the period allows to identify a distinctive behaviour of the dekabristy, men of action who behaved like members of secret societies. They spoke with a stylistic completeness that belonged to the written language; their ethical behaviour was a norm of their style. Each action was symbolic and rehearsed, falling within a precise script with references to theatre that could be connected to any literary subject¹⁸¹. This resulted in an amplification of the entire behaviour: a distribution of romantic masks, a sacralisation of the places and spaces of action. Romanticism prescribed a way of behaving in daily life to the reader. The characters of Byron, of Puškin, had a host of imitators

¹⁷⁷ A.M. BANTI, *Nazione del Risorgimento. Parentela, santità ed onore all'origine dell'Italia unita*, Torino, 2000.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ R. BIZZOCCHI, *Cicisbei*, cit., p. 412.

¹⁸⁰ J.M. LOTMAN, *Il decabrista nella vita. Il gesto, l'azione, il comportamento come testi*, in *Tesi per una semiotica delle culture*, a cura di F. SEDDA, Roma, 2006, pp. 185-254. See also S. TRAINI, *L'eredità di Lotman*, cit., p. 6.

¹⁸¹ J.M. LOTMAN, *Il decabrista nella vita*, cit., p. 190 ff.

among young officers and young noblemen. For this reason, according to Lotman, the behaviour of the dekabristy can be decoded through literary interpretation¹⁸².

It has been seen how scholars of political symbolism such as M. Edelman placed these texts within a broader theatrical scenario set up by the elite, processing symbols – in this case the contrast was also a generational one: an old ruling class with a traditional enlightened education and the new elite based on Romanticism – which had a tendency to conceal, representing specific political actions in a mythical dimension¹⁸³.

We have seen the impact Foscolo had on Italy, but also the characters of the novels set in the Napoleonic era by Stendhal played their part. His most important works, such as *La Chartreuse de Parme* and *Le Rouge et le Noir*, were texts imposed on the new political self-awareness of the aristocratic classes open to liberalism¹⁸⁴. A paradigmatic case is that of Julien Sorel, the main character of *Le Rouge et le Noir*, which was very appreciated by the youngest aristocratic generation in France and in Italy after 1831¹⁸⁵. This was a process in which, according to V. Turner, small social groups were trying to impose their own definition of identity through the processing of their own rituals¹⁸⁶.

What remained in the 19th century of the old 18th century noble values?

It emerged how these were in part filtered, generationally, by the new Romantic and Risorgimento ethics. Certainly, a number of previously unknown canons were imposed: elective affinities, the exaltation of individualism as opposed to the values and the logics of lineage, new national patriotic values in opposition to cosmopolitanism, adhesion to liberalism in contrast with the ideologies inspired by enlightened absolutism. Other noble values remained intact and would be owned by the 19th century elite. The young elite, aware of being part of an exclusive caste, wanted to maintain some of its old privileges; perceived the weight and importance of tradition and genealogy, of the culture of honour, also recognised in the ceremonial of the duel; and retained the importance of rights of precedence, or that of other alleged prerogatives due to status. Especially in the Southern and Sicilian elite, the perpetuation of a *more nobilium* life emerged, where property and census simply had to be functional to status, with no

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 192 ff.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ STENDHAL, *Il rosso ed il nero*, cit.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ V.W. TURNER, *The Ritual Process*, cit.

compromise in terms of ownership ethic. Particular attention was still paid to taking a distance from those that could be considered mechanical arts, even from professions, and so from the risk of diminishing the noble status.

In very intense pages, Rosario Romeo reconstructed the biography of Cavour¹⁸⁷. In his economic and political formation during youth, the noble Piedmontese was influenced by Smith's economic theory and, more generally, by English liberalism. He understood that market freedom leads to civil freedom, and saw the importance of optimising agricultural production, the free exchange and, in particular, the introduction of a new ownership ethic; values present in the former aristocracy of the regions of Northern Italy and very consolidated in the ruling class¹⁸⁸.

These values, which influenced the new Risorgimento elite of the Historical Right in Piedmont, Lombardy and Tuscany, would not touch the almost impermeable Risorgimento elite of the Mezzogiorno, Sicily, and Lazio.

Actually, the noble values of these latter areas that looked to the past, between the 1880s and 1890s, would spread nationally. The process was complex. The Historical Left regained not only former supporters of Mazzini who fell into disgrace, but also exponents of families once associated with the Bourbons (including many former aristocrats), who were well-placed at the top of the state apparatus. The moment of their political rise came with a revenge of the values they held.

Among the most significant texts in Italian culture that point to this political path, which assess the unchanged impact of the noble genre, one should mention the novels by De Roberto, especially *I Viceré*, and *Il Gattopardo* by Tomasi di Lampedusa.

I Viceré is dedicated to the Uzeda family, a noble lineage from Imperial Spain, descended from the ancient viceregal families transplanted into the Kingdom of Sicily and later integrated in the great aristocracy of the island. Beyond this moralistic description of the family by De Roberto – traditionalism, social and political opportunism, conservatism in the management of resources and of the family patrimony, a *genetic* degeneration resulting from incestual marriages –, the text of the novel happens to be extremely interesting in capturing the material vitality and cultural heritage of

¹⁸⁷ R. ROMEO, *Cavour e il suo tempo*, I, Roma-Bari [quote from the 2014 edition]. See also ID., *Vita di Cavour*, Roma-Bari, 2004.

¹⁸⁸ R. ROMEO, *Cavour e il suo tempo*, I, cit.

the old aristocracy¹⁸⁹. Two reasons for this: the chronological arc of the novel corresponds to that of the protagonism of the old elite which did not renounce to traditional noble values in becoming part of the new cadres of the Italian Risorgimento; the exemplary figure of Consalvo Uzeda which was inspired by famous politician Marquis Antonino di San Giuliano.

The period in which the novel is set, as mentioned, from the mid-19th century to the elections under expanding suffrage of 1882, also corresponds to the saga of the old power elite of the Mezzogiorno and Sicily. The biography of Consalvo Uzeda, a man of reactionary, Bourbon faith with only seemingly liberal tendencies, resembled that of dozens of politicians of aristocratic origin with previous ties to the Bourbons elected in the liberal left in Southern or Sicilian political colleges after 1876¹⁹⁰.

In *L'Imperio*, the unfinished novel that completes the Uzeda saga, the framework of the discussion moves from Sicily to the capital, Rome. Consalvo, elected to Montecitorio thanks to the prestige of his noble blazon, and endowed with a strong rhetorical language, easily procures consensus and alliances. He quickly obtains the coveted ministry. The space De Roberto attributes to the aristocratic elite, among the characters in the novel, is wide. The figure of Consalvo is placed side by side to that of Federico Ranaldi who belongs to small provincial nobility¹⁹¹.

In regard to the Marquis of San Giuliano as a prototype of Southern elite protagonism, it must be remarked that the Uzeda family described by De Roberto has been part of an international elite, strongly integrated within the political frameworks of Imperial Spain, the flagship of the class of the Habsburg government and at a later time that of the Bourbons in Europe¹⁹². With Consalvo Uzeda this elite was back to its protagonism taking on unhoped-for roles within the new unified state. The political career of the Marquis of San Giuliano represents the classic example of how these noble elites in Sicily and Southern Italy would once again carry out prestigious tasks of government. The Marquis of San Giuliano, Mayor of Catania, Deputy and Minister of Foreign Affairs during the Giolittian era, laid the foundations that would allow Italy to conduct a great foreign policy. He was considered within European diplomacy, and played a part in setting the

¹⁸⁹ De Roberto dedicated four novels to the Uzeda family. See *L'Illusione, Il ciclo degli Uzeda, I Viceré, L'Imperio* [quote from the edition edited by S. CAMPAILLA, Milano, 1994].

¹⁹⁰ F. DE ROBERTO, *I Viceré*, cit. See the preface by S. CAMPAILLA, *Questi eterni Uzeda*, pp. 7-15.

¹⁹¹ F. DE ROBERTO, *L'Imperio*, cit.

¹⁹² These themes of noble integration and the role of viceregal government within the elite, in the system of the Habsburg constellation, have been developed by A. MUSI, *L'Impero dei viceré*, cit., p. 30 ff.

Libyan war; later, it was especially San Giuliano to be the author of the Treaty of London, the diplomatic instrument with which the modalities of the entrance of Italy in the conflict, alongside European democracies at the beginning of the Great War, were established, projecting Italy in the great global geopolitical scenario.

Il Gattopardo by Tomasi di Lampedusa had a considerable impact in delivering aristocratic values. Just like in De Roberto's works, in *Il Gattopardo* the critical point of view towards the Risorgimento is central; in reading the text with semiotic keys, one may observe that it oscillates between the role of memory and the weight of the family tree. Once again we have duality at the level of visions of the noble values belonging to different generations: that of Prince Fabrizio Salina (who pursues enlightened values), and that of his nephew Tancredi (who is more individualistic and open to new Romantic tendencies).

In the prince's case, there is the reference to tradition, to the blazon, to pioneers, to the founders of the ancient feudalism of the Kingdom of Sicily: «Noi fummo i Gattopardi, i Leoni; quelli che ci sostituiranno saranno gli sciacalletti, le iene; e tutti quanti [...] continueremo a crederci il sale della terra»¹⁹³. Those endowed with blazons were sceptical about the role ancient Sicilian nobility could have had in the Risorgimento process. Its class represented the past even if its values were anachronistic. For them, the present instead belonged to the new emerging classes which had supported Garibaldi. In Salina there is a refusal of the present, of being the protagonist of the recent political process, which leads the prince to an estrangement from social relations and retirement to private life. Significantly, he renounces to becoming the Senator of the Reign of Italy by granting such post to Calogero Sedara, the character that embodies the leopard-like bourgeois ruling class of the island.

The figure of the Prince of Salina is complex. The history of the Sicilian people was a passive and not an active one. The natives (and, often, the very ruling class) had to passively accept the political changes which had been imposed, frequently through the use of weapons, by outer forces. In the Prince of Salina one must grasp the nationalistic themes of an islander ruling class still aspiring to a political autonomy that was taken away from it when the Bourbons turned the old Kingdom of Sicily back to a mere province in 1815; yet, at the same time, the Prince of Salina did not recognise himself in the recent political regime: too much in favour of the monarchy of the Savoy, a soft legitimization of a new elite, no longer comprised of the first

¹⁹³ TOMASI DI LAMPEDUSA, *Il Gattopardo* [quote from ed. Feltrinelli, 2012].

nobility, the «gattopardi», but of the small and recent nobles that undervalued it: the «sciacalletti e le iene».

A different vision of nobility, a much more opportunistic one, is that expressed by Tancredi Falconieri. The old nobility had to be like a chameleon not to succumb in the face of progress. The chameleon refers to the metaphor of the armature of the knight of the Renaissance. Finely adorned and symbolically decorated, just like the aristocrats of princely courts, it was compared to a thin skin, one hiding a body that is not always recognisable; an always mutating body that voluntarily conceals its true likeness¹⁹⁴.

Looking carefully, in the second half of the 19th century it was this leopard-like vision of new social and political values, yet hiding the old ones, to prove winning, first in Sicily and the Mezzogiorno and then in Italy, given that the forming bourgeois classes were unable to express their own alternative vision of the world to that of the old aristocratic models.

This aristocratic vision of society, as we have seen, still found a foothold in the 20th century. It was yet certainly intercepted, with no regrets, in the masterpieces by Italo Calvino contained in his so-called heraldic trilogy.

From this perspective we point to the author's observations in his dedication to the volume *I nostri antenati*, which brings together the novels *Il visconte dimezzato*, *Il barone rampante*, *Il cavaliere inesistente*¹⁹⁵.

There are two striking elements: even if the angles are very different in each novel, Calvino uses, to indicate past generations, a terminology that refers to the aristocratic universe (viscount, baron, knight); and, importantly, how the three novels can be seen as the family tree of contemporary man, in which «ogni volto cela qualche tratto delle persone che ci sono intorno, di voi, di me stesso»¹⁹⁶.

The family tree, however, refers to a theory of traditional knowledge. The tree and genealogy – referring to values such as purity of seed, a clear blood-line, the antiquity of lineage – were categories that emerged from the past, totally opposite to the individualistic bourgeois ethic that was based on values acquired by merit.

The motivation of the writer starts from the assumption that the volumes make up a trilogy of experiences that lead to three levels of approach to freedom: in *Il cavaliere inesistente*, «conquista dell'essere»; in *Il visconte dimezzato*,

¹⁹⁴ A. QUONDAM, *Cavallo e cavaliere*, cit.

¹⁹⁵ I. CALVINO, *I nostri antenati*, Milano, 2012. Of importance is the *Nota alla pubblicazione*, dated 1960, that Calvino added to the three novels. See pp. 409-418.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

«l'aspirazione a una completezza al di là delle mutilazioni imposte dalla società»; in *Il barone rampante*, «una via verso una completezza non individualistica da raggiungere attraverso la fedeltà a un'autodeterminazione individuale»¹⁹⁷. *Il barone rampante* is the subject of our discussion and must be historicised. The date it was written (1956-1957) sheds some light on the particular mood of the author: «trovare il giusto rapporto tra la coscienza individuale ed il corso della storia»¹⁹⁸. Faced with Russia revealing its totalitarianism and a collapse in the communist faith – «la fuga dai rapporti umani dalla storia, dalla politica da una incomoda singolarità e solitudine in tutte le ore ed in tutti i momenti della sua vita»¹⁹⁹ –, Calvino's reference to the narrative context in which he set *Il barone rampante* is particularly interesting: «stava succedendo con questo personaggio qualcosa per me d'insolito: lo prendevo sul serio, ci credevo, m'identificavo in lui»²⁰⁰.

The research behind the setting of the novel is relevant: he chose the 18th century, focusing on the period of upheaval between that century and the following one²⁰¹. The reference to the historical background of the school of Franco Venturi is evident: «le ricerche dei miei amici storici, sugli illuministi e giacobini italiani»²⁰², contribuivano a caratterizzare il protagonista del romanzo: il barone Cosimo di Rondò, che uscendo dalla cornice burlesca della vicenda, mi si veniva configurando in un ritratto morale, con connotati culturali ben precisi»²⁰³. *Il barone rampante* is characterised by its historical background, a repertoire of 18th century images, supported by dates and correlated events, and famous personalities; an imaginary landscape and nature, yet described with precision and nostalgia²⁰⁴.

It is especially this to be important in our discussion. Calvino confronted himself with the aristocratic environment of the 18th century as well as with its political context. It was a period in which the aristocratic society of lounges, as emerges in *Settecento riformatore*, the masterpiece by Franco Venturi, contributed to the formation of civil society²⁰⁵. According to

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 415.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

²⁰⁵ I used the Einaudi edition, 1990, of the five volumes of *Settecento riformatore* by Franco Venturi (1969-1990). For an overview of these volumes by Venturi, cf. G. RECUPERATI, *Il Settecento*, in *La storiografia italiana degli ultimi venti anni. Età moderna*, Roma-Bari 1989.

Calvino, «l'uomo artificiale essendo tutt'uno con i prodotti e con le situazioni, è inesistente perché non fa più attrito con nulla, non ha più rapporti [...] con ciò che (natura o storia) gli sta intorno, ma solo astrattamente funziona»²⁰⁶.

Today all these texts are decontextualised, faced with the loss of their individuality. The search of a connection to noble lineages, the very rebuilding of genealogies – often entrusted to agencies that know little of heraldry – does not correspond to any kind of apology towards old and unfeasable aristocratic ideals; actually, all of this has become a fashion or at best answers the need to revive identities that are at risk of being or have been irrevocably lost.

²⁰⁶ «Cosimo, sicuramente un personaggio eccentrico, ma all'interno di una società civile di tipi strambi, cerca di dare un significato universale alla sua eccentricità. Oggi viviamo in un mondo di non eccentrici, di persone di cui la più semplice individualità è negata, tanto sono ridotte a una astratta somma di compromessi prestabiliti. Il problema oggi non è ormai più della perdita di una parte di sé stessi, è della perdita totale, del non esserci per nulla». See I. CALVINO, *Nota alla pubblicazione*, cit., p. 415.

CHAPTER II

Between Naples, Spain and France: the Bourbons between iconography and monarchic ritual

1. Studies on the courts and monarchic symbolism in the Europe of the Bourbons

It has been seen how a return to political history – following a long period characterised by the «Annales», which focused on the economic and social approach in particular – moved the studies on to the genesis of the modern state. Then, research addressed rituals and ceremonies largely due to the influence of the American ceremonialist school and finally, in recent years, new prevailing historiographical trends studying the symbology of monarchic power, court rituals, the portrait of the king, and the spaces inhabited by kings and queens. The precursors to the new political history of sovereignty and of the courts certainly must be sought in the studies of Elias and Duindam. The former is best known for opening up the interpretation of the Court of Louis XIV. He has been the key point of reference for generations of historians. The main source of interpretation for Elias were the memoirs of Saint-Simon²⁰⁷. The other important book is that by Duindam which reconstructed costs, sums, hierarchies and mechanisms of power within the two most important European courts of the 17th and 18th century: the French and Viennese courts. It examined the ranks and income, daily activities, government and ceremonial structures and the distribution of power, the requirements for the attribution of sovereign grace, aristocratic lineages, ministers and courtiers, as well as the international dimension of the courts. The apotheosis of the courts is seen by the author from the beginning of the 18th century²⁰⁸. The resumption of large-scale political studies in Europe, mainly in France and in Italy, was inspired by the program of studies of Jean-Philippe Genet on the genesis of the modern

²⁰⁷ N. ELIAS, *La società di corte*, cit.

²⁰⁸ J. DUINDAM, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Major Dynastic Rivals, 1550-1780*, Cambridge, 2003. Cf. also the Italian edition: *Vienna e Versailles (1550-1780). Le corti di due grandi dinastie rivali*, Roma, 2004.

state²⁰⁹. Within these initiatives there was a collaboration between historians and humanities scholars: they presented important historical projects concerning architecture and art²¹⁰. Modern historians as Gérard Sabatier and Gérard Labrot collaborated closely with art historians such as Louis Marin²¹¹. The link between these groups and Italian historians such as Sergio Bertelli was relevant²¹².

Then came the suspension of the ATP, according to Sabatier, with the move to Chirac Government, after just a year and a half. However, some conventions were still organised by the Italian group. Jean-Philippe Genet organised a final ATP conference where each research group brought its own results²¹³. The research program was then partly taken up by the European Science Foundation with the title 'Origins of the Modern State in Europe, 13th to 18th Centuries', under the direction of Jean-Philippe Genet and Wim Blockmans, with just seven international research groups. In this context, several volumes were published from 1989 to 1992 in which ample space was given to the research on the iconography of sovereignty, monarchic propaganda, and the theme of legitimacy.

The court was at the centre of these studies: it became a large historiographical research laboratory; it was seen as the gathering of the highest dignitaries of the kingdom, the source of power. Several studies examined the conflicts of precedence, and the authority of the master of ceremonies to resolve conflicts. Ceremonies regulated the relationship between the king and his subjects as well as the precedence between subjects belonging to different social classes.

Through the court and ceremonials there was the ability of the monarchy to integrate traditional elements of a society still predominantly feudal, playing on the dignity of the fief which assumed a primary role together with the nobility deriving from office, therefore from acquired service.

²⁰⁹ J.-PH.GENET, *La genèse de l'État moderne*. Les enjeux d'un programme de recherche, in «Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales», CXVIII, 1997, 1, pp. 3-18.

²¹⁰ Équipe n. 3 directed by Anne-Marie Lecoq, coordinating research entitled: 'Études sur la mise en scène de la personne royale au XVI^e siècle (1484-1610)'.

²¹¹ Équipe n. 34: 'Étude des programmes iconographiques étatiques en France et en Italie aux XV^e et XVII^e siècles. Figurer l'État'.

²¹² The following works by Sergio Bertelli are well-known: *Il libertinismo in Europa*, Milano-Napoli, 1980; *Il corpo del re. Sacralità del potere nell'Europa medievale e moderna*, Firenze, 1990.

²¹³ G. SABATIER, *Rappresentare il principe. Figurer l'État. Les programmes iconographiques d'État en France et en Italie du XV^e au XVII^e siècle*, in J.-PH. GENET (éd.), *L'État moderne: genèse. Bilans et perspectives*, Actes du colloque tenu au C.N.R.S., Paris 19-20 sept. 1988, Paris, 1990, pp. 247-258.

The studies that flourished in this context were influenced by the American ceremonialist school; scholars discussing the Italian courts during the Renaissance would be influenced as well²¹⁴. The American ceremonialist school was born around Ernst Kantorowicz, who published his famous book in 1957 on the two bodies of the king, which would give rise to many lines of research²¹⁵.

As mentioned, new researchers who followed this path were studying the ceremonial of the Crown: the sacred (especially the work of Richard A. Jackson and *Vivat Rex*²¹⁶); funerals, with Ralph E. Giesey²¹⁷; the *lit de justice* tradition of the kings of France studied by Sara Hanley²¹⁸. This current was characterised by a multidisciplinary approach with methodologies ranging from history to anthropology to ethnology, attaching great importance to the study of rituals²¹⁹.

Important, but less followed in European countries, was Schramm's *Der König von Frankreich* on ceremonials and public liturgies, a book which was more influenced by Marc Bloch's thaumaturgic kings than by Kantorowicz and his school²²⁰.

Instead, studies on the Italian courts, accrued mainly within research groups coordinated by Genet, have seen, also here, the influence of the American ceremonialist school²²¹.

²¹⁴ PH. CONTAMINE, *L'oriflamme de Saint-Denis aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles. Étude de symbolique religieuse et royale*, Nancy, 1975; ID. (dir.), *L'État et les aristocraties, France, Angleterre, Ecosse, XII^e-XVII^e siècles*, Paris, 1989.

²¹⁵ E. KANTOROWICZ, *I due corpi del re. L'idea di regalità nella teologia politica medievale*, introduzione di A. BOUREAU, Torino, 1989.

²¹⁶ R.A. JACKSON, *Vive le roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X*, Chapel Hill-London, 1984.

²¹⁷ R.E. GIESEY, *Cérémonial et puissance souveraine. France, XV^e-XVII^e siècles*, trad. de l'anglais par J. CARLIER, Paris, 1987; ID., *Rulership in France, 15th-17th Centuries*, Aldershot, 2004.

²¹⁸ S. HANLEY, *Le lit de justice des rois de France: l'idéologie constitutionnelle dans la légende, le rituel et le discours*, trad. de l'anglais par A. CHARPENTIER, Paris, 1991.

²¹⁹ R. DESCIMON, *Le corps de ville et le système cérémoniel parisien au début de l'âge moderne*, in *Status individuels, status corporatifs et status judiciaires dans les villes européennes. Individuals, corporate and judicial status in European cities (late middle ages and early modern period)*, Actes du colloque tenu à Gand les 12-14 octobre 1995, M. BOONE et M. PRAK (éd.), Louvain, 1996, pp. 73-128; L.M. BRYANT, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony. Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance*, Genève, 1986.

²²⁰ P.E. SCHRAMM, *Der König von Frankreich. Das Wesen der Monarchie vom 9. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert. Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte des abendländischen Staates*, Weimar, 1939 (compte rendu de Jean Dhondt).

²²¹ R.C. TREXLER, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, New York, 1980 (I used the second edition, Ithaca-London, 1991); E. MUIR, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, 1997; ID.,

On another side, the editions of the *Europa delle Corti* series directed by Sergio Bertelli and Amedeo Quondam are also relevant; these are works analysing the court in its textual essence, focusing on the issue of language construction and the theme of rhetorical relationship between writing and verbal culture²²².

It was Sergio Bertelli in particular to have an influence on Italian studies concerning the courts and monarchic rituals. His works on ceremonies and rituals of sovereign power were especially important. Sovereign power borrowed its symbols from liturgies modelled on religious ones of sacred origin²²³. Bertelli was also very attracted by the iconography of power and its relationship with the pictorial sphere. His volume *Il re, la vergine, la sposa* is of note as it demonstrated how sovereign authority was borrowed from Christological traditions: head bowed, the knee uncovered, the raised hand, the pointed finger. In the coronation ceremony it was the head to be anointed first. The head was the most important part of the body. A triple body: historical (physical), political-judicial and sacramental²²⁴.

Soon the studies on ceremony and rituals began to look at the Papal Court²²⁵ and kingdoms characterising the Habsburg monarchy²²⁶.

This went beyond the theorisations of Peter Burke who pointed out that from the end of the 17th century there was a phase of profound change within rituals. The model of antiquity was on the wane as a cultural reference linking myth to a new rhetoric, with the prevalence of 'modern' characteristics against the ancient; and the decline of the principle of correspondence, the organic and corporate image of the world that tied

Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice, Princeton, 1981 (I used the Italian translation: ID., *Il rituale civico a Venezia nel Rinascimento*, Roma, 1984); M. CASINI, *I gesti del principe: la festa politica a Firenze e a Venezia in età rinascimentale*, Venezia, 1996. See also G. RICCI, *Il principe e la morte. Corpo, cuore, effigie nel Rinascimento*, Bologna, 1998, p. 167 ff.

²²² J. DUINDAM, *Obert Elias e la corte d'Età moderna*, in «Storica», XVI, 2000, pp. 7-28.

²²³ S. BERTELLI, *Le corti italiane del Rinascimento*, Milano, 1985; ID., *Il corpo del re*, cit.

²²⁴ S. BERTELLI, *Il re, la vergine, la sposa: eros, maternità e potere nella cultura figurativa europea*, Roma, 2002.

²²⁵ M.A. VISCEGLIA, *La città rituale. Roma e le sue cerimonie in età moderna*, Roma, 2002; EAD., *Il cerimoniale come linguaggio politico. Su alcuni conflitti di precedenza alla corte di Roma tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, in *Cérémonial et rituel à Rome (XVIe-XIXe)*, a cura di M.A. VISCEGLIA-C. BRICE, Roma, 1997, pp. 117-176; A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Il corpo del papa*, Torino, 1994; G. SIGNOROTTO-M.A. VISCEGLIA (eds.), *Court and Politics in Papal Rome 1492-1700*, Cambridge, 2004.

²²⁶ C. LISÓN TOLOSANA, *La imagen del Rey. Monarquía, realza y poder ritual en la Casa de los Austrias*, Madrid, 1991; J. VARELA, *La muerte del rey. El ceremonial funerario de la monarquía española*, Madrid, 1990; M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Riti di corte e simboli della regalità. I regni d'Europa e del Mediterraneo dal Medioevo all'età moderna*, Roma, 2009, p. 87.

science, politics and religion together. A different world was created in relation to scientific knowledge, mentality, ways of understanding and practising religious faith, the ideologies of sovereignty²²⁷.

Three important books launched a new season on rituals and ceremonies: a first volume by Lucien Bély on the society of princes in the early modern age²²⁸; a second volume by Fanny Cosandey, on the relationship between the modern state and the queens of France²²⁹; a third volume published in 2002 by Monique Chatenet, on the French court of the 16th century, where the architectural approach of the court was integrated into the study of ceremonials²³⁰.

The first author considered the society of princes, especially with the profiles of the Valois and the Bourbons: it followed an anthropological key in its human context. The emerging modern state, the courtiers' caretaking of the body of the prince, the organisation of the sovereign's day, education and court ceremonials. Not only men were central, but also the role of the women who at court often brought (if foreign) additional dynasty and lineage interests²³¹.

The volume by Cosandey widens the field of interests which study courts and power. Not only is the relationship between public and private analysed, but also that between males and females. Thus, the political dimension of the family, the role of religion, as well as specific tasks entrusted by the agnates to males and females of the family were investigated.

Although the author belongs to a new generation, she still used the anthropological approach of the American school that, in the wake of Kantorowicz, examined ceremonies and monarchic rituals. These were then declined with queens, in the feminine. The architectural, social, political spaces of the ceremonies of queens began to appear. The queen lost all functions relating to sovereignty and therefore the sacred, thus determining a diminishing of her role to that of a model wife and mother²³². Cosandey's volume focuses on the importance of the Salic Law, a French peculiarity which imposed itself in the context of the dynastic crisis of the 14th century. Only marriage to a French king allowed a woman to become the queen of France. It then examines the symbolic spaces of the queens, ceremonies and

²²⁷ P. BURKE, *The Demise of Royal Mythologies*, in *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, edited by A. ELLENUS, Oxford, 1998, p. 253.

²²⁸ L. BÉLY, *La société des princes. XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1999.

²²⁹ F. COSANDEY, *La reine de France. Symbole et pouvoir. XV^e-XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 2000.

²³⁰ M. CHATENET, *La cour de France au XVI^e siècle. Vie sociale et architecture*, Paris, 2002.

²³¹ L. BÉLY, *La société des princes*, cit.

²³² F. COSANDEY, *La reine de France*, cit.

rituals, trying to identify the differences between these and those reserved for the king. Lastly, it looks into the powers of queens during their regencies with a fascinating description of the cycle dedicated to Maria de' Medici by Rubens.

The third author, Chatenet, in her volume investigates the environments of the court of France: public, private, galleries and libraries. The royal house translates into a way of life; there is a different reading, with respect to previous studies, of the mechanisms which regulated court life: the focus is on describing daily habits. The descriptions of European diplomacy used are the relationships and dispatches of ambassadors or of Roman cardinals.

Initially, the court of France was nomadic: short stops alternating with longer stays. A true 'city in motion'. The ceremonies and habits of the residence in court of the king, queen and the royal family are studied. The king wanted to be close to everyone and the architecture of the royal house reflected his will. The passage from public spaces to private ones was quite direct.

Then, as previously mentioned, starting from the nineties a new historiographical trend came into being.

The season was launched with the early criticisms on the results achieved by Ralph Giesey and other prominent figures of the American ceremonialist school²³³. According to Elizabeth Brown, Giesey in his book incorrectly framed the issue of the double funeral of Louis X. Why exhumate the body of the sovereign? Brown distances herself from the theory of the two bodies of the king, simply because the heir must be identified at the time of the funeral: there is, therefore, criticism of the idea of a 'political body'. Neither the image nor the transition represent the 'political body'. Giesey, in an article published subsequent to his well-known book²³⁴, showed that Kantorowicz had long believed that effigies represented the 'political body' of the person depicted, as for the tombs of Margaret of Austria and Philibert of Savoy²³⁵. In reality, according to Brown, the effigies can be found only in the funeral of Francis I²³⁶. In summary, Brown considers that the presence of an effigy, as in the funerals of the British sovereigns, had to be related to

²³³ E.A.R. BROWN, *The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X*, in «Tradition», XXXIV, 1978, pp. 227-271; A. GUÉRY, *Principe monarchique ou roi très chrétien? Les funérailles du roi de France*, in «Revue de Synthèse», CXII, 1991, 3-4, p. 443 ff.

²³⁴ R.E. GIESEY, *Cérémonial et puissance souveraine*, cit.

²³⁵ E.A.R. BROWN, *The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France*, cit., p. 230 ff.

²³⁶ E.A.R. BROWN, *The French Royal Funeral Ceremony and the King's Two Bodies: Ernst H. Kantorowicz, Ralph E. Giesey, and the Construction of a Paradigm*, in «Micrologus: Natura, Scienze e Società Medievali», XXII (*Le Corps du Prince*), 2014, pp. 105-137.

a different attitude towards the dead body. The effigy would become element of a triumphant representation in honour of the deceased and his individual non-dynastic memory²³⁷.

More reservations come to Sarah Hanley's book, on the *lit de justice*, from Richard Famiglietti who showed that this institutional judicial norm was not an invention of the 16th century²³⁸.

More in-depth studies began on court societies and ceremonials.

One of the reference points, as we have seen, is the book by Burke on the Court of Louis XIV. But one must go back in time. When did the first modern courts appear?

The factor which would mostly influence the great European continental courts such as those of France and Spain (and then, from Spain to Vienna) was the Burgundy model. According to M. da Vinha and C. Noël, the ceremonial of the dukes of Burgundy was fine-tuned between the end of the 15th century and the early 16th century for the Brussels Palace. The Burgundy ceremonial was used by Charles V who introduced it in 1548 at the Court of Madrid. Charles V created figures such as the Head Butler, Head Waiter, Head Horseman (some changes were made with the reign of Philip IV)²³⁹.

Also according to Sabatier, the symbolic representation of the sovereign originated from Spain and the Habsburg Court; this brings us back to the

²³⁷ E.A.R. BROWN, *Royal Bodies, Effigies, Funeral Meals and Office in Sixteenth Century France*, in «Micrologus: Natura, Scienze e Società Medievale», VII, 1996, p. 437 ff.

²³⁸ E.A.R. BROWN-R.C. FAMIGLIETTI, *The Lit de Justice: Semantics, Ceremonial, and the Parliament of Paris (1300-1600)*, Sigmaringen, 1994. The *lit de justice* was used only following a long procedural process. If the king of France's edict was rejected by Parliament as the councillors did not consider it worthwhile, 'humble grievances' had to be submitted by an internal commission. If the king did not appear willing to welcome them, he sent the text back to Parliament accompanied by letters of command. Parliament could present 'iterative remarks'. The last word was left to the king; he could decide to go to Parliament personally and hold a *lit de justice*: it made the *enregistrement* mandatory.

²³⁹ M. DA VINHA, *Structures et organisation des charges de cour à l'époque moderne*, in *The Court in Europe*, edited by M. Fantoni, edizione inglese e italiana, Roma, 2012, pp. 275-289; J. PAVIOT, *Ordonnances de l'hôtel et le cérémonial de cour au XV^e et XVI^e siècles, d'après l'exemple bourguignon*, in *Höfe und Hofordnungen 1200-1600*, 5. Symposium der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttinger, veranstaltet mit dem Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris und dem Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen, Sigmaringen, 5. Bis 8. Oktober 1996, Sigmaringen, H. KRUSE-W. PARAVICINI (publ.), Sigmaringen, 1999, pp. 167-174; G. SABATIER-M. TORRIONE (dir.), *Luis XIV espagnol? Madrid et Versailles, images et modèles*, Versailles-Paris, 2009; C. NOËL, *L'étiquette bourguignonne à la cour d'Espagne, 1547-1800*, in C. ARMINJON-B. SAULE, *Tables royales et festins de cour en Europe (1661-1789)*, Paris, 2004.

question of the Franco-Spanish relations in the early modern era²⁴⁰. There was a single model being the court of Burgundy of the 15th century²⁴¹. This court therefore influenced the court of France and the court of the Habsburgs of Spain. Charles V was brought to the court of Burgundy, which was no longer situated in Dijon, but in Flanders or Brussels. The habits of this court are known: the economy of gestures, the hieratic, the frontal representation in the portraits, the ways in which the sovereign was represented. This model was exported to Spain by Charles V when, in 1548, he imposed on Castile institutions the practice of Burgundy etiquette at the Alcázar²⁴².

On a different side, the sovereigns, in modern courts, resorted to ceremonials to address three issues: the scrupulous distribution of honours, to attract new money from the pool of titled individuals, and to ensure new splendour to the monarchy. In this way priority was given to the royal entourage so that only the most prestigious subject could join the king; the king externalised his qualities in a reciprocal game based on the improvement and enhancement of nobility. Thus, the aristocracy admitted to the presence of the king was distinguished by an increased status. The metaphors referring to the Sun were at the centre of monarchic language. The majesty of the king ‘shined’ in the heart of such brilliant aristocracy like rays of sunlight brightened by royalty; the servants of the state, in concentric circles, received by degrees the benefits originating from their abilities. The concept of merit was provided by a king who was an absolute judge, as a source of dignity, distributor of honours and the supreme official.

Several recent studies have also examined the courts. An important volume describes the ceremonial of the French court in 1501²⁴³. During that year the young Archduke of Austria and Count of Flanders, Philip the Handsome, travelled with his wife Joanna of Castile and his son Charles (the

²⁴⁰ *Le roi caché et le roi-soleil: de la monarchie en Espagne et en France au milieu du XVII^e siècle*, in CH. MAZOUER (éd.), *L'âge d'or de l'influence espagnole: la France et l'Espagne à l'époque d'Anne d'Autriche, 1615-1666*, Actes du XX^e colloque du Centre méridional de rencontres 17, Société d'Étude du XVII^e siècle, et Université Bordeaux III, Bordeaux, 25 au 28 janvier 1990, Mont-de-Marsan, 1991, p. 113-124.

²⁴¹ G. SABATIER, *Le prince et les arts: Stratégies figuratives de la monarchie française de la Renaissance aux Lumières*, Seyssel, 2010; A. ÁLVAREZ-OSSORIO ALVARINO, *Etiqueta y competencia aristocrática en tiempos de sucesión: la corte del gobernador Vandèmont en Milán*, in C. BRAVO LOZANO-R. QUIRÓS ROSADO (editores), *En tierra de confluencias. Italia y la Monarquía de España. Siglos XVI-XVIII*, Valencia, 2013, pp. 81-95.

²⁴² A. KOHLER, *Carlos V*, Madrid, 2000, p. 128.

²⁴³ M. CHATENET-P.G. GIRAULT, *Fastes de cour. Les enjeux d'un voyage princier à Blois en 1501*, Rennes, 2010. See <http://cour-de-france.fr/article1911.html>.

future Charles V) through France. This extraordinary journey was an opportunity to pick the characteristics of court society. The royal receptions and the preparation of a specific ceremonial event for the French sovereigns, Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, who lived in the Loire Valley, were enlightening. The journey of the Spanish monarchs was advantageous for the king of France since it allowed the marriage contract between Charles V and the Princess Claude of France to be sealed, while at the same time it posed a problem in the ritual as Philip the Handsome was a vassal of the king of France. The description of the internal architecture of the apartments reserved for the Archduke and his wife is significant, with a whole chapter devoted to the furniture. The description of the female Court of Anne of Brittany at Blois is equally important²⁴⁴. Of note is a recent study by Vázquez Gestal on Philip V and Elisabetta Farnese. According to the author, Philip V and Elisabetta established a new domestic and affective environment of conjugal life consistent with the new European consciousness described by Hazard. These were the years when the weight of great nobility decreased and that of the new court nobility linked to military recruitment increased, as well as that of the administrative class, State Secretariats, the control of the provinces through intendants and new military bodies²⁴⁵.

Among the new studies, the role of regents and queens within the court, and rituals and monarchic ceremonies applied to women were examined²⁴⁶.

On the subject of the Holy Roman Empire, the work of Heide Wunder is important as it investigates the role of women within the reigning dynasties of the German territories²⁴⁷.

Instead, the anthology edited by C. Campbell Orr considers the European courts in the Baroque period. The essays focus on queens and other consorts, ministers and officials in relation to politics and to the style of government. The dynamics of power are also studied according to a gender perspective. In both volumes, studies of the informal power based on the role of women, on religious patronage, on family ties and on ritual

²⁴⁴ On this point, cf. C.J. BROWN, *The Queen's Library Image-Making at the Court of Anne of Brittany, 1477-1514*, Philadelphia, 2010.

²⁴⁵ P. VÁZQUEZ GESTAL, *Una nueva majestad. Felipe V, Isabel de Farnesio y la identidad de la Monarquía (1700-1729)*, Madrid, 2013.

²⁴⁶ PH. CONTAMINE, *Espaces féminins, espaces masculins dans quelques demeures aristocratiques françaises, XIV^e-XVI^e siècle*, in J. HIRSCHBIEGEL-W. PARAVICINI (Hg.), *Das Frauenzimmer. Die Frau bei Hofe in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Stuttgart, 2000, pp. 79-90.

²⁴⁷ H. WUNDER, *Dynastie und Herrschaftssicherung: Geschlechter und Geschlecht*, in EAD. (Hrsg.), *Dynastie und Herrschaftssicherung in der Frühen Neuzeit: Geschlechter und Geschlecht*, Berlin, 2002.

practices prevail. They deal with women who have been educated to carry out the dynastic roles of government and have exercised formal powers related to their legal status of widows, adolescents, wives, mothers, queens²⁴⁸.

Important, in this context of studies, is an interdisciplinary book edited by Regina Schulte on the body of the queen. Queen mothers and daughter princesses were studied: from Maria Theresa to Marie Antoinette and Queen Victoria²⁴⁹.

In 2007 the volume by I. Poutrin and K. Schaub was published, placed somewhere between a reading on political history and the history of women. Three perspectives of analysis are confronted: the access of women to power and the forms of political legitimation; representations and typical stereotypes of women of power; relationships of women and their entourage (relatives, males, secretaries, ministers, councillors)²⁵⁰.

Historical research focused on the informal political roles of women in the courts of Europe and how they influenced princes and monarchs.

A volume on the Court of Anne of Brittany continues this translation of the queen's courts, offering original split-sections to understand the female vision of sovereignty at the dawn of the Renaissance. The study focuses on libraries, on books that queens read or owned and on the manuscripts and incunabula. Anne of Brittany, an exceptional character, was twice queen of France, with Charles VIII and Louis XII, as well as the heir to the Duchy of Brittany²⁵¹.

Another important research was that by Cosandey on the role of the queen mothers. Queens who at the same time had to deal with the duties of being wives, mothers, widows, but who were also expected to carry out precise tasks in state politics. Even if in queens sovereignty was reflected only through the role held as the wife of kings and mother of kings, they carried out precise political functions, nonetheless, especially in the presence

²⁴⁸ C. CAMPBELL ORR (ed.), *Queenship in Europe 1660-1815: The Role of the Consort*, Cambridge, 2004.

²⁴⁹ R. SCHULTE, *The Body of the Queen: Gender and Rule in the Courty World, 1500–2000*, New York, 2006.

²⁵⁰ I. POUTRIN-M.-K. SCHAUB (dir.), *Femmes et pouvoir politique. Les princesses d'Europe, XV^e-XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 2007. Of importance are also the essays by S. HANLEY, *Engendering the State. Family Formation and State Building in Early Modern France*, in «French Historical Studies», XVI, 1989, 1, pp. 4-27, and EAD., «Contro l'ordine naturale e la disposizione delle leggi». *Il diritto maschile alla sovranità nella Francia di età moderna*, in G. CALVI (ed.), *Innesti. Donne e genere nella storia sociale*, Roma, 2004, pp. 95-120.

²⁵¹ C. CAMPBELL ORR, *Queenship in Britain 1660–1837. Royal patronage, court culture and dynastic politics*, Manchester, 2009; PH. TOURAULT, *Les Ducs et Duchesses de Bretagne*, Paris, 2009.

of regents²⁵². The power of the queen was limited under Salic Law. Therefore, regency in common law was justified only in the protection of the life and property of the son. Women were entrusted with the government of the home and management of current state affairs. The regency is a parenthesis in the history of royal power with the function of ensuring the continuity of the dynasty between one king and the other. In fact, according to the author, with the role of guardian and regent (Maria de' Medici, Anne of Austria, Caterina de' Medici), queens were not tarnished by the shadow of the sovereignty of the husband or children, but they also exercised significant power²⁵³. As women, they used their status for the celebration of their lineage, acquiring at the same time the very honour and rank of their husbands. The marriage, however, could cause a change of status, which was not always favourable; it could also prove to be a difficult phase when princesses lost their prerogatives of birth. Women often, at court, due to the forming promiscuous spaces, became the ambassadors of the lineage they belonged to²⁵⁴.

There is a relevant essay on these points by Laura Oliván Santaliestra on Anne of Austria. The Spanish princess who married Louis XIII, left Spain at the head of a large group of servants, Spanish staff periodically expelled from the French court accused of espionage. The author states that the expulsions could also be shared by the queen and signify a greater autonomy for the new regent queen of Spain; a compulsory choice aimed at her 'naturalisation' in order to have an independent role in the new kingdom.

Anne of Austria, clashing with Caterina de' Medici, was flanked by a lady-in-waiting who, within the French court, was very intriguing: the Countess de la Torre; then she could rely on the skilful diplomatic ability of the Spanish Ambassador, the Duke of Monteleone. These were carefully chosen individuals within the circle of the party of the favourite of Philip III, the Duke of Lerna²⁵⁵.

²⁵² F. COSANDEY, *Honneur aux dames. Préséances au féminin et prééminence sociale dans la monarchie d'Ancien Régime (XVI^e-XVII^e siècles)*, G. CALVI-I. CHABOT (dir.), *Moving Elites: Women and Cultural Transfers in the European Court System*, actes du workshop (Florence, 12-13 déc. 2008), EUI Working Papers HEC, no. 2010/02, p. 65 ff.

²⁵³ F. COSANDEY, *Puissance maternelle et pouvoir politique. La régence des reines mères*, in «Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire», 2005, 21, pp. 63-83.

²⁵⁴ F. COSANDEY, *Honneur aux dames*, cit., p. 70 ff.

²⁵⁵ L. OLIVÁN SANTALIESTRA, *Retour souhaité ou expulsion réfléchie? La maison espagnole d'Anne d'Autriche quitte Paris (1616-1622)*, in G. CALVI-I. CHABOT (dir.), *Moving Elites*, cit., pp. 21-32; EAD., *Mariana de Austria. Imagen, poder y diplomacia de una reina cortesana*, Madrid, 2006.

A study by C. zum Kolk examines the functions carried out at government level by Caterina de' Medici, in charge of delicate political functions because of her three sons: Francis II, Charles IX and Henry III. She lived in a large palace consisting of a thousand members in which the apartments of the king and queen were separated by two large wings. We were already at the presence of a queen's court: matrons of honour, waitresses, and ladies in waiting. Access to the sovereign determined control over the space of power. The times of the court were dedicated to hunting, playing, to the art of war and state affairs²⁵⁶.

Caterina de' Medici was at the same time the mother of the king and a servant of the king who had to respect the authority of her son; she carried out a role as a minister and favoured of the king, with tasks she had to personally manage often crossing the authority of the sovereign. Caterina de' Medici performed very delicate tasks of government during the reign of her three sons, dividing her time between the court, the national parliaments and the control of supplies to the armies²⁵⁷.

Even in these works, court spaces are being studied. An essay by Sara Galletti reconstructs the way in which Maria de' Medici changed the internal architecture of the Luxembourg Palace: new spaces and symmetries with a prevalence of the Italian style²⁵⁸. According to the scholar, many authors have misinterpreted the architectural structure of the palace, when proposing new theses on its architecture, decorative patterns, on the space and accessibility, and on ceremonial occasions.

Apart from being the queen's masterpiece, the palace meant a crucial episode in the history of French architecture: it contributes significantly to understanding royal residences, as it was built to create an identity myth. This denotes the role of queen, which was fundamental in the formation of a ritual space of sovereignty in the early modern age²⁵⁹. Cosandey reconsidered the Luxembourg Palace through the examination of the Rubens cycle. The paintings were done between 1622 and 1625 and were conceived using a precise symbolism of power and designed for the queen, for the marriage of Henrietta of France to the Prince of Wales. The Rubens cycle was designed to complete the projection of political content of the Luxembourg Palace,

²⁵⁶ C. ZUM KOLK, *Catherine de Médicis et l'espace: résidences, voyages et séjours*, in G. CALVI-I. CHABOT (dir.), *Moving Elites*, cit., pp. 51-61.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58 ff.

²⁵⁸ S. GALLETTI, *Ceremonial in Early Modern France: the Court of Maria de' Medici*, in G. CALVI-I. CHABOT (dir.), *Moving Elites*, cit., pp. 77-112.

²⁵⁹ F. COSANDEY, *Représenter une reine de France. Marie de Médicis et le cycle de Rubens au palais du Luxembourg*, in «Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire», 2004, 19, pp. 1-14.

narrating the various episodes linked to the life of Maria de' Medici after the regency phase and her subsequent removal from the court of France²⁶⁰.

The research dedicated to iconography and symbols is part of a broader theme: it tries to understand how the modern absolutist state obtained credit from the public opinion. According to the previously quoted important modern French historian Sabatier, the absolute prince who imposed his strength on the state had to be endowed with a policy preceded by a production of imaginary force, by a 'state propaganda'²⁶¹.

On this point, already Burke identified the maximum moment of propaganda in Europe within the Court of Louis XIV. It was a moment in which an epochal change at the level of consciousness occurred. The superiority of the modern people imposed itself over ancient ones²⁶².

There is an important book influencing this passage where the new protagonists are the historians of art and semiotics experts: *Le portrait du roi* by Louis Marin. In the book, the analysis moves between image and power. What Marin called the portrait of the king – or, more often the 'representation' of the king – is comprised of all the discursive, visual and ritual forms in which the king is shown in the picture while his physical body is absent. At the centre of this construction, the king was king in the representation. Royal power did not exist before the discursive, performative and ritualistic forms representing it. It was also, and at the same time, a portrait that did not merely replace the absent: it gave him a presence that was not only powerful, but also fascinating. The representation fulfilled its role as it would be both the means of power as well as its foundation. The images of the texts used by Marin which compose the portrait of the king show how the representation put its strength in the signs or symbols, signs borrowed from religious rituals. Marin noticed the analogy between the 'real presence of Christ in the Eucharist' and 'the real presence of the king in his representation'²⁶³.

New lines of study examined the court in Versailles above all²⁶⁴. Especially important were Sabatier's meeting with Gérard Labrot and the

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10 ff.

²⁶¹ G. SABATIER, *Rappresentare il principe. Figurer l'État*, cit., pp. 247-258.

²⁶² P. BURKE, *La fabbrica del Re Sole. Una politica dei media nell'età dell'assolutismo: l'industria della gloria e l'immagine pubblica di Luigi XIV*, Milano, 1993.

²⁶³ L. MARIN, *Le portrait du roi*, Paris, 1981.

²⁶⁴ G. SABATIER, *Versailles, un imaginaire politique*, in *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'État moderne*. Actes de la table ronde organisée par le CNRS et l'École Française de Rome, 15-17 octobre 1984, Rome, 1985, pp. 295-324.

decoding of the Farnese Court of Caprarola²⁶⁵, the way the prince revealed his heart to the court for the year 1580. New research threads that related to the French court, according to Sabatier, actually affected studies on the courts of minor Italian princes, such as the Gonzaga family of Mantua or the Farnese. They were at the head of a small principality and had an army of mercenaries, for whom they had to be portrayed as being great leaders, emperors or giants. They were portrayed as Alexander or Hercules²⁶⁶. But there were more contemporary models. It is almost certain that there had been contact between Le Brun and Bossuet. Bossuet is a key figure, instrumental in understanding, through the words of Sacred Scripture, how Le Brun represented the king in the gallery of Versailles²⁶⁷. The history of these texts, at the end of 1670, corresponded with the timeline of construction of the Gallery of Versailles²⁶⁸.

Since the 1990s new avenues of study on Versailles opened up taking into consideration the iconography of the place, starting from the Apollonian programme in its gardens. French historians have reconstructed the evolution of the construction of Versailles. There was the time of the first Versailles, surrounded by the myth of Apollo. Why the Apollonian period? The answer lies in the fact that the king overcame a negative historic circumstance: this explained his greatness. An important transition from the monarchic propaganda of the Louvre to that concerning Versailles: a period in which Queen Anne of Austria gave way to the Sun King²⁶⁹.

Then in iconography, starting from Louis XIV, the king appears in the guise of himself. It had been said: «A king appears among the gods». Louis XIV was depicted in various roles: the hunter-King, the King master of diplomacy, the King patron of the arts (this program failed for Queen Maria Theresa).

When the king began to appear in person, it meant there was an enterprise to be glorified. The king was known: the Dutch war, the passage of the Rhine, scenes of government, the order restored in finance, protection of the Beaux Arts, the reform of the judiciary.

²⁶⁵ G. LABROT, *Le palais Farnèse de Caprarola*, Paris, 1970.

²⁶⁶ S. ÉDOUARD, *Les monarchies de France et d'Espagne (1556-1715). Rituels et pratiques*, Paris, 2001; G. SABATIER-M. TORRIONE (dir.), *Louis XIV espagnol?*, cit.

²⁶⁷ *Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'Écriture sainte* (the posthumous edition of 1709, available on line) and the *Discours sur l'Histoire universelle* (1681, placed on line by Wikisource).

²⁶⁸ S. ÉDOUARD, *Les monarchies de France et d'Espagne*, cit.; G. SABATIER-M. TORRIONE (dir.), *Louis XIV espagnol?*, cit.

²⁶⁹ G. SABATIER, *Versailles ou la figure du roi*, Paris, 1999.

It was an epoch-making change. In the symbolism of the images of the sovereign this period corresponds to the victory of the modernists over the ancient.

The accomplishments of the king would be so well known that ancient heroes were no longer required. An important role in the planning of the new royal iconography was entrusted to the secret Council of the king, responsible for addressing the larger affairs of state. Sabatier provides an interpretation for the Hall of Mirrors. In order to understand it we must take into account that the king had only just appeased Europe with the treaty of Nijmegen, and he had imposed a French princess as the wife of the Spanish king. His attention then turned towards the German Empire. Not to reclaim the title of emperor, but to liberate the German princes from the Imperial branch of the Habsburgs. The Hall of Mirrors imparted several messages to the German princes: the king of France was the most powerful prince in the world, faithful to his word and to his alliances²⁷⁰.

In these studies the perspective is, however, the same: a political reading of Versailles, its pictorial and sculptural iconography. Different points emerged from the celebration in 2015 of the tercentenary of the death of Louis XIV.

Notwithstanding, according to Sabatier, for the French court an in-depth study of the texts and rites in the manner of those carried out for Spanish or Austrian courts was not yet completed²⁷¹. Moreover, further in-depth studies had to be conducted into rituals and ceremonials, and consider the places, the relationship between the topography and the use of the architectural structures, their history and specific destination²⁷².

Missing in regard to the Court of Versailles was a work structured along the lines of the work completed by Monique Chatenet on the French court of the 16th century.

In these studies the comparison is vital, not only with the Court of Philip IV, the 'Planet King', or with that of Leopold, *austriacus terra*, but also with the lesser courts, such as the Neapolitan Bourbon one²⁷³.

²⁷⁰ J.A. CHROŚCICKI-M. HENGERER-G. SABATIER (éd.), *Les funérailles princières en Europe, XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle*, Volume 1: *Le grand théâtre de la mort*, Paris, 2012.

²⁷¹ F. CHECA CREMADES, *Felipe II, mecenas de las artes* (1993) and *Carlos V. La imagen del poder en el renacimiento* (1999).

²⁷² W.R. NEWTON, *L'espace du roi: la cour de France au château de Versailles, 1682-1789*, Paris, 2000; ID., *La petite cour: Services et serviteurs à la cour de Versailles au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 2006.

²⁷³ The point on historiography on the courts was made in the essay by N. LE ROUX-C. ZUM KOLK, *L'historiographie de la cour en France*, in *The Court in Europe*, edited by M. FANTONI, cit.,

2. The representation of monarchic power: rituals and ceremonies

We have seen the type of sources of the Bourbon period used at the paradigmatic level to recompose the symbolic images of the noble galaxy and those produced by courts. Primary sources – those produced from below by the noble elite as well as those manufactured from above by the monarchy – relating to the documentation of thousands of trials taking place at royal tribunals, or administrative acts or decrees and dispatches issued by the Secretariats of State, the sovereign or those compiled within the setting of the court.

Now it is time to move from a more strictly historical, philological and literary analysis of texts to an approach, in addition to methods borrowed from social sciences, more open to semantic and semiotic interpretations. In short, using iconography to locate allegories and metaphors developed by the elite in power, or those on sovereignty and status, present in these documents, which can be presented as the specific language to populate ontologies.

We will try to identify these metaphors, appearing in the sources from the Kingdom of Naples, France and Spain, taking into consideration the iconography, rituals and monarchic ceremonies.

Of note, in our discussion, is the double iconography characterising the early modern age, and which refers, on the one hand, to an 'Imperial' vision and, on the other, to that of the 'modern state'. While the former characterises the whole 16th century, the latter only imposed itself starting from the second half of the 17th century, especially with Louis XIV. The former appeared, in particular with the myth of Astraea, still with Charles VI of Habsburg during the War of Spanish Succession and then with the Napoleonic Empire.

Within the iconography, the sources which allow to frame the so-called monarchic rituals are relevant: interregnum rites, the symbolism arising from certain liturgical celebrations with strong political weight (e.g. certain cults of saints, the festival of the patron saint or the celebration of other ephemeral events, such as carnival parties, parades, tournaments). Significant, then, especially the ceremonies practised within the courts.

According to Klapisch-Zuber, above all monarchic rituals refer to the history of power: they are to be understood as «un sistema di segni che funziona solo quando si eseguono tutte le parti, e il senso di ognuna di esse

emerge solo per riferimento all'insieme [che] costruisce rapporti di potere e in questo senso può essere definito pubblico e quindi pertinente alla genesi dello Stato moderno»²⁷⁴.

There is a whole tradition that has examined these types of rituals and how they have been used for the legitimation of power. The well-known pioneering work of M. Bloch on *thaumaturge kings*²⁷⁵ or E. Kantorowicz and his school, which studied the different metaphors of sovereignty²⁷⁶. We have seen the scientific production on the subject by some anthropologists, such as Victor Turner, for whom rituals refer to the construction of identity-giving processes²⁷⁷, or Clifford Geertz, who places at the foundation of rituals the processes of integration of the elites²⁷⁸; the criticism to the latter author by Alain Boureau was also important as it raised the issue of the construction and reception of the rituals²⁷⁹.

Which are, in the various European monarchies, the metaphors for kings, for sovereign queens or sovereignty? Which of these have been received, in those emerging from the Kingdom of Naples?

In an essay, Maria Antonietta Visceglia noted that in several different European countries the sovereign was depicted as «un uomo nella forza degli anni, seduto su un seggio specifico, con i piedi che poggiano su qualcosa, coronato, indossando un mantello particolare e portando nelle sue mani oggetti simbolici»²⁸⁰.

In addition, the majesty of the king shows, in the iconography, certain symbolic variants of the characteristics of sovereignty: «diverse forme di trono, con sullo sfondo il disco solare, posizione eretta del busto, lo scettro nella mano destra, il globo crugero nella sinistra»²⁸¹.

²⁷⁴ My translation. See CH. KLAPISCH-ZUBER, *Rituels publics et pouvoir d'état*, in *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'État moderne*, actes de la table ronde organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'École française de Rome, Rome, 15-17 octobre 1984, Rome, 1985, p. 135.

²⁷⁵ M. BLOCH, *I re taumaturghi. Studi sul carattere sacramentale attribuito alla potenza dei re particolarmente in Francia ed Inghilterra*, pref. di J. LE GOFF, Torino, 1989.

²⁷⁶ E. KANTOROWICZ, *I due corpi del re*, cit.; and especially R.E. GIESEY, *Cérémonial et puissance souveraine*, cit.

²⁷⁷ V.W. TURNER, *The Forest of Symbols*, cit.

²⁷⁸ C. GEERTZ, *Local Knowledge*, cit.

²⁷⁹ A. BOUREAU, *Les cérémonies royales françaises*, cit., pp. 1253-1264.

²⁸⁰ M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Rappresentazioni dello stato*, cit., p. 230 ff.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

There are exceptions. The king of France does not hold a globe in his hand but a second sceptre, the *virga*; then, in the iconography, this was replaced by the lily²⁸².

Several studies have demonstrated how the symbolism inherent to sovereignty has been borrowed from religion. In a good part of European countries, between the Middle Ages and the early modern era, the reference to King David was linked to Christian symbolism, while Solomon represented the image of the righteous king or the King priest; in the latter case, the reference was also to a symbolic figure that represented the king as an incarnation of justice.

The sovereign assumes two different natures, according to the reading of Kantorowicz, through a complex process of semantic transference, of the physical body and the immortal body.

An emblematic example: the crime of lese-majeste to the sovereign derives from that of divine lese-majeste. The central paradigm, however, of this symbolic transfer is that of the body of the sovereign becoming sacred, considered to be a mystical body through the dogma of transubstantiation: the transformation into real Body of Christ in the Eucharist. This mystery of faith was, then, institutionalised with the *Corpus Christi*, which recalls and associates the mystical Body of Christ with that of the society of believers²⁸³.

Of particular importance, as for France, was the delivery of the ring as a sacral symbol of coronation. It was not only a symbol of sovereign *dignitas* and mystical union but was, in the same way, a metaphor for the temporal marriage between the king and the body of the state.

Even the sword is a symbolic object of kingship, however more so for the king of Castile and Aragon: a symbol of supreme power, transferred from God to the king, as his vicar, and linked to military values and justice²⁸⁴.

As was recalled, important ceremonials were those held within the Papal Court and which served as a precursor for other European monarchies. All this considering the international role the Papacy assumed following the Counter-Reformation²⁸⁵. The *ordo regnum et principum* and the *ordo ducum*, formalised in 1504 during the pontificate of Julius II, governed the

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ Brown had, however, criticised these paradigms that aligned themselves too closely with an interpretation of the American ceremonialist school. Cf. E.A.R. BROWN, *The French Royal Funeral Ceremony and the King's Two Bodies*, cit., p. 105 ff.

²⁸⁴ M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Rappresentazioni dello stato*, cit., p. 228 ff.

²⁸⁵ M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Il cerimoniale come linguaggio politico*, cit., pp. 117-176.

precedence within the order of kings between representatives of the Empire and the Crowns. This hierarchy was as follows: Empire, France, Spain (Castile and Aragon), Portugal, England, Sicily, Scotland and Hungary. Then, titled individuals whose status was equivalent to a sovereign title²⁸⁶.

It was the Counter-Reformation to influence monarchic ceremonials. According to Visceglia, the use of the sacred in political sovereignty, the dialectic relationship of interpenetration and otherness, but also of mutual competition, between political and religious sacrality, in the Christian world²⁸⁷ was important in this path.

Robert Descimon, in studying the ceremonial system of Paris as a capital city, identified in the 17th century the moment of the *révolution rituelle* (a concept borrowed from Richard Trexler who, however, used it for early 16th century Florence²⁸⁸), this being a turning point in ritual behaviour marked by the decline of 'Corporate Catholicism'. In the late Middle Ages and the first early modern age, the organic idea of *corporatio* prevailed, originated from the Roman concept of *universitas* and also from Christian theory, which gave weight to the horizontal social bonds of classes and local, superhuman, ecclesiastical and secular bodies – a system that guaranteed cohesion, both low and high, since corporate Catholicism was built on a synthesis between the social body, the political body and the mystical body²⁸⁹. From the early decades of the 17th century, however, corporate Catholicism underwent an attack, on the one hand, by a consolidated monarchy, which had less need for rituals recalling corporate institutions, and, on the other, by a Church which learned the lessons of the Counter-Reformation and looked suspiciously on the collective relationship with the sacred by advocating a more internalised faith.

Edward Muir also emphasised, more than the dialectic between civic and state rituals, how it is necessary to study rituals within a plot of borrowings between different languages. The central borrowing was that derived from the image of the mystical body²⁹⁰.

Only during the 18th century, always according to Muir, the intertwining on the subject of rituals between Church and State came to an end, with a

²⁸⁶ M.A. VISCEGLIA, «*Farsi imperiale*»: *faide familiari e identità politiche a Roma nel primo Cinquecento*, in F. CANTÙ-M.A. VISCEGLIA (a cura di), *L'Italia di Carlo V. Guerra, religione e politica nel primo Cinquecento*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Roma, 5-7 aprile 2001, Roma, 2003, pp. 477-508.

²⁸⁷ M.A. VISCEGLIA, *La città rituale*, cit., p. 26.

²⁸⁸ R.C. TREXLER, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, cit.

²⁸⁹ R. DESCIMON, *Le corps de ville*, cit., pp. 73-128.

²⁹⁰ E. MUIR, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, cit.

clear separation between the two spheres: ceremonies of triumphant absolutism and those of the Church-body²⁹¹.

The ceremonial function based on the theory of the two bodies allowed two distinctly conflicting traditions of kingship to cohabit: the ancient Christian theory according to which the new king had full powers only after being anointed and consecrated, with the theory developed in the Middle Ages that the king had full powers only after the death of his predecessor²⁹².

The symbolic entry of the king of France to Paris, according to Bryant, is of significant importance as it sealed the change of domination and recalled reciprocity and the consensus and the scale of power: nobility represented the strength of the kingdom, the clergy represented piety, the king, harmony and peace, but justice was symbolised by the Parliament of Paris. The political significance only became whole with the necessary presence of the Parliament and of the high officers of the great tribunals²⁹³.

Much has been written about the ceremonial of royal investiture of the kings of France. Before the ritual, the king waited in the Archbishop's Palace, adjacent to Reims Cathedral, for two bishops to meet on the morning of the *sacre*. Then, the king donned the insignia of kingship: the blue embroidered tunic with golden lilies (a flower which became dynastic emblem), the Oriflamme, the ring, the sceptre, the hand of justice; there followed the anointing by the Archbishop who touched the head, shoulders, arms, and hands of king with the oil considered miraculous as it was brought by the Holy Spirit for the Baptism of Clovis, and finally, coronation and enthronement²⁹⁴.

For the legitimation of sovereigns and monarchies, interregnum rituals were of the utmost importance, as was the symbolic use of the worship of some saints, in particular the rituals surrounding the coronation of several sovereigns.

The first rituals provide indications regarding the symbolism adopted both in the dressing and the use of particular objects resembling those used in ecclesiastical liturgy. The steps leading to the enthronement (anointing, crowning, ceremonial feast) and ultimate rite, namely the assumption of

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

²⁹² M.A. VISCEGLIA, *La città rituale*, cit., p. 22.

²⁹³ L.M. BRYANT, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony*, cit.

²⁹⁴ The lily refers to the evolution of the Christian cross, an ancient solar symbol depicting fertility and wealth. Cf. A. LOMBARD-JOURDAN, *Fleurs de lis et Oriflamme. Signes célestes du royaume de France*, Préface de J. LE GOFF, Paris, 1991, p. 87 ff. Blue, the heraldic symbol of France, refers to a religious dimension: the colour of the priests of Israel, then becomes the colour of the kings of France. Cf. M. PASTOUREAU, *Blu. Storia di un colore*, Firenze, 2008.

sovereign power, are also highly significant. For the Neapolitan sovereigns, Aragonese descendants, the anointing before the coronation created an indissoluble bond between Christian faith and royalty. While Baptism, according to a ritual borrowed from the liturgy of the primitive Church, was presented as a sort of coronation.

More generally, the Iberian kings, through the anointing, took on a power that was bestowed directly from God. Their person was sacred, according to the concept of *rex-sacerdos*: this was especially true in the monarchy of Aragon. Three elements characterised royalty: the investiture of weapons, the anointing and the investiture of the Aragonese kings²⁹⁵.

Meanwhile, the kings of Castile abandoned the solemn religious liturgy of the *ordinatio regis* already before the 12th century, through anointment in a succession ceremony of the new sovereign which happened, following the king's death, by acclamation of the nobility, the clergy and the people. The conditions for the proclamation were: consanguinity, primogeniture and principle of election. The laws of the kingdom specified that full sovereignty would only be achieved «attraverso la mediazione delle comunità», and therefore even the sovereign had to obey «leggi naturali»²⁹⁶.

Such Aragonese ritual did not differ much from the Frankish one. Pepin the Short king of the Franks was anointed before being crowned²⁹⁷.

The king and the people, according to the Aragonese ritual, were part of the Church: both cooperated in its protection²⁹⁸. The funeral of Alfonso the Magnanimous assumed a particular degree of importance. The body was embalmed and then split (without the need for an ostentatious funeral); the heart was placed in a reliquary and lifted in the Triumphal Arch at Castelnuovo. His head, on the other hand, was stolen and sent to Sicily, while the remains were belatedly moved (1667) to the Cistercian Monastery of Poblet and placed within the dynastic pantheon of the Aragonese sovereigns in Catalonia.

For this sovereign, funerals were still modelled according to medieval criteria: embalming, dressing the body and treatment of the corpse. In his funeral procession, from Castelnuovo to St. Domenico, there was room for

²⁹⁵ C. LISÓN TOLOSANA, *La imagen del Rey*, cit., p. 95.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²⁹⁷ M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Il cerimoniale come linguaggio politico*, cit., p. 140 ff.; J.L. NELSON, *The Lord's Anointed and the People's Choice: Carolingian Royal Ritual*, in D. CANNADINE-S.F.R. PRICE (eds.), *Rituals of Royalty. Powers and Ceremonies in Traditional Societies*, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 137-180.

²⁹⁸ G. VITALE, *Ritualità monarchica e cerimonie pratiche devozionali nella Napoli aragonese*, Introduzione di M.A. VISCEGLIA, Salerno, 2006.

all kinds of representations of the political body of the capital of the Kingdom²⁹⁹.

The ceremonials followed for funerals aimed at legitimising the power of princes and rulers carry weight.

For Florence, Matteo Casini studied how the interregnum rites after the death of Cosimo I, in 1574, actually were a delicate stage of political transition. After the death of Cosimo, several instances had to be combined: continuity with the pre-Medici Florence and with the new dignity of the Grand Dukes. Thus, the funeral rites of Cosimo were organised in three phases: a) a first funeral at S. Lorenzo, showcasing the body of the Grand Duke; b) the funeral procession, city and grand ducal institutions, diplomatic representatives: enthronement of the new Grand Duke Francis I, in Palazzo Vecchio; c) a second funeral with the effigy of the dead prince and at the presence of his successor.

There were significant differences between the two funerals: the funeral at S. Lorenzo, drawing from elements of continuity between republican tradition and the principality; the other one, answering to the themes of Medici propaganda. There was a return to ancient customs: the identification of Cosimo with Octavius, who brought to a successful end in the principality the best legacies of the Roman Republic. The analogy between Anchises-Aeneas and Cosimo-Francis emerged, based on the principle of *pater patriae* of Anchises/Cosimo and on the *pietas* of Aeneas/Francis³⁰⁰.

The ceremonies studied by Muir for the funeral of the Venetian Doges³⁰¹ and by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani for Papal ones³⁰² refer to Imperial rituality. After death, the rings were shattered, and the families of the pontiffs and doges had to abandon public dwellings. In short, an interregnum referred to the ducal and Papal holiday, and the superiority of the institutions of two States, and not to that of the families of doges or pontiffs.

According to Visceglia, where the principate was elective, ritual emphasised the transience of power of the dead sovereign, and also eliminated, through symbols of indubitable and significant evidence, every uncertainty regarding the perpetuity of the institutions of the Body of the Church, represented by the College of Cardinals, in the case of the Papal

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12 ff.

³⁰⁰ M. CASINI, *I gesti del principe*, cit.

³⁰¹ E. MUIR, *Il rituale civico a Venezia nel Rinascimento*, cit.

³⁰² A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *Il corpo del papa*, cit.

State, and of the body of the Republic, represented by the Signoria, in the Venetian case³⁰³.

The rituals surrounding interregnum and death were very different for the Crowns of Aragon and Castile.

In Aragon, the knightly ceremonial for the death of the king was in some ways similar to those adopted by the English and French. This foresaw that the body of the king, or its representation, was to be adorned with symbols of royal power (crown, sceptre, sword, orb and the hand of justice) and exposed to the public, while certain knights entered the mortuary (in Barcelona or Zaragoza) and, before the dead sovereign, turned their shields upside down and lowered the flags of the Kingdom to the ground³⁰⁴.

The Castilian ritual, on the other hand, did not have an interregnum ritual and the funeral procession was very sombre. The shield and the sword and the royal banner were essential symbols in this Kingdom, not of the ceremonial of death but of the inaugural ceremony of the coronation of every new king: *el levantamiento del pendón*. Then, the Habsburgs started to incorporate the luggage of Burgundy rituals.

It has been seen how the ceremonies in Castile and in France drew from those of the Burgundy court.

Charles V was fascinated by the Muslim civilisation and brought to land, from Flanders to Spain, in the early years of the 16th century, those rituals: merging in a syncretic fashion, within the Spanish court, the Burgundian tradition and, on the other hand, the Byzantine heritage mediated by Islam: a certain detachment of the prince, the hieratic of absolute immobility in the presence of ambassadors. The removal and concealment of the prince were Muslim practices³⁰⁵.

The funeral of Charles V, Philip II and Philip III, were very sombre³⁰⁶; while that of Philip IV (which set aside the practices of his predecessors) was organised to achieve greater visibility, in order to receive the viaticum in public. Starting from the latter king, the funerals are sumptuous: the body of the king wearing the Golden Fleece, in addition to other royal insignia; the carrying of the body, starting from the Escorial with the procession, moving overnight to arrive at dawn for burial in the presence of all lay and religious corporations and institutions³⁰⁷.

³⁰³ M.A. VISCEGLIA, *La città rituale*, cit., p. 33.

³⁰⁴ J. VARELA, *La muerte del rey*, cit., p. 50 ff.

³⁰⁵ G. SABATIER, *Le prince et les arts*, cit.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

The effigy of the death scene vanished: the kings put aside the ceremonial of the two bodies by adopting a Spanish kind of solution. Dying as heroes of the faith as saints, with their science of government which remains intact while the body decomposes³⁰⁸. Only from the death of Philip IV, did the bodies of kings begin to be embalmed.

In addition to the monarchic death rituals – and this not only, as we have seen, in Italian cities –, beside the funeral of the bodies of the kings, the commemoration of the royal effigies was also important.

For the French kings such as Charles VIII or Louis XII, the effigy was paraded separately from the body of the king, which was at the centre of the ritual³⁰⁹. During the funeral of Francis I, in 1547, the statue was placed for 11 days in the *lit d'honneur* (without the body of the king) with all the attributes of sovereignty (sceptre, crown, orb and hand of justice), while meals continued to be served as if the King was alive³¹⁰.

We recalled the controversial interpretation of royal effigies and the relationship opened between the physical body and the mystical body of the king³¹¹. For the ceremonialist school, the use of the effigy is therefore traced back to a political and civil dimension of the funeral of the king, to the distinction between king and crown and the continuity of the latter.

There was a dual function, with a clear separation, between the funeral of the body of the king and that of the effigy. The ceremonial of state appropriates a religious symbolism: for Giesey, the crowned effigy is preceded by the sword of France, followed by the flag; it is carried under the canopy just like the symbol of the Eucharist during the procession of the *Corpus Christi*. However, we have seen the criticism of the Giesey model and the ceremonialist school by recent historiography, starting with Brown³¹².

Many coronation rituals are known. The Neapolitan ones are interesting. That of Ferrante which took place in Barletta was very meagre; that of Alfonso II was sumptuous; that of Ferrandino was truncated; the coronation

³⁰⁸ M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Riti di corte e simboli della regalità*, cit., p. 87.

³⁰⁹ R.E. GIESEY, *Les deux corps du roi*, in ID., *Cérémonial et puissance souveraine*, cit., pp. 9-19.

³¹⁰ During the funerals of Charles IX, as they waged religious wars, the effigy was exhibited for 4 weeks. See J. WOODWARD, *Funeral Rituals in the French Renaissance*, in «Renaissance Studies», IX, 1995, 4, pp. 385-394.

³¹¹ Cf. A. GUÉRY, *Principe monarchique ou roi très chrétien?*, cit., p. 443 ff. Instead, Elizabeth Brown considered that the presence of effigies at English funerals was due to a different attitude towards the dead body. The effigy would become an element of a triumphal representation in honour of the deceased and his individual and non-dynastic memory. Cf. E.A.R. BROWN, *Royal Bodies, Effigies*, cit., p. 437 ff.

³¹² E.A.R. BROWN, *The French Royal Funeral Ceremony and the King's Two Bodies*, cit., p. 110 ff.

of Frederick was marked by conflicts between the barons and the people, since as a result of the plague raging in the capital it was organised at Capua. The King of Naples and Sicily was an anointed king, as evinced from the coronation ceremony of Alfonso II: a ritual that referred to the self-legitimation and self-glorification of the monarchy. In the rite, the elements for the benefit of the sovereign were the power relationships between the political actors on the field, who explicated a precise model of royalty that the Aragonese dynasty tended to make its own. The ritual clothing, the Imperial *fygium* (a cap), the donning of the diaconate dress after the double anointing (on the forearm and on the shoulder), the heraldic banners used (the feat of the Ardent chair on the liveries of the pages) seek to introduce elements of continuity with the Angevin kingship. Instead, taking possession of the official seat of power, after the religious ceremony, drew from a significant Spanish ritual which referred to the consent of the barons, gentlemen and people to hereditary succession.

The terms of the coronation of Alfonso II were the subject of negotiations between the Papal and sovereign legates: which liturgy was to be chosen for the King's coronation? The sovereign was inclined towards that of the Ascension, while the Pontiff wanted the ceremonial for the liturgical celebrations of the Holy Spirit. Furthermore: did the King have to stand or kneel, in front of the Papal Nuncio, when reciting the formula of the oath? And what to say about Alfonso II demanding to sing during the ceremony! Requests which would have led to a different declination of the vassalic dependence of the Kingdom towards the Holy See³¹³.

In the first half of the 16th century – but in France the process, according to Yates, would continue until the reign of Henry IV – the iconography in most European countries was inspired by an Imperial vision in its symbolic and liturgical representations³¹⁴.

The myth of Astraea is particularly important.

By appropriating themes already present in the *Aeneid* by Virgil and then transfused into the Fathers of the Church, Astraea was seen as a virgin, wrapped in a mantle embroidered with grain ears. The escape of Astraea points to the departure of justice from the world following the coming of the war-dominated impious iron-age; and her assumption into heaven by becoming the constellation Virgo.

The myth of the return of Astraea in the 16th century took on the form of a new, unseen idea of empire that recovered the classical tradition following

³¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 111 ff.

³¹⁴ F.A. YATES, *Astrea. L'idea di impero nel Cinquecento*, Torino, 1978.

the medieval crisis caused by the opposition between the Empire and the Papacy. This vision referred to the iconography depicting Elizabeth I of England as the Virgin Queen. Such iconography on the sovereign pointed directly to Astraea and the constellation Virgo (Astraea-Elizabeth, who brought justice to Earth).

On several occasions the sovereign is compared, at the level of iconography, to Constantine³¹⁵.

Yates, but also recently a series of biographies dedicated to Charles V and the French kings³¹⁶, showed us 16th century Imperial ideology. Mercurino da Gattinara, the Grand Chancellor of the Emperor, was an important inspirer of this symbolic universe, one of the leading humanists at the time who ideologically referred, within the system of government of the Habsburg constellation, to *De Monarchia* by Dante Alighieri, therefore to the Imperial political unity of the Europe of Charlemagne³¹⁷.

Charles V, compared to Marcus Aurelius, Philosopher Emperor, within a complex operation of *traslatio imperii*, had a blazon where the epigraph *plus outre*, wound around two columns on the sides of a crowned shield of his lineage, on top of which stood a two-headed eagle, evoked the Latin motto *non plus ultra*. A motto directly linked to the fact that his political domain extended beyond the Pillars of Hercules. Ariosto grasped this well in *Orlando Furioso*, a work in which there is a clear allusion to the overseas dominions of the emperor³¹⁸.

The very Christian king of France, with specific reference to the authority of Charlemagne, had Imperial primacy over the world: the ideology of *renovatio imperii* was of Francis I, Henry III and Henry IV³¹⁹.

Other symbolic elements of monarchic iconography are offered by coronation rituals: we examine those of Charles V and other European and Italian princes.

These rituals «rimandano ad una simbiosi di rivendicazione di prerogative ereditarie, ma anche di istanze pattistiche sul modello aragonese di Spagna [...] una tipologia che si differenzia nettamente da quella della sovranità

³¹⁵ R. CIOFFI, *Al di là di Luigi Vanvitelli. Storia e Storia dell'Arte nella Reggia di Caserta*, in *Caserta: la storia*, Napoli, 2000, p. 85 ff.

³¹⁶ F. CANTÙ-M.A. VISCEGLIA (a cura di), *L'Italia di Carlo V*, cit., pp. 477-508.

³¹⁷ F.A. YATES, *Astrea*, cit., p. 15 ff. On Gattinara, cf. M. RIVERO RODRÍGUEZ, *Gattinara. Carlos V y el sueño del Imperio*, Madrid, 2005.

³¹⁸ Quoted from *Orlando Furioso* by Ludovico Ariosto as told by Italo Calvino, Milano, 1995.

³¹⁹ F.A. YATES, *Astrea*, cit., p. 30 ff.

angioina, inquadrata in un complesso e poderoso schema di teologia politica»³²⁰.

Paolo Prodi described the coronation of the emperor at Bologna. It was, according to the renowned historian, a great theatrical representation which was

progettata organicamente dall'inizio in diversi atti: ogni episodio, dalle entrate solenni alle festività in terminologia medievale [tende] a raffigurare [...] l'Imperatore come successore di Costantino sulla scia della conversione e della donazione [...] a sottolineare la propria autonomia, soprattutto nel recupero della tradizione classica romana, e la propria funzione di avvocato e protettore della Chiesa [invece] il Pontefice tende a manifestarsi come espressione dell'ecclesiologia medievale [...] vicario di Cristo e suo rappresentante in terra³²¹.

Papal and Imperial agents negotiated the ceremonial. Thus, Charles V accepted the medieval pontifical ritual which was recovered for the occasion: repeated oaths of loyalty to the Church; the last horse ride at the beginning of which the emperor on foot followed the Pontiff while holding the horses' bridles³²². The price paid by the emperor, according to Prodi, was very high but offset by the political legitimation received with the coronation³²³.

That was the main symbolic event. Then, in a less theatrical event, the coronation, in the same city, with the iron crown of the kings of Italy³²⁴. Just as Charles V gave much to the Pontiff at a symbolic level at the coronation in Bologna, in the same way he granted wide concessions to the institutions representing the Kingdom during the Neapolitan visit.

Other authors have considered the scenographical representation, orchestrated by the emperor, during the coronation. An iconographic apparatus punctually inspired by classical mythology, where sacred figures and pagan gods were found alongside the effigy of the great leaders of the past: Caesar, Augustus, Vespasian and Trajan³²⁵. Charles V was described in

³²⁰ G. VITALE, *Ritualità monarchica*, cit., p. 16.

³²¹ P. PRODI, *Carlo V e Clemente VII: l'incontro di Bologna nella storia italiana ed europea*, in *Bologna nell'età di Carlo V e Guicciardini*, a cura di E. PASQUINI-P. PRODI, Bologna, 2002, p. 341.

³²² *Ibid.*

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 342. On Charles V, cf. C.J. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, *El reino de Nápoles en el Imperio de Carlos V. La consolidación de la conquista*, Madrid, 2001; F. BENIGNO, *L'ombra del re*, cit.; *Sardegna, Spagna e Stati italiani nell'età di Carlo V*, a cura di B. ANATRA-F. MANCONI, Roma, 2001; *Carlo V, Napoli ed il Mediterraneo*, a cura di G. GALASSO-A. MUSI, Napoli, 2001.

³²⁴ M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Introduzione*, in G. VITALE, *Ritualità monarchica*, cit., p. 8 ff.

³²⁵ As stated by E. PASQUINI in the *Introduzione* to *Carlo V a Bologna. Cronache e documenti dell'incoronazione (1530)*, a cura di R. RIGHI, Bologna, 2000, p. XVII.

sources of the time as Caesar: this is how even Luigi Gonzaga defines him in his *Cronaca*³²⁶. The emperor then embodied the qualities of paladins of faith such as Charlemagne and Constantine³²⁷, or of biblical figures or ancient heroes such as Hercules or David. Neoplatonism shaped the image of mystical sovereign power. With the fundamental role of the Church, which through iconographic monarchic rituals took back sacral worship, changing the very vision of royalty³²⁸.

A demonstration of this, in the first part of the triumphal ride into Naples of 1535, the emperor met the clergy in procession with the Archbishop; only later was there a gathering with the secular authorities, the Prince of Salerno (noble mayor of the city, representing the seat of the Nido) and elected nobles Annibale de Capua and Giovan Battista Carafa, when receiving the keys of the city. Then, the second part of the ride: a journey from Porta Capuana to the residence of the Archbishop; the mayor of the city closely proceeded the Viceroy, bearing the royal standard, then the elected officials, holders of the seven offices and titled individuals of the Kingdom. Representatives carrying the emperor's canopy were aristocrats of the Seat of Capua, one elected by the people and one by the barony. The elected representative of the people was the last to kiss the emperor's hand.

The ceremonial continued at the Archbishop's residence, with the recognition of the privileges of the Kingdom. Charles V, by kneeling, confirmed the privileges and favours granted by his predecessors to his faithful servants. The procession then made its way from the Archbishop's residence to Castelnovo, while the various nobles of various seats alternated, as soon as the Imperial canopy entered specific areas of other seats, in the privilege of supporting the poles³²⁹. Even in this case the ritual can be read metaphorically: the royal entrance was nothing other than the triumphal entrance of Christ into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday.

In the 16th century, one should also consider the influence of the Counter-Reformation. An emblematic example was the coronation of Cosimo I de' Medici to Grand Duke of Tuscany by the Pontiff (5 March 1570). A symbolic purification rite especially for the sovereign Pontiff which

³²⁶ L. GONZAGA, *Cronaca del soggiorno di Carlo V in Italia e della sua incoronazione in Bologna (dal 21 luglio 1529 al 25 aprile 1530)*, in *Carlo V a Bologna. Cronache e documenti dell'incoronazione (1530)*, a cura di R. RIGHI, cit., p. 124.

³²⁷ R. STRONG, *Arte e potere. Le feste del Rinascimento 1430-1650*, Milano, 1987, p. 131.

³²⁸ P. KLÉBER MONOD, *The Power of Kings. Monarchy and Religion in Europe, 1589-1715*, New Haven-London, 2001, p. 28 ff. Cf. also M. KISHQANSKY, *L'età degli Stuart. L'Inghilterra dal 1603 al 1714*, Bologna, 1999.

³²⁹ P. KLÉBER MONOD, *The Power of Kings*, cit.

drew the figure of the Pope close to Christ. Cosimo, with a «sottoveste di broccato riccio e una sopraveste di velluto cremisino, indossando la collana del Tosone d'oro», was introduced by the Roman nobility in the Sala dei Paramenti, the robing room where the cardinals awaited him. The Pope blessed the rose held by a cleric, then Cosimo took his place at the «banco dei cardinali». Finally, his coronation during the celebration of the Mass³³⁰.

From the Golden Rose, source of papal authority, the harmony of every dignity³³¹. There were further symbolic values in the metaphor of the rose: «essa è un fiore effimero, come è caduco lo stato dei grandi. La rosa donata al principe e la particolare protezione accordata da parte dell'autorità pontificia, si tramuta anche nella metafora della transitorietà dei poteri terreni»³³².

Then everything changed in monarchic iconography: there were no more references to Imperial ideology. This is clear in both the ceremonies of the Neapolitan viceroys as well as those in the France of Louis XIII. Back then, in the Kingdom of Naples, the ceremonies, drawing from Castile ideology, removed previous Aragonese 'pactistic' and contractualistic elements.

The volume dedicated to the viceregal courts, edited by Francesca Cantù, is important in this regard. In various contributions, it records the dialogue between what has been called the great theatre of modern European politics, namely the composite monarchy of the House of Habsburg, and other non-minor actors such as the viceregal courts³³³. There was no trace, in these ceremonies, of the iconographic setting put in place by Charles V during his visit to the Kingdom after the coronation.

Interestingly, as observed by Isabel Enciso, the Court of Naples, already during the Lemos period, adopted a ceremony that had nothing to do with

³³⁰ M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Il cerimoniale come linguaggio politico*, cit., p. 138 ff.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 140 ff.

³³² *Ibid.*, p. 142 ff.

³³³ The Spanish and Portuguese monarchies have been studied both from the strategic-military and the ceremonial points of view. See F. CANTÙ, *Le corti vicereali della Monarchia spagnola: America ed Italia. Introduzione*, in EAD. (ed.), *Las cortes virreinales de la Monarquía española: América e Italia*. Actas del Coloquio Internacional, Sevilla, 1-4 junio 2005, Roma, 2008, in EAD. (ed.), *Las cortes virreinales de la monarquía española: América e Italia*, Actas del Coloquio Internacional, Sevilla, 1-4 junio 2005, Roma, 2008, pp. 11-36. On the workings of the courts in various European states: *Imagen del rey, imagen de los reinos. Las ceremonias públicas en la España moderna*, direc. A. GONZÁLEZ ENCISO-J.M. USUNÁRIZ GARAYOA, Pamplona, 1999; J. DUINDAM, *Vienna and Versailles*, cit.

the Aragonese, where Castilian solemnity tried to bring together other types of old ceremonies of the Kingdom³³⁴.

Elements that were adapted to previous dynasties entered the iconographic systems. This thesis was confirmed by Carlos Hernando Sánchez who examined the political language provided by the architecture of the city of Parthenope in the 16th century. The *forma urbis* transformations referred to three great ideological and representative dimensions of the monarchy: the rituals of power, the dialogue between weapons and writing, the role of the court³³⁵.

According to Francesca Cantù:

le corti vicereali costituiscono un indicatore per analizzare da nuove angolazioni il processo di articolazione del potere e d'integrazione del sistema di governo della monarchia spagnola e, al contempo, per scrutare i diversi e molteplici piani [...] che costituiscono il fenomeno della Corte come luogo privilegiato di osservazione di quei processi politici, sociali e culturali che presidiano alla messa in scena del potere e dei poteri nella società moderna. Venendo ad assumere la funzione di crogiolo culturale e laboratorio politico [...] in una posizione dialettica di prossimità e di distanza dalla Corte di Madrid, le Corti vicereali contribuiscono a rendere possibile la convivenza di realtà plurali, anche sotto il profilo etnico³³⁶.

Also during the viceregal period, the whole construction of the symbolic system of monarchic rituality was constantly surveyed by political power. Guarino pointed out that – as evinced from the work of the master of Ceremonies, Miguel Díez de Aux serving in Naples from the 1570s until 1621 – the viceregal rituals followed the customs of the House of Burgundy³³⁷.

³³⁴ I. ENCISO-A. MUÑUMER, *La etiqueta como lenguaje político*, in F. CANTÙ (ed.) *Las cortes virreinales de la monarquía española*, cit., pp. 247-292.

³³⁵ C.J. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, *Corte y ciudad en Nápoles durante el siglo XVI: la construcción de una capital virreinal*, in F. CANTÙ (ed.) *Las cortes virreinales de la monarquía española*, cit., p. 337 ff.

³³⁶ F. CANTÙ, *Le corti vicereali della Monarchia spagnola*, cit., p. 36.

³³⁷ Gabriel Guarino studied the books of Neapolitan ceremonies, manuscripts kept at the ASNa, *Maggioridomia Maggiore e Soprintendenza Generale di Casa Reale, Archivio Amministrativo, Inventario IV*, voll. 1483, 1484, 1485, 1486, 1489. Volumes 1483, 1485, 1489 were published by A. ANTONELLI, *Cerimoniali del vicereame spagnolo ed austriaco 1650-1717*, Catanzaro, 2012. See also *Cerimonia della corte vicereale e notamenti di cose degne di ricordarsi*, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, Ms. Villarosa 21. Cf. G. GUARINO, *Cerimoniali e feste durante il vicereame austriaco a Napoli*, in *Cerimonia del vicereame austriaco di Napoli 1707-1734*, a cura di A. ANTONELLI, Napoli, 2014, p. 69 ff.

The viceregal ceremonies considered the two souls of the viceroy: as the *alter ego* of the sovereign; as an office equipped with its own officials, the first magistrate of the kingdom, as well as a military commander³³⁸.

The same system was adopted by the Court of Philip II from 1548 and would remain in vogue throughout the entire Habsburg reign in Spain. Certain aspects of the ceremony revealed that the *alter ego* of the viceroy was the sovereign, but the highest reverence was reserved for the latter. The canopy with the Habsburg arms was always in front of those of other authorities of the Kingdom of Naples³³⁹.

Religious ceremonies, alongside civil ones, are of particular importance. Maria Antonietta Visceglia studied the evolution of the political-religious ceremonials defining the procession of the *Corpus Christi* in Naples through time³⁴⁰.

This event was, together with the celebration of the patron saint, the greatest moment of confrontation among the manifold members of the political-administrative elites of the city. The structuring of the ceremony – with the various precedences accorded to nobles by rank, the folk, the representatives of magistrate classes, the viceroys, the many ecclesiastical figures – closely reflected a conflictual political dialectic.

In the capital, then, the problem amplified as the arrangement, in the honour of holding the royal or viceregal canopy, corresponded to the metaphor for the power block supporting the sovereign.

The last Aragonese monarchs altered the order of precedence, in awarding pallium poles, between aristocrats and the folk. With Ferrante and then King Frederick, the pallium poles were held – here a true metaphor of sovereignty which recognised legitimation in certain classes of the capital by the king – by the heir to the throne, a representative of the people, an

³³⁸ On the subject of Neapolitan court ceremonies in relation to those of Madrid, see information on ceremonies as a cohesive element of viceregal authority. Cf. M. RIVERO RODRÍGUEZ, *La edad de oro de los virreyes. El virreinato en la Monarquía Hispánica durante los siglos XVI y XVII*, Madrid, 2011; G. GUARINO, *Representing the King's Splendour. Communication and reception of symbolic forms of power in viceregal Naples*, Manchester-New York, 2010, p. 18 ff.; J.L. PALOS, *La mirada italiana. Un relato visual del imperio español en la corte de sus virreyes en Nápoles (1600-1700)*, Valencia, 2010, p. 333 ff.; C.J. HERNANDO SÁNCHEZ, *Teatro del honor y ceremonial de la ausencia en la corte virreinal de Nápoles en el siglo XVII*, in *Calderón y la España del Barroco*, coordinado por J. ALCALÁ ZAMORA-E. BELENGUER, I, Madrid, 2001, pp. 591-674. Now see also E. NOVI CHAVARRIA, *Corte e viceré*, in *Il Regno di Napoli nell'età di Filippo IV (1621-1665)*, a cura di G. BRANCACCIO-A. MUSI, Milano, 2014, pp. 103-130.

³³⁹ G. GUARINO, *Cerimoniali e feste*, cit., p. 70 ff.

³⁴⁰ M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Rituali religiosi e gerarchie politiche a Napoli in età moderna*, in *Fra storia e storiografia. Scritti in onore di Pasquale Villani*, a cura di P. MACRY-A. MASSAFRA, Bologna, 1994, pp. 587-619.

elected noble, the Ambassador of Spain and the Venetian Ambassador. The last Aragonese attributed to the representative of the people the unity of the body of the city; the nobles of seat came after, in the hierarchy of honours, while the presence of the historic Aragonese allies became important: the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors.

However, the precedence given to the folk, in the award of pallium poles, created much discontent in the seats of the capital which, in some cases, refused to participate to the procession.

Then, with Ferdinand II of Aragon, the 'Catholic', there was a downsizing of the folk within the political body of the city and of the Kingdom, and this was reflected on the precedences accorded to them: they were not allowed to hold the canopy, with a decree of 1507, as it became an exclusive benefit of gentlemen.

Members of the folk lost their representativeness, also in other circumstances, in the celebration of public ceremonies. We have seen how, in 1535, when Charles V made his triumphal entry to Naples, the elected representative of the folk was relegated to last place in the honours of holding the poles of the canopy.

A strong opposition to these lay ceremonies took over, at the beginning of the 17th century, following a different political dialectic established between the attention-seeking viceroys and the new aspirations of the Counter-Reformation Church. *Corpus Christi*, as a metaphor for the political body, in Naples represented the image of compromise between the central authority and the prerogatives of seats; additionally, it was an expression of the ecclesiastical body, mitigating the opposition between a Church structure strongly rooted in Neapolitan society and arceiscopal power, a projection of Roman centralism.

Not always did this dialectic occur. In the second half of the 16th century, the Neapolitan curia wanted to privatise the *Corpus Christi* procession as well as that of the Holy Sacrament. In both cases, the canons of the Duomo claimed that in the ritual the clergy preceded the citizen classes in the award of pallium poles. To rectify the disputes between nobles, folk and ecclesiastical authorities, caused by the awarding of precedence during two processions (1550 and 1570), the viceroys demanded *nulla innovatur* be introduced into ceremonies³⁴¹.

In the early decades of the 17th century, before the Masaniello revolt, with Archbishop Filomarino, the canons of the Duomo and other members of

³⁴¹ M. ROSA, *L'onda che ritorna: interno ed esterno sacro nella Napoli del '600*, in *Luoghi sacri e spazi della santità*, a cura di S. BOESCH GAJANO-L. SCARAFFIA, Torino, 1990, pp. 397-417.

the ecclesiastical hierarchies always usurped the best places in the awarding of pallium dignities of the two Neapolitan processions.

Another important moment in the fulfilment of ceremonies was that of monarchic policies regarding certain saints of the king, especially St. Agnello and St. Januarius.

The Angevin had already introduced the cults of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Martha (from Provence), while the Aragonese promoted the cult of St. George.

Aragonese politics had a tendency for the cult of various saints, differentiating itself from other Italian principalities which favoured the affirmation of a single saint.

In this regard, some important cases have been studied: for Florence, the Medici introduced the cult of the Ascension of the Virgin (a cult linking the mystical qualities of the Virgin Mary to the prince and the court)³⁴²; for Mantova, the Gonzaga linked their ascent to the relic of the Most Precious Blood of Jesus Christ (preserved in the Basilica of San Andrea³⁴³); while in Turin, the Savoy associated the cult of the Holy Shroud to their own dynasty³⁴⁴.

Naples and the cities of Campania would feel the close presence of too many thaumaturgic saints all grouped together in a very confined area – as we know from the theories offered by Giovanni Vitolo³⁴⁵. So the Aragonese mainly promoted the worship of St. Agnello, considered to be a protector of Naples from the Saracens, and then St. Januarius, considered an important miracle saint, a martyr who emanated manna, not secondary compared to other important Campania saints who were known for the same thaumaturgic powers as St. Matthew, St. Andrew and St. Bartholomew³⁴⁶. The Aragonese kings sought to utilise St. Januarius' thaumaturgic powers, but

³⁴² M. FANTONI, *La corte del Granduca. Forma e simboli del potere mediceo tra Cinque e Seicento*, Roma, 1984, pp. 171-199. On Florence see also R.C. TREXLER, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, cit.

³⁴³ Ludovico Gonzaga commissioned Pisanello to paint frescoes representing the Arthurian cycle and the quest for the Holy Grail of Christ. Then, in 1608 Vincenzo Gonzaga established the Chivalric Order of the Most Precious Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Cf. R. CAPUZZO, *Sanguis Domini Mantuae: le inventiones del prezioso Sangue di Cristo nella costruzione dell'imperium christianum e dell'identità civica di Mantova*, Firenze, 2009, pp. 101-109.

³⁴⁴ It had its original seat in the sacred chapel at Chambéry from 1453 and, with the growth of the Duchy's capital, it was then transposed there on September 15, 1578. Picking up on the observations made by M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Rappresentazioni dello stato*, cit., p. 217 ff.

³⁴⁵ G. VITOLO, *Tra Napoli e Salerno. La costruzione dell'identità cittadina nel Mezzogiorno medievale*, Salerno, 2001, p. 54 ff.

³⁴⁶ G. VITALE, *Ritualità monarchica*, cit., p. 160 ff.

in times of crisis they resorted to his protection as a way of guaranteeing the union between the dynasty and all the members of the political body: the bust follows the Standard of the House of Aragon³⁴⁷.

Of note, then, was the policy of the Carafa family and the archbishops of Naples who determined the transfer of the missing relics of the saint to the capital. It was the Archbishop of Naples, Oliviero Carafa, who at the end of the 15th century succeeded in obtaining the transfer of the remains of the body of St. Januarius from Montevergine to the city of Naples, which was disputed by the city of Benevento³⁴⁸; the Archbishop himself was responsible for the dissemination of the cult of St. Thomas Aquinas both in Naples and Rome³⁴⁹. In Naples, for the latter saint, the Carafa chose the church of St. Domenico Maggiore – in whose chapel they erected their own sepulchre – where the crucifix said to have spoken to St. Thomas is kept, whereas in Rome they chose the chapel of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. The rise of Pope Paul IV could thus count on several elements: a branched and powerful lineage in the Kingdom of Naples, a Cardinal Court in Rome, the undisputed support of the Dominican Order, of which the Carafa were always protectors in Naples and Italy. A true privatisation of the worship of two of the most renowned Italian saints³⁵⁰.

Very soon the worship of St. Januarius returned among the interests of the Habsburgs and then those of the Neapolitan Church. The height of this offensive was seen during the period when Cardinal Filomarino was Archbishop. Linked to Urbano VIII, the prelate vindicated the worship and management of the relics of the patron saint to the Neapolitan Diocese. In this way, the Archbishop denied the delivery of the keys of the Cappella Vecchia del Tesoro to the city's elected officials who in fact were the keepers of the precious relics of the saint. It followed that the nobles of Neapolitan seats and the elected folk transferred the relics of the saint to S. Angelo in Nido, a place not within the jurisdiction of the Archbishop but of the city. The dispute was resolved with a great reconciliation which took place in 1647, when the relics were carried to the Cappella Nuova del Tesoro. From

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

³⁴⁸ A. DE SPIRITO, *La patria contesa. Benevento, Napoli e San Gennaro*, Manduria-Bari-Roma, 2006.

³⁴⁹ G. VITALE, *Ritualità monarchica*, cit., p. 185 ff. Cf. also EAD., *I santi del Re. Potere politico e pratiche devozionali nella Napoli angioina ed aragonese*, in *Pellegrinaggi e itinerari dei santi nel Mezzogiorno medievale*, a cura di G. VITOLO, Napoli, 1999, pp. 93-128.

³⁵⁰ M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Roma papale e Spagna: diplomatici, nobili e religiosi tra due corti*, Roma, 2010; M.A. VISCEGLIA-P. SIGNOROTTO (a cura di), *La corte di Roma tra Cinque e Seicento teatro della politica europea*, Roma, 1998; I. FOSI, *All'ombra dei Barberini. Fedeltà e servizio nella Roma barocca*, Roma, 1997.

this moment on, the blood and relics were the prerogative of the Archbishop and of the chapter, while only chaplains of the treasure could, in every single procession, hold the poles of the pallium³⁵¹.

Other important elements of monarchic iconography can be derived from those that are termed as ephemeral arts, first of all the machines and wagons on which mythological characters were constructed recalling allegories and metaphors of power and sovereignty.

Claude-Gilbert Dubois pointed out, for France, that the solar year, imagined as a mirror of human life, was divided into several stages through the festivities that marked the flow of time³⁵². Thus, the Carnival, which in the old French calendar fell at the end of the year, was also a rite of passage, symbolising death but also renewal and facilitating the spread of pagan festivals linked to rebirth³⁵³.

In France and the Kingdom of Naples, the Carnival celebrations underwent the influence of its renewal in the mid-15th century at the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent. In Florence were introduced in festivities the masks with triumphant wagons already used in the Middle Ages for celebrations³⁵⁴. This was how the Florentine Carnival influenced the development of the iconographic system in the Kingdom of Naples and France. In the former country, the strong presence of bankers and shopkeepers at the Aragonese court who were aware of the Italian novelties introduced in the wheels of Leonardo's or other technicians' machines; in the latter country, the very presence of the inventor was important at the Court of Francis I where he created ephemeral devices spreading innovative ideas that would, eventually, be taken up by artists who came to France following the Sack of Rome such as Rosso Fiorentino and Primaticcio³⁵⁵.

Primaticcio had a further function. In addition to the creation of decorations and ephemeral devices, he also had the task of creating carnival masks for members of the French court. He designed finely decorated costumes in line with ancient tradition. The figures reproduced lost the marble candour of classical statues to have a new life thanks to colour³⁵⁶.

³⁵¹ M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Rituali religiosi*, cit., p. 619.

³⁵² C.-G. DUBOIS, *L'imaginaire de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1985, p. 127.

³⁵³ Until the mid-16th century, the start of the year was not the 1st of January but the day Christ ascended into heaven.

³⁵⁴ A. PINELLI, *Feste e trionfi: continuità e metamorfosi di un tema*, in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, a cura di S. SETTIS, II, Torino, 1985, p. 317.

³⁵⁵ C. SCAILLIÉREZ, *La maniera francese. Da Francesco I a Enrico IV: una pittura colta*, in *La pittura francese*, I, Milano, 1999, p. 192.

³⁵⁶ L. DIMIER, *Le Primatice*, Paris, 1928, p. 69.

In all this, for aristocratic etiquette, which would be present in the French court at least until Louis XIV, there followed a rigid etiquette taking from *Cortegiano* by Baldassar Castiglione, translated into French by request of Francis I³⁵⁷.

Even in the Kingdom of Naples the ephemeral devices for the Carnival party, the rides, *cuccagne*, the bullfights, the pyrotechnical machines must be framed within the propaganda system of the courts or in the prince's munificence³⁵⁸. There were three characteristics of celebrations: a) medieval tournaments and circus games; b) gala shows; c) the ritual exalting the prince's triumph. There is a significant number of news, in the sources of time, about these representations. Among the tournaments and rides that have been particularly publicised, the 1658 tournament organised following the birth of the Infante of Spain, the 1662 carousel and the 1700 tournament celebrating the birthday of Charles II³⁵⁹.

Allegorical wagons and gala shows were important. In 1612, in the capital, wagons were set up symbolically featuring the four known continents: Europe, Africa, Asia, America; theatres were set up, comedies of various types and allegorical masquerades, as for the wedding of Charles II. The Spanish also tried to introduce other types of shows, such as bullfights. But these new entertainments did not seem to be appreciated by the Neapolitans so much so that, in 1700, the infuriated population destroyed the fence built for a bullfight in Chiaia beach. The latter shows were too bloody and similar to the *modus vivendi* of Spain, and were definitively abolished by the Austrians³⁶⁰.

Instead, the event rooting in Naples in the popular setting, a direct emanation of viceregal power since its inception, was the *cuccagna*. Already in the 17th century *cuccagna* events taking place outside the Castle spread. In 1696, four pyramids (*cuccagne*) were built and filled with all kinds of foods. It was the Marquis del Carpio who expanded this kind of event by also

³⁵⁷ P. BURKE, *Le fortune del Cinquecento: Baldassar Castiglione ed i pervorsi del Cinquecento europeo*, Roma, 1998, p. 24; A. CHASTEL, *Architettura e cultura nella Francia del Cinquecento*, Torino, 1991, p. 48 ff. On *Cortegiano* by Baldassar Castiglione cf. A. QUONDAM, *Il libro del Cortegiano*, Roma, 2000.

³⁵⁸ M. MANCINI, *Feste ed apparati civili e religiosi a Napoli dal Vicereame alla capitale*, Napoli, 1997, p. 30 ff. See also G. GALASSO, *Napoli al tramonto del Vicereame e l'avvento di Carlo di Borbone*, in *Capolavori in festa. Effimero barocco a Largo Palazzo (1663-1759)*, cat. mostra, Napoli, 1997, p. 141 ff.

³⁵⁹ M. MANCINI, *Feste ed apparati civili e religiosi*, cit. See also L. BARLETTA, *Un esempio di festa: il carnevale*, p. 91 ff.; P. LATTUADA, *La macchina da festa: un'esperienza ricostruttiva tra filologia e tecnologia*, p. 135 ff. Both papers are contained in *Capolavori in festa*, cit.

³⁶⁰ M. MANCINI, *Feste ed apparati civili e religiosi*, cit., p. 60 ff.

annually celebrating the queen's birthday. Subsequently, an impressive *cuccagna* was organised for the arrival of Philip V to Naples; another particularly important one – at the beginning of the Austrian Viceroyalty – was that of 1708, for the birthday of Joseph I. The one celebrating the seizing of the kingdom by Charles of Bourbon was memorable. That of 1739 was impressive when Infante Philip married Elisabeth of Bourbon; while, in 1775, there were great celebrations for the wedding of Ferdinand IV³⁶¹. The use of pyrotechnical machines appeared alongside these public functions. In 1708, a device was built, full of metaphorical meanings, where one could see the Pillars of Hercules, placed to support Imperial arms, and Hercules killing the Hydra with one hand and the Athenaeum giant with the other³⁶².

Several architects, especially Fuga, specialised in the construction of pyrotechnical machines and items that ended up becoming increasingly sophisticated.

In 1809 a machine was built which depicted the temple of Giano and the river Niemen, on whose sides the French and Russian armies faced each other. At the centre of the French deployment stood Emperor Napoleon, who, led by Minerva, crowned with victory, walked away to give peace to the world. This type of Imperial iconography can suggest a relationship between the metaphors depicted in this machine and the frescoes of the hall of the Royal Palace of Caserta, desired by Murat, where one can find the depiction of *Minerva coronata dalla vittoria*³⁶³.

3. The portrait of the king. Old and new symbols of sovereignty

A new study angle moved the focus of the research onto the body of the king and from ceremonies to the portrait of kings and queens, the places and types of court environments.

Regarding the first point, in Italy and France two authors were especially important: Gérard Labrot with his studies on Caprarola and Louis Marin with his volume on the portrait of the king. The painting played a fundamental role for the history of power in a certain period of the modern state. The portrait replaced the character: the equestrian portrait of the king

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 85 ff.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 87 ff.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 92 ff.

made believe that the sovereign had an unlimited power; the portrait adopted mythology.

Labrot is the key character who linked the Italian experience to the French one. His formation began with remarkable studies on the Kingdom of Naples, then he pursued more on urban history up to his research on Caprarola. The latter influenced in the first place future works that in France would regard the Court of Versailles. If one listens to Sabatier, Labrot's conclusion shed light on the Farnese and other small Italian princes who had to compensate the fact of possessing minuscule territorial principalities, and so had themselves represented by enlargements of heroes of the past. The *Ercole Farnese* is a good enough example for all of these. The enlargement of heroes was then used for the outer legitimation of a power which was not yet absolute. This was the interpretative key used by Sabatier to read the iconography of the Hall of Mirrors of Versailles. When King Louis XIV started asking for a natural portrait of himself, in a specific gallery, he himself had turned into a hero: he pacified France, won the war against the Dutch and became the most powerful sovereign in Europe. Labrot's study of Caprarola, as we will see, shed light on the new strategies of the Bourbons of Naples that, starting from the end of the 18th century, pointed to an identity that privileged the Italian soul rather than the Spanish one and so valorising the origin of the Farnese and their mythology.

The other author who is as relevant as Labrot is Louis Marin. For this author the portrait becomes significant in a specific phase of the history of power: that of the advent of the princely state of the early modern age. This is why, to intensify the power of the image and to prove the strength of the sovereign, portraits of gods or of ancient heroes were done. Then, the legitimation due to divine right of the king with or without consecration followed: portraits transmitted in communication through figurative processes, mythologies, metaphors, allegory³⁶⁴.

Yet another significant element. According to Peter Burke, by the end of the 17th century there was a phase of deep mutation in the vision of monarchic ideology. The model of antiquity as a cultural reference linking the myth to a new rhetoric, with the prevalence of 'modern' features compared to classical ones, dawned; a decline of the principle of correspondence, the corporate and organic image of the world that bundled up science, politics and religion. A different world was born regarding

³⁶⁴ L. MARIN, *Le portrait du roi*, cit.

scientific knowledge, mentality, and the ways to comprehend and practice religious faith as well as the ideologies of sovereignty³⁶⁵.

Recently, modern historians, semiotics and art experts have examined certain large representations of the portrait of the king.

During the early modern age, the portrait of the king was symbolic. It was a vector projected towards nobility. The term shows, through a specular image of the king, the perfect copy of sovereign virtues it should incarnate. The portrait as sovereign majesty contributed to determining the exercise of authority just like royal signs. The portrait replaced the presence of the king: attributed a legal value other than a symbolic one. The portrait gave new life to the union of the crown, legitimated sovereign authority. The portrait of the king as a work of art, but also as privileged relationship between the sovereign and the artist. Representations tended to demonstrate the physical strength and the superiority of the sovereign.

This was how the portrait became an instrument of investigation and not just a document. Royal portraits were very much like ancient coins: on one face the profile of the emperor, on the other his individual virtues. It was a collective system of continually re-created meanings.

According to Christine Tauber, the portrait of the king can make present what is absent at the service of memory: making absent people present in such a way they can be recognised by future generations³⁶⁶.

Three important differences in the portraits of the king during the first part of the early modern age referred to a specific representation of the state and sovereignty: one shared with the bodies of the kingdom; then, portraits recalling the absolute power of the sovereign; and, in the 16th century, portraits referring to Imperial ideology and to the myth of Astraea.

Among the portraits showing shared sovereignty, the most famous is, according to Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, that of Emperor Charles IV, when, in 1356, with the concession of the *Bulla Aurea*, he appeared in the circle of electors, also denominated the 'Pillars of the Empire', namely ten classes each with four representatives³⁶⁷.

³⁶⁵ P. BURKE, *The Demise of Royal Mythologies*, cit., p. 253.

³⁶⁶ G. SABATIER, *Le prince et les arts*, cit., p. 130 ff.

³⁶⁷ A. PINELLI-G. SABATIER-B. STOLLBERG-RILINGER-CH. TAUBER-D. BODART, *Le portrait du roi: entre art, histoire, anthropologie et sémiologie*, in «Perspective: actualité en histoire de l'art», 2012, 1, pp. 11-28. Other than the seven great prince-electors, classes were comprised of: dukes, margraves, langraves, burgraves, counts, nobles, knights, cities, villages and farmers. The painting was commissioned in 1414 by Sigismund and then re-printed through heraldic publications. Cf. A. DE BENEDICTIS, *Politica, governo ed istituzioni nell'Europa moderna*, Bologna, 2001, p. 33.

Another portrait referring to a shared sovereignty is the fresco by Rosso Fiorentino, in the gallery dedicated to Francis I in the Palace of Fontainebleau, *L'unità dello Stato*. Carlo Falciani read in it, basing himself on the pomegranates that appear in the iconography, a scene focused on the historical tale of the symbolic gift of the fruit offered by the people of Corinth to Alexander the Great. The seeds of pomegranate are enclosed while being separated, indicating harmony: the unity of the State³⁶⁸.

This is also evident at the Palace of Fontainebleau, when Francis I started to be depicted as an emperor. In the final panel of the gallery, Francis is in the guise of Caesar, joined with the whole of France, with a pomegranate in hand, the fruit representing the unity of the State. Back in 1540, state unity was far from being achieved. The image was placed there to state what was not³⁶⁹.

Also among popes, a participated sovereignty can be identified in the portrait of Leo X surrounded by his cardinals³⁷⁰.

Yet again, the portrait of Charles V, by Titian, as winner at the head of a triumphal procession, is not one of an absolute sovereign³⁷¹.

Things began to change when sovereigns chose to be naturally portrayed, such as for the portrait of Louis XIV by Hyacinthe Rigaud of 1701³⁷². The same can be said for the portrait of Philip IV by Diego Velázquez³⁷³.

The second point: Imperial ideology in the 16th century was no longer an exclusive of Spain, but was owned by the main European monarchies. Princes and highly titled individuals recalled classical myths and in the composition of their genealogies they referred to Trojan origins, or to Aeneas or to Augustan Rome.

In the iconography, and not just that of very Christian kings, the gestures and rites of the emperor are of great importance: the mask of divine majesty where Augustus took on the form of the father of gods; Augustus and Alexander the Great as Jupiter.

³⁶⁸ C. FALCIANI, *Francesco I ritratto a Fontainebleau*, in *Atti del convegno di studi "Il ritratto dell'Europa del Cinquecento, arte, letteratura, società"*, a cura di A. GALLI-C. PICCININI-M. ROSSI, Firenze, 2007, p. 56.

³⁶⁹ *L'Unità dello Stato e la liberalità di Francesco I (1535-1539)*, Palace of Fontainebleau, Gallery of Francis I.

³⁷⁰ *Portrait de Léon X avec ses deux neveux cardinaux* (1518-1519), Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi.

³⁷¹ A. PINELLI-G. SABATIER-B. STOLLBERG-RILINGER-CH. TAUBER-D. BODART, *Le portrait du roi*, cit., pp. 11-28.

³⁷² *Louis XIV en costume de sacre* de Hyacinthe Rigaud (1701), Paris, Musée du Louvre.

³⁷³ Diego Velázquez (1624-1627), Madrid, Museo del Prado.

All of the biography of the French kings, starting from Francis I, is dotted by Imperial iconography. As soon as the coronation was officialised, Francis I actively participated to the battle of Marignano that led to the defeat of the Swiss and the annexation of the Duchy of Milan. The event assigned to the sovereign, in the collective imagination of the subjects, the attribute of Julius Caesar revived. Furthermore, the hero and valiant commander, the very year of his accession to the throne, signed in Bologna together with the Pope a historical Concordat thanks to which he obtained the right to elect bishops: this was how the Gallican Church was born within the Catholic one³⁷⁴.

Imperial ideology appears in literary references and in the iconography especially through the comparison with Caesar. In the first half of the 16th century, Dante Popoleschi translated the *De vita Caesarum* by Suetonius, dedicating it to Francis I³⁷⁵; while François Desmoulins, the preceptor of the young king, arranged a compilation of manuscripts, *Commentaires de la guerre gallique*, that – structured in the form of an imaginary dialogue between Julius Caesar and Francis I – had the purpose of educating the young sovereign to the art of government³⁷⁶.

In the iconography of Francis I we do not only find a political juxtaposition to Caesar. Many mythological traits are present in the sovereign which refer to ancient Rome as it was interpreted by Renaissance culture. This is why the sovereign was inspired to obtain a place where he could show works of art, such as the Palace of Fontainebleau, basing it on the wealth of indications given by Pliny the Younger on the suburban villa and also imitating, in doing this, Paolo Giovio's villa on the shore of lake of Como (which inaugurated the first great art collection).

And in this circumstance, as noted, certain Italian artists had a crucial role: Rosso Fiorentino, who decorated the gallery dedicated to Francis I, followed by Primaticcio.

We must however specify that portraits during the *Ancien Régime* would symbolise status before the portrayed individual. The dress and the symbolic

³⁷⁴ During his stay in Bologna, Francis I was represented in the guise of thaumaturgic king (this is how he is portrayed in the Farnese Hall of the d'Accursio Palace where the Farnese Cardinal between 1658 and 1662 commissioned to Carlo Cignari and Emilio Taruffi the execution of the fresco depicting the sovereign in the act of curing those affected by scrofula). On thaumaturgic kings, cf. M. BLOCH, *I re taumaturghi*, cit., pp. 281 e 336.

³⁷⁵ The manuscript at the National Library of Paris (ms. fr. 13429).

³⁷⁶ A.-M. LECOQ, *François I^{er} imaginaire. Symbolique & politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française*, Préface de M. FUMAROLI, Paris, 1987, p. 253.

objects worn and shown by the characters are masks aimed not at expressing the human qualities, but historical and social merits³⁷⁷.

We have seen the importance of Rosso Fiorentino's fresco inherent to the unity of the State in the decoration of the gallery of the French sovereign³⁷⁸. Other symbolic elements referring to the idea of empire are once more offered on the opposing wall in the same gallery in the scene entitled *L'elefante reale*. The size of the elephant, referring to an allegory of Julius Caesar, is a synonym of wisdom and leniency. It is covered by a cloth adorned with the lilies of France with a salamander emblem on the head, the symbol of Francis I³⁷⁹.

The matching of the Caesar-Francis I Imperial ideology became close also in the domestic quarters of the sovereign. Francesco Primaticcio, called to work at the Palace of Fontainebleau with Rosso, in a drawing done between 1541 and 1545, portrayed Francis I in the guise of Caesar³⁸⁰.

The construction, by Primaticcio, of the Cabinet du Roi, obtained by enlarging the Cabinet de Madame (initially destined to the apartments of Louise of Savoy), is important. In the four cardinal virtues represented, power symbolises Caesar. The image of Francis I as Caesar was placed in the centre, over the entrance to the Chamber of the King³⁸¹.

As we observed, in his trips to Italy Primaticcio heard of the Doria Palace and the decorations that adorned the Loggia and portrayed Andrea Doria in the guise of Neptune³⁸².

An iconography recalling the idea of empire was also imposed in following French sovereigns. In certain medals, Henry IV is represented as Mars and Maria de' Medici as Pallas, son of Evander³⁸³. The former carries a

³⁷⁷ M. BETTINI (ed.), *La maschera, il doppio e il ritratto. Strategie dell'identità*, Roma-Bari, 1991, p. 108.

³⁷⁸ C. FALCIANI, *Francesco I ritratto a Fontainebleau*, cit., p. 56.

³⁷⁹ A.-M. LECOQ, *François I^{er} imaginaire*, cit., p. 433. On the level of political symbology, the pomegranate replaced the monarchic globe.

³⁸⁰ Chantilly, Musée Condé, inv. 153 (135g).

³⁸¹ D. CORDELLIER, *Il Cabinet du Roy a Fontainebleau*, in ID. (a cura di), *Primaticcio. Un bolognese alla corte di Francia*, Catalogo della mostra, Bologna, Palazzo di Re Enzo e del Podestà, 30 gennaio-10 aprile 2005, Milano, 2005, p. 187. See also O. OCCHIPINTI, *Il disegno in Francia nella letteratura artistica del Cinquecento*, Firenze, 2003, p. 103.

³⁸² There are, according to certain scholars, similarities between the heroes painted by Perin del Vaga (*Andrea Doria come Nettuno*) and those by Primaticcio (*Francesco I come Cesare*). Cf. D. CORDELLIER, *Il Cabinet du Roy a Fontainebleau*, cit., p. 190.

³⁸³ Engraved by Guillaume Dupré and coined in 1603 as a gift for the royal couple.

spear and sword; the latter holds a shield with the left hand. In both cases the allegory of war is evident³⁸⁴.

In pictorial art, the portrait of Jacob Bunel, of 1601, entitled *Henri IV en Mars* and commissioned by Maria de' Medici, was important probably for the decoration of certain halls of the Louvre³⁸⁵. In the painting there are many similarities with the iconography of Francis I: arms and armour are placed to form a kind of throne, the foot over the helmet as a symbol of laid weapons, the staff of command imperiously displayed as a sceptre. The continuity with the past and the value of tradition remained, even though more physiological and less idealised traits were introduced.

The myth of Astraea, true metaphor of Imperial iconography, according to recent studies, returned in vogue with the War of Spanish Succession. Charles VI, in his attempt to unify the old Habsburg domains, once more adopted Imperial ideology, especially after the acquisition of Catalonia and Naples³⁸⁶. Only to resurface, as we will see, during the Napoleonic period.

As for the second point, studies regarding the architectural composition of the courts have multiplied. What were the public and the private spaces of the king at court? When did private spaces come into play? When did we have new spaces within the court?

Which were the courtiers with access to the physical person of the king? What was the make-up of the royal family, and of the courts of the king and queen? Were there works of art commissioned by or exclusively destined to the king, such as paintings, books, prints? Three cases have been especially studied in recent years: the Palace of Fontainebleau, the Luxembourg Palace, the Palace of Versailles.

We have seen that for the early 14th century there was no single court. Biographers of Charles V described a king with an itinerant court moving from one capital to the next. More than a single palace, a number of castles hosting the court.

Literature from France passed on how Caterina de' Medici and her Court were itinerant; they were continuously on tour, marked by political events which influenced the journeys of the court and the spaces available to it. We have seen the policy of Francis regarding Fontainebleau.

³⁸⁴ J. KROMM, *The Bellona Factor: Political Allegories and the Conflicting Claims of Martial Imagery*, in *Early Modern Visual Allegory. Embodying Meaning*, edited by C. BASKINS-L. ROSENTHAL, Ashgate, 2007, p. 176.

³⁸⁵ C. CANEVA-F. SOLINAS (a cura di), *Maria de' Medici (1573-1642). Una principessa fiorentina sul trono di Francia*, Livorno, 2005, p. 270.

³⁸⁶ R. QUIRÓS ROSADO, *Monarquía de España de Oriente. La corte de Carlos III y el gobierno de Italia durante la guerra de Sucesión, 1706-1714*, Madrid, 2017.

Also in the construction of the Luxembourg Palace precedents are found in the Palace of Fontainebleau or in the Château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, modified for the king at the beginning of the 17th century. There are major transformations in both castles, including the addition of a gallery for the queen at Fontainebleau and, at Saint-Germain, the conversion of two lodges in front of the garden into symmetrical galleries. Unlike his predecessors, Henry IV used the galleries for ceremonies and public auditions.

In the Luxembourg Palace Renaissance architecture entered the vision of royalty: the palace appears as an asymmetrical building, but the apartments of the queen were different in terms of dimension, location, access as well as exterior design. The Queen Mother had the opportunity to annex a gallery to the palace.

Historians dedicated much care to the biographic scenes by Rubens decorating the Gallery of the Queen. The Luxembourg Palace has been described as testimony of the magnificence of one of the most important queens of Europe. Actually, its decoration and construction were designed to glorify Maria de' Medici: as a regent queen of France, as a founder, alike Henry IV, of the Bourbon dynasty, furthermore descendant of Imperial princes and grand mecenes.

The architecture of the palace offers a serious contribution to understanding new royal residences: this was a ritual space for the queen which inaugurated modern palaces³⁸⁷.

The palace was programmed for the return to power of Maria de' Medici as an instrument of political propaganda. From here, the Rubens cycle assumes the characters of an actual epic narration³⁸⁸. In the cycle, the queen and King Henry IV are celebrated (1628-1630). It was a political project that the queen commissioned in 1611, after the assassination of Henry IV and the rise to regency. Rubens paintings praised: the nobility of birth of the future queen, the education, the royal wedding, and the ten years of Maria as the queen of Henry IV. Then, the role of matron and continuer of the dynasty: the birth of the Dauphin in 1601 and of other five children portrayed inside a cornucopia; finally, in 1610, when Maria became widow and regent, the will of the former sovereign to give her regency with the actual transfer of sovereignty. The allegory of power emerges in the cycle: the three faiths guiding the thread of its destiny. The chromatic connotations representing the queen are significant: bright colours characterise her rise or white representing mourning when she becomes a widow: she was dressed

³⁸⁷ C. ZUM KOLK, *Catherine de Médicis et l'espace*, cit.

³⁸⁸ F. COSANDEY, *Représenter une reine de France*, cit.

in white once she reclaimed power. The queen did not have sovereign power but reflected a borrowed light.

The Palace of Versailles with its Hall of Mirrors has been thoroughly studied. Different mythologies clash together in the Hall of Mirrors: the metaphor of Apollo; Hercules mythology; finally, the gallery with the portraits of the very king becoming a hero.

The principle of proximity was imposed on the function of internal spaces. Statues are busts of emperors and allegories of the good governance of the ancients. On the side of the garden an especially mythological discourse was affirmed: the king, namely Apollo, imposed discipline and order in the world represented by elements, temperaments, from four continents. The tale of Apollo was set on two axes. One axle with an East-West path of the Sun, while the other was embedded on a North-South path and was marked by the theme of the fight against the dragon.

The Apollonian programme of Versailles was then abandoned. Between years 1680-1690 the preference for the ancient Roman world imposed itself in the palace, with the arrival from Italy of hundreds of statues. Hundreds of French students contributed to the realisation of the apparatus of the palace. The mission the French students were given when they were dispatched from the Academy of France to Rome was not to be creative, but to be copyists. They copied statues and paintings that the king wished to have from Rome but that he could not purchase. Soon enough, with hundreds of new sculptures, the Apollonian myth declined to be replaced by Louis XIV in the guise of Augustus.

The Hall of Mirrors proclaims the invincibility of the king: 80 feet tall fountains, gardens from barren grounds or swamps thanks to technical supremacy and inexhaustible finances.

Historians of art frequently discussed the mythological interpretations of Versailles. For instance, the subject of Leto was linked to the punishment of farmers (a clear reference to the Fronde revolt); the fountain was part of a much larger programme whose object was the life of Apollo.

Later, as we have seen, in the iconography King Louis XIV would appear 'in his own guise'. According to Sabatier, this is the meaning of the main panel of the Hall of Mirrors where young King Louis XIV is portrayed, full of health and energies, with the three Graces at his back, with a prosperous France at peace; instead, in front, the Habsburg sovereign sits on a cloud holding a tyrannical power that can be linked to the exploitation of America; while the Netherlands are portrayed as an enriched bourgeois who draws its strength from commerce.

The Hall of Mirrors broke with the previous tradition, there no longer were metaphorical interpretations. We went from a discourse of praise to actual royal propaganda. The image of an absolute sovereign who no longer needed the help of mythology took over: solitary, dressed with ancient garments, wearing a wig, still as a statue, the body represented as a half-bust (therefore void of arms), with an inexpressive visage.

When reading about the celebrations that occurred on the tercentenary of the death of Louis XIV, one realises that the studies on the Court of Versailles are way ahead compared to those of other European courts.

Still, however, Versailles lacks the work that Monique Chatenet dedicated to the court of France during the reign of Francis I, as well as more in-depth studies on the relationship between the court and ceremonies.

4. Towards a new symbolism of power. Political iconography and the formation of service nobility in the Bourbon states

The symbolism of monarchic power between France, Spain and the Kingdom of Naples must be examined comparatively, at least from the beginning of the Bourbon period.

With the Bourbons, starting from Louis XIV, and in the Kingdom of Naples since Charles III, the symbolic representation of monarchic power changed. These novelties can be verified in three specific points:

- a) the new scenography of the courts that took place with the Bourbons;
- b) the monarchic policy regarding the formation of service nobility;
- c) the success of some allegories and metaphors that would travel across the monarchic and noble iconography of France, Spain and the Kingdom of Naples.

The Bourbons, in the symbology of power, followed a totally different iconography which deviated completely from that of the Habsburgs during the Imperial period. It all started from Louis XIV.

Once he pacified his Kingdom he no longer feared internal threats, therefore, according to Sabatier, many energies were devoted to the

construction of the largest court in Europe³⁸⁹. Nothing was as it had been before: those admitted inside the court had to be profoundly disciplined³⁹⁰.

Historiography indulged much on the figure of Louis XIV³⁹¹.

In 2015, France celebrated the tercentenary of the Monarch's death³⁹². All points identified in recent historiography made a reappearance. Louis XIV, already an adolescent, was represented as Jupiter (portrait painted in 1654 by Charles Poerson senior) with the eagle, the lightning and resting his foot on the face of Medusa represented on the shield, which points as a metaphor to the victory on the Fronde³⁹³. The parliamentary Fronde, seen by historiography as the revolt against the regency and the favourite, represented the last attempt by aristocracy and the Parliament of Paris to oppose the centralising process of the modern state³⁹⁴.

Louis XIV built, around court society, a great iconographic system which turned into a huge propaganda machine. It was the moment when official iconography, exalting the symbolism of the Monarch, changed. It went from decorations to portraits, to ephemeral ceremonies, to theatrical displays and related scenography. These representations became an ascension ceremony, a ritual portraying the transfiguration of the prince.

The sovereign and the court were now surrounded by a mystical aura: the image of the king began to substitute his person as an animated subject: turning your back to the portrait of the king was like turning your back to the king himself³⁹⁵. The portrait rejected the oblivion, defeated death and

³⁸⁹ G. SABATIER, *Versailles ou la figure du roi*, cit., pp. 305-329. Elias already touched on these points. Cf. N. ELIAS, *La società di corte*, cit., p. 171.

³⁹⁰ Current studies have also interpreted the court as an arena where clashes took place between organised groups or factions and 'parties', and where the system of the royal patronage was organised. Cf. F. BENIGNO, *Specchi della rivoluzione. Conflitto e identità politica nell'Europa moderna*, Roma, 1999.

³⁹¹ G. SABATIER, *Versailles ou la figure du roi*, cit., p. 310 ff.

³⁹² In 2015 the Palace of Versailles celebrated the tercentenary of the death of Louis XIV. Celebrations were the time to assess studies undertaken on the court and the gardens of Versailles. Cf. <http://www.chateauversailles.fr>.

³⁹³ P. BURKE, *La fabbrica del Re Sole*, cit.

³⁹⁴ On the Fronde, see J.-M. CONSTANT, *Les Conjurantes. Le premier libéralisme politique sous Richelieu*, Paris, 1987. It goes from a vision of the revolt that previous historiography had seen as guided by a nobility 'supporting the past', hostile to the modern state, to a vision that associates forms of 'initial liberalism' as one of the motives that would have guided the noble factions. See also J. BERGIN, *Cardinal Richelieu. Power and the Pursuit of Wealth*, New Haven-London, 1985.

³⁹⁵ P. BURKE, *La fabbrica del Re Sole*, cit., p. 25.

had a supernatural aura of its own. A sacred relationship developed that from the body transferred to the image³⁹⁶.

Items belonging to the king were considered relics, capable of healing the sick. The thaumaturgical king and the sacredness of his body reached their apex.

Not only recent studies on the Court of Louis XIV, but also many different papers and monographic publications that studied the Papal Court, starting with the Counter-Reformation, showed us the different passages that brought the sacredness of the body to European monarchs.

Embalming and rituals consecrating the mystical body of 'sovereign Popes' were practised since the Counter-Reformation. What has been experimented with in the Papal Court in the 16th century was brought to its highest point by modern states in the 17th century. In other terms, there was no direct relationship between the tradition of medieval thaumaturge kings with the rituals deriving, with the introduction of elements of new sacredness of the body, from the Papal Court and that were exported to the European monarchs. This way, the king took on the sacral aspects of a god, and members of the court surrounding him that of high priests³⁹⁷.

In the French court and throughout the country, a first allegory pairing Louis XIV to Apollo-Sun affirmed itself. It was a clear matching to Augustus, the emperor who favoured the representation of Apollo to that of Jupiter, an allegory that was proposed on more occasions by the very sovereign. In court ballets, showing the flair of a skilled dancer, the king loved to wear costumes representing him as the Sun King, as in the *Ballet de la Nuit* of 1653³⁹⁸.

The king, like the Sun, towered over everything else in all monarchic iconography: he stood above all other characters represented. Scholars often insisted on the many allegories hidden behind the choice of the Sun as a monarchic symbol, and it is worth pointing out the political aspect that shows the Sun as the bringer of light that makes darkness go away. If Jupiter represents the terrible side of power, Apollo is the other side of the coin, a

³⁹⁶ In Italy, the Fronde was set out in the work by F. BENIGNO, *Critica del Ministériat: Mazzarino e la Fronda*, in ID., *Favoriti e ribelli: stili della politica barocca*, Roma, 2011, pp. 43-62.

³⁹⁷ On these points, see M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Il cerimoniale come linguaggio politico*, cit., p. 125 ff. See also P. PRODI, *Il sovrano pontefice. Un corpo e due anime: la monarchia papale nella prima età moderna*, Bologna, 1982.

³⁹⁸ VOLTAIRE, *Il secolo di Luigi XIV* (trad. U. Morra), Torino, 1994, p. 286.

radiant and shiny divinity that can at last lay down his arms, capable of giving light to the court and France just as it gives light to the planets³⁹⁹.

The *Ballet de cour*, strong in the vast figurative repertoire that differentiated it from other exhibitions, wonderfully showed the hierarchy of the king and court through the cosmos, mirror of a mechanism of absolute perfection supported by a divine force and created to be eternal⁴⁰⁰. The Sun and planets that make up the cosmos were the result of centuries of allegories drawing on the celestial sphere that, starting with the Copernican revolution, reflected a heliocentric view of astral movement. The Sun (like the gold that embellishes the Palace of Versailles) refers to the virtue of the yellow brilliant colour, but it is mostly an incorruptible element, not modified in time, and that, in a certain sense, remains forever young. It was the age of youth that characterised the *exempla* in monarchic iconography, where the signs of time are hidden behind a mask of timeless physiognomy⁴⁰¹.

The cosmos and the allegorical figures that represent it were reflected in the mythological universe. The sovereign and the aristocracy were raised to a higher sphere than the terrestrial one: the metaphor for the Sun and the solar system representing the aristocracy gravitating around the king⁴⁰².

This vision of sovereignty was soon reinforced with the vision of the universe based on Newton's geometry. Those following this theory, especially the culture that would become part of the *Encyclopédie*, conceived the universe as an actual machine which was orderly, hierarchical. A vision leading back to hierarchic order in society⁴⁰³.

³⁹⁹ F. BARDON, *Le portrait mythologique à la cour de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII. Mythologie et politique*, Paris, 1974, p. 263.

⁴⁰⁰ The Cosmos is often associated with the symbolism of the monarchy. See S. BERTELLI, *Il corpo del re*, cit., p. 21.

⁴⁰¹ G. SABATIER, *Le prince et les arts*, cit., p. 132 ff.

⁴⁰² A. AUSONI, *Le Roi-Soleil outragé. Reflexions sur les mésaventures d'un mythe*, in *Imaginaire et création artistique à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles): art, politique, trompe-l'œil, voyages, spectacles et jardins*, Paris, 1998, pp. 81-86.

⁴⁰³ On these subjects, F. PALLADINO, *Metodi matematici ed ordine politico*, Napoli, 1999. This view of an orderly society, as ordered by the universe of Newtonian geometry, would be put into crisis by a scientific vision based on new languages of mathematical practice (the analytical method) that opposed the synthetic method (on which the Newtonian thesis is based). The two methods would become true banners that would clash in the political culture of late 18th century: Monarchists and Conservatives against Republicans and Democrats. Cf. ID., *Una repubblica di scienziati e matematici*, in *Novantanove in idea. Linguaggi, miti, memorie*, a cura di A. PLACANICA-M.R. PELLIZZARI, Napoli, 2002, pp. 267-308. On the relationship between political culture and the scientific theories of the second Enlightenment, cf. V. FERRONE, *I profeti dell'illuminismo*, Roma-Bari, 1996.

The subjects were shown the greatness of Louis XIV. The iconography compensated the human eye as it displayed the sacred aspect of sovereigns.

Peter Burke observed that in the portraits of Louis XIV, even if the advanced age of the sovereign is allowed to show, the signs of time did not appear on the body, which was never represented as corrupted, but always young and fit⁴⁰⁴.

The pinnacle in building the myth of the Sun King was achieved in dance with complex symbolic systems. These representations metaphorically mirrored contemporary politics, narrating historical events in an allegorical-mythological key.

Permanent court theatres were established. The king had the role of protagonist in the representation that brought him to identify himself in the most fearless heroes. Celestial harmony and the fusion of art, music and poetry in a single performance where the celestial spheres represented the perfection of cosmos, held together by the figure of the sovereign⁴⁰⁵.

In ballets, the defeat of the Fronde was represented as the allegory of Apollo defeating the Python: the triumph of good over evil⁴⁰⁶.

The sovereign featured on the scene with different costumes: Apollo, the character of one of the Dryads, nymphs in the trees, the Furies. Allegories that represented the numerous traits of the sovereign who could from time to time be: enlightened, furious, magnanimous, combative or peacemaker⁴⁰⁷.

The practice of emulating the depicted sovereigns was followed.

Within court society, beginning with the reign of Louis XIV, the social importance of every single individual depended on the position he or she held within the court hierarchy: each action of the sovereign, gestures, tastes, were immediately imitated⁴⁰⁸. Aristocracy at court followed the trend of the sovereign, which also implied the identification of the aristocratic class with divine characters⁴⁰⁹.

The portrait in a mythological guise also influenced artists: Molière asked to be portrayed with an ancient dress of Caesar. Molière actually had the role of Caesar in the *Mort de Pompée*, a tragedy written by Corneille and brought to stage for the first time in 1644⁴¹⁰.

⁴⁰⁴ P. BURKE, *La fabbrica del Re Sole*, cit., p. 51.

⁴⁰⁵ A. WARBURG, *La rinascita del paganesimo antico*, cit., p. 63.

⁴⁰⁶ P. BURKE, *La fabbrica del Re Sole*, cit., p. 63.

⁴⁰⁷ F. BARDON, *Le portrait mythologique*, cit., p. 233.

⁴⁰⁸ N. ELIAS, *La società di corte*, cit., p. 89.

⁴⁰⁹ G. SABATIER, *Versailles ou la figure du roi*, cit., p. 136 ff.

⁴¹⁰ M. DUBUISSON, *Le portrait de Molière dans le rôle de César est-il de Pierre Mignard ou de son frère Nicolas?*, in «La revue des arts», 1956, 1, p. 60.

Much has been written, as we have seen, on court society starting with N. Elias, who saw the phenomenon as an instrument of 'domestication' of aristocracy⁴¹¹, and P. Burke, who examined it through the new propaganda instruments perfected by the absolutism of Louis XIV⁴¹². Then, there have been more recent views. Versailles has been seen as the arena where a new space of power was established, the mature apotheosis of royalty where all the symbolical identifications of mythology and classicism (from Alexander, to Augustus and Caesar) were represented by the spectacular show of the glory of the *roi de guerre*, painted by Le Brun in the Hall of Mirrors: the representation centre of the Royal Palace.

According to Gérard Sabatier, the manifest of the absolutist state, brought forward by the monarchic symbolism of Louis XIV, led to the crisis of the paradigm of superiority of the ancient times, as it was prospected by the authors of the Renaissance⁴¹³. This *querelle* must be put into context also within the new monarchic iconography proposed by the Bourbons of Europe, at least starting with Louis XIV.

In our perspective, it is interesting that every old iconographical system from the classical age had been abandoned, from mythology to biblical tradition. Now the metaphor of the Sun King (marking the origin of divine and absolute power) replaced old iconographic structures. The superiority of the modern no longer required a legitimation coming from the ancient. Greater attention should be given to some of the points of the paradigm of the crisis of European awareness and to the chronological split-section suggested by Hazard where this crisis matured, that was between the end of the 17th and the first decades of the 18th century⁴¹⁴.

More generally, according to Duindam, the two European models of court that became the propellers of monarchic iconography in Europe from the end of the 17th century were those of Vienna and Versailles. In the former, the Catholic *pietas* stood out (shared by the Spanish and Viennese branches of the Habsburg family), originating in the confessional and Counter-Reformation policy (referring to the austere style of palace-monasteries), featuring a downsized monarchic ceremonial and giving

⁴¹¹ N. ELIAS, *La società di corte*, cit., p. 102 ff.

⁴¹² P. BURKE, *La fabbrica del Re Sole*, cit., p. 16 ff.

⁴¹³ J. CORNETTE, *Le roi de guerre. Essai sur la souveraineté dans la France du Grand-Siècle*, Paris, 1993; G. SABATIER, *Versailles ou la figure du roi*, cit.; W.R. NEWTON, *L'espace du roi*, cit. See also F. TIBERGHEN, *Versailles. Le chantier de Louis XIV (1662-1715)*, Paris, 2002.

⁴¹⁴ P. HAZARD, *La crisi della coscienza europea*, Torino, 1946.

significant weight – in the contact between community and court – to religious rites, to the processions of the Holy Week or of the *Corpus Christi*⁴¹⁵. Versailles was exactly the opposite. Pompous ceremonies were performed, making use of great propaganda machines but where access to the sovereign person by courtiers was very limited.

Also the functions of integration of nobility, in the period of Louis XIV, were very different between the Bourbon courts. Access by nobility to the Court of Versailles was limited compared to Vienna, where honorary charges registered an expansion⁴¹⁶.

Ceremonies were also modified in the Bourbon period. Historiography observed the influence, in these transformations, of the Court of Louis XIV on that of Philip V.

For the Habsburg universe it has been seen how the ceremonials were influenced by the Burgundian model. From Charles V up until Philip IV, ceremonials and etiquette go back to a symbolism that recalled a universalist vision⁴¹⁷.

The first changes, marked in an important paper of J. Martínez Millán-M. Rivero Rodríguez, took over during the time of Olivares. With the reformation of the monarchic structure attempted by Olivares, the symbolic reference changed; the old universalist vision was modified with the birth of a political ‘centre’ that assumed a specific symbolism. The project was translated into image with the building of the Palace of Buen Retiro, which moved the habitual scenery of sovereignty and court life breaking with the tradition of Philip II in the previous century. With the building of the palace there was the will to provide a new representation of the monarchy in Spain. The monarchy dropped its universal clothes no longer representing itself as a plurality of states defined according to precise ranks and dignities, but arranged in two halves that were not exactly equal: the Iberian and non-Iberian reigns. The former, tied to the throne, and the latter, far from it. It was clearly defined for all European observers which was the centre and which the periphery, who the administrators and who the administered were.

⁴¹⁵ J. DUINDAM, *Vienna e Versailles*, cit., p. 27 ff.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34 ff.

⁴¹⁷ M. RIVERO RODRÍGUEZ, *Court Studies in the Spanish World*, in M. FANTONI-G. GORSE-M. SMUTS, *The Politics of Space: European Courts ca. 1500-1750*, Edited by di M. FANTONI-G. GORSE-M. SMUTS, Rome, 2009, pp. 135-147; J. MARTÍN MILLÁN, *La corte de Felipe II*, Madrid, 1994; ID., *La función integradora de la casa real*, in J. MARTÍN MILLÁN-S. FERNÁNDEZ CONTI (eds.), *La monarquía de Felipe II: la Casa del Rey*, Madrid, 2005; P. VÁZQUEZ GESTAL, *El espacio del poder. La corte en la historiografía moderna española y europea*, Valladolid, 2005.

Subsequently, a modification of the conception of councils, reserving the representation only to the Crowns of Castile and Aragon, and uniforming the rest, the Council of Italy and the other councils, to a lower level as servants of the king. From this, a long dispute between *letrados* on the various types of precedences entitled to the various councils, especially those of Aragon and Italy⁴¹⁸.

The characteristics of sovereignty that came into place with the system of *valimiento* and of court factions were: the ‘invisibility’ of the king, his reclusion in the palace surrounded and ‘hidden’ by the *Grandees* of Spain.

Then, the ceremonial system changed completely with Philip V. Behind this there was a very particular event in European history. The new king arrived in Spain with a certain number of courtiers coming from France, carefully selected from the ministers of Louis XIV. Many of these were duke-peers, which in the French noble hierarchy were part of nobility, second only – in terms of honours – to the princes of royal blood and to recognised royal illegitimates.

A first element of contrast was created on precedences, against the decree of 20 June 1701, which levelled the *Grandees* of Spain to the French dukes who followed the monarch: the *Grandees* of Spain refused to be considered peers, or worse of a lower rank, of French nobles.

The second contrast was born regarding the management of the charges at court and the access to the person of the monarch. These contrasts also never occurred in France and Spain at the court of kings. Instead, the formation of the courts of queens that came in the country of the groom with a very significant and selected entourage was common practice, with the objective of forming, or at least reinforcing, a ‘party’ favourable to the country of the consort. For example, the case of Anne of Austria, whose court was strongly downsized by Caterina de’ Medici, has been studied by historiography.

Another important element: Philip V received instructions from Louis XIV on changing the ceremonials at the court of Spain. A novelty not only aimed at enlarging the elites present in the Spanish court, but also at providing a greater visibility for the sovereign towards his own subjects. A transformation of the ceremonial meant to diminish the previous rigid hierarchy imposed by the peers and the influence of Castilian elites.

⁴¹⁸ J. MARTÍNEZ MILLÁN-M. RIVERO RODRÍGUEZ, *Etiquetas y espacio político: El orden interno de la Monarquía hispánica (siglos XVI-XVII). La configuración de un orden ideal: las etiquetas*, in *La corte e lo spazjo: trent’anni dopo*, a cura di M. FANTONI, cit., pp. 247-264.

The Grandees of Spain took countermeasures. A memorial contrary to any change of precedence was sent to Philip V by the Duke d'Arcos, provoking the wrath of the sovereign who dispatched the nobleman to serve in Flanders. Then it was Marquis of Villafranca, *Mayordomo Mayor* in the Court of Madrid, who opposed the supply of a batch of French cloths destined to court for the wedding of the sovereign. Villafranca considered such an action to be «un agresivo afrancesamiento de la cultura cortesana» of the Spanish court⁴¹⁹.

Problems on the lack of order in the ceremonials and etiquette at the Spanish court were noted by several Italian diplomats: during the Pentecost holiday of 1703, the Apostolic Nuncio was not allowed to pass through the frontal audience chamber; other complaints of Nuncio Acquaviva concerned the precedences granted to Princess Orsini. Other incidents on precedences, such as those noted by Venetian ambassadors, occurred with the ambassadors of the Savoy.

Then, after the civil war, everything changed. The king was naturalised, the French influence diminished, fortunes flourished again for the Castilian nobility that was participating in mass to the recruiting of the courtier army.

This reformation of the Bourbon Army produced fundamental consequences in the composition of the court with the transference of the competences of the *Mayordomo Mayor* of the palace in the hands of the Captain of the Guardia de Corps.

A final point. Ceremonials were functional to the introduction of elements of discipline in the new court society.

In France, monarchy adopted various types of policies. The most common was given by forms of ministerial patronage exercised on the provinces with the purpose of containing the power of nobility⁴²⁰.

A study by Frédérique Leferme-Falguières saw the participation of French nobility in the ceremonial as a determinant element for defining group identity⁴²¹. In political language, a rhetoric referring to blood, belonging and illustrious lineage was used. In France, only titles and genealogy counted.

According to Fanny Cosandey, the ability of the monarchy was that of integrating traditional elements of a society that could be described as feudal,

⁴¹⁹ P. VÁZQUEZ GESTAL, *Una nueva majestad*, cit., p. 156.

⁴²⁰ F. LEFERME-FALGUIÈRES, *La noblesse de cour aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. De la définition à l'autoreprésentation d'une élite*, in «Hypothèses», IV, 2001, 1, pp. 87-98.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*

playing on the dignity of the fief, with the new program that addressed nobility deriving from office, and so acquired from service⁴²².

The sovereign gave priority to his own entourage so that only the most prestigious of his subjects could be at his side. This political approach recycled the feudal values with the service given to the Crown. Fief and office were fused together in a new course crossing with service. A hierarchy shared among officers, dukes and cardinals was created. Soon enough the primacy of the fief was threatened by office; moreover, the rank of the royal family was raised⁴²³.

In France there was a precise tendency: royal blood princes eclipsed ancient aristocratic lineages in the hierarchy of honours. Fanny Cosandey has studied the noble precedences in the ceremonials of the French court. Royal blood princes sat to the right of the French king, only them being allowed to enter the courtyard of the palace on horseback. All the remaining nobility arrived on foot. Important as well was the creation of rules by Henry III for the ranks of royal blood princes and the precedences among the French aristocracy between peers and nobles.

Then we got to 1578 with the general rules of etiquette at court and the creation, in 1585, of the figure of the Grand Master of Ceremonies. Soon royal princes detached from the remaining nobility. They were, in public ceremonies, those nearest to the king. There were two royal blood princes in 1594, three in 1610, five in 1722 and six in 1775.

With Henry IV, however, we had another novelty: importance was given in terms of precedences of the ceremonial also to illegitimate children, who were educated as princes of the royal house.

From Henry IV to Louis XIV the importance given to royal blood also applied for illegitimate children; once acknowledged, they assumed an intermediate rank between royal princes and counts and dukes. This led to a strengthening of the consanguinity of the royal family at the level of court nobility. A hereditary system took over where royal blood had precedence over rank.

Two peculiarities happening in France: nobility went about redefining itself on the principle of royal blood; nobility of the robe, and in first place that of royal counsellors, had precedence over old feudal nobility⁴²⁴. Court

⁴²² F. COSANDEY, *Instituer la toute-puissance? Les rapports d'autorité dans la France d'Ancien Régime*, in «Tracés. Revue de Sciences humaines», 2009, 17, pp 39-54.

⁴²³ From 1566 an edict provided that some dukes had to give way to some officers. Royal princes come first and foremost due to their right to inherit the throne.

⁴²⁴ F. LEFERME-FALGUIÈRES, *La noblesse de cour aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, cit.

nobility, in addition to noble origin, claimed to also have received a special education. It invested in culture and knowledge for educating its own children. Thus, large sums of money were spent for education in colleges. Access to education isolated court nobility from the rest of its order, often incapable of disbursing such sums for education. Those who entered the court bridged the gap existing between different nobilities. Many texts began to insist on the vilification of honour of the corrupt nobles from court life. The courtier so became a negative figure, characterised by intrigue and passions, as opposed to a past characterised by noble pride embodying the glory and generosity of aristocracy.

In the definition of this new nobility, the heraldic commission and the royal genealogist started to carry weight: it was in front of these two parties that the proofs of nobility were discussed. The master of genealogy was questioned by the court and became essential to evaluate, classify and prioritise noble ranks.

Also in France there was a closure of nobility faced with the danger posed by new arrivals; an elite that reinforced its own admission criteria. This in front of the 'mercification' of the market of honours. Title and seniority were linked to blood. Court nobility discovered its own identity in blood and genealogy with the flowering of many aristocratic memoirs.

The ceremonial became ever more important: processions during formal occasions were a way to manifest the luminosity and cohesion of court nobility, on the scene presenting itself to the rest of society; a living symbol of a well-ordered society and a picture of the Aristotelian cosmos or of the City of God of St. Augustine. With the Bourbons, especially starting with Louis XIV, the well-ordered society was borrowed from the universe of Isaac Newton: from the ordered cosmos, metaphor for the machine of earth, to the hierarchically ordered society where nobility revolved around the Sun.

Thus, the court showed itself observing a well-defined order inspired by three criteria: titles, functions and genre.

Still, the ceremonial complicated the balance at court: through it, opposed groups of noble interests arose, identifying the status of honours according to precedences⁴²⁵.

Therefore, the ceremonial was adopted to fine-tune actual power: the higher the rank, the more the ceremonial was strict. In this situation the king affirmed his supreme will⁴²⁶.

⁴²⁵ F. COSANDEY, *Instituer la toute-puissance?*, cit.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*

The formation of service nobility in the Spanish monarchy was very different to that of Bourbon France.

The installation of a specific *ménage* between the sovereign and the army took place. Already in the climate of the Succession War there was what the historiography started to record and did not hesitate to define a 'militarisation of society' that saw an increase in the number of soldiers available to Philip V⁴²⁷.

These very military companies were recruited no longer based on the policies of integration that from Charles V, and at least up until Charles II, ended up privileging, in the first centuries of the early modern age, mainly the Castilian nobility which held an undisputed monopoly at the Court of the Habsburgs. Starting with Philip V, a noble hierarchy was created that identified itself progressively more with service nobility, recruited among the new upper ranks of military companies. There was a double phenomenon: on the one side, the militarisation of the territory began; on the other, from the upper ranks of these para-military divisions a new noble hierarchy was born at the service of the monarch. The *Nueva Planta* and the following homogenisation of institutions – on the Castilian system – mostly meant the creation of a new ruling class based on service nobility. This way, the birth of new military companies, with officer licences that were sold over the territories and were heritable, became on the one side a fundamental instrument for the formation of the Bourbon Army; on the other, a formidable element of social mobility.

According to Andújar Castillo, we need to talk about military reforms and not of reform, since the use of the plural tends to acknowledge the configuration of two orders, two parallel military systems, two armies inside a single organisation. The system of the regular Army and that of the courtier army, which represented two different models of organisation, of social composition, of privileges and specific jurisdictions, of different functions and characteristics, gave way to two completely differentiated military structures⁴²⁸.

⁴²⁷ A. TERRASA LOZANO, *El asunto del Banquillo de 1705 y la oposición de la grandeza a las mudanzas borbónicas. De la anécdota a la defensa del cuerpo místico de la Monarquía*, in «Cuadernos Dieciochistas», 14, 2013, pp. 163-197, campus.usal.es/~revistas_trabajo/index.php/1576-7914/article/view/11488.

⁴²⁸ F. ANDÚJAR CASTILLO, *Elites de poder militar. Las guardias reales en el siglo XVIII*, in J.-P. DEDIEU-J.L. CASTELLANO-M.V. LÓPEZ CORDÓN CORTEZO (eds.), *La pluma, la mitra y la espada. Estudios de historia institucional en la Edad Moderna*, Madrid, 2000, pp. 65-94; T. GLESENER, *Les "étrangers" du roi: la réforme des gardes royales au début du règne de Philippe V (1701-1705)*, in «Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez», XXXV, 2005, 2, pp. 219-242.

A research on the recruitment of the regular Army was performed by Balduque Marcos who studied its structure in the Spain of Charles of Bourbon. After 1759, new cavalry and infantry regiments were created, reaching up to 50,000 infantry soldiers and 11,000 cavalry men. According to this author, there was a double policy with Philip V: that of reintroducing aristocracy among the ranks of the new Army, and that of creating the figures of cadets and dragoons, of noble origin (up to ten per company), who could access a different career compared to the cadres of the territorial Army.

In reforming the Army, according to Andújar Castillo, the new military corps of the *Casa Real*⁴²⁹ were very important: the Guardias Reales, Guardias de Corps, Guardias de Infantería, Españolas y Walonas, Alabarderos. These were privileged divisions of the Army especially reserved for the main noble houses of the country. This new organisation of the Army copied the standing model of society, reserving to the lower ranks of the nobility posts as officers in the regular Army, while assigning the youth of the main aristocratic families to the corps whose privileges were based on proximity to the monarch and the lineage required for assignments of command of the same corps. The Guardias de Corps had the privilege of kissing the hand of the king at the moment they entered one of the companies, in a ceremony that reinforced the consideration of the personnel of *Casa Real* with the concession of ranks of Captain and Lieutenant at the moment of retirement from active service. The characteristic which defined the troops of *Casa Real* was that they were required to provide very strict proofs of nobility, compared to the other bodies of the Army.

5. Metaphors and allegories of monarchic power of the Bourbons of Europe

Few are the metaphors that intersect the symbolism of monarchic power that go through the iconography of the Bourbons of Europe and are faithfully reported by the sources: the allegory of Apollo-Sun, the myth of Minerva, the myth of Hercules. These heroes generally fight two monsters: the Centaur and the Hydra.

⁴²⁹ F. ANDÚJAR CASTILLO, *La privatización del reclutamiento en el siglo XVIII: el sistema de asientos*, in «Studia Historica. Historia Moderna», 2003, 25, pp. 123-147. Philip V organised three companies of Body Guards: one Spanish, one Flemish and an Italian one. See ID., *La corte y los militares en el siglo XVIII*, in «Estudis: Revista de historia moderna», 2001, 27, pp. 91-122.

In the case of Apollo-Sun, we have seen the use of the first mythology by Louis XIV, and again the same allegory was repropounded in the symbolism of Louis XV. In the latter monarch, the attributes of Apollo legitimate the character in the role of Head of State: Apollo represented the double bond with Louis XIV, in family as well as symbolic-political terms. As the dress of Pythian Apollo triumphing over evil had become a leitmotiv for the portraits of Louis XIV, so the regent's posture seemed in every way the same as that used by Joseph Werner to represent the Sun King victorious over the Python⁴³⁰. A metaphor that, was gladly received by the aristocracy. A lymph which made the tree of life (genealogy) grow strong and wide.

Also the myth of Minerva was strongly present in the monarchic iconographies of the Bourbon states.

It has been seen how Henry IV and Maria de' Medici were represented as Mars and Minerva or Pallas⁴³¹. The former wields a spear and a sword, the latter a shield. Both recall the allegory of war⁴³².

Anne of Austria was portrayed as Minerva by Gilbert de Sève in a painting to be placed above the bedroom door of Louis XIII in the Palace of Fontainebleau; then, by the same artist, as Minerva or Goddess of Wisdom. These are two portraits of the same age, painted by the same artist, yet quite different. In the latter Anne did not represent the Goddess: on the contrary, it was the Goddess who had taken the aspect of the queen. We are looking at the *exemplum virtutis*, a timeless physiognomy that aspired to immortality. The canvases of Gilbert de Sève foresaw different collocations: the former was for the bedchamber of the king, an official place where paintings aimed at a precise iconographic propaganda; the latter, for a selected public that could easily interpret the political metaphors⁴³³. In the work by Renard, *Minerva*, Maria Theresa is almost void of any symbol of war and with the left hand she holds a branch of olive tree⁴³⁴.

The myth of Minerva appeared in the iconography of the Bourbons of Naples from Charles to Ferdinand I.

⁴³⁰ A. AUSONI, *Le Roi-Soleil outragé*, cit., p. 81 ff.

⁴³¹ Engraved by Guillaume Dupré and minted in 1603 in honour of the royal couple.

⁴³² J. KROMM, *The Bellona Factor*, cit., p. 176.

⁴³³ S. MAMONE, *Caterina e Maria de' Medici: donne al potere: due Artemisie sul trono di Francia*, Catalogo a cura di C. INNOCENTI, Firenze, Palazzo Strozzi, 24 ottobre-8 febbraio 2009, Firenze, 2008, pp. 31-41.

⁴³⁴ B. BAUMGÄRTEL, *Is the King Genderless? The Staging of the Female Regent as Minerva Pacifica*, in *Women Who Ruled: Queens, Goddesses, Amazons in Renaissance and Baroque Art*, edited by A. DIXON, London, 2002, p. 109.

The myth of Minerva was long-lasting. Thanks to the iconography of the French Revolution it broke through and continued into the late modern age.

It has been observed how the French Revolution adopted the symbols of monarchic iconography of the *Ancien Régime*. In the allegories of *Triumphant Freedom Destroyer of Abusive Powers* there is a strange mixture between Apollo enlightened by the Sun, Jupiter aiming his bolts towards the royal symbols, and Minerva wielding a lance crowned by the Phrygian cap. Revolution took possession, in a proper and true process of semantic transference, of the old symbols of royalty⁴³⁵.

The symbol of the very revolution originated from Minerva. The heroine symbol par excellence of the revolution derives from this tradition. The juxtaposition of the iconography of revolutionary *Marianne* to that of Minerva is interesting. The symbol of *Marianne* for the French Revolution opens the way as *Mater patriae*, replacing the figure of the sovereign as *Pater patriae*. From this moment forth, the monarchic iconography was completely subverted⁴³⁶. *Minerva-Marianne* appeared within Sister Republics born in Europe after the French Revolution and, although changed, kept connoting the Republican identity until the 20th century. It is interesting to observe how still in the Italian Republic the iconography of Minerva appeared in iconography: on the 100 lire coin, with a hand wielding a spear and the other holding one of her symbols, the olive branch⁴³⁷.

It was in particular the myth of Hercules, in the threefold declination of Gallic Hercules, Germanic and Hispanic, and Latin Hercules, that can be offered as a metaphor that goes through iconographies and which characterises the national identities of the Bourbons of Europe.

Friedrich Polleross has studied the myth of Hercules, Egyptian or Libyan, identified in the histories of genealogy as the founder of cities and families, including the rival dynasties of France and Imperial Spain (Gallic Hercules and Germanic Hercules)⁴³⁸. Through a mythical name, very common in Italian and European princely families, a process of metamorphosis took place with a semantic transference from the name to the thing: *nomina sunt omnia*.

⁴³⁵ G. GADOFFRE, *La Révolution culturelle dans la France des Humanistes*, Préface de J. CÉARD, Genève, 1997, p. 5.

⁴³⁶ J.-J. LÉVÊQUE, *L'art et la Révolution Française 1789-1804*, Neuchâtel, 1987, p. 172.

⁴³⁷ N. BAZZANO, *Donna Italia*, cit., p. 45 ff.

⁴³⁸ F. POLLERROSS, *The Rhetoric of Images and the Spell of Metaphors. 2. From the exemplum virtutis to the Apotheosis: Hercules as an Identification Figure in Portraiture. An Example of the Adoption of Classical Forms of Representation*, in A. ELLENUS (ed.), *Iconography, Propaganda and Legitimation*, Oxford-New York, 1999, pp. 37-62.

In 1571, Pierre de Ronsard wrote the poem *L'hymne de l'Hercule Chrestien*, where he compares the life of Hercules with the history of Jesus Christ. Thus, Hercules in Christ's shoes became a topos of Counter-Reformation iconography. Hercules became, through a complex process of religious symbolism, a paragon of all the virtues of a monarch. We mentioned Alessandro Farnese, general to Philip II in the Flanders: after the victory against the reformed rebels, he was represented in the guise of Hercules to whom Religion shows the path of Virtue and Fame, while Heresy lies defeated on the ground⁴³⁹.

It was still Rubens, according to Louis Marin, to create the myth upon request: he depicted the cardinal dressed as Hercules, at the crossroad between Venus and Minerva, an allegory of victory of Virtue over Pleasure⁴⁴⁰.

Again, in the decorations of the Buen Retiro, on the two side walls of the hall, de Zurbarán inserted ten scenes from Hercules' life, represented as conqueror, pacifier of discord and father of the dynasty⁴⁴¹.

In French sovereigns, the choice of Hercules characterised the portrait of the king.

One of the first among these mythological figures is *Hercule Commode*, a bronze cast between 1541 and 1543 and preserved in the castle of Fontainebleau; it was over seven feet tall and made from moulds taken from Roman statues. Primaticcio was commissioned to create it on behalf of Francis I⁴⁴².

Subsequently, Henry IV, in the painting by Toussaint Dubreuil, dating back to around year 1600, is portrayed as Hercules. The depicted hero is strained, having already defeated the Hydra, and the valuable shield lying on the ground is proof that the hero had no need to defend himself to overcome the evil being. This should be, according to Cécile Scailliérez, an interpretation of *Ercole Farnese*⁴⁴³. A new Hercules was thus being defined, capable of defending his people from foreign invasion and from the turmoil of the country. A human being possessing a divine component capable of granting him a supernatural strength. Traits of this iconography are that the monarch belongs to this world and rules it, but his divine essence has already destined him to eternity: like the hero, he is guided by a superior will, he

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴⁴¹ J.H. ELLIOTT, *Spain and its World, 1500-1700. Selected Essays*, New Haven-London, 1989, p. 175.

⁴⁴² C. SCAILLIÉREZ, *La maniera francese*, cit., p. 215.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 218 ff.

cannot change Providence but has to adapt his destiny to the lineage he belongs to⁴⁴⁴.

A 'herculean' typology was born, specific of this geographical area, based on the continuity with the past and with a strong proto-nationalistic component: the Gallic Hercules. His traits are the eloquence of the word, which is adapted to the humanistic prince; eloquence that substitutes brute strength with reason. This way Henry IV, founder of the Bourbon dynasty, appeared as *Hercule Gaulois*, in the iconography of the ephemeral devices, realised upon request of Maria de' Medici for the official entrance of the sovereign in Avignon⁴⁴⁵.

The aforementioned attributes, which characterise the Gallic Hercules, were also transferred to the favourites: figures that subtracted the management of power from the monarch. The engraving of Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1682) performed by artist Michel Lasne is emblematic. Hercules appeared on the right in the mythological scene, caught in the act of defeating the Hydra. Another canvas, dated 1634, entitled *Hercule triomphant* (attributed to Claude Vignon) shows the character with the physical traits of the Cardinal⁴⁴⁶.

The mythological attributes of the Greek hero, in his Gallic Hercules version, passed onto the figure of Louis XIII. A print from Abraham Bosse, engraver and teacher of perspective, recalls in allegorical key the declaration of war of Louis XIII to Spain, in 1635. The Monarch no longer aimed to embody the Liberator Prince (as for the previous Henry IV), the hero that made of his own strength a point of pride and of his own courage a virtue. The new God-King wore the attributes of an immortal, but with many peculiar traits: the wig and the self-confident attitude which did not inspire fear. He was represented with the club resting on the shoulder, almost looking like a toy, with the left hand on his hip. Moreover, in the representation of *Hercule Gaulois* of Henry IV and Louis XIII we find a deep iconographic difference: in the former Hercules is a warrior, a fighter; in the latter he is a sovereign who has won. Henry was fighting to tame the fiefs and pacify the religious turmoil, to impose his absolute sovereignty; Louis XIII laid down his arms. Back then, victory and internal stability, no longer

⁴⁴⁴ J. STAROBINSKI, *L'occhio vivente. Studi su Corneille, Racine, Rousseau, Stendhal, Freud*, Torino, 1975, p. 51.

⁴⁴⁵ On the Gallic Hercules, R. STRONG, *Arte e potere*, cit., p. 304.

⁴⁴⁶ H.T. GOLDFARB, *Richelieu: art and pouvoir*, Montreal, 2002, file no. 133, p. 205.

under discussion, characterised his reign. Louis XIII was represented as Hercules even in the court ballet⁴⁴⁷.

The myth of Hercules appeared once more with the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV, especially during scenographic representations at court.

The last allegory recalling Hercules by the French monarchs must be noted. In 1789 Louis XVI was officially portrayed as *Hercule tuant l'Hydra*. At the time the king was represented, with Constitutional monarchy, as winner over the monster, allegorically referring to nobility and the clergy⁴⁴⁸.

The mention of ancestors, and therefore evoking continuity with the past, with the Sun King, as shown in an official image of Louis XVI (featured at the Salon of 1789), portrayed by Antoine-François Callet, was by then anachronistic⁴⁴⁹.

The myth of Hercules acquired even more importance in the Kingdom of Naples.

The Bourbon iconography did not consider the political metaphors from France, such as that of Apollo-Sun. It was too cumbersome and tied to monarchs like Louis XIV and Louis XV.

With the Bourbons of Naples, the references to monarchic symbology recalled Spain. The Hercules proposed by Charles of Bourbon, as it is described in the *Dichiarazione dei disegni* by Luigi Vanvitelli, once again pointed to a Spanish-Imperial vision.

The myth of Hercules became central in characterising the elements of the new sovereignty. The statue of Hercules in the Royal Palace of Caserta had to transmit an important role of communication of the symbols of royalty to visitors⁴⁵⁰.

[...] L'eroica Virtù viene comunemente simboleggiata per Ercole, il quale si rappresenta membruto, e gigantesco, per dinotare con la corporale robustezza la gagliardia dell'animo; la Clava, che gli arma la destra è l'inflessibil vigore della Ragione, che abbatte ogni ribellione [...] figurato nell'Idra, ch'egli opprime col destro piede; La spoglia di Leone, che lo veste è un Trofeo delle sue faticose vittorie; Sta con la testa rivolta in alto, per

⁴⁴⁷ R. STRONG, *Arte e potere*, cit., p. 287.

⁴⁴⁸ M. GUTWIRTH, *Iconografia antica e sue trasformazioni durante il Medioevo*, in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, a cura di S. SETTIS, II, cit., p. 253.

⁴⁴⁹ S. ALLARD, *Portraits publics, portraits privés*, album de l'exposition (Paris, 4 octobre 2006), Paris, 2006, file no. 3, p. 68.

⁴⁵⁰ «Statua della Gloria che incorona Ercole, situata nella gran nicchia incontro la Scala Regia del Vestibolo inferiore». See L. VANVITELLI, *Dichiarazione dei disegni del Reale Palazzo di Caserta*, in Napoli nella Regia stamperia, MDCCLVI, p. XV.

dimostrare, che il Virtuoso non opera affine di conseguire il premio di cose caduche, indicate dal cornucopia, che giace ai piedi della Donna alata, con tromba nella sinistra, figurante la Gloria, perchè questi beni ancora di fortuna da lei vengono largamente donati, ma solo per conseguire quella immortal rinomanza, che viene accennata dalla corona di alloro, che dalla Gloria gli si mette in testa [...].

Magnificamente togata si rappresenta la Gloria per dinotare la maestà propria che meglio ancora dimostrerà nell'aria generosa del volto; Ella sarà senza corona, perchè è corona a se stessa, e le corone altro non sono, che un segno di partecipare del di lei splendore⁴⁵¹.

The sculpture group was important, regardless of the programme not being completed, for the forms of transmission of sovereignty that wanted to be conveyed.

Seventy years later, the intendant Antonio Sancio, in his *Platea dello Stato di Caserta*, noted that the statue of *Gloria che incorona Ercole*, that should point to the conquest of the Kingdom achieved by Charles of Bourbon, was substituted by the *Ercole Latino*, a sculpture group that was «impropriamente collocato [nella Reggia] in tempo di occupazione»⁴⁵².

Actually, already with Ferdinand IV the issue was raised as to how to differentiate the monarchic symbology of the Bourbons of Naples from that of those in France and Spain.

The heir of Charles of Bourbon and the Court, especially after the Restoration, proceeded in two ways, by means of a systematic operation of *damnatio memoriae* towards the iconography of power that inspired the Napoleonic monarchs, considered as usurpers; a distance from the symbols of the Bourbons of Europe in search of an Italian identity tied to the Farnese.

In the former case, the procedure was quite articulated. The Hall of Astraea was not yet finished: there was still the possibility of integrating the previous iconography through new symbols. From here, as seen, the integration of the lily (a clear symbol of the Bourbons) in the hand of Hercules, and of the *Trinacria*.

The paintings that Murat placed in the Hall of Alexander were totally inadequate. It was Ferdinand II who, in the forties of the 19th century, had new pictures composed by Maldarelli and Guerra that replaced the heroic

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. XVII.

⁴⁵² A. SANCIO, *Platea del Real Sito di Caserta formata per ordine di S.M. Francesco I, Amministratore cavalier Sancio*, vol. V, *Stato di Caserta*, a. 1826, in Archivio Storico della Reggia di Caserta, from now on ARCe, p. 41.

gestures of Murat. From here the creation of *L'abdicazione di Carlo di Borbone a favore di Ferdinando IV* and *La Vittoria di Carlo sugli austriaci a Velletri*. Along the same line also the painting by Maldarelli, placed in the throne room, representing *L'inizio dei lavori della Reggia di Caserta con il porgere della prima pietra*⁴⁵³. The recovery of the iconography from Murat, on the part of the Bourbons, can be explained also with the fact that the myths and the characters represented by the Napoleonic monarchs, in the halls of the Royal Palace, were not entirely foreign to the symbolism of the residence of the Farnese in Rome.

In the latter case, the myth and metaphor of Hercules that the Bourbons of Naples wanted to valorise brought to another identity in the Farnese inheritance. In an important contribution, dedicated to the Hall of the Farnese Splendours in Rome, Gérard Labrot⁴⁵⁴ illustrated the glories of the Farnese, where in the hall:

Francesco I e Carlo V, coronati d'alloro, si ergono fianco a fianco in primo piano; Eugenio IV con il Triregno in testa, troneggia e comanda [sono rappresentate] figure mitologiche ed allegoriche, isolate o in gruppo, concludono la storia e vegliano sopra i due eroi [...] Marte e Minerva con l'elmo tengono compagnia al guerriero mentre, al di sopra della sua testa, Venere e putti con le ali tengono in mano le armi che Vulcano ha costruito per lui. Una figura femminile ancora anonima e la Fama sono poste alla estremità della parete opposta, dove Paolo III è affiancato dalla Pace e dalla Religione, mentre sopra di lui si snoda un vero aeropago di virtù: Forza morale, prudenza, Saggezza e Verità, che sostengono il Triregno, una figura sconosciuta l'Abbondanza [...] ⁴⁵⁵.

The iconography shown in the Hall of the Farnese Splendours in Rome, recalling the glories of the founders of the House of Paul III and Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese, constituted an important precedent for the recovery, on the part of Ferdinand IV, of the previous Napoleonic artistic jobs realised in the Royal Palace of Caserta.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁴ G. LABROT, *La sala dei fasti farnesiani di Roma: uno spazio cortigiano?*, in *La corte in Europa. Fedeltà, favori, pratiche di governo*, a cura di M. CATTINI-M.A. ROMANI, in «Cheiron», I, 1983, 2, pp. 76-79. The defining volume continues to be G. LABROT, *Le palais Farnèse de Caprarola*, cit.

⁴⁵⁵ G. LABROT, *La sala dei fasti farnesiani di Roma*, cit., p. 76.

In this context, the Bourbon monarchs attempted to create a new identity with the appreciation of the Farnese⁴⁵⁶. It was Ferdinand II in particular who brought forth the idea that the political legitimation of the dynasty had to be reformulated: identity had to be sought in the Farnese, loosening the identity-giving ties with the Spanish monarchs and with Spain. The link was constituted by Elisabetta Farnese, mother of Charles. From here, a policy aimed at reassessing the founder of the dynasty: Alessandro Farnese, the valiant Imperial Captain of Charles V⁴⁵⁷.

These strategies can be found in the decorations of the Hall of the Body Guards and of the Halberdiers and, in a later time, in certain groups of masterpieces from the Farnese collection in Rome that were brought to Caserta by Ferdinand II⁴⁵⁸. It has already been seen how the myth of Hercules was present in the iconography of the Royal Palace of the Bourbons. It was Ferdinand IV who in the last years of the 18th century decided to bring to the Royal Palace, from the Farnese Palace in Rome, the marble sculpture group of the 16th century representing *Alessandro Farnese incoronato dalla Vittoria dopo aver soggiogato le Fiandre*, placed in the Hall of the Halberdiers, together with the *Ercole Latino*, situated today in the lower vestibule of the monumental staircase⁴⁵⁹. Alessandro Farnese is dressed as a Roman commander, with a girl placing the laurel on his head, while resting his foot on the body of a man (representing the river Scheldt).

Instead, for the *Ercole Latino*, according to Cioffi, the fact that the work was placed in front of the monumental staircase, in ideal harmony with the *Maestà* of Charles, conceived by Vanvitelli junior (the statue should have been supported also by a fountain and a statue of the *Gloria che incorona*

⁴⁵⁶ V. DE MARTINI, *I Farnese in Reggia*, in *Il mestiere delle armi e della diplomazia. Alessandro ed Elisabetta Farnese nelle collezioni del Real Palazzo di Caserta*, Catalogo della mostra documentaria, 23 aprile 2013-19 gennaio 2014, Reggia di Caserta-Appartamenti storici, Napoli, 2013, pp. 1-6.

⁴⁵⁷ Ferdinand II, in decorating the new Royal Armoury, requested the portraits depicting the Farnese, by Spolverini, Brescianino, be brought from the Royal Museum of Naples to the palace. In 1859, the paintings (all by Spolverini) depicting the scenes of marriage of Elisabetta Farnese to Philip V were also brought to the palace from the same museum. R. CIOFFI, *Le collezioni di antichità farnesiane e le sculture della Reggia di Caserta*, in *Il mestiere delle armi e della diplomazia*, cit., p. 9. See also M.R. NAPPI, *Le imprese di Alessandro Farnese nelle illustrazioni di Famiano Strada*, pp. 43-56; ID., *Alessandro Farnese: l'immagine di un condottiero nel patrimonio dei Borbone di Napoli*, pp. 57-62; A. MARRONE, *La Real Armeria di S. M. Ferdinando II: un progetto realizzato a metà*, pp. 81-92; R. LATTUADA, *Filippo V a Napoli*, pp. 115-125, all in *Il mestiere delle armi e della diplomazia*, cit.

⁴⁵⁸ R. CIOFFI, *Le collezioni di antichità farnesiane*, cit., p. 12.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Ercole), had to convey the idea of the coming of the new kingdom, more and more independent from the other Bourbons of Europe⁴⁶⁰.

In the latter case the main negative metaphors, in the Bourbons of Europe, can be traced back to the cycle of Hercules. The mythological iconography of ancient age was used by Renaissance authors such as Ripa and Alciato. There were two main metaphors, the Centaur and the Lernean Hydra.

Mythology describes the Centaur as half man and half horse. Hercules killed the Centaur Nessus, son of Ixion and Nephele, when the latter tried to possess his wife Deianira. This Centaur was represented in iconography with flaming hair, armed with bow and arrows.

Other than from mythology, the image of the Centaur starting from the Middle Ages was associated with heretics: their dissociation from religious orthodoxy made so that they were considered half Christians and half Pagans. As it has been seen, this metaphor not by chance ended up being used in France starting from Henry IV after the religion wars. The monarch, in the form of Hercules killing the Centaur, represented victory against heresy.

It was mostly the latter metaphor, that of the Lernean Hydra, to recur more often and it would be successful right to the present day: it embodies the monstrosity of evil.

Offspring of Echidna and Typhon, who spawned an entire generation of horrendous monsters, in Greek mythology it was an aquatic serpent with many heads, which duplicated when cut. It lived in the Lernean swamp. Hercules killed it in the second labour thanks to the help of Athena and his nephew Iolaus. Still in mythology it was represented, in addition to being one or more multi-headed serpents, also as a woman with serpentine traits or as a snake with the head of Medusa. At its death, the Hydra was transformed by Hera into a constellation.

In monarchic iconography of the early modern age, the Hydra represented the different enemies that the monarch-Hercules had to face.

For example, following the conversion of Henry IV to Catholicism, at the end of the 16th century, mythological figures like the Hydra or the Centaur, representing the evil which had to be defeated, would be interpreted allegorically as the victory of the Catholic Church over the protestant menace. From this, the representations of the French monarch as Hercules

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13. See also R. CIOFFI, *Sovranità e grazia nelle sculture della Reggia di Caserta*, in *Terra di Lavoro. I luoghi della storia*, a cura di L. MASCELLI MIGLIORINI, Avellino, 2009, pp. 233-251.

who, depending on the case, won against the Hydra which represented the current threat.

In the middle of the Revolution, the monster to defeat became, as in a watercolour of 1789, the *Hydre aristocratique*⁴⁶¹. Then the heads of the Hydra were represented with the faces of the members of the court, beheaded in front of the Bastille⁴⁶².

In times closer to us, Hydra is a fictional terrorist organisation with the aim of conquering the world, to which many criminals collaborate, opposed by the agents of the S.H.I.E.L.D.⁴⁶³.

Still in the novel by Robert Swindell, *Hydra*, the mythical creature is depicted as a terrifying monster roaming the woods and mercilessly killing the members of the neighbouring Cansfield farm⁴⁶⁴.

6. The new political languages of the first Bourbons of Naples

We have seen, in the Kingdom of Naples, the modernisation policy for the Neapolitan State set in place by Charles of Bourbon and Ferdinand IV. It was carried out mainly on four fronts: a) a modernisation of the State leading to a centralisation of the system with the role of the State Secretariats as well as a reduction of the functions of pre-existing royal tribunals to give more weight to the Chamber of St. Chiara (which became the new tribunal of the king). It was a time when the king's right (dispatches) prevailed in respect to that of the kingdom (pragmatics); b) a downsizing of feudal and ecclesiastical jurisdictions; c) the reform of service nobility, undergoing recruitment through the Army, and of admission into the court; d) the definitive strengthening of the sphere of administrative influence of local authorities (with an actual removal of the ranks of jurisdiction of feudal complexes), carried out by the Regia Camera della Sommaria (Royal Chamber of Sommaria)⁴⁶⁵.

⁴⁶¹ P. ARIZZOLI CLÉMENTEL-X. SALMON, *Marie-Antoinette. Galerie Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, Grand Palais, 15 mars-30 Juin 2008*, Paris, 2008, p. 339.

⁴⁶² C. LANGLOIS, *Le caricature contre-révolutionnaire*, Paris, 1988.

⁴⁶³ A comic book genre created by Stan Lee and published by Marvel Comics.

⁴⁶⁴ R. SWINDELL, *Idra*, Milano, 2004.

⁴⁶⁵ G. CIRILLO, *Spazi contesi. Camera della Sommaria, baronaggio, città e costruzione dell'apparato territoriale del Regno di Napoli (secc. XV-XVIII)*, II, *Evoluzione del sistema amministrativo e governi cittadini*, Milano, 2011, p. 83 ff. An overview of the period is in G. GALASSO, *Il Regno di Napoli*, IV, *Il Mezzogiorno borbonico e napoleonico (1734-1815)*, in *Storia d'Italia*, XV/4, Torino, 2007.

The political symbolism practised in the Kingdom by the Bourbon sovereign is well illustrated by the iconography introduced at the Royal Palace of Caserta. We will examine a series of studies conducted by architects and art historians who have analysed this monarchic iconography, and who provide us with an opportunity to rearticulate the problem surrounding the symbolism relating to the power of the dynasty.

In the 18th century, at least from the Court of Louis XIV, there was a considerable change in the iconography of sovereignty.

The Court and the Royal Palace of Caserta, as in France, were a grand theatre, emanating a certain image of power, aimed at increasingly wider social strata. Not only the architecture, with the grandness of its work – it was a specific political language –, but also all the rituals embedded in the court, in terms of symbolism and ceremonies, must be read within a precise propaganda policy.

It was a propaganda policy that back then, in the 18th century – the same observations apply on the role of education that Sabatier attributed to France –, for the very first time found a wider public opinion.

As it is known, Charles of Bourbon never lived in the Royal Palace after he became king of Spain in 1759. However, this sovereign and Queen Maria Amalia of Saxony commissioned the installation and decoration of several halls. The work was continued, more systematically, under Ferdinand IV by Joachim Murat and 19th century Bourbon kings up to Ferdinand II⁴⁶⁶.

In studying the political languages surfacing from this iconography, a high-profile power symbolism emerges (themes, in this first phase of the monarchy, that were shared by the Bourbons of France and Spain) with Charles of Bourbon and partially with Ferdinand IV. An iconography which can be compared to visions of a modern state seeking such a path especially through the glory and accomplishments of the dynasty.

This vision of sovereignty emerges from two specific works. The *Dichiarazione dei disegni* by Luigi Vanvitelli⁴⁶⁷ and *Platee* of the Royal Sites edited by Cavalier Antonio Sancio, especially from the one regarding the State of Caserta compiled at the end of the twenties of the 19th century⁴⁶⁸.

⁴⁶⁶ A. SPAGNOLETTI, *Storia del Regno delle Due Sicilie*, Roma-Bari, 1997.

⁴⁶⁷ L. VANVITELLI, *Dichiarazione dei disegni*, cit.

⁴⁶⁸ A. SANCIO, *Platea del Real Sito di Caserta formata per ordine di S.M. Francesco I, Amministratore cavalier Sancio*, vol. V, *Stato di Caserta*, cit. The other platees filed by Intendant Sancio are: *Platea del Real Sito di S. Leucio formata per ordine di S. M. Francesco I, Amministratore cavalier Sancio*, vol. 3558, a. 1825; *Platea del Real Sito di Caserta, formata per ordine di S. M. Francesco I, Amministratore cavalier Sancio*, vol. II, *Stato di Valle*, vol. 3559, a. 1826; *Platea del Real Sito di Caserta formata per ordine di S.M. Francesco I, Amministratore cavalier Sancio*, vol. III, *Stato di*

There are many differences from one source to the next. Firstly, there is a division regarding the vision of sovereignty. The former was not far from the universe of an Imperial Spain; the latter, characterised by the Bourbons' wishing to obtain recognition as Italian princes.

Moreover, the former source is important as the vision of sovereignty, as explained by Vanvitelli, was inspired, or at least shared, ideologically by the Spanish court and the environments of Spanish ministers. The *Dichiarazione dei disegni* therefore contains intentions, proposals of sovereignty that are centred around the most significant monarchic structure, the Royal Palace of Caserta; these were proposals that, in the following decades, were not fully realised both because of the long time to finish the building and for the political events that saw Charles ascend to the Spanish throne. The latter source is relevant as Sancio, declining the intents of the *Dichiarazione dei disegni*, specifies what was achieved, what was not achieved during Charles' reign and how the vision of sovereignty changed in the seventy years following the publication of the *Dichiarazione dei disegni*.

That of Charles was not the vision of a small prince. The metaphors of sovereignty were the same as those found for France and Spain during the centuries of maximum power of the two countries.

Meanwhile, the majestic Royal Palace of Caserta, with its 1200 rooms and a wonderful park, had to compete with similar palaces belonging to the Bourbons of Europe.

In illustrating the symbols of royalty on the main door of the palace façade projected towards the square, four giant statues had to be created representing the primary princely virtues: magnificence, justice, clemency and peace.

The final three metaphors were present in the symbolism of French and Spanish royalty; the first one was projected towards the ideals of the new sciences of physiocracy and mercantilism undertaken by Charles of Bourbon⁴⁶⁹. «La Magnificenza si fa conoscere al manto più degli altri largo, e pomposo; Matrona di aria nobile; porta fregiata di corona la fronte, versa colla destra un cornucopia, e sostiene colla sinistra delineata la pianta di questo Real Palagio, in cui S. M. dimostra, come sempre, l'indole generosa ereditata dagli Avoli suoi Sovrani [...]»⁴⁷⁰.

Durazzano, vol. 3560, a. 1827; *Platea del Real Sito di Caserta formata per ordine di S. M. Francesco I, Amministratore cavalier Sancio*, vol. IV, *Stato di Carditello e Calvi*, vol. 3571, a. 1828.

⁴⁶⁹ L. VANVITELLI, *Dichiarazione dei disegni*, cit., p. XIII.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Metaphors of the Judge-King emerge in the description of justice, the scale weighing merits and demerits of the sovereign who uses the exercise of justice as main art of government.

Sta la Giustizia atteggiata in guisa, che tiene gli occhi rivolti verso il Cielo, per indicare, che S. M. di lassù prende l'autorità, e la norma di governare, à la corona sul capo, e come Reina delle Virtù, e come Virtù principale del RE; si veste di toga talare, ma senza fasto, perchè dalla Giustizia ogni superfluità si rifiuta; mostrasi in aria di viril Donna [...]; tiene il braccio destro appoggiato sopra il fascio consolare di verghe, fra le quali si chiude una scure, e stringe con la mano una corona militare, ed un'aperto compasso; sostiene con la sinistra una bilancia; significandosi con tali simboli l'uso in questa della commutativa, ed in quello della distributiva Giustizia. La prima, dicesi di serbare la proporzione Aritmetica, mentre nei contratti non distingue condition di persone, laonde usa la bilancia. La seconda, si serve della proporzione Geometrica, avvegnachè nel distribuire le pene indicate dal fascio di verghe, ed i premj significati dalla corona, misura col compasso i meriti, e i demeriti, che prendono qualità diversa dalle persone in cui si trovano, e perchè nasce da lei la quiete pubblica, la sicurezza de' Popoli, ed infiniti altri beni [...]⁴⁷¹.

The third colossus, Clemency, had to be «sculpita d'aria dolce, e sorridente con manto, e Corona Reale per essere Virtù propria de' Sovrani, in atto d'infoderare una spada, di cui potendo non voglia servirsi; tiene bassi gli occhi, mostrando d'impietosirsi dalla miserabile condizione de' colpevoli [...]⁴⁷². Finally, the fourth colossus referred to productivist metaphors, a consequence of the first attempts of economic reform produced in the Kingdom: the cultivation of the countryside and the reference to the olive and the spikes of wheat, trade and navigation. Allegories of peace, and not of war, where the sovereign still responded to the political metaphor of the family father:

[...] Donna di tranquillo viso, è vestita di toga cittadinesca, poichè qualora non è il Regno turbato dalla guerra, S. M. la fa da Padre di famiglia, sovraneamente insistendo [...] alla coltura delle Campagne, ed al Commercio, perciò la grande Statua coronata di olivo porta nella mano destra un fascio di spighe, produzione copiosissima de' Regni delle due Sicilie; Stringe colla sinistra un timone simbolo della Navigazione accresciuta dal RE

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. XIII-XIV.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*

coll'ampliamento delli Porti di Napoli, di Agrigento, di Barletta, ed altri, e perchè dalla Pace si accrescono l'Abbondanza, e le Ricchezze [...]⁴⁷³.

Seventy years later, Sancio noted, the four colossi, which, according to the *Dichiarazione dei disegni* by Vanvitelli, should have portrayed the virtues that «animavano il bell'animo del gran monarca Carlo III», had not been built⁴⁷⁴.

At the end of the path, Vanvitelli also foresaw the presence of a bronze statue of Charles of Bourbon.

The path that led into the environments of the Royal Palace of Caserta was rich of symbolism: the lions placed at the top of the staircase were meant not only to «imprimere [...] riverenza» but symbolised the «forze della ragioni, e dell'armi»⁴⁷⁵. On the staircase three niches should have been built, with three statues representing: truth, royal majesty and merit.

Vanvitelli affirmed: «Due sono i principali motivi per cui sogliono i sudditi portarsi all'udienza del RE; Uno è il querelarsi dell'altrui violenze, l'altro la pretensione delle cariche [...]». Slanderers who sought to besmirch «l'altrui onestà» were kept away from the ears of the king, for only «la maestà del RE [è] giusta discernitrice del vero, e del merito»⁴⁷⁶.

The statue representing royal majesty, «[la] più maestosa», was placed in the central niche and referred to heraldry of the Spanish Crown and elements of absolute sovereignty which then belonged to the new king:

il Simulacro della Maestà Regia di statura maggiore delle laterali [...], porterà corona Reale, ed in atto di comandare impugnerà con la destra uno scettro, la di cui punta un'occhio averà aperto per dinotare, che conosce ciò, che comanda; sederà sopra un leone, che oltre la relazione, che à con lo stemma Reale della Spagna, egli è l'unico fra gli animali in cui la clemenza gareggi con la fortezza: Virtù, che risiedono nel cuore del RE; la sinistra mano della Statua mostrerà di frenare il leone; dinotando, che il RE non solo affrena i minuti vassalli, ma ancora i grandi, e finalmente la Statua sarà alquanto di statura maggiore delle altre due laterali [...]⁴⁷⁷.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁴ A. SANCIO, *Platea dello Stato di Caserta*, cit., p. 51. During the French Decade, the four niches were filled with four white marble statues, of little symbolic value, of: «una Venere, un Apollo, un Antinoo, un Germanico». *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴⁷⁵ L. VANVITELLI, *Dichiarazione dei disegni*, cit., p. XVIII.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

Finally, in the case of truth, metaphors were recalled, recurring among the Bourbons of Europe, of the sovereign within the allegory of the Sun whose rays shined a light legitimating any social status. A sovereignty that was not subject to human caducity and distributed grace in relation to the service given to the prince.

Vestirassi la Verità con una toga, che sembri avere del trasparente, poichè per quanto ella si copra, suole mostrar sempre le bellezze della sua nudità; con la destra mano inalzerà un Sole, perchè siccome da quello s'illumina l'Universo, così da lei si sparge luce anche sulle cose invisibili; terrà piegate le dita della sinistra, a riserva dell'indice col quale accenni il Sole, poichè non essendo altro ciò, che diciamo verità, che la conformità dell'enunciazione coll'esistenza della cosa enunciata, mostrandosi da lei unico il Sole, che unico si vede in effetto, rimuove spiegato il suo carattere; appoggerà il sinistro piede sul mondo [...]⁴⁷⁸.

As for merit:

Il merito si vestirà riccamente: la ghirlanda di alloro, che gli cingerà la fronte sarà segno di vittoria riportata sulle fatiche; sarà di giovanile aspetto, perchè egli è sempre giovane [...]; per dinotare, che il merito si fa nel servire il RE, nelle cose Civili, o Militari; terrà nella destra un libro, ed appoggerà la sinistra sopra una spada, questa sarà infoderata, e quello chiuso, perchè del merito non si può far pompa senza scemarło di molto; mostrerà col destro piede di salire sopra aspri macigni, poichè a rendersi meritevole fa duopo superare delle asprezze⁴⁷⁹.

Other visions of sovereignty – Sancio observed recalling the history of the rooms of the Royal Palace of Caserta – took over from Ferdinand IV. A kind of sovereignty which, as said, began to be sought by the Bourbons of Naples in the legacy of the Farnese.

This explains the placement in the Palace of the marble sculpture group *Alessandro Farnese coronato dalla Vittoria dopo aver soggiogato le Fiandre*⁴⁸⁰.

Created after the departure of Charles of Bourbon were the cycle of the *Stagioni di primavera*, the vault of the private apartment of the sovereigns with *Pallade che premia le Scienze e le Arti per mezzo della Gloria*⁴⁸¹.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. XIX.

⁴⁸⁰ Sancio noted: «Gruppo ammirabile per la sovrana perizia dell'artista». A. Sancio, *Platea dello Stato di Caserta*, cit., p. 58.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

A new monarchic vision opening up to the culture of the Enlightenment with *Il parnaso con le tre Grazie*⁴⁸².

Among the new political languages, the product of a new vision of sovereignty, the iconography of the Palatine Library with frescoes by Maria Carolina.

The influences of a new vision of sovereignty recalling 'Imperial' themes were also present, that took over during the French Decade and can be noticed in the Hall of Mars⁴⁸³ but especially in the Hall of Astraea⁴⁸⁴.

Yet another iconography of power affirmed itself with Joachim Murat. In this case the themes recall an Imperial vision (it was reintroduced, as the myth of Minerva and Astraea in the period of Charles V and Charles VI of Habsburg). At the same time, Murat also tried to fashion his own identity – different from that of Napoleon, frescoed by David and other artists as the incarnation of the great heroes of the past – through the commission of some glorious military enterprises.

The political languages originating from the iconography of 19th century Bourbon sovereigns are very controversial. The last kings of Naples had to tackle several issues: the awareness of being a smaller branch of the Bourbons of Europe and so the need to create a new identity, more Italian and less Spanish. Hence the revaluation of Charles of Bourbon and Elisabetta Farnese, but pointing to an origin reassessing the branch of the Farnese; the tailbacks caused by the institutional coup that saw the creation of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies – depriving the Kingdom of Sicily of its autonomy – and by having to rethink how to merge the identities of the two kingdoms; finally, the rituals, perpetuated by Francis I and Ferdinand II, with the myth of the monarchical primacy of the Kingdom, among all the Italian states, in the fields of technique (San Leucio), industry (Pietrarsa) and agricultural experimentation (Carditello)⁴⁸⁵.

The iconography commissioned by Charles of Bourbon had a European projection. The construction of a majestic Royal Palace, by Luigi Vanvitelli,

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁴⁸⁵ A study of the Royal Bourbon Sites from 2006 brought forth the following volumes: *Alle origini di Minerva trionfante. Caserta e l'utopia di S. Leucio. La costruzione dei siti reali borbonici*, a cura di I. ASCIONE-G. CIRILLO-G.M. PICCINELLI, cit.; G. CIRILLO, *Virtù cavalleresca ed antichità di lignaggio*, cit.; *Alle origini di Minerva trionfante. L'Unità d'Italia vista da San Leucio. I Siti Reali Borbonici, Caserta e Terra di Lavoro nel processo di unificazione nazionale*, Atti del convegno e mostra cartografica e documentaria (San Leucio, 6 aprile-2 maggio 2011), a cura di G. ANGELINI-G. CIRILLO-G.M. PICCINELLI, premessa di A. MUSI, Roma, 2013.

was part of this propaganda project. However, the palace was an overly impressive and above all costly residence compared to the Kingdom's finances. So much so that Tanucci often did not agree with Vanvitelli's ambitious projects.

Much has been written about the construction of the Royal Palace of Caserta, which competes with Versailles and the Royal Palace of Madrid, which, according to recent studies, strongly drew from certain Spanish Royal Sites⁴⁸⁶.

The Vanvitelli designs of the palace share similarities with the Royal Palace of La Granja de San Ildefonso, the most loved site by Philip V and Elisabetta Farnese. Supposedly, from the blueprint of La Granja came the inspiration for the interplay of water and nature (the park, the woods, the rocks and artificial caves) of the park of the Royal Palace of Caserta⁴⁸⁷.

We mentioned that the first iconography carried out on the palace was inspired by the glories and enterprises of the Bourbons and tied Naples directly to France and Spain. The message of sovereignty entrusted to Charles referred to classical heroic mythology. The decoration of the Hall of Alexander is notable and Mariano Rossi was commissioned to fresco the walls in 1787. The artist painted the *Nozze di Alessandro Magno e Roxane* based on a Vanvitellian iconographic project. Reproducing an illustrious character of antiquity, he intended to create an allegorical thread to enhance the grandeur and quality of the contractor: Charles of Bourbon with Alexander⁴⁸⁸.

In truth, the myth of Alexander, as we have seen, was widely represented in the monarchic iconography of France, and would also be used by Ferdinand IV. According to some studies, the fresco by Gerolamo Storace Franchis (completed in 1785) on the ceiling of the Hall of the Bodyguards appears to repropose the iconography of a painting inspired by the glorious enterprises of the prince that decorates the vault of one of the royal apartments in La Granja⁴⁸⁹.

⁴⁸⁶ V. DE MARTINI-J.M. MORILLAS ALCÁZAR, *Gli spazi costruiti di Carlo di Borbone fra Madrid e Caserta*, in *Casa del Re. Un secolo di storia della Reggia di Caserta 1752-1860* (Reggia di Caserta 8 dicembre 2004-13 Marzo 2005), a cura di R. Cioffi, Milano, 2004.

⁴⁸⁷ R. CIOFFI, *Le collezioni di antichità farnesiane*, cit., pp. 7-13.

⁴⁸⁸ According to Cioffi there is a close correlation between pictorial and sculptural decoration, based on the concept of conquest, emerging from the *Trionfo di Traiano*, that Charles commissioned from the neo-classical painter Mengs for the Banqueting Room at the Royal Palace in Madrid. *Ibid.*, p. 9 ff.

⁴⁸⁹ This is a depiction of the Glory of the Victorious Prince. See V. DE MARTINI, *I Farnese in Reggia*, cit., p. 1.

Another important iconographic monument recalling the common identity of the Bourbons of Europe is the work of Fedele Fischetti who, in the eighties of the 18th century, painted the vault of the Galleria del Casino of Carditello.

The *Apoteosi di Enrico IV con virtù e figure allegoriche*, also known as the *Apoteosi della dinastia dei Borbone*, recalls the European identity of the Bourbons. Two rainbows are painted on the vault (on them, glimpses of some zodiac signs). It depicts the astral sky of 1553, that of the year when Henry IV, the first Bourbon sovereign of Europe, was born. The rainbows flow into the Bourbon Coat of Arms. The pacified world, symbolised by rainbows, becomes a merit of the Neapolitan Bourbons (Ferdinand IV and Charles III) as well as of the founder of their dynasty⁴⁹⁰.

In the fresco, on the step in the foreground, Ferdinand IV of Bourbon appears beside Charles of Bourbon (the founder of the Neapolitan branch) and Philip V, the head of the Spanish branch, all represented with the royal mantle and sceptre but without the crown. Ferdinand is represented with a small sword and a book, symbolising a government that is based on justice and wisdom. His gaze is turned to considering the virtues and glories of his predecessor, Henry IV.

The character on the left is identifiable as Henry III of Valois, killed by an exponent of the Catholic League during the wars of religion; he is represented in the act of laying down the crown offered by the 'winged child' while pointing to his successor, Henry IV.

The last figure on the right is Henry IV, with the symbols of the royalty (sceptre, crown, mantle); he is ecstatic, ready to embark on the path to Glory. Raised by two winged figures, he is invited to look up to the sky where Glory and Immortality await him: the Apotheosis. To note, the female figure holding a scale in her right hand and embracing a Fasces with her left arm. She refers to a king of justice and war. Then, next to the image of Justice, a crowned woman holding a sceptre, a lion symbol of Fortitude and, in the highest clouds, a winged genie indicating Victory, to whom a figure wearing a laurel wreath offers a crown.

This is the last propaganda act of the Bourbons of Naples recalling the common European lineage.

⁴⁹⁰ A. DIANA, *La nascita della dinastia Borbone nella volta della Galleria del Casino di Carditello*, in *Carditello ritrovato*, in «Siti Reali e territorio. Storia, restauro, valorizzazione», 2014, 2-3, pp. 27-28. See also A. GONZÁLEZ-PALACIOS, *L'arredamento del casino di caccia di Carditello*, pp. 15-22; V. DE MARTINI, *Re Ferdinando, Hackert e il Casino di Carditello*, pp. 23-26. The essays are contained in *Carditello ritrovato*, cit.

On a different side, the considerable work by Vanvitelli who furnished with sculptures and classical finds – coming from somewhere else compared to the Farnese Roman heritage of the Bourbons – the halls of the Royal Palace of Caserta.

Here we find one of the main differences between the two Courts of Paris and Naples.

The construction of the Royal Palace of Caserta may have benefited from the patrimony of classical antiquities coming from Herculaneum and Pompeii, but also from an unlimited market deriving from the antiquities of Rome, between the end of the 17th century and the early decades of the 18th century, and the Farnese collections. Instead, those shipped to France from Rome were mostly copies of antique statues of ancient Rome.

However, the outfitting drew directly from Neoclassicism which influenced the tastes of royal commissions of the palace and other Royal Bourbon Sites (33 between the capital and the area of Caserta). It was a time of opening up to Europe with the arrival of Mengs, Hackert, Tischbein, Kauffmann, Vigée-Le Brun⁴⁹¹.

The Royal Palace of Caserta conveyed new political languages, which originated in the Kingdom of Naples and were directed towards European countries⁴⁹². It was Maria Carolina who influenced this monarchical iconography, through the commission of a part of the halls. Particularly important are the decorations of the Palatine Library, to which the monarchy attached a special value – while Charles of Bourbon and Maria Amalia aimed at the decoration of boardrooms – within the new Enlightenment sensibility.

Back then, the duties of sovereign-philosopher became an integral part of the power scenography, and some of the Enlightenment themes ended up having precedence over previous ones depicting the glory or undertakings of the monarchy.

In 1782, Heinrich Füger was called to court by Maria Carolina to execute the task. The artist had to paint a eulogy – referring to values of the *Encyclopédie*, a work that was an important instrument in the formation of the young Neapolitan queen – to the arts and sciences and their rebirth in the Kingdom with Ferdinand and Caroline. The central focus of the work is the new use of reason and the practice of virtue.

⁴⁹¹ R. CIOFFI, *Al di là di Luigi Vanvitelli*, cit., p. 83 ff.

⁴⁹² On this topic, see the importance of theatrical presentations taking place within the Royal Palace. See A. PASCUZZI, *Feste e spettacoli a Corte nella Caserta del Settecento. Splendore e declino del teatro della Reggia*, Firenze, 1995.

The artist had to produce four frescoes: *La Scuola di Atene*, *Il Parnaso*, *Allegoria della poesia*, *La Rinascita delle arti nel Regno di Napoli*⁴⁹³.

In the first fresco, the artist – inspired by Raphael's homonymous work within the Vatican rooms – depicted *La Scuola di Atene*. These are the symbolic features identified by Cioffi: «[le] due colonne [sono] simbolo del tempio di Salomone [...]. Entriamo nel tempio, dove si sta svolgendo una cerimonia di iniziazione. [...] L'iniziando assiste allo scoprimento della sapienza, ermetica [...] per chi non è ancora iniziato alla setta. Lo scoprimento avviene in presenza delle scienze che sono le vere ispiratrici del cammino massonico»⁴⁹⁴.

Astronomia appears in the fresco «simboleggiata dalla fanciulla che misura con un compasso il cielo, raffigurato da un arcobaleno su cui riconosciamo i segni dello zodiaco»⁴⁹⁵. Followed by *Astrologia*, «raffigurata con una corona di stelle e lo scettro, che conferma il carattere esoterico della sapienza che si sta svelando»⁴⁹⁶. And then in order *Matematica* appears as a girl holding a compass and tablets, on which theorems and geometric figures are drawn⁴⁹⁷.

Finally, *Storia*, «raffigurata con un rotolo e uno stilo e addita i nomi dei grandi uomini del passato incisi sull'obelisco. L'uomo seduto a terra in primo piano, ispirato a una sorta di sintesi formale e ideale di *Eraclito*, *Euclide* e *Diogene* della *Scuola di Atene* di Raffaello, simboleggia la forza della riflessione [...]»⁴⁹⁸.

The second fresco, *Il Parnaso*, does not represent the sacred mountain of Apollo and the Muses. The scene is set in a forest where mythological men and gods coexist. The reference is to the good governance of the sovereign-philosopher and to the praise of useful activities, also indicated in the *Encyclopédie*, such as those which produce wealth and abundance: agriculture, shepherding, fishing, hunting, management of the house. The figure in the painting appeals to Apollo, the divinity of Pomona, goddess of abundance, and the Three Graces.

In the third fresco (*Allegoria della poesia*) the scene is projected on Mount Helicon, the place from which the source of Hippocrene poetry originated – springing from a kick from Pegasus distracted by the melody of the Muse. The central figure represents Hippocrene, with one foot on an arc (symbol of war) holding a cup to Minerva (also a warrior deity)⁴⁹⁹.

⁴⁹³ R. CIOFFI, *Al di là di Luigi Vanvitelli*, cit., p. 91 ff.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

The fourth fresco completes the mosaic.

With the new kingdom of Ferdinand and Caroline, there finally was a revival of the arts in the Kingdom of Naples, thus the painting shows the broken lyre, the damaged torso of the Pythian Apollo, several fragments of architectural orders, the head of Homer buried, a palette on the ground. These are all references to mistakes, vices and superstitions chased away by reason. Everything is ready so that the Kingdom, depicted by the girl with a turreted crown, may lead to the return of the arts⁵⁰⁰.

At the end of the 18th century, the mythological apparatus was simplified and became very similar to the actual features of the subjects portrayed. Thus, a trend reversal. If up to that point the sovereign and the aristocratic class found in mythology the excuse to rise to a divine rank, with the diffusion of Enlightenment thinking evasion from everyday life was sought through a 'return to nature', according to the definition by Rousseau, by deserting public ceremonies. This trend was affirmed by painting and the theatre: the ballet and the Opera become the mirrors of human passions⁵⁰¹.

The new course produced a derision of the sacred character of monarchic power, especially when comparing the age of Louis XVI and Ferdinand IV with the era of the Sun King. The absolute certainty in the ownership of sovereignty was undermined. This certainty was also based on the divine right of sovereignty, which was rooted into the complicated ceremony which regulated the relationship between royal family and courtiers. The sacralisation and divinisation of the sovereign set up through the ceremonies was no longer felt as it had been before⁵⁰².

Only etiquette, and a particular portrait of the king could play their part in handing down the sacred aspect of power, projecting the respect and a reverential fear of the monarchy that could be endured only by a society based on a hierarchical structure defined by extremely precise rules⁵⁰³.

Historiography attaches importance to the fact that in France and in the Kingdom of Naples the courts, and in particular the entourage of the two queens, accelerated the process of desecration of the body of the king. According to Louis Marin and, recently, to Gérard Sabatier in France, the desecration of the sacred body of the royal family was perceived by all: once the prince was stripped of the splendour and the sacredness wrapping him,

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁵⁰¹ I. GUEST, *The Dancer's Heritage. A Short History of Ballet*, Baltimore, 1960, pp. 44-57.

⁵⁰² S. BERTELLI, *Il corpo del re*, cit., p. 12.

⁵⁰³ N. ELIAS, *La società di corte*, cit., pp. 100-102.

the king was naked and seen as a mortal. It meant the start of an irreversible process of de-mything⁵⁰⁴.

To understand this change in self-awareness one must examine court portraiture. Examples of this trend are the two portraits of Marie Antoinette only five years apart and by Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun, and other paintings of Maria Carolina by Angelica Kauffmann⁵⁰⁵.

A first official portrait of the queen of France was of 1778. Marie Antoinette had two other portraits made, which were consistent with the official canons of sacredness of the sovereign couple; in 1783, the same painter portrayed the queen dressed *en gaulle* with a simple white muslin dress, a straw hat and a rose in hand. A portrait that was not intended for the private rooms of the queen, which also provoked a lot of sensation for its exposure at the Parisian Salons⁵⁰⁶.

Rousseau's ideas of the victory of nature over artifice were followed by the court and the aristocracy. In the eighties of the 18th century, Marie Antoinette devoted herself to the construction of the Hameau in Petit Trianon park where, among the fake ruins of country houses, she roamed dressed as a shepherdess⁵⁰⁷.

The return to nature was also represented by the construction of the Laterie de la Reine, wanted by the same queen, within Rambouillet Park, the residence where Francis I died⁵⁰⁸.

In the same period, Maria Carolina, free of myth, was portrayed in poses that were no longer sacred. Fashions prevailed over etiquette: she looked after, always following the ideal of a return to nature, the English garden in the park of the Royal Palace of Caserta, as well as beautifying the 'queen's baths' with archaeological finds from Pompeii and Herculaneum.

Other Royal Sites suffered the new fashions of the queen, as demonstrated by the construction of St. Leucio dairy that had to meet the needs of the court.

There is a vast amount of comparative literature, with many other analogies, about the different leises pursued by the two queens.

Caroline Weber's analysis regarding the indications of chromatic tastes adopted in the paintings commissioned by Marie Antoinette, with a great

⁵⁰⁴ S. BERTELLI, *Il corpo del re*, cit., p. 20 ff.

⁵⁰⁵ The portrait of Maria Carolina, which emerges from the official iconography of the sovereign representation of 1783, is criticised in particular for portraying her too naturally. *Ibid.*, p. 32 ff.

⁵⁰⁶ S. SCHAMA, *Cittadini. Cronaca della Rivoluzione francese*, Milano, 1999, p. 219.

⁵⁰⁷ A. FRASER, *Maria Antonietta. La solitudine di una regina*, Milano, 2003, p. 230.

⁵⁰⁸ S. LE CLECH, *François I^{er}. Le roi-chevalier*, Paris, 2006, file no. 166, p. 238.

deal of alignment with Maria Carolina's iconography, is remarkable. The white colour of the objected *chemise* worn by the queen in the portrait by Vigée-Le Brun hides many significant symbolic meanings: white was the colour of guests' clothing during visits at Petit Trianon; Marie Antoinette's hair was white after 1789; white was the symbol of martyrdom and purity, as well as the colour of the lilies of France and of the monarchic flag. White also emulated the candour of ancient statuary and evoked a time when innocence and simplicity dictated the rules of the Arcadian world⁵⁰⁹.

By then the Revolution was at the door, and it would blank slate, as we will see, of all the iconography of the *Ancien Régime*.

After that, the star of Napoleon⁵¹⁰; the grand return of Imperial myths and iconography. Canova's sculptural tribute portraying Napoleon as Mars Peacemaker is emblematic. Napoleon's head comes with a body modelled on ancient statuary.

Two individuals were important in delivering the themes of the new Imperial iconography. The first was Jacques-Louis David who, with his entourage, has been well studied⁵¹¹. Through David's representations, with a huge diffusion not only in France but in all the provinces of the Empire, the main characters and symbols of classical mythology were recovered and adapted to a particular iconography⁵¹².

The second was Vivant-Denon, who brought new themes from the Orient into Imperial iconography. His work on the expedition of Napoleon to Egypt is considerable. As one of the leading scholars of Egyptology and a skilful designer, he drew hundreds of sketches that framed the basic iconographic elements of the ancient civilisation of the Nile. Then his role as a protagonist, strongly desired by Napoleon, to bring the new iconography within the Academy of Fine Arts⁵¹³.

Vivant-Denon, in the elaboration of Imperial iconography, distanced himself from classical mythology and deities such as Minerva, probably believing that some of her traits should be absorbed by Mars, a warrior deity

⁵⁰⁹ C. WEBER, *Queen of fashion. What Marie-Antoinette wore to the Revolution*, New York, 2006, p. 288. See also E. LEVER, *Marie Antoinette. La dernière reine*, Paris, 2000, pp. 46-47.

⁵¹⁰ On these points, see P. VIVIANI, *Dalla Francia all'Egitto attraverso il Regno di Napoli: il viaggio di Dominique Vivant-Denon alle fonti della "sapienza italica"*, in *Alle origini di Minerva trionfante. Caserta e l'utopia di S. Leucio. La costruzione dei siti reali borbonici*, a cura di I. ASCIONE-G. CIRILLO-G.M. PICCINELLI, cit., pp. 459-489.

⁵¹¹ F. BUNCUGA, *Simboli ed allegorie nella Rivoluzione Francese, in 1789: la Rivoluzione ed i suoi miti*, a cura di B. CONSARELLI, Pesaro, 1993, p. 85.

⁵¹² On David, see D. ARASSE, *Immagini e simboli*, cit., p. 188 ff.

⁵¹³ On Vivant-Denon, P. VIVIANI, *Dalla Francia all'Egitto attraverso il Regno di Napoli*, cit., p. 459 ff.

that was a good match for Napoleon. Napoleon adopted new iconographic symbols: the lion, the Fasces, the Imperial eagle, the palm, the laurel: all signs which synthesised Roman symbolism with the new Imperial iconography coming from the East. The symbol of the bees is important as, being an ancient emblem of France, it harked back to Clovis and so to Charlemagne. 'French bees' symbolised industriousness and zeal, immortality and resurrection, replacing Bourbon iconography. Bees appeared on the very mantle of the emperor; the very flag of Napoleon for the island of Elba was characterised by an emblem with three bees⁵¹⁴.

Also within the Kingdom of Naples there was an Imperial iconography. With Joachim Murat, inside the Royal Palace of Caserta, the Halls of Mars and Astraea were frescoed. While the furnishings and iconographies were designed in the Murat period, the project ended only after the Bourbon Restoration⁵¹⁵.

This iconography refers to a message of sovereignty over military virtues, justice, the liberalism of his government. The decorations of the two Halls of Mars and Astraea were again destined to a representation function.

The commission was given to Valerio Villareale who presented two preparatory sketches of bas-reliefs: *Minerva tra la stabilità e la legislazione*, *Astrea tra Ercole ed il Regno delle Due Sicilie*. Of the two works, the artist succeeded only in creating the former one, while the latter was done by Domenico Masucci.

Let us pause a moment on the *Trionfo di Astrea* commissioned by Murat but completed in 1815. We have seen the myth of Astraea proposed by Yates⁵¹⁶. A convincing iconographic reading of the *Trionfo di Astrea*, present in the Royal Palace of Caserta, was recently illustrated by Rosanna Cioffi. According to the scholar, the frescoes should be read in conjunction with the two bas-reliefs which should have decorated the room. The former was dedicated to Minerva, who represented a metaphor of legislation, while the latter symbolised the return of Astraea.

This is the description offered by the scholar concerning the Astraea sculptural group created by Masucci:

al centro riconosciamo Astrea che sostiene con la mano destra un archipendolo, strumento caro alla iconografia massonica perché simbolo di

⁵¹⁴ E.V. TARLE, *Napoleone*, Milano, 2014.

⁵¹⁵ Murat employs Jacques Berger from the Savoy region and the Sicilian Valerio Villareale, a pupil of Canova, who was tasked with the realisation of the sculptures for the Royal Apartment. See R. CIOFFI, *Al di là di Luigi Vanvitelli*, cit., p. 99.

⁵¹⁶ F.A. YATES, *Astrea*, cit.

uguaglianza. Alla sua sinistra un'altra figura allegorica che allude al regno di Napoli, simboleggiato dalla corona turrita su cui si erge il cavallo, allegoria tradizionale della città di Napoli, che sorregge nella mano sinistra un disco che allude alla Trinacria, probabile aggiunta borbonica [added in 1815], dopo il ricostituito regno delle Due Sicilie. Alla sua destra Ercole, simbolo per i neoclassici rivoluzionari delle forze del popolo, ma anche riconducibile in epoca di restaurazione – confermata dal giglio, impropriamente portato nella mano destra del semidio [also in 1815] – alla forza della giustizia o di un governo guidato dalla giustizia⁵¹⁷.

The iconography in the *Trionfo di Astrea* is relevant because, always according to Cioffi, we have:

al centro la solita allegoria della Giustizia che sorregge nella mano destra una bilancia e poggia la sinistra su un fascio littorio, simbolo di potere. Il potere della giustizia trionfa in una società dove sono scacciati i vizi, simboleggiati da varie figure diaboliche riconoscibili nella estrema sinistra del dipinto in alto e in basso. Sono colpiti dalla clava di Ercole ancora simbolo della forza della Giustizia. Astrea assiste alla cacciata dell'Inganno, simboleggiato dalla donna distesa ai suoi piedi, sotto il cui braccio sinistro fa capolino la testa di una volpe, e all'incoronazione dell'Innocenza, raffigurata nella fanciulla vestita di bianco, seduta sul piedistallo di Astrea, recante in grembo una colomba. La incorona la Verità, una fanciulla nuda coperta parzialmente da un velo⁵¹⁸.

The Imperial iconography, which referred to Napoleon as the new Caesar, must be tightly linked to Murat, a very egocentric figure. So, the Neapolitan sovereign sought to get rid of the overwhelming character of the emperor. These aspirations ensured that Murat lived his years of reign in Naples in an agitated way and in constant personal rivalry, as some of his recent biographers say, with the emperor, by whom he was so strongly hated and considered a nullity⁵¹⁹.

The new Neapolitan sovereign aspired to have a different identity compared to that of his brother-in-law. This explains the commissions regarding the Hall of Alexander, for which two paintings were commissioned focusing on Murat's military enterprises: *La Battaglia di Eylau*

⁵¹⁷ R. CIOFFI, *Al di là di Luigi Vanvitelli*, cit., p. 99.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁹ On Joachim Murat and his relationship with Bonaparte, see R. DE LORENZO, *Murat*, Roma, 2011; F. BARRA, *Capri inglese e napoleonica. Da Hudson Lowe a Murat 1806-1815*, Avellino, 2011. The following work by G. GALASSO remains fundamental: *Il Regno di Napoli*, IV, cit., p. 1022 ff.

and *La Capitolazione di Capri*⁵²⁰. Two fundamental identifying moments pointing back to the personal military glories of the sovereign and the identity of the new kingdom.

7. From the Bourbons of Europe to Naples: towards a new noble identity

As we have seen, one of the largest Bourbon archives that has been examined is that of the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara.

One of the main functions of the new royal tribunal was to provide support to the Bourbon monarchy in the creation of a new service nobility.

Both before and after 1756 (the year of the *Tavola della nobiltà* reform by Charles of Bourbon) the royal tribunal – via the Secretariat of State – received several thousands of petitions from aristocratic seats or individual exponents of urban nobility and the barony of the Kingdom. In these petitions, questions were asked on the types and criteria of nobility of those included and excluded coming into force as a result of the reform, genealogical trees were submitted of individual lineages, or the privileges of cities and of city seats tracing back to the initial Angevin grants.

We have selected a sample of 600 petitions coming from the patricians of Neapolitan seats, or out-of-town nobility of the same capital, nobles of the major cities of the Kingdom as well as from various types of baronies.

We expect certain results which will be examined more comprehensively in the second part of the volume. There was a great fragmentation at the level of noble status in the Kingdom of Naples (with miscellaneous legal and fiscal privileges which stratified across time), so much that the origin of the spring of nobility was so convoluted, a true thicket, that not even the Habsburg integration managed to bring order.

Even if the origin of coats of arms remained different, the Habsburg integration did achieve its results. The heraldic analysis of the major aristocratic families of the Kingdom reveals a substantial novelty: in the symbolism of the coats of arms, common to those of various branches of the lineage, one may observe the originating signs of aristocratic status. Alongside coats of arms, however, a new heraldry indicating enterprises began to be fashioned.

⁵²⁰ Murat commissioned these from Heinrich Schmidt and Rudolph Suhrlandt. See R. CIOFFI, *Al di là di Luigi Vanvitelli*, cit., p. 105.

This way, starting from the second half of the 14th century, the signs of the Habsburg monarchy appeared in connection with distinctive heraldic family symbols⁵²¹. There was no discontinuity also in the transition from the Spanish to Austrian period. Signs of enterprises still contained elements referring to services rendered to the Habsburg Empire.

Only with Charles of Bourbon all of the previous aristocratic statuses were frozen.

Exponents of nobility who failed to obtain the title of marquis and thus not considered part of the old nobility were left out of the recruitment of service nobility⁵²².

As we have seen, Abbot Troyli was well-informed on the *Tavola della nobiltà* reform by Charles of Bourbon, and assessed the origin of the Neapolitan nobility raising the issue of status and precedence. The hierarchy inner to nobility was measured in public rituals through previously determined precedences.

According to a long tradition, the most important barons of the kingdom (those Troyli calls the Body of the Kingdom), especially during public functions, had to cover their heads at least up to the Aragonese period. The situation changed with the reign of Charles V. The new sovereign was reluctant to respect this precedence. The internal debate in the milieu of nobility revolved around the issue whether the ritual of the covered head should have been recognised and performed only in public ceremonies of the Kingdom or also – before the new king of Naples, Charles V – as a ceremony to be performed outside of the Kingdom.

In Naples, up to Ferdinand of Aragon, all those bearing titles could wear a cap in front of the king (the sovereign recognised such honorary privileges enjoyed by the baronies and by the cities of the Kingdom *ab antiquo*⁵²³). A notable occurrence is when Charles V visited Sessa (a city with an

⁵²¹ S. RICCI (a cura di), *L'identità genealogica ed araldica. Fonti, metodologie, interdisciplinarietà, prospettive*, Atti del XXIII Congresso Internazionale di scienze genealogica e araldica. Torino, Archivio di Stato, 21-26 settembre 1998, con la collaborazione di F. SIMONELLI, Roma, 2000. By way of example on the Carafa of Maddaloni family, see G. SODANO, *I Baroni rampanti: scalate e carriere politiche del casato dei Carafa*, in *I Carafa di Maddaloni e la feudalità napoletana nel Mezzogiorno Spagnolo*, a cura di F. DANDOLO-G. SABATINI, Caserta, 2013, pp. 77-96.

⁵²² A. SPAGNOLETTI, *Stato, aristocrazie e ordine di Malta nell'Italia moderna*, Roma, 1988; ID., *Profili giuridici della nobiltà meridionale fra metà Settecento e Restaurazione*, in «Meridiana», 1994, 19, pp. 29-58.

⁵²³ G. CIRILLO, *Virtù cavalleresca ed antichità di lignaggio*, cit., p. 106.

impeccable class division) for a public ceremony. In that circumstance Agostino Nifo was allowed to wear a hat⁵²⁴.

Another example concerns, as mentioned, the coronation ceremony of Charles V in Bologna. In this case, the emperor only allowed a few barons to keep their headgear on: «il principe di Salerno, il marchese del Vasto, il marchese di Laiano»⁵²⁵. This concession made other title holders of the Kingdom jealous and, once Charles V arrived in Naples, they «pretendevano di coprirsi tutti»⁵²⁶.

During the course of the early modern age, conflicts regarding matters of precedence and respect of social status continued. For example, in 1728, there was a serious conflict of precedence which directly affected the Viceroy. In his waiting room both a delegation from Barra, which in that year represented the city of Naples, and the Grand Justiciary of the Kingdom, the Prince of Bisignano, were asking for audience: both demanded precedence. Bisignano had precedence as he held one of the seven offices of the Kingdom⁵²⁷.

Other frequent kinds of conflicts arose from precedence within single aristocratic families. For instance, in 1728, at the wedding of the Prince of Avellino with the daughter of the Duke of Maddaloni, the etiquette with respect to the viceregal family was not observed. There were no especially reserved and differently designed seats and cups set apart from the rest of the guests. The Viceroy expressed his grievance. A few years later, in order to avoid committing the same mistake, at another party held by the Prince of Avellino the Ceremonist of the Kingdom was called in to dictate the etiquette for private meetings. Thus, in that year, thanks to the efforts of the master of ceremonies, the party was a great success, although the respect of the etiquette was objectionable⁵²⁸.

Later, after 1734, Charles of Bourbon introduced – as seen – a new symbology of power. Etiquette and ceremonies changed.

The new Spanish ministers, carefully selected by Elisabetta Farnese, Monterrey and Montealegre, were overseeing the performance of ceremonies. Vázquez Gestal has examined the new ceremonies implemented during the Neapolitan reign of Charles of Bourbon – from the manner of

⁵²⁴ C. DE LELLIS, *Delle famiglie nobili del Regno di Napoli del signor Carlo De Lellis*, parte II, cit., pp. 324-326.

⁵²⁵ Much has been written on the coronation of Charles V in Bologna. See, for instance, *Bologna nell'età di Carlo V e Guicciardini*, a cura di E. PASQUINI-P. PRODI, cit., p. 239 ff.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 332 ff.

⁵²⁷ P. TROYLI, *Istoria generale del Reame di Napoli...*, tomo IV, parte IV, cit., p. 92 ff.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

functioning of the etiquette and the state ceremonies to the major public ceremonies (both secular and religious ones) and to short-lived ceremonies – assessing how said ceremonies would be affected by four traditions: by the Spanish model including modifications introduced by Philip V; by the French model introduced under the influence of Philip V; by the Medici tradition of Florence and Modena; and finally, by the model of the House of Farnese.

The ceremonies were constructed around four aspects of royalty: a) the courtier structure; b) the political culture; c) the political establishment; d) the system of representation.

The policy of ceremonies was developed in view of the actual spaces of royal palaces, royal locations, and other environments belonging to the sovereign and his court; around a temporal dimension – they measured the day and the year of the king and queen; the rites and ceremonies of ambassadors, nobility, and the people.

It is important to mention that ministers at ceremonies were the most powerful in the Court of Charles of Bourbon, first San Esteban and then, in 1738, Monteleone⁵²⁹. Two relevant aspects have been highlighted by European historiography: the ceremony did not capture the entire vision of sovereignty but merely that which was projected, hence it should be considered which minister, or which fashion, developed them and, most importantly, how they were externally received.

The sovereign would then arbitrarily modify the etiquette by abolishing – thus defrauding the new society of good manners – the paramount privilege enjoyed by the Neapolitan nobility, e.g. that of wearing headgear.

Troyli also notes that in these circumstances nobility was totally dependent on the whim of the sovereign: «riguardo al coprimento quando il Monarca in pubbliche funzioni o altrove fa loro segno di coprirsi, essi si cuoprono, e dopo averne per qualche tempo goduto l'onore, per riverenza, e rispetto al Sovrano si levano il cappello di nuovo»⁵³⁰.

Among the few exceptions, in terms of observing the etiquette, only the ladies eluded it: «avendo il medesimo monarca Carlo di Borbone al principio di sua venuta a Napoli, dato gentilmente il permesso di coprirsi in sua presenza a d. Maria Luisa Caracciolo Colonna, principessa di Stigliano, che in abito di cacciatore e collo schioppo si ritrovò fuori del ponte della

⁵²⁹ P. VÁZQUEZ GESTAL, *Il re, il cortigiano ed il ministro. Modelli rituali e politica cerimoniale nella Napoli carolina*, in *Atti del Convegno Corte e cerimoniali di Carlo di Borbone a Napoli, Venerdì 6 maggio 2016*, Reggia di Portici.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Maddalena, allora quando sua Maestà, giusta la sua costumanza, vi si condusse per caccegiare»⁵³¹.

Another important attributed precedence, in the rituals of the State, concerned the seat reserved to the representatives of the Grand Barony during public functions. This grace previously sparked a lively debate among expert genealogists – starting from the Aragonese period because in the capital not all title holders, during the procession of the *Corpus Christi*, could find a place to sit in the chapel where the solemn Mass was celebrated.

In the face of such remote privileges, Charles of Bourbon abolished the sitting places for all of the barons of the Kingdom. So that «nella cappella di Castel Nuovo restano tutti all'impiedi senza alcuna distinzione»⁵³².

Oggiorno che il Sovrano dimora in Napoli [...] nella corte si costuma che quando il Re passa nella Regia Cappella a farsi qualche pubblica funzione o v'è in s. Chiara il giorno del Corpus Domini per la solenne processione, tutti i magnati e grandi di corte vi stanno impiedi, senza darsi a chi che sia sedia da sedere; alla riserva del capitano delle guardie d. Lelio Carafa marchese di Arienzo che per la sua grossa corporatura ed inabilità di reggersi in piedi, siede dietro le spalle del Re in una piccola sedia [...]

Finally, Charles of Bourbon introduced, via his Court, new symbolic and political rituals that had little in common with the preceding viceregal courts. The monarchical symbolism was inspired by the Bourbons of France and Spain.

When Troyli picked up such mutations at the level of public ceremonies, the *Tavola della nobiltà* reform of the Kingdom of Naples was at the door. Subsequently, between the fifties and the sixties of the 18th century, through the recruitment of the new national Army and the entrance to court, the times came for the fundamental reform which should have led to the creation of service nobility⁵³⁴.

In the last decades of the 18th century the reform that brought to the formation of service nobility could be said accomplished. This is proved – as

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*

⁵³² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, p. 52 ff.

⁵³⁴ R. QUIRÓS ROSADO, *La monarchia di Filippo V e il governo borbonico nel primo Settecento. Problemi e produzione storiografici*, in G. CIRILLO (a cura di), in *The Modern State in Naples and Bourbon Europe: Historiography and Sources*, International conference, Caserta-December, Monday 5th-Tuesday 6th (forthcoming).

we are about to see – by the metaphor of the Sun which imposed itself upon heraldic coats of arms of aristocratic families dedicated to enterprises.

The Sun thanks to its light and heat allowed the trees (oaks and beeches of the genealogical kind) to get nutrition and grow (through photosynthesis), giving rise to a pleasurable landscape and an orderly forest (the metaphor for the nobility of the kingdom). The closer the leafy trees were to the Sun, the more they grew (symbolising the higher or lower dignity of aristocratic families). Prior to the ‘Apollo-Sun’ metaphor, there were only woods in which the trees of life (the metaphorical representation of genealogies) were ‘untamed wilds’, unordered forests, thus indicating a different origin of noble status.

8. The ‘Italian’ identity of last Bourbons of Naples

With Ferdinand I, and at least up to Ferdinand II, there was the demise of the high-profile dimension of European iconography and political language. This is also demonstrated by the fact that there was a turn to mediocre artists and an academic and grandiloquent style exclusive of the court⁵³⁵.

The ideological programme that inspired by Francis I and Ferdinand II is well understood through two great cultural activities: the primacy of the arts and sciences built around the propaganda of the Royal Bourbon Sites and through the commission of Tommaso De Vivo’s work, *Fasti del Regno delle Due Sicilie*.

Between the thirties and the forties of the 19th century, Bourbon propaganda inherent to the Royal Sites was inflated, exalting the economic records of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies compared to the other Italian preunitary states⁵³⁶.

These were the years, between Francis I and Ferdinand II, which conveyed the experimentation respectively of St. Leucio, where the vocation of silk

⁵³⁵ Ferdinand II set up a staged scenography around the Royal Palace. Of particular importance is the tournament held in front of the Royal Palace of Caserta in 1846. See *Il torneo di Caserta nel Carnevale del 1846, descritto ed illustrato, opera dedicata a sua maestà il Re Ferdinando II*, Napoli, 1850.

⁵³⁶ On S. Leucio, the papers of G. BRANCACCIO, *I Siti Reali e S. Leucio*, pp. 323-332, and G. RESCIGNO *Caserta: ‘metamorfosi’ di una città (dagli Acquaviva all’Unità d’Italia)*, pp. 179-255, published in the volume *Alle origini di Minerva trionfante. Caserta e l’utopia di S. Leucio. La costruzione dei Siti Reali borbonici*, a cura di I. ASCIONE-G. CIRILLO-G.M. PICCINELLI, cit.

production was always exalted, and the establishment of the *regolamenti leuciani* for the inhabitants of the colony already starting from Ferdinand IV⁵³⁷.

Then, especially since the third decade of the 19th century, a ceaseless propaganda began advocating the idea of modern agricultural and zootechnical experimentation practised on the Royal Site of Carditello. All the new developments, according to Bourbon publicists, from agricultural products to modern agricultural rotations, to livestock improvements which were introduced in the Mezzogiorno and Italy, went through the experiments operated in the Royal Bourbon Site.

With Ferdinand II the royal propaganda was directed at industrial records: railways, shipyards, and steel production. It was a moment when Pietrarsa was greatly exalted⁵³⁸.

Instead, the work by De Vivo was commissioned within the court circuits and represented the extreme attempt by Francis I (strongly used primarily for propaganda purposes by Ferdinand II) to build a new identity able to inextricably link the history of the Kingdom to the Bourbon dynasty⁵³⁹.

The work was very rare: the specimen kept at the Palatine Library of the Royal Palace of Caserta is, apparently, one of the few (or the only) remaining copies complete with illustrations: it is constructed through the commentary of 74 carefully selected tables illustrating the splendour of the Kingdom⁵⁴⁰.

The selection of identifying moments which had to take into account the problems outlined above is relevant: tying together the identity of the two former kingdoms (Naples and Sicily) with the new reality of the 'Two Sicilies'; seeking a strong identity bond with the sovereigns of the Bourbon monarchy, while dropping the use of *damnatio memoriae* for certain periods such as the French Decade. In short, a dynasty that was to present itself as

⁵³⁷ On Carditello, see my original paper *I Siti Reali borbonici. Alcuni problemi storiografici*, cit., pp. 17-38.

⁵³⁸ A. PUCA, *Alle origini di Minerva trionfante. L'impossibile modernizzazione. L'industria di base meridionale tra liberismo e protezionismo: il caso di Pietrarsa 1840-1882*, Roma, 2011.

⁵³⁹ It is an iconography that is shared with the court environment which helped the author to retrieve paintings and prints in the archives and libraries of Southern and Sicilian nobility (where his source is meticulously illustrated) that have been transformed into copper engraved lithographs. The Italian commentary on the 'fasto' follows a French translation. Biblioteca Palatina of the Royal Palace of Caserta. See T. DE VIVO, *Fasti del Regno delle Due Sicilie*, [Napoli], 1830.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.* In addition to the first 24 initial illustrations, the index includes a further 54 tables. The first three start from the medieval period, before the Norman unification: the first concerns the Duke of Benevento; the second, the fall of Siracusa under the Muslims; the third depicts the 40 Norman pilgrims who come to the Duke of Salerno Gisulf, offering themselves in the fight against the Saracens.

being more Italian and less tied to Spain, which had to recover the great episodes of identity in the history of the two kingdoms, also fully drawing from classical mythology.

It emerged as an experimental work as there are inexplicable gaps. The author imagines in the first, autobiographical table, that Parthenope and Arethusa appeared to him in a dream and urged him «a ravvivare le glorie dei due ex Regni de' quali alcuni geni gli mostrano le insegne ed i fasti»⁵⁴¹.

In the proposed splendour there is one large absence: Rome. Identity is built by excluding, or entering in conflict with, the tradition of the Roman Empire.

A good deal of space is dedicated to the founding myths and archaeology of the capital of the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and, more generally, to the ancient tradition of Magna Graecia and of Italic peoples. Three tables are dedicated to the myth of Parthenope, in a twofold mythological version: tradition required that the divinity founded Naples directly; or that the Cumans, discovering Parthenope's tomb on the shores of the sea, built a city devoted to her⁵⁴².

An important fact emerged that is not seen in any other tradition relating to the foundation of the two former capitals of the old Kingdom of Sicily: Palermo and Messina. Here the axe of the *damnatio memoriae* fell on the new Bourbon regime: only the legend of *Cerere e Nicano, i primi abitatori della Sicilia* is mentioned⁵⁴³.

In this first part of the volume, the identity tradition was influenced by Vico and Muratori, from the thesis of *antica sapienza italica* appropriated by De Vivo. Civilisation did not originate in Greece but in Magna Graecia. Thus, the Mezzogiorno and Sicily were associated with the great myths of Italian and Sicilian cities: *Pitagora che giunge nella città di Crotone*; the myth of Plato in Italy, already dear to Vincenzo Cuoco (*Dione presenta Platone dinanzi a Dionisio il vecchio*)⁵⁴⁴. There is the myth of Archimedes burning Roman ships that laid siege to Syracuse; or even of Cicero as a quaestor in Sicily

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, tav. 1.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, tavv. 2 and 3. On these topics, see V. CUOCO, *Il Platone in Italia. Traduzione dal greco*, a cura di A. DE FRANCESCO-A. ANDREONI, Roma-Bari, 2006; ID., *Saggio storico sulla rivoluzione di Napoli*, edizione critica a cura di A. DE FRANCESCO, Manduria-Bari-Roma, 1998.

⁵⁴³ T. DE VIVO, *Fasti del Regno*, cit., tav. 2. The tables have a double numeration in Arabic numerals up to 22 (these are the tables concerning mythology and antiquity); from I to LII tables representing the history of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies starting from the Arab-Lombard-Norman and up to Francis I.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, tavv. 4 and 5.

rediscovering Archimedes' tomb overgrown with brambles after searching for months, supposedly exclaiming: 'Magna Graecia non est'⁵⁴⁵.

Other episodes of classical mythology refer to Hercules who arrived in Sicily with the cattle of Geryon and went on to kill Erice the Giant. Or to a small Sicilian epic: *Enea, profugo da Troia, sbarca nell'isola di Cerere fondando alcune città*. Also to *Enno [che], assurto a re degli schiavi, viene posto in catene*⁵⁴⁶.

The identity of Rome was completely blurred, seen as a conqueror who had corrupted the civil values of the ancient Italic peoples. Indeed, in contrast, episodes are proposed that refer to the virtues of the pre-Roman peoples: the *Rovesciamento della statua [dell'odiato Verre]*⁵⁴⁷; the value of the Sannites resisting Rome and the episode of the Caudine forks (*Ponzio, generale dei Sanniti fa passare sotto il giogo l'armata romana*)⁵⁴⁸. With the removal of Rome, Hannibal did not suffer a better fate and was seen as a usurper: the Punic leader dealing with the luxuries of Capua, the courage of the Sicilian cavalry assulting Hamilcar's encampment⁵⁴⁹.

Only two prints were dedicated to the patron saints of the capitals of Naples and Palermo: the miracle of *S. Gennaro, esposto agli orsi nell'anfiteatro di Pozzuoli*⁵⁵⁰; the «morte di S. Rosalia» was said to descend from the kings of Italy⁵⁵¹.

Then an operation that sought to connect the legitimacy of the various Norman, Swabian, Angevin, and Aragonese dynasties with the new kingdom of Charles of Bourbon and his descendants.

Also in this case we have the main episodes recalling the difference of identity of the Two Sicilies. Several tables depict the acts of war that led to the formation of the Norman kingdom: the *40 pellegrini normanni che propongono a Guaimaro, il principe di Salerno, di combattere i saraceni*⁵⁵²; the conquest of Palermo by King Roger and Robert Guiscard⁵⁵³; the army of *Roberto il Guiscardo brucia le navi nel porto di Durazzo per combattere l'Imperatore Alessio*; *Conte Ruggero che è nominato legato apostolico da parte di Urbano II*; *L'incoronazione di re Ruggero nella cattedrale di Palermo*; *Guglielmo il buono che edifica*

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, tav. 6. On this episode, see A. MOZZILLO, *Viaggiatori stranieri nel Sud*, Milano, 1974. See *Introduction*, p. 8 ff.

⁵⁴⁶ T. DE VIVO, *Fasti del Regno*, cit., tav. 11.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, tav. 12.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, tav. 22.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, tav. 23.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, tav. 10.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, tav. 5.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, tav. III.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, tav. IV.

*il tempio di Monreale*⁵⁵⁴. Then the marriage between Costance and Henry VI; the refusing by William III of the crown of the Kingdom in favour of Henry VI⁵⁵⁵. With the Kingdom of the Swabians were proposed: the figure of Pier delle Vigne and his suicide; *L'ingresso da vincitore di re Corrado di Svevia a Napoli nell'atto di far porre un freno al cavallo di bronzo simbolo della città*⁵⁵⁶; *La morte di re Manfredi nella battaglia di Benevento e l'ingresso di Carlo d'Angiò e della regina Beatrice a Napoli*⁵⁵⁷. The beautiful Norman-Swabian kingdom came to an end with Conrad IV's enterprise and his decapitation⁵⁵⁸.

In the work of De Vivo, the Angevin and Durazzesque sovereigns are much represented: the death of Louis the Saint, brother of Charles of Anjou, in Tunis; Queen Joanna, neice of King Robert, who married Andrew of Hungary; King Louis of Hungary who claimed the throne of Naples on behalf of Charles, Duke of Durazzo; *La regina Giovanna I in Avignone, davanti al Sacro Collegio, che si difende dall'accusa di aver fatto assassinare il suo sposo; L'incoronazione del re Ladislao e della regina Costanza e la cavalcata reale in trionfo a Gaeta; L'ingresso glorioso di Ladislao di Durazzo a Roma e la consegna delle chiavi del Campidoglio*⁵⁵⁹.

In the same way, the representation of the Aragonese dynasty was given a lot of room. Initially, the Sicilian former glories are recalled starting from the Vesper rebellion, at the beginning of the Aragonese kingdom in the island. Once again there was a mention to: the great victory of Loria, the Admiral of Peter III of Aragon, on the fleet of Charles II of Naples, the delivery of the keys of Castelnuovo by Joanna II of Naples to Alfonso V of Aragon; the strategy used by Alfonso to conquer the city of Naples⁵⁶⁰.

Then a precise ideological choice in De Vivo dictated by the court environment: a complete *damnatio memoriae* of the entire period of Habsburg domination. No table for Charles V, Philip II, Philip IV or Charles II. Not even Philip V appears. Neither do the Neapolitan viceroys, starting from Toledo, the most illustrious.

The Bourbon monarchy completely removed its Spanish origins. It is paradoxical that for the whole period of the viceroys only three tables are present in the work: the first is dedicated to the *Disfida di Barletta*, where Ettore Fieramosca was already presented as one of the main national heroes;

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, tavv. V, VI, VII and VIII.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, tavv. XI and XII.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, tavv. XVII and XVIII.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, tavv. XX and XXI.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, tav. XXIII.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, tavv. XLI and XLIII.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, tavv. XXV, XXVII, and XLV.

the second depicts Masaniello, also positively represented, within the anti-Spanish revolt; the third celebrates the death of one of the founding characters for the identity of the Kingdom: Torquato Tasso⁵⁶¹.

Instead, the new neoclassical enthusiasm, which pervaded Naples and the Kingdom, was present in the print referring to the sad end of the city of Pompeii⁵⁶².

The French Decade was completely removed from the identity frame of the Kingdom. Giuseppe Bonaparte and above all Joachim Murat were considered usurpers.

The last three tables restart the new history with the autonomous kingdom of Charles of Bourbon. The first concerns *L'incoronazione di Carlo nel duomo di Palermo*; the second is related to the recovery of the Kingdom by Ferdinand IV and his entry into the capital; the third is inspired by Ferdinand II's propaganda programme and recalls the kingdom of the previous king: *Sotto l'auspicio di Francesco I, re del Regno delle Due Sicilie, progrediscono le arti e le scienze*⁵⁶³.

Although the iconography is not particularly characteristic, in monarchic ceremonies, finally state funerals had to be included.

We have seen the ceremonial set up at the death of Alfonso of Aragon and how the relics were considered precious objects. This aura of sacredness of the body of the sovereign, according to Maria Antonietta Visceglia, became especially important with the Counter-Reformation. It was the Papal Court that helped to bring about this change. The embalming ritual for Pontiffs that took place in Rome was eventually pursued by most European sovereigns⁵⁶⁴.

All reigning families built funeral mausoleums and homes designed to foster the genuine worship of deceased sovereigns.

With the new autonomous Bourbon monarchy, the funeral home was chosen. Deceased sovereigns from Ferdinand IV – Charles of Bourbon and his family would enter the Spanish family pantheon of the Spanish – were buried in St. Chiara, the same monastery chosen by the kings of Naples – to provide continuity at a symbolic level – up to the time of the Aragonese sovereigns.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, tavv. XLVII, XLVIII, and XLIX.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, tav. 8.

⁵⁶³ Indicated in the index as tables I, LI, and LII.

⁵⁶⁴ The exact observations made by M.A. Visceglia can be read in her *Il cerimoniale come linguaggio politico*, cit., p. 120 ff.

From the documentation emerging from the Archivio di Stato di Napoli, it is evident that especially Ferdinand II attempted to decorate the royal family funereal pantheon with various renovations and embellishments⁵⁶⁵. Even though the funeral iconography of the tomb went missing, tailored in the period between Francis I and Ferdinand II, many descriptions of the funeral rituals reached us.

For the three funerals of Ferdinand IV, Francis I and Ferdinand II, the bodies, after being embalmed, were laid in a funeral home for the farewell by members of the court and of the Kingdom's elite.

These rituals were not comparable to the solemnity surrounding other European monarchies.

The funeral vigil and the final farewell no longer provoked strong feelings of emotion and solidarity in the subjects. Actually, preparations for embalming were sometime done incorrectly. During the funeral vigil of the remains of Francis I, the guards of honour left the funeral home in a panic: an arm had fallen off the body of the sovereign making a loud noise⁵⁶⁶. Playing against the feelings of attachment to the monarchy by Neapolitan subjects was the very short time frame from the death of the last Neapolitan sovereigns (from Ferdinand I to Ferdinand II): namely, less than 40 years.

The unification of Italy was about to happen and the subsequent generation of the former aristocrats would be linked to new sentiments of loyalty towards the Savoy.

Thus, the vectors of identity propaganda of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies did not have the hoped-for diffusion. After 1848 the black legend of the Bourbons began, as they would characterise themselves as one of the most retrograde and bloody dynasties in Europe.

In the paradigm of the 'Nation of the Risorgimento' that appears in *Letteratura italiana* by Francesco De Sanctis, the *damnatio memoriae* would drop on the identity project attempted by the last Bourbons of Naples⁵⁶⁷.

⁵⁶⁵ ASNa, *Maggiordomia Maggiore, Soprintendenza Generale di Casa Reale, Archivio Amministrativo, Inventario III*, b. 1590.

⁵⁶⁶ F. DE SANCTIS, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, a cura di N. GALLO, Introduzione di G. FICARA, Torino, 1996.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

9. Monarchic rituals and the policy of patronage in the Neapolitan Court of Savoy

Even though feudalism was abolished in 1806, the old aristocracy of the Kingdom continued to carry its weight. The ancient families had long been living in the former capital. Yet, right up to the eighties of the 19th century, they remained outside of the great recruitment circuits of national politics.

Since the eighties, as was observed, several phenomena contributed to new protagonism of the former families of the Neapolitan aristocracy.

Meanwhile, there was their promotion to high office of State – in the Army, Navy, diplomatic service, high bureaucracy – from the Historical Left; then, in particular, what will be discussed in the second part of the volume, i.e. the integration of the Neapolitan aristocracy into the circuits of the Court of Savoy.

There emerged the policy adopted towards the Neapolitan nobility by two sovereigns, Umberto I and Vittorio Emanuele III, who integrated the main former noble families, residing in Naples but from the aristocratic lineages of all the provinces of the Kingdom, into court circuits.

This system was perfected when Umberto I, who had a passion for hunting rituals, began to move ever more frequently to the Neapolitan and Casertan Royal Bourbon Sites⁵⁶⁸.

Many Royal Bourbon Sites (dependent on the Segreteria di Real Azienda, Secretariat of Royal Estate) then passed, following unification, to the Ministero di Casa Reale dei Savoia. Umberto I and his court spent several months in the Neapolitan hunting retreats. Following this, within the Ministero di Casa Reale, an Administration of Royal Sites was set up in Capodimonte, which included the old Licola, Astroni, Capodimonte, and Carditello Sites. Hunting on horseback and various tournaments took place directly in the reserves of Capodimonte, Astroni and Carditello; every year, however, they moved out towards Abruzzo (in the municipalities that are now part of the National Park) to end wild boars and Marsican bears hunts. It was Umberto I who promoted hunting on horseback of the exclusive social circles of the former Neapolitan nobility.

From the Capodimonte archives there is a remarkable piece of documentation that sheds light on the articulation of patronage relationships between court circuits and the former noble families of the Kingdom.

⁵⁶⁸ These are the first results of ongoing research into the Archivio dei Siti Reali (Archive of the Royal Sites) of Savoy. See the paragraph on the sources.

The king promoted, in 1896 – he was the honorary president –, the birth of the Naples Paper-Hunt (the Statute is of 1896-97) and then its transformation into the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo (The Naples Hunt). Between 1896 and 1911, all the main families of the nobility of the Mezzogiorno appeared in it. There were just over 40 in the first year to nearly 80 in the second. In addition, in the years preceding the First World War, the main officers of the Army were included in the society's activities in the Mezzogiorno.

The integration circuit of the court which was established for the Neapolitan nobility was to be considered a true branch of the Roman Court. When Umberto I was present in Naples to inaugurate the hunting season, all the former nobility wanted to take part.

The fact that there were national closed circuits in which the former nobility continued to assert its rights and impose its values emerges from Article 9 of the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo.

Temporary members were provided by Army officers and those in active service, the Jockey Club, the Italian branch of the Società degli Steeplechase (Steeplechase Association), the Società della Caccia alla Volpe di Roma (The Rome Hunt) and the Società Lombarda di Caccia (The Lombardy Hunt)⁵⁶⁹.

It is possible to speculate on the narrow national circuits in which the members of the privileged old elites found their place.

Specifically, the entry requirements into the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo were very stringent. The old elites were carefully vetted especially in respect to genealogical requirements. Only marginally, members of high bureaucracy or the Army that did not pass certain required nobility tests were admitted anyway.

From the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte records, it is noted that, in the Giolittian era, families of the old nobility of the former kingdom were completely integrated with the monarchy and participated in hunting ceremonies or various tournaments that were organised between Naples and the surrounding area. This was a period in which, in particular during the reign of Umberto I, expenses incurred by the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte increased disproportionately with an increase in staff and items, with various types of orders and expenses to support the organisation of aristocratic sociability. The latter is one of the particular channels (the others were centred on Rome) with which the policy of monarchic patronage was played out.

⁵⁶⁹ ARCe, AMMINISTRAZIONE DEI SITI REALI DI CAPODIMONTE (from now on ADC), *Statuto della Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo* (1896).

In the papers, very varied petitions appear, sent by administrators to the Ministero di Casa Reale. It is also evident that there were informal relations between the former aristocrats and the court circuits concerning very heterogeneous requests for favours.

Expenses for the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte increased to such an extent that, following the tragic death of Umberto I and the strict observance of a year of mourning, the new sovereign Vittorio Emanuele III was forced to make considerable cuts to the administration.

At the funeral of Umberto I, the participation of the Neapolitan nobility and the Mezzogiorno was extensive.

There was no longer an ancient aristocracy that recognised itself with the old Bourbon dynasty, to be replaced by the new values of attachment to the monarchy of the Savoy, which would influence Naples and the Mezzogiorno in the long run.

PART II

Ceremonials and noble and monarchic identity:

from the Bourbons to the Savoy

CHAPTER I

*Between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons. The integration of nobility and the self-awareness of aristocrats in the Kingdom of Naples**

1. Introduction. From Habsburg aristocracies to Bourbon service nobility

Between the 17th and 18th century, the transition within the Spanish monarchy from the Habsburgs to the Bourbons was characterised by many factors. Among them, the process of elite integration was extremely important. In this paper, I wish to consider this in a vital part of the Spanish galaxy, i.e. the Kingdom of Naples. Consequently, as far as the aforementioned transition and the transformations caused by the War of the Spanish Succession are concerned, I will focus more on Charles of Bourbon's reign, beginning in 1734, and less on the passage from Philip V to the Habsburgs of Vienna¹.

The overall scenario has been described only in part so far. As a matter of fact, historiographers have demonstrated not only that the Duke of Medinaceli, and Viceroy of Naples, could ensure political continuity during the Kingdom of Naples' passage to the Spanish king, but also to what extent he contributed to the repression of the pro-Imperial Conspiracy of Macchia (1701), which was hatched by the aristocracy².

* This paper is part of a research project worked out by a group of European universities and focuses on the Bourbons in Europe from 1734 to 1782. It was first published in *The Transition in Europe between XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries. Perspectives and case studies*, Edited by A. ÁLVAREZ-OSSORIO ALVARIÑO-C. CREMONINI-E. RIVA, Milano, 2016, pp. 192-223.

¹ Spanish historiography has studied in depth the transition from Charles II to Philip V. See, in particular, J.M. DE BERNARDO ARES, *Las dos Españas de 1706 según las cartas reales de los reyes borbónicos*, pp. 249-270; J. ALBAREDA, *Proyectos políticos enfrentados en la «guerra más que civil de 1705 a 1714»*, pp. 271-292; A. DUBET, *¿Francia en España? La elaboración de los proyectos de reformas político-administrativas de Felipe V (1701-1703)*, pp. 293-312; F. ANDÚJAR CASTILLO, *La financiación desconocida de la Guerra de Sucesión: la venta de cargos y honores*, pp. 313-334; A. MUSI, *Política e cultura a Napoli tra il crepuscolo del sistema imperiale spagnolo e l'avvento degli Asburgo d'Austria (1698-1707)*, pp. 785-798; D. LIGRESTI, *Élites, guerra e finanze in Sicilia durante la guerra di Successione spagnola (1700-1720)*, pp. 799-830; A. ÁLVAREZ-OSSORIO ALVARIÑO, *¿El final de la Sicilia española? Fidelidad, familia y venalidad bajo el virrey marqués de los Balbases (1707-1713)*, pp. 831-912; P. MOLAS RIBALTA, *¿Qué fine Italia y Flandes?*, pp. 693-716. All these papers are in A. ÁLVAREZ-OSSORIO ALVARIÑO-B.J. GARCÍA GARCÍA-V. LEÓN SANZ (Edición a cargo de), *La pérdida de Europa. La guerra de Sucesión por la Monarquía de España*, Madrid, 2007.

² G. GALASSO, *Il Regno di Napoli*, IV, *Il Mezzogiorno borbonico e napoleonico (1734-1815)*, in

Besides, notwithstanding the seemingly political success of Philip V's visit to Naples, the small expeditionary force headed by Daun did not encounter any resistance, and the Kingdom passed to the Habsburgs of Austria in 1707.

The Imperial House introduced significant political, institutional and economic reforms, such as an increasing state centralisation in Vienna. Thus, viceroys lost power and were deprived of the monopoly on the military as well as on the political sphere; on the contrary, the new members of the Collateral Council, who were then chosen from among those faithful to the recently established Austrian regime, did gain power. This occurred during Althann's Viceroyship³.

It was with Charles of Bourbon that the political and institutional balances changed substantially in the Kingdom. Important reforms were put in place, both in the field of the feudal system and in venal offices, in the exercise of justice, in economics, rooted in physiocratic principles, in the relationship between the new regime and the Church⁴.

The creation of the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara – this paper is based on its sources – is a fundamental step in the path to modernisation. Differently from the Collateral Council, which it replaced and which had to assess to what extent privileges and *costituzioni* of the Kingdom were being respected, the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara ratified the king's law, its deliberations rapidly becoming royal dispatches.

Thus, it deprived the other courts – the Regia Camera della Sommaria, the

Storia d'Italia, XV/4, Torino, 2007; R. AJELLO, *La vita politica napoletana sotto Carlo di Borbone*, in AA.VV., *Storia di Napoli*, XVII, Cava de' Tirreni, 1972, p. 654 ff.

³ On Viceroy Althann, see R. AJELLO, *Un viceré dimezzato. Parassitismo economico e costituzionalismo d'antico regime nelle lettere di M.F. von Althann*, in «Frontiera d'Europa», 1995, 1, pp. 121-220. Now it is possible to grasp the full significance of the Collateral Council policies during the Austrian Viceroyalty, thanks to the data storage devices containing all Niccolò Fraggianni's *notamenti*. For so difficult a study, see I. ASCIONE, *I «Notamenti» del Collaterale redatti da Niccolò Fraggianni (Napoli 1725-1733)*, in «Frontiera d'Europa», 2008, 1-2, pp. 113-303; R. AJELLO, *Niccolò Fraggianni. Al segreto giurisdizionale alla trasparenza culturale*, in «Frontiera d'Europa», *ibid.*, pp. 1-111; F. DI DONATO, *Esperienza e ideologia ministeriale nella crisi dell'Ancien Régime. Niccolò Fraggianni tra diritto, istituzioni e politica, 1725-1763*, II, Napoli, 1996.

⁴ G. CIRILLO, *Virtù cavalleresca ed antichità di lignaggio. La Real Camera di S. Chiara e le nobiltà del Regno di Napoli nell'età moderna*, Roma, 2012; ID., *Spazi contesi. Camera della Sommaria, baronaggio, città e costruzione dell'apparato territoriale del Regno di Napoli (secc. XV-XVIII). Evoluzione del sistema amministrativo e governi cittadini*, II, Milano, 2011, p. 102 ff. On Neapolitan venal offices, see R. AJELLO, *Il problema della riforma giudiziaria e legislativa nel regno di Napoli durante la prima metà del secolo XVIII-La vita giudiziaria*, Napoli, 1961; V.I. COMPARATO, *Uffici e società a Napoli: (1600-1647). Aspetti dell'ideologia del magistrato in età moderna*, Firenze, 1974; G. GALASSO, *Il Regno di Napoli*, IV, cit.; R. MANTELLI, *Il pubblico impiego nell'economia del regno di Napoli: retribuzioni, reclutamento e ricambio sociale nell'epoca spagnola, secc. XVI-XVII*, Napoli, 1986.

High Court of Appeal (Vicaria) for Civil and Criminal Law, the Sacred Royal Council, the Customs of Foggia as well as further Courts of Customs – of their functions. Besides, Royal Dispatches, which came directly from the new monarch and were founded on the deliberations issued by the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara, gradually came to replace pragmatic sanctions⁵.

This paper, then, focuses on the typology of the elites recruitment and cultural paradigms within the Kingdom of Naples, from the Habsburg to the Bourbon era.

Was there continuity or discontinuity in the ruling class?

There was continuity in the status and in the market of honours between the end of Charles II's reign and the Austrian Viceroyalty. One can see continuity, for instance, when analysing the titles of hundreds of elite families in the Kingdom, of barons, of urban nobility, of other lineages. One can see it also in the possession of fiefs, titles – both honorific and military – and of political charges. For a family, these titles and charges could have sprung either from the ancient lineage or the dignity of the homeland, or the services and merits achieved at the Courts of Madrid or Vienna. Thus, notwithstanding the changes that took place in the period between the second half of the 17th century and the Austrian Viceroyalty, there was a continuity in nobility being loyalty to the Habsburgs of Spain, and then of Austria.

By analysing the sources of the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara, some authors believe that since the end of the 16th century up to the Austrian Viceroyalty, 170 titles of prince, 300 titles of duke, and 80 titles of count were granted⁶. At the same time, hundreds of barons in small villages were labelled as «utili signori»⁷.

Dozens of deliberations issued by the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara may help us focus on the problems of the urban patriciate, whose situation was very complex, since, for instance, between the end of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century, few families included in the *Golden Books* approved by the Collateral Council were allowed to have the monopoly on urban offices⁸.

⁵ G. CIRILLO, *Virtù cavalleresca ed antichità di lignaggio*, cit., p. 12 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 40 ff.

⁸ As far as various areas of the Kingdom of Naples are concerned, much has been written so far. See *Signori, patrizi e cavalieri in Italia centro-meridionale nell'età moderna*, a cura di M.A. VISCEGLIA, Roma-Bari, 1992; EAD., *La nobiltà nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia in età moderna*, in «Storica», III (1997), 7, pp. 49-96; EAD., *Identità sociali. La nobiltà napoletana nella prima età moderna*, Milano, 1998; G. CARIDI, *La spada, la seta, la croce. I Ruffo di Calabria dal XIII al XIX secolo*, Torino, 1995; A. CARRINO, *La città aristocratica. Linguaggi e pratiche della politica a Monopoli fra Cinque e Seicento*, Bari, 2000; E. PAPAGNA, *Sogni e bisogni di una famiglia aristocratica*.

These lineages have been decreasing enormously but have not been replaced by other families, a fact that, at the beginning of Charles of Bourbon's reign, caused consistent lack of representation in almost all urban governments within the Kingdom.

Moreover, the new monarchy required a substantial reform of the aristocracy. This policy was stimulated by many factors: the need for discontinuity from Austrian Viceroyalty, a period when aristocracy held such a strong link with the *Ancien Régime*, and for rethinking the formation of aristocracy and of the ruling classes. This was not a simple policy, since during both the Habsburg and Austrian era, there was great fragmentation within aristocracy, between the holders of fiefs and jurisdictions, untitled *utili signori* and high-ranking nobles without any real feudal property⁹.

Charles of Bourbon succeeded in finding a solution to three different problems, because he was able to dignify nobility, by linking it to the 'reflected light' coming from the new monarchy, to create a novel service nobility, and to reform the cadres of the ruling elite through three different kinds of 'aristocracy', thanks to the 1756 *Tavola della nobiltà* reform.

This process was not simple and was carried out over a rather long period of time. Firstly, several fiefs and venal offices that had been conceded during the Austrian Viceroyalty were confiscated by the new king¹⁰. Secondly, the Monarch focused on recruiting the urban patriciate in such a way that those families which fulfilled certain requirements, despite not having those needed to take noble seats, could appeal to the Secretary of Justice. Thus, proceedings were routed to the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara, which promoted hundreds of families *ex privilegio*, and executed by the Regie Udienze (Royal Audits). In spite of the king's noble intent, the effects of this policy created further problems, not only due to the perennially excluded law graduates' claims, but also to the emergence of a permanent conflict between the old patriciate *ex genere* and the new *ex privilegio*, whose progression was enhanced by the centre.

Thirdly, specific noble titles began to be granted by the new king: until the end of the fifties of the 18th century, at least 300 marquis titles were

I Caracciolo di Martina in età moderna, Milano, 2002; F. CAMPENNI, *La patria ed il sangue. Città, patriziati e potere nella Calabria moderna*, Prefazione di M. PETRUSEWICZ, Manduria-Roma-Bari, 2004; M. TROTTA, *Chieti moderna. Profilo storico di una città del Mezzogiorno d'antico regime (sec. XVI-XVIII)*, Napoli, 2009.

⁹ A. SPAGNOLETTI, *Principi italiani e Spagna nell'età barocca*, Milano, 1996; ID., *Le dinastie italiane nella prima età moderna*, Bologna, 2003; A. MUSI, *L'Italia dei Viceré. Integrazione e resistenza nel sistema imperiale spagnolo*, Cava de' Tirreni, 2000.

¹⁰ E. PAPAGNA, *La corte di Carlo di Borbone, il re «proprio e nazionale»*, Napoli, 2011; G. GALASSO, *Il Regno di Napoli*, IV, cit., p. 37 ff.

conceded which could be transmitted to first-born sons. They were granted to low-ranking barons who had control of fief jurisdiction as well as to patricians in cities with 'closed' or 'open' seats of nobility. From the sixties onwards, the title of marquis was granted to the Neapolitan courts magistrates at the end of their *cursus honorum*.

Finally, in 1756, with the *Tavola della nobiltà* Charles of Bourbon divided the various kinds of upper classes into three types. Nevertheless, the ruling class was enrolled from among old nobility, namely individuals from families in towns with 'closed' seats of nobility or who had been fiefholders for at least 200 years.

By doing that, he intended to achieve at least two goals: on the one hand, he aimed at stopping the fragmentation within kingdom nobility; on the other, he wanted to create a service nobility which, to him, represented the keystone of a different ruling class which was called to back the monarchy in its institutional renewal programme. For the first time, members of nobility were expected to fill the ranks of the new National Army or of the new bureaucracy. The most fortunate of them were indeed socially promoted when admitted to the king's court.

How many people were recruited by the court? According to Giuseppe Maria Galanti, there were about 6,500 out of 30,000 individuals, more or less, from among patricians or barons¹¹.

However, just as in Spain, in the Kingdom of Naples there still was a strict class separation. Members of old aristocracy were admitted to service nobility, which alone was asked to carry out exclusive institutional tasks. This was a path that recalled the role played by the Spanish aristocracy since Philip V's reign both in the military sphere and in the control over their national territory¹².

¹¹ G. CIRILLO, *Regno di Napoli e Spagna. Genovesi, Galanti, gli apparati statali e le riforme settecentesche*, in AA.VV., *Antonio Genovesi a trecento anni dalla nascita*, a cura di G. CACCIATORE-S. CICENIA, Battipaglia, 2016, pp. 67-130; ID., *Nobiltà contese. La «Tavola della nobiltà» di Carlo di Borbone e le riforme dei governi cittadini nel Regno di Napoli nel Settecento*, in A. GIUFFRIDA-F. D'AVENIA-D. PALERMO (a cura di), *Studi storici dedicati ad Orazio Cancila*, in «Quaderni Mediterranei», 2011, pp. 949-996.

¹² There is a vast literature on Philip V's Spain. For an essential bibliography, see A. ÁLVAREZ-OSSORIO ALVARINO, *Introduzione*, in *Famiglia, nazioni e monarchia. Il sistema europeo durante la Guerra di Successione spagnola*, in «Cheiron», XIX, 2002, 39-40, p. 7 ff.; P. GARCÍA TROBAT-J. CORREA BALLESTER, *Centralismo y administración: los intendentes borbónicos en España*, in «Quaderni fiorentini», XXVI, 1997, pp. 39-40; V. PERALTA RUIZ, *Patrones, clientes y amigos. El poder burocrático indiano en la España del siglo XVIII*, Madrid, 2006; A. GONZÁLEZ ENCISO, *Les finances royales et les hommes d'affaires au XVIII^e siècle*, in A. DUBET (dir.), *Les finances royales dans la monarchie espagnole (XV^e-XIX^e siècles)*, Rennes, 2008; A. ÁLVAREZ-OSSORIO, *Naciones mixtas. Los jenízaros en el gobierno de Italia*, in A. ÁLVAREZ-OSSORIO-B.J. GARCÍA GARCÍA

Both in the Kingdom of Naples and, subsequently, in Spain, the way in which Charles of Bourbon selected his new service nobility is quite different from that adopted in other European countries. As a matter of fact, it was not based on physiocracy and on the emerging *Nazione dei proprietari*, as happened in many regions of France, as well as in Tuscany and Milan, where reforms were indeed rooted in a new tax system, with a bottom-up self-management founded on the communities of landlords, and not on the structure of the bodies, and where, by simplifying political space, property directly put landlords in touch with the king. The *Nazione dei proprietari* replaced the old class nation¹³.

The formation of only one political and administrative ruling class, which determined the very transformation of the urban patriciate's old strongholds, influenced the formation of a new nation based on landed property and self-awareness, by means of individual merits and fundamental state aid. Hence, there emerges a new ideology of nobility characterised by property more than by patrician or baronial ascendancy. Service nobility would be recruited on the basis of this same model.

On the contrary, in both the Kingdom of Naples and the Kingdom of Sicily, and in Spain, new service nobility was enrolled on a genealogical basis¹⁴, since only those barons who owned ancient fiefs and patricians in towns with 'closed' seats of nobility, or those with a strict class separation, could have accessed to the first-rank *nobiltà generosa* (hereditary and old

(eds.), *La monarquía de las Naciones. Patria nación y naturaleza en la Monarquía de España*, Madrid, 2004; A. DUBET, *Entre dos modelos de gobierno de la hacienda militar. Las reformas de la Tesorería Mayor en España en 1721-1727*, in A. GONZÁLEZ ENCISO-R. TORRES SÁNCHEZ (eds.), *La construcción de un Estado Militar: la monarquía española (1648-1814)*, Madrid, 2012; A. DUBET, *La construcción de un modelo de control de la Hacienda en el primer tercio del siglo XVIII. El proyecto de José Patiño (1724-1726)*, in «De Computis», IX, 2012, 16, pp. 7-54; J. JURADO SÁNCHEZ, *El gasto de la hacienda española durante el siglo XVIII. Cuantía y estructura de los pagos del Estado (1703-1800)*, Madrid, 2006; A. DUBET, *José Patiño y el control de la Hacienda. ¿Una cultura administrativa nueva?*, in M^a. LÓPEZ DÍAZ (dir.), *Élites y poder en las monarquías ibéricas. Del siglo XVII al primer liberalismo*, Madrid, 2013, pp. 39-55. On private recruitment and the purchasing of military ranks, see F. ANDÚJAR CASTILLO, *La privatización del reclutamiento en el siglo XVIII: el sistema de asientos*, in «Studia Historica. Historia Moderna», 2003, 25, pp. 123-147; ID., *La corte y los militares en el siglo XVIII*, in «Estudis: Revista de historia moderna», 2001, 27, pp. 91-122.

¹³ L. MANNORI (a cura di), *Comunità e poteri centrali negli antichi Stati italiani. Alle origini dei controlli amministrativi*, Napoli, 1997; L. MANNORI-B. SORDI, *Storia del diritto amministrativo*, Roma-Bari, 2001. See also M. MERIGGI, *Gli Stati italiani prima dell'Unità. Una storia istituzionale*, Bologna, 2002; M. VERGA, *Le istituzioni politiche*, in G. GRECO-M. ROSA (a cura di), *Storia degli antichi Stati italiani*, Roma-Bari, 2006, pp. 3-58.

¹⁴ G. DELILLE, *Le maire et le Prieur. Pouvoir central et pouvoir local en Méditerranée occidentale (XV^e-XVIII^e siècle)*, Paris-Rome, 2003, p. 50 ff.

nobility). Consequently, they could have accessed to the recently established National Army as officers, to the new bureaucracy and, ultimately, to the court.

When selecting the ruling elite, there was, then, a return to a highly traditional pre-Habsburg co-optation policy. What happened was that only a few hundred families could finally enter the court, namely both the patricians of slightly more than twenty royal cities and a number of fiefholders – barons – who managed to fill the ranks of the service nobility and to have access to the court.

Therefore, the Kingdom of Naples became the place for the new ruling class selection system to be tested, namely the system which Charles of Bourbon would apply in Spain as of the sixties of the 18th century. This elite enrolment policy, based on blood purity, would put an end to the construction of a new ruling class in Spanish monarchy, a monarchy which, as a consequence, would look backwards without fully understanding modern physiocratic values. It would be extremely elitist, and not inclined to accept the provinces' claims and their social mobility. It would be so different from that enhanced by Philip V, when, in both Naples and Spain, many members of the provincial elite had become part of the ruling classes¹⁵.

This paper then aims at reconstructing the formation of the elites in the Kingdom of Naples between the Habsburg and the Bourbon reign, through the cultural schemes connoting the various nobilities which represented themselves differently as far as their dignity and status were concerned.

For the first time, hundreds of deliberations issued by the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara are being used which analyse requests for nobility and certificates of nobility submitted by urban patricians and by titled barons.

This paper consists of four sections, on the following topics:

- a) self-representations of noble status before the Habsburgs;
- b) the new identity of nobility after the Habsburg integration;
- c) Charles of Bourbon's first policy of nobility;
- d) towards service nobility: the *Tavola della nobiltà* reform.

¹⁵ F. ANDÚJAR CASTILLO, *Necesidad y venalidad España e Indias, 1704-1711*, Madrid, 2008; A. DUBET, *Los intendentes y la tentativa de reorganización del control financiero en España, 1718-1720*, in G. PÉREZ SARRIÓN (ed.), *Más Estado y más mercado. Absolutismo y economía en la España del siglo XVIII*, Madrid, 2011; F. ABBAD-D. OZANAM, *Les Intendants espagnols du XVIII^e siècle*, Madrid, 1992, p. 32 ff.; F.J. GUILLAMÓN ÁLVAREZ-J.D. MUÑOZ RODRÍGUEZ, *Las milicias de Felipe V. La militarización de la sociedad castellana durante la Guerra de Sucesión*, in «Revista de Historia Moderna», 2007, 25, pp. 89-112.

2. In search of an aristocratic status: noble self-representation in the Kingdom of Naples

In the modern Kingdom of Naples, aristocracy underwent substantial internal differentiations.

Despite the existence of a wide gap between old and new aristocracy, the integration policy enhanced by the Habsburgs helped bridge this very gap.

Both this policy, which fluctuated between integration and resistance, and the market of honours, alongside the creation of a novel aristocratic status, have already attracted scholars' attention¹⁶.

Unusual bonds of loyalty, based on different symbols and values, led to the formation of an identity whose features would be shared by those ensconced in Neapolitan seats of nobility, by urban patricians and by provincial titled barons.

What are these common features of identity, and how do they change in the new certificates of nobility during the Spanish era?

In the early Habsburg period, genealogy as well as the belonging to exclusive patriciates, namely to families linked to old dynasties, were fundamental.

Firstly, those families of the Neapolitan nobility began to play a key role, as happened, for instance, with the d'Afflitto and the Gonzaga.

The d'Afflitto came from the Amalfi Coast old nobility and were incorporated into Neapolitan seats of nobility, such as the seat of Nido¹⁷. In the case under examination, the applicant, d. Giovanni d'Afflitto, belonged to the branch of the Barons of Roccagloriosa, who held a worthy abode in Naples and several fiefs throughout the Kingdom.

The d'Afflitto had access to the seat of Nido in the seventies of the 16th century; from the acts of their incorporation, it is patently clear that the family accumulated substantial wealth (they submitted *fedi* – notarial deeds –

¹⁶ For the interesting papers by J. Martínez Millán, M. Rivero Rodríguez, F. Benigno, I. Enciso and A. Muñoz, G. Sabatini, C.J. Hernando Sánchez, G. Muto, see the introduction by F. CANTÙ, *Le corti vicereali della Monarchia spagnola: America ed Italia. Introduzione*, in EAD. (ed.), *Las cortes virreinales de la Monarquía española: América e Italia*. Actas del Coloquio Internacional, Sevilla, 1-4 junio 2005, Roma, 2008, pp. 11-36. See also F. BENIGNO, *L'ombra del re. Ministri e lotta politica nella Spagna del Seicento*, Venezia, 1992; ID., *Tra corte e Stato: il mondo del favorito*, in «Storica», V, 1999, 15, pp. 123-136; A. SPAGNOLETTI, *Principi italiani e Spagna nell'età barocca*, cit.; ID., *Le dinastie italiane nella prima età moderna*, cit.; A. MUSI, *L'Italia dei Viceré*, cit. See also ID., *L'impero dei viceré*, Bologna, 2013.

¹⁷ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 128, inc. 16, *Supplica di d. Giovanni d'Afflitto barone di Roccagloriosa chiede un titolo di marchese*, 4 aprile 1748. See G. CIRILLO, *Spazi contesi*, II, cit., p. 188 ff.

proving that their estimated wealth equalled over 100,000 ducats) and important feudal titles (the d'Afflitto were Counts of Trivento); above all, they had valuable dwellings in both Scala and Maiori, that were the Duchy of Amalfi cities from which they came, and in Naples¹⁸.

Since they were accused of becoming greatly involved in trading, the d'Afflitto tried to explain, among other things, that they had, in a sense, adopted a way of living and a status similar to those of the nobility in the Maritime Republics of Genoa and Venice, in particular, and that Neapolitan and Amalfi Coast lineages shared common elements. Families coming from these prestigious patriciates and identifying themselves as a military nobility had never scorned trading and business, even though they had always practised them indirectly.

The d'Afflitto's dwelling in Scala was considered to be magnificent¹⁹. Their abode in Naples was even more impressive, worthy as it was of a family occupying a seat of nobility.

Two branches of another great family belonging to the Amalfi aristocracy, the del Giudice, managed to regain incorporation into the seat of Nido in the twenties of the 17th century. In fact, Vincenzo del Giudice firstly applied to the Sacred Royal Council in a bid for a new incorporation: «[...] Vincenzo del Giudice di Napoli dice come li suoi ascendenti collaterali e antenati da tempo antichissimo han goduto conforme al presente alcuni di essi godono nobiltà nel seggio di Nido nella detta città, le prerogative di nobiltà [...]»²⁰.

Thus, there began a complicated procedure during which judges of the Sacred Royal Council rejected those certificates attesting this family's presumed right for incorporation. However, Vincenzo del Giudice and his lineal descendants succeeded in obtaining their re-incorporation rather easily, if we compare their experience with that of other aristocratic families from Amalfi, like the d'Afflitto.

The certificates submitted by the del Giudice were based on the records of the seat of Nido, which were supposed to provide evidence of their relatives' old incorporation or of recent incorporations as well; besides, they wished to demonstrate their origins and *more nobilium* status. First of all, then, some documents show that, already in the first half of the 16th century, «Marius, Iulius, et Francisco de Giudice» were incorporated into the seat of Nido.

The documents, which proved the family's aristocratic ascendancy, are

¹⁸ G. Cirillo, *Spazi contesi*, II, cit., p. 23 ff.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ ASNa, *Processi antichi*, *Pandetta Corrente*, b. 1722.

extremely variegated. The principal branches of the del Giudice were rooted in Amalfi and Scala patriciates, which were closely linked to those incorporated into Neapolitan seats. By this way, copies of original documents coming from parish and municipal archives attest, from the mid-15th century on, to the aristocratic status of the «egregi viri Philippi ed Alfonso de Giudice de Amalphi [...] habitationes situs in ditta civitatis Amalphi» and of the archdeacons Michele, Luise and Camillo del Giudice; they also attest the del Giudice's blood relationships with the d'Afflitto, the Alagno and the Bonito, other remarkable representatives of Amalfi patriciate. There is, in particular, a precise genealogical tree showing the strong link existing between the various branches of Amalfi and Scala lineages and the Neapolitan ones. More importantly, they can demonstrate that Pirro Antonio del Giudice's sons Francesco, Bernardino and Alberto, who were incorporated into the seat of Nido in 1522, would reside in Amalfi²¹. Francesco del Giudice was finally newly incorporated in 1621²².

Some years later, in May 1625, other collateral branches of this family apply to the Sacred Royal Council asking for their new incorporation into the seat of Nido. Useless to say, these applicants, who obtained the incorporation, submitted the same documents as those submitted by Vincenzo del Giudice²³.

Between the second half of the 16th and early 17th century, the substantial incorporation into the seat of Nido of the various branches of the del Giudice and d'Afflitto was part of a wider process involving almost the entire Amalfi patriciate which, along with other patriciates in the Kingdom, tried to fill the ranks of the Neapolitan nobility²⁴.

The seat of Nido was highly desirable. In early 16th century, it incorporated the famous leader Ferrante Gonzaga, who served as Charles V's Imperial commander-in-chief, as Viceroy of the Kingdom of Sicily and as Governor of the Duchy of Milan. He was, thus, one of the emperor's most faithful men. In the Kingdom of Naples, he was granted many graces and privileges, and also important fiefs. Consequently, he was incorporated into the seat of Nido in 1519, by virtue of his merits²⁵. Members of some branches of the Gonzaga would be Imperial princes between Mantova and

²¹ In 1545, Giovan Battista and Filippo del Giudice also have a double incorporation, both in Amalfi patriciate and in the seat of Nido. *Ibid.*

²² ARCHIVIO COMUNALE DI AMALFI, *Libro di conclusioni fatte nel Generale Parlamento del ducato di Amalfi dalli 27 di febraro 1643 in avanti, Atti della seduta del Parlamento del 28 maggio del 1649.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, *Atti della seduta del Parlamento generale*, 30 giugno 1653.

²⁵ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 280, fasc. 22, *Privilegi attribuiti a Luigi Maria Gonzaga, patrizio del seggio del Nido*, 21 maggio 1764.

Guastalla, whereas minor branches took up residence in the Kingdom of Naples²⁶.

In 1764, Luigi Maria Gonzaga sent a petition to the king recalling his descentance from Ferrante's old lineage, namely his incorporation into the seat of Nido as well as his merits as Imperial commander-in-chief and Viceroy of Sicily. Gonzaga could not aspire to the same status as his ancestors and was thus satisfied with the concession, in favour of his sons, of positions as cadets in the new National Regiments²⁷.

Nevertheless, in some periods of the early modern era, it was not the entire nobility in the Kingdom who desired to enter Neapolitan seats.

From Summonte to Capaccio and, lastly, Benedetto Croce²⁸, a vast literature describes the aristocratic dialectics in the capital city, focusing on the importance of some Neapolitan families that belong to the nobility *fuori piazza*²⁹. They had a lineage older than those of the families that were allowed incorporation into Neapolitan seats. Therefore, they claimed an aristocratic status that, going back to specific privileges granted by Angevin and Durazzesque kings, directly linked them to the royal demesne and to the physical spaces occupied by their abodes. These jurisdictions will be later submitted to direct royal authority.

Many *fuori piazza* Neapolitan families and members of old urban patriciates claimed such privileged status.

As for the former, we have the case of the Alchimia. In the genealogical reconstruction submitted to the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara, it becomes clear that their lineage is of Norman origins. In the Angevin era, Pietro Alchimia acquired jurisdictional privileges that would expand with successive generations. The Alchimia:

furono decorati con nobil impieghi dalla Serenissima Regina Giovanna Prima e Regina Giovanna Seconda al 1400-1420. Bernardino Alchimia figlio di Ettore, per i meriti dei suoi progenitori e suoi propri ottenne annuale assegnazione di mercede di once trenta di oro e Nicola Alchimia, figlio del suddetto Bernardino padre di Pietro ed avo di Ettore seniore, per il medesimo effetto fu onorato con nobil carica dal Serenissimo Re Ladislao;

²⁶ G. CIRILLO, *Città regie e capitani imperiali. Ariano e l'eredità dei Gonzaga di Guastalla*, in A. SPAGNOLETTI-E. BARTOLI (a cura di), *I Gonzaga di Guastalla e di Giovinazzo tra XVI e XVII secolo. Principi nell'Italia Padana, baroni nel Regno di Napoli*, Atti del Convegno di Studi storici Giovinazzo (27 aprile 2007), Guastalla, 2008, pp. 83-102.

²⁷ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 280, fasc. 22.

²⁸ In this context, it is important to quote *Un angolo di Napoli*, that is the first chapter of Benedetto Croce's work *Storie e leggende napoletane* [1919]. I used the edition Adelphi, Milano, 2001.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

qual Ettore iuniore figlio del suddetto Pietro e nipote del suddetto Nicola si casò colla signora d. Teresa di certa famiglia cospicua da quali coniugi nacque Pietro Alchimia milite, che si casò colla signora d. Marzia di Alvarez di nobilissima e distintissima famiglia del Regno di Castiglia [...] dai quali coniugi nacque il Sign. d. Luigi Alchimia che fu presidente della Regia Camera della Sommaria, quale si casò colla sign.ra d. Giulia di Costanzo de Angelis dei principi di Mesagne e Bitetto. Quale donna Giulia appartiene all'antichissima e nobilissima famiglia di Costanzo patrizia napoletana del sedile di Portanova³⁰.

The Alchimia were relatives to the main aristocratic families in the Kingdom: the Capua, from Cosenza, the de Angelis and the Gagliano from Trani, the del Giudice from Naples and the seat of Nido, the Falangola from Sorrento, the Giugnano from Capua.

The Alchimia had substantial «beni feudali e burgensatici siti nelle migliori strade di Napoli, soprattutto Toledo». Moreover, barons Salvatore and Pietro Alchimia attested that «i loro progenitori non hanno esercitato altri impieghi se non quelli di onorevoli cariche tanto politiche quanto militari e sempre hanno vissuto da nobili, trattando e praticando indifferentemente con tutti i signori nobili»³¹.

Before the integration of nobility introduced by the Habsburgs, many princely families belonging to provincial high-ranked feudality had a strong sense of class identity. Thus, the nobility status claimed by the della Ratta, the princes of Caserta, is remarkable.

Ha esposto e con legali documenti dimostrato il ricorrente d. Cesare discendere egli dalla nobilissima ed antichissima famiglia della Ratta dei principi di Caserta [...] Diego della Ratta della primaria nobiltà spagnola, ebbe l'onore di venire nel Regno in compagnia di Alfonso d'Aragona allora Sovrano di questo medesimo Regno e fu investito dalla R. magnificenza oltre del castello di Rajano anche del Principato di Caserta col titolo di conte che allora usavasi e fatto Gran Camerlengo del Regno per i suoi altri meriti; che di Diego fu figlio di Francesco II conte di Caserta ed il di lui nipote Antonio III conte di Caserta e di Montuoro e dello Stato di Alissano, avuto per retaggio dalla madre Caterina d'Alneto genericamente vende lo Stato di [...] per accorrere in quel tempo ai bisogni della Corte ed il di costui figlio

³⁰ Many patents of nobility are recognised to the Alchimia family's members, since their privileges come from Queen Joanna I and Queen Joanna II as well as from King Ladislaus of Durazzo. Besides, they are relatives to many important aristocratic families in the Kingdom. See ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 128, inc. 11, *Supplica di d. Salvatore Alchimia, nobile napoletano fuori piazza*, 12 aprile 1748.

³¹ *Ibid.*

Francesco IV, conte di Caserta, per la sua gran fierezza fu uno degli eletti del governo del buono Stato in quei suoi tempi il cui primogenito Baldassarre conte di S. Agata de Goti, ancora per retaggio di sua madre Isabella d'Atri.

Fu benanche Gran Camerlengo, Gran Giustiziere del Regno, Vicerè in Terra di Lavoro [...] Francesco VII essendo morto senza figli gli succedette la di lui sorella Caterina della Ratta [...] maritata col duca d'Atri mancando di successione e non essendo eredi in grado di successione ritornarono i suddetti Stati alla Corona³².

Other honorific titles had been acquired from Queen Joanna I and during the Durazzesque period. It is also important to notice their serving in Charles V's Army, when they «lasciarono la loro patria di Capua con gravi perdite dei beni patrimoniali [...] per la loro fedeltà a Carlo V contro i francesi [poi] gli stessi francesi devastarono casa, beni, oliveti, difese»³³.

In the same way, many other patricians in the Kingdom claimed to hold specific jurisdictional privileges, which have been dignifying their status since the Angevin, Durazzesque and Aragonese era.

In Nocera dei Pagani, the dei Pagano held privileges coming from Queen Joanna I who directly integrated them into the royal demesne. These were exclusive privileges granted to their lineage and not to the city. Besides, they had been incorporated into the seat of Nido since the early 16th century, at least. Hence, there were several relevant consequences, because the dei Pagano would enjoy a special jurisdiction which depended directly upon the royal demesne, whereas, as nobles of a Neapolitan seat, they were afforded the privilege of Neapolitan citizenship³⁴.

Again, some families not only had special privileges, but also graces and jurisdictions, namely urban offices such as those of trademaster or of portolan.

This was the case, for instance, of the Ruggi d'Aragona, who were

³² Nobility titles submitted by the della Ratta, counts of Caserta, of Montuoro, of the State of Alissano, Chamberlains and Chief Justiciars. See ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Segreteria di Grazia e Giustizia*, b. 243. *Cesare della Ratta, chiede il titolo di marchese*, 12 ottobre 1796. The Royal Chamber proposes to approve this petition.

³³ *Ibid.* On the della Ratta, counts of Caserta, see the accurate work by A.M. NOTO, *Dal Principe al Re. Lo "stato" di Caserta da feudo a Villa Reale (secc. XVI-XVIII)*, Roma, 2012, p. 110 ff.

³⁴ For the State of Nocera and the Pagani, see ARCHIVIO COMUNALE PAGANI, *Volumi del Parlamento di Pagani (aa. 1674-1705)*; *Volumi del Parlamento generale dello Stato di Nocera*, volume primo. On their privileges, see also the chronicle by Ovid and Gaetano Forino: «a 6 gennaio 1647 è stato carcerato il signor Detio Pagano per ordine del duca [...] quale fu consegnato e portato in Napoli [...] detti di Pagano [...] pretendono di non esserli sudditi per un principio del re Ladislao». See F. DI NARDO, *Cronaca e storia del '600 nell'Agro. Gli annali di Ovidio e Gaetano Forino*, Fisciano, 1995, p. 33.

granted a privilege «dalla Regina Giovanna II» which exempted them from any jurisdiction of «principe riconoscendo la sola Real potestà»³⁵. By virtue of this, this family members could be considered as of 'blood royal' and they were allowed to «portar alla medesima l'armi reali e non pagar cosa alcuna per li regi suggelli»³⁶; besides, Petruccio Ruggi became «Regio Portolano, Guardarobbe della Regia Dogana e Maggior Fondaco e Mastro di Fiera del mese di maggio e di settembre, baratteria e il ius delle pubbliche meretrici [...] erariato ed apprezzo dello straticò, [...] peso della staterà e della Dogana maggiore, Ufficio della mazzatura del sale, Ufficio di console dei catalani e veneziani»³⁷.

In the entire Kingdom, members of many families served as portolans and as trademasters. In fact, these offices resulted in an authentic oasis of privilege.

As far as the trademaster's jurisdiction was concerned, the city of Mesagne, for instance, adopted the same decision as that adopted by the Sacred Royal Council for Giffoni in 1672: during local fairs, royal or baronial jurisdiction gave way to the trademaster's:

il 16 del passato mese di Aprile [si esegue] per Mesagne la medesima risoluzione presa per Giffoni nell'anno 1762 a consulta della C.S.C. relativamente ai maestri di fiera col la quale tra le altre cose viene stabilito che i maestri di fiera nel tempo di quella potessero procedere nelle cause introdotte nella corte locale, con dovere bensì in tali cause procedere juris ordine servato come proceder dovrebbe la stessa corte, a differenza delle cause che nascono in tempo della fiera, nelle quali si procede altrimenti [...]³⁸.

Trademaster's office and jurisdiction were often granted to urban centres, as occurred in Aversa: «la fiera di Aversa della Casa Santa gode di ampli privilegi riconosciuti da Filippo IV [durante il suo svolgimento] sogliono accadere diverse cause criminali per la decisione delle quali è necessario il giudice a parte»³⁹.

Local elite families built their own patronage system on this jurisdiction

³⁵ ARCHIVIO PRIVATO ROBERTO RUGGI D'ARAGONA, *Attestato fatto dagli eletti della fedelissima città di Napoli di tutte le prerogative che ab antico si sono concesse alla nobilissima famiglia Ruggi S. Lorenzo*, 20 marzo 1728.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Trademasters cannot deal with cases of which local courts (either feudal or royal) do not have jurisdiction. They may deal only with cases taking place during trade fairs. See ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 310, inc. 29, *Consulta relativa alla giurisdizione del mastro di fiera di Mesagne*, 21 luglio 1768.

³⁹ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 50, *Consulta per la nomina di giudice della fiera di Aversa*.

and on other royal grants, as we will see for the Giannattasio from Giffoni⁴⁰.

3. The Habsburgs' long hegemony, and nobility fragmentation

In the Habsburg era, noble titles increased substantially. The old and different nobility ranks were integrated by means of their members' services in favour of Spain. In all the patents of nobility analysed, there are references to the blood shed, and the wealth disbursed, in the interest of the country as well as to the work done in the service of the Spanish Crown.

From Charles V to Philip IV, and to Charles II, the Habsburgs allowed access to hundreds of families through military service and other charges, especially in some key circumstances which helped the members of those families strengthen bonds of loyalty with Spain. For instance, their having been Imperial officers or captains either during the Italian campaigns and Tunis expedition, or in Milan, Flanders, Catalonia, or in the Kingdom of Naples during both the Masaniello and Messina revolt.

The first patriciates to be granted honorific titles from Madrid and Vienna belonged to the Kingdom's major cities.

Dozens of petitions help shed light on the *cursus honorum* followed by aristocracies in the service of Spain.

Many members of the Caselli from Cosenza served the Spanish dynasty continuously: «i nobili famigliari della città di Cosenza [prestarono servizio] alla corona di Spagna». Such a special attachment to the Crown would lead to the consequence that the family was later «bistrattata dagli austriaci e privata dei beni [in quanto] rimasta fedele a Filippo V». Moreover, the Caselli could claim ancient aristocratic origins and a number of city mayors among their members⁴¹.

As for the Scotto from Pozzuoli, they had acquired their nobility in Philip IV's era, thus obtaining several privileges from the king as well as the status of patricians:

⁴⁰ On the Masaniello revolt, see A. MUSI, *Mezzogiorno spagnolo. La via napoletana allo Stato moderno*, Napoli, 1991; Id., *La rivolta di Masaniello nella scena politica barocca*, Napoli, 1989.

⁴¹ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 275, inc. 9, *Cosenza 1755, Copia di atti di diligenza praticata per d. Antonio Caselli 27 gennaio 1764 che supplica di essere ammesso nella carica di R. Governatore avendo esercitato l'ufficio di Uditore nella città di Cosenza [...] non applicato agli studi della professione legale sebbene era applicato agli studi di belle lettere dimostrando la capacità ed abilità di poter esercitare la carica di Regio governatore con l'assessore proprio per un tal parto*.

dalla copia di albarano del 1679 [...] i gentiluomini della piazza di Porta della città di Pozzuoli dichiarano che attesi i meriti e qualità di d. Nicola e d. Michele Scotto i quali hanno vissuto e vivono nobilmente con splendore nelle loro case ed anche a riguardo delli titoli di nobiltà conceduti a d. Nicola e al quondam d. Tommaso Scotto padre del medesimo d. Michele da S. M. Filippo IV li ammettevano ed aggregavano al detto seggio di Porta e nobiltà di essa piazza con tutti i loro figli⁴².

In particular, d. Michele Scotto «suo prozio aveva servito la corona di Spagna in qualità di capitano di sua maestà Filippo IV e d. Michele Scotto suo avo anche in qualità di capitano con sua maestà Carlo II», above all in Catalonia. As a consequence of these services, Tommaso Scotto, who had helped «sedare i tumulti popolari presso le città di Capua, Aversa e Pozzuoli», and his heirs were declared *nobili ex genere* and incorporated into the seat of Porta in Pozzuoli⁴³.

The Guglia, who were relatives of the Giordano, had had access to their own local nobility by serving in the Spanish Army⁴⁴:

discendano da continuata serie di Generali, comandanti di eserciti, li quali nelle occasioni si sono segnalati in guerra con aver mantenute a proprie spese compagnie di cavalli come diceva essa G.C. apparire dai privilegi de' predecessori Monarchi di Spagna, con essere stata detta famiglia Guglia dichiarata Nobile di qualunque città di Spagna e di Napoli, cosicché non ha stimato in questo rincontro far produrre alli pretensori nuovi documenti giusto perché la detta G.C. l'aveva già esaminati, e fatti presenti al Vostro Regal Trono: documenti che [...] dichiarano e provano detta nobiltà⁴⁵.

In their turn, many members of the aforementioned Alchimia, of the Neapolitan nobility outside the seats, also served in Charles II's Army. Pietro Alchimia

[e]spone che ritrovandosi d'età avanzata avendo fin da teneri anni di sua vita travagliato sempre a sacrificarsi nel Real Servaggio e fin dalla S. M di Carlo II monarca di Spagna consecutivamente con altri successori regnanti come per

⁴² In the patent of nobility submitted by the Scotto from Pozzuoli, there are hints at the military service they offered on behalf of Spain during Philip IV's and Charles II's reign, in Catalonia, and in the Neapolitan revolt of 1647-48, and at their privileges. *Ibid.*, vol. 275, inc. 28, 24 febbraio 1763.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 398, inc. 4, *Mariano e Giuseppe Giordano, imparentati con la famiglia Guglia, supplicano una piazza di cadetti*, 10 maggio 1776.

⁴⁵ The patents of nobility submitted by the Guglia attest that for their military service during Philip IV's reign they acquired the title of nobles «di tutte le città del Regno di Napoli e dei Regni spagnoli [della Castiglia]». *Ibid.*

il felicissimo real servaggio per la V. M. avendo sempre compito per la Dio grazia con l'obbligazione del suo sangue con tutto zelo e passione, locchè similmente per il bene pubblico di questa capitale in diversi impieghi nobili⁴⁶.

In Cosenza, Calabria, the Sambiasi and Andreotta obtained important privileges.

The former were renowned because of the presence among them of Geronimo Sambiasi, the author of a history of Cosenza published in 1639⁴⁷. He identified his homeland, Cosenza, with the thirty-one local noble families, since they represented its past and present glories, also because some other families had rapidly gone extinct.

The Sambiasi were longstanding military officers to whom Empress Constance donated Lacconia fief; members of this family were among the followers of King Manfred and the Angevin monarchs. They held provincial fiefs (Pietra Panola and Beruicaro), stood out as commanders in the service of several kings in the Mezzogiorno, and were entrusted with important offices in urban government.

As a consequence of the fact that in his history of Cosenza Sambiasi provides for a justification for the thirty-one noble families' monopoly of power, local noble lineages felt, as they were, compelled to win the Sambiasi family's favour, although their incorporation was very recent⁴⁸.

They held not only old honours but also new merits, granted for their serving in the Spanish Crown's Army. The petition addressed to the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara gives evidence of the feuds within local patriciate, in which the Sambiasi and the Andreotta competed against each other over time.

After an extremely long opposition with no holds barred in the city of Cosenza, even with the intervention of the Vicaria and of the Regia Udienza, none of the two families prevailed, although they both had merits, in the king's opinion, since they served in the Army in the Spanish interest. The deliberation echoes the pragmatic sanction issued by the Count of Lemos on 31 May 1616, where it was explained how to «comporre le risse e differenze [...] tra gente nobili e titolati e particolari, quanto il farle pacificamente, e darsi ad incirca parola sub verbo et fide [allo scopo] di farli pacificare e darsi ordinatamente parola [...] di non offendersi ne farli offendere [attraverso] pleggeria l'un coll'altro [...] oltre che il vincolo della parola e timore

⁴⁶ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 128, inc. 11, *Supplica di d. Salvatore Alchimia*.

⁴⁷ G. SAMBIASI, *Ragguaglio di Cosenza e di trent'una sue nobili famiglia*, In Napoli, Per la Vedova di Lazaro, MDCXXXIX, pp. 161-175.

⁴⁸ G. CIRILLO, *Virtù cavalleresca ed antichità di lignaggio*, cit., p. 192.

dell'infamia»⁴⁹.

This feud ended in the mid-18th century, thanks to the marriage between Vittoria Sambiasi and Luigi Andreotta. Their pacification was a result of the «parola regia di non far offendere d. Luigi Andreotta, d. Francesco, d. Saverio, d. Antonio, d. Gabriele, d. Ignazio, d. Pascale e d. Francesco Castiglione Morelli, patrizi della città [di Cosenza] sia nelle persone come nelle robbe» by the Sambiasi brothers; on the other hand, Luigi Andreotta and his relatives were expected to treat with respect and reverence, *senza offesa*, Vittoria Sambiasi⁵⁰.

Dozens of petitions show the extent to which serving in the Spanish Army characterised the new aristocratic status within the Kingdom. It is interesting to highlight the case of some patricians in Monteleone, whose privileged status derived from royal rewards. They would claim these privileges when Monteleone's most important families, aspiring to royal demesne, competed with the princes of Pignatelli.

Several families belonging to the urban patriciate, such as the Lombardo, Rubino, Fratea, Capialbi and Scalamagna, served in the Spanish Army and gave a substantial help in maintaining order after the Neapolitan revolt of 1647-48.

D. Giovanni d'Austria granted them privileges which would be confirmed by Philip IV: the exemption from paying taxes, *collette*, duties, and «pesi universali non solo per loro medesimi ma anche per li loro discendenti e delle loro famiglie». They were also granted properties to be «goduti senza interruzione». Those people, who had so many privileges, were thus exempt from taxes and granted special urban jurisdictional authority.

Such privileges would increase over time. In fact, in the 18th century, family branch expansion would lead to the creation of tax havens which began to weigh on the city budget. Despite some restrictions adopted by the Regia Camera della Sommaria, its deliberations were contested before the Regia Udienza by these same 'privileged' families. Likewise, a successive decree, which was issued by the same Neapolitan court and which ordered the execution of those deliberations, met with failure⁵¹.

Something similar occurred in Giffoni where the Giannattasio received so many honours because of the blood shed and the properties sacrificed in the interest of the Spanish Crown.

⁴⁹ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 123, inc. 33, *Pacificazione tra la famiglia Sambiasi ed Andreotta di Cosenza*, 25 novembre 1747.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ ASNA, *Giunta di Corrispondenza della Cassa Sacra, Pandetta Blasco*, mazzo 166, fasc.li 2720, 2724, 2739. In 1648, the privileged citizens in Monteleone are: Cesare and Domenico Lombardo, Francesco Antonio and Nicola Rubino, Nicola Fratea, Vito Capialbi, and Saverio Scalamagna. See G. CIRILLO, *Spazi contesi*, II, cit., p. 353 ff.

Leonardo Giannattasio, the Governor-General of the State of Giffoni, coordinated the legitimist forces' actions in the area during the Masaniello revolt. Along with his brother Nicola and his nephews, captains Antonio and Alessandro, he recruited many contingents, thus adopting a successful strategy on the basis of which Giffoni and other places would return under Spanish rule; then, along with the Spaniards, they would take care of the military training of these contingents until the conquest of Naples⁵².

Their descendants were granted honours, rewards and jurisdictional powers, as well as exemptions:

[posseggono] la franchigia della molitura [...] non possono per qualunque causa essere riconosciuti dalla corte locale ma [solo] dall'agente generale in Napoli dei Doria, portar qualunque sorta di armi con loro comitiva, in assenza delli ufficiali così di Giffoni come della Baronia possano esercitare il loro ufficio o deputar altri in loro nome ed esercitarlo e la mazza del pallio nella processione della solennità del Corpo di Cristo in remunerazione di aver ben servito S. M. Cattolica [...] con la loro comitiva nella rivoluzione di Masaniello e nell'assedio che si diede al popolo dentro la città di Napoli. Da che avvenne che il capipopolo della terra di Giffoni Pietro di Pastina e sua comitiva si scagliarono su Nicola Giannattasio fratello di detto abate e padre di detti capitani e lo scorticarono vivo e morì dopo il sesto giorno e gli asportarono tutte le sue facoltà che ascendevano a ducati 60.000⁵³.

4. The autonomous kingdom. Charles of Bourbon's first nobility policy

Ever since the first years of his reign, Charles of Bourbon pursued new policies, as far as the fiefdom system and recruitment of the ruling class were concerned.

As a matter of fact, he had to solve three kinds of problem, at least, because he wished: to create discontinuities within the ruling elite by confiscating the fiefs that were sold during the Austrian Viceroyalty; to reward those families that had followed him in his re-conquest of the Kingdom; to shed light on the disputes arising between barons supporting

⁵² A. MUSI, *Mezzogiorno spagnolo*, cit.; ID., *La rivolta di Masaniello nella scena politica barocca*, cit. See also R. VILLARI, *Un sogno di libertà. Napoli nel declino dell'Impero: 1585-1648*, Milano, 2012. See also ID., *Politica barocca. Inquietudini, mutamento e prudenza*, Roma-Bari, 2010.

⁵³ Privileges granted by Philip IV and by the Princes Doria of Melfi to the Giannattasio for their leading an army during the 1647-48 revolt. See ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI POTENZA, *Archivio Doria di Melfi, Archivio per lo Stato di Giffoni e Baronia di S. Cipriano*, vol. 4, *Privilegi del duca di Tursi d. Carlo Doria del 17 ottobre 1648 all'abate Leonardo Giannattasio ed ai suoi nipoti capitani Antonio ed Alessandro Giannattasio e loro eredi e successori*.

the House of Bourbon and their possible opponents.

As for the first point, it is worth mentioning an important deliberation issued by a State council for the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara which focuses on the malfunctioning of the feudal system.

In this deliberation there is a proposal for the seizure of those fiefs whose holders were not able to show their original titles of nobility – Charles of Bourbon would pursue this path promptly. Likewise, all those fiefs acquired during the Austrian Viceroyalty were confiscated⁵⁴.

After 1734, apart from the confiscation of a number of venal offices, there was, then, also the confiscation of fiefs which were «transatti per motivo di pretese devoluzioni, che in specie sopra le ragioni allegate da creditori del patrimonio della fu principessa di Bitetto d. Antonia de Angelis [...] morta nel 1725 senza figli lasciando solamente sopravvivate il principe di Mesagne d. Carmine de Angelis suo fratello uterino [...]: Bitetto, Ceglie e Carbonara». The fief of Limatola, which belonged to Duke d. Giovanni Mastellone, was also seized: it had been bought after the 1725 devolution and the death of Duke «d. Francesco Maria Gambacorta ultimo possessore di detta terra»⁵⁵.

On the one hand, Charles of Bourbon opposed some barons closely linked to the Austrians; on the other, he favoured those families on which he dispensed his own strict patronage. In this sense, the vicissitudes of the Berio, a Genoan family, are meaningful. Giovanni Domenico Maria Berio, who came to hold administrative and financially relevant offices with Charles' accession to the throne, belonged to the Neapolitan merchant class, with an important office as well in either the local food administration or government; he was especially linked to the Royal Insurance Company created by King Charles in the mid-18th century with an investment of 100,000 ducats so as to favour the budding Merchant Marine. The Insurance Company was in charge of grain traffic between the capital city and the provinces. Neapolitan merchants such as Berio, Donnarumma, Colombo, Celentano and Vantapane were thus able to monopolise the grain market. Besides, under Tanucci's government, they cultivated an alliance with provincial barons⁵⁶.

Such a process resulted in a rapid social mobility, since many merchants, and Berio among them, managed to buy a title, after accumulating substantial wealth in a short time. During his Neapolitan stay, Goethe met

⁵⁴ G. GALASSO, *Il Regno di Napoli*, IV, cit., p. 42 ff.

⁵⁵ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 3, inc. 1, 28 settembre 1736.

⁵⁶ On food administration and its course as well as on the conflicts of interests which originated in the XVIIth century, see F. ASSANTE, *Il mercato delle assicurazioni marittime a Napoli nel Settecento. Storia della «Real Compagnia» 1751-1802*, Napoli, 1979; P. MACRY, *Mercato e società nel Regno di Napoli. Commercio del grano e politica economica nel '700*, Napoli, 1974, pp. 67-68.

Berio⁵⁷, whose vicissitudes are meaningful: he was both an important grain merchant in the Kingdom and a shareholder in the insurance company; he had special links to the capital city food administration and presided over a large-scale grain traffic with Genoa, Marseille, Barcelona, Alicante, Cadiz and Lisbon. In 1761, Berio bought some fiefs, thus becoming the Marquis of Salsa. In that same period, Filippo Donnarumma acquired the State of Celenza and Carloantonio in the Capitanata⁵⁸.

The State of Salsa was bought «dal duca di Termoli ed è composto di tre buone terre e di una città vescovile». This newly appointed noble had many merits, as emerges from a petition addressed to Charles of Bourbon:

si è rilevato di essere esso Patrizio Genovese che abbia fatto paventato colla famiglia Macedonio di Grottelle che il di lui padre don Francesco Maria sia stato soprintendente di questa Regia Zecca, tanto che con Real Dispaccio della Real Azienda dopo la di lui rinuncia fu assicurato della benigna soddisfazione di S.M.C. del suo zelo e puntualità in tale impiego che il menzionato don Francesco Maria nell'ingresso delle vittoriose armi del re Cattolico in questo Regno si addossò con suo pericolo il maneggio de' Tesori della Spagna per il pagamento delle truppe. Che la sua casa da più anni maneggia tutti gli affari rilevanti della tesoreria di Spagna, i di cui ordini sono stati eseguiti con non ordinaria prontezza, specialmente in alcune premurose occasioni, come allora che fece prima della felice partenza della M.C. lo sborso considerevole di scudi cinquantamila Romani, senza esser provveduto di fondi, col quale si meritò i generosi applausi de Regi Ministri⁵⁹.

Thus, on the basis of his innumerable merits, Berio implored the king to grant him the title of Marquis of the State of Salsa. This request was promptly satisfied.

Again, Count d. Carlo Malizia Carafa formally asked for his ducal privileges to be confirmed. This episode is worth mentioning because, after the Conspiracy of Macchia, there was deep cleavage within the family branches, with consequent changes in political alignments⁶⁰.

⁵⁷ J.W. GOETHE, *Viaggio in Italia (1786-1788)*, Milano, 1991, p. 365.

⁵⁸ P. MACRY, *Mercato e società nel Regno di Napoli*, cit., pp. 67-68.

⁵⁹ Title of merit conceded to Francesco Maria Berio, Baron of the State of Salsa. This Genoese patrician is also a tycoon for the Kingdom of Naples and for Spain. He wishes to be granted the title of Marquis of Salsa by Charles of Bourbon. See ASNa, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 246, 22 gennaio 1761. On the role played by this Genoese patrician in the Kingdom of Naples, see G. BRANCACCIO, «Nazione genovese». *Consoli e colonia nella Napoli moderna*, Napoli, 2001; A. MUSI, *Mercanti genovesi nel Regno di Napoli*, Napoli, 1996.

⁶⁰ ASNa, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 295. inc. 43, *Richiesta di riconferma del titolo da parte di d. Carlo Malizia Carafa del rescritto della legittimazione del 1709, sebbene sia nello stato della validità; il supplicante però in riprova della sua dipendenza dalla Sovranità della M.V., ne ave domandato la conferma*. Petition signed by Count Carlo Malizia Carafa.

Internal contrasts arose also from the fact that some members of these families did not enjoy the «fedecomesso della Castigliola». As a result of the Conspiracy of Macchia, the Carafa family branches faced one another as far as this policy of inclusion/exclusion and political conflicts were concerned. Its branches of Luzi and Roccella, for instance, opposed the proposal that Count d. Carlo Malizia Carafa, «colonello e ciambellano della imperiale corte di Vienna», son to d. Giuseppe Carafa, who followed the destiny of Charles VI of Vienna during the War of the Spanish Succession, be granted again the Imperial privilege and thus be able to use the trust of the Castigliola.

In his petition, Carafa showed that with the 1725 Treaty of Vienna, a complete policy of pacification was established between Spain and Vienna. As a matter of fact, «fu stabilito che i vassalli dell'una e dell'altra parte fossero restituiti nel medesimo stato, in cui erano prima della guerra, in quanto agli onori, dignità, e beni [...] che potessero essere di ostacolo a veruno di essi l'avere seguiti l'uno e l'altro partito». According to the treaty agreements, then, property and wealth were restored to their owner, Giuseppe Carafa, who supported the Austrian party: «prima della guerra il di loro stato era, che in virtù del rescritto imperiale già restituito ai legittimi natali [...] dunque in osservanza dei capitoli della Pace il rescritto della legittimazione deve custodirsi inviolabile e fermo».

Carlo Malizia Carafa added:

Questi motivi di opposizione sono direttamente contrari ai diritti delle genti, al sistema generale stabilito dalla Maestà del glorioso Monarca delle Spagne ed ai capitoli delle paci dell'anno 1745 e dell'anno 1735.

Quello che si ottiene dal Sovrano, sempre è grazia. Si deve però, distinguere fra le grazie fondate in giustizia e quelle che il principe concede per via mera e graziosa volontà. La grazia del fondamento imperiale ave il suo fondamento nella giustizia.

Per lo diritto delle genti e secondo gli esempi uniformi delle Monarchie ben regolate i Principi di conquista chechè potessero rescindere il più delle volte però e sia sempre confermati gli atti de' predecessori e ciò principalmente in riguardo della tranquillità dello stato nel quale colla mutazione delle cose conoscerebbe ad ancora il disordine e la generale confusione.

Il sapientissimo Pio e Glorioso Re delle Spagne nell'anno 1734, epoca iniziale del suo dominio in questo reame, regolandosi su tale massima ebbe generalmente ratificati tutti gli atti imperiali e solo eccettuò le alienazioni dei feudi e di altri beni fiscali fatte a titolo meramente grazioso. Se dunque rinvocò solamente le mercedi e le distrazioni fatte per mera grazia se per lo contrario dichiarò rati e fermi tutti gli atti imperiali e sinanche le alienazioni de' beni del Real patrimonio, fatte a titolo oneroso: i principi di Roccella e de' Luzi nel pretendere che il privilegio imperiale della

legittimazione non sia rato e però non confermabile, si oppongono direttamente alla volontà ed alla legge generale del Re Cattolico⁶¹.

The dispute was resolved when the members of this Carafa branch recovered their ancient honours, since Charles of Bourbon granted them an Imperial privilege.

Finally, we should mention those families that were very close to Charles of Bourbon.

Many people followed him soon after he conquered the Kingdom, as is clearly evident in a petition by Michele Cangiano who wished to join in a regional audit or government, because his uncle «Salvatore Cangiano fu onorato e protetto per qualche anno colla presenza di Sua Maestà (Carlo) sulla tenuta della Refrascata nel divertimento della caccia e di altri Reali servigi»⁶².

In turn, Francesco Maria de Rossi, who hailed from Parma, took part, along with his own brother Ippolito Maria, to Charles of Bourbon's conquest. For this reason, he asked for a title of marquis, in consideration of both his brother's merits – «avvocato di Guerra della Real Piazza di Gaeta, ovvero di Cosenza, marittimo di Cassano in occasione del passato contagio, indi Uditore nell'Udienza di Trani et ultimamente destinato in quella di Catanzaro» – and his old genealogy: he is a noble from Parma, a patrician of the city of Ravenna, son to *quondam* «barone di S. Stefano e di d. Cecilia Zattara dei marchesi dello stato di Novi, nipote della quondam d. Francesca Capece del sedile di Nido [...] e di d. Isabella Selano [appartenente] al sedile di Porto»⁶³.

5. Charles of Bourbon and the slow construction of a service nobility

The new dynasty raised great expectations in those social classes concerned with advancing their status. Nobles, who underwent internal

⁶¹ Submission of Carlo Malizia Carafa's titles of nobility. «In base al diritto delle genti e dei trattati di pace tra Spagna ed Austria del 1735 e del 1745», he asks for the recognition of the Imperial privilege conceded to his father (1709) by Charles VI of Vienna. This privilege is rejected by the family branches in Luzi and Roccella. In fact, they also reject Charles' enjoyment of the right of primogeniture on the Castigliola. *Ibid.* For the role played by the Carafa in the Conspiracy of Macchia, see G. GALASSO, *Il Regno di Napoli*, III, *Il Mezzogiorno spagnolo e austriaco (1622-1734)*, in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. XV/3, Torino, 2006, p. 779 ff.

⁶² ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, b. 310, inc. 30, *Michele Cangiano supplica S.M. di concedere una piazza di Udienza o di Governo regio*, 22 luglio 1768.

⁶³ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 123, inc. 11, *Francesco Maria de Rossi supplica il titolo di marchese*.

fragmentation, supported Bourbon policies, and, from the thirties onwards, many of them sent thousands of petitions to the Secretaries of State asking for special privileges.

Firstly, two social groups belonging to low-ranking nobility began to press greatly: families of nobles *fuori piazza* who wished to become patricians, and new and obscure barons who had acquired jurisdiction over small villages and were but *utili signori*.

Secondly, we had the *popolo*, merchants, and above all flocks of notaries and law graduates who wished to improve their status because of both their merits in serving the Spanish Crown and the reduction of regiments in various towns.

By this policy, the monarchy aimed at establishing an absolutely close link between itself and the new families to which it intended to grant the status of patricians; finding a remedy for anomalies within urban governments; and punishing some urban patriciates that had been too weak towards Vienna.

Consequently, it promoted hundreds of families by resorting to the contradictory procedure.

In the cities with *piazze chiuse* (Sorrento, Salerno, Cosenza, Tropea, Trani) or with a strict class division (L'Aquila, Amalfi, Amantea, Aversa, Barletta, Bitonto, Capua, Cotrone, Lettere, Lucera, Monopoli, Nola, Penne, Ravello, Scala, Sessa e Taranto), members of the traditional patriciate opposed this policy; besides, central government granted incorporation by means of the contradictory procedure only now and then. At the same time, such a procedure became recurrent in other parts of the Kingdom⁶⁴. Many libels were produced by law graduates and families excluded from seats of nobility. The Royal Chamber of St. Chiara upholds many petitions sent by patricians from several cities, and this leads to the incorporation of three families in Amantea (1739)⁶⁵; five in Aversa, the same year⁶⁶; two in Bitonto (1740)⁶⁷;

⁶⁴ L. VOLPICELLA, *Patriziati e nobiltà civiche nel già Reame di Napoli. Vari appunti bibliografici e archivistici raccolti da Luigi Volpicella*, volume I, Archivio di Stato di Napoli, bb. I-VII. I made use of the manuscript in the Naples State Archive Library. It was collated together with the *Dizionario delle leggi del Regno di Napoli tratto da' fonti. Delle Costituzioni, Capitoli, Riti, Arresti, Prammatiche, Novelle Costituzioni, Dispacci e Consuetudini di Napoli*, tomo I, Napoli, Presso Vincenzo Manfredi, 1788.

⁶⁵ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, serie 15, fasc. 32, inc. 22, *Amantea, Istanza di tre famiglie nobili per ottenerne la voce passiva*.

⁶⁶ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, fasc. 23, inc. 12, *Aversa, Aggregazione di alcune famiglie alla nobiltà della città, a. 1738*; fasc. 21, inc. 2, *Aversa, Istanza di alcuni particolari della città per essere aggregati ai nobili*; fasc. 26, inc. 45, *Aversa, Controversia sorta circa l'aggregazione di nuove famiglie nobili della città, a. 1738*.

⁶⁷ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, fasc. 42, inc. 41, *Bitonto, Causa per l'aggregazione di alcune famiglie e per il mutamento della forma di governo della città, a. 1740*.

three among the nobles and four among the optimates in Crotone (1738)⁶⁸; two in Modugno (1747)⁶⁹; three in Lucera (1750)⁷⁰; nine in Monopoli (1748-49)⁷¹; nine in Reggio, among law graduates and physicians (1749)⁷²; four in Taranto (1765)⁷³.

In some cases, as it happened in Amalfi and in Ariano, old patriciates managed to stop incorporations⁷⁴. In other cities, namely in Crotone (1737) and Modugno (1747 and 1754), under the pseudonym of 'zealous citizens', they upheld deliberations issued by the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara, thus rejecting law graduates' claims⁷⁵.

The strongest opposition to new incorporations took place in Salerno, Capua and Bari.

In Salerno, for instance, the aristocracy split into two groups after the Carrara's incorporation⁷⁶. In Capua, on the other hand, the urban nobility fiercely refused to be equated with that of other cities where there was no strict class division. In their opinion, not only were they part of a separate class, but they also aspired to become members of the highest-ranking

⁶⁸ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, fasc. 32, inc. 57, *Crotone, Aggregazione di diverse famiglie*; fasc. 17, inc. 1, *Crotone, Causa di nullità proposta dai cittadini zelanti avverso l'aggregazione di più famiglie al sedile di S. Dionigi*, a. 1737; fasc. 21, inc. 3, *Crotone, Aggregazione di alcune famiglie al primo e al secondo ceto della città*, a. 1738.

⁶⁹ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, fasc. 118, inc. 46, e fasc. 192, inc. 5, *Modugno, Controversie tra i nobili per l'aggregazione di nuove famiglie*.

⁷⁰ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, fasc. 152, inc. 8, *Lucera, Per l'aggregazione dei forestieri alla nobiltà non occorre permesso reale essendo in detta città sedile aperto e non chiuso*.

⁷¹ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, fasc. 106, inc. 18, *Monopoli, Ricorso del procuratore dei nobili sull'irregolare procedura del marchese Garofalo nella elezione degli amministratori e nella aggregazione di nuove famiglie nobili*, a. 1746.

⁷² ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, fasc. 130, inc. 26, e fasc. 138, inc. 11, *Reggio, Esposto di alcuni cittadini relativamente al nuovo sistema di elezione dei sindaci sia nobili che civili*.

⁷³ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, fasc. 284, inc. 40, *Taranto, Circa l'aggregazione delle famiglie Maggi, Luisa, Blasi e Gagliardi*, a. 1765.

⁷⁴ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, fasc. 9, inc. 71, *Amalfi, Parere sul memoriale presentato dai dottori e dai cittadini di quella città per l'elezione degli amministratori*, a. 1736; fasc. 4, inc. 4, *Ariano, Contro la pretesa di alcune famiglie di essere dichiarate nobili*, a. 1736.

⁷⁵ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, fasc. 21, inc. 3, *Crotone, Aggregazione di alcune famiglie al primo ed al secondo ceto della città*, a. 1738; fasc. 17, inc. 1, *Causa di nullità proposta dai cittadini zelanti avverso l'aggregazione di più famiglie al sedile di S. Dionigi*, a. 1737; fasci 32 e 43, *Relazione del governatore sull'elezione dei reggimentari*, aa. 1739-1740. On the city of Modugno, see fasc. 118, inc. 46, e fasc. 192, inc. 5, *Controversie tra i nobili per l'aggregazione di nuove famiglie*, aa. 1747 e 1754; fasc. 106, inc. 18, *Monopoli, Supplica del procuratore dei nobili in merito all'irregolare procedura del marchese Garofalo*.

⁷⁶ G. CIRILLO, *Virtù cavalleresca ed antichità di lignaggio*, cit. On memories of the nobility in the city of Salerno, see P. DEL PEZZO, *Contezza dell'origine, Aggrandimento e Stato delli Seggi della città di Salerno*, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, Dedicato al nuovo arcivescovo di Salerno, Isidoro Sánchez de Luna [BNN ms. X-G-48].

nobility, thanks to prestigious seats into which they were incorporated and to their belonging to the Great Priory of Malta⁷⁷.

On the contrary, in Bari, 10 families were appointed among the *reggimentari* between 1704 and 1746, and 11 families in 1749, by saying: «Il re per giustizia e per grazia fa nobili»⁷⁸.

However, the king could not avoid breaches between old and new nobility, the latter receiving a field promotion by means of the deliberations issued by the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara. From the late forties onwards, if the king insisted on eliminating differences within the patriciate – here, it is worth mentioning the case of Bitonto –, the old aristocracy discriminated against the new one, thus creating serious problems as far as main urban office appointments were concerned⁷⁹. The advancement of hundreds of families in so many cities led to other sorts of problem, because it split the urban aristocracy into *nobili ex genere*, the old ones, and *nobili ex privilegio*, namely those promoted through the contradictory procedure.

As was said before, the king also had to face the problem of untitled small barons from peripheries, the so-called *utili signori*.

More often than not, the king denied not only their using the title of barons, but also their becoming marquises, as occurred with the Bammacaro from Sala of Gioi and the Mongroveio from Cannalonga, according to important deliberations issued by the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara⁸⁰. Again, the Baron Genovese, *utile signore* from Montecorvino, was excluded from the patriciate of Salerno and was not granted the title of marquis; however, thanks to his marriage to Teresa d'Ippolito – the daughter of a renowned Neapolitan lawyer who became a noble under Charles of Bourbon –, Matteo Genovese's

⁷⁷ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 16, inc. 51, *Capua, Causa tra i cittadini ed i nobili circa la nuova elezione degli amministratori e scrupolo fatto dal capo di Ruota*, a. 1737; fasc. 18, inc. 33, *Causa tra i cittadini zelanti ed i decurioni della città*, a. 1737; fasc. 23, inc. 29, *Memoriale dei deputati della Piazza dei nobili della città circa la richiesta dei dottori in legge di ottenere il diritto al voto nella aggregazione dei nobili*, a. 1738. On Capua, see O. RINALDO, *Memorie istoriche della fedelissima città di Capua*, Napoli, Appresso di Giovanni di Simone, 1753, p. 91 ff. On the Great Priory of Malta in the Kingdom of Naples, Capua and Barletta, see A. SPAGNOLETTI, *Stato, aristocrazie e ordine di Malta nell'Italia moderna*, Roma, 1988.

⁷⁸ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, fasc. 110, inc. 24, e fasc. 113, inc. 44, *Bari, Istanza dell'avvocato della Piazza del popolo relativa alle riforme del governo della città*, aa. 1746-1747; fasc. 108, inc. 4, *Controversie dei nobili della città contro il Decurionato*, a. 1746. On Bari, see P.A. BEATILLO, *Historia di Bari principale città della Puglia*, Napoli, nella stamperia di Francesco Savio, 1637.

⁷⁹ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, serie 15, fasci 125, 130, 133, *Bitonto, Aggregazioni di famiglie nobili in sostituzione di quelle estinte*, aa. 1748-1753; fasci 148, 151, 174, *Controversie tra nobili antichi e aggregati al primo ceto*, aa. 1748-1753.

⁸⁰ G. CIRILLO, *Spazi contesi*, II, cit., p. 147; ID., *Virtù cavalleresca ed antichità di lignaggio*, cit., p. VI.

heir Domenico acquired the title of marquis for his descendants⁸¹.

Nicola Gallotti, *utile signore* from Battaglia and Casaletto «[che ha] servito per anni cinque da cadetto nei dragoni della regina e da anni due nel reggimento Regio Palermo con zelo e puntualità [...] real servizio [ha] poi esercitata la carica di governatore baronale per lo spazio di anni 12», was denied the title of marquis⁸².

In the forties and fifties of the 18th century, several hundred families competed in the acquisition of this title. Andrea Bernalla, Baron of Alfano, obtained it in 1740⁸³; in 1742, it was the turn of d. Pasquale d'Auria, a noble from Lucera⁸⁴, and, in 1748, of Sebastiano Gadaleta, a patrician from Trani⁸⁵.

Many *utili signori* were granted this title: in 1747, Francesco di Basilio obtained it for his fief in Cropani⁸⁶; in 1749, Francesco Tambani, from Camelli, a small village of the Barony of the Cilento – namely, one of the areas witnessing a major feudal fragmentation after the fall of the Sanseverino of Salerno – wished this very village to be promoted⁸⁷.

Since the fifties, then, the title of marquis was used by the Bourbons to regulate new nobility recruitment within the Kingdom.

This title was required by families close to the king. A first instance is offered by Francesco Maria de Rossi, a noble from Parma and a patrician in Ravenna, who was a relative of the cream of Neapolitan nobility⁸⁸; more importantly, there is the instance of the Berio, who supported the Bourbons economically, thus obtaining this title on the basis of their innumerable merits and offices («servizi prestati»)⁸⁹. Besides, from the mid-18th century onwards, members of old and new nobility, nobility *ex genere* and *ex privilegio*, *utili signori* as well as members of lower barony, aspired to this title.

Tommaso Velasco, the castellan of L'Aquila, requested the title of marquis «per i servizi resi alla Corona di Spagna» and for his fief in S. Filippo⁹⁰, whereas Tullio Ramignani aspired to it for his own fief in Avi. He had many merits, such as his having served as «capitano del reggimento provinciale

⁸¹ ASSA, *Archivio Genovese*, vol. 6, *Plata dei beni*; vol. 7, *Carte riguardanti la costruzione del palazzo di famiglia*. See also G. CIRILLO, *Spazi contesi*, I, cit., p. 126 ff.

⁸² ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 275, inc. 11, *Per d. Nicola Gallotti 10 febbraio 1764, dei baroni di Battaglia e Cataletto*.

⁸³ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 39, n. 38.

⁸⁴ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 52.

⁸⁵ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 127, inc. 47, a. 1748.

⁸⁶ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 119, inc. 27, a. 1747.

⁸⁷ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 186, inc. 46, a. 1749.

⁸⁸ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 123, inc. 11, *Francesco Maria de Rossi, utile possessore del tenimento di S. Stefano enfiteutico della chiesa Vescovile di Bioano in prov. di Contado di Molise, desidera un titolo di marchese*, 29 settembre 1747.

⁸⁹ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 246.

⁹⁰ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 180, inc. 7, a. 1753.

della città di Chieti». This office let him acquire several other merits, such as «l'aver discacciato i nemici dalla stessa città [di Chieti]»⁹¹.

On the contrary, the *utile signore* d. Cesare Donnaperna wished to improve his social standing at a local level⁹². By the acquisition of this privilege, Emanuele Tagliavia d'Aragona, who belonged to the counts of Castelvetro, aspired to a rapid social mobility, after the almost complete decline of his family. Among his merits, «diversi titoli di nobiltà della sua famiglia e soprattutto i servigi da questa resi alla Corona di Spagna»⁹³.

Even mere Knights of Malta – and Ercole Testaferata among them – applied for the title of marquis by submitting adequate genealogical proves which «comprovano la nobiltà della sua famiglia»⁹⁴.

Moreover, this same title of nobility would be used to promote members of central and peripheral judiciary in the Kingdom of Naples.

On July 2nd 1751, the Marquis Tanucci delivered a dispatch – the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara had conducted a preliminary examination of it – which was immediately applied to the case concerning d. Matteo de Sarno, President of the Regia Camera della Sommaria, who, in pleading his own cause, underlined that «quasi tutti i ministri del medesimo tribunale son decorati del titolo di marchese quindi ha supplicata V. M. degnarsi di decorare anche lui, quanto i suoi successori di detto titolo, acciò possa maggiormente gloriarsi della di protezione di V. M.»⁹⁵. Again, the title of marquis became a novel way of making money. Thus, the Bourbons granted it, either by grace or as a reward for some offices (be they in the Army or in the judiciary or in the Secretaries of State) or to solicit new financial income.

This trade in titles of nobility may be equated to that of venal offices in Spain during civil war in Philip V's reign⁹⁶.

However, when Charles of Bourbon arrived in the Kingdom of Naples, venal offices, *arrendamenti*, and other State administrations that had almost completely alienated, were recovered⁹⁷.

Three deliberations issued by the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara in 1760 are interesting precisely because they show the existence of a trade in the acquisition of the title of marquis. In the first document, Fabrizio Barone asked for royal reconfirmation of

⁹¹ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, b. 246, a. 1761.

⁹² ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 519, *Richiesta di titolo di marchese*, 7 aprile 1783.

⁹³ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 191, inc. 6, a. 1754.

⁹⁴ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 117, inc. 59; vol. 119, inc. 10.

⁹⁵ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 119, inc. 5, *Matteo de Sarno, Presidente della Camera della Sommaria, chiede il titolo di marchese*, 13 agosto 1751.

⁹⁶ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 162, inc. 5.

⁹⁷ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 3, inc. 1.

il titolo di marchese concesso al padre Domenico per se e successori [...] esente da spese per i prestati serviggi [...] attesta la scarsezza delle di lui rendite e la moltitudine de' pesi da quali ritrovasi gravato quindi avendo pensato l'esponente di farsi spedire il R. Diploma per detto titolo e non avendo modo di soddisfare i considerevoli diritti che ci vogliono chiede la grazia che gli venga concesso gratis il diploma attestante i meriti del defunto suo padre⁹⁸.

In the second one, Giovanni Lucarelli, a patrician from Aversa, wished to be granted this same title free of charge⁹⁹.

The most relevant case, in this field, is that of Tommaso Maria Gattole. He sent a petition to the king who was required to grant a grace period for the payment of the sum asked for Gattole's acquisition of the title of marquis.

Con Sovrano dispaccio per segreteria di Stato Giustizia e Grazia de 16 del passato si degna V. M. rimettere a questa Regia Camera per informo l'annesso ricorso di d. Tommaso Maria Gattola nel quale espone di essergli stato notificato per canale di questa Real Camera una dichiarazione di V.M. di non accettare l'offerta compensazione di un residuo suo credito di ducati 700 colla Regia Corte in luogo de diritti dovuti per la spedizione del privilegio del suo titolo di Marchesato, per avere supposto e riferito la Real Camera, che il detto credito avea bisogno di liquidazione senz'aver sentito prima esso esponente e senza aver tenuti presenti gli atti della Camera della Sommaria, onde si rileva detto credito acclarato approvato da essa Corte e passato in cosa giudicata ed eseguita con essergli stata liberata dalla somma liquidata la maggior parte in conto che non consentendo ciò non ostante la M.V. alla compensazione, e dovendo l'oratore ricorrere nella Camera della Sommaria per esiggere detta summa [ma] non vi può riuscire in così brevissimo tempo di venti giorni, ha supplicato perciò detto ricorrente la R. Clemenza di M.V. di prescrivergli una dilazione più alta a poter esiggere e pagare per non avere il contante pronto¹⁰⁰.

Afterwards, the *Tavola della nobiltà* reform was issued. With it, nobility was divided into three types:

a) «la generosa, che comprendendo anche le famiglie civiche o decurionali

⁹⁸ «Fabrizio Barone chiede che il titolo di marchese, che gli è stato concesso, sia esente da spese fiscali [...]. La grazia gli è negata e dovrà pagare le somme che gli saranno notificate». See ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 240, inc. 62, a. 1760.

⁹⁹ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 241, inc. 46, a. 1760.

¹⁰⁰ Tommaso Maria Gattole applies to the king so as to be granted a grace period for the payment of 700 ducats which his father owed the court for tax expenditures, for the concession of the title of marquis. Since his petition is rejected, he has to pay, under penalty of revocation. See ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 243, n. 41; vol. 241, inc. 11, a. 1760.

[...] si verifica allora quando nella continuata serie de' secoli una famiglia è giunta a possedere qualche feudo nobile, o che per legittime pruove consti trovarsi la medesima commessa tra le famiglie nobili di una città regia, nella quale sia una vera separazione dalle civili e molto di più dalle famiglie popolari; o pure sempre che abbia le origini da qualche ascendente il quale per la gloriosa carriera delle armi, della toga, della chiesa, o della Corte, avesse attento qualche distinto e superiore impiego o dignità e che li suoi discendenti pel corso di lunghissimo tempo si fossero mantenuti nobilmente, facendo onorati parentadi, senza mai discendere ad uffici civili e popolari, né di arti meccaniche ed ignobili»¹⁰¹;

b) *ex privilegio*, «goduta da tutti coloro, li quali, per li loro meriti e servigi personali prestati alla Corona ed allo Stato, giungono ad essere promossi dalla munificenza dei principi a gradi maggiori ed onorifici della milizia, della toga e della corte»;

c) «quella chiamata legale ossia civile; nel qual rango si reputano tutti quelli che facciano constatare avere, così quelli come il loro padre ed avo, vissuto sempre civilmente con decoro e comodità e che, senza esercitare cariche né impieghi bassi e popolari, sono stati stimati gli uni e gli altri nell'idea del pubblico per uomini onorati e da bene»¹⁰².

It was especially the first type of nobility – and above all the members of urban patriciates and titled barons – to be granted privileges as far as the formation of service nobility is concerned.

Consequently, after 1756, hundreds of complaints were lodged by barons, patriciates and entire urban seats of nobility: they all felt penalised by not being included in the first type of aristocracy. The Royal Chamber of St. Chiara strictly followed the indications given in the Royal Dispatch.

The monarchy went along its path to the reform of the ruling class so as to find a regulation from above of those patriciates which met the requirements of the *nobiltà generosa*. This regulation would then be extended to all royal cities.

The reform began with a deliberation concerning the city of Taranto¹⁰³, where, by royal decision, the incorporations could not occur without the usual evidence of nobility, which had to attest to an aristocratic status

¹⁰¹ V. TAFURI, *Della nobiltà delle sue leggi e dei suoi istituti nel già Reame delle Sicilie, con particolari notizie intorno alle città di Napoli e di Gallipoli*, Tip. degli Accattoncelli, Napoli, 1869, p. 28.

¹⁰² The Royal Dispatch with the various degrees of nobility issued on January 25th 1756 is both in the *Bozze delle Consulte* of the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara and in *Dizionario delle leggi del Regno di Napoli*, cit., pp. 108-110.

¹⁰³ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, serie 15, fasc. 270, inc. 40, *Taranto, Aggregazione di nuove famiglie [fra il ceto nobile] in luogo di quelle dichiarate decadute per mancata spedizione delle regali cedole*, a. 1763.

acquired at least three generations earlier to be discussed within the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara, and without any «beneplacito sovrano».

After that, the political space granted to the individual of the Kingdom's cities seats decreased to the point they could no longer independently aggregate new families without the consent of the monarchy. A further deliberation by the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara and a Royal Dispatch, both issued in 1757, also discussed this topic. Some deliberations focusing on the city of Cosenza, as well as other ones, hold a special relevance, since they denied any future incorporations «senza la grazia del Re»¹⁰⁴. Two years later, in 1759, similar deliberations applied to patriciates in almost every city: nobility had to be vetted by the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara on the basis of the latest generations' genealogies, whereas the ultimate incorporation was expected to be approved by the king¹⁰⁵.

This reform may also be of help in better specifying the requirements to be met by those aspiring to be enrolled in the service nobility. First of all, members of the *nobiltà generosa* followed privileged paths, namely they were granted *di cappa e spada* governments (they were captains) in the cities belonging to the *Real Patrimonio*, as happens with Medicean or Farnese fiefs; in royal cities, including Neapolitan villages, as well as in state-owned cities; in the emergent royal seats.

As for the presidents of the Regie Udienze, they were recruited from among exclusive families belonging to the urban patriciate of royal cities; rarely did they come from among the titled barons.

We are talking about closed groups, often consisting of people related to one another. They were mainly members of the *nobiltà generosa* and Knights of Malta, who were enrolled in the new National Army.

How did these nobles represent themselves? Which merits had they acquired, before the advent of this new royal dynasty?

As we have seen, Luigi Maria Gonzaga recalled the Viceroy Ferrante's merits before the Spanish Crown so as to fill the ranks of the Army officers¹⁰⁶, whereas Francesco Maria Pascali, a patrician from Cosenza, wished to be enrolled in the Reggimento Real Lucania (Royal Lucanian Regiment) as a

¹⁰⁴ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, fasc. 242, inc. 38, *Cosenza, Richiesta di divieto di aggregazione dei forestieri* (1760).

¹⁰⁵ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, fasc. 270, inc. 40, *Taranto, Aggregazione di nuove famiglie [fra il ceto nobile] in luogo di quelle dichiarate decadute* (1763).

¹⁰⁶ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 280, fasc. 22, *Luigi Maria Gonzaga, patrizio del seggio del Nido*, 21 maggio 1764. On Ferrante Gonzaga, see now E. BARTOLI, *La strategia dell'ascesa dinastica dei Gonzaga di Guastalla. Dal 'Gran Ferrante' barone e signore libero a Ferrante III duca sovrano e barone libero*, in A. SPAGNOLETTI-E. BARTOLI (a cura di), *I Gonzaga di Guastalla e di Giovinazzo tra XVI e XVII secolo*, cit., pp. 23-46.

cadet. In order to do so, in his petition, he mentioned only his belonging to the *nobiltà generosa*, leaving every other merit aside: «la sua famiglia ha goduto da lunghissimo tempo dignità in quel sedile chiuso essendo delle più antiche»¹⁰⁷; so does d. Ferdinando Capomazza, a patrician from Pozzuoli, in 1769, who wished to «essere ammesso in qualità di cadetto nel Reggimento Real Campania». Being a member of the *nobiltà generosa* and being incorporated into the seat of Porta in the same city always accompanied the «fedeltà [prestata] alla Corona che gli impone, per mantenere alto lo status di famiglia, di mantenere quei segni e decori a cui l'altissimo l'ha fatto nascere»¹⁰⁸.

There are many similarities in the petitions sent by patricians from all over the Kingdom. Vincenzo Guastaferrì, a patrician from Gaeta who wished to be enrolled in the national *reggimenti* as a cadet, had several titles: «l'appartenenza alla nobiltà ex genere, antichissima, di detta città»; besides, «i di lui antenati abbian sempre goduto gli uffizi pubblici de' nobili»¹⁰⁹. Likewise, Gennaro Maria Marrese, a patrician from Taranto, asked for his own enrollment «in qualità di cadetto nel Reggimento Nazionale di Puglia [in quanto] nel supplicante concorrono le circostanze di nobiltà generosa che devono godere in questo regno coloro che desiderano essere ammessi». His nobility was old, since some members of his family had entered «la Religione Gerosolimitana [nel] Gran Priorato di Barletta» in 1610¹¹⁰.

Titled nobles, who by then were urbanised and had become patricians, also addressed petitions so as to acquire either new honours or additional income for themselves and their families. This is the case of Giuseppe Sanseverino, from the barons of Marcellinara, a patrician of the city of Catanzaro and lieutenant in the dragoon regiment of the Crown Prince, who, in 1769, applied to «aggraziare due suoi figli d. Fabrizio e d. Francesco per cadetti nel Reggimento di Calabria». Among the merits mentioned by him, there are his ancestors' services in favour of Spain, their belonging to the

¹⁰⁷ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 347, inc. 5, *Supplica di Francesco Maria Pascali, patrizio di Cosenza che aspira alla piazza di cadetto nel Reggimento Real Lucania*.

¹⁰⁸ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 320, inc. 32, *Supplica di d. Ferdinando Capomazza patrizio della città di Pozzuoli di essere ammesso come cadetto nel Reggimento Regia Campania come esponente della nobiltà generosa*, 10 luglio 1769.

¹⁰⁹ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 362, inc. 23, a. 1773, *Richiesta di Vincenzo Guastaferrì, patrizio di Gaeta, di essere ammesso come cadetto a uno dei reggimenti nazionali*.

¹¹⁰ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 398, inc. 11, a. 1776, *La R. Camera ritiene che Gennaro Maria Marrese Pretensore della carica di cadetto nel reggimento nazionale di Puglia ne abbia tutti i requisiti in quanto la sua famiglia è di antichissima nobiltà generosa di Taranto, ammessa sin dal 1616 nell'ordine di Malta*. On this military order, see A. SPAGNOLETTI, *Stato, aristocrazie e ordine di Malta*, cit.

nobiltà generosa, and various «cariche militari e politiche godute dai maggiori»¹¹¹.

Members of the *nobiltà generosa* could access both provincial regiments and royal cities' governments.

Pietro Gabrieli, who came from a clearly high-ranking noble family from Nola, was recruited «nell'Intendenza della Guerra ed in qualità di cadetto nel reggimento di cavalleria di Sicilia». His health did not allow him to pursue his career, because he was «impossibilitato a seguitare la carriera intrapresa per un getto di sangue sopraggiuntogli alla vista di tutto il reggimento [...] in Nola cosicché si ridusse all'estremo della vita». Consequently, he asked the king «di poter occupare un impiego nei regi governi»¹¹².

Tiberio de Cantore, a patrician from Taranto, wished to become a *di cappa e spada* governor, because «sono stati prestati servizi da suoi maggiori e predecessori [verso il] Sovrani Angioini ed Aragonesi, per li quali meritavano rilevanti pensioni con vari gloriosi diplomi che in detto suo ricorso un per uno si enunciano [...] la famiglia antichissima ottenne il privilegio nobiliare fin dal Re Roberto, Luigi e Ferdinando il Cattolico»¹¹³.

Doctor Mauro Venturi sent a petition to the king in order to hold a *regio governo*. His family belonged to the barons of Palmarice, in the province of Terra d'Otranto which «godeva e gode di prerogative ed onori di nobiltà patrizia di essa città dall'anno 1492, avendo da quell'anno fino al presente esercitato in diversi tempi tutti gli onori che suol dispensare la città, ritrovandosi molti di detta famiglia impiegata nell'ufficio di mastro giurato, sindaci per la piazza dei nobili»¹¹⁴. His father claimed to have received special privileges during Philip V's visit to Naples.

A different path was followed by what Charles of Bourbon considers to be a 'second nobility', the civil one, namely those families whose status derived from the dignity of their professions, especially in the judiciary field. In this specific case, there was a market among people aspiring to have charges in the *governi regi* and in provincial audits, and to be appointed royal cities judges and prosecutors.

How did these new nobles represent their own dignity? What links them to the Bourbons?

Deliberations show a strong feeling of belonging felt within these

¹¹¹ ASNA, Camera di S. Chiara, *Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 320, inc. 33, *Supplica di d. Francesco Sanseverino e di Francesco e d. Fabrizio suoi figli, della città di Catanzaro: il padre facente parte del reggimento dragoni del principe chiede di aggregare i due suoi figli nel reggimento di Calabria*, 10 luglio 1769.

¹¹² ASNA, Camera di S. Chiara, *Bozze delle Consulte*, b. 310, *Supplica di Pietro Gabrieli di Nola*, 1° luglio 1768.

¹¹³ ASNA, Camera di S. Chiara, *Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 320, inc. 12, *Supplica di d. Tiberio de Cantore patrizio, della città di Taranto, chiede un regio governo di spada e cappa*, 12 giugno 1769.

¹¹⁴ ASNA, Camera di S. Chiara, *Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 280, fasc. 20, *Supplica di d. Mario Venturi, pretensore di un governo regio*, 22 agosto 1762.

judiciary spheres, and a deep attachment to the dynasty.

For instance, Giovanni Giacomo Palermi, from Cosenza, who had been serving for many years as a lawyer in Naples and Cosenza, and who held other relevant offices as «giudice e governatore nello stato di Belcastro [...], delegato dell'Udienza, durante l'epidemia di Reggio del 1745, per ordine del Vicario generale per assistere gli infermi», asked for a «governo regio»¹¹⁵.

The petition sent by Domenico le Piane, who had been a lawyer in the Regia Udienza in Cosenza for 32 years, is very similar: he addressed the king «che per li molti meriti e sevizi prestati si fosse la M.V. degnata di surrogare in detta carica il di lui figliastro». Among the certificates of merit, there is one concerning his service rendered to vanquish, in 1736, the «morbo epidemico di Foggia, Lucera e Chiesti [che ha attaccato] gli animali vaccini, per ordine di quel preside della Regia Udienza». Then, in 1743, again in the service of the Regia Udienza, he «assistè il Preside nella persecuzione di una numerosa comitiva di malviventi»¹¹⁶.

Giuseppe Baldi addressed the monarch for a «piazza di uditore legale» either for his professionalism or for his merits, these latter coming from his «zio materno Emanuele Cioffi quale giudice ed amministratore fiscale della Gran Corte della Vicaria». Baldi demonstrates to be a «giovane abile e di buoni costumi, onesto e onorevole applicando lodevolmente le leggi del Regno e della giurisprudenza romana e forense [e di possedere] una integrità sopraffina»¹¹⁷.

Antonio Finiziano, who wished to become a royal judge, had a formidable family curriculum: his father «ritrovassi esercitando la banca di regio governatore e giudice della città di Mola di Bari [invece] esso ricorrente ha esercitato per molti anni in questo Regio Tribunale la professione legale»¹¹⁸.

The sources of the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara thus reveal the osmosis existing between the paths leading to royal and baronial governments as well as to the positions of judge in royal cities, and other offices in the Regie Udienze.

On the basis of a prosopographic analysis, it is possible to infer a sort of social mobility following an exact *cursus honorum* which started in small

¹¹⁵ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte, Supplica di d. Giovanni Giacomo Palermi pretensore di Governo regio*, vol. 32, 11 maggio 1772.

¹¹⁶ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 328, inc. 19, *Supplica di Domenico le Piane che richiede per il figlio l'incarico di procuratore della Regia Udienza di Cosenza*, 12 giugno 1770.

¹¹⁷ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 243, inc. 22, *Supplica di Giuseppe Baldi chiede la grazia che gli venga concesso di esercitare per la M.V. il ruolo di Uditore legale*, 14 agosto 1760.

¹¹⁸ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 320, inc. 10, *Supplica di d. Antonio Finiziano che chiede un regio giudicato. Il padre è governatore e giudice della città di Mola di Bari, egli esercita la professione legale nei regi tribunali*, 12 giugno 1769.

baronial courts, then the most efficient doctors became judges or lawyers of royal cities and, finally, they were granted charges within audits.

For instance, d. Martino Cimieri, from Laureana, a village in the State of Monteleone, asked for «una piazza di Regia Udiienza» and gave evidence of his serving as a lawyer both in baronial governments of Monteleone and other places, like Piedimonte and Buccino¹¹⁹. Similarly, in 1769, doctor Bernardo Tulli from Teramo asked for a post as a royal auditor, maintaining that he held various positions in «governi baronali, consulte e giudicati come pure esercitata la professione legale così nel tribunale della sopradetta città [Teramo] come nel supremo Tribunale di questa capitale [...] dove ha difeso cause anche di molto peso»¹²⁰.

Doctor Giuseppe Maria Stanzione, from Deliceto, «chiede di essere aggraziato nel giro dei regi governi». He had been serving as a lawyer in the royal courts, and as a judge and a consultant in many baronies (S. Nicandro, S. Giovanni Rotondo)¹²¹.

Doctor Giuseppe Tortora, instead, asked for a post in a Regia Udiienza¹²² and claimed «di ritrovarsi da più anni esercitando la professione legale in questi tribunali avendo difeso e guadagnate cause civili e criminali come consultore di sindacato di giudici di Vicaria»; he had also «esercitato varie consulte e giudicati anche in terza istanza dei feudi di Panicocoli, Vico Equense, Cimitile e S. Marzano»¹²³.

These paths – all of them under the umbrella of monarchy – would lead to the creation of service nobility. Only some of its members, however, would have access to the court, the place where aristocrats would find their real and ultimate hierarchisation¹²⁴.

¹¹⁹ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 342, inc. 15, *Supplica di Martino Cimeri che richiede una piazza di Regia Udiienza*, 5 ottobre 1771.

¹²⁰ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 320, inc. 13, *Supplica del dott. d. Bernardo Tulli di Teramo, avendo disimpegnato vari governi baronali, consulte e giudicature, come pure esercitato la professione legale così nel tribunale della città come nel foro della capitale, per tale suoi meriti chiede una piazza di Regio Uditore*, 12 giugno 1769.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 320, inc. 19, *Supplica di d. Giuseppe Maria Stanzione che chiede di essere aggraziato nel giro dei regi governi, mentre ritrovasi da più anni applicato nella professione di legale in questi regi tribunali*, 19 giugno 1769.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ ASNA, *Camera di S. Chiara, Bozze delle Consulte*, vol. 27, *Supplica del dottor Giuseppe Tortora il quale aspira ad una piazza di Udiienza Provinciale*, 21 agosto 1760.

¹²⁴ G. GALASSO, *Il Regno di Napoli*, IV, cit., p. 40 ff.

CHAPTER II

The new monarchic rituals of the Savoy between Naples and its surroundings

1. Introduction

Between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, new forms of monarchic integration, aimed at families of the former Neapolitan nobility, were set in motion. These were not the usual circuits we have recalled, revolving around the factions of the Historical Left, that, starting from the eighties, promoted many nobles to parliament or to positions of leadership of the new unitary state, such as for the main officers of the Army, the highest exponents of bureaucracy and long-term diplomacy. These are circuits that were different from those we examined regarding the sale of aristocratic titles that was opened by judicial processes.

Italian historiography has not given much importance to the political, social and especially cultural weight carried by the families of former nobility¹. The establishment of the 'Nation of the Risorgimento' has been seen as the work of a bourgeois elite bringer of new values. Therefore, in this reading, after the unification, the old noble elite, especially the Southern elite, was considered to be marginalised from the controlling levers of the Italian State².

The analysis of some of the primary sources coming from the Ministero di Casa Reale dei Savoia leads to partially different considerations on the subject. Not only the Sabaudian monarchy played a role in the integration of the nobility of the former pre-unified states, but the policy of the former

¹ A consolidated historiographic production exists on these subjects. To reconstruct this debate, please refer to the following books: A.J. MAYER, *Il potere dell'Ancien Régime fino alla prima guerra mondiale*, Roma-Bari, 1981; AA.VV., *Les noblesses européennes au XIX siècle*, Actes du colloque de Rome, 21-22-23 novembre 1985, Ecole Française de Rome, Roma-Paris, 1988; D. HIGGES, *Nobles, tetrés, aristocrates en France après la Révolution: 1800-1870*, Paris, 1990; D. CANNADICE, *Declino e caduta dell'aristocrazia britannica*, Milano, 1991.

² On the marginal role played by the former Italian nobility of the pre-unitary states, a lot of importance was given, at the interpretative level, to the arguments of Banti who saw the new Risorgimento elite, where little space was left for the old nobilities, permeated by new bourgeois values. This was why the families of the Italian nobilities would only have a residual role, numerically also, in the edification of the national state. See C.A. BANTI, *Storia della borghesia italiana. L'età liberale*, Roma, 1996, p. 48 ff.

noble Southern (and Sicilian) families was thorough and the integration had to go through the careful approval of the sovereigns.

Another important element is represented by how this elite, between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, became the ruling class, and would then influence the new State apparatus under construction with its system of values. If the promotion of former aristocracy to positions of leadership of the State did not represent a modern element, even more traditional was the way in which this process was actuated by the monarchy. It was an old policy of monarchic aggregation, in this case of the Savoy. A policy targeting members of former noble families whose origin of status was not only quite fragmented, but certainly did not originate from the service nobilities created in the early modern age³.

Yet the issue is complex. While forms of monarchic integration have been studied at a European level in detail, as well as for ancient Italian states, little is known about the phenomenon during the 19th and 20th century. Even less is known about the phenomenon for Italian areas, among which for the Neapolitan, Sicilian and Roman nobility. At the same time, little attention was paid to the role of the monarchy in the edification of the liberal Italian state.

In truth, we must highlight how there were two concurring phenomena taking place. On the one hand, we saw the Historical Left recovering Republican members, the numerous groups of families that sided with the Bourbons, members of the former aristocracy. The same interest was taken up by the monarchy. Starting from the mid-1880s, it followed a specific design for integration of the nobility of the Mezzogiorno. Such a policy of integration developed on different levels; through the hunting ritual, practised in the former Neapolitan Royal Bourbon Sites; with the support given to the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo; with a policy of patronage and the new attribution of noble titles; with the promotion of members of the former nobility to the role of senators of the Kingdom⁴.

Some important sources, not yet studied, such as those of the Royal Sites of the Savoy with administrative headquarters at Capodimonte (a section which fell under the competence of the Ministero di Casa Reale), together with the sources of the Consulta Araldica, allows for a better presentation of this subject.

³ On the Savoy State, A. MERLOTTI, *L'enigma delle nobiltà. Stato e ceti dirigenti nel Piemonte nel Settecento*, Firenze, 2000.

⁴ G.-C. JOCTEAU, *Un censimento della nobiltà italiana*, in «Meridiana», 1994, 19, pp. 113-154. Now see ID., *Nobili e nobiltà nell'Italia unita*, Roma-Bari, 1997.

We will examine the following four points:

- a) the place and function of the hunting grounds;
- b) the new Savoy hunting ritual;
- c) the role of the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo;
- d) the function of the Consulta Araldica and the integration of the Neapolitan nobility by the new monarchy.

2. The Neapolitan hunting grounds of the Savoy between Umberto I and Vittorio Emanuele III

We will examine the places and rituals surrounding Savoy horseback hunting.

Officials of the Ministero di Casa Reale of Capodimonte testify that Vittorio Emanuele II did not care much about the former Royal Bourbon Sites in the Mezzogiorno.

Starting from the time of Umberto I, things began to change. The new king sponsored a complex administration around the Royal Sites, grouping those Southern districts together so they would then become part of the private belongings of the Savoy in the administrative headquarters of Capodimonte.

The administration, provided with its own management, oversaw the Royal Palace and the Park of Capodimonte, the Royal Palace and Park of Caserta, and the Sites of the Astroni, Licola and Carditello. Also the Regie Riserve di Caccia d'Abruzzo (Royal Hunting Reserves of Abruzzo) were managed by Capodimonte, which included municipal ownerships that ranged from Villavallelonga to Pescasseroli; municipalities that would then be among those of the National Park of Abruzzo.

The first function of the Royal Sites was to be hunting grounds; the new Savoy hunting rituals were organised around them.

About 25 years of correspondence between the Ufficio del Gran Cacciatore (Office of the Great Hunter, employed by the Ministero di Casa Reale) and Giuseppe Santo, the Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte (Director of the Capodimonte District), allows for a reconstruction of the function of linked industries: from the management of natural reserves to the periodic hunting retreats of the sovereigns, and of royal princes or of the court.

Each site was organised for the reproduction of specific kinds of wildlife, which were reared and then hunted during certain months of the year.

The first reserve among all of the Royal Sites of the Savoy was the Park of Capodimonte. In the early 20th century, in this reserve different kinds of pheasants and other birds were reared⁵. This kind of rearing followed a very specific *iter*. For many weeks the eggs of the birds in reserve were gathered, then these were sat on by a hundred turkeys. In 1907 for this purpose «103 tacchine per la cova delle uova di fagiani per il Real Parco di Capodimonte [per una spesa] di oltre 706 lire»⁶ were purchased. Once the eggs hatched the turkeys were sold⁷.

Il comandante delle Reali Cacce di Capodimonte ha domandato che siano messi a disposizione per circa 10 giorni ed in tre periodi diversi i giornalieri di codesta Regia tenuta [...] per esibirli nella ricerca di uova di fagiani [...] spesa [che ricade] sul prossimo bilancio delle cacce [Si prevede la] semina dei soliti appezzamenti di saggina e panico nonché della cicoria in tre diverse epoche di queste ultime e con l'intervallo di 15 giorni da una seminagione all'altra onde non venga a mancare durante l'allevamento dei fagiani⁸.

The turkeys required a good amount of food, such as «uova di formiche e grilli» and also a certain dose of «saggina, panico e cicoria»⁹. In 1908, to increase the variety of pheasants present in the park, some cross-breeding was attempted. The Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte «informato del risultato dell'incrocio dei galletti inglesi con le fagiane è rimasto molto soddisfatto»¹⁰.

The introduction of hares from the Royal Reserve of Monza was also attempted in the Capodimonte Reserve:

⁵ ARCe, ARCHIVIO DISTRETTO DI CAPODIMONTE (Archive of the Capodimonte District, from now on ADC), vol. 1 bis, *Real Caccia di Capodimonte*, 2 agosto 1907: «Nel distretto di caccia di Capodimonte l'allevamento dei fagiani e di altri volatili nel corrente anno è la seguente: 1.500 fagiani comuni; 20 fagiani argentati; 6 fagiani giapponesi; 8 fagiani cinesi; 12 faraone; 6 pavoni».

⁶ ADC, *Tenuta di Capodimonte, Cacce: Allevamento di fagiani, 1907, Cacce*, 13 febbraio 1907.

⁷ ADC, vol. 6: «Nel 1907 la vendita dei tacchini è di 3,15 cadauno. 30 giugno 1907».

⁸ ADC, vol. 1, *Direzione provinciale della Real Casa di Napoli, Sign. Agente delle Reali Tenute di Capodimonte*, Napoli, 16 aprile 1909.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Napoli, 12 novembre 1909.

¹⁰ ADC, vol. C 39, Roma, 11 giugno 1908; Capodimonte, 1908, and vol. C 39 bis, Licola, 12 novembre 1908: «Egregio collega, ho risposto alla sua lettera relativa all'incrocio dei fagiani col gallo e la gallina domestica. Qui tale esperimento non potrebbe effettuarsi per mancanza dei mezzi necessari poiché sarebbe indispensabile provvedere alla costruzione di apposite voliere [...] Come sa, abbiamo qui la famiglia Reale ed il da fare non manca».

per ora saranno sessanta le lepri che a Monza – the Gran Cacciatore writes to the Direttore delle [Regie] Cacce di Capodimonte (Director of the Capodimonte [Royal] Hunts) – saranno spedite a Capodimonte. Prova far mettere da mangiare nei piccoli appezzamenti di prati dove si allevano i fagiani. Prova far distribuire della verdura di scarto, con pochi centesimi si potrà avere dagli erbivendoli proprio di quella che qui si usa somministrare alla vacche delle vaccherie stabilite in città [...] Miglior verdura è l'insalata [...] Alla sera poco prima del frumento si può distribuire il cibo e al mattino successivo si potrà vedere se è stato mangiato¹¹.

The gardens of Caserta also had their own function. Other than the production of various kinds of fruit, culture tanks for the rearing of eels and trout had their importance. Some of the fish products were sold on the Neapolitan market, while the rest was periodically sent to Rome in service of the court. For his specific eating habits, Umberto I had a few trout shipped to him every week, especially during the Lent period¹².

There was a considerable fixed expense which gradually increased during the first 25 years of the 20th century for this kind of fish farming. At the end of the year it was concluded with a great fishing that took place in the final days of December. Eels were required by the court, especially for New Year's Eve dinner: «L'ufficio del Gran Cacciatore sa che prendeste dei capitoni quando fu pulito il laghetto del Giardino inglese, i quali furono messi alla Castellania potranno perciò essere chiesti a suo tempo. Amerei, però, capire quanti ne potrete avere nel prossimo Natale»¹³.

Fish farming was carefully monitored throughout the year, as proven by the censuses of the trout in the various tanks starting from the year 1900:

Io già avevo seguito il numero delle trote esistenti nelle tre peschiere di Caserta e ieri me ne sono informato di persona dietro le assicurazioni di Ragozzino che vedo persona lealissima.

Ne ho viste 15 grossissime nella vasca degli specchi nell'atto che le davano il cibo e molte altre piccole nel detto canalone (Vasca dei Delfini)¹⁴.

The employees of the Royal Palace of Caserta shared a voluminous amount of correspondence with the Amministrazione di Capodimonte to

¹¹ ADC, vol. C 39 bis, Licola, 2 novembre 1900.

¹² *Ibid.*, Licola, 4 marzo 1900: «Caro Ragozzino, Giovedì g. 8 spediti con le due solite trote anche le cinque anguille [destinate al sovrano] a Roma».

¹³ *Ibid.*, Licola, 7 dicembre 1900.

¹⁴ ADC, vol. B. 31, Pozzuoli, 25 febbraio 1900: «Le trote presenti in quell'anno sono: vasca di Diana 250, vasca degli Specchi 74, vasca dei Delfini 400».

monitor the number and quality of the fish product, each and every month of the year.

Gentilissimo Sign. Comandante,

Essendo che il Ministro sa che a questo Real Distretto se non si preleva la vasca grande, non v'erano più capitoni per la spedizione. In questo anno invece, togliendo la spazzatura al Lago detto giardino Inglese, non è riuscito di prendere dei capitoni bastante per una e più spedizione secondo il solito.

Per cui prego di farmi sapere se vi dirigerete voi, oppure lo parteciperò in esteso al superiore ufficio.

Sappiate pure che abbiamo fatto la scelta delle trote grosse, mezzane e piccole¹⁵.

[...]. Siccome è necessario togliere le troterelle che stanno nella vasca di Diana e portarle a quella degli Specchi, per lasciare pulita quella vasca per le piccole troterelle che debbono arrivare da Piedimonte d'Alife è necessario pure [individuare] i capitoni che vi si trovano a mandare a Roma le anguille [e quelli] che si trovano nel detto Castelluccio¹⁶.

At the end of the year it was necessary to empty the tanks and the product was divided into three parts, especially when the estimate for the fishing was expected to be abundant. For instance, in 1909, this is what happened when the amount of eels was estimated to be at least half a ton¹⁷.

During those particular years, the first shipment was destined to the fishmongers of the capital. The catch was wholly allocated in single batches, trying to verify current prices so that at least part of the expenses sustained could be recovered¹⁸.

Caro Cacaria – a letter by the Direttore dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte states at the beginning of the 20th century – ieri mi aspettavo la tua risposta in appresso alla lettera che avresti dovuto ricevere ieri mattina circa; le anguille

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Caserta, 5 dicembre 1900.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Caserta, 3 dicembre 1911.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Caserta, 15 dicembre 1909: «Le richieste le chiedo io e te le spedirò a tempo [...] Quanto ve ne sono io ritengo che per quelli che hai immesso solo tu ce ne saranno almeno 5 quintali».

¹⁸ ADC, vol. 42 bis. A letter sent to the Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte by Ragozzino, an agent of Caserta, states: «Avendo saputo che che ci è la vendita delle anguille dentro il Reggio Parco di Caserta, in esse il prezzo di lire 1,50 il Kilo». A couple of days later the same official stated: «Pregevolissimo Sign. Comandante, mi pregio inviare alla S. V. la qui unita cartolina vaglia in lire 87,10, ricavato dalla vendita delle anguille. Unisco pure la nota delle spese detratte dalle cento lire delle anguille».

del Castelluccio. Perché non hai risposto? Scrivi stasera stessa, cioè appena ricevi la presente e me la dirigerai a Licola ove io mi trovo; non farla però per espresso, ma [tramite] una lettera ordinaria¹⁹.

In the following case, a large quantity of the same fish product, taken from the tanks of the Royal Palace of Caserta, was used for end of the year banquets organised for the Court of Rome.

Ho già ordinato le due casse che possono contenere circa un quintale di capitoni – the agent of Caserta writes to the Direttore dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte – l'una e siccome non posso sapere quanto grandi sono non l'ho ordinate più grandi, se avessero avuto da mangiare come ora altro che vi sarebbe cinque o sei quintali di capitoni, perciò ora dobbiamo contentarci di quello che ritrova perché vi è stato un tempo che per la fame si mangiavano tra essi²⁰.

[...] I capitoni si debbono spedire all'ufficio la sera del 23 corrente. Io credo che invece delle sporte siano migliori le casse con dei piccoli buchi attorno per farli arrivare vivi [...] Con delle maniglie di corda per poterli maneggiare²¹.

Finally, a certain amount of the catch was shipped directly to the king so that he could use it to send end of the year gifts.

Caro Santo,

sono d'avviso che non debbano essere toccati i capitoni di Caserta che potrebbero servire per ora per un piccolo divertimento del Sovrano.

Anche le trote non dovranno nella quaresima essere settimanalmente inviate mancando la persona alla quale erano destinate. Nella settimana santa si vedrà S.M., che ne dovrà farne venire per le Reali cucine²².

Other than the rearing of eels and trout, the garden of the Royal Palace was also used for rearing wild hares.

il 16 avreste mandato le lepri – the agent of the Royal Palace writes to the Direttore dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte –, non è stata ultimata la lavorazione delle graticole, mancano solo 10 graticole per la chiusura. I cancelli della Reggia [se prima non si finiscono], non potete mandare le lepri [...] allora

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Caserta, 16 dicembre 1909.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Caserta, 15 dicembre 1909.

²² ADC, vol. H 12, Roma, 10 marzo 1908.

sortiranno tutti per quei cancelli [...] I giornalieri] lavorano i telai e dopo devono farsi tessere la rete [invece] le lepri che si possono caricare sono da 6 a 7²³.

Without a doubt, it was the Royal Site of Licola to be the most important one for the hunting reserve of the Savoy. The game was constantly surveyed and monitored. We can rely on the results of a number of censuses, regarding the game of the Royal Site Reserve. In 1889 there were 400 boar, 100 deer, 50 bucks, 40 roe deer, 1000 ducks, 1000 coots, and 1000 pigeons and other birds²⁴. A few years later, in 1894, the number of boar slightly decreased (to 261), while the amount of deer, bucks, and birds remained the same²⁵. Expenses sustained for maintaining the game were high; so in 1901 they were reduced, with this being especially true for boar and deer²⁶.

In 1913 the monarchy introduced a small number of thoroughbred horses to the reserve, with an annual cost of 3,275 lire²⁷.

In the following years, the quantity and quality of the game present in the reserve was constantly monitored²⁸. In some years, a lack of food caused an excessive reduction of the game so that hunting was limited to a small number of boar and deer²⁹.

²³ ADC, vol. C 38, Caserta, 15 gennaio 1907.

²⁴ ADC, vol. B 12\5, Licola, 19 gennaio 1889.

²⁵ ADC, vol. B 25, Real Distretto di Licola: «Cignali sui cibi: Licola 14, Varcaturò 68, Cesina 50, Fusaro 28, Licola 1894». Still in 1899, the periodic census on the amount of game remained substantially unaltered. The agents of the Licola Reserve registered 316 boar, 81 deer, 72 bucks, 30 hares, a few hundred ducks and 30 coots. The boar were so distributed: 83 at Licola, 73 at Varcaturò, 70 at Cuma, 55 at Fusaro. *Ibid.*, Reali cacce di Licola, giugno 1900.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Roma, 21 agosto 1901: «S. M. il Re essendosi degnati di confermare che il numero dei cignali e daini da lasciare ogni anno in codesto distretto per la riproduzione sia quello stabilito con la lettera di quest'ufficio n. 609 del 21 luglio 1893 e cioè 150 sui primi e 40 dei secondi il sottoscritto invita a volere a suo tempo provvedere alla diminuzione e venita del numero esuberante, come negli anni scorsi. Il Gran Cacciatore Carminati di Brambilla».

²⁷ ADC, *Direzione Provinciale della Real Casa, Spese di bilancio per i Real Cavalli di Licola*, 28 maggio 1913.

²⁸ ADC, Correspondence from Licola dated 21 October 1905 stated: «per la ghianda di querce credo che per il periodo accosto degli anni di cignali, stamattina non ne sono venuti al cibo di Varcaturò, mentre a quello di Licola ne vennero 40 grossi e 20 piccoli [...]. Le falaghe giornalmente se ne passano nel Pantano e diminuiscono nel lago invece il tempo appena si è rimesso un poco a freddo si vede qualcheduna in più sul Pantano».

²⁹ ADC, Capodimonte, 1908, vol. C 39 bis, *Oggetto: diminuzione di selvaggina. Il sottoscritto autorizza il sign comandante Santo ad uccidere e vendere gli 84 cinghiali ed i 51 daini esuberanti secondo le disposizioni di quest'ufficio il ricavato della vendita in parola. Firmato, Il Gran Cacciatore*, Roma, 5 dicembre 1908.

Contrary to the Site of Licola, the Royal Site of the Astroni was divided into grazing lands that were leased on a regular basis, as well as sections of woodland. In the latter, evergreen oaks, oaks, ash and chestnut trees prevailed³⁰. A substantial amount of revenue came from cutting down the woods of the park: every three years a section of wood was cut down and the land was then reforested.

As we will see, starting from the mid-1880s, one of the main activities was to host the periodic events, sponsored by the sovereigns, of the Società Napoletana della Caccia a Cavallo.

On the other hand, the Royal Site of Carditello, while not being used as a hunting ground, was utilised, between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, especially for rearing the horses of the Italian Army. Furthermore, the structure of the Casino di Caccia (Hunting Cottage) was equipped – by the court, the royal Savoy family and the Neapolitan nobility – to provide breakfast, consumed after the horseback hunting of fox or boar.

Although at the end of the 19th century the handling of horses – private property of the Società Napoletana della Caccia a Cavallo, or of those belonging to the Army – in the Carditello Reserve was quite sporadic, starting from the beginning of the 20th century, specific requests came from the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte and from the manager of the military horse-post of St. Maria Capua Vetere³¹. Requests from military personnel then became pressing, because the military horse-post of St. Maria Capua Vetere was the leader for rearing and training equines of all the provinces of the Mezzogiorno to be destined to the Army.

In ottemperanza alla legge 6 luglio 1912 n. 832 – a letter sent to the Direttore delle Riserve di Capodimonte [Director of the Capodimonte Reserves] states – per i provvedimenti zootecnici il numero degli stalloni assegnati a questo Deposito è stato aumentato ed il consorzio delle 13 province interessate votava e assegnava i fondi del Regio stabilimento. Questo deposito ne faceva il progetto che veniva approvato dal Ministero e fra qualche giorno si iniziarono i lavori. Finora però gli stalloni sono rimasti in distaccoamento per

³⁰ ADC, Astroni, vol. 40: «Nel 1904 era stato praticato un rimboschimento di 1.155 alberi. Dotazione della Corona. Regno di Vittorio E. III. Capodimonte 5 giugno 1804».

³¹ ADC, vol. 16 b: «Il capitano direttore del Deposito Cavalli Stalloni di S. Maria C. Vetere chiede da circa un anno l'uso della scuderia Reale fra la Torre n. 3 e la Regia Casina, con annesso maneggio nella Real Tenuta di Carditello», Capodimonte, 11 giugno 1913.

la loro funzione nelle singole stazioni di monta; ma dovendo essi in questo mese rientrare alla sede non troverebbero al deposito il posto sufficiente³².

The Ministero di Casa Reale then came to a decision regarding the stables of Carditello, which were mostly aimed at training horses³³.

The hunting grounds of Abruzzo region were also controlled by the Amministrazione di Capodimonte. Vittorio Emanuele II and Umberto I lost interest in the reserve composed of the properties that seven Abruzzo municipalities – to ingratiate the Savoy after the parenthesis of the great banditry – had given up to the monarchy as a hunting ground.

The Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte, in his periodic inspections of the area, took stock of the game present in the reserve:

dal 1901 ad oggi che vi sono ritornato gli orsi sono aumentati e se allora ne potei segnare tre o quattro ora sono in grado di assicurare che essi sono arrivati fino al numero di otto in circa in tutta la Riserva [demense of Pescasseroli]. Più numerosi nei boschi di Villavallelonga ove essi hanno maggiore pastura. L'aumento di essi è notato perché, disturbati nei boschi confinanti non riservati, trovano sicuro ricovero nella riserva ove sono da quei villani scrupolosamente rispettati. Solamente dal comune di Settefrati vi si dice viene poco rispettata la Reale Riserva e perciò bisognerà ricordare l'osservanza di essi ai carabinieri di S. Donato ed a quel sindaco per le di lui guardie comunali e all'Ispettore forestale di Caserta. Sulle montagne di Settefrati vi è solo qualche camoscio e qualche capriolo. Gli orsi sarebbero molti di più se buona parte dei figli non fossero uccisi facilmente e divorati dai cani dei pastori e qualche volta anche dai lupi, i quali pur danneggiando impunemente i greggi ed i cui danni vengono quasi sempre imputati agli orsi, mentre questi raramente divorano qualche pecora soltanto, quando proprio non hanno nulla da mangiare e quando la trovano morta.

La sorveglianza poi della detta riserva procede molto bene, specialmente per parte delle guardie forestali e quei naturali sono entusiasti dell'errore di avere i loro boschi ricercati alla caccia per Sua Maestà il Re.

Debbo pure osservare che volendosi fare una cacciata all'orso questa non sarebbe di sicuro risultato sia che la Regia Riserva è molto estesa e quindi si dovrebbe precisare la contrada ove risiede³⁴.

Many problems also arose concerning the precise extension of the Abruzzo Reserve, and of the main species which were not properly

³² *Ibid.*, Addì 4 giugno 1913.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ ADC, Vol. B 28, *Riserve di Caccia d'Abruzzo*, vol. 1, Giuseppe Santo. *Gita d'ispezione nella Reale Riserva di Caccia degli Abruzzi*.

protected: «alcuni giorni innanzi alcuni signori di Sora e Campi avevano organizzato ed eseguita una battuta di caccia all'orso nel tenimento di Campi ed hanno pernottato nei pressi del luogo. Nella battuta trovarono la belva ed a loro fu solo possibile di ferirla ma senza catturarla»³⁵.

The main issue, for the Abruzzo hunting grounds, was embodied by the huge sums that the Ministero di Casa Reale had to disburse for maintaining them. Particularly of concern was the damage done by bears to corn harvests and flocks of sheep. The Amministrazione dei Siti Reali had to bear all the expenses that hundreds of farmers and ranchers denounced to the Arm of Carabineers for damages received, because bears trespassed from the royal reserves into the adjacent municipalities. In 1912, damages paid by the Ministero di Casa Reale reached enormous sums of over 72,000 lire³⁶, expenses that were too high for an administration that was not willing to commit to such substantial sums, as these significantly surpassed those expected by the budget of the Neapolitan Royal Sites. Giuseppe Santo, the Direttore delle Regie Cacce di Capodimonte, suggested on more than one occasion to the Ministero di Casa Reale to forfeit the reserve and hunting rights on the territories of the Abruzzo region, although his thesis was unlike that of the king:

Dare una somma a forfait a ciascun comune – the Gran Cacciatore writes to Giuseppe Santo –, a titolo di compenso per danni, sarebbe come sanzionare una enormità, poiché altro non è che la convinzione che noi abbiamo che la maggior parte dei compensi che pagano siano immeritati per insussistenza del danno, quando risulta in atti provato, comunque sia il danno altro non sarebbe che concedere una somma a priori a chi non ne ha nessun diritto.

Se dipendesse dall'ufficio l'abbandonare la riserva [...] darebbe la possibilità a chi ne ha tutto l'interesse di dimostrare che la Riserva è illegale e costituisse un privilegio di altri tempi.

Se fosse soltanto per l'Amministrazione in questo non ci sarebbe nessun male: ma pensi un po' chi vi è di mezzo, e si convinca che ciò non si può fare.

Ma non basta. Lei sa come la pensi il Sovrano e questo riguardo gli ordini che ha dato relativamente alla domanda di compensi e l'intenzione manifestata di voler conservare, almeno per ora, la riserva degli Abruzzi. Ella sa pure le ripetute proposte fattogli di abbandonare: ora, non pensa, lei, che andandosi incontro ed un processo S. M. avrebbe tutta la ragione di dire che

³⁵ *Ibid.*, *Regio Brigadiere Comandante la stazione, Pizzì Cesare*, Pescasseroli, 7 luglio 1906.

³⁶ ADC, vol. 2, *Giornale, Caccia e pesca, Notizie sulla Riserva di Caccia Reale d'Abruzzo*, 12 gennaio 1913.

questo è stato un ripiego dell'Ufficio per giungere allo scopo di vedere abolita la Riserva contrariamente alle Sue intenzioni?³⁷

Then, in 1913, the king and the Ministero di Casa Reale changed their minds: they believed it to be too expensive to keep supporting the hunting grounds. So there was a *de facto* refusal of the rights enjoyed by the monarchy on such reserves and the land was consequently returned to each municipality. Notwithstanding such a decision, these areas were by then bound by certain decrees issued by the Minister of Agriculture, Francesco Saverio Nitti, which classified them as a protected oasis. This is how the way was opened for the future National Park of Abruzzo.

³⁷ ADC, vol. 1, *Riserva di Caccia Reale d'Abruzzo*.

3. Hunting rituals and the beginning of the policy of integration of the Southern nobility

The monarchic rituals that were aimed at the integration of Southern nobility by the Savoy were encouraged by the practice of horseback hunting. A limited number of people took part in horseback hunting retreats, that is only courtiers and close collaborators of Umberto I and Vittorio Emanuele III. The hunts of the sovereigns became an event for which there was a specific ceremony, this is why hunts were often associated with genuine society receptions. What took form in Naples was only a small appendage to the Court of Rome: in the best case scenario, at the Astroni hunts, or at the Capodimonte receptions, no more than 350-400 people were allowed to participate. This was an elite that was selected in the environment of the court, often by the king himself, with only families of the former nobility being a part of it. Starting from the end of the 19th century and onwards, the presence of the sovereigns, the royal family, and hereditary princes became increasingly more common at the Royal Palace of Capodimonte and in the hunting retreats at the Astroni and Licola.

Hunting on horseback followed a specific ceremony that was handled by the Ufficio del Gran Cacciatore in Rome and was then actuated by the employees of the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte.

In 1896, Umberto I went to the area surrounding Naples and took part in at least two hunting events between Capodimonte, Licola and Carditello. Impressive hunts of pheasants and boar took place, but the reserve was short of bucks and deer, so the king gave specific instructions prohibiting the hunting of that kind of game until its number increased. Another order comes – during the remedial filling of the swamp of Licola – explaining how «sua maestà il re non vuole che si uccidano i due cervi che sono nella colmata [per cui] piacerà, quindi di trovare il modo di farli uscire servendosi dei cani e sperando anche qualche colpo per spaventarli, lasciando aperti i cancelli e togliendo anche, provvisoriamente, qualche metro di steccato»³⁸.

The hunts were juxtaposed to regular cultural visits to the mythological sites of the Campania region. By the end of the 19th century, the archaeological site of Cuma belonged to the territory of the Royal Sites: new excavations of the city had been carried out very recently at the time. In 1897, a visit to the archaeological area of the town centre was organised by various members of the royal family.

³⁸ ADC, vol. B 28, *Corrispondenza tra l'Ufficio del Gran Cacciatore ed il direttore della Tenuta di Capodimonte*, Roma, 30 novembre 1897.

Mi onoro di informare V.E, che ieri alle ore 14 le Altezze Reali i principi di Napoli scesero con una barchetta a lato sinistro della fognatura a Cuma ove accompagnati dal comandante del legno e dal sottoscritto salirono sul Monte di Cuma. Vi feci trovare 15 operai con arnesi. Poi si precedette allo scavo di un tempio romano e non si rinvenne altro che due rottami di creta un incensario rotto e delle ossa umane e due tombe.

Dopo S. A. R. il Principe mi dette tre marenghi perché li avessi divisi ai 15 operai. Quindi alle 16 e tre quarti ritornano a bordo facendo rotta alla volta di Napoli³⁹.

Specific orders came from the sovereigns to allow free access to Cuma and other Royal Sites to high-school students and other scholars who wished to visit them, although only granted after a written request. In 1910, the correspondence evidenced the visit to Cuma by some of the classes of the Liceo Vittorio Emanuele: «Il Preside con alunni, professori e con 53 alunni [che] si è recato a vedere l'anfiteatro di Cuma e l'Arco Felice. [...] Poscia a me accompagnati, saliamo sul monte di Cuma ove il Prof. Fabrici chiede spiegazioni sui recenti scavi e sulle Grotte della Sibilla. Indi scendemmo in tenuta ed uscimmo dal Fusaro»⁴⁰.

On the other hand, in 1908 there was an interesting correspondence between those responsible for the Royal Sites of Capodimonte and Prof. D. Wolterneck, appointed Director of Lacustrine Biology of the Lung (in Lower Austria), who was studying the symptoms of malaria. This time the visit to the Astroni Reserve was of the scientific kind.

La S. V. Illustrissima aveva già circa 15 anni fa con somma cortesia e dietro nostra preghiera dato al professore D. Wolterneck, Direttore della stazione di biologia lacustre in Lung (Bassa Austria), il permesso di pescare nel laghetto di Astroni degli Infonodi giova sugli stadi della scadenza malarica ed altri esseri microscopici. Il detto D. Wolterneck non ha a suo tempo potuto a causa della stagione rigida e della incessante pioggia far uso del permesso datogli una sola volta.

Detto D. Wolterneck che si trova ora in Austria desidera ottenere i detti nuovi microscopi negli stadi del loro massimo sviluppo che avviene nella stagione calda, cioè giugno e luglio ed agosto e ci ha pregato di assisterlo per poter completare la nota dei relativi preparati nel di lei istituto scientifico.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Oggetto: *Le A.A.RR. e principi reali a Licola in visita a Cuma*, Licola, 9 novembre 1897.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Pozzuoli, 21 maggio 1910.

Ci preghiamo quindi di sollecitare dalla S. V. con il permesso per il nostro operatore D. K. Gast, competente in materia, di poter per i prossimi mesi e fino ad agosto recarsi nel luogo dove potersi pescare un poco di materiale⁴¹.

In other cases there are quaint episodes that only had journalistic implications, such as the shipment to Rome of the specimen of leopard kept in the Capodimonte Reserve⁴².

This is the period when, between the end of the 19th century and the first 15 years of the 20th century, reports by the employees of the Royal Palace of Caserta testified to the presence of over 100,000 visitors per year.

Other than foreigners and regional visitors, the influx from the environment of the court was no stranger to these circuits. Worthy of mention in this regard, was the horseback hunting of the Savoy between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, which functioned as a gathering of the Roman Court and the Neapolitan nobility. In 1900, there was one such occasion at the Licola Reserve where a considerable amount of the Roman Court took part alongside a generous number of members of the Neapolitan nobility.

Ieri le loro maestà il Re e la Regina accompagnati dalle altezze Reali il Principe e la Principessa di Battemberg ritornarono ad onorare questa tenuta [Licola] cacciando nel quadrato chiuso a tele del cibo del Fusaro dove uccisero 9 cinghiali e 6 daini; dopo, si fece una battuta nella Pantanella di Licola uccisero a Foce Vecchia altri 9 daini che in tutto furono 18 pezzi di selvaggina. Sua Maestà il Re si degnerà regalare un cinghiale ed un daino a cinque canettieri di Quarto che chiamati vennero con sei cani [...] Gli altri 16 pezzi di selvaggina furono mandati alla Reggia di Capodimonte⁴³.

When the king travelled, together with elements of the court, the ceremony was stricter during the periodic hunts, especially when these were an integral part of a larger design that was aimed at the integration of the Neapolitan nobility, such as appointments associated with the activities of the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo, or for receptions practised by the sovereigns at the Royal Palace of Capodimonte.

⁴¹ ADC, vol. C 39, *Lettera rivolta al Direttore della Regia Casa di Napoli da parte della Direzione della stazione zoologica di Napoli che chiede di agevolare la richiesta. Firmata, Sign Girolamo Alberto*, Napoli, 2 giugno 1908.

⁴² *Ibid.*, *Accompagnamento di un Leopardo da Napoli a Roma*, Napoli, 5 aprile 1908.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, *Per il Gran Cacciatore, ufficio di Roma, Licola*, 25 ottobre 1900.

In 1901, there were anxious preparations as the confirmation of the arrival of the king was awaited by the Amministrazione di Capodimonte: a letter stated «si onora di osservare che a suo tempo prenderà gli ordini di S. M. il Re [...] per una gita di caccia a Licola»⁴⁴. Dogs and whippers-in were dispatched from Rome: «domattina, lunedì alle 5,47 giungeranno a S. Maria [Capua Vetere] 12 cani e 3 braccieri. [...] bisogna mandare alla stazione i mezzi di trasporto per andare a Carditello [...]. Ho creduto conveniente farli venire un poco più tardi, perché passiamo nel mese di luglio»⁴⁵. Then the hunting trip was delayed due to a malaria fever scare.

A castello i cani sono a tua disposizione – the Gran Cacciatore wrote to the al Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte – ed il 30 arriverà il rimanente. Come ti ho detto tante volte procura di dare l'ordine per tempo. Se le condizioni sanitarie lo permetteranno sarà vantaggioso per te [...] avere un giorno o due prima i nostri braccieri a Licola che sono assai più capaci del tuo personale di quel distretto e che andrebbero reinterrogati sia per la chiusura che per collocamento delle poste [...] Per quanto riguarda i conigli bianchi io temo che le sorche si mangeranno i piccoli⁴⁶.

That same year, there was a certain amount of apprehension behind the involvement of the king and the court in horseback hunting, as there had been reports in the area of cases of bubonic plague that also caused a few victims⁴⁷. It was later decided, once the infection was isolated, to proceed with the first hunt at the Capodimonte Site: «Sta bene per quanto hai stabilito circa la caccia da farsi con le tele. Se aumenteranno un poco le anatre nel Pantano i sovrani potrebbero passare qualche ora uccidendo delle anatre e ciò per impiegare un'altra giornata. Un'altra ancora potrebbe essere dedicata alla caccia dei daini e dei cervi»⁴⁸.

Yet Umberto I proved to be a sombre and solitary figure during the hunts. A large gathering of the court would spoil the fun for him. For this reason, on many hunts he preferred not to stop at Capodimonte, but to travel to Pozzuoli directly by car to hunt. The Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte reports:

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, *Per una probabile gita di caccia del Re*, Capodimonte, 17 ottobre 1901.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, *Il Gran Cacciatore al Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte*, Roma, 27 novembre 1901.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, *Il Gran Cacciatore al Direttore di Capodimonte*, Roma, 23 ottobre 1901.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Capodimonte, 28 settembre 1901: «Dopo la comparsa della peste bubbonica io credo non possibile il soggiorno dei Sovrani».

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Sono sufficienti 12 cani buoni pel cignale a Pozzuoli non possono stare perché ci farebbe troppa pubblicità. Essi debbono venire a Carditello ove vi è posto per cani ed uomini, nella intelligenza che tutti debbono sospettare si potrà fare una cacciata a volpi e lepri. La mattina della cacciata li farai venire a Licola a Carditello fin da ora non vi è più malaria⁴⁹.

Details were discussed concerning guns and other requirements for the hunt:

Suppongo che il Re vorrà fare una caccia a cignali e daini a Licola – the Gran Cacciatore writes to the Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte – e siccome tu avrai bisogno dei nostri cani di cacciarella così ti prego di dirmi sin d’ora se 12 ti bastano, nella intelligenza che manderei i migliori da cignali.

Tu sai che l’equipaggio da cacciarella sta in montagna e non viene a Roma che nei primi giorni di dicembre; bisognerà quindi che si rivolga preghiera al Sovrano perché si dica almeno 8 giorni prima quando vorrà andare a caccia onde si possa far venire costà i cani e ne manderei visione i braccieri. Per i cani dovrai recarti alla stazione con i mezzi di trasporto per farli partire immediatamente per Pozzuoli insieme agli uomini, in quanto sia gli uomini che i cani non debbano andare a Licola se non il giorno della caccia e ciò per evitare che questi ultimi prendano le febbri⁵⁰.

Other considerations followed in a second letter between the two officers:

Per potere, nel caso di una possibile partita di caccia di S. M. il Re, a Licola, provvedere alla spedizione di qui di una dozzina di cani da cacciarella e di due o tre braccieri è necessario che la S. V. prenda per tempo gli ordini di S. M. il Re onde i cani ed il personale possano giungere a destinazione per lo meno un giorno prima non potendosi farli cacciare con profitto se non si sono riposati dal viaggio [...] sia i cani che il personale non possono partire da Roma che col treno delle ore 0,5 che giunge a Napoli alle ore 7 del mattino essendo il solo del pomeriggio⁵¹.

The king changed his mind once again, deciding to spend a few days at Capodimonte, where he met the Neapolitan nobility for the purpose of attending a hunt at Licola. It is intriguing how he chose to spend New Year’s Eve at the Royal Palace of Capodimonte – to clarify any discontinuity with the Bourbon period – totally bypassing that of Caserta.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, *Oggetto: Circa una probabile gita di caccia di S. M. il re a Licola*, Roma, 16 ottobre 1901.

Caro Santo,

pare che i Sovrani saranno a Capodimonte giovedì mattina. Sabato prossimo arriveranno da S. Porziano una parte dei cani. Stando così le cose non è più il caso di parlarne ora a S. Maestà il Re giacché con un dispaccio spedito all'ufficio alla mattina si possono far partire i cani, [pertanto bisogna] mandare i mezzi a S. M. Capua Vetere.

Come ti dissi ho disposto che sabato prossimo siano a Roma (Castello) [...] una parte dell'equipaggio da cacciarella e quando per una farò venire anche il rimanente non essendo comodo per causa dei trasporti di fare qui arrivare tutto in una volta⁵².

Vittorio Emanuele III required the Ufficio del Gran Cacciatore to provide a detailed estimate of the game present in Royal Sites:

S. M. il Re crede di poter uccidere diverse centinaia di quadrupedi. Ti sarò grato se mi dirai quanti animali credi di poter riunire a chiudere⁵³.

[...]

Ho inteso per le anatre del Pantano sono poche ed io ritengo che non convenga i cacciare al nuovo giorno: ma in ciò deciderà il padrone. Non si deve far quietanzare la nota perché la medesima non è che una proposta dal Gran Cacciatore.

I braccieri ebbero allora la gratificazione a Castello. Quindi non debbono avere compensi, mentre devono pagarsi i guardiani, cacciatori che farai venire dagli altri Distretti. Abbia o non abbia luogo la colazione sul Sito la tonda deve esser fatta con la tavola e le sedie necessarie, tavola e sedie qualunque siano, senza domandar niente a nessuno.

Il Sovrano partirà la sera del 26 e la caccia avrà luogo martedì mattina 27 nel modo come è stato stabilito. Domenica sera partiranno 20 cani e 3 braccieri ed arriveranno a S. Antimo alle ore 7 di lunedì mattina. Fai trovare alla stazione suddetta i mezzi di trasportare il personale ed i cani ed una guardia per accompagnarli [...]. Se mi occorrerà la mattina accompagnato da pecoraro come ho già detto da venire per il porta fucile del Re⁵⁴.

The date of the arrival of the king was finally fixed between the end of 1904 and the first days of the following year:

⁵² *Ibid.*, Roma, 21 dicembre 1904.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Roma, 24 dicembre 1904.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Roma, 23 dicembre 1904.

Caro Santo,

pare proprio che fra Natale ed il 1 dell'anno S. M. il Re si recherà a Licola colla massima riservatezza ti dirò qual è il progetto. Andare colla ferrovia ad Aversa e cogli automobili a Licola. Alla mattina caccia al Pantano dopo mezzogiorno cacciarella. La cacciarella con vetture o colle automobili recante a Baia per pernottare [...] Al mattino successivo e sino a mezzogiorno nuova caccia nel Pantano e poi, partenza per Roma.

Per andare a Baja è meglio la strada interna sino al Fusaro ovvero quella che si fece per compiacere Re Umberto.

Bisogna mandare alla stazione di Aversa per evitare Napoli altrimenti se ne parlerà [...] e che il Sovrano non vuole che si sappia [...] Col Conte e con i pochi signori si stimava di andare nel Lago per occupanti nella mattinata [...] Quante ore impiegheranno i cani per arrivare da Aversa a Licola? Quanti chilometri sono?⁵⁵

In a second private letter, the Gran Cacciatore expressed to his employees the desires of the king regarding the days in which the hunting retreat would take place, and where the court and certain foreign princes would join the royal parade; it also added a list of the amount of game to be hunted, which was to serve as New Year presents destined to the Neapolitan nobility.

Caro Santo,

sempre riservatamente – the Gran Cacciatore writes to the Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte – ti partecipo che per il 26 ed il 31 il Sovrano potrebbe fare una gita a Licola cacciando nelle ore antimeridiane le anatre del Pantano e nelle ore prima i cinghiali e i daini.

Io ti avviserò per tempo e tu dovresti chiudere gli animali maggiori, 2 o 3 giorni prima della caccia, bastando di farli sorvegliare durante le notti. Io ho fatto chiudere la caccia a Castelporziano; la caccia dei principi esteri ebbe luogo il giorno 6. Non so dove il Sovrano potrà scendere di persona per prendere le vetture senza toccare Napoli e Pozzuoli. Bisognerà che tu ti procuri la nota per i regali che suol fare S. M. di cignali e daini⁵⁶.

Generally, end-of-year hunting retreats were introduced, as specified, in a strict ritual that required a reception at Capodimonte, sponsored by the sovereigns, of the Southern nobility. The presence of the king at Capodimonte also became important for the concessionary gratifications the

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Roma, 17 dicembre 1904.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Roma, 16 dicembre 1904.

king bestowed, in different proportions, to the staff of the Capodimonte District⁵⁷. Gratifications that, during the reign of Umberto I, rose to such a point – alongside the employment of managerial staff and guards for the various parks of the Royal Sites – that the new King Vittorio Emanuele III was forced to cut down the costs.

Caro Santo,

resta inteso che i bracchieri seconderanno alla stazione di S. Antimo, se tu non cambierai ancora. Bisogna che tu prepari uno stato per le solite gratificazioni che suol concedere il Sovrano quando [si recherà nella] riserva di caccia. Qui unito troverai il modulo e l'indicazione delle somme da proporsi a ciascuna categoria.

Ricordati che devi far ritornare a Roma al più presto possibile i bracchieri ed i cani, avendone bisogno per Castelporziano⁵⁸.

Due to Vittorio Emanuele III, the hunting appointments of the court increased in Royal Sites: a stretch of time that extended from the end of the year to the beginning of autumn. Obviously, the hunting ritual happened in two separate parts: the great hunt that took place around the end of the year, and which saw the granting of gifts to nobility and to the staff of the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte; and the reunion of the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo.

In 1905, already by the end of October, there were various exchanges of correspondence between the Gran Cacciatore and the Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte regarding the next hunting retreat of the king:

Caro Santo,

Se per caso S. M. il Re onorasse di sue presenze il Parco di Capodimonte, vedi di fargli uccidere i maschi di gazzella⁵⁹.

Caro Santo,

quando il nostro augusto Sovrano potrà disporre di un poco di tempo si recherà a Licola per fare una grande ammazzata di quadrupedi [...] Credo che il re farebbe una sola cacciata e che pochi sarebbero gli invitati⁶⁰.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, *Compensi in denaro: 200 lire il Gran Cacciatore e 150 lire i capiposti di Licola e Carditello. Gratificazione di fine anno per i capoposti di lire 150*, Roma, 20 dicembre 1909.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Roma, 20 dicembre 1904.

⁵⁹ ADC, vol. 1\1, Tenuta Astroni-Licola, *Corrispondenza*, Roma, 27 ottobre 1905.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Tenuta Astroni-Licola, *Corrispondenza*, Roma, 29 ottobre 1905.

In February 1907, the Gran Cacciatore informed the Amministrazione of Capodimonte of the satisfaction of the king after the hunt:

Caro Santo, La caccia è andata bene.

È sempre bene essere preparati. Il Sovrano volendo potrebbe fare una gran caccia ai quadrupedi a un'altra ad anatre col Pantano e dovrebbe con la sua nave sbarcare a Torre e come si è fatto col povero Re, con le vetture entrare in tenuta⁶¹.

Such appointments took place in the final months of the same year. Another exchange of correspondence directed to the Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte expressed the will of the king to organise a hunt:

Illustrissimo sign. Comandante,

ormai le beccacce sono stazionarie e quanti più giorni passano il numero di esse si assottiglia per che uccidono seralmente ed a mattina fuori tenuta [...] perciò bisogna decidersi presto se si vuole fare una caccia [...] conveniente farla la sera alle ore 18,00⁶².

Caro Santo, ho scritto a Lubrano di telegrafare testé i giorni il numero delle beccacce che possono servire [...] si domanda il numero delle beccacce che si possono uccidere [il] dispaccio a S. Maria deve arrivare a Roma entro le 10 o 10 e trenta [...] ordini da eseguirsi scrupolosamente⁶³.

The Gran Cacciatore announced the result of the main hunt of that year (the second and third day of December) that, notwithstanding the occurrence of bad weather, fully satisfied the king:

Illustrissimo Signor Comandante,

Il tempo ingrato non ci ha fatto raggiungere il numero previsto perché dalle 11,30 è principato a piovere [...].

Non abbiamo nemmeno potuto sventrare le lepri uccise dopo mezzogiorno e le beccacce le abbiamo dovuto mettere nella cesta, in campagna mentre l'acqua cadeva a calcinelle.

Io sono partito subito e non so se Lubrano le servirà stasera le dico io ora che abbiamo ucciso: beccacce 43, lepri 7, volpi 4, gradisca 30 [...].

⁶¹ ADC, vol. C 38, *Pratiche*, Roma, dicembre 1907.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Carditello, 22 novembre 1907.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

Del numero stabile n. 50 beccacce a Carditello è proprio come Ella ha intuito, e cioè che qualunque mancanza [di cacciagione] è stata rimpiazzata dalle altre che passano ancora⁶⁴.

The following day the hunt resumed in the Carditello Reserve, with a more positive result:

S. M. giunge a Carditello accompagnato dal Gran Cacciatore dal Generale Busati e dal Tenente Colonnello De Kagma alle ore 7 e cacciò nelle macchie del Bosco di Cavuta, Pagliarella, Bosco Grande e Parco degli Accisi fino alle ore 10 e mezza, uccidendo n. 20 beccacce, 2 volpi ed 1 lepre, quindi si fece colazione alla Regal Cascina.

Dalle 11,30 alle ore 15 si cacciò nelle altre macchie denominate S. Martino, Casa Cardita, e Pertusa. Qui furono messi circa mille metri di telelle per circoscrivere un certo numero di volpi ma non se ne uccise che due per la grande erba e forte macchia di bassa fatta.

In queste altre macchie si numera oltre 23 beccacce 6 lepri e 2 volpi e se ne sarebbero uccise almeno una altra decina di beccacce, se non avesse guastata la caccia l'acqua prima ad intervalli e poi continua dalle 11,30 alle ore 15,00, ora in cui S. M. il Re partì alla volta di Capua in automobile come era giunto la mattina⁶⁵.

The main boar hunting session had to be delayed to a later date:

Caro Santo,

L'uccisione dei cinghiali di Licola, rimandata in previsione di una eventuale gita di caccia di S. M. il re in detto Distretto, non può certamente essere protratta indefinitivamente, poiché vi sarà un limite oltre il quale l'impresario non potrà più esitare detti animali.

Dovendosi quindi a tempo opportuno far conoscere a S. M. il Re che è giunto il momento di effettuare la caccia di Licola o di permettere l'uccisione di detti animali per poterne effettuare la vendita, attendo di conoscere da te fino a quale ultimo giorno si può andare prima di dover dare principio all'uccisione dei cinghiali per poter vendere all'impresario la quantità da diminuire⁶⁶.

Hunts were also intended to provide the game necessary for the periodic receptions and banquets that took place at the Court of Rome, especially between the end of the year and the beginning of the next one.

⁶⁴ ADC, vol. C 38, *Pratiche*, 2 dicembre 1907.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, *Relazione sulla caccia a beccacce fatta da S. M. il Re il giorno 2 dicembre 1907 a Carditello*.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, *Pratiche*, Capodimonte, 1907.

Caro Santo,

se ti ho demandati i cinghiali pel mattino del 22 gennaio era perché ne avevo bisogno per tal giorno perché chiesti dalle Reali cucine onde essere preparato pel primo prossimo ballo a Corte.

Sono cinque i cibi che tu hai a Licola e per uccidere il numero dei cinghiali che mi occorrono non è necessario guastarli tutti, né chiederne il più buono. Parmi quindi che senza nulla compromettere potrai mandarmi i cinghiali desiderati⁶⁷.

In 1908, a census of the game present in the various Royal Sites took place, and the king approved a plan that could bring about its restocking.

Essendo stata approvata la diminuzione di selvaggina in codesto Distretto, della quale era oggetto il foglio in margine distinto, il sottoscritto autorizza la SV a vendere n. 300 fagiani comuni, ai prezzi consueti.

I rimanenti 1060 fagiani comuni dovranno essere inviati a quest'ufficio stesso due volte per settimana e cioè il mercoledì ed il sabato, in modo che arrivino a Roma il mattino del giovedì e domenica colla quantità di 20 per ogni spedizione, con quel numero di lepri che ella crederà in modo che la [riduzione] di queste ultime sia terminata per la fine del prossimo mese di gennaio [...] anche quest'anno le seguenti spedizioni non occorre che siano segnalate telegraficamente a quest'ufficio, basterà inviare il telegramma⁶⁸.

The excess game was especially intended for furnishing banquets in the capital of the Kingdom of Italy: «Con la presente il sottoscritto invita la S. V. a voler disporre per l'uccisione e spedizione di fagiani a questo ufficio nei giorni e nella rispettiva quantità: giorno 19 n. 50, giorno 21 n. 50, giorno 23 n. 50. In modo che arrivino a Roma il mattino dei rispettivi giorni successivi»⁶⁹.

In the following years, always at the end of the year, the hunting ritual continued. During those years the Ministero di Casa Reale was interested in draining Licola Lake, and the king demanded detailed news from the employees of the various Royal Sites.

Compio il gradito dovere di comunicare alla V. S. – the local agent at Licola wrote – che S. M. il Re alle ore 7 di stamane è arrivato a Licola per una partita di caccia al Pantano, che fu abbastanza fortunata. Dall'imbarcatoio alla Real Casina ho avuto l'altissimo timore di trovarmi al

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ ADC, vol. C 39 bis, Capodimonte, Roma, 24 novembre 1908.

⁶⁹ ADC, vol. C 34 bis, Roma, 14 dicembre 1908.

piano di S. Maestà che si è degnato di chiedermi diverse cose di Tenuta e particolarmente dell'andamento dei lavori della colmata del lago.

Fortunatamente sono stato in grado di rispondere esaurientemente e mi sono permesso di dare particolare rilievo [in merito alla] formazione dei collettori principali da parte dell'impresa. Nella zona che si va colmando a spiegazione dello specchio d'acqua che ancora si osserva sulla superficie colmata.

Alle 10 precise S. Maestà è salito in automobile ed ha lasciato la tenuta di Licola ossequiato dal personale d'Agenzia e delle Reali Cacce⁷⁰.

Since 1896, the sovereigns, the hereditary princes, and an element of the Roman Court, other than the usual hunts – with Vittorio Emanuele III there were an average of at least five hunts a year – also took part in the annual appointments of fox hunting organised by the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo in the Astroni Reserve. This is what is gathered, for example, from the chronicles of those that occurred in 1906 and 1907, which caused some damage to the tenants of the parks of the Royal Sites.

Santo Giuseppe, Comandante delle reali Cacce di Capodimonte e Cesare Savi agente [director] delle tenute di Capodimonte, Licola ed Astroni, ci siamo riuniti a Licola e di qui ci siamo recati nei parchi erbiferi affittati al sign. Domenico Castaldo in quelli affittati al cav. Palumbo Pasquale dai Sigg. Cianciulli e D'Antona [vi sono stati notevoli] danni arrecati ai terreni durante la caccia alla volpe datavi dal novembre 1906 al maggio 1907 da S. A. R. Duca d'Aosta.

Allo stato in cui si trovano oggi i parchi, data la lunga siccità non abbiamo potuto raccogliere dati precisi per ben stabilire il danno che i cavalli possono aver fatto in qualsiasi tratto del prato, quando questi erano in vegetazione, mentre ora la cotica è bruciata e d'altra parte se vi fu calpestio, tracce di esso sono scomparse sia per lo sviluppo delle graminacee che per le piogge che hanno in parte eguagliato il suolo.

Abbiamo dovuto perciò procedere per induzioni [per i terreni in affitto dalla Real Casa di Licola, del Parco Salicelli e del Varcaturiello, da Patria all'Arenata] calcolando il transito continuato dei cavalli nella durata da novembre a maggio e cioè quando vi è stata qualche vegetazione o prodotto⁷¹.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, *Oggetto: S. Maestà il Re a caccia di Licola. Al Sign. Agente in Capodimonte. Firmato. Il Vice Agente, Balzanetti, Pozzuoli, 25 novembre 1910.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, *Tenuta di Capodimonte. Cacce: allevamento di faggiani, cacce, 4 agosto 1907.*

In the following years, these appointments became the main routine meeting of the Neapolitan nobility and members of the Court of Rome; especially on those occasions when the mechanism of noble socialisation and of integration between the Savoy Court and the families of the former Neapolitan nobility were set in motion.

Oggi hanno avuto luogo le cacce a cavallo in Astroni con l'intervento di S. A. Reale il duca di Oporto.

Verso Mezzogiorno, avendo osservato che Sua Altezza Reale si era avviato verso la R. Casina con tutte le Signore e Signori convenuti al Meet e sapendo che altra volta quando S. M. fu in tenuta con S. Maestà la Regina Maria Pia, avendo domandato di detta Casina, mi sono fatto un dovere di aprire la porta d'ingresso alla medesima e le finestre con primo piano.

Il Duca Dusmet avendo da me inteso che potesse essere rilasciata, invitò tutta la comitiva a salire in primo piano nobile e sulla terrazza ove si trattennero una decina di minuti⁷².

These appointments turned into events in written reports: the winners of obstacle course tournaments; the prizes awarded; the families that intervened, and accidents such as falling from a horse. In 1902, Count Giuseppe Galanti, as narrated by a detailed journalistic account, fell from his horse: he was unharmed but the animal died on the spot. In April 1905, it was Marquis del Balzo who almost died after a bad fall⁷³.

The seven municipalities of the Riserva Reale di Caccia d'Abruzzo were used to hunt bears, ibexes and roe deer. Some rights were established by the monarchy and the court on the hunting of those two species of game. The royal guards, on the one hand, had to keep the local hunters who operated as poachers under control; on the other, Roman hunters who regularly went to the municipalities adjacent to the reserves to hunt this exclusive game. In 1913, the guards of the hunting reserve reported to the Arm of Carabineers the presence of a group of hunters from Rome. Checks were very scrupulous:

⁷² ADC, vol. B 42, *Oggetto: cacce a cavallo in Astroni*, Pozzuoli, 21 marzo 1911.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Astroni, 23 gennaio 1904: «Gentilissimo comandante, il giorno in cui abbiamo le riunioni di caccia nella Reale Tenuta degli Astroni fosse proibito ai carri il trasporto di legna nel mattino [...] I carri lasciano solchi nella strada principale che il marchese del Balzo nel salto della siepe fece col cavallo a causa di tale solco una così particolare caduta che fu poco non fece temere della sua vita».

Una dozzina di cacciatori tentarono una battuta sul monte Amaro di Opi proprio allo scopo di individuare i camosci [...], forniti di documenti per ciò che loro occorreva per una buona scampagnata.

[Gli agenti] fecero appostare due bravi carabinieri ove la comitiva non poteva fare a meno di passare e verificare le licenze a tutti gli armati anche personalmente conosciuti [...]. Alcuni rimasero non soltanto sorpresi ma anche alquanto corrucciati per la scarsa fiducia che i militi dimostrarono di avere di essi⁷⁴.

The attitude of the guardians of the royal reserves changed radically when members of the Roman Court arrived, particularly towards those who had been explicitly mentioned by the royal family to the Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte. Freedom to hunt was not frequently allowed, but some guards accompanied parties in the woods of Abruzzo. Correspondence informs us that many squads of Roman aristocrats went to the reserve and were served and treated with great respect. On the 24 November 1913, «[il] Principe Altieri, il marchese Palmieri, ed altri» came to hunt at the reserves of the park⁷⁵. In the same year in October, Count Campanello arrived, a gentleman of the court of the queen, who was recommended to the Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte directly by the sovereigns.

Ho piacere che il sign. Conte Campello sia rimasto contento della gita fatta e che ha visto l'orso ma oramai alla posta non vi si deve pensare più fino all'epoca del granturco cioè ai primi di settembre 1914.

Ora oltre alle fragole e moroni che vi sono ancora sulla montagna principia anche le faggiola e la belladonna. Dicono che vi sono 120 orsi! Sarei stato fresco se avessi fatto conto delle fandonie. Ve ne sono in tutta la ex riserva non più di 10⁷⁶.

In those cases, the hunt was meticulously organised by the Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte, who gave specific dispositions to the employees of the Abruzzo Reserve.

Carissimo Pasquale,

Ora debbo informarti con la massima segretezza che il Sign. Conte Ciampella, gentiluomo di Corte, vuole recarsi costì alla fine di questo mese per uccidere un orso alla posta e avendo fatto domandare a me a chi si doveva rivolgere per essere accompagnato l'ho indirizzato a te e tu potrai

⁷⁴ ADC, *Reali Cacce d'Abruzzo*, vol. 2, Pescasseroli, 6 febbraio 1913.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Villavallelonga, 10 dicembre 1913.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 15 ottobre 1913.

farlo dormire, se credi nella stanzetta che metterai a mia disposizione facendolo cucinare alla maestra Coccia [...] tu e Capacchione dovete accompagnarlo ad ogni gita [...] fate buona figura [...] per il buon nome di Villavallelonga che io amo sempre per la deferenza che codesta popolazione mi ha tributato in 12 anni che son venuto costì⁷⁷.

Hunts were given ample coverage in written accounts. In 1907, concerning Vittorio Emanuele III's visit to the Abruzzo Reserve, to commemorate the location where the royal car had stopped, the municipality of Villavallelonga placed a commemorative plaque, on which the king, as father of the homeland, was compared to Aeneas.

Villavallelonga a Vittorio Emanuele III Re d'Italia.

La cerimonia di oggi o cittadini, non è una vuota e vana mentalità ma un vero esame di coscienza, un avvenimento della più grande importanza destinato ad imprimere ed esternare la data memorabile, del giorno in cui il nostro Re venne per la prima volta in Villavallelonga alla emozionante caccia agli orsi in queste nostre montagne, fermando il suo magnifico automobile, precisamente in questa località, ove la cittadinanza grata e mentore, pone in questo momento in segno della sua fede all'Augusto Sovrano, questo tenue ma affettuoso ricordo marmoreo [...].

Il valore di sì spontaneo tripudio e del quale si alimenta la religione della patria redenta è tutt'altro che effimero: esso sta tutto nell'efficacia eminentemente miglioratrice della nostra attività patriottica: mentre in Vittorio Emanuele III esempio vivente delle più forti e miti virtù e nel quale l'uomo e Re si fondano ad onore e vanto di tutta l'umanità, rifluiscono per la misteriosa virtù della discendenza le forze più vive della razza, simboleggiate alle origini del più e famoso Enea⁷⁸.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Capodimonte, 24 settembre 1913. The employee of the Abruzzo Hunting Reserve punctually informed the Capodimonte director about the result of the hunt: «Ieri 12 del mese corrente riparti il sign. Conte Campello. Egli è un vero galantuomo affabile e cortese con tutti gentile nei modi e il paese intero lo aveva cominciato a simpatizzare. Però, tanto Capacchione che io siamo rimasti dispiaciuti che egli non abbia potuto uccidere l'orso quantunque uno vero l'abbia che da lontano nella difesa comunale. Antecedentemente ebbe a sentire il rumore di detto animale vicino a un pero da noi trovato per fare la posta e non poté ucciderlo perché l'animale a causa del forte vento dove sentire l'odore dell'umore vi ritornò. Provammo a renderlo alle Selve Piane e all'uopo ci servimmo delle pecore del sindaco ma nulla si fece. Quindi l'unico espediente sarebbe quello di fare una battuta ed il sign. Conte avrebbe promesso di tornare a questo scopo per i principi di novembre. Il giorno 9 il marchese Palmieri fece pure un saggio colle pecore al vallone Forte ed uno dei suoi cacciatori uccise un orsatto di circa due anni». *Ibid.*, vol. 2, Villavallelonga, 13 ottobre 1913.

⁷⁸ ADC, *Reali Cacce d'Abruzzo*, vol. 1, 1907, Abruzzi.

Local newspapers commented on how the new king had honoured Abruzzo municipalities with his visit. Only previously, Vittorio Emanuele II had organised a great hunt of the bear «della nostra Marsica, ma che vi fosse stato distolto da una lettera minatoria portata da alcuni ribelli di questi paesi»⁷⁹.

It was for the most part Vittorio Emanuele III who utilised the Southern hunting reserves to bring forth his policy of patronage, also in a context that differed from that of the nobles.

Boar originating from the Licola Reserve were donated to Abruzzo and Molise hunting associations. In many areas of the Mezzogiorno, boar had almost been hunted to extinction, and that was why these hunting associations were trying to repopulate the State woods of the Apennine Ridges.

Illustrissimo signor Presidente dei cacciatori di Campobasso,

Essendo stati concessi a codesta onorevole associazione 4 cinghiali vivi tre femmine ed un maschio per ripopolare cotesto bosco comunale [...]»⁸⁰.

[...] Vigendosi raccomandata da A.A.R.R. il Principe di Napoli una istanza con la quale l'associazione dei Cacciatori in Campobasso chiedono in dono quattro cinghiali vivi tre femmine ed un maschio dell'età dagli 8 ai 12 mesi per ripopolare quei boschi comunali [...]»⁸¹.

The boar of Licola and the miraculous hunts of the Savoy quickly became famous. They triggered the curiosity of the American Consul in Rome. This is why, in 1909, Vittorio Emanuele III gave the consul some specimens of boar that were then shipped to the United States to populate hunting reserves. Correspondence shows how boar were captured in Fusaro Reserve and left from the port of Naples to reach New York in 14 days.

S. M. il Re ha regalato 6 cinghialetti (4 femmine e 2 maschi) a S. E. l'Ambasciatore d'America L. C. Griscom e l'uffico del Gran Cacciatore ordina al Sottoscritto di effettuare la spedizione sul Duca degli Abruzzi che salpò dal porto di Napoli diretto a New York alle ore 18 del giorno 28 del corrente.

E siccome la Direzione della Navigazione Generale italiana ha offerto il nolo delle due grandi gabbie contenenti i sei cinghiali gratis, con le

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, *Articolo di giornale. Gli orsi di Vittorio Emanuele III*, Roma, 30 settembre 1908.

⁸⁰ ADC, Vol. B, 28, Roma, 21 aprile 1900.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, *Istanza già accolta da S. M. il Re. Risposta e ringraziamenti del presidente A. Lepore del 6 maggio 1900.*

raccomandazioni più vive all'equipaggio della detta nave durante la traversata ne informava il suddetto ufficio, il quale ieri m'informava di pregare la S. V. Illustrissima nel caso volesse scrivere una parola di ringraziamento alla suddetta Navigazione per il molo offerto gratis e le disposizioni date a mezzo del Capo dell'ufficio della sede di Napoli⁸².

Surrounding the hunting ritual, an intricate network of Royal patronage blossomed, in which firstly, and mainly, the Ufficio del Gran Cacciatore of Rome and the Management of the District of Capodimonte were involved; the latter being directly in touch with the king and the environments of the court. Giuseppe Santo, the Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte, was at the centre of a large network of patronage. In some cases, these were networks that originated from members of staff operating in Abruzzo or Campania reserves. This was the case for his subordinate, but also trusted friend, Pasquale di Villavallelonga, who contracted «una grave malattia nell'anno 1896 nella Guerra d'Africa», and how he tried to «ottenere una pensione presso il governo», a request that Santo had someone follow up in Rome, but which took a very long time.

Caro Pasquale,

Il giorno 15 corrente ti feci l'invio di un pacco del solito baccalà francese della migliore qualità [...] Il pacco postale è fatto con 4 scelte di baccalà delle quali ti prego darne due alla buona Maria Nicola con tanti affettuosi saluti ed auguri pel Natale. Sarei perciò d'avviso di procurare di farti raccomandare da un deputato, il quale si potrebbe imporre per avere almeno una risposta⁸³.

Other than sending out an application for a pension, another road was taken, such as that of being awarded a tobacconist's shop in Villavallelonga.

Egregio d. Peppino, due giorni fa moriva [il titolare della] rivendita di Sali e tabacchi, Bianchi Giovanna [per cui] la rivendita dovrà riappostarsi [...].

Ho pensato di fare istanza al sign. Intendente di Finanza dell'Aquila perché voglia compiacersi di conferirla a me quale ex militare della classe 1874 che presi parte alla guerra d'Africa del 1895-96⁸⁴.

The Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte was directly involved in both procedures.

Carissimo Pasquale,

⁸² ADC, vol. C 40 bis, Capodimonte, 30 luglio 1909.

⁸³ ADC, *Reali Cacce d'Abruzzo*, vol. 2.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Villavallelonga, 14 luglio 1913.

Io non ho avuta nessuna risposta alla raccomandazione da me fatta, alla tua domanda, al Ministero di Guerra ma se hanno domandato al sindaco le notizie indicate significa che vorranno fare qualche cosa ed io appena potrò, mi recherò al Comando del Deposito Centrale per le truppe coloniali per avere qualche notizia e se sarà possibile, raccomandarti anche.

Nemmeno alla raccomandazione fatta il 27 luglio per la rivendita di costi [sali e tabacchi] all'Intendente dell'Aquila, ha avuto risposta⁸⁵.

Patronage circuits were also exercised beyond the staff of the Royal Sites and extended to various administrations, or they were used to signal candidates for simple jobs, for instance at the Armstrong factory of Pozzuoli:

Gentilissimo cavaliere, vi sarò grato se vorreste avvisare il vostro raccomandato Neri perché si presentasse qui nello Stabilimento per il mattino di lunedì 10 corrente per passare la visita medica e conseguentemente sottoporsi all'esame d'arte essendo stato chiamato a seguito della sua domanda.

Nello stesso tempo vi trasmetto i ringraziamenti miei e di mio cognato capitano per il cane che mi avete procurato [...] Mi auguro che i vostri due raccomandati di ieri trovino la occupazione negli stabilimenti da me raccomandati⁸⁶.

Often differences of opinion arose regarding the management of patronage between the Gran Cacciatore of Rome and the Direttore dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte:

Caro Santo,

Il Larite mi incarica di scriverti che devi ignorare sempre tutti i particolari contenuti nella mia lettera di ieri. Dice il medesimo che i desideri del Sovrano devono essere conosciuti soltanto da lui Conte, da te e da me. Giudizio di carità perché ne va di mezzo la tua e la mia reputazione.

Tranquillizzami con un rigo di risposta alla presente. Ho paura che tu vada troppo spesso a Licola e sia perciò, sia per i tuoi prolungati soggiorni colà, si potrebbe giustamente sospettarne la causa⁸⁷.

[...]

Caro Lubrano, sono le ore 20 e d. Paolo non è venuto, disperiamo che venga domattina perché il Sign. Direttore mi ha fatto molte premesse. Intanto tu me lo mandi qui senza avvisarmi magari telegraficamente? E quando ormai

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Villavallelonga, 14 maggio 1913.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Collelongo [corrispondenza dallo Stabilimento Armstrong di Pozzuoli], 3 marzo 1913.

⁸⁷ ADC, vol. C 39 bis, *Riservatissimo, Firmato, Scalea*, Roma, 18 dicembre 1904.

servirti del telegrafo? Telegrafami appena ricevi la presente se riesci o no a mandarmi il tuo indirizzo di Venafro. Bada di non trapelare a nessuno quando stiamo trattando!⁸⁸

The network of royal patronage was not always delegated to the administrative staff of the Royal Sites. In many cases it originated directly from the environments of the court, especially regarding hunts to be assigned and gifts of game from the Royal Sites. Santo often declined many requests of the Gran Cacciatore. For instance, when organising a banquet for the Court of Rome, he wrote: «Posso mandare anche più di 8 cinghiali pel 22 corrente ma dopo non mi posso compromettere per la diminuzione ordinata. Invece s'ella attende fino a quando farò la prima chiusura potrà mandargliene quanti ne vuole»⁸⁹.

Regarding these gifts, which were genuine commodities, not only the former Neapolitan nobility was involved, but also a new social industry was formed around the patronage practised on Royal Sites. At the end of the year, a long list illustrated all the people who were to receive gifts. Those lists included a most diverse range of individuals: families of the Neapolitan nobility, staff of the Royal Sites, and other exponents of the Neapolitan elite. In 1904, the Direttore dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte asked the Gran Cacciatore of the Ministero della Casa Reale to provide an explanation, as the list of gifts to be sent at the end of the year was growing longer than ever before. In 1909, differences of opinion emerged once more between the Gran Cacciatore and the Direttore del Distretto di Capodimonte:

Quando nel dicembre 1907 mi domandava ciò che mi ha ora domandato circa il regalo di fagiani al Prof. Pasquale Cera ed all'Avv. Filippo Micillo, io ho risposto come appresso: «l'avv. Cav. Micillo è giudice conciliatore di Giugliano e noi ne abbiamo sempre bisogno come avvocato per Licola, la cui metà dipende dal mandamento di Giugliano.

Il prof. Pasquale Cera è direttore dell'ospedale di Malta e professore della Clinica di Gesù e Maria.

Egli fu coadiutore del defunto prof. Gallozzi che a Gesù e Maria mi fece l'operazione al naso, fece l'operazione emorroidale al Capoposto, Perito all'ospedale di Malta senza fargli pagare nemmeno la retta e tutto

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, *Riservatissimo*, Capodimonte, 21 ottobre 1908.

⁸⁹ ADC, vol. C 39, *Pratiche*, Capodimonte, 9 novembre 1907.

gratuitamente e per un periodo di 15 o 20 giorni; egli con un semplice mio biglietto visita e facilita tutto il mio personale e le sue famiglie»⁹⁰.

Yet, these patronage circuits were a small thing compared to the policy of honours that the monarchy of the Savoy fine-tuned during those years to create ties with the different elites of the Mezzogiorno.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 19 dicembre 1909.

4. The Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo and the first policies of integration of the Southern nobility

Solid attempts by the monarchy to aggregate Neapolitan nobility surrounded the hunting ritual practised by the Court of Savoy⁹¹. We will consider two especially crucial points: we will examine the members, selected by the Prince of Naples, of the Naples Paper-Hunt, then those of the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo; and the ritual of the hunt practised by the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo.

The occasion for noble integration, with regard to the first point, was offered by creating the Naples Paper-Hunt of 1896-97. This was an association that, while originally formed in England, was also founded in Turin in 1890, and to which many nobles and members of the military, as well as other exponents of regional elites subscribed to; only after 1933 would it become known as the Società Torinese di Caccia a Cavallo (The Turin Hunt)⁹². In the Mezzogiorno, this association (which after 1896 would become known as the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo) became a tool of the monarchy to experiment with the integration of families of the former Neapolitan and Sicilian nobility.

Already, before said date, as we will see, the monarchy had adopted policies of molecular integration for many families of the former Neapolitan nobility by granting various noble titles. Although at this point there was a more specific design: an interest to proceed with a more cellular kind of recruitment. This picture was defined starting from the birth of the Neaples Paper-Hunt. The documentation that testifies to the time of its creation (in 1896), and then its transformation into the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo, is considerable. Compared to the hunting grounds used by the sovereigns, the royal family and the court, who had interests in various Royal Sites, the Neapolitan association was only assigned the Astroni Site, being allowed to complete training exercises at Carditello.

The first to take the role as intermediaries with Umberto I, and especially with the Prince of Naples (who would then become Vittorio Emanuele III), were the Prince of Moliterno (elected honorary president of the association)

⁹¹ More generally on the noble policy of the Kingdom of Italy, see G. RUINI, *La politica nobiliare del Regno d'Italia 1861-1946*, in AA.VV., *Les noblesses européennes au XIX siècle*, cit., pp. 577-593.

⁹² It remained active until 1915, when reunions were interrupted by the First World War. Replaced from 1920 to 1933 with the Società Torinese dei Percorsi di Campagna a Cavallo, and later, after said date, turned into the Società Torinese per la Caccia a Cavallo. See www.torineseccacciacavallo.com.

and Duke Luigi Dusmet de Smours, who proposed a list of possible members that had to be meticulously approved by the hereditary prince. It is not a coincidence that the role of honorary president was immediately taken by the Prince of Naples.

The Società was still forming around 1895, and the first great fox hunt was organised at the Astroni Site after asking for authorisation from the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte, for the participation of all 44 founding members as well as 14 honorary members⁹³. In the meantime, there were attempts to obtain periodic access to the Astroni Site, from January to June, with training exercises occurring twice a week⁹⁴. The space and the duties assigned to the Naples Paper-Hunt began to take form. A letter from the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte, dated 1895, lists the contents of the royal permit: entry was limited from February to September (later on also the months of December and January would be included) for two days a week; the royal approval contained a number of restraints that prohibited entry on certain leased territories; opening and closing times were indicated; reunions were forbidden if they coincided with hunts of the king or the court⁹⁵.

⁹³ ADC, vol. V, *Sez. Pratiche di Casa Reale*, 30 aprile 1895. «Stimatissimo Sign. Commendatore, il principe di Moliterno, presidente della Società del *Paper-Hunt*, la prega di volerci compiacere a rilasciare altri permessi per accedere agli Astroni per i seguenti nuovi soci: Marchese d'Afflitto; Cav. Giranitti Laganà; Cav. Vincenzo Volpicelli; Conte di Montecupo; Francesco Castriota Scanderberg; Luigi Manensi; Gaetano di Peppo; Ernesto Forquet; Conte Sellier de la Tour; Martino Muber; Pasquale Mele; Marchese Alfonso Ruffo; Conte Sabino; Conte di Collesano; Principe di Forino; Principe di Frasso; Conte Carlo Marigliano; Principe di Monterodumi. Ciò nella probabilità che domani, giovedì vi fosse riunione agli Astroni, per cui oggi si raduna la Deputazione alle ore 15 in casa Moliterno. Firmato Vincenzo Deo. Poi, nella lettera, si richiedeva il biglietto d'ingresso anche per il principe di Marsiconuovo e per i 44 soci fondatori del *Paper-Hunt*».

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*: «La Direzione prende atto del permesso reale per due giorni settimanali a scelta del Paper: 1. Il permesso d'ingresso deve essere esibito al cancello; 2. l'ingresso non potrà avvenire prima delle 9,00 e l'uscita alle ore 16,00; 3. saranno escluse dalla concessione le località denominate Selvagrande e Pagliara; 4. la concessione si intende sospesa ogni qual volta persone reali avessero a tenere partite di caccia».

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 22 marzo 1911: «Illustrissimo Sign. Direttore, alle pratiche esistenti in questo ufficio d'Agenzia si rileva che la prima costituzione alla Società della Caccia in Astroni è stata fatta nel 1895 con lettera della Direzione del 15 gennaio 1895, n. 416. In detta lettera sono dettate alcune norme affinché non ne venga impedimento al servizio e cioè: 1) ogni componente l'associazione deve esser fornito di un permesso rilasciato dalla direzione da essere esibito al Guardacancello nei giorni di esercitazione; 2) l'ingresso non deve avvenire prima delle ore 9 in entrata ed in uscita non oltre le 16; 3) Sono escluse alla concessione le località della Difesa

The initial training exercises caused some friction between the members of the association and the employees of the Licola District. A few misunderstandings also happened the following year, as all the permits from the king did not arrive on time. This is why the agents resisted:

Ieri notte [...] si presentò a Carditello un ufficiale con alcuni soldati che scortavano un carro viveri.

Richiesti dal guardia cancello il permesso risposero che l'aveva l'ufficiale che sarebbe venuto dopo e così entrò il carro di seguito e venne la comitiva a cavallo ed in carrozza del Paper Hunt e chiesto il permesso alla risposta negativa il guardia cancello disse non poterli fare entrare.

Fu allora che un capitano si recò dal Sign. Trivella il quale gli disse che se erano muniti di permesso bene, in contrario nulla poter fare ma il predetto capitano assicurò di averlo chiesto ma ricevette risposta negativa.

Un signore però disse al guardia cancello Malerti che ne avrebbe informata S. M. il Principe di Napoli ed anche la stampa pel divieto avuto.

Quindi la caccia alla volpe venne effettuata fuori la tenuta di Carditello e pressi i Regi Lagni dove fu fatto condurre dal capitano il carro viveri⁹⁶.

The opposition to the administrators of the Astroni Reserve continued:

Rispondo subito alla pregiata della Signoria Vostra Illustrissima, rassegnandole che, la gradita dimora in codesta città di S. S. R. il principe di Napoli credersi rimessivamente non permettere il Paper Hunt nella Real Tenuta di Carditello laddove la prefata A. Reale potrebbe recarsi a caccia:

1) in quanto nei boschi non solo guasterebbero i preparativi di caccia di recente eseguiti saltando a cavallo fossi, argini e ponticelli; quando la selvaggina disturbata andrebbe via e quindi verrebbe a mancare il divertimento di caccia come sopra dissi e di ciò giustamente salvo non vi fosse concessione Sovrana.

2) Poiché anche esibendo l'accesso ne boschi [...] cesserebbe lo scopo della caccia alla volpe si arrecherebbe danno agli affittuari i quali ripeterebbero la rivalsa all'Amministrazione⁹⁷.

Some contrasts also arose among the complaints of many members of the Neapolitan nobility; feeling offended by the guards of the Astroni Reserve, they disregarded the imposed prohibitions:

Grande e Pagliarone; 4) Sono sospese dalla concessione [i giorni in cui] le persone reali dovessero tenere in Astroni partite di caccia».

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

oggi alle ore 11 è arrivato in questo Real Sito il Paper Hunt Napoletano. Dopo breve sosta alla Real Casina la maggior parte dei soci si sono avviati lungo la strada della Foresta ed invece di portarsi sui parchi affittati al sign. Barone, hanno invaso la sezione IV del Bosco...

Ritornati alla Casina hanno fatto rimostranza perché dal comandante di queste reali cacce venne loro vietato di mettere in libertà i cani che avevano condotto per la caccia alla volpe.

Trattenendosi nello stradone dello spiazzo ellittico prendendo capricciosa come padroni della Real Tenuta spavalidamente si sono condotti per la via della bufalina [...] approntando danni⁹⁸.

Then the Naples Paper-Hunt was officialised, and the Astroni Site (and eventually Carditello) became the places of worldly appointment of the Neapolitan nobility.

There is an interesting comparison between the publication of the first list of members of 1886-87 with that of the first founding members indicated only the previous year by the Prince of Naples.

Among honorary members, among the main officers of the Army of Naples and the Mezzogiorno there were: five generals, the highest-ranking one being Baron Michele De Renzis. Nobles also figure among the members of the Board of Directors, where the position of master was held by the Duke of Ascoli, and that of secretary by Duke Luigi Dusmet de Smours. The founding members remained the same when compared to the previous year: 43 in total. The scions of the main former noble families of the Mezzogiorno stood out: the Avalos, Ayala, del Balzo, the Capece Minutolo, Caracciolo, Carafa, Colonna, Doria, Marulli, Pignatelli, de Sangro, and the Saluzzo⁹⁹. Then there were a few more recent nobles, such as the Angeloni barons.

A few exponents of the Sicilian aristocracy also appeared: the Valguarnera, resident in Palermo (Niscemi Palace). There were 45 permanent members. In this instance, alongside a number of the old noble families – d’Afflitto, Capece Galeota, Caracciolo, Castriota Scanderberg, Gaetani, Nunziante, Pignatelli, Ruffo, and Sanfelice –, a few more recent noble families who once were bourgeois land-owners and later integrated into noble environments; there were also high government officials selected by the Prince of Naples. It is interesting to note how the number of families of the Sicilian aristocracy (resident in Palermo), within the members of the

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, *Oggetto: arrivo del Paper Hunt Napoletano in Carditello*.

⁹⁹ See the list of members of the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo, Caserta, 6 aprile 1899.

Naples Paper-Hunt, had increased in just a matter of months to include the Paternò, counts of Montecupo, the Cuccia, marquis of Ganzaria, and the de Spuches, marquis of Schisò.

Around this date (1896-97), many of those families of the former Southern nobility still lived in the old family palaces, as was observed by Benedetto Croce¹⁰⁰: the d'Avalos, in the Palazzo del Vasto in Via dei Mille; the Caravita, princes of Sirignano, in the Rione Sirignano; the Colonna di Galateo, in the Villino Colonna in the Rione Amedeo; the Doria, princes of Angri, at Palazzo d'Angri; and the Ruffo, in the Ruffo Villa in the Rione Amedeo. Other members of this elite switched to aristocratic palaces: the Cito and Schilizzi in the Bivona Palace, the de Gregorio at Palazzo Monteleone in Riviera di Chiaia, the Capece Galeota in the Cellammare Palace in Via Chiaia, the Cattaneo in the Palazzo Sirignano of Piazza Medina, the Sanfelice in the Cassano Palace. A good portion of former noble families changed residence to other Neapolitan quarters: Riviera di Chiaia, Posillipo, Corso Umberto I, Rione Amedeo, S. Domenico Maggiore, Piazza Municipio, Via Roma, Corso Vittorio Emanuele and Piazza Vittoria¹⁰¹.

A more strict control over the selection and integration aimed at the families of the Southern nobility began to be practised, starting from the new reign of Vittorio Emanuele III. While Umberto I was more sombre – he involved a limited number of members of the Neapolitan nobility in moments of royal socialisation at Naples –, the new king was more generous, and turned the Royal Palace of Capodimonte into an extension of the Court of Rome.

Hunts turned into great occasions of interaction between members of nobility and the new king. Vittorio Emanuele III, before he became king even, took part in the most important annual events organised by the Naples Paper-Hunt, together with various members of the royal family.

These new patronage circuits and new relations are also evidenced, as we have seen, from the lists of gifts the king dispatched after the hunts: portions of boar, deer, woodcock and pheasant were delegated to various members of

¹⁰⁰ I quote from the book B. CROCE, *Storie e leggende napoletane*, a cura di G. GALASSO, Milano, 1990. In particular, see the first part dedicated to the history of certain Neapolitan palaces. On this subject see also G. LABROT, *Baroni in città. Residenze e comportamenti dell'aristocrazia napoletana, 1530-1734*, Napoli, 1989; G. LABROT-R. RUOTOLO, *Pour une étude historique de la commande aristocratique dans le royaume de Naples espagnol*, in «Revue historique», CCLXIV, 1980, 535, pp. 25-48.

¹⁰¹ List of members of the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo.

the Neapolitan nobility. And other gifts (always in the form of game) were sent to the Roman Court. We have seen how patronage networks were exercised through functionaries of the Ministero di Casa Reale and especially by the Ufficio del Gran Cacciatore and the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte. Furthermore, already as Prince of Naples, Vittorio Emanuele III was present at the main reunions of the Naples Paper-Hunt. In 1906, the Naples Paper-Hunt had already transformed under the high support of the king into the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo. After 15 years, in 1911, when the list of members and the Società was renewed, the integration towards the Savoy of the former Neapolitan aristocracy was completed. The Società certainly became the instrument of integration of former nobility and of the Southern elite.

In 1911, the king, Vittorio Emanuele III, was the honorary president, while the honorary members were all the remaining 12 royal highnesses as well as 11 generals. The founding members remained very much the same (46) when compared to the initial period; new members, namely permanent ones, were 21; ordinary members, on the other hand, had gone up to 53. The total number of members was up to about 130. Three important innovations were introduced compared to the first lists approved by Umberto I and Vittorio Emanuele III. The families of high government officials started to become aggregated towards the circuits of the court; many exponents of lesser nobility appeared who were originally not included in the lists; finally, the new nobles promoted for the first time by the Savoy were integrated¹⁰².

To get to the second point, all these different individuals of the Neapolitan elite were present at the appointments of socialisation organised by the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo.

Starting from 1895, the Società was allowed to exercise in the Astroni Reserve. A permit was then renewed each year and integrated in 1904, 1907 and 1908, when the same Società was also allowed to use the structure known as «della Casina della Vaccheria»¹⁰³.

The Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo organised a full schedule of training exercises with reunions that in many cases saw the participation of members for two days a week.

Other than obstacle courses and periodic fox hunting, the other anticipated annual event was the «premio solfatarà». This was made up of

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ ADC, vol. V, *Pratiche*, 22 marzo 1911.

three trials where only senior members and those with the best horses could take part: the high jump, the long jump and a single obstacle run¹⁰⁴.

At this appointment, members of the royal family were always present to sponsor the award of prestigious trophies. For several years, the very monarchs supplied the actual trophies that went in prize to the various winners of the «premio solfataro»¹⁰⁵.

At the training sessions of the Società taking place at the Astroni Site, other than the presence of hundreds of members of the Neapolitan nobility, the presence of military units was also expected. In 1902 all of the officers of the Reggimento Cavalleggeri Lucca (Cavalry Regiment of Lucca) took part in the training¹⁰⁶.

The other important appointment, as we will recall, were the periodic fox hunts.

On 5 April 1900, many hundred light cavalymen took part in the fox hunt that ended with breakfast in the Carditello Reserve¹⁰⁷.

In 1907 the fox hunt detoured from the path assigned to the Società, causing some damage:

Lo scorso anno la società ha pagato – as the duke Dusmet remarked – le spese per i danni arrecati, la colazione [è stata consumata] nella reale casina. Informo intanto che la Società del Paper ha eseguito ieri le sue esercitazioni da Aversa a Carditello ed all'ora della colazione essendosi presentata al cancello della Tenuta [di Carditello] non vi poté accedere non essendo provvista del relativo permesso¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Real Tenuta degli Astroni-Licola, 6 aprile 1912.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Oggetto: premio reale per concorso ippico *Al duca Dusmet*, dal Ministero della R. Casa essendo giunta una cassetta contenente una pendola per ufficio che S. M. il Re si è compiaciuto di concedere come suo premio, Napoli, 26 marzo 1901.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Oggetto: proseguimento di esercitazioni di Equitazione in Astroni. Il Ministro della Real Casa partecipa a questa Direzione che d'ordine di S. M. il Re è stata data facoltà agli ufficiali del Reggimento Cavalleggeri di Lucca con sede in Napoli di continuare nella Real Tenuta di Astroni le esercitazioni di equitazione in occasione delle riunioni ormai terminate promosse dalla Società Napoletana di Cacce a Cavallo, Napoli, 3 maggio 1902.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Oggetto: Società di Paper Hunt napoletano. Il Deputato segretario della Società del Paper Hunt napoletano ha fatto conoscere a questa direzione che il giorno di mercoledì 5 aprile prossimo avrà luogo la chiusura della caccia e che si approfitterà per poter fare colazione a Carditello, Napoli, 27 maggio 1904.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Napoli, 10 dicembre 1907.

Accidents happened occasionally, for which the directors of the horseback hunting society tried to involve the staff of the Capodimonte hunting district¹⁰⁹.

Fifteen years after the establishment of the Società Napoletana per la Caccia a Cavallo, monarchic socialisation had produced its effects, and a good part of the Neapolitan nobility participated to fox hunts. In this regard, we find relevance in the chronicles of the various events held by the administrators of the Astroni Site. For instance, the 22 March 1909 report about the latest fox hunt: «Il 14 dicembre ebbe luogo la prima riunione sportiva di cacce a cavallo nella Real Tenuta degli Astroni con l'intervento di S.A. Reale la duchessa d'Aosta»¹¹⁰. These events took place faultlessly year after year. In 1911, many members of the royal family were present alongside hundreds of Neapolitan nobles.

S. A. Reale si era avviata con tutte le signore ed i signori convenuti al meet e sapendo che alla volta quando S. A. fu in tenuta con la Regina Maria Pia ossia domandando detta Casina ne sono fatto un dovere di mandare il giornaliero ad aprire la porta d'ingresso alla medesima e la finestra di 1 piano¹¹¹.

The following month, on the 17 April 1911, there were even more participants and spectators:

Sabato 15 ha avuto luogo la chiusura della stagione delle cacce a cavallo nella Real Tenuta di Astroni.

Vi intervengono S. A. Reale il Duca d'Aosta, S. A. Reale Principe di Oporto, altre duecento persone e una musica militare. Vi si sono raccordate diverse gare compresi i salti in elevazione e in ultimo vi fu distribuzione di premi. Le cacce cominciarono alle ore 15 e terminarono alle ore 18¹¹².

¹⁰⁹ ADC, vol. B. 26, *Pratiche V, Sez. Pozzuoli*, Astroni, 30 maggio 1912: «Illustrissimo signor Direttore, autorizzato da VSI oggi mi sono recato in Astroni all'appuntamento chiestomi dal Segretario Contabile delle Cacce a Cavallo. Per poter effettuare il salto in estensione nella località già nota a V. S. occorrerebbe tagliare la bassa macchia prima e dopo il salto per una lunghezza di 50 metri circa e per una larghezza di metri 3».

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Astroni, 19 dicembre 1909.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, Capodimonte, 22 marzo 1911.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Capodimonte, 17 aprile 1911.

5. The Consulta Araldica and the Savoy policy of integration of the Southern nobility

Just as for the late modern age, between the end of the 19th century and the first few decades of the 20th century, there needed to be a change in the policy of noble integration carried out by the monarchy. The Savoy did this through various forms of enrolment of the members of the former Southern nobility.

Before we examine these paths, we must look at how a major role of integration was constituted, as we have seen, by the workings of the Ufficio del Gran Cacciatore and by the Amministrazione dei Siti Reali di Capodimonte.

In the files available, we find the most diverse requests by individual nobles that the administrators then forwarded to the Ministero di Casa Reale. What emerges from the correspondence, was that there were also informal relations between members of the Neapolitan elite and the circuits of the court; personal relationships often aimed at requesting graces by families of the former Southern nobility. The requests were not always a promotion or a favour: the more frequent 'recommendations' pertained to the inclusion to closed hunting rituals in the royal reserves, together with the king and the court, or privately. Exclusive and privileged hunts were requested: boar, roe, ibex or bear hunts.

On another front, the role of integrating nobility by the Savoy was also played on various levels: the first regarded differentiating between members of the old and the new nobility. It is indeed important to analyse separately the practices and measures of the attribution of nobility by justice, which simply recognised already existent rights, and the provisions of grace, which were finalised to the attribution of new titles and awards granted by the Savoy.

It is crucial to define the role and function of the council and of the Consulta Araldica of the Kingdom of Italy.

The Consulta Araldica was a consultative institution, created by the Italian Government in 1869, which expressed opinions regarding nobility titles, emblems and symbols, and public decorations in the heraldic sector¹¹³. Its function was relevant, as it substituted previous Colleges of Arms or Heraldic

¹¹³ Royal Decree n. 313 dated 10 October 1869; the rules were approved with a second Royal Decree on the 8 May 1870. *Bollettino Ufficiale della Consulta Araldica*, Roma aa. 1869 and 1870.

Tribunals of the pre-unitary states¹¹⁴. On the other hand, the Giunta Permanente Araldica (Permanent Heraldic Council), founded in 1887, was made up of some of the members of the Consulta¹¹⁵. The two organs interrelated with specific competences: the Giunta provided its opinion on all measures of justice (recognition of noble attributes). When there was unity of purpose between the Commissioner of the King and the members of the Giunta, the Consulta Araldica played a part by formulating its judgement in regard to the issue. The role of the Consulta Araldica was mostly that of solving a secondary administrative function: it could be used by the Commissioner of the King, regarding general issues arising from provisions of grace, such as for the recognition of noble titles; or, to the contrary, it could be invested with complaints contradictory to the decisions of the Giunta. Finally, the most important branches were the Consulte Araldiche Regionali (Regional Colleges of Arms), established for all former pre-unitary states; these were charged with the examination of cases regarding provincial nobilities. The Commissioner of the King, a member of the Consulta Araldica, played the role of coordinator between the different establishments. The bureaucratic-administrative *iter*, for measures of justice, followed this path: interested parties forwarded their request to the Commissioner of the King; these requests were then sent to the Consulte Araldiche Regionali of pre-unitary states which examined the case; then all were sent to the Giunta Araldica; and in cases of diverging opinions, to the Consulta Araldica of the Kingdom. The end of the procedure saw the acceptance or rejection of the application. The final provision of the Consulta Araldica, in cases of rejection, could be submitted by appeal to an ordinary tribunal. In cases of a favourable result by the latter, the Consulta Araldica was forced to accept the request. In truth, according to Bonazzi, at least for proceedings related to the Southern provinces, many of the requests of ennoblement stopped, in the bureaucratic *iter*, with the Consulte Araldiche Regionali which rejected them at the start.

Regarding provisions of grace, such as the recognition of titles and blazons already in existence, however, for new ennoblements, it followed a

¹¹⁴ Its internal composition was modified on more than one occasion – initially controlled by the Ministry of Interior, formed by 8 members, it then functioned under the direction of the Presidency of the Council of the Ministers and members rose to 18 (Royal Decree dated 7 June 1943, n. 651). It provided opinions on noble and heraldic matters. See *Bollettino Ufficiale della Consulta Araldica*, Roma, 1943.

¹¹⁵ Royal Decree of 11 December 1887, n. 51-6. In the *Bollettino Ufficiale della Consulta Araldica*, Roma, 1887.

different path. In the case of new families who aspired to a noble blazon, but also in the cases of lineages that possessed an uncertain noble status, an application was sent (very similar to the old petitions of the early modern period) to the king; this was examined by the Commissioner of the King, who, once the procedure was initiated, sent it to competent government offices. In the end all documentation got to the king. Nevertheless, approval or rejection was discretionary (for grace) and pertained to specific policies of integration of nobility carried out by the monarchy.

After suspension for a few years, the Consulta Araldica of the Kingdom started working again in 1887 under the chairmanship of the Ministry of Interior. This is when 14 regional commissions were elected, responsible for compiling the list of nobilities of ancient Italian states. Four important points have to be examined here: the role of Antonio Manno, the Commissioner of the King (successor to Franchi Verney, who died in 1880), a genealogist very close to Umberto I; the debate and the position regarding Italian nobilities that emerged from the Fifth Italian Historical Congress of Genoa in 1892; the publication of the official list of Italian nobility; and the issues and characteristics of the families belonging to the ancient Southern nobility.

Regarding the first point, an important issue that had to be challenged by Manno (who remained in charge until 1918) was the lack of census of the Italian nobility: of the approximately 10,000 families who were estimated to have noble requisites, only 400-500 had obtained regular recognition. This is how the 14 Consulte Araldiche Regionali, starting in the 1880s, were charged with compiling, through official entry, the lists of noble families. The same commissions then had to examine the requests of those who were believed to possess noble requirements. This first census was not sufficiently exhaustive, and furthermore many doubts remained between genealogists and commissioners regarding the requirements to internally determine the types of nobility.

To come to the second point, it was Manno who came up with the Historical Congress of Genoa for year 1892, where the problem of the many forms of Italian nobility was discussed. Delegations from all regional colleges of arms took part. Contrasting positions emerged, especially regarding the types of Italian nobilities. Some pre-unitary states were characterised by patriciates and urban nobilities, while in others feudal nobilities prevailed; titles that had the same name, in different pre-unitary

states, corresponded to different types of noble figures¹¹⁶. The main contrast between the members of the different delegations was related to urban patriciates. For the regional states of Northern Italy there was a huge gap between the patriciate of dominant cities and the civic nobility of subject cities. This is why many delegations of the Consulta Araldica asked for a very limited election of families to the leading aristocracy; the title of patrician could only be enjoyed by senatorial families of independent states who not only exercised administrative functions, but also had political power. The same criteria were also offered by Northern deputies for the Kingdom of Naples, since they wanted to distinguish the leading patrician nobility of Neapolitan seats from that of other provincial cities. A position that was challenged by Bonazzi, representative of the Consulta Araldica delle Province Meridionali, who took the view that there was no trace of «più limitati requisiti politici ed amministrativi [e di questa] discriminanza» for patriciates of lesser towns. On the other hand, in the cities of the Mezzogiorno, other than the members of Neapolitan seats, all urban nobilities with a separate rank or *piazzze chiuse* were considered patriciates¹¹⁷. Not to mention the *vexata quaestio* of the barony of the provinces of the Kingdom, which was not considered as a lesser nobility but the prominent one of the former kingdom.

Manno mediated over these contrasts, promoting a less stern agenda towards the descendants of the nobility of the Mezzogiorno. In his report, Manno referred to the history and the laws of individual pre-unitary states, even though the title of patrician was associated with the «grandezza civile e politica delle antiche repubbliche e comuni [...] e quindi il titolo di patriziato

¹¹⁶ On these points a substantial historiographic debate has taken place. On the regional states of Southern Italy, see E. FASANO GUARINI (a cura di), *Potere e società negli Stati regionali italiani del '500 e '600*, Bologna, 1978; EAD., *Potere centrale e città soggette nel Granducato di Cosimo I*, in «Rivista Storica Italiana», LXXXIX, 1977, 3-4, pp. 490-538; G. CHITTOLINI, *La formazione dello Stato regionale e le istituzioni del contado: secoli XIV e XV*, Torino, 1979; ID., *Città, comunità e feudi negli Stati dell'Italia centro-settentrionale (secoli XIV-XVI)*, Milano, 1996; ID. (a cura di), *La crisi degli ordinamenti comunali e le origini dello Stato nel Rinascimento*, Bologna, 1979. On the Kingdom of Naples, A. SPAGNOLETTI, *Principi italiani e Spagna nell'età barocca*, cit.; *Signori, patrizi, cavalieri in Italia centro-meridionale nell'età moderna*, a cura di M.A. VISCEGLIA, cit. See also EAD., *Identità sociali*, cit.

¹¹⁷ The minutes of the Congress, lasted two days, are published in *Bollettino Ufficiale della Consulta Araldica*, Roma 1892, I, 4, p. 204.

italiano [va rapportato] alle glorie nazionali»¹¹⁸. The results of the Historical Congress of Genoa did not bear fruit. In the following years, many doubts remained on both the families having the right to be listed and the qualitative value of the titles. Once again, in 1929, a circular was sent by the Undersecretary to the Presidency of the Council inviting all regional colleges of arms to an accurate revision of the list of noble families.

To come to the third point, only between 1895 and 1909, did the lists of nobles of the ancient Italian states appear on the *Bollettino Ufficiale della Consulta Araldica* of the Kingdom (the final list was of 1934). Members on the list amounted to 9,321 lineages, with 16,304 titles (and 41,853 individuals having rights). On the other hand, to that date, there were but few attributions by the Savoy: only 27¹¹⁹. The Neapolitan nobility was placed directly after Tuscany with 1,132 lineages, 2,131 titles and 72 new grants of nobility¹²⁰.

Regarding the Southern nobility, to get to the fourth point, the less restrictive criteria proposed by Bonazzi were eventually applied. A patriciate was only given to Neapolitan families and to members of cities with the *piazza chiusa* system; while members of lineages of cities that enjoyed a separate rank only received the title of noble citizens. More of a problem for the provincial nobility who had fiefs and were not granted the title of baron, was that in order to obtain such a title, claimants had to prove they continuously owned their fief for at least 200 years.

On another point, the problems suggested by Bonazzi were twofold: the lack of *Golden Books* of patriciate for provincial cities and for the barons of the Kingdom who were proprietors of fiefs; and the uncertainty concerning heirs having the right to the title.

We have seen how Francesco Bonazzi expressed specific opinions about the lack of clarity of noble titles much earlier than the publication of the *Libro d'oro della nobiltà italiana*. The Royal Decree of 1880 required the filling of noble lists for the various former provinces of the Kingdom, but the uncertainty about titles and those having rights to them produced thousands of requests for recognition of noble attributes. According to the famous genealogist, between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, a great market of genealogies was also opened for another reason: the request of a noble blazon that would grant access to the highest

¹¹⁸ PRESIDENZA DEL CONSIGLIO DEI MINISTRI, *Consulta Araldica del Regno. Elenco ufficiale della nobiltà italiana*, Roma, 1934.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

offices of the unitary state. One of the reasons offered by Bonazzi, regarding the publication of his most important genealogic works, as we will see, was to make up for the shortcomings of the Royal Decree of 1880. Many families of the former nobility of the Mezzogiorno were not included in the noble lists as they had not provided the required documentation¹²¹. The vast amount of material collected by the genealogist and the Consulta Araldica delle Province Napoletane brought about the recording of the main work by the author, *Famiglie nobili e titolate del Napoletano*¹²². In his work, Bonazzi recalled the aforementioned Royal Decree of 15 June 1880:

col disporre la compilazione ufficiale di Elenchi dei Nobili e Titolati delle varie regioni d'Italia faceva sorgere la speranza di mettersi con tale mezzo un argine all'oramai ognor crescendo abuso di titoli, o del tutto inesistenti, o per lo meno di non propria spettanza di coloro che con troppa leggerezza se ne fregiano.

Ma compilatesi e pubblicatosi tali elenchi, si è avuto a constatare che se essi hanno in massima raggiunto il desiderato scopo, per quanto si riferisce allo accertamento dei titoli legalmente esistenti, lo hanno raggiunto solamente in parte per quanto si riferisce allo accertamento delle persone che a tali titoli hanno attualmente diritto, e ciò per la ragione di non essersi ottenuta tutta quella coadiuvazione, che si aspettava dagli interessati, ai quali la legge addossava il compito di fornire pruova del loro riattacco genealogico coi primi investiti, o con coloro che ottennero posteriori legali riconoscimenti¹²³.

The work of the Consulta Araldica of the Kingdom of Italy was considered by many contemporaries to be anachronistic. Carducci already distanced himself from those old values of the noble world, being ironic about the role nobility played in the unification of Italy and the Expedition of the Thousand:

Oh non per questo dal fatal di Quarto,\ Lido il naviglio de i mille salpò,\
Né Rosolino Pilo aveva sparto,\ Suo gentil sangue che vantava Angiò.\
Ma voi da l'arche, voi da gli scaffali,\ Invidiando a i vermi ombra e sopor,
Corna di cervi e teschi di cignali\ Ed ugnoli d'arpie mettete fuor [...]¹²⁴.

¹²¹ Royal Decree of 7 September 1933 n. 1990. The *Golden Book* is made up of 31 volumes. See ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI ROMA, *Libro d'oro della nobiltà italiana, vecchia serie*, voll. 11; *Libro d'oro della nobiltà italiana, nuova serie*, voll. 30.

¹²² F. BONAZZI, *Famiglie nobili e titolate del Napoletano*, Napoli, 1902.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹²⁴ G. CARDUCCI, *La Consulta Araldica*, October 1869.

Another author deliberating on nobility between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was the Apulian Luigi Volpicella. His important handwritten volume entitled *Patriziati e nobiltà civiche nel già Reame di Napoli. Vari appunti bibliografici e archivistici raccolti da Luigi Volpicella* dates back to the early 1930s¹²⁵. In the text, the Apulian historian reaches into the documentation of the Bourbon tribunal of the Chamber of St. Chiara, providing specific indications regarding civic patriciates and civic governments of around 50 cities of the Mezzogiorno. So in the text he recalls town stories, manuscripts, memoirs and forensic allegations that appeared in the *consulte* of the Chamber of St. Chiara. What were Volpicella's conclusions? With a careful comparative reading of the data provided, he detected the main modifications that occurred to patriciates and, more generally, to the nobility of the Kingdom of Naples, as we have seen, before and after the *Tavola delle nobiltà* reform wanted by Charles of Bourbon. He framed the policy pursued by the Spanish monarchy towards urban governments, starting from Philip II; he specified the consequences following the cessation of oligarchies during the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century; he evidenced the contradicting measures applied by the State towards nobility and urban governments between the end of the 15th century and the Austrian Viceroyalty; he detected the contradicting outcomes of the new policy of monarchic aggregation; but he mostly illustrated the following phase which reformed the new urban governments of Ferdinand IV.

The sources and intuitions of Volpicella went beyond this. They were not restricted to stating that the documents to be researched had to be limited to those of the year 1800 (with the abolition of Neapolitan seats and those of other cities of the Kingdom), or also to those of the year 1806, when feudalism was abolished. Volpicella realised – by recalling 17th century sources – that the noble title was used, in terms of central apparatuses, throughout the 17th century, and at least all the way to the beginning of the First World War. Not only did the old nobility of the Kingdom of Naples obtain recognition within the unitary state, but its titles and privileges continued to be used for the recruiting of the ruling class.

The Apulian historian also noticed how the number of cases handled by the *Consulte Araldiche degli Antichi Stati Italiani* (Colleges of Arms of the Ancient Italian States) during the 17th century tended to increase. This is

¹²⁵ L. VOLPICELLA, *Patriziati e nobiltà civiche nel già Reame di Napoli*, cit.

where the first conclusion came from. The Consulta Araldica played a very specific role in policies of state integration of the families of the former Southern nobility. Yet, what must be verified was the function of the monarchy, one of the initial questions within the process of integration of the families of old nobility. We have recalled the close relationship existing between the Commissioner of the King, Antonio Manno, and Umberto I. It transpires that royal integration happened on four levels: the first was cemented around royal patronage, happening between Naples and Rome, and surrounding the hunting ritual in the former Royal Sites; the second was represented by the role of the Consulta Araldica and the Commissioner of the King aimed at recognising ancient noble titles, and which was given an important role after the Fifth Historical Congress of Genoa of 1892. Yet the king was especially prone to granting even more decorations to the old noble families. The third level concerned the policy of attribution of measures of grace with the creation of new noble families; the fourth saw the election of a certain number of members of the old nobility to the role of senators of the Kingdom. Finally, the most privileged members of former nobility were integrated into the Roman Court.

The first point, regarding royal patronage and the integration surrounding the Savoy hunting ritual and the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo, has been investigated. The second point, regarding the function of the Consulta Araldica and the role of the monarchy, towards the old nobility, other than what has already been said, requires the addition of other elements.

It was Bonazzi once more to provide specific indications.

If we compare the list of noble members of the Neapolitan area who were selected by the Savoy in court receptions at Capodimonte (or in the fox hunting rituals in the Reserve of the Astroni) with the list of former nobility provided by Bonazzi, we observe that, after the Royal Decree of 1880, old noble titles originating from the latter, especially after 1892, would be mostly recognised by the Consulta Araldica delle Province Meridionali.

Indicatively, from the sample documents examined at the Archivio di Stato di Roma (State Archive of Rome) on the funds of the Consulta Araldica, a specific problem emerged, at least until the publication of the official list of Italian nobility of 1934. There was no clear picture on the heirs having rights to the titles because the lists were not comprehensive enough¹²⁶.

¹²⁶ Documentation was reviewed pertaining to the proceedings of the Consulta Araldica delle Province Meridionali about the noble families that appeared in the lists for entrance to

The very architecture of Bonazzi's volume on titled and noble families happens to be divided in two parts, and the motivation for this is quite clear: as the editor of *L'Araldo. Almanacco Nobiliare*, the genealogist came to realise the lack of completeness of the noble lists that were given to him¹²⁷. Because of this, he produced a supplement to his work of 1901 that quantitatively and qualitatively completed (up until the latest generations having rights to the status of nobility) the list of noble families.

These gaps facilitated the flourishing of a market of feudal titles, with the forging of hundreds of lineages, which was only possible because of uncertainty surrounding those who had rights to the surname and title.

Aside from the function of the regional colleges of arms, the Giunta and the Consulta Araldica of the State, the monarchy also played an important part in the type-approval of noble titles. The Savoy pursued a very specific policy; other than not opposing, for ascertained cases, the recognition of old titles, they intervened by assigning new decorations. The former nobles who were selected by the Savoy to be part of the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo and allowed to participate in Capodimonte receptions were mainly invested with two decorations: the Ordine dei Santi Maurizio e Lazzaro (Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus) and the Ordine della Corona d'Italia (Order of the Crown of Italy). The luckiest ones received the military decoration of the Savoy.

Then the Savoy promoted – as the third type of integration – a considerable part of the Southern elite by granting new noble titles. By 1934, there were 72 new titles granted among the Mezzogiorno elite; 11 of these approvals, but only up until the beginning of the 20th century, to the date of the publication of Bonazzi's work, were given to members of the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo. These were the same people who appeared at Capodimonte receptions starting from the 1880s up until the early 20th century.

Among these new nobles were large-scale landowners and ranchers originating from the Abruzzo region who were transplanted to Naples, such

the Società Napoletana di Caccia alla Volpe. See ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI ROMA, *Consulta Araldica, ad nomen*: d'Afflitto, Alvarez de Toledo, d'Avalos, d'Ayala, del Balzo, Barracco, Bonelli, Capece Minutolo, Caracciolo, Carafa, Caravita, Cito di Torrecuso, Colonna, Compagna, Coppola di S. Canzano, Doria d'Angri, Fieschi, Filangieri di Candida Gonzaga, Forcella, Gaetani, Gallone, Gandara, de Gregorio, Imperiale, Labonia, Marulli, di Mauro, Pignatelli, Quarto, Riario Sforza, Ruffo, Saluzzo, Sanfelice, de Sangro, Serra, de Vargas.

¹²⁷ On *L'Araldo*, see F. BONAZZI, *Famiglie nobili e titolate del Napoletano*, cit., p. 5.

as the Angeloni and Zezza barons; a nephew of the famous follower of the Enlightenment, Giuseppe Maria Galanti; and other important owners of the provinces, even though naturalised in Naples in one generation¹²⁸. An even higher number – as the fourth type of integration – of members of Neapolitan nobility who, in the same thirty years, were elected senators of the Kingdom of Italy. It was the highest form of integration that involved the most important members of the noble families of the Mezzogiorno, most of those living in Naples, included in the noble lists of admission to the royal receptions at Capodimonte. Among those, all the main and most ancient families of the Kingdom appeared: the Acquaviva d'Aragona, the dukes of Atri¹²⁹; three branches of the Caracciolo lineage¹³⁰; the Carafa of Andria¹³¹; the Pignatelli of Monteleone¹³²; the Sanseverino of Bisignano¹³³; the Doria, the princes of Angri¹³⁴; the Gaetani, the princes of

¹²⁸ New noble titles are faithfully recorded in F. BONAZZI, *Famiglie nobili e titolate del Napoletano*, cit. Agostino Silvestri (Baron), Filippo Capozzi (Baron), Raffaele Angeloni (Baron), appointed barons of Monteniglio and Varavallo with the Ministerial Decree of 1881; Giovanni Diana (Marquis), Ministerial Decree of 26 January 1885; Enrico Forcella (Marquis), recognised with the Ministerial Decree of 25 June 1896; Giuseppe Galanti (Count), recognised with Royal Grant of 12 January 1882; Leopoldo Corsi (Baron), Ministerial Decree of 26 August 1901; Giacomo Nisco (Baron), Royal Decree of 3 June 1882; Luigi Petricone (Count), Royal Decree of 27 June 1898; Roberto Ricciardi (Baron), Royal Decree of 13 March 1884; Gennaro Zezza (Baron), Royal Decree of 22 March 1900.

¹²⁹ The digitalised personal files of the senators of the Kingdom of Italy are available on the website of the Library of the Senate of the Republic. I included tributes, made by the Senate of the Kingdom, after the death of Carlo Acquaviva d'Aragona, a liberal of the Historical Right, who came from the ancient lineage of the former dukes of Atri, when his civil status was of landowner; after having been elected 5 times as deputy in the Giulianova constituency, he was then appointed senator in 1890. *Item Carlo Acquaviva d'Aragona*.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, *items Camillo Caracciolo, Gaetano Caracciolo, Luigi Caracciolo*. The main members of families of the patriciate of the former Kingdom of Naples were promoted. Three exponents from three different branches of the Caracciolo family became senators: Camillo Caracciolo di Bella (1861-1922), of the princes of Torella, a long-standing diplomat, was appointed senator in 1922; Gaetano Caracciolo, of the princes of Castagneto (1837-1909), landowner, appointed senator in 1891; Luigi Caracciolo, of the dukes of S. Teodoro (1826-1889), landowner, appointed senator in 1869.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, *item Riccardo Carafa*, of the dukes of Andria (1859-1920), a descendant of Ettore Carafa, the Count of Ruvo, the patriot of 1799, landowner, appointed senator in 1904.

¹³² *Ibid.*, *item Diego Pignatelli*, of the dukes of Monteleone (1823-1880), landowner, appointed senator in 1871.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, *item Carlo Sanseverino*, of the barons of Marcellinara (1847-1919), landowner, appointed senator in 1913.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, *item Francesco Doria*, of the dukes of Eboli (1855-1916), landowner, appointed senator in 1900.

Piedimonte¹³⁵; the Ruffo, the princes of Bagnara¹³⁶; the Medici, the princes of Ottaviano¹³⁷; the Cito Filomarino, the princes of Rocca; the d'Ayala Valva, the marquis of Valva; the Caravita, the princes of Sirignano¹³⁸. Then there were a considerable number of families belonging to urban patriciates, especially Neapolitan seats, such as the del Giudice and the Acton, or old provincial patriciates such as the Barracco¹³⁹.

Many of these families were among the ranks of patriots of 1799 (then martyrs of the Neapolitan Republic), and – before or after 1848 – against the Bourbons, and who took liberal positions during the Risorgimento period. Their profiles, from the Filomarino to the Carafa of Andria, have triggered the interest of some important historians, starting with Benedetto Croce. Croce himself, at the beginning of the 1920s, wrote a beautiful commemorative biography for Senator Riccardo Carafa, a descendant of Ettore Carafa, the hero of the Neapolitan Republic¹⁴⁰.

Accordingly, on what basis did the monarchy select the senators of the Kingdom? It is clear that monarchic integration did not happen with the same logic as the transforming recruitment practised by the Historical Left. In this final case, the reference to Marquis Antonino of San Giuliano is symbolic, as it would inspire the plot of De Roberto's novel¹⁴¹.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, item *Nicola Gaetani*, of the princes of Piedimonte (1857-1924), landowner, appointed senator in 1909; item *Onorato Gaetani dell'Aquila* (1832-1904), landowner, appointed senator in 1876.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, item *Fabrizio Ruffo*, of the dukes of Bagnara (1843-1907), landowner, appointed senator in 1896.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, item *Michele (de) Medici*, of the princes of Ottaviano (1823-1882), landowner, appointed senator in 1876.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, item *Luigi Cito Filomarino*, of the princes of Bitetto (1861-1931), Admiral, appointed senator in 1912; item *Pietro d'Ayala Valva*, of the marquis of Valva (1848-1923), landowner, appointed senator in 1900; item *Giuseppe Caravita*, of the princes of Sirignano (1849-1920), landowner, appointed senator in 1913.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, items *Ferdinando Acton*, *Eugenio del Giudice*, *Giovanni Barracco* e *Roberto Barracco*. Ferdinando Acton, Neapolitan aristocrat (1822-1891), Admiral, appointed senator in 1880; Eugenio del Giudice, belonging to the Neapolitan patriciate (1809-1876), landowner, appointed senator in 1862; Giovanni Barracco, from an ancient family of the patriciate of the city of Cosenza, registered as a large-scale landowner, after 6 legislatures as a deputy of the Historical Right, was appointed senator in 1886. *Ibid.*, item *Barracco Giovanni*. His cousin Roberto Barracco, also registered as a landowner, was appointed senator in 1896.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, item *Riccardo Carafa*, cit.

¹⁴¹ G. FERRAIOLI, *Politica e diplomazia in Italia tra XIX e XX secolo. Vita di Antonino di San Giuliano (1852-1914)*, Catanzaro, 2007, p. 12 ff.

It was Umberto I especially who integrated and elected to the rank of senator the exponents of the great liberal aristocracy, many of whom had joined the Historical Right and then, after 1776, kept their distance from the positions of the Liberal Left. A policy of integration that continued with Vittorio Emanuele III, who carefully administered in promotions to the Senate of the Kingdom members of the former aristocracy; judges, high bureaucrats of the State and military officers; all within a royal patronage circuit that bounded the elites not to the governments of the country, but directly to the monarchy. For the old and new nobility, there was no longer an aristocracy that recognised itself in the old Bourbon legitimism; various elements of attachment to the Savoy had taken over which would influence the cities of Naples and the Mezzogiorno region in the long run. It is interesting to see what emerged from the documentation of the Capodimonte Archive, and this should be investigated further regarding the fact that during those years, in Italy, a new network of sociability was set up around the monarchy which utilised the instruments of association that tied the Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo to the members of the Jockey Club, to the Italian members of the Società degli Steeplechase, to the members of the Società della Caccia alla Volpe di Roma and to the Società Lombarda di Caccia¹⁴².

¹⁴² ADC, *Statuto della Società Napoletana di Caccia a Cavallo* (1896).

Conclusions
The return to social sciences.
From metaphors to ontologies: rebuilding the Tower of Babel

We recalled the problem of how, more generally social science scholars and historians more in particular, need to equip themselves in order to tackle the process underway in the passage towards the construction of the WWW, regarding the shaping of the European archives and digital libraries. A process that is already under way and that requires new theoretical and methodological approaches, and especially an interdisciplinary method. It is an important process – just as the «Annales» and the historiography of Cambridge were once new at the time – where groups of Italian, as well as French and Spanish, researchers are trying to provide innovative contributions.

The objective of this work is to find some answers. As in all scientific constructions, it is in progress; and it is an important process that in future years will greatly influence scientific research. The object consists of the fruition of a part of the European Cultural Heritage. What are the kinds of approaches to the sources of large archives and libraries which are or are about to 'go digital', and whose assets are to be put on line within a single Semantic Web that is under construction? Thus, it comes down to defining the Italian and European standards (the reference point is EUROPEANA) for the digitalisation, networking and treatment of sources for the construction of ontologies by historians and scholars of other social sciences. At the same time, hard science researchers are experimenting with artificial intelligence computer software capable of making data interact. This is, in a nut shell, the object of the Italian and European projects we have been involved in for several years.

Three are the relevant points to be solved, which are also the first important results proposed for this path: a) the placing on the web of this large amount of sources must be accessible to a large part of the European population; its fruition, if not free, must still be within everyone's reach; b) the treatment of this important sector of cultural heritage (the documentation of the major European archives, such as those of the Bourbon Court and Royal Sites) must be considered, aimed at building methods and languages that can be widely used; c) as for the problems related to the construction of ontologies: a multidisciplinary approach must be finalised to identify analogies and metaphors contained in texts.

The first point is self-explanatory. The enjoyment of cultural heritage has become an essential point for the modern democratic conflicts of the countries of the European Union.

A few words on the type of sources. I have reflected on the metaphors and the authors who contributed to coining them. In a volume published not long ago on the historiography of the aristocratic genres, I had identified that, among dozens of authors who conveyed the noble debates, only a few were original in setting the ideology: the others only absorbed passively.

For example, in Italy the most important authors, who with their paradigms affected the whole of noble Baroque and Counter-Reformation literature, were Scipione Ammirato and Torquato Tasso.

Not only does the former deal with the noble genealogies of the Kingdom of Naples and of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, but he also was an anti-Machiavellian, called by the Medici in Florence (where the Grand-Ducal Archive was made available to him) to disprove the theses, put forward by the Florentine secretary, regarding an excessively raw vision of politics and the national interest. He was asked to counter, with the affirmation of the Medici principality, the Machiavellian theses on the existing gap between ethics and politics and good governance as mixed government¹. In addition, he had to rewrite the highlights of Florentine history, re-adapting it to Counter-Reformation canons that placed the works by Machiavelli at the very top of the List of Prohibited Books.

More so than Ammirato, Torquato Tasso dictated the noble canons of the Counter-Reformation. In his *dialoghi*, underestimated works, the genealogy of the Gonzaga, Medici, Savoy, other princely Italian families as well as the Neapolitan nobility is reconstructed². In examining the genealogical cases internal to the *consulte* of the Chamber of St. Chiara (the latest royal tribunal charged to carry out the institutional reforms in the Kingdom of Naples), the exemplary reference regarding precedences and privileges was the very author of *Gerusalemme Liberata*. According to Tasso, the cult of Italian nobility was unchanged between the 17th and 18th century. Ferdinand II of Bourbon bought a part of the poet's correspondence paying its weight in gold.

¹ R. DE MATTEI, *Ammirato Scipione*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 3 (1961), www.treccani.it.

² T. TASSO, *I dialoghi*, a cura di C. GUASTI, Firenze, 1958.

There is no mention of *I dialoghi* in particular and Tasso in general in *Storia della letteratura italiana* by Francesco De Sanctis³. The intellectual was guilty, according to De Sanctis, of having bent too meekly to the wishes of the Counter-Reformation.

Authors who convey the iconographic topoi are as important as scholars. Everything was born from the classical inspiration of Renaissance authors. We have seen the role of artists, from Rome, such as Rosso Fiorentino and Primaticcio, who conditioned – with their decorations drawing on classical mythology – monarchic iconography first in the Court of Francis I and then in those of successive French sovereigns. And even more significant are 16th century authors of heraldry and emblems who would influence monarchic and European aristocratic symbolism, starting with the Bourbons of France and Naples, such as Andrea Alciato (*Emblemata*), Cartari (*Le immagini con la sposizione de i dei de gli antichi*) and Cesare Ripa (*Iconologia*).

The noble ideology did not fail with the end of the *Ancien Régime*, but must be framed in the long term.

Still, in Italy, at the height of the Giolittian era, as we have seen, the families of the former Southern aristocracy witnessed an unexpected ascent to the top of the unitary state, in circuits of the Savoy Court (especially with Umberto I). Classical works about feudal stories and genealogy, as well as more recent heraldic volumes, mattered once again. Francesco Bonazzi (one of the main characters of a chapter in the second part of this volume), as secretary of the Consulta Araldica delle Province Meridionali, identified that the judicial proceedings investing the Consulte Araldiche degli Antichi Stati Italiani, and sections of various civil courts, numbered in the thousands. These numbered more than the trials taking place in royal tribunals, regarding reintegration and aggregations, before the abolition of feudalism.

The high demand for noble titles was also due to genealogical uncertainty, since in some pre-unification states – starting with the Kingdom of Naples – the *Golden Books* of aristocratic or barony families were not filled at the time of the abolition of feudalism.

Thus, ranks of archivists or other scholars became an army of genealogists. This process continued in Italy up to the 1970s, with the most recent genealogical cases being brought before the civil courts or the Consulta.

³ F. DE SANCTIS, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, a cura di N. GALLO, Introduzione di G. FICARA, Torino, 1996.

Three important elements must be brought into focus: the fact that the approach to monarchic iconography and the aristocratic rank must be examined in the long term (therefore, entering the 20th century), up to the point when former noble families permanently lost all legal privileges; one cannot separately examine such ranks of the Bourbons of Naples without considering the Bourbons in France and Spain; one must assume that the documentary sources from the Bourbon and Savoy periods are incomplete. They have absorbed, perhaps as allegories and metaphors, parts of previous texts and debates: here is why it is necessary to recur to methodologies that are akin to history.

A further point refers to the choice of the languages to be used in the examination of the sources. The problem of the transmission of knowledge: the fruition of digital archives and their processing (the construction of ontologies) must be widely accessible and shared.

In Italy, this debate on the aims of language has already happened between two great Italian intellectuals of the 20th century, Calvino and Pasolini; the object of discussion, at a time when the novelties that semantics and semiotics were about to bring were starting to be felt, was the elaboration of a different etymology for the general public⁴. In the middle of the fifties of the 20th century, the two intellectuals, each with a different purpose, both worked on the adjustment of the Italian language. During that time, Pasolini had just written an important introduction to the popular poetry of the 20th century, while Calvino was already working on the architecture of his *Fiabe italiane*. These are the terms of the discussion on the purpose of the lexicon and its use.

[Ritengo che] – Calvino writes to Pasolini – la tua introduzione ai canti popolari sia fondamentale non solo per la sistemazione di tutta la problematica poesia-folclore, ma per una sistemazione critica della letteratura italiana contemporanea, che ha proprio nei rapporti col mondo e il linguaggio popolare il suo nodo, e per un legame tra la più avanzata filologia universitaria [...] con la critica militante.

Devo dirti che dalla tua introduzione alla poesia dialettale [...] ti classificavo tra i principali sostenitori d'una discesa di tipo squisito nel dialetto, e ne traevo motivi per una mia linea (per altro mai ulteriormente

⁴ We will refer to this problem in two volumes: I. CALVINO, *Lettere 1940-1985*, introduzione di C. MELANINI, Milano, 2000; L. MANGONI, *Pensare i libri. La casa editrice Einaudi dagli anni Trenta agli anni Sessanta*, Torino, 1999.

definita) d'opposizione a questo così marcato atteggiamento del gusto letterario post-ermetico⁵.

Calvino was contrary to Pasolini's certainty that, in popular poetry, there could only be invention and no innovation at the linguistic level. Instead, it is evident to the scholar that the creative push comes from below and it is nonsensical to give an academic precedence, against the rhetoricians of popular creation⁶. It is no coincidence that the texts of *Fiabe italiane* are full of linguistic innovations.

The separation from Pasolini also emerged on two other points: the research of language and its public use; choosing different semiotic methodologies: namely, the behaviour of scholars faced with a dissemination determined by new forms of media. The position with regard to the former point is clear from a letter which Calvino sent to Pasolini after the publication of the *Canzoniere italiano*⁷.

So molto poco di come si fanno le poesie di come si organizza il pensiero in forma lirica [...] Però, porca miseria, perché scrivi così difficile? State rimettendo in voga un gusto dello scrivere difficile che non è quello sfuggente degli ermetici perché è invece sforzo di precisione, ma che ha dietro il divertimento universitario continiano di origine tedesca [...] il tuo non è soltanto un importante libro sulla poesia popolare italiana, ma è un importante libro sull'Italia e un importante libro sulla poesia⁸.

On the other hand, the choice of a polished language which many can understand, according to Calvino, had to be the basis for any linguistic innovation.

The second differentiation emerges from a letter of reply that Calvino sent to Pasolini to thank him for his review of *Le città invisibili*⁹. Following a

⁵ «Una cosa però non vedo messa in luce nel tuo quadro, che mi sembra una chiave di volta: il fatto cioè che è soprattutto dalla Controriforma che prende le mosse il gusto (paternalistico) del popolare-dialettale, del popolo visto come pittoresco, straccione, pietoso e felice ed al tempo stesso eterno, un gusto che va dai pittori della realtà a pane, amore e fantasia. Questo sospetto mi rende così ostile al culto del dialettale e dello sbracato; questa falsa familiarità, questo sentimentalismo». See I. CALVINO, *Lettere 1940-1985* (Torino 9 maggio 1959), cit., p. 429.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.* (Torino 1° marzo 1956), pp. 449-552.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ I. CALVINO, *Le città invisibili* [quote from the ed. Milano, 2011].

few remarks on the novel, he then distanced himself from the use of new instruments of communication¹⁰:

sei tu che sei andato molto lontano, vuol dire: non solo col cinema che è quel che più di lontano ci può essere dal ritmo mentale di un topo di biblioteca quale io nel frattempo sono diventato, ma perché anche il tuo uso della parola s'è adeguato a comunicare traumaticamente una presenza come proiettandola su grandi schermi: un modo di rapido intervento sull'attualità che io ho scartato in partenza. Questo, mentre il tipo di discorso cui tu dai il meglio di te è fatto di giudizi estremamente minuziosi e argomentati, basati su un'attenta microscopia di parole e persone (doti che non hai perso come questi tuoi bentornati interventi critici testimoniano), ed è il tipo di discorso che può avere solo influenze indirette dopo aver fatto un lungo giro a distanza di anni e anni, così come il discorso poetico.

Mentre l'essere presente per dire la tua sull'attualità secondo l'ottica dei giornali, col metro dell'attualità dei giornali e in presa diretta sull'opinione pubblica, dà certo una grande sensazione di vita, ma è vita nel mondo degli effetti, non in quello delle lente ragioni¹¹.

The use of language that was too polished and researched – he remarked, among other things – was barely comprehensible to wide sections of the population and the semiotic method, that of the mass media, was not easily shareable. Calvino's purpose was the search for a more accessible language without forsaking an adequate lexicon, while Pasolini remained aristocratic: culture was an issue for those at the forefront, namely small cultured minorities.

The usage of mass media was a mere tool, without there having been a semiotic revolution on the interpretation of signs.

It is also interesting to note that these observations were made following Calvino's publication of *Le città invisibili*: one of the first books of Italian literature to use a semiotic structure¹².

¹⁰ I. CALVINO, *Lettere 1940-1985*, cit., p. 1196.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Calvino, together with Pavese and Vittorini, played an important role at the Einaudi Publishing House. In a recent volume, Mangoni reconstructed the cultural role of the Einaudi Publishing House from the 1930s to the late 1960s. These intellectuals pursued a cultural project that tended to exploit, in the face of a prevailing philosophy of B. Croce, Marxist and Gramsci culture in Italy. Hence, as well expressed in Cantimori's positions, a key Marxist reading of the *Risorgimento* and of the Italian identity that erased with one swipe the nationalist and fascist tradition as well as Croce's historicist tradition. The new interpretation was then to be read and measured against the translation of European works in Italy which, however, would not cause delays in the spread of Marxist culture. Hence, the

Another point refers to the construction of ontologies and so knowledge theories (a dedicated part of the volume will be about the path which, starting from the metaphors identified in the sources, will explain the mathematical theories at the basis of ontologies).

In an important book, Umberto Eco dwelt on the distinction between 'dictionary' and 'Encyclopaedia' – a topic already discussed in the *Trattato di semiotica generale* (1975) – observing how the interpretation of the sign requires an extended and labyrinthine encyclopaedic knowledge¹³.

The title of the book, *Dall'albero al labirinto*, explains how transmission of knowledge occurs in the Western world. The most common form is that of linear transmission (the tree), namely knowledge organised in the form of a dictionary and an encyclopaedia. From a semiotic point of view, the dictionary contains all the analytical properties: it must identify the attributes, namely the substantial form of things. In more recent times, the issue of how to define the contents expressed in a natural language, a finite system of figures that have the same characteristics of a phonological system have been raised. In this way, each term is interpretable by other terms. Another model of knowledge organisation is the Encyclopaedia, the organisation of which, according to Eco, to support itself looks for a tree or a Porphyrian tree. The Porphyrian tree claims to use, however, terms that are always fundamental (primitive), which «non sono ulteriormente definibili ed indispensabili, nell'indice enciclopedico, [dove] ogni nodo rinvia a nozioni che lo definiscano e che saranno esposti nel corso della trattazione completa»¹⁴. The second aspect of the Encyclopaedia, already present in the Pliny model, is that it not only regards things known by experience, but the content is often legendary. The novelty in modern encyclopaedias – with respect to Pliny's or medieval models – is simply formed by the critical notion that is employed to separate legendary ones from those that have been scientifically proven.

The *Encyclopédie* was also inspired by the linear process of the tree. It records all beliefs, also those considered to be incorrect, but states them as such. D'Alembert, in the *Discours préliminaire*, wrote about the metaphor of the tree, but then questioned it, associating knowledge to a globe or a

Calvino case. The publication of the author's heraldic trilogy was opposed by various Communist intellectuals. The accusation was that he had moved away from a Neorealist narration of the Resistance stories (which married up with the invention of the new Marxist epic). See L. MANGONI, *Pensare i libri*, cit.

¹³ U. ECO, *Dall'albero al labirinto. Studi storici sul segno e l'interpretazione*, Milano, 2007, p. 68 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

labyrinth instead. Only in modern encyclopaedias does the Peircean principle of interpretation dominate; and therefore the principle of unlimited semiosis.

Then, the road to another method of knowledge based on a labyrinthine path: knowledge is not ordered by clear binary thought disjunctions. In the labyrinth, one no longer must find something but discovers it. There are three kinds of labyrinth: the classical one, of Knossos, and unicursal. The first is a type of encyclopaedia; the second is mannerist and offers alternative choices: all paths lead to a dead-end but one which leads to the exit; the third type of labyrinth is a network where each point can be connected to another point. Each time it can be crossed following different paths. A metaphor for the network is the rhizome where there are no points but only lines: at each intersection of lines one can identify some points.

With Eco, there is the important notion of a semantic network that is structured as a maze of interconnected nodes. According to this author, a third form of knowledge organisation, which only started to appear in the 1980s, is that of ontologies. It is an organisation by category that can take the form of any classification tree or a semantic network. An ontology is: the explicit, formal specification of the terms of a domain and their interrelations¹⁵. Obviously, ontologies are not representations of the world, but of the modality of conceptualisation within specific domains.

Although the volume was written before the WWW, Eco provided indications on what kind of language must be used by social sciences in the construction of ontologies. Eco's insights were soon faced with the reality of the World Wide Web, which, as mentioned, did not only mean their uploading in the form of multimedia hypertexts. The enormous amount of data contained in the Semantic Web enables so-called 'search engines' to go beyond the simple 'syntactic' input of terms.

We have seen Tim Berners-Lee's theory to go from a 'syntactic' to a 'semantic' model. Actually, the Semantic Web necessarily requires the processing of data by machines, and therefore the creation of reasoning techniques similar to those of human intelligence, in the management, cataloguing and search of digital objects. This way the WWW revolutionised the traditional knowledge system by removing the boundaries that limited access to documents. These intuitions of Berners-Lee have been deeply absorbed by the entire scientific community, by both humanities and

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

computer sciences, so that different concepts related to the Semantic Web have been developed in the Linked Open Data (LOD) standard.

We have seen how the concept of LOD extends the concept of semantic linking of the content of individual documents on the web, to the concept of a (semantic) network that connects an enormous volume of digital documents from different sources and in different formats. This process is the consequence of standardising the national paths of the countries of the European Union who have produced different languages and therefore archival information which cannot be shared. To solve this, 'bridge' languages were written linking different ontologies and vocabularies, so creating a single common vocabulary.

What can these common linguistic and semantic vocabularies be? According to Umberto Eco, the metaphor is the instrument producer of ontologies. It is not a matter of imitation but invention.

Eco asked himself: what does, functioning as a cognitive device, the metaphor allow us to see in a new way? Things, or the way in which we were accustomed to seeing (and representing) things?¹⁶ Surely, it is the representation of things: «pare che solo nella cultura contemporanea non ci si sia resi conto che spesso le metafore, per essere comprese, richiedono che si individui una nuova organizzazione categoriale»¹⁷. The invention of metaphors allows to see an unprecedented relationship, imposing a reorganisation of our knowledge.

Coming to the last point, which are and how do, in relation to the strengthening of the modern state, the metaphors and monarchic iconography of the universe of nobility in France and in Southern Italy change?

In the first case, important visions emerged in Europe interpreting sovereignty as *absolutio legibus*, the concentration in the sovereign of all supreme authority embedded in the classical notion of the imperium of Christian ideology: the laws of the earthly city mirror the other-worldly aims of the city of God, the secular authority is responsible for order and safety, the monarch is the legitimate representative of God and acts as a mediator between the human and the divine. His attributes are therefore those of strength, recalling mythology, but he is also wrapped by a sacred aura and his nature is expressed efficiently by allegories and metaphors of the biblical or evangelical kind.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

Furthermore, the complex and unresolved transition from medieval *pactism* to the absolute sovereignty of the modern state is a never-ended path towards state centralisation, a trend that is nourished by several heterogeneous ideologies: the leading theories advocating *rex legibus solutus* coexist with contractual conceptions that seek to set limits to the overflowing power of the monarch.

In the same way, well-known is the assimilation of the *princeps* in a good family father who guarantees welfare and justice to his subjects-sons, who, for their part, are obliged to pay him a tribute of loyalty and respect: «il rapporto governante-governato è ricalcato pienamente sul rapporto fedele-divinità, a sua volta condizionato dallo schema figlio-padre che è parimenti utilizzato per raffigurarli entrambi»¹⁸. In order to grasp the monarchic iconography and the noble semantic universe, one must consider, other than the archival and literary sources, also architecture, decorations and frescoes. From the analysis of these different sectors, the political languages describing the forms of sovereignty fully emerge. We have seen the iconographic projections of the courts of France and of the Kingdom of Naples, which, depending on the case, tended to give a shared or an absolute view of sovereignty.

The prince is the metaphor for the state (prince- state).

In the petitions, or in other documentary filings consulted, there is always the ‘constructivist’ metaphor for the house. It is a continual recalling of ‘economics’ and good governance of the household, where the prince is

¹⁸ L. BLANCO, «Stato moderno» e «costituzionalismo antico». *Considerazioni inattuali*, in *Chiesa cattolica e mondo moderno. Scritti in onore di Paolo Prodi*, a cura di A. PROSPERI-P. SCHIERA-G. ZARRI, Bologna 2007, pp. 403-419, in which Blanco recalls «gli elementi non assolutistici dell’assolutismo», significantly quoted by Gerhard Oestreich in his essay contained in the Italian translation of the anthology *Lo Stato moderno*, a cura di E. ROTELLI-P. SCHIERA, *Dal Medio Evo all’età moderna*, Bologna, 1971, pp. 173-191. On the subject of the iconography of the modern state, there are reflexions, doctrinal references and bibliographies in M. SBRICCOLI, *Crimen laesae maiestatis. Il problema del reato politico alle soglie della scienza penalistica moderna*, 1974, pp. 79-116: in particular in chapter I, *Mitologie e propaganda*, see a paragraph with the significant title: *La figura del princeps come metafora dello Stato*, pp. 79-82, where the subject is described as: «Il primo dei passaggi obbligati nella costruzione di una convincente ideologia del potere consiste nell’uso della figura del princeps come metafora dello Stato. [...] Del resto è nota la convinzione (tutta ideologica, ma operante poi sul terreno della effettività politica) della coincidenza [...] tra il princeps e la respublica: il sovrano simbolizza, rappresenta, è lo Stato [...]». And again at page 83, Sbriccoli highlights: «[...] Il re è, sempre più, metafora del sistema che incarna. Questo insieme di cose non gli dà soltanto prestigio e non si limita ad accrescere la sua credibilità nei confronti dei suoi sudditi, ma rafforza [...] il principio-valore della sua intangibilità [...]».

represented as the father of that group of families that make up the state. Therefore, as Frigo pointed out, his qualities must correspond to those of the good family father, not selfish but equitable, who carries on the prosperity of those entrusted to him in the respect of roles and hierarchies.

Not always does the family father release his children from parental authority. Hence a series of metaphors: a house as a small town; a city as a large house; the state as many cities and houses. The governance of the household of the family father is the metaphor for the prince's government of the state.

In the symbolism of the Bourbons of Europe, references to King David referred to a Christological metaphor, while Solomon represented the image of the righteous King or Priest King.

According to an interpretation by Kantorowicz, the sovereign assumes two different natures, through a complex process of semantic transference, of physical and immortal body. We recalled how the paradigm is the symbolic transfer of the sacralisation of the sovereign's body, considered a mystical body through the dogma of transubstantiation: transforming into the real Body of Christ in the Eucharist.

Especially in the French, Spanish and Neapolitan kings, the sacredness of the monarch takes a lot from Christian liturgy. We have seen how, in the Kingdom of Naples, with respect to the different Angevin political theology, the Aragonese sovereign resorted to anointing before the coronation that, according to the Christian faith, corresponded to royalty. Baptism was equalised to the coronation. From here the metaphor that likened the sacredness of the body of the sovereign to the mystical body of Christ. For this reason, the *Corpus Christi* procession is of particular interest: through transubstantiation we also had a regeneration of the mystical body of the sovereign.

More so: the royal entrance during Palm Sunday is a metaphor for the entrance of Christ.

Not only. In France, Naples, as in other states existing prior to the Italian unification, the sovereign or the princes tended to establish a special bond with the cult of the holy patron, who became the state Saint. There was an attempt to create a sort of private link with the management of the relics of the saints so that the sovereigns could be considered part of the sacredness of the body of the saint and acquire the same healing powers¹⁹.

¹⁹ G. VITALE, *Ritualità monarchica e cerimonie pratiche devozionali nella Napoli aragonese*, Introduzione di A. M. VISCEGLIA, Salerno, 2006, p. 160 ff.

Vitale wrote, for the Kingdom of Naples, a lovely paper on this type of policy, in respect of the relics of St. Januarius, brought forwards by the Aragonese, the powerful Carafa family and then by various Spanish viceroys²⁰.

Yet again, the placement of spots assigned for holding the poles of the canopy during the *Corpus Christi* procession in the capital of the Kingdom of Naples was the metaphor for the power block supporting the monarchy. In various periods, certain classes were excluded while others were included.

Then, in the 18th century, references to enterprises and the glories of the different branches of the Bourbons also began to appear in iconography. The portrait of the king, according to Luis Marin, transformed itself: from a representation of ancient heroes to a natural depiction of the sovereigns. It is the passage to the superiority of moderns over the ancients, which declined in terms of symbolism of power is a season inaugurated, as Gérard Sabatier pointed out for the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, by the new depictions of Louis XIV no longer as Apollo-Sun. The new king, the most powerful sovereign in Europe, no longer needs to be portrayed in the guise of an ancient hero having become he himself a hero.

This was a very clear turning point. Previously, sovereigns were compared to mythological characters such as Apollo-Sun, Minerva or Hercules. In the first case, the metaphor of Apollo-Sun was present in all the iconography that inspired the Court of Louis XIV.

In the second half of the 18th century, monarchic iconography suffered from the culture of Enlightenment. For example, in the Kingdom of Naples the sovereign philosopher was the protector of arts and sciences. The iconography designed for the frescoes of the Palatine Library, as we have seen, was significant and deeply desired by Ferdinand IV and Maria Carolina.

The metaphor that crosses the symbolism of the two branches of the Bourbons was primarily that of Hercules. References were made to a *Hercule Gaulois* or an *Ercole Latino* (or the *Ercole Farnese* of Capodimonte), the figure of Hercules which appears in decorations and portraits of the French kings or in the marble sculpture group *Alessandro Farnese incoronato dalla Vittoria* as well as in other frescoes.

The second half of the 18th century was also a time when new metaphors characterised sovereignty and the state. From a patrimonial vision of the state to one where it is seen as a public asset. Thus, the metaphor for the

²⁰ S. BERTELLI, *Il corpo del re. Sacralità del potere nell'Europa medievale e moderna*, Firenze, 1990.

governance of the household was replaced by the organic one of the body. In the body, the sovereign is the head: the cities are its limbs. It was a modern vision where the 'patrimonial' vision of the state was replaced by that of the 'public asset'. The new public law, imbued in natural law, had produced its effects²¹.

The French Decade followed. The constructivist and organic metaphors of sovereignty were abandoned. With Napoleon and Murat Imperial metaphors were back in vogue. Napoleon was compared to the new Caesar, the myth of Astraea returned.

We recalled depictions desired by Napoleon and created by David or commissions of the decorations that Murat wanted for the Hall of Astraea, referring to allegories and metaphors of Minerva (the Goddess of War) and the return of Astraea, whose escape produced the departure of justice from the world.

Astraea's iconography is considerable, rooted, according to Yates, in the idea of Empire of many European countries (from Charles V) already during the first half of the 16th century and then reposed by Charles VI of Habsburg during the War of Spanish Succession²².

The myth of Astraea was far more than the metaphor of the sovereign as supreme judge, which appears in sources from the Neapolitan courts in the 17th and 18th century. Judge, within a form of proto-modern state where sovereignty is passed in good measure to the territorial bodies, through the exercise of the courts. Therefore, the sovereign did not impose on the parties, but mediated between the parties through justice. Back then, the iconography of sovereignty had completely mutated: the monarch was no longer represented in metaphors as a judge, but described in possession of *potestas absoluta*.

During the French Decade, with the application of the *Napoleonic Code*, a new metaphor was imposed that saw the state as a machine created by the administrative monarchy. Metaphors that, back then, referred to the merits and the efficiency of the citizen, the preparation of officials, competences,

²¹ G. CIRILLO, *Spazi contesi. Camera della Sommaria, baronaggio, città e costruzione dell'apparato territoriale del Regno di Napoli (secc. XV-XVIII)*, *Evoluzione del sistema amministrativo e governi cittadini*, Milano, 2011.

²² On the subject of the Imperial vision of Charles, P. VÁZQUEZ GESTAL, *Corte, poder y cultura política en el reino de las Dos Sicilias de Carlos de Borbón (1734-1759)*, Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 2008 (Unedited Doctoral Thesis); E. PAPAGNA, *La corte di Carlo di Borbone, il re «proprio e nazionale»*, Napoli, 2011; G. GALASSO, *Il Regno di Napoli*, IV, in *Storia d'Italia*, XV/4, Torino, 2007, p. 37 ff.

merits acquired on the field and not to the graces received thanks to the benevolence of the sovereign. In the different requests for posts, subsidies or gratifications, such as those from Bourbon sources, the prevailing categories are those which refer to meritocracy, to the dignity of offices. In the new political metaphors the sovereign was only seen as the first and most respectable of citizens.

In the Kingdom of Naples, during the first half of the 19th century, with the last Bourbons, the monarchic symbology was demeaned. We have seen how, all in all, there was a return to the iconography of Murat. The insertion in the fresco dedicated to the return of Astraea of the *Trinacria* symbol (the identity of the new Kingdom of the Two Sicilies), of the Fasces (a symbol of ancient power since the Roman Empire) and the lily (the symbol of the Bourbons in Europe) allowed a recovery of the frescoes of the Murat period.

The recovery of the Imperial iconography, by Ferdinand I, is also explained by the fact that it aims at the symbolism of the Farnese, from Paul III and Cardinal Ranuccio. We have seen the importance of the iconography of the Hall of the Farnese Splendours of Rome: the Imperial mythology of Mars and Minerva, the symbol of the Papal tiara, the glorious scenes of Charles V and Francis I crowned with laurel²³.

With Ferdinand IV, the practice of *damnatio memoriae* was no longer used, as for instance in some 16th and 17th century cases described by Angela De Benedictis. There no longer were wars of images, as in Bologna (1501), played on symbols, and in particular around the bell of the local lords, the Bentivoglio. The bell that was first melt into Michelangelo's statue of Pope Julius II and then, at the latter's death, transformed into the *bombarda Giulia*²⁴. Ferdinand IV (once of the Two Sicilies) never resorted to the elimination of the previous monarchic iconography, but acquired it, as seen with the picture galleries or art collections previously commissioned by Murat. Then, however, the final choice of the last Bourbons: focusing on an identity that was more Italian than Spanish. It was not only, together with motivations that have already been exposed, the consideration that they represented the smallest kingdom of the Bourbons in Europe, but also the ambitions – especially of Ferdinand II – to aspire to a prominent role among the Italian princes.

²³ G. LABROT, *La sala dei fasti farnesiani di Roma: uno spazio cortigiano?*, in *La corte in Europa. Fedeltà, favori, pratiche di governo*, a cura di M. CATTINI-M.A. ROMANI, in «Cheiron», I, 1983, 2, pp. 76-92.

²⁴ A. DE BENEDICTIS, *Una guerra d'Italia, una resistenza di popolo: Bologna 1506*, Bologna, 2004.

From here, there was a revaluation, in the identity of the monarchy, of the Italian core from which the Kingdom was born: to retrieve the identity and the legacy of Alessandro and then Elisabetta Farnese – completely removing the Spanish viceroyalty period from the iconography, in addition to the Empire of Napoleon's descendants – and through them make the genealogical tree of the dynasty start from Charles V and then from Charles of Bourbon.

Other identity elements and metaphors on Bourbon sovereignty can be drawn examining the organisation and operation of the Royal Palace in relation to the State of Caserta and, more generally, to the Royal Bourbon Sites.

From the point of view of new institutional creations, the monarchy adopted a different system. It resorted to some metaphors that changed in relation to the court, the palace, the Royal Sites, the royal residence, the colony of St. Leucio and other Royal Sites organised as feudal states. The court was an extension of the monarchy, a place of political decisions, an arena – as it was defined – where the factions are competing for the monopoly of monarchic patronage; the very construction of the palace recalled a precise monarchic ritual (a political message assigned to architecture, court leises, ceremonials, the sumptuous hunting expeditions, horseback riding, ceremonies) which took place between the various Royal Sites (St. Leucio, Carditello, Astroni); the city of Caserta was promoted from simple royal city to royal villa, to indicate the house of the king as the Escorial or Versailles; instead, the Royal Site of St. Leucio, from time to time, was seen as a metaphor for an utopian colony of social experimentation (especially after the promulgation of the regulations issued by Ferdinand), city factory and 'barracks of the king'.

All the Royal Sites, then, were fiefs. Also Caserta was. They were part of the private heritage of the Bourbons. They were all privately purchased and – notwithstanding the new Spanish experimentation with the presence of an Intendent for the main Royal Sites, equipped with a certain degree of autonomy over the Secretariat of Royal Company²⁵ – administered as fiefs with governors and a baronial court.

Then, in time, the functions and so the metaphors for the Royal Sites changed: St. Leucio became a metaphor for the factory of the king (then, of working city), the experimentation of the police state; Carditello, a metaphor

²⁵ On this see *Alle origini di Minerva trionfante. Caserta e l'utopia di S. Leucio. La costruzione dei siti reali borbonici*, a cura di I. ASCIONE-G. CIRILLO-G.M. PICCINELLI, Roma, 2012, pp. 11-14.

for agricultural and livestock experimentation; Pietrarsa, for the primacy of the industrial production of the Kingdom.

We are now exploring the 19th Bourbon century and the monarchic iconography conveys metaphors for the presumed records of the Kingdom.

In the European experience, the Royal Sites, starting from the mid-18th century, were seen as the headquarters of the largest Enlightenment project of the Bourbons of Europe, where the great reforming utopias were tested on the field²⁶. An important element was the new physical location which identifies utopia. It was no longer an island, but a happy oasis detached from the contaminations of society (the metaphors: of the colony being the place of utopia; the Enlightened utopia of a just and fair society)²⁷.

At the end of the 19th century, when Royal Sites became a heritage of the Savoy, the main metaphor that originated from the new policy of monarchic integration towards the former nobility of the Mezzogiorno revolved around the hunting ritual.

Even the metaphors that originate from the nobility and noble symbols are closely related to those of princely families and their heraldry. In describing one's blazon, the identity elements of the lineage are brought into focus. The heraldic symbols indicate the elements that distinguish *ab origine* families of the aristocracy. Blazons are themselves a metaphor. This also applies to the heraldry of aristocracies, cities, princes, and sovereigns. More important the lineage, especially for princely families or sovereigns, the greater the number of symbolic heraldic elements: several blazons or the same blazon with the addition of new symbols.

According to Maria Antonietta Visceglia, the sovereign is denoted, in iconic images and rites, by a set of symbolic objects that combine with the heraldic and dynastic symbols, with colours, in a structure where the symbolic meaning of the one refers to that of the other, and the privileging of one rather than another tends to emphasise one particular function of the sovereign: a King of Prosperity, a King of Justice, a King of War²⁸.

We described the pompous blazon of Charles V where, on top of the two columns (that indicated the American possessions) was a banner quoting the

²⁶ G. CIRILLO, *I Siti Reali borbonici. Alcuni problemi storiografici*, in *Alle origini di Minerva trionfante. Caserta e l'utopia di S. Leucio. La costruzione dei siti reali borbonici*, a cura di I. ASCIONE-G. CIRILLO-G.M. PICCINELLI, cit., p. 17 ff.

²⁷ V. FERRONE, *La società giusta ed equa. Repubblicanesimo e diritti dell'uomo in Gaetano Filangieri*, Roma-Bari, 2003.

²⁸ M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Rituali religiosi e gerarchie politiche a Napoli in età moderna*, in *Fra storia e storiografia. Scritti in onore di Pasquale Villari*, a cura di P. MACRY-A. MASSAFRA, Bologna, 1994, p. 226.

motto *non plus ultra*²⁹. Instead, Charles of Bourbon and his successors had a more sombre official blazon, recalling initially the other Bourbons of Europe, but then also the other Italian kinships such as the Farnese and the Medici: «le armi, che ricordavano i diritti di nascita e quelli acquistati, erano in primo luogo il blasone nazionale [dei Regni di Napoli e di Sicilia] sul quale innestavano i tre gigli d'oro della Casa di Spagna e di Francia, i sei gigli dei Farnese e le sei palle dei Medici»³⁰.

The sign universe that denotes the blazons of the great aristocratic families must be taken into consideration in the first place through the heraldic coats of arms (the blazons). In the 16th century, in the Kingdom of Naples, everything revolved around a dozen or so substantial lineages that possessed a large part of the feudal states. Then, between the 17th and 18th centuries, with integration policies of the Habsburgs, the Austrians and the Bourbons, the number of emblazoned individuals grew at a frightening rate. In the archives of the great aristocratic families of the Kingdom and in the petitions presented to the Chamber of St. Chiara the heraldic symbols are minutely described³¹.

It must be said that the great aristocratic families had several blazons: there are variations that are more or less relevant according to the various branches, with a common part. The symbols of coats of arms constitute the family identity: the weapons, fortresses, animals indicate how and when the lineage originated. Also, the use of colours in coat of arms refers to a privilege acquired from a specific dynasty: at the foundation, with continuous semantic transference, the works of Andrea Alciato and Cesare Ripa.

It is striking how – from a heraldic comparison of the leading baronial families of the 16th and 17th century – the blazon was matched to a genealogical tree. Secular oak trees were depicted, with a robust trunk and many leafy branches indicating various and strong branches of the lineage, which in turn spawned more fronds. The glory of the lineage consisted of its antiquity (the trunk and the fronds), it did not matter if the earliest ancestors descended from ancient sovereigns or other mythical characters. An antiquity measured in years and ancestors. Without fronds, despite the robustness, the tree dies³². It is also interesting that the tree of life, starting

²⁹ F.A. YATES, *Astrea. L'idea di inferno nel Cinquecento*, Torino, 1978.

³⁰ A. DUMAS, *Storia dei Borbone di Napoli*, Napoli [ristampa], 2002, p. 15.

³¹ G. CIRILLO, *Spazi contesi*, I, cit., p. 80 ff.

³² According to Vincenzo Ferrone, for the proponents of encyclopaedias «l'unico albero meritevole d'attenzione divenne l'uomo, il suo intelletto, le sue facoltà (memoria, ragione,

from the Jewish tradition, confers a sacred aspect to aristocratic lineages through an overlapping (as can be deduced from the iconography) between the structure of the universe, the body of God and the human body³³.

It is striking that there is a precise assonance between the metaphor for the tree of life with the tree through which the transmission of knowledge occurs, as Umberto Eco mentioned. Only that, it should be noted, sturdy oak trees and beeches, which denote the transmission of knowledge in the early modern age, were then replaced by olive trees in the *Encyclopédie*. The secular tree, in the eyes of the Enlightenment, had to be a useful tree bearing fruit, not be unproductive like the great European aristocracy. From here, the metaphors of the productive social classes associated with fruit trees, as opposed to fruitless and diseased trees (or dead ones) representing aristocracy.

Then, the tree metaphor, within different sources, was gradually replaced with that of the Sun. The families of the ancient aristocracies were the first to utilise this metaphor. In the coats of arms indicating enterprises, the Sun appears from the early decades of the 17th century. These were the new privileges received by sovereign grace from the Habsburgs, as a reward for military service performed on various European battlefields. The metaphor of the Sun then appeared on a good part of the coats of arms of the new 18th century nobility, formed as a consequence of the Bourbon policy. Now the origin of nobility was sunlight (Sun-Sovereign) and the sovereign, with the reform of service nobility, was the sole dispenser of privileges.

The forest metaphor was present until the Habsburg period, consisting of dense woods of tall oaks and beeches, indicating the genealogical trees of the nobility, grown in an irregular way. This was to indicate a different origin of the nobility of the Kingdom – we recalled the approximately 600 petitions

immaginazione) capaci di produrre diverse, ed ugualmente importanti, forme di conoscenza. La descrizione dei rami di quell'albero, la sua storia, l'individuazione di specifiche metodologie di ricerca nei diversi campi costituiscono la sostanza autentica della loro grande indagine sul sistema figurato delle conoscenze come capacità dell'uomo di percepire e interpretare il reale». V. FERRONE, *Scienza*, in *L'Illuminismo. Dizionario storico*, a cura di V. FERRONE-D. ROCHE, Roma-Bari, 1998, pp. 333-341.

³³ Jenny Kien views, in biblical tradition, the Tree of Life of the Kabbalah in comparison to the Tree of Life of Asherah, an ancient Canaan deity who was also venerated in Israel, and then disappeared with the transition to monotheism. Cf. J. KIEN, *Un nuovo sguardo all'Albero della Vita nella Kabbalah*, tratta da *Reinstating the Divine Woman in Judaism*, 2000. The Italian translation is by FRANCA and SERGIO LUCCHI BASILI. See <http://www.universitadelledonne.it/kabbalah.pdf>. See also CH. L.C.E. WITCOMBE, *Eve and the Identity of Women*, 2000, <http://witcombe.sbc.edu/eve-women/>.

submitted to the Chamber of St. Chiara, featuring family trees – characterised by leafy and sturdy trees but grown without order and, above all, arranged in a disorderly manner under the Sun. Then, starting with Charles of Bourbon, the forest metaphor was replaced by that of a well-ordered wood, a pretty landscape where robust trees are aligned, all taking their origin from the exposure to the light of the Sun-Sovereign.

These allegories and metaphors would soon dissipate to be replaced by those of the French Revolution. Even in this case, some originated from a re-adaptation of the mythology of the classical world: *Marianne* took on many of the traits of ancient Minerva³⁴; the tree of freedom had connotations in common with the previous tree of life and the tree of knowledge. The cap of the Revolution, in iconography, even ousted the crown in the case of Louis XVI³⁵.

This is how the iconography and heraldry itself changed over time, indicating that the iconographic symbols and political metaphors contained in the texts were not constant but, through complex operations of semantic transference, decontextualised and filled with new content. All this within an analysis and a semiotic reflection that looks to the contemporary world, where often complex figurative constellations, in time, turn into vectors rich of political meaning³⁶. How can we not consider that these symbols and iconographies, which have been examined, intersect and weave, especially through the experience of emblematic heraldry, with the symbolologies of modern-day power. It is precisely through this universe of noble, princely and urban coats of arms that a process of iconic coding is taking form, to be

³⁴ M. AGULHON, *Marianne au combat. L'imagerie et la symbolique républicaines de 1789 à 1880*, Paris, 1979; ID., *Marianne au pouvoir. L'imagerie et la symbolique républicaines de 1880 à 1914*, Paris, 1989; H.T. PARKER, *The Cult of Antiquities and the French Revolutionaries. A Study in the Development of the Revolutionary Spirit*, Chicago, 1937, pp. 139-145. See also F. FURET-M. OZOUF, *Dizionario critico della Rivoluzione francese*, Milano, 1988.

³⁵ The cap had unseated the crown. Cf. E.H. GOMBRICH, *Il sonno della ragione. Simboli della rivoluzione francese*, in ID., *L'uso delle immagini. Studi sulla funzione sociale dell'arte e della comunicazione visiva*, Milano, 1999, p. 174; M. OZOUF, *La Fête révolutionnaire, 1789-1799*, Paris, 1978; N. MATHIEU, *Symboles et thèmes antiques sur quelques documents et en fêtes révolutionnaires*, in R. CHEVALLIER, *La Révolution Française et l'Antiquité*, Tours, 1991, pp. 221-245.

³⁶ On this topic see U. ECO, *Trattato di semiotica generale*, Milano, 1988, pp. 301-302; ID., *Semiotica e filosofia del linguaggio*, Torino, 1984, pp. 199-254. On the subject of this symbolic polysemic, see A. COHEN, *Political symbolism*, in «Annual Review of Anthropology», VIII, 1979, pp. 87-113.

placed at the foundation of latter-day contrasting political symbolisations of contemporary Europe³⁷.

³⁷ A recent study reveals that much of the political symbolism of the 20th century – among the examples: Cross of Lorraine, *Biscione* (Viper), *Quattro mori* (Four Moors), the Lictorian Beam, Hammer and Sickle, the Liberty Cap and others – originates from this process of semantic transfer. Cf. F. BENIGNO-L. SCUCCIMARRA (a cura di), *Simboli della politica*, Roma, 2010, p. 19.

Part III

*From metadata to ontologies: the contribution of hard sciences
to the description and analysis of historical documents*

1. Introduction. Metadata and interoperability

Now that the Web has been around for a while, digital documents and resources have become the main means for sharing knowledge and cooperating. Up to a few years ago, the paradigm for sharing resources was strongly centralised: digital resources were maintained by single sources, providing the necessary tools to access and use documents and, more generally, the data they handled.

On the other hand, the last few years have seen an exponential growth of data and information available on the web: data sources, their users and the applications that access data, elaborating it and eventually creating new one, have highly increased.

In particular, the introduction of *Social Networks*, and the use of an ever increasing number of electronic devices and computer systems for the gathering of data from sensors (environmental, biometric, etc.) has given rise to many problems regarding the analysis and treatment of such data (in the scientific literature it is called *Big Data*)¹.

Other than the tremendously huge volume of data to be handled in real time, one of the main problems regarding the analysis of Big Data is due to the fact that the data to be analysed is generally not structured and comes from very heterogeneous sources, both concerning their application domain (for instance, social networks, public administration offices, data regarding environmental pollution) and the format of data used to store such information.

The main problems that the scientific community is trying to solve is linked to the 'data-information' dichotomy: from great volumes of data it is necessary to extract information of interest. The attempt is therefore to treat raw data by associating a meaning to it, correlating it in order to draw new information.

Although associating a meaning to data and, therefore, also to the various content of digital documents, is currently a highly felt problem, it already was around the beginning of the new millennium that the 'father' of the World Wide Web, Tim Berners-Lee began evangelising a conception for

¹ S. LOHR, *The Age of big data*, in «New York Times», 2012, 11.

data on the Web in which it could be analysed and directly used (other than by human beings) also by automatic computer software².

For this, the only solution was to couple to data its specific meaning, its *semantic*. However, semantic meaning also had to be interpretable by applications running on automatic calculators, and this could only happen thanks to the use of formal languages whose grammars are defined by mathematical rules, that would allow to create programs capable of interpreting them autonomously.

Since, in truth, semantic information is actually data that is used to describe the meaning of other data, in literature semantic data are referred to as *meta-data*.

The world of international archives experts (also non-historical ones), libraries and museums has not been without the need of using meta-data for the semantic description of items that were eventually digitalised.

In this context, the annotation of documents had multiple benefits.

First of all it allows to share documents with their content and increase their ease of fruition. Semantic annotation through meta-data allows to *know* what documents are about, forcing a unique structure in their categorisation. Eventual users, both researches, historians, students, tourists and whoever else, will be able to use information associated with meta-data to conduct searches of documents thanks to archival or content-related information.

Furthermore, the use of meta-data allows interoperability and cooperation, both between human beings and data-handling computer applications. What is even more important, as will be described in the following paragraphs, the use of meta-data permits the use of different methodologies in the study of historical documents.

This, however, only if the meta-data utilised by all parties is *shared* and universally adopted.

The *sharing* of meta-data and its universal application are fundamental to ensure the use of some sort of *vocabulary* which is *shared* by experts and researchers.

In the various domains of application, accepting a shared vocabulary eases, among other things, targeted searches of terms and concepts, avoiding to stumble in issues of semantic ambiguity in sentences and terms (just think about the use of homonyms, synonyms, top terms that are used to describe

² T. BERNERS-LEE-J. HENDLER-O. LASSILA, *The Semantic Web*, in «Scientific American», 2001, 84-85, pp. 28-37.

the content of historical documents, not to mention metaphors and other figures of speech).

It is certainly clear that one of the limiting factors, in the realm of annotations through the use of meta-data, is represented by the ambiguity of languages utilised in the description of documents. The use of a vocabulary from a *natural* language (namely, one of the languages used for communication by human beings) in the description of concepts present in a document creates many ambiguity issues. Just think about the renowned Italian sentence '*La Vecchia Porta La Sbarra*': the sentence could indicate an old lady carrying a bar, or an old door blocking the way.

The problem is that the interpretation of a sentence in a natural language cannot be deprived of its context and, also in the latter hypothesis, it is often difficult also for human beings to immediately understand its meaning.

It is to avoid the issue of semantic ambiguity that in the choice of languages for specifying meta-data vocabularies, Formal Languages were chosen, those being languages whose alphabet, vocabulary and grammatical rules are defined by strict mathematical rules.

But this is not all that is takes to use these languages as archivistic meta-data to any useful purpose. It is also necessary that the adopted language is conceived and formalised considering its final objective: namely, to associate semantic information to documents and digitalised artefacts.

It is so necessary to use specific formal languages for the semantic description of information contained in archival documents. Within this context, two strictly correlated issues must be challenged.

The first issue regards the definition of semantic concepts of reference in the domains of interest for the documents to be described. If one wants to describe the contents of a document containing the points of a plea to a king of the Bourbon period, it is obvious that some among the semantic domains of reference for the documents are connected to the noble, as well as the legislative-administrative system of the Bourbon period.

In such an example, it will be necessary to describe (always with a dedicated language), the *sovereignty-nobility* domain as well as that of *Bourbon legislature-administration*. In the first domain we will have concepts such as *sovereign*, *noble*, *count*, *baron*, as well as relationships of these, such as relationships of power or kinship, which can send to, in the first case, to the grace of the king towards certain individuals, or link, in the second case, a noble with another. Likewise, in the second domain concepts such as *act*, *plea*, etc. will appear, and relationships connecting acts to classes of people that could resolve the proceedings.

The declaration of concepts and semantic relationships characterising a domain of interest are generally called *ontologies*, slightly abusing in notation when compared to the original meaning of the word that in philosophy regards the study of the *human being as itself*.

The second issue regards the way in which to archival documents one may associate a reference to the semantic concepts describing them. This problem is known as an annotation issue of documents and actually corresponds to how meta-data are associated with parts making up the documents.

For instance, if one wants to annotate a paragraph in a document, saying it is about a Bourbon king, it is necessary to precisely connect that paragraph (by indicating the page number of the document, the starting and ending line numbers etc., or to the area of image in which the passage of interest is present) to the ontological concept to which it is associated.

For the solution of the first problem, logical-mathematical sciences brought to the definition of dedicated formal languages, commonly indicated as *languages for the description of ontologies*. These languages refer to various mathematical logics, and their expressiveness, that is the group of concepts and ontological relationships that they can describe, depends on the logic with which these are defined.

The ontologies defined in this study make use of a language known as Web Ontology Language (OWL), which in turn extends to another language: the Resource Description Framework (RDF). Both languages have been standardised by World Wide Web Consortium (W3C)³ and belong to the class of technologies and instruments used for the creation of the so-called Semantic Web. Because they are very important for understanding, they will be briefly described in the following paragraph.

2. Languages for the description of ontologies: RDF and OWL

The success of World Wide Web (WWW) has proven the need (and the descriptive power) of standard mechanisms for the exchange and communication of information. One of the first standards adopted to this end was the HTML language (HyperText Markup Language). It was born as

³ The World Wide Web Consortium (W3C) is an international community established to develop *all* open standards of protocols, languages and tools to assure the *growth* and continual evolution of the Web. These standards as described and documented in detail on the webpage: <http://www.w3c.org>.

a language for *annotation* (not semantic, but graphic) of *hypertextual* documents. The language used to build documents on the web is simply known as HTML. HTML is nothing but a language where information is marked (or tagged, in the new language of social media) thanks to dedicated meta-data. Marking defines how a browser must visualise information as well as where are all the hypertexts linked to the one currently being viewed are.

The mechanism of marking is quite simple. One must only state concepts such as: ‘visualise the current part of text in bold’, or ‘visualise the current image centred in the page, loading it from a specific web address’. This is done, in HTML, by delimiting the part of the document to format or connect thanks to adequate markers. If, for instance, one wants to visualise the phrase ‘Page Title’ as title of a web page in the upper part of the browser, in the HTML document the phrase ‘Page Title’ will be delimited by a marker that indicates that it must be visualised as the title of the web page.

`<title> Page Title </title>`

In HTML a marker (or tag) is always delimited by the ‘higher than’ and ‘lower than’ characters, and the line within gives it the meaning. In the instance, the phrase ‘Page Title’ is marked by the tag ‘title’ which defines, indeed, the title of the HTML page. Markers have an initial and a final point, declaring in which point it must stop considering the document associated with the latest declared tag. Generally, ending points are identified by the same marking, preceded by the character ‘/’.

A web browser (programs that allow us to visualise web pages from the Internet is nothing but an interpreter of the HTML language. It reads the description of the page in terms of *contents* and *markings*, and coherently displays the content formatted as required by the markings on display.

It is therefore clear that already in HTML, marking works as a kind of meta-data, where in this case the meta-data does not associate a meaning to the data, but a visual format, or declares its connections to other HTML pages.

HTML was designed in order to describe the *structure* of a document; for what concerns describing the meaning of its parts a more sophisticated language is necessary. It is necessary to specify a fundamental notion: one thing is to describe, somehow, the meaning of a sentence or of a document, a whole different story is that of designing a language capable of defining any semantic domain, in turn capable of describing the meaning of a sentence or document.

What we are about to describe are actual languages that allow the second aforementioned operation. Such languages must be sufficiently general to be *independent from the semantic domain* of interest, as well as from the model of documents.

RDF (Resource Description Framework) was one of the first, effective, languages used for semantics definition. RDF syntactical rules, as well as its grammars, allow to construct simple sentences, composed of three elements: *entity, property and value*. These simple sentences are called RDF triples or simply RDF sentences.

In simple sentences such as:

Charles III of Bourbon was a King (of Spain)

or

Maschio Angioino is in Naples

we identify the main components of a sentences: a subject, a verb and a direct object. In RDF, an entity is equivalent to the subject of the phrase, one property of the verb, and the value of the direct object.

In order to effectively describe the semantic components of a domain of interest, the RDF data model must allow to list the concepts linked to such components and define the relationships between such concepts. Therefore, RDF sentences connect concepts to other concepts, creating a network which has the structure of a graph, namely a structure composed of nodes linked to each other by arcs.

RDF Data Model is therefore based on the ‘primitive’ (fundamental) concepts of *resource, property, sentence and graph*.

In RDF, a resource is an object, a thing to discuss: it can refer to general concepts (such as King, City, etc.), or particular instances (for instance, Charles III is a particular individual, eventually classifiable as a King).

In the previous two examples, Charles III and Maschio Angioino were two examples of resources, just as King and Naples are.

A property, on the other hand, describes semantic connections between entities: in the two examples, the verb ‘being’ (conjugated) in the first phrase, and the verb ‘be in’ in the second phrase, respectively express a connection between Charles III and the concept of King, and between Maschio Angioino and Naples.

Resources and Properties go together to form sentences. These sentences are described by the aforementioned triples and, naturally, are subject to a

graphic representation, where the nodes of the graph represent the resources, while the arcs between each node represent properties.

For instance, the first sentence could be represented in the following way:

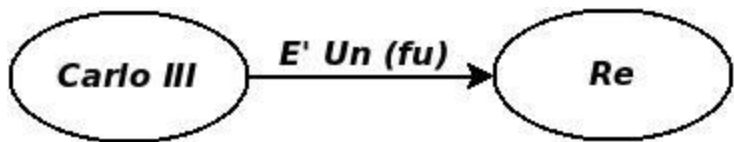


Fig. 1 – Graphic Representation of an RDF Sentence

If we now also consider the following phrases:

Naples is a City
Naples is in Italy
Italy is a Country

it is clearly possible to connect entities in actual networks (a graph) of interlinked semantic concepts. A graph describing the example of the previous phrases is as follows:



Fig. 2 – Graphic Representation of an RDF Graph

An RDF structure can be memorised in an XML document, where obviously it will be necessary to tag contained phrases as well as the role of verbs and nouns.

It is possible to extend the concept of triple to predicates and complex sentences, quoting all on a graph, but detailing these examples is too complicated for this particular chapter and, anyhow, not discussing them will not affect the following general discussion.

Only one thing must be pointed out: inside sentences, resources may refer to simple individuals (such as Charles III, Naples, Italy, etc.) or to classes of individuals (King, Town, Nation, etc.). In the first case we are talking about *instances*, in the second of *classes* of instances.

Properties linking an instance to a class are very important, and generally it is worth highlighting this by giving a (unique) name to such property. In the jargon, such property is defined with the name of '*instance of*'.

By using the nomenclature that has just been described, the previous sentences have to be more correctly defined as:

<i>Naples</i>	<i>instance of</i>	<i>City</i>
<i>Italy</i>	<i>instance of</i>	<i>Country</i>

There is yet another type of property that is worth describing already and which links a subset with its own group, namely sub-classes with classes which contain them. Also this property has a unique name, that of being '*subclass of*' (or, sometimes, '*is a*').

Here are some examples:

Mammals are a Subclass of Animals
Carnivores are a Subclass of Mammals
Herbivores are a Subclass of Mammals
Felines are a Subclass of Carnivores
The Panther is a Subclass of Felines
The Cat is a Subclass of Felines

In the above sentences, the resource to the left of the sentence always represents a class which is contained in the specified class to the right of the sentence.

So those which over two thousand years ago were studied by Aristotle and Porphyry are created: *taxonomies* of classes⁴.

⁴ ARISTOTELE, *Categorie*; PORFIRIO, *Commentari alle Categorie* and *Isagoge*.

The very RDF language defines a limited number of predefined Properties and Resources, with which it is possible to define a certain number of sentences, taxonomies, etc.

The variety of semantic diagrams that can be defined in RDF is limited. The main limitation is attributable to the definition of phrases characterised solely by triples and by the fact that the very language itself is strongly polarised in the description of taxonomies and hierarchies among classes.

Faced with such limitation, the very team of W3C gathered to define a new language capable of expressing more complex concepts. The work group defined and gave birth to another language of semantic definition, known as Ontology Web Language (OWL).

Right from the start, the project aimed at representing a wide number of logic fragments for the terminological representation of knowledge.

The founding concept of OWL is that of an ontology. This is meant as:

‘a formal and explicit specification of the concepts present within a domain’.

The terminological point of view in the specification of ontologies therefore requires the definition of a certain number of ‘unambiguously determined’ terms (namely, without repetitions).

Furthermore, we already remarked how important it is that the language used is based on formal rules, but one fundamental requisite is still missing and must be respected for the description of ontologies: the language must be ‘useful’.

Useful in the sense that a document which defines an ontology must be able to undergo automatic analysis processes: it must be possible, for a computer, *to reason on it* in order to allow the obtainment of otherwise hidden correlations between documents.

Also OWL is a language defined in XML and allows for a visual representation in the form of a graph, very similarly (up to a certain level of abstraction) to that of the RDF language.

Just like RDF, OWL allows for definition of classes and instances of classes. The language explicitly supports concepts as the *equivalence* of classes and the *equality* of instances.

Very often, in a document, it is possible to find the same concept addressed by more than one term, which can be synonyms (King and Ruler), or different epithets (such as, Your Highness, Your Majesty etc.). Furthermore, two instances could be indicated with different names (for instance, Lorenzo son of Piero de’ Medici, or ‘the Magnificent’). Here, King

and Monarch are two equivalent classes, while Lorenzo and Il Magnifico are two equal instances.

In the same way, it is possible to define other properties among classes such as the fact these are *disjointed* (that is to say, without common instances), or combined through *union* with other classes (for instance, the 'Human' class can be viewed as the union of Males and Females).

For what concerns properties, it is possible to define a wide range of characteristics for them, such as the possibility to define if a property is opposite to another, the cardinality of relationships as well as others that I wish to omit for reasons of simplicity.

In an OWL defined ontology, the main components are: classes, properties and individuals.

Always from the point of view of a terminological definition of semantics, a class is defined by a word that represents one of the semantic concepts in the domain of knowledge that is under analysis. So, in defining an ontology in OWL there is no need to specify the meaning of each single term that identifies a class: for that we have the dictionary, not an ontology. An OWL ontology simply lists all possible concepts of interest in the domain and for each of these it defines connections with other concepts through the use of properties.

Those, for the record, define the existing connections between individuals of *two* classes: one of the classes takes on the role of *domain* of the property, the other of *codomain*.

Let us consider the following example:



Fig. 3 – Property in OWL – Domain and Codomain

In it we have a simple example with two classes: City and Nation, and one property: collocation. This small example expresses the concept that Cities are located within the geographical areas of Nations, no matter what city or nation is being considered. It is very different to say that a City is placed in a Nation than a Nation is placed in a City (the last phrase appears not to have a correct meaning).

This is why properties are *directed*: two classes take on a different role in the property. City appears to be the starting point of properties, a subject in

an hypothetical phrase that links City to Nation in a relationship of collocation. Dually, Nation is the arriving point of the property which completes the aforementioned sentences.

City takes on the role of *domain* of the relationship while Nation that of *codomain*. The nomenclature is inherited from the vocabulary of Set Theory and mathematical functions. This implies that a Property carries out the role of mathematical function and that it is possible to define in which way its characteristics (for instance, if the property is reversible, reflective, symmetrical, transitive, etc.)

Individuals, in the end, are nothing but components of an instance of a class. For instance, in Fig. 1 Charles III is an instance of King, in Fig. 2 Naples is an instance of City while Italy is one of Nation.

In OWL not just classes have instances. Let us consider the following phrases:

Naples is an instance of City

London is an instance of City

Italy is an instance of Nation

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is an instance of Nation

it is clear that, at least at the level of classes and properties between classes, all of these phrases refer to the ontology described by the graph in Fig. 3, where Naples and London are individuals of City and Italy and the United Kingdom are individuals of Nation.

It is certainly intuitive to note that it is not sufficient to say that Cities are found within Nations (only at the level of classes), but one must also specify *which* city is found in *which* nation.

To do so, also the property must have some kinds of instances assigned, defining individuals of city and nation that are actually related which only are Naples \rightarrow (collocation) \rightarrow Italy, and London \rightarrow (collocation) \rightarrow United Kingdom.

As previously mentioned, ontologies generally describe concepts and relationships between them referring to a well-specified domain of knowledge. It is almost impossible to build an ontology for all knowledge: identical terms would take on completely different meaning and the graph connecting concepts to properties would be enormously complex and impossible to handle.

Concerning the issue of terms, just think of the different *meanings* that the noun *Mouse* takes on if we are in the domain of comic books (Mickey Mouse, one of the characters of the homonymous comic strip), in the animal

domain (notably, just a mouse), or in the domain of computer components (mouse as in the input device of a PC).

3. Semantic annotations and researches

One of the main reasons why an ontology is defined in OWL is to allow to describe the content of a document or of an object in general, referring to some sort of evolved vocabulary (that being the ontology), on which the most part of users and scholars of such objects uniquely converge in the definition and use.

The process which associates a portion of the document to its terminological meaning in relation to an ontology, be it an image, a document created with a word processor, a portion of an image, an audio or video fragment, etc.

For what regards annotations, there are different approaches. The annotation can be written directly into the document or through an external support (such as another digital document); it may or may not allow the annotation through individuals etc.

This is not the place to discuss all of the options, methodologies and techniques used in the process of semantic annotation. A wide description can be recovered from among the scientific literature⁵.

What matters is that on the one hand domain experts are busy defining ontologies to use within their scope of application; on the other, expert archivists, historians, other humanities scholars, scientists etc. are working on 'connecting' the content of analysed documents to the concepts that are present within domain ontologies.

It is also clear that one document can be annotated for several and different domain ontologies if the document is about concepts present in more than one domain.

It is through annotation processes, and the analysis of the very annotations, that it is possible to implement actions of 'semantic' research within documents.

The birth of the World Wide Web and the ceaseless proliferation of content and documents within it, with a more than exponential growth

⁵ L. REEVE-H. HAN, *Survey of semantic annotation platforms*, in L.M. LIEBROCK (Ed.) *Proceedings of the 2005 ACM symposium on Applied computing* (SAC '05), New York, pp. 1634-1638, DOI=10.1145/1066677.1067049, <http://doi.acm.org/10.1145/1066677.1067049>.

trend, has seen the introduction of complex instruments for the search of documents (web pages) and information contained within them. These instruments today are known as *search engines*.

Considering the vast amount of documents to be analysed, their multimedia nature, and that in the majority of cases documents on the web are written in a natural language, search engines proceed to a pure syntactic research within documents.

With the right techniques, they allow to seek documents (previously analysed) that contain a certain number of terms.

With a 'classic' search engine, if one does a search on Hitler, if a document about Rommel does not contain within it the word 'Hitler' it will not be visualised among the search results. Semantic research, on the other hand, allows to reason on ontologies and individuals. If one is doing a research on Hitler and in the ontology it is understood that Rommel was one of Hitler's generals, a semantic search engine could also show the document on Rommel as a search result.

The procedures of semantic research are however difficult to apply to Web documents, considering how many and how heterogeneous they are. They do work well⁶ when related to narrow domains (or to a single semantic domain) allowing for particular reasoning, as will be shown.

4. Symbology and heraldry: semantic description through ontologies

Now we will investigate the structure of an ontology and what, at a first analysis, could be the usefulness of a relative semantic annotation.

In particular, the desire is to formally formalise the domain of symbology and heraldry, as well as that of ceremonies, and eventually correlate those two.

This paragraph will also work as a *running example* for the introduction of the commonly used methodology in the development of ontologies.

OWL is the language chosen to define ontologies. First and foremost, it is important to adopt a tool which allows to *draw* the ontology in an easier way than directly describing it through an XML file.

⁶ CH. MANGOLD, *A survey and classification of semantic search approaches*, in «International Journal of Metadata, Semantics and Ontologies», 2, 2007, 1, pp. 23-34.

The instrument used for this application is *Protégé*⁷, developed by Stanford University.

This tool provides a simple graphic interface for the description of Classes and Properties. In it there are more tabs, each for the description of useful elements.

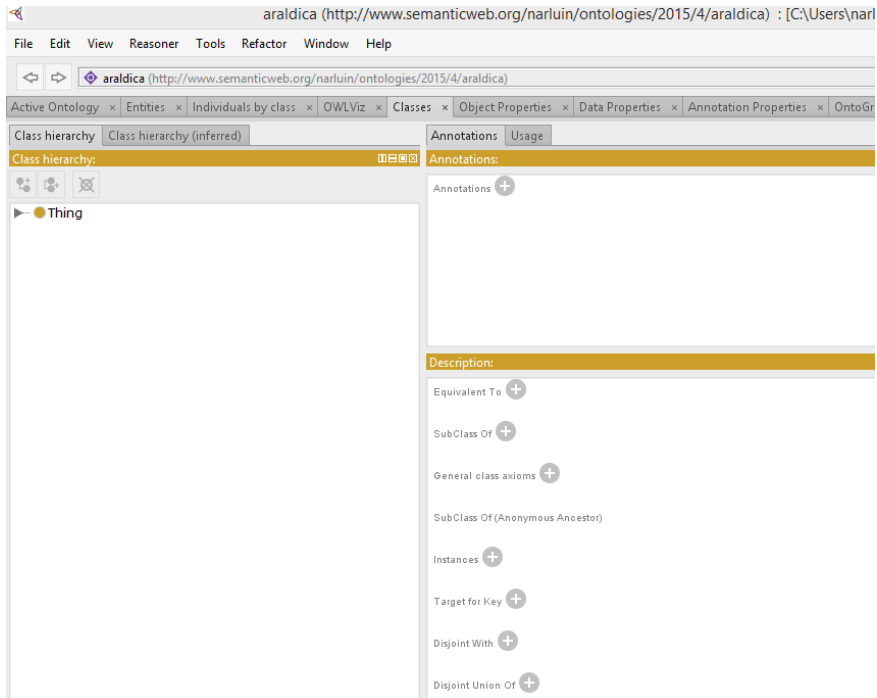


Fig. 4 – Protégé

This instrument allows, for each element of the ontology, to select the properties that distinguish it, that have been partly described in previous paragraphs (equivalence, subclass etc.).

For what regards the definition of Classes of the ontology, namely the salient concepts of the domain of interest, the *Classes* tab will be used as

⁷ The application can be found on <http://progete.stanford.edu>, and constitutes one of the most commonly used tools for the definition of ontologies and for semantic research based on domain ontologies. It is provided in versions compatible with the main OS available on the market.

shown in Fig. 4. In the left side it is possible to insert the concepts of the domain in the form of classes.

We point out how, for convention, a class exists which includes all others (*Thing*). By definition, all classes created in *Protégé* will be subclasses of *Thing*.

In regard, on the right it is possible to report the properties of the elements of the ontology.

The methodology that we will use evolves in the following steps:

1. The main concepts of the domain are identified and made to be classes;
2. Relationships between concepts are identified and the relative *object properties* are established, those being OWL properties we discussed in the previous paragraphs;
3. For each relationship a domain and codomain are identified along with its properties (transitivity, symmetry etc.)
4. One must then determine individuals belonging to classes.

The first ontology to be described in this paragraph is an excerpt of that used for the description of heraldic symbols.

First of all, through *Protégé*, one must create a new ontology, selecting OWL as the language used for its definition. The ontology must be associated with a unique identifier on the Web. This is because, as we have just discussed, an ontology must be uniquely identified as a shared resource on the Web. Identifiers of web resources, according to W3C standards, take the name of *Uniform Resource Identifier (URI)*.

Once the URI has been defined (in simple terms, a web address), it is possible to define the classes of the ontology. We want to point out how this is a relatively simple (although still complex) example for effectively describing the whole process of ontological definition and semantic annotation.

Once more, we clarify that the ontology we are describing is one that exclusively describes noble coat of arms (actual heraldry). It is obvious that coats of arms are linked to noble families and to nobles, while the part of the domain which describes the concepts linked to nobility is left aside for the time being.

The first thing to do is to list all the components and characteristics that make up a coat of arms.

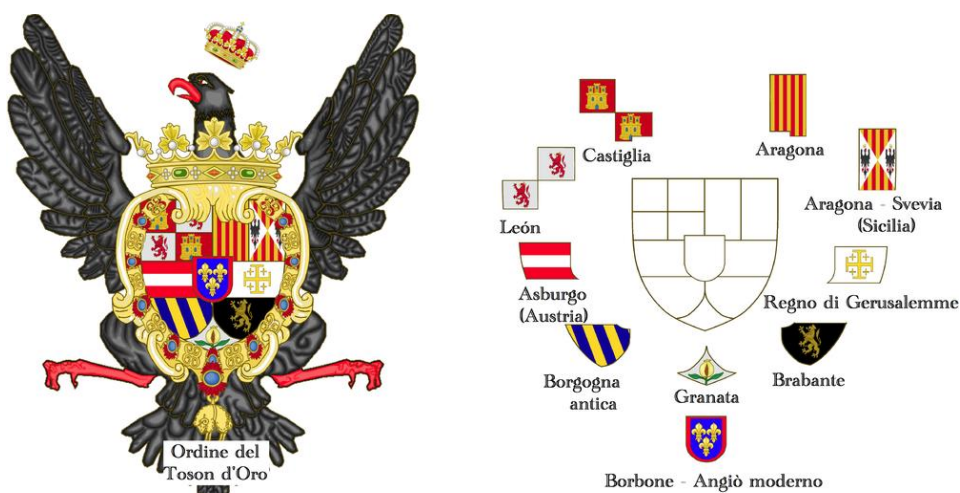


Fig. 5 – Charles III's Coat of Arms of the Kingdom of Sicily

A coat of arms⁸ generally appears as in Fig. 5. Generally a coat of arms is supported by what is identified as a *Collar* (the black eagle in the figure). The coat of arms is then surrounded by a frame that usually (but not necessarily) has the shape of a shield. Sometimes on the frame other objects are present such as a crown. The very coat of arms has a shape and is subdivided. Parts are described according to proportions compared to the full coat of arms and to their position⁹. Each part has a background of a certain colour and often on that part there is another coat of arms (especially for royal families inheriting more kingdoms). Onto each coat of arms, objects or other coat of arms may overlap. Objects, on the coat of arms, then have their position (or pose), an orientation, are characterised by a certain colour and so on.

In heraldry, when a distinctive coat of arms of a territory or family enters another coat of arms (and therefore appears within it), we refer to the incorporated coat of arms as '*points of arms*' (charges).

⁸ The depicted coat of arms is connected to the crest of the Kingdom of Sicily, adopted by Charles III as the King of Sicily.

⁹ The name of the part in the coat of arms is given by its proportions: for instance, it is called a *band* if the part occupies a third of the height of the escutcheon; of *division* if reduced by a third; of *burella* (quartering of the band) if further diminished to allow for the presence of more parts and so on.

Points of arms define origins, territorial or dynastic claims and must not be confused with elements above the coat of arms or its frame. These elements are called *heraldic crests* and have the function to show a dependence or concession for the noble family represented by the coat of arms.

Furthermore, if the coat of arms is a graphic representation of the identity of a person or family, the *blazon* is its verbal representation which, in heraldry, takes on a well-defined structure¹⁰.

From this brief introduction to heraldic elements present in a coat of arms, let's move on to identify the salient classes.

These are shown in the editor of *Protégé* in Fig. 6.

The identified classes for this ontology are the following:

- **Shape:** specifies the shape of an element, be it an object, coat of arms, crest of arms or else;
- **Blazon:** defines the sentence which verbally describes the coat of arms;
- **Colour:** the actual colour of an element in the coat of arms or in one of its parts;
- **Element:** is anything within a coat of arms.
 - A **coat of arms** is considered as only one of the possible elements of a coat of arms. It can identify the main coat of arms as well as one of the points of arms. For this reason, these two classes (coat of arms and points of arms) are considered as equivalent¹¹.
 - **Points of arms** have been previously described and represent an equivalent class to the coat of arms.
 - An **object** is one of the other elements that can appear in a coat of arms. With this class (for reasons of simplicity) one generally indicates everything that is not a coat of arms while being present in a coat of arms. For instance, a lion, a gryphon, a lance etc.
 - The **background** defines the object which is *below* the coat of arms (for example: the black eagle in Fig. 5).

¹⁰ In reality, heraldry strictly regards the study of the genealogy of aristocratic families and their noble titles. The study of crests is often called *study of the blazon*. In this text we make an exception and join the meaning of the two terms

¹¹ A relationship of equivalence between classes declares that the classes concerned are 'semantically' interchangeable with regard to their meaning.

- *Collocazione_Parte_R* is a particular class. It will be use to simultaneously correlate more classes with more relationships, as will be later described.
- A **crest** is a particular type of collocation (on top of the coat of arms)
- An **orientation** defines the pose for an object (for instance, the *prancing* lion, the *oblique* spear, etc.)
- A **position** defines the location, within a coat of arms, in which a certain element is found.
- The **proportion** defines the proportion of an element positioned within a coat of arms.

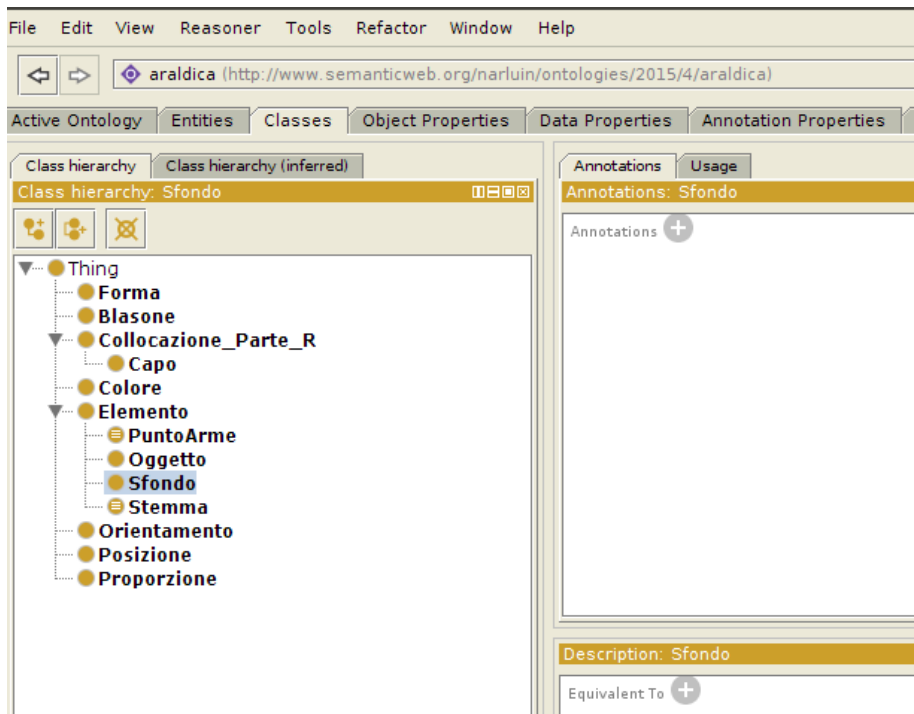


Fig. 6 – Taxonomy of Classes for Heraldic Ontology

The taxonomy of classes in terms of degree is shown in Fig. 7.



Fig. 7 – Taxonomy of Heraldic Concepts

As already specified, in a taxonomy, classes are linked by a specific relationship (property), which will not appear among the Object Properties of the class. We recall that the relationship is of the ‘*is-a*’ kind, as shown in Fig. 7.

Once the concepts (the Classes) of our domain ontology (heraldic) have been terminologically defined, it is possible to move onto the next step, being the definition of the properties. In OWL it is possible to define two kinds of property.

The ones introduced in previous paragraphs identify semantic links between classes. In OWL, these properties are known as *Object Property*. There are then specific kinds of property that actually connect one class to attributes that have no reason to exist beyond the meaning of the class. For

instance, the name of a Noble, is an attribute of the noble class. These kinds of relationships (the simpler ones), then take the name of *Data Property* and,

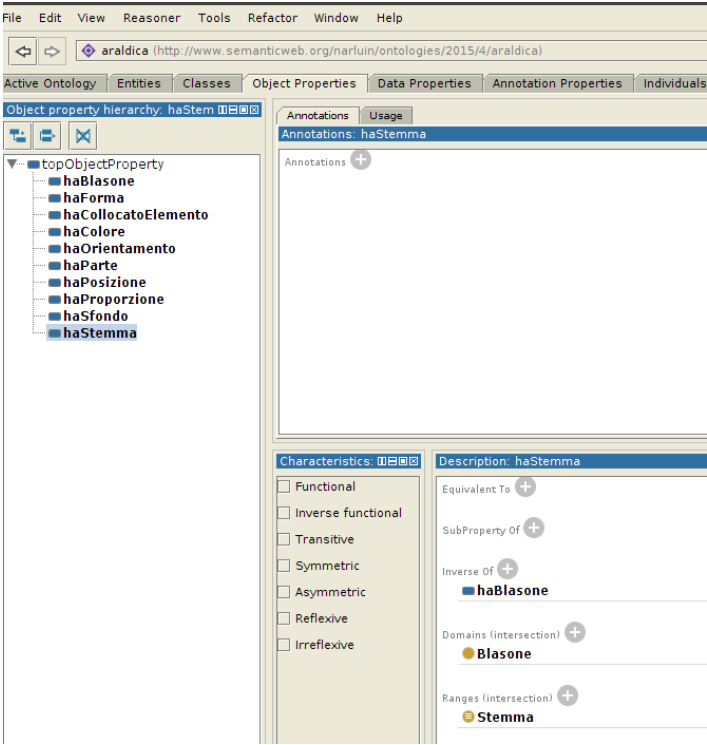


Fig. 8 – Heraldic Object Property

for simplicity, will not be discussed in this paragraph.

Fig. 8 shows the list of identified relationships for this example.

Also object properties can be taxonomised as Classes can be, and characterised in a complex way, but in this paper only a few of the relationships are examined to maintain the level of discussion.

As for classes, also properties descend from a single one called *topObjectProperty*.

For each property it is possible (and compulsory in our methodology) to declare its domain and codomain.

From this it is clear that a property can shape a link only between two classes (or between a grouping set of those, for instance between unions, intersections, etc.).

There is no immediate way for shaping concepts such as:

An Element (namely, a point of arms), appears in a specific position in another coat of arms

or:

An object (namely, a spear) appears in a certain position (namely, as a part below the coat of arms) of a coat of arms with an oblique orientation.

The characteristics of these sentences are *simultaneously* correlating more than two classes or individuals of classes.

For instance, the first sentence simultaneously correlates the class Element with Position and Coat of Arms, while the second Object with Position and Orientation.

To express these concepts it is necessary to define dedicated Classes that do not contain information about the semantic terminology of the domain, but that connect (in a graph) all classes and relationships necessary to express sentences of this kind.

An example is the very *Collocazione_Parte_R* Class. This class (as will later be explained), is linked to the class:

- Element, through the property *haCollocatoElemento*;
- Orientation, through the property *haOrientamento*;
- Position, through the property *haPosizione*;
- Proportion, through the property *haProporzione*.

This way, the task of connecting the various concepts and relationships together is up to a higher class level, which directly expresses the concept that an Element can be connected with a certain Orientation, in a certain position and with specific proportions within *something*.

The fact that collocation is possible within something is shown in another relationship: *haParte*. The latter, which has Element as domain and Collocazione_Parte_R as codomain, describes the concept that an element can have something inside it, where that *something* is described through the previously listed sentence.

The properties, with their domains and codomains and a brief description are shown in Tab. 1.

Tab. 1: Heraldic Object Property

Object Property	Domain	Codomain	Description
<i>baBlasone</i>	Coat of Arms	Blazon	Defines which Blazon describes a coat of arms (the inverse relationship of <i>baStemma</i>)
<i>baForma</i>	Element	Shape	Defines the shape (shield, rectangle etc.) of an Element (coat of arms, object, etc.)
<i>baCollocatoElemento</i>	Collocazione_Part e_R	Element	Defines where an element is collocated within another
<i>baColore</i>	Element	Colour	Declares the colour of an Element
<i>HaOrientamento</i>	Collocazione_Part e_R	Orientation	Defines the orientation of an element within another
<i>baParte</i>	Element	Collocazione_Part e_R	Defines which placement, orientation, colour, etc it has compared to another element
<i>baPosizione</i>	Collocazione_Part e_R	Position	Defines the position of an element within another: namely, upper part, top left part on four sides, etc.
<i>baProporzione</i>	Collocazione_Part e_R	Proportion	Defines the proportions of an element compared to that in which is placed
<i>baSfondo</i>	Element	Background	Defines the background of an element
<i>baStemma</i>	Blazon	Coat of Arms	Defines which coat of arms refers to a blazon. (the inverse relationship of <i>baBlasone</i>)

The complete ontology can be drawn as in Fig. 9.

At this point the ontology is complete for what regards the definition of its concepts and important relationships.

It is necessary to do another step for the description of royal coats of arms: it is necessary to list the instances of classes and of opportune relationships to describe the coats of arms.

This figure will be described still using the example of Charles III's Coat of Arms in Fig. 5.

It is necessary to note that this coat of arms contains within it other coats of arms (which are known as charges or points of arms). It is important to describe the contained coats of arms as instances, and so describe the coat of arms in which charges are collocated referring to already described instances.

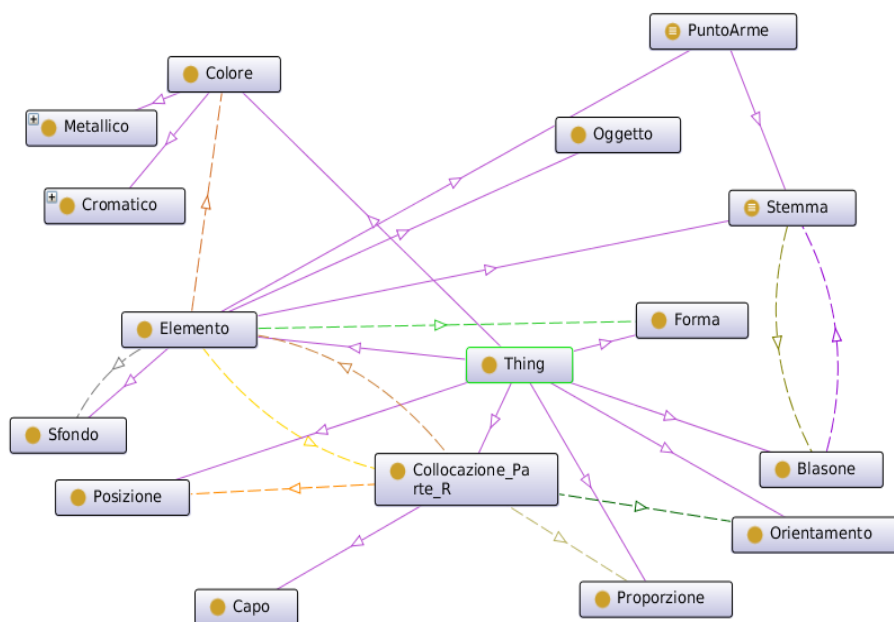


Fig. 9 – Ontology Graph

We point out how the examined coat of arms, at least for its central part, can be thought as divided in five Parts:

- The top left part is subdivided in four parts; within these, in a chessboard motif, there are the Castile and León Coats of Arms, where the Castile Coat of Arms occupies the subset to the top left etc.

- The top right part. It is subdivided in two parts; on the left we have the Aragon Coat of Arms, in the right part, that of Sicily (which is made up of four parts with the symbols of Aragon and Swabia);
- The part on the bottom left is in turn divided into two parts; in the top part the Austrian Habsburg Coat of Arms, while in the bottom part there is the old Burgundy Coat of Arms;
- The lower right part is in turn divided in two parts; in the top part we have the Coat of Arms of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, while in the lower part that of Brabante;
- The centre bottom part is made up of a single part: the Coat of Arms of the Grenada.

Furthermore, overlapping the background coat of arms (the one just described), in the central position with a ratio of 1:16, we have the Bourbon Coat of Arms.

The coat of arms has a surrounding frame, with a Crown as Crest. Below the frame there is an Object representing a ram, while below the coat of arms, the 2:1 ratio black eagle with the head looking to the left.

It is obviously possible to freely decrease or increase the level of description, or abstract from collocation (for instance, not describing where the charges are but only which ones they are) to reduce the complexity of the description towards the ontology that has just been defined.

In this example we will limit to the description of the Castile Coat of Arms and define how this is placed within the Coat of Arms of Charles III as King of the Two Sicilies.



Fig. 10 – Castile Coat of Arms

The Castile Coat of Arms is shown in Fig. 10. It is shaped as a red-coloured shield, on which at the centre, with a 2:3 ration there is a castle with three golden towers (the blue windows are left out). As a Crest there is a golden Crown.

To describe such coat of arms through the instances of the ontology we just described, we must proceed as follows:

First of all it is best to start by creating an instance (if not already present) for each colour that is used in the description (in this case: Gold and Red).

The creation of instances is shown in Fig. 11.

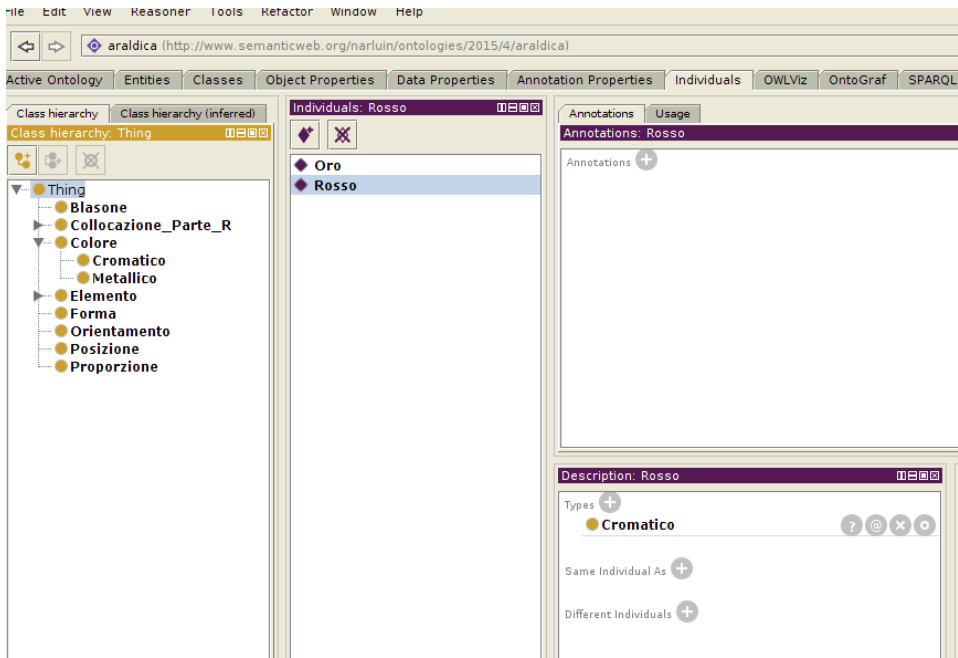


Fig. 11 – Heraldic Instances

These are created by defining the Individuals and assigning a group (a class) of belonging.

The assignment of Class happens through specification of the type (in the editor, in the bottom right corner of the figure).

From the figure it is possible to understand that Red is an instance of chromatic colour.

It is therefore useful to define other two individuals:

- the crown (that will be used as crest), as instance of Object
- the castle with the three towers, as instance of Object

Other individuals to be created are as follows:

- The Castile Coat of Arms, as an instance of coat of arms
- A shield as an instance of Object, of Background and of Shape (namely as an instance of their intersection)

- ‘Centre’ as Placement (to then specify that the castle is in a central position),
- ‘2:3’ as Ratio.

It will be necessary to declare that the castle is placed in a given position. This requires, as we have seen, the creation of an individual also for the *Collocazione_Parte_R Class*. The collocation will only regard the coat of arms in question, therefore it is necessary to create:

- a further individual for the *Collocazione_Parte_R* class, that we may call ‘Collocation_Castle_Coat of Arms_Castile’;
- an individual for the subclass *Crest* of *Collocazione_Parte_R* that we may call ‘Crest_Crown_Coat of Arms_Castile’.

The list of individuals of classes will then appear as in Fig. 12.

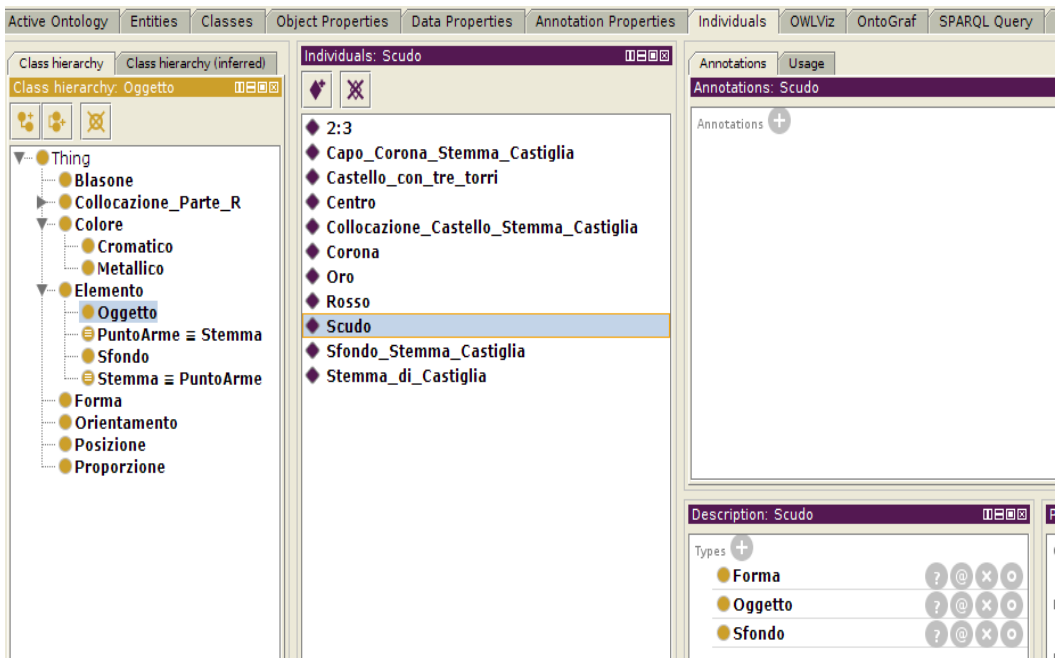


Fig. 12 – Individuals for the Description of the Castile Coat of Arms

The necessary operations do not end here: even though all the necessary individuals have been defined, one must still correlate them. For instance, there is still nothing present in the ontology that declares that the *Castle_with_three_towers* is *Gold* instead of *Red*, etc.

The last step is therefore to correlate instances of classes (individuals), through instances of relationships (namely, object property instances) so to finally set that the colour of the castle is Gold and that of the Background_Coat of Arms_Castile is Red, etc.

The instance of relationship is defined in *Protégé* as *Property Assertion*.

A Property Assertion is used to connect an Individual to another Individual relative to a Property, taking the first from the domain of the property and the second from that of the codomain.

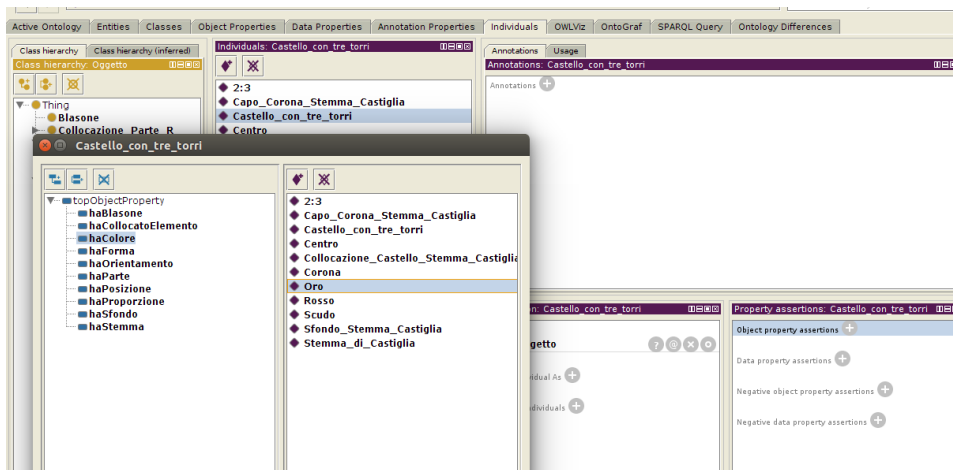


Fig. 13 – Property Assertion

Fig. 13 shows, for the record, the connection between the *Castle_with_three_towers* and its colour which is Gold.

Assertions for all individuals are shown in Tab. 2.

At this point, the semantic description of the Castile Coat of Arms is complete. The definition of the Blazon of the Coat of Arms has been omitted to keep things simple.

We will leave as a useful example the description of more complex coats of arms, such as that of Charles III, obtained through the composition of the other component coats of arms.

Tab. 2: Individuals and Property Assertion

Individual	Class	Property Assertion
<i>1:3</i>	Ratio	-
<i>2:3</i>	Ratio	-
<i>Crest_Crown_Coat of Arms_Castile</i>	Crest	hasCollocatedElement Crown hasRatio 1:3 hasPlacement Above
<i>Castle_with_three_towers</i>	Object	HasColour Gold
<i>Centre</i>	Position	-
<i>Collocation_Castel_Coat of Arms_Castile</i>	<i>of</i> Collocazione_Parte_R	hasRatio 2:3 hasCollocatedElement Castle_with_three_towers hasPlacement Centre
<i>Crown</i>	Object	hasColour Gold
<i>Gold</i>	Colour → Metallic	-
<i>Red</i>	Colour → Chromatic	-
<i>Shield</i>	Shape Object	hasColour Red
<i>Background, Coat of Arms_Castile</i>	Background	hasColour Red hasShape Shield
<i>Above</i>	Position	-
<i>Coat of Arms_Castile</i>	Coat of Arms	hasPart Crest_Crown_Coat of Arm_Castile hasShape Shield hasPart Collocation_Castle_Coat of Arms_Castile hasBackground Background_Coat of Arms_Castile

5. Ontology for iconography, allegory and metaphors

The reasoning accomplished in this volume on the iconography of metaphors is an interesting case of study. In the conclusion of the first part, the subject of noble iconography has been challenged, where for instance mythological figures are meant as allegories of sovereignty and of the actions by commanders and sovereigns.

So, we recall, sovereigns have been represented or sculpted as mythological figures. Gods such as Apollo-Sun, Mars, Jupiter or Julius Caesar, Alexander the Great or other renowned Roman Emperors, were chosen to represent monarchs of various ages. Allegories changed according to what was desired to be highlighted in the allegoric form. Astraea sent back to 16th century Imperial ideology, the figure of Apollo-Sun was linked to sovereigns which wanted to emphasise the fact they were the primary source of light for their kingdom and their subjects; Mars exalted warrior and strategist properties of other monarchs (such as Napoleon), and so on with Jupiter and Neptune. Instead, queens were often associated with the figure of Minerva.

Allegories in the iconography of sovereigns often were associated with their lifestyle. Who was represented as the Sun God, maintained a more than lavish life-style, who was painted as Mars was famous for his military victories and, therefore, for a life on the battlefields, etc.

Among associations to mythological figures, the association to semi-gods were also frequent. The example of Hercules in his various representations, mainly linked to the region where the works of art belonged to, clarifies how the very representation was an indication (and reason of lustre) of the region of belonging of the monarch or the noble to whom it was associated.

Still, association to allegoric figures (always mythological ones) that were considered negative, such as that of the Hydra, which from time to time was associated first to one then another class (for instance, it went from representing the enemies of the monarchy and aristocracy to representing the enemies of the French revolution).

As it is possible to notice, allegories associate, to concepts present in a domain (such as the mythological one), a symbolic semantic. Mars and War; Jupiter father of the Gods, Apollo bringer of Light without which life cannot exist.

The ontological description of these concepts is interesting because it must consider four different descriptive levels:

- a first domain is that of the monarchy, of aristocracy and noble families;
- a second domain is the mythological one, describing divinities, their domains of belonging;
- a third domain is the iconographic one, where allegories are represented, and for which concepts such as poses or symbolic objects present in works of art, backgrounds or the colours used to paint them are important;
- the final domain is the hidden one of the allegory: that which associates a *meaning* to an iconographic and mythological figure.

This is a process which associates to the description of objects their very symbolic meanings.

Ontologies, which should describe the concepts present in the first three domains, and that are associated with a terminological semantic, are accompanied by a further ontology (always terminological) which yet allows to colour concept of other ontologies by associating a meaning to them, a symbolic semantic.

The connection has to be associated with further ontological concepts, which transfer the description of the semiotic-terminological concept to its allegorical meaning.

The same connection may be ontologically represented by the following ontological graph:

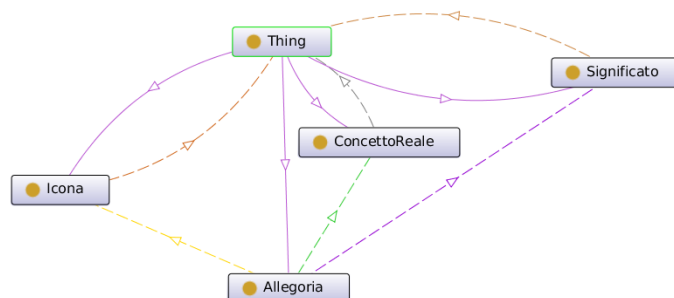


Fig. 14 – Allegory

Here, the instances associated with real concepts to express are: Louis XIV and Napoleon, both instances of the concept of Sovereign. In the analysed iconography within this volume, often Louis XIV was represented by the figure of Apollo to portray the splendour of its reign, while Napoleon by Mars Peacemaker through war. So, the two allegoric figure connect the figures of the two sovereigns respectively with the gods Apollo and Mars who, in the ontology, appear to be instances of the concept of God. For what regards the allegorical Meaning, in the ontology it is necessary to instance two different meanings for the two allegories: one, linked to the Icon of Mars and the sovereign Napoleon, representing the fact of having a reign of war (represented by the two instances of Characterising and Meaning: Reign and ReignOfWar) and another identical one for the representation of Louis XIV as Apollo-Sun (the characterising instance, this time, is ReignOfWealth).

In this way it is possible to associate, through metaphorical and allegorical connections, different concepts and allow to produce methods and techniques of reasoning based on the philosophy of Computational Thinking which will be described in the following paragraph.

6. Allegories and reasoning

The idea of matching both semantic and symbolic terminology for the description of the content of documents or archival artefacts opens new doors for what regards their analysis.

The allegoric figure, and generally that of the metaphor, joins a meaning to a description when the description adopts terms and symbols of a different domain to that of the intended meaning.

If both the descriptive and the metaphoric domain are described through ontologies, the first thing that comes to mind is to associate, to concepts in the descriptive domain, those of the metaphorical domain and, therefore, reason by analogy on the model in the metaphorical domain, by adding some of the reasoning done to that of the descriptive domain.

It would be very useful to reason on documents by involving both domains. This way, connections could surface between concepts in the descriptive domain that are difficult to understand if the reasoning was

limited to that domain, while are instead easy to highlight in the metaphorical domain.

Thanks to the use of formal (ontological) models for the annotation of documents, it is possible to introduce totally automatic reasoning processes, namely create engines of artificial reasoning allowing to connect two domains of interest and draw conclusions from their conjoined analysis.

The branch of Artificial Intelligence that challenges these subjects is known as Computational Thinking (CT).

CT is a recent research subject that requires the application of computer techniques and artificial intelligence in the solution of problems which generally belong to the 'digital' domain. Reasoning by metaphors, done in an automatic way, can only bring to considerable results to the humanities research, introducing a new methodology for the analysis of historical and social sources.

7. Computational thinking

Computational thinking¹² is related to the idea of problem-solving and to the hypothesis that thinking in a 'Computational way' helps in managing very complex problems. It draws on main methodologies of the computer science and promotes their use in solving problems belonging to other domains. Someone even considers it as one of the fundamental part of the way people think and understand the world nowadays.

Computational thinking means creating and making use of different levels of abstraction, to understand and solve problems more effectively.

The idea was so promising that several enterprises (which comprises also Microsoft and Google) invested considerable sums of money in developing computational thinking methodologies for learning in primary and secondary schools¹³.

Computational thinking also means thinking algorithmically and with the ability to apply mathematical concepts such as induction to develop more efficient, fair, and secure solutions. Hence, Computational Thinking research

¹² J.M. WING, *Computational Thinking*, in «Communications of the ACM», 49, 2006, 3, pp. 33-35.

¹³ V. BARR-CH. STEPHENSON, *Bringing Computational Thinking to K-12: What is Involved and What is the Role of the Computer Science Education Community?*, in «ACM Inroads», 2, 2011, 1, pp. 48-54.

is devoted to the study of the same nature of computation¹⁴.

The basic concepts of Computational Thinking are:

- a) Decomposition¹⁵: It is the basic step for the creation of algorithms following the divide-et-impera criterion, but in general is the ability of dividing elements of a problem in order to make easy to explain it to other persons.
- b) Pattern Recognition, Generalisation and Abstraction¹⁶: these resumes the abilities of notice similarities or differences among problems components making possible prediction and shortcuts to the solution of the problem
- c) Algorithm Design¹⁷: this is the ability of developing a step-by-step strategy to solve the problem. Together with abstraction and generalisation, it allows the definition of common, reproducible methods to solve similar problems.

In this scenario, where new reasoning methods are applied to several, different knowledge domains and areas, it seems useful the introduction of CT in teaching and analysing historical documents and concepts. Among social sciences, methodologies used for 'History' learning and research still follow the 'old school' approaches, that sometimes are 'old' enough to be dated back to centuries ago. Even if several new analysis methods are arising in historical studies, we want to apply CT to the analysis of historical documents. The CT method we propose here resumes the steps enacted when dealing with information extraction and semantic annotation of documents. The method we present here exploits abstraction and analogies with other concepts in order to obtain information from documents and to discover semantics 'hidden' to usual research methods of historical sources.

The method presented here uses Abstraction for creation of domain ontologies describing concepts in source documents and ontologies

¹⁴ J. WING, *Computational thinking and thinking about computing*, in «Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society A: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences», 2008, 366, pp. 3717-3725, DOI=10.1098/rsta.2008.0118, <http://rsta.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/366/1881/37>

¹⁵ T.Y. LEE et al., *CTArcade: learning computational thinking while training virtual characters through game play*, in *CHI'12 Extended Abstracts on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, New York, 2012, pp. 2309-2314.

¹⁶ A. IOANNIDOU et al., *Computational Thinking Patterns*, in «Online Submission», 2011; A. BASAWAPATNA et al., *Recognizing computational thinking patterns*, in *Proceedings of the 42nd ACM technical symposium on Computer science education*, New York, 2011, pp. 245-250.

¹⁷ S. NAVLAKHA-Z. BAR-JOSEPH, *Algorithms in nature: the convergence of systems biology and computational thinking*, in «Molecular systems biology», 7, 2011, 1, doi: 10.1038/msb.2011.78, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3261700/>.

belonging to other domains that can be coped with the previous one by applying metaphoric rules, just like synonyms link several terms to the same concept¹⁸.

We describe here the steps used for the application of the methodology and we apply it to a simple case study.

This work organisation is the following: section 2 reports some brief motivation for the work and some related works; section 3 contains the description of the steps of the CT method, section 4 shows the application of the method to a case study. Finally, section 5 contains some concluding remarks.

8. Motivations and related works

Computational Thinking is relatively a new field for what application to 'learning' methodologies concerns and it seems to be new at all when applied to the scientific research in social science and, in particular, in the 'History' field¹⁹.

Anyway, for the 'Historical' point of view, an attempt to apply 'transdisciplinary' case studies as a means of sustainability of learning is presented in *Transdisciplinary case studies as a means of sustainability learning: historical framework and theory* (2006)²⁰. In this work authors describe the theoretical importance of transdisciplinary case studies in learning historical science. The embryonic concepts of algorithm is hidden in that methodology that evolves step-by-step, passing through a given number of states. Transdisciplinary definition of case studies, requests:

- An ontology conceptualising of the phenomenon/problem/case to study or to dealing with;
- An epistemology conceptualising of the cognitive approaches the study is relying on
- A methodology for the conceptualising of the methods the study is applying and their interaction with other methods
- A project management theory conceptualising the approach to enact.

¹⁸ D. FENSEL, *Ontologies*, Berlin-Heidelberg, 2001.

¹⁹ CH. FELLBAUM, *WordNet*, Oxford, 1999.

²⁰ RW. SCHOLZ et al., *Transdisciplinary case studies as a means of sustainability learning: historical framework and theory*, in «International Journal of Sustainability in Higher Education», 7, 2006, 3, pp. 226-251, DOI 10.1108/14676370610677829, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285828650_Transdisciplinary_case_studies_as_a_means_of_sustainability_learning_historical_framework_and_theory.

The same elements will be used while applying our approach, but it will use ontology conceptualisation of different knowledge domain in order to merge ontologies by means metaphors. Metaphors identification will involve a conceptualisation of the cognitive approaches that lead to cope together symbols from different knowledge domain. The methodology, which uses metaphors, will involve interaction with formal semantics and Semiotics domains, while the project management theory of the last point is the algorithm that is the core of the presented CT approach.

It is clear that, in addition to the traditional tools for the study of social science, Semantics (of documents) and Semiotics (a systemic relationship of signs within communication processes) have to be used.

For historical and social sciences, the approach to the text must take into account the relations between the languages and the speakers: words change their meanings through the centuries and sometimes semantics related to phrases may be lost. Researchers must take into account possible replacements of words and meanings in order to re-build original semantics from historical documents.

The concept of 'meaning' is important in linguistic theories. Each meaning is defined only in relation to other meanings, within a given domain.

In addition, even if an 'object' changes the original name, it continues to live linguistically. This leads to the need of paying particular attention to the use and the origins of metaphors, metonymies and other figures of speech.

Languages and semantics of documents grown more and more during the centuries in complexity. As described in *Dall'albero al labirinto*²¹, the semantics conceptualisation of relevant concepts was first represented on a tree data structure, but soon it became insufficient to express concepts and a complex graph (assimilated to a Labyrinth²²) takes its place.

In this tangle of semantic concepts and relations, we are trying to reduce complexity by using Metaphors.

In *Trattato di semiotica generale*²³ the author reports an analysis of semiotic and linguistic theories coming to the fundamental assertions about the limits of semantic representations: they are too much complex to represent all the meanings of all concepts in terms of languages elements which meanings

²¹ U. ECO, *Dall'albero al labirinto. Studi storici sul segno e l'interpretazione*, Milano, 2007.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ U. ECO, *Trattato di semiotica generale*, Milano, 2002.

changes during centuries.

If the interpretation of the sources is demanded, in an hermeneutical perspective, to the symbols related to the words, instead of the meaning of the words, complexity decreases and possibly new ‘lost’ meanings of documents can be retrieved.

For what information extraction and semantic-based annotation of documents, we refer to the techniques presented in *A semantic approach for fine-grain access control of e-health documents* (2013) and *A semantic-based document processing framework: a security perspective* (2011)²⁴, but their description is out of the scope of this work.

9. Metaphoric abstraction method

Metaphors are the basics elements of the methods we are going to explain.

The definition of Metaphor, in the Oxford Dictionary, is the following:

«A figure of speech in which a word or phrase is applied to an object or action to which it is not literally applicable»,

Or:

«A thing regarded as representative or symbolic of something else».

The last definition is important because it contains the concept that a Metaphor is something having a given semantics in a domain A, that is used to address something else in another domain B. The use, in the same document, of usual concepts and metaphors, doubtless increases the complexity of the document, but let us consider the case of a well-known, well-defined and clear domain M, and a set of (historical) documents, from different periods or ages, belonging to a knowledge domain D and that we suppose ‘metaphor-pruned’ (i.e. without content containing metaphoric meanings).

If we are able to describe semantics of source documents in the domain D, in terms of the concepts of the domain M, regardless of the meaning (i.e. semantics) of terms in the documents, we should have the semantics of elements in the documents represented in terms of a clear set of symbols (in

²⁴ F. AMATO-V. CASOLA-N. MAZZOCCA-S. ROMANO, *A semantic approach for fine-grain access control of e-health documents*, in «Logic Journal of IGPL», 21, 2013, 4, pp. 692-701; ID., *A semantic-based document processing framework: a security perspective*, in Proceedings of the 5th International Conference on Complex, Intelligent, and Software Intensive Systems (CISIS 2011), Washington, pp. 197-202.

this case words) with defined semantics.

Reasoning on Domain M is simpler than reasoning on D and new concepts can be discovered from source documents.

More in detail, Abstraction, Pattern Recognition and Generalisation are applied in our CT methodology.

First of all, we have a set of source documents (S) to analyse. Let us suppose that the documents belong to different periods and that a domain ontology D exists able to describe the main concepts in the documents. Let us assume that terms and concepts related to them have changed during the years so D is no more able to describe all the meanings of the documents since some of them have been lost due to language changes.

The first pass of the method is the retrieval of suitable Metaphors for documents contents. Let us characterise the Metaphors in ontological way and let us assume that M is the ontology used for defining meanings of concepts in the metaphoric domain. Both D and M have to be defined with a formal language. It is extremely important that M is the more possible detailed. In our example we use OWL²⁵ in order to define ontologies.

The next steps of the CT method are the following:

1. Documents are annotated by using concepts in D ontology.
2. The Abstraction technique is applied: If a metaphor is known linking concepts (and instances) from D to M, the link between concepts is formally reported. This like an operation of Ontology Merging, but D and M remain separated. At the end of this step, it is possible to refer to known concept in D by using a metaphoric symbol.
3. The Pattern Recognition technique is then applied: If (graph) patterns exist in M but there is no related pattern in D, even if similar relations (in terms of graph structure) exist in the element of D metaphoric linked to elements in M, probably the metaphoric connection has been lost during the years.
4. The Generalisation technique is applied when the lost metaphoric link are re-applied to source documents, recovering lost semantics and information.

In the next section, the methodology is applied step-by-step to a simplified (but real) example.

²⁵ D. ALLEMANG-J. HENDLER, *Semantic Web for the Working Ontologist. Effective Modeling in RDFS and OWL*, Amsterdam, 2011.

Case Study

The example we propose here is an example from a real case study concerning a new concept of Nobility which is different from the classical one. The results obtained in the real case study have been verified by analysing many historical documents stored in Italian National Archives (in particular inside The National Archive of Naples and The Archive of the Caserta Royal Palace) related to the period from 1800 to 1930. The identification of the document sources is out of the scope of this work. Anyway, until few years ago, it was believed that the concept of nobility was related to the concept of Ancient Family with lineage of high birth. The oldest was the origin of the family, the strongest was the Nobility degree it holds.

But let us apply the method previously explained to this concept.

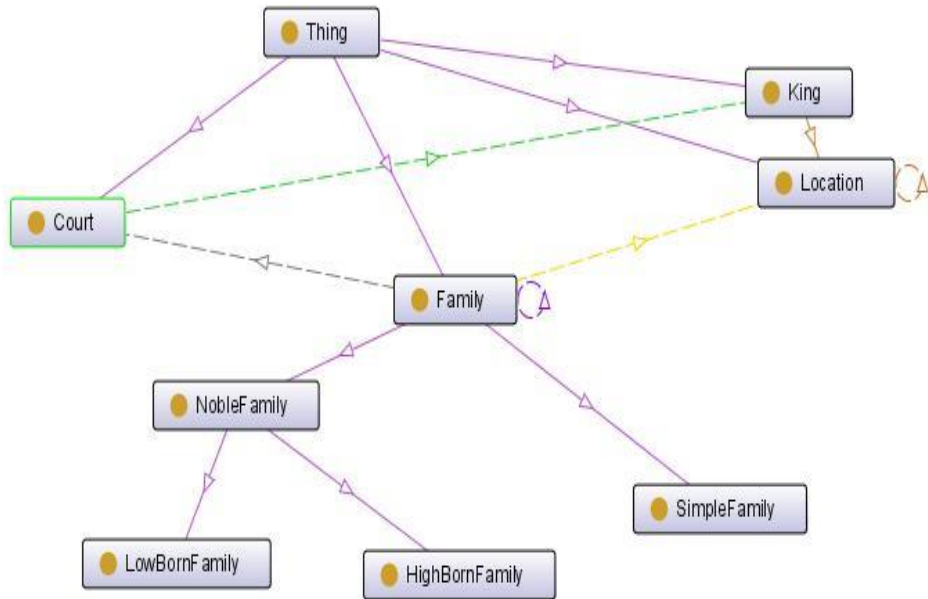


Fig. 16 – Noble Family Ontology

In Fig.16 a simple ontology is reported (the one used in the real example was more complex), describing relations between Families and The King. Families can be divided in Simple Families (i.e. no noble family) and Noble Families. These in turns can be low born or high born families. A family may descend from other families. There are Kings who live in some locations. A location may or not be ‘near’ another location. Families can belong to Courts and a Court follows a King.

The Ontology in Fig.16 assumes the role of the D ontology.

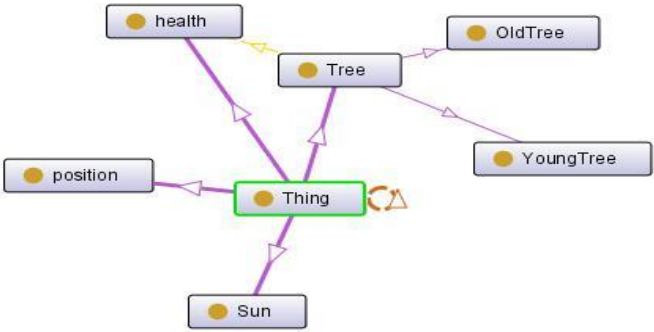


Fig. 17 – Metaphor Ontology

In Fig. 17, the Metaphor Ontology (it is still a simplified version of the real one) is reported. The metaphor is about trees and their proximity to sunlight. The nearest is a tree to the sunlight, the stronger it is.

There is a known metaphor between Noble Families and the Tree Ontology: the metaphor of the ‘family tree’. It was known that the more deeper and wide was the family tree, more noble and stronger was the family.

But let us consider some Individuals in the two ontologies and let us apply reasoning on these two ontologies.

For the first ontology, let us consider the following instances:

- TheKing: a king
- CityOfTheKing: a city where the king lives
- CourtOfTheKing: the name of the court of TheKing
- FarCity: a city located far away from the CityOfTheKing
- BourgeoisFamily: a non-noble family, at the CourtOfTheKing, that lives in the CityOfTheKing
- OldHighLignageFamily1: a noble family living in FarCity and that does not belong to the CourtOfTheKing

For the second ontology, let us consider the following instances:

1. MySun: A Sun
2. BadHealth and GoodHealth: two kinds of tree-healths
3. OldTree1: a tree with GoodHealth, near MySun
4. OldTree2: a tree with BadHealth, far from MySun
5. YoungTree1: a tree with GoodHealth, near MySun

It is clear that, in the second Ontology, a tree has good health if it is near the sun, it does not matter if it is or not old. There are obvious metaphors linking Families in the first ontology to tree in the second one. In particular, we have already reported that a strong, old, noble family is usually linked to an old tree.

From reasoning on graph structures of the two ontologies, we can assume that the Sun can be linked by metaphors to the King.

Here, after further reasoning, the lost information can be retrieved:

‘The importance of family was not dictated by his lineage, but the role that covered in the courtyard, near the King’.

This revelation was true especially for Vittorio Emanuele III, which used to go to Caserta for hunting, and for the family of local courtyard who acquired power to be considered powerful noble families.

Conclusions.

In this paper we have defined a CT method for analysing by means of metaphors, historical documents. The method has been applied to a set of historical documents producing significant scientific results that have been outlined and summarised in this paper. Future works include the inclusion of automatic information extraction techniques for (semi-)automatic annotation of source domain and the joint use of different Metaphors on different ontologies in order to improve obtained results.

APPENDIX

Foreword. The iconographic Appendix is based on thematic cores and on the metaphors that have been identified in the book, philological-archivistic, literary and iconographic. In particular, starting from the history of three important European archives (the archives of the Court and Royal Bourbon Sites, of the Royal Chamber of St. Chiara and of the Neapolitan Royal Sites of the Savoy), through cross-analysis, historic-archivistic, semiotic-literary, in the attempt to identify common elements regarding recurrent metaphors at the level of monarchic symbology and noble ideology. Images have been offered in thematic groups:

- a) princes and sovereigns represented in the guise of historical characters, Caesar, Commodus, Costantine;
- b) princes and sovereigns in a mythological key: Neptune, Jupiter, Mars, Minerva;
- c) the tradition of the Hercules myth: Gallic Hercules, Hispanic or Imperial Hercules, Farnese or Latin Hercules;
- d) the new Apollo-Sun mythology;
- e) the desecration of the mystical body of the sovereigns: the natural portraits of Marie Antoinette and Maria Carolina.

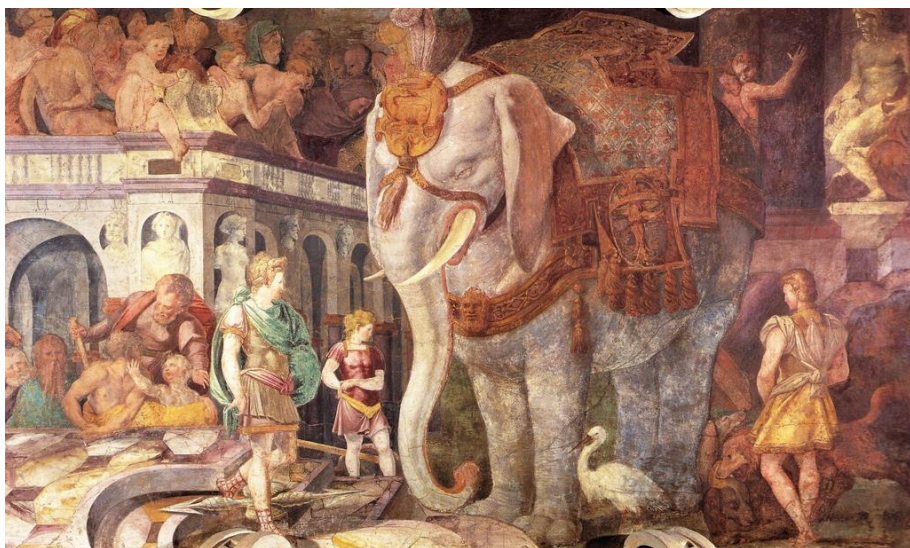
The images in the Appendix are retrieved from: www.europeana.eu; *Guida alle Reali delizie borboniche del Napoletano. Dai percorsi narrativi alle story telling.



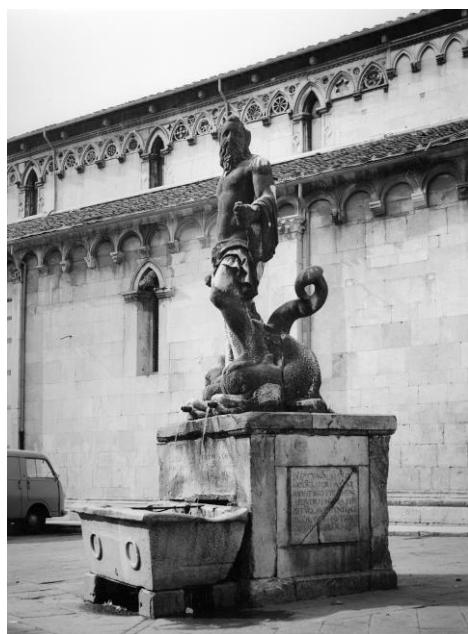
Fig. 1 – Loggia degli eroi 1529-33. Palazzo del Principe, Genova



*Fig. 2 – Rosso Fiorentino, L'unità dello Stato, 1534-40,
Galerie François I, Fontainebleau*



*Fig. 3 – Rosso Fiorentino, L'elefante reale, 1534-40,
Galerie François I, Fontainebleau*



*Fig. 4 – Baccio Bandinelli, Andrea Doria come Nettuno, 1535,
British Museum, London*



Fig. 5 – Leone Leoni, Andrea Doria, 1541, Palazzo Venezia, Roma

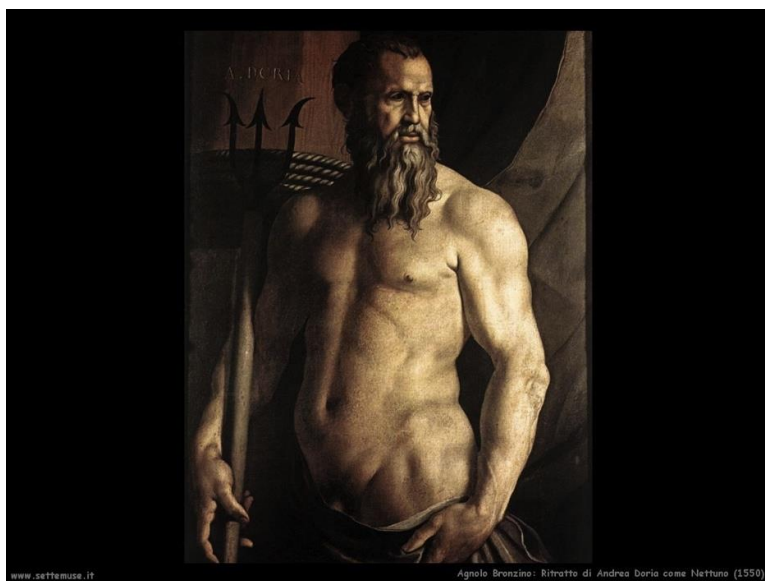


Fig. 6 – Agnolo Bronzino, Andrea Doria come Nettuno, 1535-50, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milano



Fig. 7 – Barthélémy Prieur, Enrico IV come Giove, 1610, Louvre, Paris



Fig. 8 – Jacob Bunel, Enrico IV nelle vesti di Marte, 1601, Musée National du Chateau, Pau



Fig. 9 – Guillaume Dupré, Enrico IV come Marte e Maria de' Medici come Pallade, 1605, National Gallery of Art, Washington



Fig. 10 – Simone Moschino scultura dedicata ad Alessandro Farnese incoronato dalla Vittoria, Reggia di Caserta



Fig. 11 – Simone Maschino, Alessandro Farnese incoronato dalla vittoria dopo aver soggiornato nelle Fiandre, Gabinetto delle Stampe e dei Disegni, Reggia di Caserta



Fig. 12 – Nicolas Constou, Luigi XV in veste di Giove, 1725, Louvre, Paris



Fig. 13 – Antonio Canova, Ferdinando IV, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli



Fig. 14 – Antonio Canova, Napoleone come Marte pacificatore, 1806, Apsley House, London



Fig. 15 – Fedele Fischetti, Apoteosi della dinastia dei Borbone, Galleria, Casino di Carditello



*Fig. 16 – Toussaint Dubreuil, Enrico IV come Ercole, 1600 ca.,
Louvre, Paris*



*Fig. 17 – Augustin Dupré, Ercole, Athor, Libertà ed Eguaglianza,
Musée Carnavalet, Paris*



Fig. 18 – Ercole Farnese, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli



Fig. 19 – Ercole Latino, Vestibolo inferiore, Reggia di Caserta



Fig. 20 – Scuola francese, Ritratto di Luigi XIV in veste di Apollo, bozzetto per il Ballet de la Nuit, 1653, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



Fig. 21 – Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun, Maria Antonietta di Francia, 1778, Versailles



Fig. 22 – Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun, Maria Antonietta «en gaulle», 1783, Wolfsgarten



Fig. 23 – Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun, Maria Antonietta «à la rose», 1783, Versailles



Fig. 24 – Anton Raphael Mengs, Ritratto di Maria Carolina d’Asburgo Lorena, regina di Napoli, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



Fig. 25 – Francesco Celebrano, La regina Maria Carolina alla caccia del cinghiale, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



*Fig. 26 – Filippo Palizzi, Famiglia reale a caccia,
Galleria d'Arte Moderna di Palazzo Pitti, Firenze*



Fig. 27 – Jakob Philipp Hackert, Mietitura a San Leucio, Reggia di Caserta



Fig. 28 – Giuseppe Cammarano, La mietitura a Carditello, camera da letto di Ferdinando IV, Museo di Capodimonte, Napoli



Fig. 29 – Jakob Philipp Hackert, Ciclo delle quattro stagioni: Estate, Germanischer Nationalmuseum, Norimberga

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