

**Images of Royalty
in the Nineteenth
and Twentieth
Centuries.**

**Tradition
and Modernity
in Italy, Portugal
and Spain**

**Pierangelo Gentile
Leonardo Mineo
Miguel Metelo de Seixas
Isabel Corrêa da Silva
(eds.)**

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This volume emerges from an international seminar held at the Department of Historical Studies of the University of Turin on 2-4 October 2019, which brought together scholars from various academic and cultural institutions including, aside from the host department, the School of Social Sciences and Humanities of the NOVA University of Lisbon, the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon, the Complutense University of Madrid, and the Centre for Studies on the Royal Savoy Residences in Reggia di Venaria Reale, Piedmont. It combines the outcomes of this meeting with other contributions of scientific relevance to the subject.

The editors' aim has been to participate in the contemporary historical debate on monarchy, a topic of research that has accelerated markedly in recent years, as attested by the increase in academic colloquiums dedicated to it, such as the conference held in Cambridge in January 2019 under the title *Monarchy and Modernity Since 1500*, or the annual *Kings and Queens Conferences* that have been promoted by the Royal Studies Network since 2012. Hundreds of academics, researchers and enthusiasts from all over the world have assembled at these events to discuss the essence

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of monarchy and its protagonists, from the modern era right up to the present day, on a national and global level.

The discussions held in 2019 in Turin concentrated deliberately and fundamentally on a clearly defined space and timeframe. Along with the conviction that the modern era was an ideal studio for the development of classical models¹, there persists a belief in the theoretical and objective potential of an interpretation of the contemporary era focused on the question of monarchy. This follows not only from the suggestions shared by Arno Mayer² over forty years ago, but also from the new methodological possibilities developed in the historical research on monarchy from the modern era³.

There is no need to enter into the debate around «secularized theological concepts»⁴ to recognise that the civilising process that brought with it the gradual diminution of the theological body of kings also entailed the invention of new mechanisms with which to legitimise power. Among these were persuasion and the aesthetic and cognitive dimensions of Hobbes's theory of political representation, matters that approach theology only through their poetic or emotional quality, but which are part of a disenchanted, already deeply rationalised world. As a result, the political theory and history of the modern state have ceased to speak of "relics" or "political theology" and instead tended to focus on the "fabrication of", "propaganda", "invention of" ... all expressions which presuppose a cognitive framework based on reason, in keeping with ideas exempt from metaphysi-

1. N. Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, Luchterhand, Berlin 1969; P. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, Yale University Press, London 1992; J. Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles. The Courts of Europe's Rivals, 1550-1780*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2003.

2. A. J. Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime. Europe to the Great War*, Pantheon Books, New York 1981.

3. Recent inspiring examples of this discussion are E. Woodacre, L.H.S. Dean, C. Jones, Z. Rohr, R. Martin (eds.), *The Routledge History of Monarchy*, Routledge, New York 2019; C. Verri (ed.), *Monarchie nell'Europa dell'Ottocento. Istituzioni, culture, conflitti*, «Annali della Fondazione Ugo La Malfa. Storia e politica», XXXIII (2018); C. Pinto, P. Rújula Lopez (eds.), *La monarchia dopo la rivoluzione. Europa e America Latina tra restaurazione borbonica e guerre civili (1814-1867)*, «Memoria e ricerca», 62 (2019), no. 3; G. Guazzaloca (ed.) *Sovrani a metà. Monarchia e legittimazione in Europa tra Otto e Novecento*, Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli 2009; M. Meriggi, *The Nineteenth Century: A Monarchical Century?*, «Contemporanea» 24 (2021), no. 5, 553-564.

4. C. Schmitt, *Political theology II: the myth of the closure of any political theology*, translated and introduced by M. Hoelzl and G. Ward, Polity Press, Cambridge 2008.

cal sentiments such as faith, idolatry, veneration or belief. However, political theorists and historians also presuppose an intentionality on the part of political actors clearly linked with theories of domination. The ritual and symbolic dimension of the modern state is now understood exclusively from this viewpoint, above all as a calculated mechanism for the legitimisation and exercise of power. From this point of view, the second body of the king is, in the final analysis, a mere extension of the Leviathan.

More than thirty-five years ago, when Cannadine⁵ denounced the lack of studies on the rituals and images of the English monarchy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this scenario was very similar to those of other European nations. Fortunately, though, this is no longer the case. Several studies on the “theatre of power” and images of royalty in the liberal monarchies of the nineteenth century, or on the requirements of performance and representation of constitutional kings, have emerged in the last two decades. The somewhat mixed nature of the monarchical-constitutional model which reconciles traditional and modern conceptions of the theory of representation, as well as the role of the monarchical institution in the nationalisation processes of European states throughout the nineteenth century, have been the subject of much reflection in last decades. This has been particularly so in the cases of Victorian England⁶, Germany under Wilhelm II⁷, France during the Restoration, the July Monarchy and the Second Empire⁸, Spain in the reign of Isabel II⁹, Italy during the *Risorgimento*

5. D. Cannadine, *The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition'*, in E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1984, pp. 101-165

6. M. Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876*. Chicago University Press, Chicago 1998.

7. J. C. G. Röhl, *The Kaiser and his Court: Wilhelm II and the Government of Germany*, Cambridge Uni. Press, Cambridge 1994.

8. C. and E. Saminadayar-Perrin (dir). *Imaginaire et représentation des entrées royales au XIX siècles: une sémiologie du pouvoir politique*. Press universitaires de Saint-Étienne, Saint-Étienne 2006. M. Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale, 1849-1870*, Oxford University Press Oxford, Oxford 1997; S. Kroen, *Politics and Theater. The Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815-1830*, University of California Press, Berkeley 2000.

9. R. A. Gutiérrez Lloret, *Isabel II, de símbolo de la libertad a deshonra de España*, in E. La Parra López (eds.), *La imagen del poder. Reyes y regentes en la España del siglo XIX*, Síntesis, Madrid 2011, pp. 221-282.

and in the reigns of Victor Emmanuel II and Umberto I¹⁰, and Portugal under the constitutional monarchy¹¹.

This scholarship has paid particular attention to the articulation between the elective legitimacy of national representation and the representative function of the king in the context of the shared sovereignty of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century constitutional monarchies. This is one of the main pathways that we have endeavoured to follow in the *Images of Royalty* conference we held in Turin and now in this book. Another axis is the more literal aspect of the visual construction of monarchy, in other words the visual and symbolic resources used by nineteenth-century monarchies for the purposes of self-representation and political communication.

Just as we have had no reservations on our chosen time period, we have also remained convinced about the validity of the geographical area of study that we have focused on: Italy, Portugal and Spain are places that not only share dynastic and historical ties but have also had similar political experiences, such as the wave of liberal revolutions in the 1820s, or the constitutional endeavours and challenges of the long nineteenth century (and beyond).¹²

Without confining the matter within any conceptual or nationalistic boundaries, the authors of this volume have tried to illuminate the historiographical question from different (and in many respects innovative) points of view. In

10. U. Levra, *Fare gli italiani. Memoria e celebrazione del Risorgimento*, Comitato di Torino dell'Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento italiano, Torino 1992; F. Mazzonis (ed.), *La monarchia italiana. Problematiche ed esemplificazioni*. «Cheiron», no. 24-25 (1996); Id., *La Monarchia e il Risorgimento*, Il Mulino, Bologna 2003; C. M. Fiorentino, *La corte dei Savoia (1849-1900)*, Il Mulino, Bologna 2008; C. Brice, *Monarchie et identité nationale en Italie (1861-1900)*, EHESS, Paris 2010; P. Gentile, *Lombra del re. Vittorio Emanuele II e le politiche di corte*, Comitato di Torino dell'Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano-Carocci, Turin-Rome 2011; A. Viarengo, *Vittorio Emanuele II*, Salerno, Rome 2017; S. Ghisotti, A. Merlotti (eds.), *Dalle regge d'Italia. Tesori e simboli della regalità sabauda*, Sagep, Genova 2017.

11. I. Corrêa da Silva, M. Metelo de Seixas, *Uncrowned kings: rituals and ritual objects in eighteenth – nineteenth century Portuguese royal acclamation ceremonies*, «European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire», 28 (2021), pp. 28-49.

12. J. Späth, *Revolution in Europa 1820-23. Verfassung und Verfassungskultur in den Königreichen Spanien, beider Sizilien und Sardinien-Piemont*, shVerlag Köln 2012; M. Isabella, K. Zanou (eds.), *Mediterranean Diasporas. Politics and Ideas in the Long 19th Century*, Bloomsbury, London 2016; R. De Lorenzo, R. A. Gutiérrez Lloret (eds.) *Las monarquías de la Europa meridional ante el desafío de la modernidad*, PUZ, Zaragoza 2020.

the first section the keys of interpretation have been those of roles and gender: stories about queens, but also their princely consorts, and the desperate search for a role in the world (San Narciso chapter *The Male Consort in Dispute. Ambiguities and Political Debate in the Iberian Context [1830-40]*); the private vices and public virtues of royal couples in light of issues of gender, honour, sexuality and emotions (Corrêa da Silva, *The Image of Pedro V and Stephanie of Portugal Between History, Legend and Gender*, and Sánchez, *National Honour and Monarchy in 19th Century Spain*); experiences and representations of the religious sphere and female royalty (Martínez Vilches, *The Spanish Monarchy in the Presence of God: Religious Advocations in the Court of Isabella II [1833-1868]*); Cozzo, *Maria Clotilde of Savoy-Bonaparte [1843-1911]: Hagiographic Connotations in the Italian Monarchy Between the 19th and 20th Centuries* and Lopes, *New Perspectives on the Political Role of Maria Pia of Savoy, Queen of Portugal [1862-1910]*); political and institutional interpretations of unresolved relations between sovereigns and prime ministers (Trapasso, *Monarchy and Fascism: Beyond Diarchy*).

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In the second part, the methodological partitions have instead fallen between place, heritage and representation: royal mythology bent to the ideological needs of the dynasty (Cavicchioli, *The Myth and Representation of Emmanuel Philibert in the Dynastic-National Project of Charles Albert*); books and documents as a reflection of the political and cultural power of kings (Panzanelli Fratoni, *A Library for the Crown. Charles Albert of Savoy and the Foundation of the Biblioteca Reale of Turin* and Mineo, *Dynastic Caskets, Arsenal of Authority, Laboratories of History: Royal Court Archives in Sabaudian Nineteenth-Century*); the use of coats of arms and decorations in the long-term process of nationalising monarchies (Metelo de Seixas, *Heraldry and the Dynastic Image of the Nineteenth Century Portuguese Monarchy: the Palace of Cidadela, at Cascais* and Merlotti, *Savoy Symbols in the Italy of Victor Emmanuel III. The Decorations of the Racconigi Castle Staircase [1900-1906] and the Royal Train [1925-1929]*); and the uses, abuses and suppression of the royal image (Gentile, *Using, Reusing and Removing Statues of the Kings of the House of Savoy in the Squares of Italy*). The aforementioned may seem like rhapsodic elements, but they have certainly not emerged by chance. They are

elements that we hope will stimulate more in-depth and timely research.

Pierangelo Gentile
Leonardo Mineo
Miguel Metelo de Seixas
Isabel Corrêa da Silva

Part 1
Role, Gender and Interpretations

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The Male Consort in Dispute. Ambiguities and Political Debate in the Iberian Context (1830-1840)*

David San Narciso

aA Liberalism gained a firm foothold in the Iberian Peninsula in the 1830s, in the midst of fierce civil wars. It is by no means irrelevant that this occurred at a time when the thrones of Portugal and Spain were both occupied by female monarchs¹. Thus, it was two women who were responsible for guiding their respective crowns away from the Ancien Régime and towards a liberal constitutional system. This change entailed constant redefinitions of the political, social, and cultural role the queens might play within such a system. Equally, it posed the thorny question of the role of their consorts²: thorny because it implied placing these men in a position of inferiority with respect to their wives

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* This study forms part of research project PGC2018-093698-B-I00 funded by the MICIU/FEDER; and falls within the Generalitat Valenciana researcher postdoctoral programme (APOSTD/2021/328).

1. For a discussion of this process in Portugal, see R. Ramos, J. Murilo de Carvalho, I. Corrêa (eds.), *A Monarquia Constitucional dos Braganças em Portugal e no Brasil (1822-1910)*, D. Quixote, Lisbon 2018. For the case of Spain, see D. San Narciso, M. Barral Martínez, C. Armenteros (eds.), *Monarchy and Liberalism in Spain. The Building of the Nation-State, 1780-1931*, Routledge, London 2021.

2. For an overview of this, see C. Beem, M. Taylor (eds.), *The Man behind the Queen. Male Consorts in History*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2014.

and queens. It was therefore necessary to relocate them politically and symbolically at a time when discourses on gender – dominated by the ideology of domesticity – were beginning to exert an impact and post-revolutionary liberalism was fighting over different models of constitutional monarchy. My aim here is to explore this question through an analysis of the political debates that accompanied the marriages of Maria II of Portugal and Isabel II of Spain, which were followed by political struggles to endow the princes Auguste, Fernando, and Francisco de Asís with a political and symbolic role. The comparative nature of this analysis sheds light on the problems and associated responses in each case.

1. Marriage: a private matter or a question of national interest?

The first element to consider is whether the marriage of a queen regnant wielding the full authority of sovereign power was viewed as a private matter or something in which the nation was entitled to intervene. I shall start this debate at the beginning. Maria II married her first husband, Prince Auguste de Beauharnais, on the 1st of December, 1834. Four months previously, the government – in the name of the regent – had sent a note to parliament requesting a commission to decide how to proceed in the matter of the queen's marriage to a foreign prince. On the 28th of August, the commission, chaired by the Duke of Saldanha, issued its opinion. Referring to his triple role as «regent, father, and natural protector» of the queen, the commission ruled that all decisions regarding marriage, including choice of the candidate husband, were the sole preserve of her father³. Consequently, parliament was asked to make an exception «this time only, for this particular case» to article 90 of the Constitutional Charter regarding the restriction on the queen's freedom to marry a foreigner.

The government's proposal was voted and approved on the 1st of September, but only after heated debate between supporters and opponents of the commission's resolution. Saldanha presented the project citing as precedents the

3. «Diário do Governo», 29th August 1834.

Cortes of Leiria for the marriage of Princess Beatrix (1376) and of Lisbon for that of Princess Isabel (1679), to which he added arguments regarding the queen's sex. He proposed leaving complete freedom of choice «to the legislator who gave us freedom, to the regent who restored it to us, to the father who risked his life and ruined his health to seat his daughter on the throne from which she had been usurped»⁴. It is interesting to note that no-one questioned the imperative need, first, for the queen to marry, despite being only 15 years old, and second, for her to marry a foreign prince. The former was prompted by the need to engender offspring because as Antonio José Lopes Alheira observed, «we do not want another Christina of Sweden», while the latter was due to the absence of a Portuguese candidate of a suitable age and status, especially after the problems caused by Prince Miguel a few years earlier⁵.

The problems arose from the interpretation of article 90, primarily based on two premises. One of these concerned the legal aspect, because Maria II was no longer heir to the Crown but the effective queen, even though she was a minor. This difficulty was solved through recourse to her age and sex and King Pedro IV's commitment to the Constitution. Another member of the commission, Antonio Marciano d'Azevedo, maintained that the Cortes had no say in the choice of the queen's husband because she «was free to arrange her marriage, since neither the Constitutional Charter nor any other law stipulates the need for anyone's consent». The problem was that she was still a minor, and it was therefore her father's prerogative to resolve the question. In the end, he observed, it was «fathers who, in accordance with the public law of the kingdom, have the right to negotiate and agree on their underage children's marriages; thus, without their consent, their children cannot marry». The arguments mixed legal elements with others related to gender concerning a man's natural role within the family and the king's role in a nation, two spheres which echoed one another. Thus, as José Pedro de Sousa reasoned, it was «very obvious, very natural and sensible to

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4. In this and subsequent instances, quotes from the diary of the session held on 1st September are taken from «Diário do Governo», 2nd and 3th September 1834.

5. M. de F. Bonifácio, *D. Maria II*, Temas e Debates, Lisboa 2011, pp. 13-41.

think that no-one would strive harder for benefit and desirability than her own father, and no-one would safeguard a kingdom's fortune more zealously than he who is king». Consequently, «when that person is both father and king, he will combine feelings that dictate advantageous measures for his son or daughter with an absolute commitment to pursue the nation's interests and prosperity».

The other premise was much more problematic, touching as it did on profound ideological questions. Some members opposed the commission's conclusion, considering that the queen's marriage was not a personal matter for the monarchy because it would affect the nation's interests. They therefore demanded that the Cortes' powers in this respect should not be limited to granting the queen dispensation to marry a foreigner but should also extend to approving or not her choice. The amendment tabled by Luiz António Rebello was publicly supported by António Joaquim Barjona and Leonel Tavares. This latter deployed an especially eloquent discourse to explain the stance of this more radical liberalism. He argued that «the queen's wedding represents a national union» and he therefore considered it «necessary that before agreeing to the marriage, she should tell us who is to be the spouse so that we can judge whether or not he is suitable». The commission's resolution was also criticised as being unconstitutional because it ceded all responsibility to the head of State. It was argued that «in this and all other negotiations, we should only see the ministry responsible, subject to change, and not the person with no responsibility», namely the regent. Thus, neither the parliament nor the nation should be denied «the final inspection, the power to approve the person, even after having granted an exemption to the rule». Furthermore, this would not violate the dignity of the Crown, but rather the opposite, because «if this prince is unhappy at dependence on our consent, he is unworthy to marry the queen, whose nation we represent». The nation's and the queen's interests were thus merged into one, legitimising the former's capacity to overrule any of the latter's decisions.

Conservative criticisms of this motion were numerous and energetic. As another of member of the commission, Antonio Barreto, rapidly emphasised, parliament's intervention in this decision by the monarchy could give rise to

major difficulties. For example, if, having selected a candidate, «the person chosen declined to accept, it would be mortifying for the parliament and the nation». Equally, if parliament objected to the candidate chosen by the queen, it would be «extremely humiliating for the person in question», could create «unpleasant conflicts in our diplomatic relations with other powers» and would pave the way for «a web of intrigues» supporting one candidate or another. Besides these hypothetical situations, the conservatives believed that the other side's stance exceeded parliament's powers and showed enormous disloyalty to the king regent and father of the queen. As Antonio José Lopes Alheira objected, the very fact of «demanding that a father such as His Highness Don Pedro should tell the parliament who his daughter's intended husband is or should submit a list of candidates from which the members may choose, is to assume that Don Pedro is incapable of choosing, whether as regent or as a father».

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The conservative majority eventually prevailed, voting that it was the father's prerogative to freely choose the most suitable husband for his daughter and that parliament's only intervention should be to grant dispensation to marry a foreign prince. Although the question was of great national interest, these members believed that it was not parliament's place to judge the suitability or not of the candidates. Such was the conclusion in 1834, and it was repeated the following year. A mere ten days after the untimely death of Prince Auguste, parliament and the senate sent two messages to the queen – at the behest of the radicals – asking her to «to remarry as soon as possible»⁶. It was thought that this was necessary «to ensure the stability of the throne and the institutions of the Constitutional Charter, which can only prosper in times of peace, when the succession to the Crown is assured». Some members, such as Leonel Tavares, took advantage of parliament's debate on the proposal to repeat his request that «the person chosen should meet with the approval of the Cortes»⁷. On this occasion it was his colleague António Joaquim Barjona, who responded «that

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6. «Diário do Governo», 15th April 1835.

7. *Ibid.*, 11th April 1835.

discussion of this matter is unwarranted as it was properly and extensively debated only a short time ago». The only difference with the previous marriage was that the queen was now no longer a minor, having been declared of legal age on the 18th of September. Therefore, it was now she who could freely decide who to marry, albeit the president of the government promised that he would make «every effort to ensure that the queen chose a prince» who was suitable for the country⁸. This meant selecting a prince «with a good education, a favourable inclination towards the constitutional system established in the Constitutional Charter, and who was not bound by family ties to reigning families in countries with an opposing system of government». Advised by her government, the Queen Maria II married Ferdinand of Coburg on the 1st of January, 1836⁹.

This same debate was repeated in Spain ten years later in almost identical terms. The problems entailed in the marriage of a reigning queen in a liberal state thus proved to transcend national borders. The process of amending the 1837 Constitution towards a more conservative vision brought to light two seemingly opposing concepts of the monarchy and the nation. Among the articles that General Ramón María Narváez's government proposed changing was the one that established the monarch's need for a special law «to contract a marriage». The proposed change was that «before contracting a marriage, the monarch shall inform the parliament, and the marriage stipulations and contracts shall be subject to the parliament' approval before becoming law»¹⁰.

The main reason that ministers challenged the 1837 article in parliament was its lack of clarity. In the words of Alejandro Mon, the queen could either «request general permission to marry without naming the person concerned, or request permission to marry a particular person»¹¹. In

8. *Ibid.*, 14th April 1835.

9. M. de F. Bonifácio, *D. Maria II* cit., pp. 77-96; M. A. Lopes, *D. Fernando II. Um rei avesso à política*, Temas e Debates, Lisboa 2016, pp. 41-57.

10. Diary of Sessions of Congress (DSC), legislature 1844/1845, no. 9th, 18th October 1844, appendix two.

11. These questions were debated in the sessions of 28th and 29th November 1844; subsequent quotes from DSC, legislature 1844/1845, nos. 42 and 43.

either case, he argued, the consequences could be disastrous. In the first, such permission «meant nothing» because no member would oppose the royal desire to marry. In the second, voting would be about «the person of the prince, his personal and moral qualities», and would also humiliate the Crown by obliging the monarch to seek the parliament's permission. Citing historical precedents but also looking to the present, the inclusion was advocated of a model similar to that employed in England. As Francisco Martínez de la Rosa explained, this would avoid «a clash of powers» by placing «the ministers responsible between the Crown and the parliament». The government presented the project and thus assumed all ministerial responsibility for the act, while the parliament could withdraw «the nation's confidence, if necessary, leaving the Crown intact». Risking its own continuity, the government thus undertook not to advise the queen contrary to the national interest, nor to present a bill in parliament that would not obtain a majority.

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Political and legal arguments were accompanied by others related to gender. First, as with Maria II, one could not deny the queen what one might any common woman. As Alejandro Mon observed, the queen could not live «in a country where she is a miserable slave, where she has to sacrifice the dictates of her heart». She had no more «need for a law to marry» than other people; instead, «all that is necessary is a choice born from the heart». Thus, as Francisco Martínez de la Rosa remarked, «despite their supreme rank, monarchs do not cease to be men». Their personal inclinations should always be considered, for «the hardest, the cruellest of tyrannies would be having to perpetually bridle and sacrifice all emotion». Besides affections, the queen's age was also brought into the argument. Isabel II had been declared of legal age in 1843, when she was only 13 years old. Hence, allowing her to contract marriage without prior permission would contravene civil law, which decreed that parental consent was necessary for persons under 23 years of age. The opposition said the queen could have been declared of legal age for political reasons, but this measure could not guarantee «the full development of her moral and intellectual faculties». Nevertheless, in the cases

of Maria and Isabel alike, the reality was far removed from these principles, being instead governed by politics.

The government was heavily criticised, and some of the conservative elements stressed the inconsistency of the project. For example, Mariano Roca de Togores drew attention to the fact that «the need to obtain permission to dispose of any part of the Spanish territory» did not diminish the Crown's dignity, whereas the same «to dispose of one half of the royal marriage bed» did. This was accompanied by harsh criticisms of the government's attempt to remove one of the powers wielded by the nation – represented by parliament – and assume complete control of the marriage. «Today», this member declared, «our queen's wedding ring rests in the hands of the country's legislators; the Constitution endows them alone with the power to authorise the betrothal that will shape the future happiness of our nation». The effect of this constitutional amendment would be «that this ring passes solely into the hands and power of the Ministry». Another of the conservatives, Joaquín Francisco Pacheco, bitterly criticised the restriction of the debate to the marriage settlement, noting that it was unclear what «either the article or the commission» referred to. From the debate, he added, one might conclude that it was merely a financial question, lamenting that «a political question is thus lowered, thus reduced, purely to a question of money». In an amendment to the article, the opposition attempted to invert the process by presenting first the settlement and then the message. According to José Peña Aguayo, this meant that the contracts «will be discussed and those members who do not wish to give their approval to the marriage will refuse to vote for the law». Such a vote would be «against the ministers» and would indirectly make it possible to ensure «that the queen does not contract a marriage that might be detrimental to the nation». Otherwise, he shrewdly predicted, «there will be no more than the message» without any marriage settlement debate or law whatsoever.

In 1846, Queen Isabel II decided to marry her cousin, Francisco de Asís of Bourbon¹². The formula used, and the

12. I. Burdiel, *Isabel II. Una biografía (1830-1904)*, Taurus, Madrid 2010, pp. 159-181;

pressures received, eventually bore out the dangers that the opposition had highlighted in 1844. The government, said its president, the conservative Francisco Javier Istúriz, had not «departed one iota from what is envisaged in the Constitution [of 1845]», communicating to the parliament «the queen's wishes the moment these were made known»¹³. Serving in both governments, Alejandro Mon declared that «even if difficulties had arisen, [...] I would have run any risk to ensure that the queen's heart was not denied», because no minister could dismiss «her independence, which is the independence of the nation». Contradicting his own words spoken in 1844, he argued that the marriage should be seen «as a family rather than a political matter» and rejected any intervention on the part of the parliament. Criticisms were voiced by the left and right of parliament alike. The conservative Cándido Nocedal accused the government of having deceived parliament. In 1844, he declared, «it was said that this question would be brought in full before the parliament» because that was naturally «how it should be brought». At the time, «promises were made that today have not been kept», since there was no «means to prevent the marriage, in the event that the parliament believed that it would be detrimental to the country». Joaquín Francisco Pacheco protested that the government had set aside the ministerial responsibility that in 1844 it said it would assume. By telling them «what I propose is what Her Majesty has decided», the government was stooping to «moral blackmail», limiting «the right to raise our voices as loudly as necessary to give a full account of our opinion». The queen's personal decision, which reflected the interests of the government and the queen mother, prevailed over any parliamentary discussion, as had happened in Portugal ten years before.

2. The unclear position of the king consort

These fierce debates about a female sovereign's marriage were followed by other, no less heated discussions attempt-

D. San Narciso, *La invención del consorte real. La figura de Francisco de Asís de Borbón en el contexto de la Europa liberal*, «Ayer», in press.

13. These questions were debated in the sessions of 17th and 18th September 1846; subsequent quotes from DSC, legislature 1845/1846, nos. 49 and 50.

ing to situate the new figure of the queen's husband politically and symbolically. Once again, Maria II was the first of the two queens to be faced with this problem. One of the first questions to trigger political debate was that of the titles, posts, and honours these consorts should hold. This was closely related to the physical and symbolic place that they should occupy in political ceremonies and rituals. But it equally alluded to the social imaginary it would be necessary for them to assume, publicly representing one of the monarchy's main functions for which the queens, due to their sex, were considered less qualified: the military world.

In the case of Portugal, article 90 of the 1826 Constitutional Charter stipulated that the queen's husband «shall only be termed king after fathering a son or daughter with the queen». There was no discussion whatsoever on this question, and Ferdinand became king after the birth in 1837 of their first child. The real problem concerned the political and military positions that it was felt the consort should hold. Taking her cue from Pedro IV's will bequeathing his sword to Prince Auguste, the queen appointed him colonel of the army and honorary commander of the light infantry regiment, «because that was the corps my father commanded during the war and which he held in such high regard»¹⁴. Shortly afterwards, a political position was added to his military post, when he was appointed senator. At his swearing-in speech, the consort not only vaunted his love of the Portuguese nation but also invoked the memory of the late King Pedro when he declared «I shall seek the principles that must guide my behaviour in my recollections of his conversations with me». Likewise, he unequivocally defended his liberalism, vowing «to respect the Constitutional Charter and obey the law in its entirety»¹⁵. Finally, on 20th March, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Portuguese army, because he was «heir to the invincible sword with which my father restored my throne and the Constitutional Charter»¹⁶.

Although the earlier appointments had been received by public opinion without any particular protest, this lat-

14. «Diário do Governo», 10th January 1835.

15. *Ibid.*, 16th February 1835.

16. *Ibid.*, 23th March 1835.

er one aroused radical opposition. The parliamentary session at which the measure was discussed became so heated that after considerable clamour it had to be temporarily suspended. Ten members presented a note to parliament declaring their absolute opposition to the appointment as being completely unconstitutional¹⁷. They based their argument on article 90, which stipulated that the queen's husband «shall not participate in government». To this was added the need for «parliament's approval» because the post was salaried (art. 75), as well as problems arising from the fact that military questions were the «sole responsibility» of the government (art. 116), which presented a dangerous paradox. As Leonel Tavares cautioned, «unless the new Commander-in-Chief is subject to the orders of the ministry, this would violate the Charter». However, if the consort did obey the ministry, «he would be committing an error detrimental to the dignity of the Crown and offensive to all the principles of the Charter». As António Joaquim Barjoana explained, the problem was that he could not be held accountable. The government and conservative members based their defence on one single aspect: the only constitutionally unaccountable person was the head of state, the queen. According to Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães, «all other members of society are responsible for their behaviour in the posts they occupy». Thus, the prince bore the same responsibility as any commander-in-chief or senator, because «the fact of being the queen's husband does not exempt him from being responsible for his actions as a public servant». Auguste's sudden death while the question was still under debate abruptly terminated the conflict without having reached a clear solution.

The debate was thus postponed for a few months, until after Maria's second marriage. In view of the recent experience, Fernando's family attempted to take precautions, demanding an explicit statement on the matter. The Coburgs stipulated various conditions to the Portuguese negotiator, the Count of Lavradio, including that the queen «undertake to appoint His Highness command-in-chief of the Portuguese army», and that «before being given the title

17. The discussion took place on 21th and 26th of March 1835, quotes in *Ibid.*, 25th and 27th March 1835.

of king consort, he shall be the first person in Portugal after the queen»¹⁸. The count rejected the former because it «violated the prerogatives of the Crown and the independence of the nation» and asserted that the latter was already met «in the provisions of the fundamental laws». However, «as a gesture of conciliation», he confirmed «that Her Majesty was determined to appoint the prince marshal and commander-in-chief of the army». On the 1st of January, the day of the wedding in Lisbon, the queen named Ferdinand marshal general of the army and honorary colonel of the 5th light infantry regiment. Besides the symbolic importance of this latter post, the goal was to confer on him «a rank proportionate to the elevated position that corresponds to you as my husband»¹⁹.

Once again, problems arose because of the question of the army command-in-chief that the previous government had secretly promised to grant. Already by the 17th of February, during the debate on the new Military Order, António Joaquim Barjona was proposing the elimination of the post except in times of war, insisting that «this command cannot fall to the king, nor to the queen's husband»²⁰. On the 8th of April, while Fernando was disembarking in Lisbon, parliament openly debated the question. Some members hesitated to intervene in the matter since a document referring to it had already been circulated, but the radical members were very clear: the document could not and should not impose conditions on the resolutions of the parliament. Leonel Tavares declared that «parliament is independent of the executive power in its acts» and «does not receive orders» from the government. Economic and political arguments eventually prevailed, and a bill was approved limiting the role of commander-in-chief²¹. A mere two weeks later, the government fell, precisely because the queen refused to accede to the demand that Ferdinand should undertake in writing to renounce the post. Ten days later, following a State Council, Ferdinand was confirmed in the post and

18. F. de Almeida Portugal, *Memórias do conde do Lavradio*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra 1934, vol. 3, pp. 107-108.

19. «Diário do Governo», 29th April 1836.

20. *Ibid.*, 18th February 1836.

21. *Ibid.*, 9th April 1836.

instructed to effectively assume it²². Subsequently, he would be appointed to and removed from the post at various times depending on the political situation. He was stripped of the post during the revolution that erupted in September 1836, only to be reappointed during the Patuleia Civil War (1846-47) and the Regeneration (1851), when he even led troops on the battlefield.

On this occasion, Spain presented a somewhat different situation to that experienced by the princes Auguste and Ferdinand. On the very same day that Isabel II wed Francisco de Asís, she awarded him the honorary title of king – to be styled His Majesty – and appointed him captain general of the army²³. These measures were taken at the request of the government, which asserted in the preamble to the decree that «not playing any role whatsoever in the government of the kingdom» did not prevent «her august husband» from enjoying «the high honours associated with his elevated standing». In support of this, the government cited the queen's constitutional powers «to grant honours and distinctions of all kinds». In contrast to Portugal, the Constitution in Spain had nothing to say about the symbolic place that the consort should occupy. Consequently, he was immediately granted the symbolic role of king without first needing to father an heir. From the outset, this decision was justified by recourse to historical precedents, citing the case of Joanna I and Philip the Handsome, the sole example «since the definitive constitution of the monarchy», in other words, since the dynastic union of the kingdoms following the Catholic Monarchs²⁴. Nevertheless, the example was limited, since «a parliamentary or constitutional monarchy should be governed by other rules». As on other occasions, eyes quickly turned to England, where it was stipulated that «the queen's husband should be no more than a prince, worthy of all honour but not holding titles and attributes that correspond to the monarchy».

These questions did not prevent considerable divergences of opinion arising between the factions of the political parties, repeating the same discourse that had overshadowed

22. *Ibid.*, 6th May 1836.

23. «Gaceta de Madrid», 11th and 12th October 1846.

24. «El Español», 2th October 1846.

owed the problem in Portugal. The main stumbling block was that the government had taken upon itself «to provide by means of decrees all the provisions that should have been included in the marriage contract»²⁵. In response, the entire opposition, from the progressives to the conservatives, expressed unanimous disapproval: by this act, the government had usurped upon one of the Cortes' prerogatives. Several aspects prompted this furious censure. First, the critics protested that the Cortes represented «the sole authority that we believe is entitled to grant so high a dignity»²⁶. Furthermore, «a precedent that today is no more than a decree would be elevated to the permanent category of a law», defining this ambiguous role now and for the future²⁷. But above all, «issuing from parliament, such titles should have had the quality of a national concession or grant, not that of a favour from a ministry». Thus, the concession and appointment were interpreted as a discretionary act on the part of the government aimed at winning the consort's favour, rather than as a national act. However, despite these criticisms, no challenges resurfaced concerning the supremacy attached to the post from a symbolic point of view or, more especially, within the military hierarchy, even though the consort never exercised effective command.

3. Conclusions

From the outset, the role of the royal consort was the subject of political debate within Iberian liberalism. In Portugal and Spain alike, its redefinition revolved around two debates. First, as evidenced by the marriages of Maria II and Isabel II, it was considered necessary to separate the woman from the queen in discourses on gender. Conservative visions in both countries gave precedence to the personal interests of the Crown over the general interests of the nation. Furthermore, placing the woman before the queen, the Portuguese and Spanish governments instrumentalised the marriages to their own advantage. In contrast, progressives subordinated the personal interests of the monarchy to those of the nation, calling for direct intervention from

25. *Ibid.*, 13th October 1846.

26. «El Clamor Público», 14th October 1846.

27. «El Tiempo», 14th October 1846.

the parliament. This political fight was located within the context of a struggle between government and parliament to impose the so-called «cabinet system», in which executive power would prevail over legislative power. Once Maria had married in 1834 and again in 1835, and Isabel in 1846, the political debate turned to the role of the king consort and his associated attributes. It is interesting to note the importance given in both cases to the military sphere, in an attempt to compensate for the perceived deficit caused by the queens' sex. As with the marriages, the debate on the consort's position in the post-revolutionary liberal system occurred within the context of a political struggle over different models of monarchies and systems of government. Ultimately, this was a struggle for power between government and parliament and between conservative and progressive liberalism, fought against the backdrop of the lives of some people – the queens and their consorts – which had to be interpreted between the power of the institution they represented and their own individuality as women and men.

The Virtuous King and the Maiden Queen: the Public Image of Pedro V and Stephanie of Portugal Between Gender, Sexuality and Emotion*

Isabel Corrêa da Silva

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Putting together concepts such as gender, emotions and sexuality to look back to a king is not just trying to keep up with academic mainstream. In the case of Pedro V of Portugal and his wife Stephanie, this combination of concepts results from an extended literary genealogy and is in itself the object of analyses of this essay. The fact that the physical and psychological intimacy of this king and queen has been the subject of public scrutiny for almost two centuries is in itself a historiographical phenomenon. The aim of this article is, on the one hand, to systematize the literature on the subject (chronicles, historiography, medical writings, fiction), summarizing its contexts of production. On the other hand, to identify the data that may allow an analysis of the mental and cultural frameworks in which themes such as marriage, conjugality, sexuality, masculinity and femininity were evoked and debated. All along, this journey will be done with a sensitive lens in order to perceive the emotional repertoire that intermediates all these perceptions.

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Although this is an article about a king, it is not yet another contribution to the history of great men. Nor even to the unveiling of a more hidden dimension of their existence, on the contrary, this article deals with the process of forming the public image of king Pedro V, and the development of the public speculations about intimate aspects of his life. In this sense, the aim of this text is to use the abundance of empirical public material to suggest some thoughts about the role of emotions, of gender conventions, and sexuality paradigms, in the path of life and memory of Pedro and Stephanie. In a diachronic perspective that accompanies the couple's public image, but also those who wrote about them, and the society they all belonged to.

While it is true that the highly gendered nature of modern political culture has been mostly studied from the feminist point of view regarding the exclusion of women from political life, the fact is that the introduction of gender lenses into historical reflection continues to be limited to restricted historiographical fields often suffering from discrimination or self-segregation¹. As a perverse consequence of the revolutionary and bourgeois masculinization of the nineteenth-century political culture, despite being by nature a gendered concept, masculinity has been neglected in those studies. According to Pateman, the French Revolution' «sexual contract», that excluded women from political life and gave post-revolutionary society its eminently patriarchal character, would have resulted in an apparent naturalization of virile manhood². The analysis and systematization of the myth of Pedro carried out in this text reveals some of the contours of that naturalization and the paradigms through which it has expressed itself in different times and contexts of Portuguese society.

From the religious feeling that raised the king to the status of a saint, to the scientific faith that signed him up to the list of pathological individuals, the path of Pedro's memory was always linked to a heavy emotional burden. This path

1. S. Dudink, K. Hagemann, A. Clark, *Representing Masculinity male citizenship in Modern Western Culture*, Palgrave, New York 2012, p. XI-XII.

2. C. Pateman, *The sexual contract*, Stanford University, Stanford 1988. See also A. Clark, *The rhetoric of Masculine citizenship. Concepts and representations in modern western political culture*, in S. Dudink et al., *Representing cit.*, pp. 3-22.

has always also carried the enigmatic burden of sexuality and has never been free of gender bias.

1. The “auspicious king” and his priesthood

The rise of the XIX century was a troubled time for Portuguese history. Beginning with the departure of the royal family, the court, and the government to Brazil, to escape from French invasions (1807); followed by years of war against napoleons’ army, and a British protectorate after the defeat of the French in 1814. Court remained in Brazil for 14 years. Meanwhile, in 1820, there was a Liberal Revolution in the European Portuguese territory that led to the return of the king, to the proclamation of a Constitutional Monarchy and ultimately to the independence of Brazil, in 1822. But none of this was done without dispute: and therefore for most part of the first half of the century, Portugal was plunged into a wavering setting of civil-war between liberals and its adversaries, the absolutists, until eventually around 1850 a conciliation movement from all political factions agreed in opening a period of peace that became known as «the Regeneration»³.

It was in this environment of political rest and expectation that king Pedro V ascended to the throne. When his mother, queen Maria II, died in 1853, Pedro was still a minor and it was his father, Fernando, who took over the regency until the prince turned 18 years old on the 16 September 1855, when he was finally acclaimed king. The almost two-year interlude between the «the king is dead, long live the king» allowed his royal consecration to be carefully prepared and to be spared from mourning restrictions. After decades of conflict, the rise of a male heir, born in national territory and of indisputable legitimacy, reconciled everyone’s hopes and expectations. For this reason, even before being acclaimed, Pedro was already nicknamed the «auspicious king» (*o esperançoso*)⁴. His acclamation ceremony, the first to take place within constitutional normality, testified this broad feeling through

3. R. Ramos (ed.), *História de Portugal*, Esfera dos Livros, Lisbon 2009.

4. L. A. Rebelo da Silva, *Ilustração Luso-Brasileira*, 5 de Janeiro de 1856, p. 4.

the commitment of the political elite and the enthusiasm of the population⁵.

Pedro was a complex personality. He had very well-defined ideas, and made sure that they were heard and followed: he wrote his own speeches, drafted law proposals, reported in detail all events in which he participated in a diary that he kept assiduously for several years, in which he also pointed out travel impressions, loose thoughts and reading reflections. He was equally prolix in his correspondence with family, friends, and employees⁶. When assumed the throne, he had already defined in his mind the king he wanted to be. Unlike his mother, he had had a strict education and a scrupulous preparation for the affairs of the state administration. During his father's regency, he took a *grand tour* around Europe during which he had the opportunity to contact with other sovereigns and to observe their modes of political intervention⁷. The English model positively impressed him. Especially in what he considered to be the effectiveness of the conciliation engineering between the monarchical and the democratic principles based on the crucial role of the sovereign. On July 3, 1854, he wrote down in his travel notebook:

The king in England, despite the spread of philosophical ideas, is still a sacred person who is nothing when he does not want to be and is everything when he wants to [...]. When he puts himself at the forefront of public interests, he takes on extraordinary strength, a moral strength that almost divinizes him⁸.

Pedro wanted to be that moral power, and consequently

5. I. Corrêa da Silva, M. Metelo de Seixas, *Uncrowned kings: rituals and ritual objects in eighteenth – nineteenth century Portuguese royal acclamation ceremonies*, «European Review of History», 28 (2021), pp. 28-49. DOI:10.1080/13507486.2020.1809639.

6. D. Peres (org.), *D. Pedro nas páginas do seu diário íntimo*, Portucalense, Porto 1945; R. Leitão (org.), *Cartas de D. Pedro ao imperador do Brasil*, Academia Portuguesa de História, Lisbon 1968; Id. (org.), *Cartas de D. Pedro aos seus contemporâneos*, Livraria Portugal, Lisbon 1961; Id. (org.), *Cartas de D. Pedro ao príncipe Alberto*, Portugal/Fundação da Casa de Bragança, Lisbon 1954; Id. (org.), *D. Pedro V e Hercúlo*, Coimbra Editora, Coimbra 1954; Id. (org.), *Cartas de D. Pedro ao conde do Lavradio*, Portucalense editora, Porto 1945; F. Queirós, *Epistolário de D. Pedro V*, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, Lisbon 1983 and Id., *Escritos de El-Rei D. Pedro V (1923-1926)*.

7. F. L. Vicente, *Viagens e Exposições: D. Pedro V na Europa do Século XIX*, Gótica, Lisbon 2003.

8. *Escritos de El-Rei D. Pedro V* cit., vol. I, p. 178.

aspired to that aura of sacredness. He wanted to make the throne his priesthood, not only in observance of the dynastic tradition that predestined him, but also in the fulfillment of what he believed to be the civic responsibility of modern monarchs. In this sense, Pedro did not see the veneration of the sovereign's figure as an atavism, but as a requirement of modern politics, in which kings, removed from common governance, should assume an almost Christ like authority, presenting themselves as a moral, affective, and spiritual reference for citizens.

Methodical and perfectionist, Pedro wanted to be the perfect constitutional king, to reconcile the promotion of material progress with the regeneration of consciences. His obsession with being a role model made him a missionary both of the throne and virtue: to convert by example, to promote the royal institution by publicizing his good conduct. During the two great outbreaks of yellow fever in 1857 and 1861 in Lisbon, Pedro visited several hospitals and asylums. Newspapers described him encouraging the sick with his presence, supporting the moribund foreheads and faces with his own hand⁹. The same hand that, by 1857 decree, he stopped handling to the subjects for the official hand-kiss ritual¹⁰. By abolishing this ancestral rite he was extinguishing one of the most traditional devices for worshiping the mystical body of kings, because he believed that in modern societies royal sanctity passed essentially through Christian virtues. By doing this, he was simultaneously working, not necessarily consciously, on the construction of a cult of his virtuous personality, embroiled in a sort of mystical aura¹¹.

2. The ideal royal couple

The concern to be an exemplary mirror seemed to be present in all dimensions of Pedro's life. Hence, he thought about marriage with the same missionary spirit with which he visited the dying of cholera on their deathbed. The de-

9. R. Martins, *Rei Santo. Crónica do reinado de D. Pedro V*, João Romano Torres Lda, Lisbon 1907, p. 21.

10. *Decreto de 5 de Maio de 1858*.

11. Cf. I. Corrêa da Silva, *Monarquia Secular e o 'corpo místico' do rei constitucional*, in R. Ramos, J.M. de Carvalho, I. Corrêa da Silva (eds.), *A Monarquia Constitucional dos Braganças em Portugal e no Brasil (1822-1910)*, Dom Quixote, Lisbon 2018, pp. 261-288.

sire to set up a model consortium explains the delay and hesitation in choosing his future wife – ought to be queen. In his choice certainly weighed the pious and devout reputation of the princess Stephanie of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (eldest daughter of Karl Anton, prince of Hohenzollern and head of the House of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, and of his wife princess Josephine of Baden) from the catholic branch of the kings of Prussia, who grew-up in Dusseldorf until 1858, when she came to live in Lisbon to be married with Pedro, at the age of twenty¹².

The marriage took place, first, in Berlin, by proxy, and some months latter, in Lisbon, in a proper face-to-face ceremony. This last occasion was a media spectacle in which the image of the perfect and virtuous couple started to be conveyed. Press pictured the young couple as exemplary as the Victoria and Albert British couple. We know today, that, in fact, Victoria and Albert had great influence in the Portuguese spousal arrangement¹³. Pedro had long since made his uncle Alberto a confidant, with whom he maintained an assiduous and prolific correspondence in which he asked his uncle for advice on the most varied questions. Marriage was no exception. And Albert stressed openly the advantages of a catholic princess, asserting that being Catholic was mandatory for the choice, being German was a plus (lets not forget that Pedro was himself son of a German prince). In these Alberto's dynastic remarks – “[...] completely new blood, not contaminated with mixtures of Bourbons or Habsburgueses” -, there is also present a confrontation between stereotypes of North and South that ended up echoing, more or less implicitly, in the public images of the future queen publicized by the media which focused on the reputation of honor and commitment of German women¹⁴.

D. Pedro himself, in a letter to his homonymous uncle, emperor of Brazil, confessed that he had dreamed “of a woman with habits of domesticity and with the instincts of

12. M. A. Lopes, *Rainhas que o povo amou: D. Estefânia de Hohenzollern, D. Maria Pia de Saboia*, Círculo de Leitores, Lisbon 2013.

13. M. F. Mónica, *D. Pedro V*, Círculo de Leitores, Lisbon 2005, p. 125.

14. J. Vilhena, *Cartas inéditas da Rainha D. Estefânia*, Academia das Ciências, Lisbon, 1922, p. 10-22; R. Leitão, *Cartas de D. Pedro ao príncipe Alberto*, Portugália/Fundação da Casa de Bragança, Lisbon 1954.

conjugal friendship that distinguish the German race.”¹⁵ The disgraceful example of Isabel II of Spain was the elephant in the room, from which unlimited extrapolations about moral conduct of Latin women could be made, and by contrast, all sort of idealizations about northern women integrities could be inferred¹⁶.

The months leading up to and following the royal wedding were particularly fertile in publications where these characteristics, loaded with nationality and gender prejudices, of austerity and virtue of the couple were highlighted. It was indeed in the context of the royal marriage that a more strong media image of Pedro began to be shaped. An image indistinctly linked to that of his wife and to the virtuous ensemble that the two of them formed together. In the 19th century, probably more than in any previous period of History, kings did not escape the socio-cultural canons of their time and in this sense the public image of Pedro would inevitably be fitted to the bourgeois standard that set virtue, respect and faith as archetypal codes for a head of the family model¹⁷. After half a century of fratricidal conflicts, after a turbulent period of intermittent civil war under a woman’s crown, Pedro is asked to assume the role of conciliator and chief of the Portuguese family. For this purpose, his gender is not an insignificant detail: he was a male son of indisputable dynastic legitimacy. On the other hand, as from a certain point in time, Pedro’s public image as an adult legitimate king will be built concomitantly with his marital engagement and he will also implicitly assume some of his wife’s gender characteristics. Among them: the halo of charity.

15. Letter from 21th December 1858 in Leitão, *Cartas de D. Pedro ao imperador* cit., pp. 63-71.

16. The bad Spanish example would be evoked again when debating the alternatives for Pedro second wedding, after he was widowed. The moral genealogy of the Spanish candidate princess Maria Isabel Francisca displeased both Pedro and Alberto, see M. F. Mónica, *D. Pedro V* cit., pp. 135-137. Cf. I. Burdiel, *The Queen, the Woman and the Middle Class. The Symbolic Failure of Isabel II of Spain*, «Social History», 29/3 (2004), pp. 301-319 and F. Peyrou, *Familia y política. Masculinidad y feminidad en el discurso democrático isabelino*, «Historia y Política», 25 (2011), pp. 149-174.

17. M. Wienfort, *Dynastic Heritage and Bourgeois Morals: Monarchy and Family in the Nineteenth Century*, in F. L. Müller, H. Mehrkens (eds.), *Royal Heirs and the Uses of Soft Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Palgrave-Macmillan, London 2016, pp. 163-180. A. Martin-Fugier, *Louis-Philippe et sa famille, 1830-1848*, Tempus, Paris 2012.

One of the recurrent features of Stephanie and Pedro's media coverage was their characterization as "charity angels". It is interesting to note how the attributes related to this image are indistinctly associated with the two members of the couple: emphasizing features that traditionally were associated to female, such as being handsome, kind, and caretaking of the misfortunates¹⁸. Pedro is, moreover, described as the exemplary civic king who refused the sword and only fights with his pen, thus embodying the nineteenth-century model of the citizen-king who cares for and not only rules his people¹⁹. In a context of peace, Pedro's only mission is to guarantee the union and the motivation of the Portuguese family under the political, but also moral, framework of the Regeneration. In a cultural environment that was witnessing the substitution of honor for virtue, the personality traits of Pedro and Stephanie suited them with particular precision to the role of the most virtuous couple²⁰.

3. The veil of death and the birth of a trauma

In 1859, when the country was still enchanted with the royal "angels of charity", an hecatomb came to wake up everyone from the fairy tale: on a quiet summer morning on July 17th the sudden death of the queen was announced to the country. Stephanie died from diphtheria after a short journey to the countryside, south of Lisbon. She was only 22 years old, and had been queen for 14 months. The king was devastated. The whole nation was in shock, and a sort of "canonization" process begun right away. Discourses on the queen's religious and virtuous attributes arose in the most varied forms: poems, drawing, publication of funeral speeches and preaches, etc. «Angel» and «white dove» were

18. Some examples, among many: J.H. de Almeida Blanco, *Blanco Anjo e cruz: canto elegiaco na infaustissima morte de S. M. F. a Rainha a Senhora Dona Stephanie*, Typ. de Joaquim Germano de Sousa Neves, Lisbon 1859; *Auto da vida e morte do Senhor Rei D. Pedro V e dos grandes desgostos e amarguras por que passou no seu reinado*, Verol Junior, Lisbon 1861; *Estephania Rainha de Portugal: vida de uma princeza allemã dos nossos dias*, Lallemand Frères, Lisboa 1873; A. Pimentel, *A porta do paraíso: chronica do reinado de D. Pedro V*, Lucas & Filho, Lisbon 1873.

19. K. Hagemann, *The First Citizen of The State: Paternal Masculinity, Patriotism, and Citizenship in Early Nineteenth-Century Prussia* in S. Dudink et al., *Representing* cit., pp. 67- 88.

20. Cf. R. A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*, Oxford University Press, New York 1993.

expressions repeatedly used²¹. In addition to her 22 tender years of age that made natural the metaphor of purity, Stephanie's curriculum of Christian piety helped in the construction of her posthumous image of a kind of holy martyr. Religion assumed the main role in all the writings: the only consolation in the face of the inconsolable pain.

Twenty-eight months later, the unimaginable happens: the death of the young king. Outbursts of typhoid fever or cholera in autumn 1861 brought close to death four of the seven children of queen Maria II. Three of them died, among them Pedro. It was felt as a national calamity. The country was still grieving for the young prince Fernando that died five days before at the age of 15 when, at 11 November, the death of king Pedro was announced. The tragic event was immediately associated with the list of misfortunes that had marked the reign of Peter, suggesting that the veil of death had covered Peter's throne: cholera and yellow fever outbreaks in 1853, 1856 and 1857; big earthquake in 1858; the death of Stephanie; the loss of the young prince Fernando few days before the king's death. The court endeavored to pay due respect to such unjust fatality and the program of the king's funeral ceremonies was written and publicized in order to widely reach the common people. There was even a request by the Lisbon Society of Artists asking that

in the name of the great public sentiment [...], the coffin that encloses the august corpse of S: M. (was) taken by all classes of the society from the Palace of Necessidades to S. Vicente de For a²².

Press and memoirs descriptions of those days give us an idea of an immense crowd around the royal palace and an extraordinary attendance of thousands of people in the funeral procession. Pedro's dead body remained in viewing the 14th and 15th, days during which hundreds of people flocked to the palace to mourn the king; chronicles say

21. One example, among many: J. H. Correia, *Uma lágrima de saudade, angustia, e dor tributada pelos portugueses á saudosa memoria de Dona Stephanía.*, Typ. Nova, Lisbon 1859.

22. J.M. de Andrade Ferreira, *Reinado e Últimos momentos de D. Pedro V*, Livraria António Maria Pereira, Lisbon 1862, p. 73.

that even beggars (*rotinhos*) were seen there²³. On the 16th, the funeral march took five and a half hours to complete the five kilometers that separate the Royal Palace from the church where the king was buried. The funeral procession was attended by thousands of people and more than 50 representatives of civil associations. Less than a month after, prince João died on the 27th December. The death of the three princes in less than two months was traumatic and covered the country with a veil of deep mourning and despair. An anguish mood took over all public opinion. The nation submerged in great awe and rumors about conspiracy and murder arose, giving way to social turmoil²⁴.

Pedro's mourning was a process expanded throughout the second half of the 19th century and expressed in the very will to understand the king, to try to frame his passage through the Portuguese throne and, in a way, give some kind of meaning to his unexpected death. Because any collective psychology is obviously a daring and slippery exercise, never enough attention was given to the national trauma of the tragic events of 1858-6²⁵. For the generation that had experienced the civil war of the first half of the century, Pedro's death must have deepened the hope and inspiration for the future: a kind of anti-climax, increased by the sense of injustice given the king's youth. It was not just the political regeneration that must seem shaken, but also the very faith in the monarchy that may well have been compromised. What to think about the sudden and unjustifiable death of two princes, the queen, and the king, all in the bloom of their age? Obviously, no one believed in the infallibility of royalty anymore, but to see it massacred by Providence was a big step. A step that by perplexity and skepticism had all the ingredients to close the hearts of the people to the redemptive capacity of the crown, and simultaneously to open the doors to the expansion of a metaphysical dimension, so characteristic of the religious romanticism of the second half of the century. The funeral

23. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

24. M.F. Mónica, *D. Pedro V* cit., pp. 198-200.

25. See on virtue and political imaginary: J. Burr Margadant, *Gender, Vice and the Political Imaginary in Postrevolutionary France: Reinterpreting The Failure of The July Monarchy, 1830-1848*, «American Historical Review», 104 (1999), no. 5, pp. 1461-1469.

speeches and memories produced in the following years reflect this kind of subtle mental reprogramming that assumes the subjugation of the political/dynastic condition of kings to their human/mortal condition as sons of God: «What do I care that our beloved monarch was the son of kings, grandson of kings? [...] he was born as all other men are born, but he died, as very few know how to die»²⁶.

Almost without exception, all those who evoked Pedro introduced this tear of metaphysical humility into their speech. Ecclesiastics, in particular, who in the months following the king's death produced dozens of funeral prayers that were read in countless churches throughout the country, did not miss the opportunity to claim the supremacy of religion and repudiate the privileges of the throne: «The insignia of royalty, dragged in the dust, wrapped in black crêpe: the splendor of that glory disappeared, erased itself in the icy breath of death»²⁷. And even left warnings:

Kings and powerful men around the world, look...
and tremble! Crown and scepter, crimson and ermine,
everything lays merged with the dust. This is how God
instructs the kings and the people when He pleases²⁸.

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The cult of Pedro was built throughout the 1860s, in a process of an almost civil canonization in which the word “saint” was repeatedly found in the kings’ evocations. In fact, there was a kind of Christianization of his memory, divesting it of from the attributes of royalty to crown it with the qualities of a Christian martyr. Therefore, in Pedro’s posthumous image there were the facts that attested these features that were highlighted: his kindness and closeness to the people; the “green box” that he placed outside the Royal Palace so that people could write directly to him; his courage during the epidemic outbreaks; the end of the royal hand-kissing ritual; all the charity and artistic associations to which he gave his financial support.

26. Pe. J. M. Moreira de Seabra, *Oração fúnebre nas exéquias de El-Rei D. Pedro V*, Typ. Universal, Lisbon 1862.

27. Pe. F. S. Donato, *Oração funebre nas solenes exequias de D. Pedro V*, Imp. da Universidade, Coimbra 1862, p. 9.

28. Presbytero J. M. S. Leite, *Oração funebre recitada na Sé de Castello Branco por ocasião das exéquias solennes de Sua Magestade Fidelissima o Senhor D. Pedro V*, Typ. de G. M. Martins, Lisbon 1863, pp. 1-2.

The three theological virtues: faith, hope and charity, occupied a prominent place in Pedro's evocations, whose memory, like that of Christ, was perpetuated by the legacy of love: «it was not the blood of the Afonsos, the Avis and the Braganza that ran through his veins, but the entrenched affection of our hearts that were all his»²⁹. A gift of purity was added to this inheritance of virtue, highlighting the idea of the young man who resisted the temptations and vices of his time and age: «licentious mores seem to be the most common these times [...]. In the vigor of age, Pedro kept a behavior of purity and severity that would honor an old man in ancient times»³⁰. More than a capacity to control passions, Pedro's personality was pictured as a dispassionate one, endowed with almost superhuman characteristics. These almost asexual descriptions implicitly carried gender judgments: by holding Pedro off from the image of manhood and virility of his predecessors (kings Pedro and Miguel, and his own father Fernando), as well as from the men of his age, by highlighting Pedro's depreciation for bohemian and promiscuous behaviors and, simultaneously, emphasizing his beauty and youth (with many descriptions of his physical features), his purity and virtue.

Pedro's grief had a very large material expression: odes, poems, preaches, panegyrics, didactic books, postcards, lithographs, photos, many sorts of prints, statues, toponymics, evocative monuments, pamphlets, memoirs etc. Everyone that had a story or something particular to recall about the king, dared to publish a small booklet or wrote an essay to the newspapers. Pedro became a sales success. Some of these small stories were such a sales success that authors felt the need to justify themselves in the preface to second editions, clarifying that they were not taking advantage from the Pedro's fever³¹.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

30. F.A.R. Azevedo, *Oração Fúnebre nas Exéquias do Sr. D. Pedro V.* s.l., s.n., 1862, p. 14.

31. H.A. da Cunha Soares Freire, *O rei e o soldado, facto histórico do reinado do senhor D. Pedro precedido de um resumo biográfico do mesmo monarca*, Editora José Augusto Rocha, 1862 (first edition), Setúbal 1868 (second edition) and Id., *D. Pedro V – esboço biográfico e o Rei soldado*, M.L. da Silva, Lisbon 186-.

4. From the spirit to the body: explaining Pedro with the eyes of Science

Attempting to understand Pedro was also a way to grieve him. To try to uncover his complex personality whose premature death had made indecipherable. While in the streets, people mourned the saint, in the press other people sought to give meaning to Pedro's tragic fate by looking for signs of omens in the course of his life. The need to make Pedro intelligible was made clear immediately a few weeks after his death when, simultaneously to the panegyrics and the funeral prayers, the first chronicles came out. Hence, detailed descriptions of various moments of his life came to light by the publication of the king's correspondence, writings and, above all, by the testimonies of those who had direct contact with the king and therefore, apparently, could make reliable considerations about his personality. In 1861, the journalist José Maria Andrade Ferreira published a book with the purpose of drawing a "moral portrait" of Pedro. *Reinado e últimos momentos de D. Pedro V* (Reign and last moments of Pedro V) sold a thousand copies in 1862' first edition, and had three other editions during the XIX century. Ferreira sketches a dark psychological image of the king: picturing him as a very pessimist and mournful man, suffering from depression, and relates the misfortune of the reign to this mental gloomy portrait considering that the king was, unconsciously, conducting his own destiny to a tragic outcome³².

Two years later it was the turn of the king's tutor, Martins Bastos, to write his memoirs³³. Bastos also advocates a pathological explanation for Pedro's black personality, explicitly saying that he suffered from depression. Just as Ferreira had done, Bastos compares Pedro to the late medieval Portuguese king Duarte I, a very erudite, bright and virtuous prince who died bachelor after five years of a short reign, and left as legacy the first writings about the clinical condition of depression: «Da maneira que fui doente del menencorico, e del guareci»³⁴. It is in the memories of his

32. Ferreira, *Reinado cit.*

33. F. A. Martins Bastos, *Memórias para a história de El-Rey fidelissimo o senhor Dom Pedro V e de seus augustos irmãos*, Typ. Universal, Lisbon 1863.

34. Duarte, king of Portugal, *O Leal Conselheiro* (1438), Atlântida, Coimbra 1973.

tutor that one finds the first and clearer allusions to the physical materialization of Pedro's virtue and chasteness. Bastos justifies the purity of the king, including his indifference towards the mundane aspects of life, as a consequence of his psychological condition and writes: "With my hand in my conscience I can say that His Highness had not the slightest idea of malice: that He died as innocent as when He left the hands of the Creator"³⁵.

Throughout the following decades, the amount of portraits of the king instead of contributing to illuminate, only made Pedro's image more difficult to discern. Finally, in 1881 one of the most influential Portuguese nineteenth century historians, Oliveira Martins, would stabilize the memory of Pedro. In his *Portugal Contemporâneo* (Contemporary Portugal), Martins traces the most sinister and dramatic, because also grotesque, portrait of the king, describing him as a sort of a mystical lunatic, a walking omen, with undisguised absolutist inclinations:

It was no longer in use to consult witches and soothsayers, but the king had in himself the temperament that asks for miracles [...]. [In the plagues] of Lisbon, D. Pedro V was canonized by the people. And when four years later he died, in his halo of charity the people added palms of martyrdom"³⁶.

Martins seemed determined to destroy with implacable rationality the metaphysical path in which the memory of Pedro had traveled until then. By the hand of Martins, Pedro descended into the world of ordinary mortals and his exceptionalities were transfigured into human faults: the king's rigor is transformed into obsession, scruple into intolerance, piety into superstition, and psychological restlessness into fatalism. The emotional burden that Pedro's memory carried after decades of exaltation should be unbearable for Martins' skeptical rationalism. Although the ruthless and 20-year posthumous judgment he made of the king was not devoid of emotionalism either. Nevertheless, Martins is probably one of the only authors to have written

35. Bastos, *Memorias* cit., p. 174.

36. J. P. Oliveira Martins, *Portugal Contemporâneo*, Livraria de António Maria Pereira, Lisbon 1895, p. 395.

about the king without calling upon any kind of psychiatric accounts. For Martins, there were no diagnosis or circumstances, only personality traits. And what worried him about Pedro's personality was what he considered to be the characteristics that made him unfit for his time and function as a constitutional king: the overbearing of worldly aspects of life, the contempt for politicians, the lack of confidence in institutions, the excess of piety. In this sense, Martins is perhaps one of the few who judges exclusively on the king and not on man.

The 20th century brought along new lens to the scrutiny of Pedro. In a context of progressive secularization and consolidation of the intellectual power of physicians, metaphysical interpretations lost their place to scientific ones, allowing what until then had been merely a fait-divers in Pedro's biography, the doubt about his virginity, to take a central place in the posthumous radiography of the king³⁷. In fact, Freudian psychoanalytic theories, cherished at the time by the medical community and beyond, allowed Pedro's alleged anaphrodisia to be no longer seen as a mere gossip but as an explanatory element of his character. First explicit reference to this was found in a 1903 publication, *Cartas Inéditas d'el Rei D. Pedro seguidas de estudo psicológico* («Unpublished letters from king D. Pedro followed by psychological study»)³⁸, where the authors refer to the rumors about Pedro's frigidity and Stephanie's virginity to deny them. Previous explicit written references to this rumors are not known, but the fact that in 1903 Loureiro and Remédios felt the need to deny them on write is a sign that they already had some expression.

Historiographically, the reference that opened the debate on the theme of Stephanie's virginity is that of the hygienist physician Ricardo Jorge in an article on "parthenoplasty" (i.e. the physical simulation of virginity or hymen repair surgery) in the 1909 review *Medicina Contemporânea* («Contemporary Medicine»). Jorge wrote that «queen D. Estefânia, D. Pedro V's wife, died as it is known from diphthe-

37. M.R. Lino Garnel, *O poder intelectual dos médicos (finais do século XIX - inícios do século XX)*, «Revista de História das Ideias», 24 (2003), pp. 213-253.

38. J. Mendes dos Remédios and E. Loureiro (eds.), *Cartas Inéditas d'el Rei D. Pedro seguidas de estudo psicológico*, F. França Amado, Coimbra 1903, p. XV.

ria: as the false membranes spread to the vulva, the doctors examined her and were surprised to find the hymen intact», adding that this information was only known «by tradition never divulged until today»³⁹. But we know that at least since 1903 there were written references to this same oral tradition. The information, rumor or allegation that traveled throughout the second half of the nineteenth century in oral track, now found the environment to be discussed publicly. It could not have been any other way. If in the early 17th century Portugal, it was possible to discuss among the court the sexuality of king Afonso VI (which eventually led to the annulment of his marriage with Maria Francisca of Savoy)⁴⁰, in the 19th century bourgeois purist society, this kind of allusion, even if concerning dead people, had no place for written discussion, much less publicly. That is why it is natural that the report of Stephanie's autopsy, where the so-called medical reference to the incorruptibility of the hymen could possibly be, disappeared. The same way that it is also absolutely expected that none of the three doctors who were present at the examination has ever left any written testimony⁴¹. Already in the 1920s, when a former monarchy minister, Júlio Vilhena, took up the subject again, the most he could obtain was the oral testimony of a son of one of the doctors.

Vilhena was perhaps the most dedicated *pedrista* of the many authors who for over 150 years wove Pedro's chronicle. Besides a biography and a history of his reign in two volumes (1921), Vilhena also did the work of compiling, editing and publishing the almost exhaustive ensemble of the king's writings (1922)⁴². He was unable to disguise his preoccupation with deciphering the psyche and the sexuality of the king. The theme that had been forbidden to Vilhena as deputy, minister and head of the conservative party during the monarchy, now seemed natural to the 75-year-old

39. R. Jorge, *A parthenoplastia*, «A Medicina Contemporânea», 11, IV (1909), vol. IV, pp. 114-117.

40. Â. Barreto Xavier, P. Cardim, *D. Afonso VI*, Círculo de Leitores, Lisbon 2006, pp. 183-203.

41. M. Perrot, *Les acteurs* in Id. (dir.), *Histoire de la vie privée*, vol. 4 (dir. P. Ariès and G. Duby), Seuil, Paris 1987.

42. J. Vilhena, *D. Pedro V e o Seu Reinado*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra 1921, 2 vols; *Escritos de El-Rei D. Pedro V* cit.

retired minister writing in the full 1920s, in an intellectual and social context in which science was gradually acquiring totalitarian prerogatives. Hence, an important part of the of Vilhena's second volume is dedicated to discuss the frigidity of the king. He collects parts of Pedro's writings that presumably reveal his misogyny, his indifference for women, his obsession with morality and his disdain and re- crimination for bohemian and libertine behaviors. Vilhena seems truly convinced that Pedro had no sensual appetite and seeks desperately to prove his thesis. To do so he writes to the probably most famous Portuguese psychiatrist of the time, Júlio de Matos, asking for his medical opinion, and publishes the doctor's answer:

D. Pedro was not gynophobo (aversion to women) nor even homosexual, he was constitutionally a frigid man [...] an individuals in whom the sexual instinct did not come to be constituted [...]. The sexual indifference of the constitutional anaphrodisiacs may be painful to them by the awareness that they are diminished relative to other men. And this is perhaps the case of D. Pedro V, who historians describe as a person of a sad character and not having other inclinations or interests besides the purely intellectual⁴³.

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Vilhena wrote also to the prince of Hohenzollern asking for any evidence on the subject that could be found on Stephanie's correspondence, kept in the German palace. From this correspondence sent by the German prince, Vilhena picked a passage from one of Stephanie's letters to her mother, where the princess recalls the wedding night and that Vilhena presents as another evidence of Pedro's frigidity:

I did not sleep a wink. I was very embarrassed, uncomfortable, and I think, in short, that this custom of the spouses sleep together is not very pleasant. But I consider it a duty before God and the excessive purity and delicacy of Pedro touches and pleases me; is a great bliss for me, because without it there would be things that would be very difficult for me. As you see, my dear mother, I write to you with my heart open⁴⁴.

43. Letter from Matos to Vilhena (26th November 1926) *apud* Vilhena, *D. Pedro* cit., vol. 2, p. 396.

44. Vilhena, *D. Pedro* cit., vol. 2, p. 403.

Other pieces of Pedro and Stephanie plot were brought by Júlio de Sousa e Costa in 1941, in the book suggestively named *The Secret of D. Pedro* (Pedro's secret)⁴⁵. Costa was a republican journalist, a self-taught historian who did a remarkable job of compiling oral history about various moments and characters of 19th century Portuguese history. He built his book on Pedro based on a collection of testimonies from Pedro's servants or employees, and particularly from the private notes of General Claudio Chaby, who attended frequently the royal palace. The episode of Stephanie's death and autopsy occupies only one of the 24 chapters of the book, and yet the mystery surrounding the consummation of the marriage runs through the entire work. But unlike the previous chroniclers, Costa does not suggest any theory about Pedro's condition – frigidity, impotence, homosexuality – allowing the unspoken to live up to the book's title. It is clear that Costa had an opinion on the subject, but he is never explicit, what is also understandable since he writes during the conservative dictatorship of the Estado Novo. Nevertheless, Costa is the first to publish a supposed full transcription of the notes written by one of the doctor who performed Stephanie's autopsy, the same notes that presumably were used in 1908 Ricardo Jorge's article. But, in fact, it never becomes clear who were Costa's sources. What matters is that, with an inescapable wide margin of imagination, Costa's book brought to light a series of oral testimonies and accounts of small stories that helped to reconstruct the domestic and convivial setting of Pedro and Stephanie.

During the Estado Novo's dictatorship, several intellectuals of the regime made their contributions to the study of Pedro's figure and reign, including the publication of much correspondence⁴⁶. Nevertheless, this was, as one would expect, a period of some truce in the scrutiny of the king's intimate life. The subject only returned to the spotlight in the 21st century when the historiographical milieu rediscovered the biography and the historical novel gained popularity. In more strict academic research, as well as in literary fiction,

45. J. de Sousa e Costa, *O Segredo de Dom Pedro V*, Romano Torres, Lisbon 1941.

46. Most relevant of these authors was Ruben A. Leitão, worked cited.

with more or less sensationalist or sentimental style, the secret of Pedro continued to feed pages of speculation⁴⁷.

5. Final notes

From his death in 1861 to the present day, the memory of Pedro has been built on thousands of written pages of the most varied styles. The proportion between time of reign and bibliographical production is probably unique in Portuguese history, or only comparable to the case of king Sebastião. Unlike other monarchs, such as Carlos I, Pedro IV or Manuel II, whose chronic and historiographical production is justified by the exceptional political circumstances of their reigns, Pedro V has no particular event or political upheaval worth highlighting from his time as king. In fact, who, throughout this century and a half, chroniclers, historians, and novelists have been looking for is not the king, but the man. Since no one ever found evidences of what could possibly be proved (the queen's virginity), and since any personality judgment is essentially subjective and permeable to its context of production, decade after decade the effort to try to decipher the man Pedro has proved redundant and naturally inconclusive.

The purpose of this essay was to synthesize this bibliographic production, paying due attention to authorial and context idiosyncrasies and trying to understand what they reveal us about the historicity of themes such as marriage, sexuality, masculinity, the feminine condition, which occupy a central place in practically all the literature mentioned. In fact, the empirical material here compiled has taken us out of strict Institutional and Political History to lead us into the History of Historiography, into Cultural and Social History, or even into more unsteady terrains those of History of Private Life, of Sexuality, of Emotions, and Gender. At the end of the journey, what seems more important to retain are not the facts on the marriage, sexuality, masculinity, or the gender condition of the king and queen, but how these

47. Academic examples: M. F. Mónica, *D. Pedro V* cit. and M.A. Lopes, *Rainhas que o povo cit.*, and M. de F. Reis, *D. Estefânia e D. Maria Pia de Savoia, 1837-1859 e 1847-1911: a caridosa e o anjo da caridade*, QuidNovi, Vila do Conde 2011. Fiction examples: O. Leite, R. Oliveira, S. Trigueirão, *A vida louca dos reis e rainhas de Portugal: a verdade escondida pela História*, Marcador, w.p. e. 2011; S. Rodi, *D. Estefânia: um trágico amor*, A Esfera dos Livros, Lisbon 2012.

concepts were discussed and judged by those who evoked them regarding the king and queen.

Because the personal rather than the political judgment prevailed, the emotional dimension of this memory path was dominant. Obviously, on a first moment, because of the tragic events that led to the royal couple's death. In fact, the literature that attests to the longevity of the mourning for Pedro should invite us to pose the question on how the fatalities of Pedro and the royal family affected the national spirit and the dynastic, monarchical, devotion⁴⁸. Could it be that, as Oliveira Martins insinuated that the «death in the Palace» was seen as a «symbol of death in the Kingdom»?⁴⁹ It is, for sure, impossible to quantify how much of the public opinion skepticism on the monarchy can be attributed to the emotional echoes of this trauma, but it is reasonable to recognize that the anti-climax of hope caused by Pedro's tragedy left deep marks of discouragement on the future of Portuguese society.

In this sense, the nineteenth century bibliographical production gains in being read in its emotional dimension, corresponding to a kind of catharsis moving in different directions. In the direction of the Panegyric, which gives continuity to the religious, Christian and civic frame, enhancing the sanctity features of the king's memory. Also in the direction of those who renounced to metaphysical plans, to discover Pedro in the light of rationality and science, resorting to pathologies and psychological conditions to explain him. An ambivalent device that, if at the one hand brings the king down to the mundane plane of mortals, relieves him from the burden of his weaknesses, on the other.

The increasing affirmation of science as an absolute explanatory paradigm and a rational framework for human existence has in the history of Pedro and Stephanie a rich field of expression. If in the second half of the 19th century, concepts such as “depression” and “hypochondria” were already used to characterize Pedro, even though without any explicit mention of his sexuality, we know that the issue of the queen's hypothetical virginity was not then clearly

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48. Interesting to read this according to what Eduardo Lourenço sais in *O labirinto da saudade. Psicoanálise mítica do destino português*, Gradiva, Lisbon 2020 (1978), pp. 23-67.

49. J. P. Oliveira Martins, *Portugal* cit., p. 316.

stated. It traveled for 50 years in the oral tradition, until it found ground to be expressed in writing just in the first decade of the 20th century. During this period, the emotional tone of the writings was already serenaded by time, but it became, in its turn, deeply engaged in the rhetoric of infallibility of science. This was the medicalization peak of Pedro's and Stephanie memory, with science lending legitimacy to expose the couple's intimacy, without any obvious political justification (checking the legitimacy of a marriage annulment, or of an abdication, as was for instance the case of Afonso VI).

If the 19th century bourgeois canon of masculinity only allowed to talk about Pedro's affections using expressions such as "charitable", "pious", "disinterested in human passions", "metaphysical purity" or "misogynist" at the most⁵⁰. At the beginning of the 20th century, with the triumph of hygienic, psychiatric, and psychoanalytical theories, the parameters of characterization took on more objective outlines, gaining status of diagnosis. Then, Pedro was no longer "gynophobe", nor even "homosexual", he was a "constitutional frigid", in the words of Júlio de Matos that attest how clinical hermeneutics did not condemn only women and their "hysterias". But if gender didn't save Pedro from being exposed, it somehow managed to spare Stephanie, since concerning the doubts on the consummation of marriage, the onus always fell on Pedro. The queen's sexuality and libido were never object for speculation, being taken for granted the female sexual potentiality and the assertion of a passive femininity. In all the scrutiny that was made of each sentence, of each comma or intimate confession both of the king or the queen that could possibly help to decipher the marital mystery, one was always looking for the sexuality of the man and never of the woman. On all of proof compilation – Pedro did not care for the theater dancers, he felt uncomfortable around women and was often unpleasant with them, he mocked about the virtue of the nuns – Pedro was always being confronted with a paradigm of heterosexual active masculinity in which he did not seem to fit, and therefore his sexuality was denied from him. The fact that

50. About this 19th century manliness paradigms see G.L. Mosse, *The image of Man. The creation of modern masculinity*, Oxford University Press, New York 1996.

Stephanie was not subjected to such an examination is not irrelevant. The displeasure at sleeping with her husband, or the anguish about the couple's intimacy expressed in the letters to her mother didn't seem enough reason to speculate about the queen's sexuality, simply because her reproductive potential was naturalized in her feminine condition and no proof of that was expected. Unfortunately for Pedro, as a male king, more was expected from him.

During the course of the 19th century, the monarchic institution underwent many changes, most of which were a consequence of the transformations arising from both the revolutionary processes that had been taking place in Europe since the end of the 18th century, and of the influence exerted by bourgeois society in the modelling of public and private customs and habits. These changes revolved around two major issues: the redefinition of the monarch's political role, and its adjustment to set of symbolic references related to the nation. The following pages will offer a general reflection upon this latter aspect, analysing the Spanish case, which presents interesting particularities during the middle years of the century and which will be studied in the light of the concept of honour applied to a collective subject (the nation) and the institution that represents it (the monarchy).

* This work has been developed into the research projects: «Court, Monarchy and Liberal Nation (1833- 1885). On the King and the Political Modernization of 19th century Spain» (HAR2015-66532-P) and «Culture of Honour, Politics and Public Sphere in Liberal Spain (1833-1890)» (PGC2018-093698-B-I00), financed by the Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad, the Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades and FEDER (UE).

1. Honour, nation and monarchy

The incorporation of the concept of honour into the analysis of the relationship between monarchy and nation in the 19th century is directed towards the study of the way in which this concept was reinterpreted in Europe throughout the 18th century and, in particular, in Spain, where its roots were closely related to the elitist dynamics of the Ancien Régime and to religious elements that had characterised the subjects of the old Hispanic Monarchy as opposed to other exegeses of the Christian faith¹. The result of this reinterpretation was the genesis of criteria of distinction that marked bourgeois society in terms of class and gender, which allows for the creation of a code of conduct shared between the old aristocratic elites and the new elites born of the changes produced by liberal legislation in economic areas. This was a code of conduct that, also reflected in women, was based on masculine practices and perceptions. All this created an ideal of bourgeois masculinity that was projected upon the concepts of honourability and reputation².

At the same time, and this is where reference should be made to the monarchy, there was a process of transfer of the concept of honour to a collective subject: the nation, a group of people whose respectable individual conduct rendered the nation a respectable political entity. This would represent a novel questioning of identity whereby, via the role fulfilled by the code of honour, individuals' lives were perceived as national. To which would be added the fact that, in its public image, the nation embodied the figure of the monarch, which thus became a symbol of national honour or dishonour, with the repercussions this might have

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1. On the old concept of honour: J.A. Maravall, *Poder, honor y élites en el siglo XVII*, Siglo XXI, Madrid 1979. This changing process in P. Ortega del Cerro, *Del honor a la honradez: un recorrido por el cambio de valores sociales en la España de los siglos XVIII y XIX*, «Cuadernos de Ilustración y Romanticismo», 24 (2018), pp. 597-618.

2. See: G.L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1996; J. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire*, Routledge, London 2016; A.M. Sohn, «Sois un Homme!» *La construction de la masculinité au XIXe siècle*, Seuil, Paris 2009; and A. Corbin (dir.), *Histoire de la virilité*. 2. *Le triomphe de la virilité. Le XIXe siècle*, Seuil, Paris 2011. The Spanish case in M. Sierra, *Entre emociones y política: la historia cruzada de la virilidad romántica*, «Rúbrica Contemporánea», 4 (2015), no. 7, pp. 11-25 and N. Aresti, *Médicos, donjuanes y mujeres modernas: los ideales de feminidad y masculinidad en el primer tercio del siglo XX*, Universidad del País Vasco, Bilbao 2001.

vis-à-vis the construction of the positive or negative image of the country. In this sense, one can say that the concept of honour associated with the monarchy acquired a central role in post-revolutionary society, conditioning both the internal perceptions of European nations and their reputation abroad.

Furthermore, and leaving aside the concept of honour for a moment, we find that, evident throughout the 19th century was an interaction between three closely related political concepts: monarchy, nation and state. Liberal states identified in the monarchy a support for institutions of political representation. And thanks to the importance attributed to tradition and the monarch's natural authority, the monarchy could sustain and legitimise the institutions born of revolutionary processes (modern chambers of representation, in particular). In turn, the monarchy found protection in the state and its institutions. After the revolutionary processes experienced in Western European countries, monarchs had lost part of their executive power, reinforcing their symbolic power, most clearly affirmed in its projection upon the new political subject: the nation³. As it has been said, the monarch became the personification of that abstract concept, the political nation, difficult for subjects/citizens to understand⁴. It can therefore be said that the political institutions of the liberal states of 19th century Europe found their administrative materialisation in the state; their symbolic incarnation in the monarch; and their

3. The rereading of the political paper of the monarchy has been deeply analysed. A general overview in M. Kirsch, *La trasformazione politica del monarca europeo nel XIX secolo*, «Scienza&Politica», 34 (2006), pp. 22-35. An interesting comparative study through a cultural approach in J. Deploige (ed.), *Mystifying the Monarch: Studies on Discourse, Power, and History*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam 2007. The Spanish case in J. Varela Suanzes-Carpegna, *Política y constitución en España (1808-1978)*, Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, Madrid 2007; Á. Lario (ed.), *Monarquía y república en la España contemporánea*, Biblioteca Nueva, Madrid 2007; E. García Monerris, M. Moreno Seco, J.I. Marcuello Benedicto (eds.), *Culturas políticas monárquicas en la España liberal. Discursos, representaciones y prácticas (1808-1902)*, PUV, Valencia 2013; J.I. Marcuello Benedicto, C. Dardé Morales, *La Corona y la Monarquía constitucional en la España liberal (1834-1931)*, Sílex, Madrid 2022.

4. The role of the monarchy in the nationalization process in R. Sánchez (coord.), *Un rey para la nación. Monarquía y nacionalización en el siglo XIX*, Sílex, Madrid 2019; and D. San Narciso, *Being a nation through the crown. Banal monarchism and nation-building in Spain, 1833 – 68*, «European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire», 27 (2020), pp. 474-493. DOI: 10.1080/13507486.2019.1683517

political reality in the nation. This generated a discourse that linked the historical legitimacy of the monarchy to the political legitimacy of the nation. Consequently, with the establishment of such a close relationship between nation and monarchy, the image of one was projected upon the other. That image, read in terms of political representation and understanding the nation in emotional terms, as something felt, would be directly affected by the behaviour and the respect generated by the person who embodied the institution: the king or the queen.

In this double perspective of contemplating the nation and the monarchy in terms of national honour/reputation, there is an extremely important element that is related to the category of «gender»⁵. The key to analysing this question resides, specifically, in the various meanings of the word «honour». In Spanish language, traditionally, and in the absence of nuances, two words have been employed to establish the difference between *honor*, understood as aristocratic honour and masculine reputation, and *honra*, understood as feminine reputation. The latter refers to the public image of the virtuous woman, whose reputation is untarnished by anything related to her sexual conduct. With the «gentrification» of the concept of honour in the 19th century, we can speak of active honour and passive honour. Allusion to masculine honour, active honour, refers to the male's social obligation to act in defence of his public image and his irreproachable conduct, as opposed to passive honour, which would be the reputation of women, who can be attacked with insinuations, insults or comments in relation to their sexual behaviour that does not respect the limits established by prevailing morality. A woman's honour corresponded to virtuous behaviour that should be defended against external insults by the men upon whom that woman depended: her husband, her father, her brother, her tutor, etc. Ultimately, a man's public image also depended on his wife's, his mother's, his daughters' and his sisters' public image. Defending their reputation was a way of protecting his honour as a man before the rest of society.

5. See: C. Campbell Orr, *The Feminization of the Monarchy 1780-1910: Royal Masculinity and Female Empowerment*, in A. Olechnowicz (ed.), *The Monarchy and the British Nation, 1780 to the Present*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007, pp. 76-107.

2. A little exemplary couple

At this point, one should ask oneself the following question: how is this way of seeing oneself and being seen, as an individual and as a family member, reflected in royal circles? Here we encounter another of the changes that would gradually place within an institution as averse to novelty as the monarchy. Only by dint of further studies will we come to know how and where the royal family was assimilated into the bourgeois family model of the rest of 19th century European society. The British case has probably been the subject of most study and the best option for analysis, since the British royal family succeeded in assimilating (in appearance at least) the bourgeois model of nuclear family, which yielded significant returns on a political level⁶. The importance of this question was explained by English journalist Walter Bagehot in these well-known words:

A family on the throne is an interesting idea also. It brings down the pride of sovereignty to the level of petty life [...] a princely marriage is a brilliant edition of a universal fact, and as such it rivets mankind [...] a Royal Family sweetens politics by the seasonable addition of nice and petty events. It introduces irrelevant facts into the business of government, but they are facts which speak to “men’s bosoms” and employ their thoughts [...]⁷.

Although the most representative model of domestic virtues applied to royal circles was the British royal family, we can find similar cases in some small kingdoms in the Germanic world. Another successful example was the Portuguese case, with the marriage between Queen Maria de la Gloria and Fernando of Saxony. The same can be said, although the lives of both spouses were short, of the marriage between their son Pedro V and his wife Stephanie of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Less successful was the relationship between his brother and successor, Luis of Bra-

6. See: D. Wahrman, “Middle-Class” Domesticity Goes Public: Gender, Class and Politics from Queen Caroline to Queen Victoria, «Journal of British Studies», 32 (1993), pp. 308-339; and M. Wienfort, *Dynastic Heritage and Bourgeois Morals: Monarchy and Family in the Nineteenth Century*, in F. Müller, H. Mehrkens (eds.), *Royal Heirs and the Uses of Soft Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Palgrave-Macmillan, London 2016, pp. 163-180.

7. W. Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, Chapman and Hall, London 1867, pp. 62-63.

ganza, and his wife Maria Pía of Savoy⁸. Irrespective of the truth behind the rumours regarding the poor state of this couple, what mattered was the projection of those rumours beyond the courtly environment. It is very important to bear in mind the question of appearance since, in the case of public figures, what was most relevant was not what really happened, but what subjects saw, listened to or read. This is something widely evidenced by the history of European monarchies, the political projection of which became particularly significant in the wake of the French Revolution, when the private lives of royal couples became the subject of political commentary. Public discussion of the lives of kings and queens became a genuine threat to their image because, if these lives were not exemplary, the institution's prestige could be eroded, as occurred in Spain.

The Spanish case, embodied by Queen Isabel and her husband Francisco de Asís, is the perfect example of a family that is anything but respectable, be it royal or plebeian. This contributed considerably to discrediting not only the monarchs, but also the monarchic institution itself. This marriage was based, as usual, on *raison d'état*. This was an alliance arranged by the Queen Regent (María Cristina of the Two Sicilies) in line with the interests of the most powerful nations in Western Europe: France and Great Britain. As these two powers vetoed foreign candidates that might interfere in their respective interests in Spain, the chosen groom was Francisco de Asís of Bourbon, Isabel's first cousin. It was the least problematic solution politically speaking, but the worst in personal terms, given the Queen's dislike of her fiancé⁹. Thus, Francisco de Asís became consort. Queen Isabel, who was sixteen years old at the time of the wedding, rejected the marriage outright and never ceased to

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8. On this issue: Y.M. Ward, *Queen Victoria and Queen Dona Maria II de Gloria of Portugal: Marriage, Motherhood, and Sovereignty in the Lives of Young Queens Regnant (1828-1853)*, «Lilith: A Feminist History Journal», 11 (2002), pp. 117-130; and I. Corrêa da Silva, *Rey santo, Rey profano: secularización del Estado y desacralización de la Corona en los reinados de Pedro V y Luís I de Portugal (1853-1889)*, in R. Sánchez, *Un rey para la nación* cit, pp. 337-356.

9. On this marriage, see I. Burdiel, *Isabel II: una biografía, 1830-1904*, Taurus, Madrid 2010, pp. 159-181. The projection of the royal couple's bad reputation on the institution itself has been studied by I. Burdiel in *El descenso de los reyes y la nación moral. A propósito de Los Borbones en pelota*, in SEM, *Los Borbones en pelota*, Institución «Fernando el Católico», Zaragoza 2012, pp. 9-74.

manifest her dissatisfaction with a husband that had been forced upon her. From that moment onwards, a combination of circumstances relating to the Crown compromised the monarchic institution on a number of occasions.

In the first place, the lack of definition of the figure of consort, a question that arose not only in Spain, but also in the United Kingdom. Prince Albert's struggle to find his place in the court is well documented. He occupied a secondary position in relation to Queen Victoria, and rather than a «king», was only a prince¹⁰. Francisco de Asís was King, although consort, but his functions were never clearly defined. Since the advent of the modern age, the Spanish monarchy, with the exception of Queens Isabel I and Juana (15th and 16th centuries), had only had queen regents during their children's minority, so the issue of specifying the obligations of a prince consort had never arisen. Until the 19th century, this figure did not exist. Moreover, the accession to the Spanish throne of the Bourbon dynasty early in the 18th century heralded the application of the Salic Law, which prohibited the accession of women to the throne, so the figure of prince consort was unthinkable. Only the extraordinary political circumstances at the time made Isabel queen. Traditionally, the duties of queen consorts had been associated with charity and philanthropy, regarded as feminine endeavours, as the protection of those most disadvantaged was considered to be the extension to society of the care provided by women at home. However, in the case of a prince consort there was no place for this function, on a preferential basis at least. One of the prince consort's principal tasks could not be that of helping the poor or engaging in charitable activities. The latter would feminize his public image. Which is why various steps were taken to occupy his agenda as monarch, including the creation of the King's Military Chamber in 1855¹¹.

Secondly, the Queen's rejection of her husband was evidenced by her frivolous social behaviour and a sexual conduct full of suspicions of infidelity. The constant rumours

10. See S. Weintraub, *Uncrowned King. The Life of Prince Albert*, The Free Press, New York 1997.

11. C. López Sánchez, *La mano del rey: el mayordomo mayor en la Casa Real del siglo XIX*, Universidad de Alcalá, Alcalá de Henares 2018, pp. 197-201.

about her lovers raised doubts regarding the paternity of the heir to the throne, something very dangerous given the political context at the time. To such an extent that, when the heir was born in 1857, King Francisco was forced to participate in a ceremony of recognition of the prince, as he was not actually willing to acknowledge this status. In this context, by the mid-19th century, republican opposition in Spain had already established itself. Not to the extent that the throne was in danger, but sufficiently so to begin to represent a threat. Meanwhile, the loyalist pretender Carlos of Bourbon was continually plotting and, along with his wife, appeared before some Spaniards as the representation of a decent, honest, religious family, far removed from the licentiousness of the occupants of the throne. To sum up, Isabel II did not respond to the stereotype of virtuous, family-oriented woman, devoted to her husband¹².

Thirdly, and although this was not mentioned in public, in respectable circles at least, the King's masculinity was always called into question. Suspicions of homosexuality or, at least, of effeminacy, were rife from the very beginning. His attention to physical appearance, his unmilitary bearing, his proximity to clerical circles and, above all, the perception that he was incapable of controlling his wife's conduct, sowed these seeds of doubt. The Queen herself contributed to this impression, deliberately or not, with frequent remarks about her husband. She commented, for example, that on their wedding night, Francisco of Asís had more lace and trimmings on his clothes than she did. In addition, the Queen's behaviour with her lovers at parties and balls and the awarding of decorations and other favours to them was another significant element of the way she ridiculed her husband.

Thus, Francisco of Asís's public position became extremely fragile. As a husband, he had failed to safeguard his wife's, and therefore his own, reputation, so had not behaved in the manner expected of a man. As King, he had neither effective powers nor clear functions, and he was at the mercy of his wife's whims and the government's deci-

12. M. Burguera López, "Al ángel regio". *Respetabilidad femenina y monarquía constitucional en la España posrevolucionaria*, in E. García Moneris, M. Moreno, J.I. Marcuello (eds.), *Culturas políticas* cit, pp. 131-150.

sions. In the eyes of the public, the King was not, therefore, a respectable man, a man of honour. Aware of his situation, Francisco of Asís wasted no opportunity to conspire against this wife, albeit in the knowledge that, if she fell, so would he. A very interesting individual, study of whom should combine political and psychological analysis, as this was a man governed by an unquenched thirst for power and hindered by the both his wife's favourites and the government; desperate to find his place in a court full of rumours¹³; and humiliated by a deplorable public image that called into question the deepest roots of the reputation of men in his time: their manhood¹⁴. Consequently, if the Queen had lost her reputation as a virtuous woman and the King his honour as a man, both had lost legitimacy in their subjects' eyes due to the projection of their private behaviour upon their public image. Interestingly, among the popular classes there was less criticism of the Queen's irresponsible conduct than among the bourgeoisie. For many working-class Spaniards, the Queen was a victim of the interests of the state, forced to marry a man of dubious sexuality, who could not make her happy. For the middle classes, on the other hand, the Queen had overstepped tolerable limits, had broken with the bourgeois respectability that upheld the moral scaffolding of society at the time¹⁵.

To this should be added another fundamental element in order to understand the spread of the idea of degeneration and national dishonour associated with the monarchy: corruption¹⁶. During this period, the making of great fortunes in Spain was closely linked to the granting of specific privileges or favourable treatment to people in or adjacent to the circles of power. And one of those circles was none

13. R. Sánchez, D. San Narciso, *El fantasma de la corte. Rimas y leyendas de la influencia palaciega en la historia contemporánea española*, en R. Sánchez, D. San Narciso (coords.): *La cuestión de palacio. Corte y cortesanos en la España contemporánea*, Comares, Granada 2018, pp. 1-19.

14. The most famous satires on him are part of the set of watercolours entitled *Los Borbones en pelota*, whose most recent edition is that of the Fernando el Católico Institution in 2012, already cited.

15. I. Burdiel, *The Queen, the Woman and the Middle Class. The Symbolic Failure of Isabel II of Spain*, «Social History», 29 (2004), no. 3, pp. 301-319.

16. An idea that would last in the following reigns, despite attempts to avoid it. See I. Burdiel, *La revolución del pudor: escándalos, género y política en la crisis de la monarquía liberal en España*, «Historia y Política», 39 (2018), pp. 23-51.

other than the Crown. In this matter, primary responsibility corresponded not to the royal couple (Isabel and Francisco), but to the Queen Mother and her morganatic family. María Cristina of Bourbon, Queen Regent during her daughter's minority, had married a man removed from the aristocratic world who very soon received a noble title. Along with her husband, María Cristina became the head of a network of merchants and bankers who exploited her proximity to power in order to build great fortunes. During the early 1850s, to speak of the Queen Mother was to speak of corruption and immorality, as a result of both her questionable business operations and her re-marriage, without respecting the period of mourning for the death of her first husband, King Fernando VII. The revolution that broke out in 1854 was mainly directed at the Queen Mother, to the extent that she was forced to leave Spain in clandestine fashion. Although the royal couple could not be directly implicated in any cases of corruption, María Cristina's shady business deals also prejudiced the Crown, further discrediting the institution¹⁷.

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Criticism of the monarchy by republicans and traditionalists was expressed in moral terms: the nation was in need of moral regeneration because it had lost its dignity owing to the Queen's sexual promiscuity, her husband's dubious virility and the economic corruption of the royal family. The final years of Isabel II's reign were impregnated with this sensation of «dishonoured nation» that, moreover, formed the basis of the revolutionary discourse of 1868 that brought down the Queen. Entitled «Long live an honourable Spain! », the manifesto that announced the revolution insisted on the moralising nature of the uprising. Finally, the direct association generally established between national dishonour and the Bourbon dynasty prompted the leader of the revolutionaries, General Juan Prim, to insist that, in the event of the monarchy returning to Spain, the Bourbon dynasty would be banned from again wielding the royal sceptre. Hence the recourse to the Italian Savoys and, in particular, to the Duke of Aosta. Amadeo of Sa-

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17. M.A. Casado Sánchez, M. Moreno Seco, *María Cristina de Borbón y María Cristina de Habsburgo: dos regentes entre los modos aristocráticos y los burgueses*, «Historia y Política», 31 (2014), pp. 113-138.

voy, his wife and children were presented before Spaniards as the model of the honourable family, assimilable to the standard model of bourgeois family. He, as virile man; she, as virtuous wife¹⁸. The moral regeneration of the nation should have as its reference the royal family, the mirror of all families. When the Bourbons recovered the Spanish Crown in 1875, the architects of the monarchic restoration monitored very closely the public image of the young King Alfonso XII. To avoid any contamination, they forbade his mother to return to the country and, with her turbulent past and no less problematic present, upset the process of rebuilding the monarchy's popularity. Alfonso, a handsome young man, had the necessary tools to forge a new concept regarding the role of the Crown in a country that continued to be monarchic, but which had observed the fragility of the monarchy, having removed two monarchs from the throne in the space of six years.

3. Conclusion

In summary, it would be interesting to raise a question that arises from the study of the relation between monarchy, nation and honour in the Spanish case. The adaptation of European monarchies to the political and social reality of the 19th century was essential if their survival were to be guaranteed. Particularly important in this respect were their close links with the process of nationalisation. However, the association that was established between the values of bourgeois domesticity and royal families, and everything that derived from that relationship (above all, the concept of bourgeois honour), served to weaken their public image. A humanized Crown was a more fragile Crown. Although, as Bagehot noted, the image of the royal family as the mirror of all families could contribute fundamentally to making it an indispensable icon for its subjects, when this image failed, this had a very negative impact upon the institution, and could even topple it, as occurred in Spain. As has been said, the problem was not the fact that the monarchy was

18. A comparison between the public image of the two queens (Isabel and María Victoria) in R.A. Gutiérrez, A. Mira Abad, *Ser reinas en la España constitucional. Isabel II y María Victoria de Saboya: legitimación y deslegitimación simbólica de la monarquía nacional*, «Historia y Política», 31 (2014), pp. 113-166.

flawed, because that had been the case on numerous occasions in the past. The problem was that now the population knew it, there were many more ways of discovering what really happened in Royal Palaces, courtesy of the growth of the press and, in general, of printing. Today this question is as relevant as ever: the doubts regarding the limits between the private and the public in the lives of the King and Queens and their families are the subject of continual debate.

The Spanish Monarchy in the Presence of God: Religious Advocations in the Court of Isabella II (1833-1868)*

David Martínez Vilches

Over the course of the Early Modern Age, which lasted for a number of centuries, one of the most prestigious of the titles bestowed upon the Spanish kings and queens was that of the “Catholic monarchy”: a title that it thoroughly deserved after defending the Catholic faith in the heart of Europe and propagating it overseas. In a sense, it could be argued that the very essence of this power structure, whose influence stretched around the world, was itself characterized by a religious world-view. As a result, the roots of its hegemony lay not in considerations of an imperial character, but in the moral nature of its aims. After all, for those who stood at its helm, the Spanish monarchy was not just any monarchy: it was the so-called “fifth monarchy” that would succeed where the previous attempts at universal dominion had failed. With God’s help, it would impose a

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holy authority upon the world in order to redeem humanity¹. Religious devotions played a key role in this world-view: not only as a vehicle for articulating the exceptional status of the Spanish monarchy, but as a means through which its subjects could express their identities and demonstrate their loyalty to the Crown. These concepts were expressed through religious discourse and devout practices centring on Saint James, Saint Ferdinand, the Eucharist, and Marian devotions such as the Immaculate Conception. These practices incorporated certain political and social meanings that could be recognized by the particular sectors of society they were aimed at.

The nineteenth century witnessed the disruption of this relationship between politics and religion, after the liberals broke the alliance (usually by force of arms) between the throne and the altar. However, the monarchy and the Church survived the liberal revolution, and managed – not without some difficulty – to find a place within the new constitutional systems. Although major changes undoubtedly occurred, both of these institutions enabled the new, post-revolutionary societies to preserve certain elements from the past. At the same time, alternatives and plots were being hatched and developed by those who wanted to extend these changes and effect a more radical transformation. Within this new context, the monarchy had to serve as the nexus between progress and tradition, acting as a moral compass for the triumphant bourgeoisie while symbolically representing those who were excluded from the sphere of political representation. An effective path to achieving this goal, and not only in Catholic countries, was through religion. As such, kings and queens were held up as the religious representatives of “the nation”: a new and collective entity that, at least theoretically, occupied centre stage in the country’s political life. Religious discourse, devout practices and ceremonies served as the vehicle for transmitting content, attitudes and values which, by uniting politics and religion, forged a link between past and present and connected the Crown to its fellow citizens².

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1. J.M. Portillo Valdés, *Crisis atlántica. Autonomía e independencia en la crisis de la Monarquía hispana*, Marcial Pons, Madrid 2006, p. 18.
2. C. Wolf, *Monarchen als religiöse Repräsentanten der Nation um 1900? Kaiser Wilhelm II*,

In nineteenth-century Spain, faith acted as a nexus between tradition and modernity, giving rise to a national community that was defined in religious terms: the so-called “Catholic nation”. This idea of a “collective subject” was used by the forces of early Spanish liberalism to facilitate the transition away from the *ancien régime* and towards the constitutional system, by projecting these collective loyalties and sense of belonging into to the new nation state. Despite its appeals to a mythologized and reinvented tradition, the proposition was undoubtedly a revolutionary one, as it involved the transition from the Catholic monarchy to the Catholic nation. This process was consolidated by identifying the community of citizens as a community of believers. It was an exclusionary approach that manifested itself in the emphatic affirmation of Catholicism as the religion of the nation, as stated in the majority of constitutional texts produced during the nineteenth century. As such, it was precisely this project that was imposed during the reign of Isabella II (1833-1868), which gave Spain its first extended experience of liberalism: however, the process was by no means free of contradictions and its passage through the consolidation of the liberal nation state caused a number of conflicts, both within the liberal movement itself and between the movement and its detractors³. Ultimately, Catholicism – at least in its Roman form – would end up on the side of these detractors, particularly after Pope Pius IX issued a condemnation of liberalism in his encyclical *Quanta Cura* and its annex the *Syllabus Errorum*, published in 1864. This ultra-conservative reaffirmation gained ground in Spain following the revolution of 1868, when the Church and its defenders added a counter-revolutionary, martyrial

Königin Viktoria und Kaier Franz Joseph im Vergleich, in H. G. Haupt, D. Langewiesche (eds.), *Nation und Religion in Europa. Mehrkonfessionelle Gesellschaften im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Campus Verlag, Frankfurt 2004, pp. 153-173; D. Martínez Vilches, *La corona y sus fervores. Las devociones religiosas de la familia real durante el reinado de Isabel II*, in R. Sánchez (ed.), *Un rey para la nación. Monarquía y nacionalización en el siglo XIX*, Sílex, Madrid 2019, pp. 77-103.

3. J.M. Portillo Valdés, *De la Monarquía Católica a la Nación de los Católicos*, «Historia y Política», XVII (2007), pp. 17-35; G. Alonso, *La nación en capilla. Ciudadanía católica y cuestión religiosa en España (1793-1874)*, Comares, Granada 2014; J. Millán, M. C. Romeo, *La nación católica en el liberalismo. Las perspectivas sobre la unidad religiosa en la España liberal, 1808-1868*, «Historia y Política», XXXIV (2015), pp. 183-209.

dimension to its identity as a nexus between nation and faith⁴.

For its part, the Crown, that other touchstone of Spanish national identity, encountered severe difficulties during the reign of Isabella II. The image of moral and political renewal that Isabella represented during her minority (1833-1843) was immediately revealed as being wholly inaccurate. The queen's sexual conduct and amorous intrigues placed her outside the bounds of respectable femininity and were responsible, at least in part, for the discrediting of her image. Eventually, her discriminative alignment with Spain's Moderate Liberal Party, and especially with its more intransigent factions, led the Progressive Party to adopt a more insurrectionist approach in the 1860s and launch a campaign of defamation against the Crown. Thus, the anti-dynastic opposition managed to set the people and the nation, which were liberals by definition and represented politically by the Progressive Party, against the throne and the country's conservative leaders. Religion also had an important part to play in the public image of the Crown during this tumultuous period. For successive governments, faith was viewed as a tool with which to show the population that, despite everything, the monarchy remained respectable. However, the religiosity of Isabella II and the clerics that formed part of her court also served as ammunition for anti-dynastic propaganda. By the end of her reign, the dominant public image of the queen and her court was one of a zealous religious piety that was deployed, rather paradoxically, in an attempt to obscure the vices and moral deficiencies of the monarch and those in her circle⁵.

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1. Devotions within and outside the palace: between tradition and the new era

Religious worship played a central role in life at the Royal Palace in Madrid. Devotions were performed at the Royal

4. J. Louzao Villar, *La recomposición religiosa en la Modernidad: un marco conceptual para comprender el enfrentamiento entre laicidad y confesionalidad en la España contemporánea*, «Hispania Sacra», 121 (2008), pp. 331-354.

5. J. Vilches, *Isabel II. Imágenes de una reina*, Síntesis, Madrid 2007; I. Burdiel, *La revolución del pudor: escándalos, género y política en la crisis de la monarquía liberal en España*, «Historia y Política», XXXIX (2018), pp. 23-51.

Chapel, which boasted a large staff led by a senior chaplain and almoner (who also held the title of Patriarch of the Indies). The liberal revolution had a major impact on the Royal Chapel: many clerics were removed from office and attempts were made to bring the Chapel's expenditure in line with the economic realities of the royal household⁶. However, despite these changes, the Royal Chapel retained its identity as a religious institution inherited from the *ancien régime*, with a series of ceremonies and rituals that reflected, above all, the long-standing devotional history and practices of the Crown. The key rituals of the Catholic Church were complemented by the addition of practices and devotions that were closely linked to the monarchy itself. Examples include Our Lady of Guadalupe, which had been associated with the Spanish monarchy since the Middle Ages, and Saint Isidore, the patron saint of Madrid, who had also been adopted as the protector of the royal family. Nor should we overlook the saints who had familial links to the dynasty, such as Saint Ferdinand, a former king of Castile who made significant strides forward in the reconquest of Spain during the thirteenth century; and Saint Elizabeth of Portugal, an Aragonese princess who lived between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and became the Queen of Portugal. Particular importance was given to the devotions that were most closely related to the monarchy, such as the Immaculate Conception and the Eucharist.⁷

In the time of the *ancien régime*, these religious practices not only had a particular dynastic character: they were also objects of popular fervour. The devotion to the Eucharist is an excellent example. In principle, it was a practice observed by the Habsburgs, which the Spanish branch adopted and made its own during the time of the Counter-Reformation. It constituted an affirmation of the dogma of transubstantiation, and also symbolized the subjection of the Catholic monarchy to the authority of the Pope. The Spanish monarchs even went so far as to repeat the gesture of Rudolf I of Habsburg, who was said to have offered his

6. A. M. Moral Roncal, *iEl enemigo en Palacio! Afrancesados, liberales y carlistas en la Real Casa y Patrimonio (1814-1843)*, Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, Alcalá de Henares 2005, pp. 197-208.

7. *Tabla de las festividades de la Real Capilla*, Aguado, Madrid 1846.

horse to a priest who was on his way to administer the viaticum. In 1639, the ritual of the Eucharist was established in the Royal Chapel itself⁸. Moreover, for the Spanish people the devotion to the Eucharist had a particular significance that served to legitimize the political order, in the form of the transcendent communion between the monarchy and faith. It also symbolized the respect that subjects were required to demonstrate towards the two institutions that governed the country temporally (the Crown) and spiritually (the Church). As noted by José María Blanco White, the title of “Majesty” was given to both the monarch (*Su Majestad humana*, which translates to “His/Her Human Majesty”) and to the sacramental bread following the moment of transubstantiation (*Su Majestad divina*, which translates to “His Divine Majesty”). In the presence of either entity, it was necessary to produce a display of submission, which gave rise to the popular saying: *al Rey, en viéndolo; a Dios, en oyéndolo* (“Submit to the King, when you see him; and to God, when you hear Him”), in reference to the fact that the arrival of the viaticum was always preceded by the ringing of a bell⁹.

aA During the nineteenth century the relationship between these two majesties underwent a reassessment. Inside the palace, the ritual of the Eucharist was celebrated in the same way as in previous eras, with the Devotion of the Forty Hours. The presiding chaplains took turns to hold a vigil over the sacramental bread for the prescribed period. However, outside the palace the Eucharist no longer served as an indication to the Spanish people that the authority of the monarch was as absolute as that of God; rather, it served to inform them that the Crown was a charitable institution and stood shoulder to shoulder with them. As their predecessors had done, Isabella II and her husband Francis, the Duke of Cádiz, continued to lend their carriage to the priests who administered the viaticum to those who were ill or dying. During these occasions of great piety and emotion,

8. E. Rodrigues-Moura, *Religión y poder en la España de la Contrarreforma. Estructura y función de la leyenda de los Austrias devotos de la Eucaristía*, in M. Maldonado Alemán (ed.), *Austria, España y Europa: identidades y diversidades*, Universidad de Sevilla, Sevilla 2006, pp. 11-30.

9. J. M. Blanco White, *Letters from Spain*, Henry Colburn and Co., London 1822, pp. 10-11.

which were of course orchestrated by those in power, the queen and her husband mingled with the public and consoled the patient and his or her family with their presence and through the giving of alms. As reported in the «Gaceta de Madrid» and the official bulletins of the government ministries, on these occasions Isabella II demonstrated a closeness with her subjects, who showed their appreciation for her pious and charitable sentiments by cheering. Faith and popularity were combined in stories such as the one published in the «Gaceta de Madrid» on 30 October 1857, which described how the queen and the husband had encountered a priest who was on his way to administer the viaticum; they lent him their carriage, accompanied him to the patient's home, and were then cheered on their way back to the palace by those people of Madrid who had observed the royal couple's «traits of piety and religiosity», which also included a donation of 4,000 *reales* to the patient's family¹⁰.

The devotions to the Passion also provide an excellent example of this balance between tradition and modernity that characterized the environment of the Royal Palace. In the court of Isabella II the liturgical calendar of the Royal Chapel determined which celebrations would take place between Palm Sunday and Easter Tuesday, while court etiquette determined how those celebrations would be carried out. All of the events took place inside the Royal Palace and were attended by a select few courtiers who were familiar with palace life. Outsiders were only allowed into the court on Maundy Thursday, as part of the ritual of feeding the poor and washing their feet. Following a medical examination, twelve poor men and women were granted the privilege of taking part in this devout ceremony in which the royal couple washed their feet and served them food in the Hall of Columns. However, despite the physical proximity of the Crown to the poor, the ceremony had a symbolic meaning inherited from the *ancien régime*, in which the monarchs were identified with Jesus by repeating the actions he performed at the Last Supper. This transcendental and personal link between the queen and God was again

10. «Gaceta de Madrid», 30th October 1857. I. Burdiel, *Isabel II. Una biografía*, Taurus, Madrid 2016, pp. 365-366 recounts another, very similar story from 1854.

demonstrated before the court on the following day, Good Friday, with the adoration of the *lignum crucis* in the Royal Chapel. During this ceremony, the queen would pardon a number of prisoners who had been given the death sentence. The presiding official would ask: «Does Her Majesty forgive these prisoners, as God has forgiven Her?», to which she would answer: «I forgive them, as God has forgiven me». To the great joy of the pardoned prisoners, the matter was thus settled between the Crown and God, bypassing the judiciary entirely¹¹.

In the Royal Palace in Madrid, Holy Week bore little to no resemblance to the celebrations in Seville that were enjoyed by Isabella's sister, Princess María Luisa Fernanda, and her husband Antoine d'Orléans, the Duke of Montpensier. Like the queen, the duke and duchess had a busy schedule throughout the week, which also included feeding and washing the feet of the poor on Maundy Thursday. However, unlike in Madrid, the most significant religious events attended by the duke and duchess were the processions, which also served to bring them into contact with the local populace. In 1846, the same year that they arrived in Seville, the couple were appointed senior members in perpetuity of the Confraternity of the Great Power. Other confraternities did the same during the years that followed, thereby taking advantage of the patronage of the duke and duchess. The couple purchased new outfits and equipment for many confraternities, as well as promoting the grand procession of the Holy Interment (1850) and supporting the resumption of the "procession of the penitents" performed by the Confraternity of Montserrat (1851). The confraternities received donations from the duke and duchess, and from local elites who imitated them, and also benefited from the couple's attendance of the aforementioned procession of the penitents, which they observed from a special balcony in the headquarters of the city council. At the same time, their public appearance during the processions enabled the couple to not only earn the affection of the people of Seville, but also to demonstrate their adherence to the values of domesticity and religiosity that formed a key part

11. *Apéndices al Reglamento de la Etiqueta Interior del Real Palacio*, s. d., Archivo General de Palacio (Madrid), Real Capilla, 23/3.

of the bourgeois moral outlook – and which were so lacking in the royal court in Madrid.¹²

Thus, both Isabella II in Madrid and the Duke and Duchess of Montpensier in Seville made use of religious devotions to improve their public image and project a sense of closeness with their fellow citizens. However, this proximity between the royal family and the general public was created within a religious context in which hierarchy was far from diminished: on the contrary, maintaining the social order and embracing the most conservative values formed part of the image of respectability that the royal family wished to project.

2. Isabella II and the Marian advocations: the popularization and nationalization of the monarchy

During the nineteenth century, Catholic countries experienced a notable rise in Marian devotions. This widespread and sentimental embracing of the figure of the Virgin Mary comprised the central element of a new religiosity that had to compete with modern ideologies in the new, class-based liberal society. Catholic literature, religious practices and congregations alike were rapidly imbued with Marianism, which was also boosted by the phenomenon of apparitions of the Virgin Mary. These included the apparitions of the Miraculous Medal in Paris (1830), Our Lady of La Salette (1846), and the apparition at Lourdes (1858). Mary's triumph within the Catholic world was made official on 8th December 1854, when Pope Pius IX elevated the Immaculate Conception to the category of dogma. As well as providing a reaffirmation of dogmatic authority, it also served as a declaration of principles, reflecting intransigence in the face of rationalism and religious indifference and ratifying the belief in original sin and the divinity of Jesus Christ. There was also a gender dimension to the phenomenon: Mary was the model of Catholic womanhood, and was used by the

12. M.C. Fernández Albéndiz, *Sevilla y la Monarquía. Las visitas reales en el siglo XIX*, Universidad de Sevilla, Sevilla 2007, pp. 173-176; J. Sánchez Herrero, *Crisis y permanencia. Religiosidad de las cofradías de Semana Santa de Sevilla, 1750-1874*, in *Las cofradías de Sevilla en el siglo de las crisis*, Universidad de Sevilla, Sevilla 1999, pp. 64-65.

Church as a vehicle for the spiritual reconquest of society through the medium of the family.¹³

The Marian advocacy most beloved of Isabella II was Our Lady of Atocha, which had its origins in Madrid. This focus of worship had been linked to the Crown since Madrid became the seat of the royal court in the sixteenth century. Our Lady of Atocha was the protector of the royal family: accordingly, queens requested her blessing prior to giving birth, and gave thanks after a successful labour. Our Lady of Atocha was also considered the protector of the monarchs' military enterprises, which resulted in her becoming the patron saint of maritime navigation. In 1656, the feast day of the Patronage of Our Lady was dedicated in her honour. Over the course of the nineteenth century, this Marian devotion was used to construct an image of femininity on the part of Isabella II, whose "maternal affections" encompassed not only her immediate family, but the entire nation as a whole. Consequently, government propaganda frequently compared her to the Virgin Mary, presenting both of them as mothers and queens: in the same way that Mary was the mother of her Son and of all Catholics, Isabella II was the mother of her family and of all Spaniards. This symbolic maternity was expressed through acts of charity and through the action of giving birth, which ensured the continuation of both the Crown and the nation.

This new devotional practice was in keeping with the sense of family and familiarity that was expected from a constitutional monarchy, and was demonstrated with particular clarity following the birth of the royal couple's first daughter, also named Isabella, who was born on 20th December 1851. Some months earlier, the royal family and the government had gone to the church of Our Lady of Atocha in order to pray and ask "that in a few months' time, she who is justly beloved as the mother of all Spaniards might also become the mother to a Prince of Asturias, who would

13. R. Mínguez Blasco, *Evas, Marías y Magdalenas. Género y modernidad católica en la España liberal (1833-1874)*, Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales / Asociación de Historia Contemporánea, Madrid 2016; D. Martínez Vilches, «*Sine labe concepta*». *La proyección de un modelo de feminidad católica a través de la Inmaculada Concepción en la España del siglo XIX*, «Arenal. Revista de Historia de las Mujeres», in press.

inherit her glory and virtues”.¹⁴ Although she gave birth to a princess rather than a prince, Isabella II returned to the church on 2nd February 1852 to attend the traditional *misa de parida* (a special mass to celebrate giving birth) and to give thanks to the Virgin Mary for protecting her during labour and welcoming her daughter into the world. It marked a moment in which political rivalries were suspended, so that every Spaniard could unite around the Crown and share in the royal family’s joy. In the church of Our Lady of Atocha the queen, holding her daughter in her arms, would approach the sacred statue and present the child to the Virgin Mary, who was depicted with the infant Jesus in her arms. Two mothers and two queens, facing one another: the scene could scarcely be any more emotional or affecting, as expressed by Antonio de Mendoza Loyola in a poem he composed for the occasion: «Her Human Majesty wishes to prostrate herself / Before the Divine Majesty she adores / And offer up this sister of angels / To she who is the Queen of Angels». ¹⁵

Unfortunately, however, this moving scene did not actually take place on that particular day. When the queen departed the Royal Chapel to begin her journey to the church, an attempt was made to assassinate her. Although she survived the attempt, she did not return to the church until 18th February, when she was finally able to observe the tradition of presenting the newborn to Our Lady of Atocha. Isabella II believed that it was the Virgin Mary who had saved her from the assassination attempt, and to show her gratitude she presented the sacred statue with the jewellery and robe she had been wearing when the attempt on her life was made. At a religious function held on the one-year anniversary of the assassination attempt, Pedro Arenas, the chaplain of honour and Her Majesty’s priest, recalled the episode in terms that once again compared Isabella II to the Virgin Mary: «A young mother, and a young queen, offered up her robe and crown as testament to her deep gratitude towards the Queen of Queens and the Mother of Moth-

14. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 27th July 1851.

15. A. de Mendoza Loyola, *Canto dedicado a S. M. la Reina Doña Isabel II con motivo de hacer su primera salida al Templo de Atocha después del natalicio de la Princesa Doña María Isabel Luisa*, Aguado, Madrid 1852, p. 5.

ers»¹⁶. Thus, an image was projected of a queen who, as a devout Catholic woman, emulated the virtues of the Virgin Mary. This image intentionally obliterated the less-respectable reality of Isabella II, whose actions and behaviour were more in line with the example set by Eve.

However, the use of Marian devotions on the part of the Crown went beyond the question of the queen's public image. In Spain, Marian piety was a long-standing tradition and the dogmatic declaration of 1854 was warmly welcomed by the country's Catholic population, who had venerated the Virgin Mary as the protector of the Monarchy of Spain and the Indies since 1761.¹⁷ Thus, within the new context of the liberal system, devotions to the Virgin Mary played a key role in strategies for making the Crown more popular and for promoting a sense of nationhood, as evidenced in the journeys that were made by Isabella II to different destinations within Spain. Of particular importance were her visits to the Marian shrines of Covadonga (Asturias) in 1858 and Our Lady of the Pillar (Zaragoza) in 1860. Both of these sites helped to add longevity to the existence of the Spanish nation, and suggested that the country was especially favoured by the Virgin Mary. While in Zaragoza Mary was said to have appeared to Saint James the Apostle and urged him to continue preaching throughout Spain; in Covadonga she aided the Christians in their first victory over the Moors, around the year 722. During the royal family's visits to these sites, religiosity acted as a nexus between the local identities that were rooted in these Marian devotions and the national identity that the government aimed to engender among the population as a whole. At the same time, the visits offered the royal family an opportunity to become closer to its fellow citizens and to enhance its popularity by sharing in the popular veneration of the sacred icons.

This became especially clear on 28th August 1858, during

16. P. Arenas, *Discurso en la solemne función celebrada en la Real Iglesia de San Isidro el día 2 de febrero del presente año*, Aguado, Madrid 1853, p. 16.

17. R. Mínguez Blasco, *Las múltiples caras de la Inmaculada: religión, género y nación en su proclamación dogmática, 1854*, «Ayer», XCVI (2014), pp. 39-60; D. Martínez Vilches, *La Inmaculada Concepción en España. Un estado de la cuestión*, «Ilu. Revista de ciencias de las religiones», XXII (2017), pp. 493-507; Id., *De patrona de la Monarquía a patrona de la nación. La Inmaculada Concepción entre Portugal y España (1800-1854)*, «Historia y Política», in press.

the ceremonies that were held in Covadonga to mark the visit of Isabella II. The events were recorded in the official chronicle written by Juan de Dios de Rada, as well as in the press. Following a mass led by Antonio María Claret, the queen's confessor, Prince Alfonso and Princess Isabella were confirmed by Tomás Iglesias y Barcones, the Patriarch of the Indies. Dios de Rada described this solemn occasion and emphasized the fact that the choice of location was highly deliberate: the ceremony was held next to the tomb of Pelagius of Asturias, the victorious chieftain who pledged himself to the Virgin Mary, defeated the Moors and became king. Now, «his young successor received the sacrament of confirmation in the church that Pelagius erected on our soil».¹⁸ The occasion was also marked by lyrical compositions, some of which imitated the dialect of the region and placed on the shoulders of the young prince – who was barely nine months old – the hopes of the nation, the Catholic faith and the monarchy, in the same way that such hopes had been placed on the shoulders of the Asturian chieftain centuries before.¹⁹ Upon their return to Gijón, Isabella II presented Prince Alfonso to the waiting crowd from her carriage: «Look, he has been confirmed in Covadonga, and now he also bears the name of Pelagius»²⁰. The government propaganda thus added a sense of religiosity to the maternal image of Isabella II, creating a popular image of a monarchy that had now ensured its continuation through the birth of a male heir.²¹

The next visit to a Marian shrine of great importance took place in October 1860, when the queen travelled to the site of Our Lady of the Pillar in Zaragoza.²² The high point of the visit occurred on 12th October, the feast day of

18. J. de D. de la Rada, *Viaje de SS. MM. y AA. por Castilla, León, Asturias y Galicia verificado en el verano de 1858*, Aguado, Madrid 1860, p. 554.

19. *Corona poética dedicada a SS. MM. y AA. con motivo de su viaje a Asturias*, Benito González, Oviedo 1858.

20. J. de D. de la Rada, *Viaje de SS. MM. y AA* cit., p. 564.

21. D. San Narciso, *Celebrar el futuro, venerar la Monarquía El nacimiento del heredero y el punto de fuga ceremonial de la Monarquía isabelina*, «Hispania», LXXVII, no. 255 (2017), pp. 185-215.

22. With regard to Our Lady of the Pillar, see F.J. Ramón Solans, «*La Virgen del Pilar dice...*». *Usos políticos y nacionales de un culto mariano en la España contemporánea*, Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, Zaragoza 2014, pp. 165-169.

Our Lady of the Pillar, which began with a special mass attended by the royal family. Once again, the presence of the queen did not go unremarked. For the chronicler Antonio Flores, it was further evidence of the Crown's closeness to its fellow citizens, in light of the fact that Isabella II «mingled her prayers with those of the people of Zaragoza, added her motherly tears to those of the mothers of Aragón, and beseeched the Virgin Mary to ask God to bring peace and prosperity to the people of the region and to all Spaniards». Afterwards, Princess María de la Concepción was confirmed in the Chapel of the Pillar, in keeping with the tradition of her older siblings, who also received this sacrament during the royal family's travels. However, the most hotly anticipated event occurred in the afternoon, when the royal family and its retinue took part in the procession. The queen wore the royal crown, and regal attire in the style of the fifteenth century, while the prince's outfit was decorated with the cross of Pelagius. In the words of Flores: «these acts of piety are the only tradition that has remained constant throughout 16 centuries of history, preserved and renewed without interruption by the monarchs»²³.

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3. Conclusion

The examples analysed in the foregoing pages reflect how the Crown adapted its use of religious devotions to suit the new symbolic requirements of the monarchy under the liberal system. Beyond the solemn worship that took place in the Royal Chapel at the palace, religious advocations were a key component in the image of respectability projected by Isabella II and her family. Moreover, although these practices served as the nexus between the past and the present, their utilization for the purposes of propaganda, whether by members of the royal family themselves or by the authorities, was entirely modern in nature and in perfect alignment with the prevailing moral values of the conservative bourgeoisie. Likewise, the use of Marian advocations, as well as reflecting the new role played by religiosity during this period, also served to make the Crown popular amongst the citizenry and helped transmit this idea

23. A. Flores, *Crónica del viaje de Sus Majestades y Altezas Reales a las Islas Baleares, Cataluña y Aragón, en 1860*, Rivadencyrta, Madrid 1861, pp. 379 and 382.

of a nation through religious practices which, for centuries, had acted as touchstones of local and regional identity. However, despite all of these efforts, by the end of the reign of Isabella II the amalgamation of religion and monarchy had become a double-edged sword that ultimately discredited the Crown. The queen's support for ultra-conservative political positions led to the creation of an anti-dynastic coalition, which in turn unleashed an intense propaganda campaign against her. Ultimately, the public image that won through was that of a queen whose will was subjugated by an obscurantist ultramontane faction, and whose religious piety merely served to disguise her moral perversion.

Maria Clotilde of Savoy-Bonaparte (1843-1911): Hagiographic Connotations in the Italian Monarchy Between the 19th and 20th Centuries

Paolo Cozzo

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1. Introduction

As historians have amply demonstrated, the Savoy family took great pains to assert the hagiographic aspect of its centuries-old history¹. Indeed, being able to flaunt at least one saint among the dynasty's scions was not simply a matter of familial pride, it also took on political significance. The family's hagiographic history represented a valuable asset allowing it to compete with other Italian and European families who had managed to increase their fame and reputation both within and outside their domains thanks to family members being raised to the honors of the altars² in a "society of princes" in which primacy among the ruling houses was based in part on the possession of nimbuses and halos³.

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1. P. Cozzo, F. Méyer, *Deux fois, deux lois, une nation? Géographie ecclésiastique et vie religieuse, XVI-XVIII^e siècles*, in G. Ferretti (ed.), *Les États de Savoie, du duché à l'unité d'Italie (1416-1861)*, Garnier, Paris 2019, pp. 385-428.
2. M-E. Ducreux, *Pour une histoire européenne élargie des patronages célestes*, in M.E. Ducreux (ed.), *Patronages sacrés dans l'Europe des Habsbourg*, Presse universitaire de Liège, Liège 2016, 9-37.
3. P. Cozzo, *Santità e sacralità dinastica: il culto dei santi e delle reliquie*, in F. Porticelli, A. Merlotti, G. Mola di Nomaglio (eds.), *Piemonte buone notizie. Testimonianze di storia*

The Savoy dynasty's need to be perceived as a *beata stirps* began in the early modern age when the family became tied to figures such as princess Margaret Paleologa (1382-1464) and Duke Amedeus IX (1435-1472). Both of their deaths were imbued with the odor of sanctity and they became the objects of devotion that proceeded for some time before finally gaining canonical recognition in the second half of the 17th century⁴. After the Restoration, under Charles Felix and Charles Albert, the issue of dynastic sanctity with its potential for granting prestige and legitimacy once again became a priority for the House of Savoy. The court's tireless efforts to persuade the Roman Curia to beautify Humbert III, Boniface and Louise, efforts that proved successful during the pontificate of Gregory XVI, attest to the importance of this issue⁵. On the eve of the Risorgimento, the Savoy family harvested the fruits of a long season of laborious attempts to use the legitimizing force of sanctity to reinvigorate its image as a dynasty leading a providential plan. The family's ownership of the Holy Shroud, the most famous relic of the Passion, was a rather obvious sign of such leadership⁶. This image of the Savoy dynasty took shape in a the context of growing tensions between Catholicism and modernity, tensions that were destined to intensify in the middle of the 19th century when the completion of Italy's unification process led to the definitive separation between Church and State. History clearly shows that the House of Savoy paid the price for this devastating division as well, as it was made to suffer the symbolic repercussions of Pius IX's excommunication of Victor Emmanuel II. Indeed, this development ended up tarnishing the image (and, with it,

sabauda nei fondi della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino nel 600° anniversario del Ducato di Savoia, Centro studi piemontesi, Turin 2016, pp. 21-23.

4. P. Cozzo, *Santi, principi e guerrieri. Modelli agiografici e strategie politiche nel ducato sabauda di prima età moderna*, in G. Andenna, L. Gaffuri, E. Filippini (eds.), *Monasticum Regnum. Religione e politica nelle pratiche di governo tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, LIT, Berlin 2015, pp. 85-96.

5. S. Cabibbo, *Sovrane sante*, in J-F. Chauvard, A. Merlotti, M.A. Visceglia (eds.), *Casa Savoia e curia romana dal Cinquecento al Risorgimento*, Ecole Française de Rome, Rome 2015, pp. 37-53.

6. A. Nicolotti, *I Savoia e la Sindone di Cristo. Aspetti politici e propagandistici*, in L. Andreani, A. Paravicini Bagliani (eds.), *Cristo e il potere. Teologia, antropologia e politica*, SISMEL, Florence 2017, pp. 247-281.

the ideology) of *beata stirps* that the dynasty had so painstakingly built over the centuries.

In this challenging context, the daughter of the first king of Italy became the new hagiographic model for a dynasty that had come to wear the crown of Italy “by God’s grace and the will of the nation” yet without the approval of the Roman Church.

2. A Savoy Princess between Turin and Paris

Born in Turin on 2th March 1843, Maria Clotilde, the first-born child of Victor Emmanuel II and Maria Adelaide of Habsburg, spent her earliest years receiving a strict and severe education in the Royal Palace together with her sister Maria Pia (1847-1910). The princess then moved from Turin to the mansion of Moncalieri.⁷ Here, in the castle favored by her father⁸, she spent a childhood rigidly regulated by court etiquette and the daily acts of piety that gave a religious shape to her personality. She was inclined to contemplative life and became even more so after her mother died in 1855; however, she also had to engage with the requirements of State and the political role required of the King of Sardinia’s firstborn. Young Maria Clotilde’s marriage to Jerome Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon and cousin of Napoleon III, attests to her status as a «highly valuable pawn»⁹ on the international chessboard. As a matter of fact, Cavour and the emperor negotiated the wedding to consolidate the French-Sardinian alliance already established by the agreements of Plombières in 1858¹⁰. After the wedding festivities held on 30th January 1859 in Turin by the Archbishop of Vercelli with the assistance of four other bishops¹¹, the couple moved to Genova. They remained in

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7. P. Cozzo, *Maria Clotilde di Savoia, la “santa di Moncalieri” fra biografia e agiografia*, in A. Malerba, A. Merlotti, G. Mola di Nomaglio, M.C. Visconti (eds.), *Il Castello di Moncalieri. Una presenza sabauda fra Corte e Città*, Centro studi piemontesi, Turin 2019, pp. 239-250.

8. P. Gentile, *Tra Restaurazione e Risorgimento: re, regine e principi a Moncalieri* (*ibid.*, pp. 205-223).

9. The newspaper “Corriere della Sera” used this term to remember Maria Clotilde - in reference to her marriage with Jerome Bonaparte - in the article dedicated to her the day after her death. (*La morte della principessa Clotilde di Savoia*, “Corriere della Sera”, a. 30, n. 175, 26 giugno 1911, p. 1).

10. S. Cavicchioli, P-M. Delpu, *La fin de la Savoie (1848-1861)*, in G. Ferretti (ed.), *Les États de Savoie* cit., pp. 569-620, in particular p. 608.

11. F. Campadelli, *Nei felici sponsali contratti fra le altezze reali e imperiali l’inclita principessa*

Genova for a month before setting off for Marseilles and from there arriving in Paris. Received with chilly unenthusiasm in the French capital («“it is a marriage that brings war”, was the saying among the crowd») ¹², Maria Clotilde and Jerome settled in the palace of Tuileries. I will not dwell here on the ultimate failure of the marriage, obviously arranged according to diplomatic calculations, but it did give rise to three children (Napoleon Victor, in 1862, Napoleon Louis Joseph, in 1864, and Maria Letizia, in 1866) ¹³. The distance between the two spouses, highlighted by their age difference (the bride was 16 years old at the time of the wedding, the groom 37) and exacerbated by their incompatible personalities and different educational backgrounds, was evident as soon as they arrived in Paris. While *Plon Plon* (as “Bonaparte *rouge*” was nicknamed) ¹⁴ led an existence characterized by freedom and worldly pursuits, Maria Clotilde cultivated her ascetic nature, devoting herself with increasing intensity to devotional practices, edifying readings and acts of charity.

Having risen at the crack of dawn, every morning at 9 o'clock the princess attended the mass celebrated by her chaplain, the abbot André François Doussot (former almoner of the *Palais Royal*), in the chapel of the Tuileries. When leaving the palace, Marie Clotilde did her utmost to assist the poor and sick, embodying the model of the pious and generous Christian scion that had been adopted by the Savoy hagiographic tradition from Amadeus IX to Marie Clotilde of Bourbon (the wife of Charles Emmanuel IV, whose 1802 death was likewise imbued with odor of sanctity). In Paris, Victor Emmanuel II's daughter came into contact with a wide-ranging and multi-faceted devotional landscape revolving around the Sacred Heart. The Church of Pius IX had assigned this cult a particularly significant role in

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Clotilde Maria figlia a Vittorio Emanuele II ed il principe preclaro Napoleone Girolamo Bonaparte: inno di speranza, Jouaust, Paris 1859.

12. *La morte della principessa Clotilde* cit.

13. For a discussion of the figures of these royal personalities, especially in light of the relationship they had with their mother after returning to Italy, see A. Merlotti, *Il Castello e i Bonaparte (1870-1926)*, in A. Malerba et al. (eds.), *Il Castello di Moncalieri* cit., pp. 251-284.

14. M. Battesti, *Plon-Plon: le Bonaparte rouge*, Perrin, Paris 2011.

the fight against the evils of modernity¹⁵, and it exerted special influence over the Savoy princess. Evidence of this influence is varied, including for instance the importance of the Sacred Heart in the princess' private correspondence¹⁶, and it is clear that it continued to shape her actions even when she was outside the French capital. When Marie Clotilde accompanied her husband on a journey of several months to New York in 1861¹⁷, for example, she used the recently founded convent of the Sacred Heart in the city as a base for her religious practices¹⁸. Her devotional afflatus drove her to look toward Jerusalem as well, and she would have liked to visit it during another trip she took with her husband to Egypt; in the end, however, her pious desire to visit the Holy Land was never realized¹⁹.

The years Marie Clotilde spent in Paris contributed to shaping her image as a "nun of charity"²⁰ forced to accept the obligations of an unwilling marriage (according to rumor, after the wedding night the princess asked her chaplain for holy water to sprinkle the bedroom and living rooms of her apartment «to purify them of all the unclean deeds that had occurred there»²¹) and the conditioning of the sumptuous imperial court where she never succeeded in establishing good relationships with her sister-in-law Matilde or the sovereign's wife, empress Eugenia de Montijo. Her stay at the palace ended abruptly at the end of the summer of 1870: following the defeat of Sedan in the

15. D. Menozzi, *Il potere delle devozioni. Pietà popolare e uso politico dei culti in età contemporanea*, Carocci, Rome 2022.

16. For example, the intense correspondence (comprising hundreds of letters) between Maria Clotilde and Clementina Carron di San Tommaso of the Buttigliera counts' family (1825-1912) features ongoing and frequent references to the cult of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, dear to both pious noblewomen. (P. Gentile, *Stato, comunità, famiglia: Buttigliera e i Carron tra centro e periferia*, in D. Cereia, B.A. Raviola, P. Gentile, *Buttigliera Alta nella storia. Prima e dopo l'istituzione del Comune nel 1619*, G. Sergi (Ed.), Edizioni del Graffio, Borgone di Susa 2019, pp. 77-129, in particular p. 102.

17. M. Battesti, *Plon-Plon* cit., pp. 293-306.

18. A. Biancotti, *Maria Clotilde di Savoia (la Santa di Moncalieri)*, Turin 1955, pp. 130-131.

19. The Holy Land's appeal for the princess is evidenced by the fact that her personal belongings included a reliquary-card *Memento Jerusalem ex Olivis Gethsemani* from the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land. (Archivio di Stato di Torino = ASTo, Riunite, Casa della principessa Maria Clotilde, mazzo 13, fasc. «Causa di beatificazione della principessa Clotilde, Ricordo di Terrasanta appartenuto alla principessa Clotilde»).

20. A. Biancotti, *Maria Clotilde* cit., p. 125.

21. V. Brosio, *Due principesse fra Torino e Parigi*, Fogola, Turin 1979, p. 110.

Franco-Prussian war, the empire of Napoleon III collapsed and the republic was proclaimed. On the morning of September the 5th, after attending mass as she did every day, Marie Clotilde left Paris forever.

She took refuge with her family in Switzerland, settling in a villa in Prangins, near Nyon on Lake Geneva²². Here she lived a completely secluded life, rendered even more difficult by the fact that the residence lacked a private chapel and so the princess was forced to use the village's parish church from time to time. In this retreat, «all shady, melancholic and removed from the world»²³, she finally severed ties with her husband: at the beginning of 1878, Maria Clotilde decided to break with him following the advice of her father (who was close to death at the time) and her brother Umberto.

Having returned to Turin with her daughter Maria Letizia, on 24th April 1878 Maria Clotilde moved to Moncalieri. Fatigued by a marriage that had deeply disappointed and humiliated her, in Moncalieri the princess led an existence wholly guided by spiritual values and the practices of Christian piety. It was here that she entrusted herself to the spiritual guidance of Canon Stanislao Gazelli, the priest who had been her confessor when she was younger²⁴, and finally gave free rein to the urgings of her religious conscience without the constraints of court etiquette or the compromises resulting from her complicated cohabitation with her husband.

3. Moncalieri: royal palace and hermitage

Most of the information concerning the 33 years Maria Clotilde spent in Moncalieri derives from the extensive documentation collected for the beatification process launched

22. M. Battesti, *Plon-Plon* cit., p. 517.

23. L. Merlo, *Clotilde di Savoia: la Santa di Moncalieri*, foreword by G. Antona Traversi Grismondi, La Fiamma Fedele, Florence 1929, pp. 81.

24. L. Di Robilant, *Un prete di ieri. Il canonico Stanislao Gazelli di Rossana e San Sebastiano con documenti inediti*, Tipografia Salesiana, Turin 1901. This ecclesiastic, who Maria Clotilde described as «always aware of everything that concerns me» (*ibid.*, p. 169), acted «as spokesman for the princess or her brother Amadeus, becoming carrier of confidential messages even in the Vatican». (M.F. Mellano, *I principi Maria Clotilde e Amedeo di Savoia e il Vaticano, 1870-1890. Attraverso la corrispondenza diplomatica della Santa Sede ed altri documenti*, Centro studi piemontesi, Turin 2000, p. 19).

a quarter of a century after her death, information that is particularly useful in that it provides a highly detailed picture of the timing and ways in which her contemporaries came to perceive and recognize the princess as a “saint”. The residence of Moncalieri was made available to Maria Clotilde by her brother Umberto and was very dear to her because it was interwoven with her childhood memories of time spent with her mother. Maria Clotilde led an extremely frugal and austere life, only in exceptional cases interspersed with events or moments evoking her status as an imperial princess. She left Moncalieri very rarely, mostly in response to sad developments in the family. At the beginning of January 1878, having been warned that her father Victor Emmanuel II was suffering, she left for Rome. As soon as she was informed that the king had died (January 8th) while she was still traveling, however, she decided to return to Moncalieri. A month later she took part in the funeral celebrations organized in Turin on the occasion of the death of Pope Pius IX. In 1888 she went to Turin for the wedding of her daughter Maria Letizia, and she returned to the city two years later for the funeral of her brother Amadeus. In 1891 she went to Rome to be at the bedside of her dying husband (this was the only occasion in which the princess visited Rome), while in 1900 she traveled to Monza following the murderous attack on her brother Umberto.

After her daughter’s wedding, there were no more of the rare official events that the princess had not been able to avoid in the first years of her stay in Moncalieri²⁵ and her conduct became even more austere. The marriage between Maria Letizia and her uncle Amadeus, brother to Maria Clotilde, had marked a passage that was both privately and publicly highly delicate and controversial. This was certainly not the first time in the centuries-old history of the House of Savoy that two blood relatives had married: for example, in 1642 Prince Maurice, having just given up the cardinal’s purple robes, married his brother’s daughter Ludovica (his

25. Writing to the Dominican friar Hyacinth Cormier on 25 June 1887, Marie Clotilde complained about the weight of the worldly elements associated with her daughter’s young age: «I must bring her into society, and this is a real sacrifice to add to the others» (*ibid.*, 153).

brother was the late Duke Victor Amadeus I)²⁶. In a completely different context – the same context in which crown prince Umberto had married his cousin Margherita in 1868 – even a marriage such as the one tying a 22-year-old Maria Letizia to her 43-year-old uncle Amadeus appeared conditioned by political and dynastic rationales. Since 1876, when Amadeus had been left a widower after the death of princess Maria Vittoria married nine years before, Maria Clotilde showed herself to be very emotionally interested in the existential destiny of her brother²⁷ and she did not wish to or could not stop her daughter from marrying him. In order to marry, the Duke of Aosta (Amedeo had kept this title after his unsuccessful time on the Spanish throne, as king of Spain from 1871 to 1873)²⁸ and his young niece had to ask for the necessary exemption from the Holy See. The request was handled by Cardinal Gaetano Alimonda, archbishop of Turin, the city chosen to host the wedding ceremony. This move to opt for Turin even after the capital of Italy had been transferred to Florence and then Rome confirmed that the family's main dynastic ceremonies were to continue taking place in Piedmont, the same region in which «the high clergy came from aristocratic families that boasted a centuries-old tradition of service to the crown»²⁹. The written request, including an intervention from the cardinal stressing Maria Clotilde's «keen desire [...] that such a union should take place»³⁰, arrived in Rome in a moment of intense tension between the Holy See and the House of Savoy. Indeed, relations had been seriously compromised by the continuous ruptures accompanying the process of national unification until its completion on 20th September 1870. Maria Clotilde had experienced firsthand

26. P. Cozzo, *Savoia, Maurizio di*, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 91, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, Rome 2018.

27. M.F. Mellano, *I principi* cit., pp. 49-52.

28. P. Gentile, *Da principe a re, da re a principe. La parabola umana e politica di Amedeo di Savoia*, in R. De Lorenzo, R.A. Gutiérrez Lloret (eds.), *Las monarquías de la Europa meridional ante el desafío de la modernidad (siglos XIX y XX)*, Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, Zaragoza 2020, pp. 447-478.

29. A. Merlotti, *Il sacro alla corte sabauda di Vittorio Emanuele II da Torino a Roma (1849-1878)*, in J.F. Chauvard et al.(eds.), *Casa Savoia e Curia romana* cit., pp. 155-174, in particular pp. 166-167.

30. M.F. Mellano, *I principi* cit., p. 155.

the extent to which the Church/State separation impacted on the private life of House of Savoy members: in 1864, she had been forced to give up on asking her father, Victor Emmanuel II, to be godfather to her second son Napoleon Luis Joseph because the Holy See would not allow an excommunicated person to stand at the baptismal font³¹.

Cardinal Alimonda argued that, if the pope were to deny Maria Letizia and Amadeus' exemption, it would not only cause «very serious disgust in the royal couple and the most virtuous princess Clotilde» but would also provoke dismay among «all the noble families of Turin, even the well thinking and pious ones», with associated «lamentations» and «murmurings of the clergy and patricians»; furthermore, he warned, «newspapers, liberals, [and] government representatives» would have launched a «true storm of wrath, insults and undeserving blame» targeting the archbishop as critics immediately seized opportunity to «cover Catholics and pastors of the Church with infamy»³². Alimonda's concerns were based on his own personal experience in 1883 when he was appointed holder of the episcopal see of Turin. On that occasion, the cardinal had suffered a harsh defamation campaign (openly supported by the liberal press) against the new archbishop's public inaugural ceremony. The intense leafleting in that period pointed to the excellent relations between Alimonda and Leo XIII to denigrate him as «the *duce* of the Vatican rebels, the most active agent of the Catholic campaign that now clearly envelops Italy in its infamous coils»³³.

Leo XIII, possibly still remembering the controversy that had hung over the Archbishop of Turin's investiture a few years earlier, likely sought to avoid providing the Church's critics with any further opportunities to use its decisions for their own political ends. He therefore granted the exception, allowing Cardinal Alimonda to celebrate the

31. A.M. Isastia, *Pio IX e Vittorio Emanuele II attraverso il loro carteggio*, in J.F. Chauvard *et al.* (eds.), *Casa Savoia e Curia Romana* cit., pp. 443-464, in particular p. 456.

32. This is a passage from the letter of Card. Alimonda to Msgr. Gabriele Boccali (10 July 1888), in M.F. Mellano, *I principi* cit., pp. 158-159.

33. P. Cozzo, A. Merlotti, *Tra lealtà alla Corona e fedeltà a Roma: i cardinali degli Stati sabaudi dalla Restaurazione alla fine del XIX secolo*, in F. Jankowiak, L. Pettinaroli (eds.), *Les cardinaux entre Cour et Curie. Une élite romaine, 1775-2015*, École française de Rome, Rome 2017, pp. 30-31.

marriage as Maria Clotilde herself had directly requested. Although as the Curia pointed out «the present circumstances» had initially made it inopportune for the cardinal to officiate at the wedding ceremony, in this case as well the gracious concession was made to the bride's mother whose «noble and religious feelings» were known at the Vatican. The Church took pains to specify that the favor was being granted to Maria Clotilde rather than to a descendant of the House of Savoy dynasty believed to be responsible for the condition of «mourning in which the Holy See and the Church in Italy find themselves»³⁴.

In spite of «the increasingly sad situation»³⁵ the Vatican Curia viewed Moncalieri with benevolence and sympathy, nourished by the princess' «virtuous and exemplary conduct»³⁶ and confirmed by the regular correspondence between Maria Clotilde and the pontiffs. Maria Clotilde had adopted an ascetic lifestyle when returning to Piedmont in 1871, a lifestyle that her brother Amadeus also seemed to share on being widowed: the former Spanish king had expressed a desire to lead an «absolutely private» existence and asked Pius IX himself to assess the advisability of such a choice³⁷. It is this ascetic leaning that explains the princess' decision to enter the Third Order of Saint Dominic and indeed she ended up joining the order under the name of Maria Caterina of the Sacred Heart³⁸. Maria Clotilde's choice was consistent with her de facto widowhood after separating from her husband and mirrored the trajectory of those Savoy princesses (the two «venerable daughters» of Charles Emmanuel I, Maria Francesca Apollonia and Caterina Francesca)³⁹ who had expressed their religious

34. This is a passage from the reply sent by the Secretariat of State to Maria Clotilde on 16th July 1888, in M.F., Mellano, *I principi* cit., pp. 159-160.

35. *Ibid.*

36. T. Chiuso, *La Chiesa in Piemonte dal 1797 ai nostri giorni*, V, E.lli Speirani, Turin 1904, p. 207.

37. P. Gentile, *Da principe a re* cit., pp. 467-468.

38. L.A. Redigonda, *Maria Clotilde di Savoia*, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 8, Istituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Università lateranense, Rome 1988, col. 1045.

39. B.A. Raviola, *Venerabili figlie: Maria Apollonia e Francesca Caterina di Savoia, monache francescane, fra la corte di Torino e gli interessi di Madrid (1594-1656)*, in J. Martínez Millán, M. Rivero Rodríguez, G. Versteegen (eds.), *La Corte en Europa. Política y religión (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, II, Polifemo, Madrid 2012, pp. 887-910; regarding the infantas see also P. Cozzo, *Savoia, Caterina Francesca and Savoia, Maria Francesca Apollonia* in *Dizionario Bi-*

vocation as nuns in the Third Order. Once again following her family's dynastic tradition, Maria Clotilde preferred the Dominican Third Order that had previously been chosen by Blessed Margherita of Monferrato, the Queen of Sardinia Clotilde Adelaide of Borbone, and the Duchess of Lucca Maria Teresa, daughter of Victor Emmanuel I. The princess intended monastic life to be the permanent and definitive condition of the last chapter of her life. «If I were totally free» – Maria Clotilde wrote in 1888 – «I would seek to consecrate myself to the Lord in the Second Order of St. Dominic, if my age and health still allowed me; as I am not able, I must be content to serve him as a tertiary laywoman»⁴⁰.

Maria Clotilde thus set up a daily routine as a nun, organized according to a strict model of pious practice. After waking at 4:30 a.m., the princess devoted several hours to prayer and meditation before attending mass at 7 a.m. in the castle chapel. After eating breakfast and performing personal chores, she returned to the chapel at 11:00 a.m. to visit the Blessed Sacrament and engage in prayer, which then resumed at 3:30 p. m. after her lunch break and afternoon rest and lasted until dinnertime. She then dedicated the evening to praying, examining her conscience and meditating until 10 p. m. when she went to bed. On holidays she attended mass at 8 and 11 at the collegiate church of Santa Maria della Scala located outside the castle. Maria Clotilde also took part in reciting the rosary there and, when the liturgical calendar required it, participated in the rites of the *via Crucis* and the Forty hours⁴¹.

Besides the sacred spaces that the court had traditionally used inside the castle⁴², the princess attended the churches of Moncalieri (in particular Santa Maria and Sant'Egidio) to take part in services and processions. However, the castle chapel remained the real fulcrum of her religious practice. In 1898 a detailed «list of existing objects» located in the

ogragico degli Italiani, vol. 91, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, Rome 2018, pp. 42-43, 63-65.

40. L. Merlo, *Clotilde di Savoia* cit., p. 98.

41. A. Biancotti, *Maria Clotilde di Savoia* cit., pp. 209-211.

42. P. Cozzo, *Culti e spazi sacri della corte a Moncalieri fra Cinque e Settecento*, in A. Malerba et al. (eds.), *Il castello di Moncalieri* cit., pp. 91-100.

chapel was drafted and it features a number of items that had been brought there from the chapel of the Shroud⁴³. The Moncalieri chapel where Maria Clotilde received communion every day had been granted a pontifical concession⁴⁴ (obtained in 1878 partly thanks to mediation by the archbishop of Turin, Lorenzo Gastaldi) allowing it to host the Blessed Sacrament. The princess continuously venerated this holy object, often standing in front of it for several hours «with a posture that was always proper and composed, the posture of someone aware of standing before a great figure»⁴⁵. Christocentric piety also played a major role in her faith, and the princess' special devotion to the Holy Shroud was part of this. On the occasion of the 1868 ostension (celebrated for the wedding between Umberto and Margherita), Maria Clotilde prepared a red fabric lining for the Shroud as she had detached the original silk lining to reserve it as a relic (according to traditional accounts, the original lining had been sewn by the Blessed Sebastiano Valfré at the end of the 17th century)⁴⁶. That episode was imbued with symbolic and political connotations by the Savoy propaganda: in accounts reconstructing the event, Valfré's cloth was "replaced" with the one that Maria Clotilde Adelaide of Bourbon had supposedly placed there in 1775 at the end of the October 15th ostension for her marriage to Charles Emmanuel IV⁴⁷. This variation – which did not go

43. ASTo, Sezioni Riunite, Real Casa, *Casa della Principessa Clotilde*, marzo 13, fasc. «Causa di beatificazione della principessa Clotilde», *Oggetti appartenenti alla R. Cappella della SS. Sindone in uso nella cappella del Real Castello di Moncalieri and Elenco degli oggetti esistenti nella cappella privata di SAR ed I la principessa Clotilde nel palazzo di Moncalieri, redatto dal prefetto di sacrestia teol. Edoardo Bosio il 21 giugno 1898*.

44. ASTo, Riunite, Real Casa, Casa della Principessa Clotilde, marzo 13, *Causa di beatificazione della principessa Clotilde, Facoltà concessa dalla Santa Sede alla principessa Maria Clotilde di conservare il Santissimo Sacramento nel sacro oratorio privato*.

45. *Beatificationis et canonizationis Servae Dei Mariae Clotildis a Sabaudia viduae Napoleone Positio super introductione causae*, I, Typis Guerra et Belli, Romae 1942, p. 63.

46. P. Cozzo, *A Relic to See and Touch: the Sensory Dimension of the Shroud in Court (XVI-XX Centuries)*, in P. Cozzo, A. Merlotti, A. Nicolotti (eds.), *The Shroud at Court. History, Usages, Places and Images of a Dynastic Relic*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2019, pp. 104-123, in particular pp. 122-123. The Archivio Centrale dello Stato (=ACS), *Real Casa, Santissimo Sudario*, b. 4, fasc. 1, hosts two fragments of the two silk linings (the black one, sewn by Sebastiano Valfré on 26 June 1694, and the red one, sewn by Maria Clotilde on 28th April 1868). Concerning Sebastiano Valfré, see the entry by P. Cozzo in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 98, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, Rome 2020, pp. 35-37

47. A. Merlotti, *The Holy Shroud between the Court of Savoy and the City of Turin: The Osten-*

unnoticed by Piedmontese ecclesiastical scholars – played on the homonymy of the two princesses. Occupying reversed roles (a *fille de France* in the court of Turin and a scion of Savoy in the imperial court of Paris) and almost a century apart, both had contributed to exalting the shroud as proof of the ancient and lasting alliance between Savoy and France,⁴⁸ the same alliance that Maria Clotilde's young life had been given to consecrating.

The princess also dedicated the same amount of energy to Marian devotions as she did to Christocentric ones. While her pronounced propensity for the cult of the Rosary was linked to the Dominican tradition she had chosen as the vehicle for expressing her religiosity, her devotion to Our Lady Consolata, proclaimed patroness of Turin in 1706, represented a major expression of civic and dynastic piety. On 2 July 1879, Maria Clotilde had gifted the Marian sanctuary dearest to the people of Turin⁴⁹ with a silver heart bearing an inscription in which she pleaded for divine protection over the Church and pope, Turin and its bishop, and her sons, daughter, brothers and sister. That particular votive gift also signified an act of reparation for the clashes that had occurred a few days earlier (20th June, feast of the Consolata) when the traditional procession had been attacked by anti-clerical groups. There had been earlier attacks as well: beginning in the 1850's there was a series of arson attempts in which attackers tried break in, steal and set fire to the sanctuary. In the 1879 incident, the troublemakers even tried to damage the statue of the Virgin⁵⁰. Maria Clotilde's prompt intervention attested to the process of «feminization of religiosity» the Savoy court had undergone in the 19th century in which the women of the Royal House intensified their relationship with the sanctuary of the Consolata inten-

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sions from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Century (1630-1831), in P. Cozzo et al. (eds.), *The Shroud at Court* cit., pp. 124-166, in particular pp. 143, 149, 165.

48. P. Gentile, *The Old Piedmont becomes the New Italy: the Ostensions for the Nuptials of the Crown Princes Vittorio Emanuele and Umberto (1842-1868)*, in P. Cozzo et al. (eds.), *The Shroud at Court* cit., pp. 297-312, in particular pp. 310-311.

49. C. Roggero Baldelli, *La Consolata, un santuario oltre il tempo*, in A. Griseri, R. Rocca (eds.), *Torino. I percorsi della religiosità*, Archivio storico della città di Torino, Turin 1998, pp. 159-242.

50. The text regarding Maria Clotilde's votive offering appears in T. Chiuso, *La Chiesa in Piemonte* cit., vol. V, 349-350.

sified⁵¹ while also confirming that Marian devotion had taken on a central position in her devotional landscape. This shift also indicates that Maria Clotilde was aware of more recent cultural manifestations: indeed, the liturgical offices belonging to the princess included Saint Clotilde (June 3), her patroness, and the apparition of Lourdes (February 11), recognized and promoted by Pius IX and Leo XIII⁵².

The princess' spiritual life went beyond the devotional practices carried out under the guidance of her chaplains (in her later years, these included Giovanni Battista Alessio, Giovanni Battista Gallo and Giovanni Andrea Masera, bishop of Biella) and almoner (canon Paolo Brusa, custodian of the Holy Shroud) within the walls of the castle, a space that had been transformed into a sort of royal convent. As a matter of fact, Maria Clotilde continued to work for the poor and sick in Moncalieri as well. Her charitable activities dedicated to the city's needy, together with the apostolate and catechesis that she regularly held inside and outside the castle walls, increased her reputation for holiness. This reputation was already deep-rooted during the princess' life (so much so that it was easy to identify «similarities with her ancestors» who had already been beatified, the princesses Ludovica and Margherita di Savoia)⁵³ and grew even more so after her death on 25th June 1911, a few days following the Roman inauguration of the Vittoriano, the most monumental of Savoy Italy's «symbols of belonging»⁵⁴ Maria Clotilde was attended on her death bed by her children, her sister Maria Pia (the former Queen of Portugal, also

51. R.P. Violi, *Nazione e religione nei santuari italiani dall'Unità alla Prima guerra mondiale*, in A. Acerbi (ed.), *La Chiesa e l'Italia. Per una storia dei loro rapporti negli ultimi due secoli*, Vita e Pensiero, Milan 2003, pp. 99-152, in particular pp. 107-108.

52. ASTo, Riunite, Real Casa, *Casa della principessa Maria Clotilde*, marzo 13, *Causa di beatificazione della principessa Clotilde, Messa e uffici di santa Clotilde Regina appartenuti alla principessa Clotilde*.

53. T. Chiuso, *La Chiesa in Piemonte* cit., vol. V, p. 209, note 1. Among Maria Clotilde's ancestors who died in the odor of sanctity Chiuso mentions the venerable Maria Clotilde Adelaide of Borbone (1759-1802), who became queen of Sardinia after marrying Charles Emmanuel IV of Savoy. The canonical trial of Maria Clotilde Adelaide began in 1804 and ended in 1829 with the attribution of the title of Venerable (S. Cabibbo, *Sovrane sante* cit., p. 52).

54. G. Galasso, *I Simboli di appartenenza*, Gangemi, Rome 2005.

close to death)⁵⁵ and her sister-in-law Queen Margherita and spiritually assisted by two Dominican friars.

4. Smell of holiness

The body of the princess, dressed in the white cassock and black cape prescribed for Third Order nuns, was placed in the castle chapel and displayed for the homage of the court and the public. Many believed that this body of a person whose hagiographic virtues they had already appreciated in life now enjoyed “special” status after her death, and thus sought to make physical contact, direct or indirect, with Maria Clotilde’s cadaver. Those who did not manage to touch the princess’ corpse asked that devotional objects such as rosaries or sacred images be placed on it, even briefly⁵⁶. The princess was unhesitatingly defined by newspapers as the «saint of Moncalieri»⁵⁷ and portraits of her were showcased in local homes together with images of saints and the Virgin Mary.⁵⁸ People thus believed the body of the princess to be a relic and it was this belief that motivated them to seek contact with it. This should not come as a surprise, considering the importance of the sensorial element in the devotional tradition: at the beginning of the 20th century, the senses

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55. Maria Pia had returned to Italy in 1910 due to the outbreak of the revolution and establishment of the republic in Portugal. When Maria Clotilde’s condition worsened, the former queen was in Rome and she traveled from there to Piedmont. She died there, in the Stupinigi residence, on 5th July 1911. Her funeral was celebrated on 8 July and her remains were buried in the Basilica of Superga. Victor Emmanuel III proclaimed a 40-day mourning for the death of his aunt Maria Pia, which was combined with the mourning already proclaimed for the death of Maria Clotilde. (M.A. Lopes, *Maria Pia di Savoia, 1847-1910, regina del Portogallo: un pilastro della monarchia portoghese e dei rapporti Portogallo-Italia*, in M.A. Lopes, B.A. Raviola (eds.), *Portogallo e Piemonte. Nove secoli (XII-XX) di relazioni dinastiche e politiche*, Carocci, Rome 2014, pp. 81-227, in particular 220-222).

56. Regarding this point, see the testimony by Count Giuseppe Fossati Raineri, in *Beatificationis et canonizationis*, 199.

57. *La morte dalla principessa Clotilde. La santa di Moncalieri*, «La Stampa», 26th June 1911; *Dopo la morte*, «Corriere della Sera», 27th June 1911, p. 2. It should be noted that newspapers had begun to use this appellation to describe Maria Clotilde many years before her death. An article that appeared in the magazine *Il Carabiniere* in 1888 reported that «the good princess Clotilde ... retired in the castle of Moncalieri» was «idolized by all those local inhabitants who call her pious and holy, because there as in Paris she is the providence of the poor and all those who suffer». (In A. Merlotti, *Conti di Moncalieri. Il Castello e i Bonaparte (1870-1926)*, in A. Malerba et al. (eds.), *Il Castello di Moncalieri* cit., 251-264: 260, nota 48).

58. *Le voci della riconoscenza*, «Corriere della Sera», 27th June 1911, p. 2.

were still highly important even in courtly circles.⁵⁹ Devotion was expressed through a visual, and potentially physical, relationship with the things (remains, objects, and spaces) that materially manifested a saint, even when the saint in question had not been officially recognized by the Church. This phenomenon could be observed as early as the princess' funeral, solemnly celebrated on 28 June in the presence of King Victor Emmanuel III, Queen Elena and the President of the Council of Ministers Giovanni Giolitti and featuring widespread use of the "patriotic ceremonial" formula characterizing the funeral rituals of the Royal House.⁶⁰ Maria Clotilde's body was taken from the castle where it had been arranged two days earlier and transported to Turin.⁶¹ The long procession crossed streets crowded with people wanting not only (or not especially) to honor the daughter of the first king of Italy or the mother of the man who might one day claim the title of French emperor,⁶² but rather to witness the last journey of a woman who was considered a saint. Her body was carried in front of the church of the Gran Madre (the votive temple erected in 1818 «ob adventum Regis»⁶³, which in 1849 had hosted the funeral of Charles Albert)⁶⁴ where the king, queen and civil authorities paid homage to it and the archbishop of Turin, Cardinal Agostino Richelmy, blessed it⁶⁵. The funeral procession then con-

59. P. Cozzo, *A Relic to See and Touch* cit.

60. P. Gentile, *Morte e apoteosi. Regolare i destini politici della nazione da Carlo Alberto a Umberto I*, in P. Cozzo, F. Motta (eds.), *Regolare la politica. Norme, liturgie, rappresentazioni del potere fra tardoantico ed età contemporanea*, Viella, Rome 2016, 273-292.

61. *La salma della principessa Clotilde composta dai figli nella bara. I Sovrani a Torino per i funerali d'oggi*, in «Corriere della Sera», 28th June 1911, p. 5.

62. The funeral was attended by «a rather large group of representatives of the plebscite Bonapartist committees of Paris and various other cities of France» to pay their last respects «to she whom they venerate as the mother of their emperor». (*Dopo i funerali della principessa Clotilde. Ultimo omaggio dei Bonapartisti*, «Corriere della Sera», 19th June 1911, p. 7). After the death of Jérôme, his son Napoleon Victor found himself first in line to replace Napoleon III given that his own direct heir (his son Napoleon IV) had died in 1879. Many of those who wished the Republic to fall and the Napoleonic Empire to be restored placed their hopes in Napoleon Victor: see L. De Witt, *Le prince Victor Napoléon (1862-1926)*, Fayard, Paris 2007.

63. P. Cozzo, *I patroni dei sovrani restaurati*, in T. Calì, D. Menozzi (eds.), *L'Italia e i santi. Agiografie, riti e devozioni nella costruzione dell'identità nazionale*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 2017, pp. 211-212.

64. P. Gentile, *Morte e apoteosi* cit., pp. 274-279.

65. *I funerali della principessa Clotilde alla presenza dei sovrani, dei principi e del popolo*, in «Corriere della Sera», 29th June 1911, p. 5.

tinued to Superga, the House of Savoy's dynastic shrine⁶⁶, where the remains of Maria Clotilde were interned in the same crypt in which her husband Jerome had been buried in 1891. A growing number of devotees began to visit that place "far from any noise" that guarded "the corpse of the saint"⁶⁷; even many years later, they "expressly" went to the basilica "to pray at her tomb"⁶⁸. That tomb went on to become a pilgrimage destination shortly after: the Moncalieri associations organized a pilgrimage there in June 1912, on the first anniversary of the princess' death⁶⁹. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Moncalieri wasted no time in organizing masses in suffrage of the "venerated princess"⁷⁰, a street was immediately named after her and a process was launched to "sanctuarize" the memory of Maria Clotilde. The place in the church of Santa Maria where the princess had habitually knelt to pray soon became crowded with the faithful. On 27 April 1915, in an event attended by "a stream of people" who had flocked "to honor their saint," a sculptural monument was dedicated to her, "fruit of the inspiration and chisel of Pietro Canonica"⁷¹ and positioned in her usual place. In front of her statue the faithful bowed and stopped to pray, invoking the intercession of the "saint" and offering her *ex-votos* that the parish priest of Santa Maria took care to collect and store safely away in adjacent rooms of the church⁷². The sanctuarization process of the spaces linked to the memory of Maria Clotilde continued in 1920 as well: when the castle of Moncalieri was given to the Piedmontese Committee to house those injured or disabled

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66. P. Cozzo, *Con lugubre armonia». Le pratiche funerarie in età moderna*, in P. Bianchi, A. Merlotti (eds.), *Le strategie dell'apparenza. Cerimoniali, politica e società alla corte dei Savoia in età moderna*, Zamorani, Turin 2010, pp. 73-91.

67. *I funerali della principessa Clotilde* cit.

68. The testimony by Canon Gioacchino Revellino of Moncalieri appears in *Beatificationis et canonizationis*, p. 197.

69. ASTo, Riunite, *Casa della principessa Maria Clotilde*, m. 13, *Causa di beatificazione della principessa Clotilde*.

70. *Ibid.*

71. *Beatificationis et canonizationis*, 1178; Regarding the sculptor and musician Pietro Canonica (1869-1959), appointed senator for life by President of the Republic Luigi Einaudi in 1950 by virtue of his artistic merits, see the entry by Francesco Negri Arnoldi in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 18, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 1975.

72. *Beatificationis et canonizationis*, 1179.

in the war, the committee decided that the room where the princess had died should be made into a chapel⁷³.

There is extensive evidence that Maria Clotilde had by then been equated with a celestial figure who people worshipped to invoke divine grace and aid, and that 'her' places were perceived as sacred spaces in which to seek a direct relationship with holiness. One of these testimonial accounts, among the many collected for the canonical trial, was given by young 'match girl' Luigia Fiore: having injured her ring finger in the match factory where she worked and fearing that she might lose the finger, the girl entrusted herself to the princess by addressing many prayers to her and applying "an envelope with a napkin-reliquary of Her Highness" to the injured digit that she had been given by the almoner Brusa; the following day, her finger was healed⁷⁴. Another noteworthy account is from Francesco Rosso, «who harbored a true cult for princess Clotilde while she was still alive as well»: in 1925 he made a vow to the "saint" that he would hang a silver heart on her statue if his wife healed; «having completely obtained [this boon], he kept his promise, convinced that it had occurred thanks to the intercession of his beloved princess»⁷⁵. In 1926, Maria Beretta brought another silver heart (also stored in the rectory of Santa Maria «together with many others») because she had been evicted and, as «the housing crisis in Moncalieri was raging at that time», suddenly found herself on the street. The woman decided to pray a novena for the "saint", after which «she found a new apartment in via principessa Maria Clotilde»⁷⁶. These and many other stories confirm that, according to common perceptions, Maria Clotilde represented a form of holiness understood as the «exercise of militant

73. Decree by the President of the Council of Ministers, 30 April 1920, in «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», no. 141, 16 June 1920, 1899. The castle's transfer to State ownership became effective only after Princess Maria Letizia died in Moncalieri on 25 October 1926. Regarding Maria Letizia's apartments in the castle of Moncalieri see C. Bertolotto, *Visita all'appartamento della principessa Maria Letizia*, in F. Pernice (ed.) *Il Castello di Moncalieri. Gli appartamenti reali*, Celid, Turin 1996, pp. 49-60; M. C. Visconti, *Dall'Appartamento dei duchi di Savoia a quello de Re verso levante: prima e dopo l'intervento di Domenico Ferri*, in A. Malerba et al. (eds.), *Il Castello di Moncalieri*, pp. 277-278.

74. *Beatificationis et canonizationis*, 1180.

75. *Ibid.*

76. *Ibid.* 1181.

virtue, austerity of spirit and existence, renunciation of all weakness, pity in the face of all pain, aid to all suffering, [and] daily holocaust of the self for the good of others»⁷⁷. The people, endowed with that «sure intuition that crosses even the difficult thresholds of the royal palaces and is capable of probing into the souls of the great»⁷⁸, perceived this condition of holiness and so did “the highest spheres” and even «the circles that mock all religious practice»⁷⁹.

5. A failed hagiographic project

The princess’ holiness had yet to be formally recognized by ecclesiastical authority, however. While most people were convinced that «God will make her [Marie Clotilde] blessed up there, in the joyful company of the holy princesses of Savoy, the infinite prize for a life of so much humility and so much pain»⁸⁰, the Church had to hold a specific canonical procedure before it could acknowledge the sanctity of the Dominican Third Order nun. Although the press described the princess’ beatification as a «hypothesis» that was not at all «far-fetched» the day after her death⁸¹, the process did not begin until the mid-1930s when the archdiocese of Turin organized an initial, information-gathering trial that lasted three years and ended in 1939⁸². From that moment on, Maria Clotilde took on the title of Servant of God.

It does not appear to be an accident that the canonical procedure for verifying the princess’ heroic exercise of the theological and cardinal virtues (the first, indispensable step towards beatification) did not begin until after the Conciliation between Church and State. Before the Lateran Pact, it would have appeared inappropriate to initiative the complex procedural *iter* through which the Apostolic See was

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77. *La morte dalla principessa Clotilde* cit.

78. *Ibid.*

79. This is a passage from an article in «Italia Reale» dated 26th June 1911, quoted in *Beatificationis et canonizationis*, 1176-1177.

80. *Ibid.*

81. «Paris, 28 June. The Rome correspondent for *Le Matin* states that there is already talk of beatifying Princess Clotilde, and adds that the hypothesis is not at all far-fetched», *La beatificazione della principessa Clotilde?* «Corriere della Sera», 28th June 1911, p. 7.

82. Archivio arcivescovile di Torino (=AAT), *Cause di beatificazione dei Servi di Dio*, 16.22, Maria Clotilde di Savoia Napoleone (1832-1911), 16.22.1-4, *Processo informativo*, 1936-1939.

to pass a final judgement on the hagiographic status of the princess given that she was the daughter of a monarch who had been excommunicated during his lifetime and whose reign, built by stripping the Church of temporal power, had been judged illegitimate by the popes. Maria Clotilde had paid the price for that complicated state of affairs both during her life (for her only visit to Rome, to avoid causing diplomatic embarrassment she was obliged to visit St. Peter's incognito and not allowed to meet with any of the prelates of the Curia) and afterwards; indeed, after her death the newspapers were quick to write that she had been erroneously considered «a clerical woman», while in truth she was simply «a faithful soul, but still an Italian one»⁸³. The princess' «straightforward qualities of Christian piety» and «sacrificial virtue» were well known at the Vatican, but when news of her death reached the Curia, Church officials deemed it inappropriate to express formal condolences so as not to break «the custom of silence imposed for political reasons on the occasion of mourning in the Italian royal family». Not even her status as a «princess of the house of Bonaparte» was considered sufficient grounds for displaying «external and tangible expressions» of mourning that might have created an unfortunate precedent in relations between the Holy See and the House of Savoy⁸⁴.

The political situation prior to 1929 thus did not allow for a trial, and it was only after the Conciliation that it began to appear feasible. The first pages of a biography of the princess published in 1929 indirectly confirms this point. In this text the author states that «at the act of the signing of the Lateran Pact, the spirit of the 'Saint' of Moncalieri must have exulted with serene joy» on thinking that «the vow...of Italy and of all Christianity» was being fulfilled⁸⁵. The beginning of the canonization procedure must thus be understood as occurring in a climate of newfound harmony between the reigning dynasty and the Apostolic See (emphasized, in the same period, by symbolic events with great

83. *Dopo la morte di Clotilde di Savoia. Episodi romani*, in «Corriere della Sera», 26th june 1911, p. 7

84. *Dopo la morte di Clotilde di Savoia. L'impressione in Vaticano*, «Corriere della Sera», 26th june 1911, p. 7.

85. L. Merlo, *Clotilde di Savoia* cit., p. 6.

public appeal such as the ostension of the Holy Shroud on the occasion of the extraordinary jubilee of the Redemption proclaimed by Pius XI in 1933)⁸⁶. And indeed the dossiers of the trial include a number of documents attesting to the direct and indirect links between Maria Clotilde and the Holy See, beginning with the princess' baptism in that Victor Emmanuel II had asked Pope Gregory XVI himself to be his daughter's godfather⁸⁷. Pope Gregory's successors maintained continual contact with the King of Italy's eldest daughter (as evidenced by the intense correspondence she exchanged with Pius IX and Leo XIII) and continued to sing her praises, as did Pius XI during a later visit to Moncalieri in 1900⁸⁸. Maria Clotilde had sent father a heartfelt letter on 8 February 1877 warning him about the dangers of the legislation the Italian parliament was adopting at the time (a controversial law to make clerical abuses of power a criminal offense that gave rise to a heated debate)⁸⁹ and even this missive was permeated with hagiographic overtones. These letters contributed to presenting the princess as a heroic and prophetic voice raised in defense of the Church in a State that had turned its back on the Vatican because the country was governed by a «parliamentary ma-

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86. A. Nicolotti, *Sindone. Storia e leggende di una reliquia controversa*, Einaudi, Turin 2015, pp. 235-238.

87. A. Merlotti, *Il sacro alla corte sabauda* cit., p. 170.

88. «When Monsignor Achille Ratti, now Pius XI, came to Moncalieri to consult a bull in the parish archives, he inquired about local affairs and said: 'You have a treasure that is worth more than anything else, Princess Clotilde'". (*Beatificationis et canonizationis*, cit., 200). Ratti's visit to Moncalieri dates back to 1900, and was related to the preparation of his article *Bolla arcivescovile milanese a Moncalieri e una leggenda imedita di San Gemolo di Ganna*, in «Archivio storico lombardo», a. 28, 29 (1901), pp. 5-36: In the opening of the article Achille Ratti did not fail to extend courteous thanks to the parish priest of Moncalieri «who has first among his parishioners a princess whose pain is sacred to all of Italy, as her piety is its edification». Another future pope also visited Moncalieri: on 24 May 1950, the then-apostolic nuncio in Paris Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, who was in Turin for a pilgrimage to Maria Ausiliatrice, went to Moncalieri and celebrated mass in Sant'Egidio, «full of good people» (the episode was reported by John XXIII himself to cardinal Maurilio Fossati on 8 May 1962: *Discorso del Santo Padre Giovanni XXIII a un pellegrinaggio di Torino guidato dal signor cardinale arcivescovo Maurilio Fossati e dal suo coadiutore mons. Felicissimo Stefano Timivella, Sala del Concistoro Martedì, 8 maggio 1962*, http://www.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/it/speeches/1962/documents/hf_j-xxiii_spe_19620508_pellegrinaggio-torino.html).

89. M. Forno, *Informazione e potere. Storia del giornalismo italiano*, Laterza, Rome-Bari 2012, p. 48.

majority that is almost never the true expression of the people it represents»⁹⁰.

The Conciliation paved the way for a turning point in the hagiographic story of Maria Clotilde and also came at a time when the female image of the House of Savoy was being redefined, as the royal family was looking for new figures to fill the void left by the death of Queen Margherita in 1926. This «cultured and modern sovereign, a model not only for Italian women but for women in general», the «best-looking» and «best-educated queen in Europe» – as she was presented by the British press – had represented, before and after her husband's assassination, «the image of the dynasty's modernity»⁹¹. That image, which Queen Elena's profile could not equal and which only her daughter-in-law, Maria José, later adopted, was not very compatible with the figure of Maria Clotilde; indeed, her personal life and values seemed to represent an opposite path from the modern one embodied by Margherita. Margherita's exit from the scene thus left room for other models, better suited to representing the new season that was unfolding, a season characterized by an emergent need to re-establish the lost harmony between Church and State. Maria Clotilde, daughter of the king but also the «most devoted daughter and servant» of the pope⁹², countess of Moncalieri⁹³ but also a humble Dominican tertiary, represented an effective testament to such harmony, all the more useful at a time when reconciliation between the kingdom of Italy and the Holy See was proceeding hand in hand with reconciliation between the Savoy lineage and the vicars of Christ.

If the evolution of the political and dynastic context of the 1920s was decisive in laying the foundations of the hagiographic construction of Maria Clotilde, the 1940s proved equally crucial. In fact, the *Positio super introductione causae*

90. A. Biancotti, *Maria Clotilde*, pp. 212-213 (the text of the letter to Victor Emmanuel II is at 212-213).

91. A. Merlotti, *The Romance of Savoy. Nota sull'immagine di Casa Savoia fra Otto e Novecento*, in *Dalle Regge d'Italia. Tesori e simboli della regalità sabauda*, A. Merlotti, S. Ghisotti (eds.), Sagep, Genoa 2017, p. 296.

92. This is how Maria Clotilde signed in her letter to Pius IX on 3 December 1876, cit. in M.F. Mellano, *I principi*, cit., p. 56.

93. Victor Emmanuel II conferred this title 1 November 1870, after Maria Clotilde and her husband left Paris (A. Merlotti, *Conti di Moncalieri* cit., p. 252).

was introduced into the Congregation of Rites in 1942, while the *Processus apostolicus* lasted from 1943 to 1947⁹⁴. tragic years, marked by the war, the fall of the fascist regime, the end of the monarchy and the establishment of the republic. Although the procedure had never been formally interrupted (the body's recognition of Maria Clotilde as a Servant of God occurred on 12 June 1947⁹⁵ and five years later, on 2 March 1952, the Congregation of Rites decreed the ordinary trial to be valid), it had effectively been deadlocked. This outcome can be seen as partly due to the dissolution of the monarchy and its apparatus, as this development may have proven decisive for the success of the canonical procedures (and had been, in the past)⁹⁶. However, Marie Clotilde's hagiographic fortune was also affected by the shifting climate of Catholicism from the late 1950s onwards. Under John XXIII (a pope who preferred languages other than the hagiographic one)⁹⁷, the Church had begun updating its models of sanctity and the type of figure embodied by the Savoy princess, a woman had lived with ascetic rigor and unshakable faith but still in royal residences and among crowned heads, was distant and even somewhat anachronistic in relation to these updated models. After all, Maria Clotilde's hagiographic image had been intrinsically tenuous in the eyes of the Church even before the Second Vatican Council's indications caused it to fade altogether. The court culture had drawn an aura of martyrdom around the princess by virtue of her sacrificing herself for the interests of the dynasty and the good of the country by accepting an unwanted marriage, but not even the Church of Pius XII had fully (or at least explicitly) embraced this characterization. In the very period in which Maria Clotilde was being framed as a 'victim' who sacri-

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94. See the documents in AATo, respectively 16.22.9-10; 16.22.11-12.

95. ASTo, *Riunite, Ministero della Real Casa*, Amministrazione dei Beni Demaniali già di Dotazione della Corona, Direzione di Torino (1832-1979), Amministrazione dei Beni demaniali, Chiese e cappelle, mazzo 9694.

96. See, for example, the political and diplomatic commitment to obtain the canonization of Amadeus IX in 1677 (P. Cozzo, *Hagiographie et politique dans l'Italie du Nord au début de l'époque moderne: «saints d'Etat», tradition urbaine et prestige dynastique*, in *Dévotion et légitimation* cit., pp. 57-72).

97. R. Rusconi, *Una Chiesa a confronto con la società*, in A. Benvenuti et al., *Storia della santità nel cristianesimo occidentale*, Viella, Rome 2005, p. 356.

ficed herself on the altar of state rationales to ensure her country's continued wellbeing, the Church was developing other models of female sanctity. One such model was martyrdom in the bloody rather than symbolic sense, such as the martyrdom of Maria Goretti in 1902. Goretti, a humble, semi-illiterate girl devoted to working in the fields of Agro Pontino, was quite distant from Maria Clotilde in terms of social background, life story and spiritual development. Beatified in 1947 and sanctified in 1950, Maria Goretti (who was presented by Pacelli's Church as an "embankment against the impending danger of new cultural models considered to be pernicious")⁹⁸ was successfully canonized in the same years in which the trial for Maria Clotilde was running aground. It would be too facile to suggest that the opposite outcomes of these parallel hagiographic events were determined by the different degrees of 'popularity' enjoyed by the poor little girl from Neptune and the pious princess from Moncalieri. Nonetheless, the fact is that the connotations of sanctity that had accompanied Maria Clotilde's image during her lifetime and after her death ended up evaporating. Moreover, while in the first decades of the 20th century Moncalieri and its inhabitants were driven by great emotional enthusiasm in their dedication to the 'saint', with the passage of time this enthusiasm inexorably waned: we can see, for instance, that local publications displayed less and less interest in the princess after the 1950s. Moncalieri (like nearby Turin and the whole of Italy more generally) in this period was poised to undergo a profound social, economic and cultural transformation that would significantly change the city's structure and image. The first element to be affected by this shift was the castle itself, the site that for centuries had been the point of encounter between the local community, the court and the dynasty. Indeed, the structure was later used in various ways, none of which helped to ensure its preservation⁹⁹. In this changed framework, the hagiographic memory of that "Royal and

98. M. Giacomini, A. Serra, *Dalla santa all'assassino. Il ruolo della fotografia nel sistema agiografico goretiano*, in T. Calìò (ed.), *Santi in posa. L'influsso della fotografia sull'immaginario religioso*, Rome 2019, p. 177.

99. L. Moro, *Dal 1926 ad oggi: tutela, restauri e nuove funzioni*, in A. Malerba et al. (eds.), *Il Castello di Moncalieri*, pp. 341-349.

**Maria Clotilde
of Savoy-Bonaparte
(1843-1911)**

Imperial Highness”¹⁰⁰ the Savoy monarchy had tried to cultivate in the hope of reinvigorating its centuries-old reputation as a *beata stirps* gradually faded almost to the point of disappearing altogether even in the family’s own ancestral places where the fame of the ‘saint of Moncalieri’ had been born and evolved.

100.This was the title given to Maria Clotilde in the statement with which the House of Deputies, meeting in session on 25 June, announced her death («Corriere della Sera», 26th June 1911, p. 2).

New Perspectives on the Political Role of Maria Pia of Savoy, Queen of Portugal (1862-1910)

Maria Antónia Lopes

1. Recent perspectives of Maria Pia

Until the publication of my biography of Maria Pia of Savoy in 2011, public opinion in Portugal was largely unaware of the existence of this woman, who was the penultimate queen of Portugal, where she lived from 1862 to 1910. Yet the people loved her until the end of the monarchy and even her harshest critics recognized, in 1910, with the implantation of the Republic, that she was the only member of the royal family to be missed.

From 2013, with the change in the Board of Directors of the Ajuda National Palace, Maria Pia began to attract the attention of Art History researchers. Her activity as water-colourist and photographer and her known involvement in the refurbishment of the interior of the Palace², as well

1. The present text is based on M.A. Lopes, *Rainhas que o povo amou: Estefânia de Hohenzollern e Maria Pia de Saboia*, Círculo de Leitores, Lisbon 2011 (paperback: Temas e Debates, Lisbon 2013). The information and perspectives presented in this essay as well as other aspects of Maria Pia's life and personality are further explored in this biography.

2. M.J. Botelho Muniz Burnay (ed.), *Ricordo di Venezia – Vidros de Murano da Casa Real Portuguesa*, Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda-Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon 2015; J.A. Ribeiro (ed.), *Um olhar real: obra artística da rainha D. Maria Pia: desenho, aguarela e fotografia*, Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda-Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon 2016.

as in the improvement of its furnishings, received greater attention. Among young Art History researchers there is a growing interest in Maria Pia, one example being a recent MA dissertation which analyses portraits, caricatures and other forms of visual representations of the queen³.

In the specific field of history, until 21st century all studies of Maria Pia's husband, son and daughter-in-law – kings Luís and Carlos, and Queen Amelia – characterized the queen as frivolous, poorly educated, spendthrift, vain, temperamental or even emotionally unstable. She was depicted as a woman who had a difficult relationship with her husband and was jealous of her daughter-in-law, Amelia of Orleans. French biographers – not historians – made Maria Pia into a sexually insatiable, adulterous woman, without presenting a single piece of evidence.

The portrayal of Maria Pia by twentieth-century historians is in fact almost the opposite of the public image enjoyed by the queen in her own time. Then she was regarded by most Portuguese people as a charitable, generous, kind person, and an exemplary mother and educator of her children, Carlos and Afonso. She was admired for her elegance and poise, for her courage in crucial moments, her sense of majesty, her unfailing support of her husband, the dynasty and the country, and for her friendliness and kindness to all the people, whatever their status. But a large part of the aristocracy never really welcomed her. The more conservative Catholics saw in her a reflection of her father, Vittorio Emanuele II of Italy, and frowned upon her lack of interest in public religious ceremonies. Her political adversaries criticized her spending and claimed she was overbearing or even hysterical. Rumours that she had lost her mind after the 1908 assassination of her son and grandson were then uncritically repeated by historians.

In fact, Maria Pia was an intelligent woman; generous and with a keen political sense, she was by far the best queen consort of the Portuguese constitutional monarchy. In the 19th century, queen consorts had a specific role: they should provide an heir, help win the support of the people and enthusiasm for the monarchy, ensure the glamour and re-

3. D.R. Gomes, *O retrato de uma Rainha. A construção da imagem de D. Maria Pia de Sabóia (1847-1911)*, master's dissertation, Universidade de Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras 2020.

spect for royalty, and support the king's decisions and thus contribute to his wider popularity. This was, in short, their political role: to help consolidate the monarchy and the dynasty. Queen Maria Pia fulfilled this role to perfection, accomplishing all of the above aims. As Queen-mother, she was expected to retire into the background and assist her son, should he require it. This she did more than once, and if she ever disagreed with King Carlos's decisions during his reign (1889-1908), she never made it public. Opposition politicians could not find any other fault with which to impute her but her expenses. The common people never cared much about this, loving her till the fall of the monarchy.

She was also instrumental in establishing good relations between Portugal and Italy in the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s, and in finding diplomatic solutions for serious questions during her son's reign. Because she always acted with great discretion – when her role was not deliberately obscured –, her true political relevance had passed unnoticed by Portuguese historiography.

2. Political reasons for the marriage

Born in Turin on 16th October 1847, Maria Pia was a member of the House of Savoy. She was the grand-daughter of Carlo Alberto of Savoy, king of Sardinia, and the daughter of the crown prince, Vittorio Emanuele, and of his wife, Adelaide of Habsburg. She had four elder siblings, Clotilde, Umberto, Amedeo and Oddone.

Maria Pia was 17 months old when her parents ascended the throne, after the abdication of Carlo Alberto of Savoy in 1849. She was seven years old when her mother died. Vittorio Emanuele's children received a very strict education upbringing (except Oddone, who suffered from a physical disability), the girls in Turin royal palace and the boys in Moncalieri castle.

In 1861 Vittorio Emanuele called the first parliament of the Kingdom of Italy and became its first monarch. The new kingdom was recognized by Napoleon III of France, followed by Portugal. Other nations followed suit, but Vittorio Emanuele was regarded with suspicion by the royal families of Europe, not only because of his conflict with the papacy and with the emperor of Austria, but also due to his

role in dethroning the king of Naples. The king of Italy had thus a keen interest in establishing a close bond between his House and another Catholic reigning family of a constitutional monarchy. The Portuguese royal family of Braganza was seen as an excellent choice, not least because Vittorio Emanuele believed that the Iberian Peninsula was on the way to achieving a political union, with Portugal playing the role that Piedmont had played in Italy's unification. And the king of Iberia would be his son-in-law.

In 1861, the Portuguese royal family consisted of the twenty-four-year king, Pedro V, whose wife, Stephanie of Hohenzollern⁴, had died childless, his four brothers and his father, the widowed King Consort Ferdinand de Saxe-Coburg-Gotha⁵. Thus the dynasty seemed secure. Then, in November, in the space of a few days both the king and Prince Fernando died. Augusto, the youngest brother, fell seriously ill while the two other brothers, Luís and João, were abroad. When they returned, Luís was proclaimed king, while João also became ill and eventually died. Augusto survived, but never fully recovered intellectually. The dynasty was in danger. The king had two sisters, but these princesses could never ascend the throne, not because they were women – Portuguese law did not exclude women from the throne – but rather because their husbands were not Portuguese. As the single and last resort, it was urgent for Luís to get married and beget an heir. Vittorio Emanuele was well aware of the situation. Soon after the death of Pedro V, the Italian king and government had considered the marriage of Princess Maria Pia with Luís⁶, who ascended to the throne on 22th December 1861. On that very same day the war minister, Marquis of Sá da Bandeira, defended the idea of this marriage in a text in which he invoked dynastic and national reasons, adding that «some of the Catholic royal houses» could not be considered an option owing to their loyalty to absolutist principles. In his view, there were no political advantages in a marriage into

4. On Stephanie of Hohenzollern, see M.A. Lopes, *Rainhas que o povo amou* cit.
5. Cf. M.A. Lopes, *D. Fernando II: um rei avesso à política*, Círculo de Leitores, Lisbon 2013 (paperback: Temas e Debates, Lisbon 2016).
6. E. Brazão, *A unificação de Itália vista pelos diplomatas portugueses (1861-1870)*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra 1966, p. 57.

the Saxe-Coburg and the Hohenzollern Houses. An alliance with the Orleans could upset relations with France, given the enmity of this House towards the French emperor. The Savoy princess seemed the best option. «This would be a very popular match in Portugal, as can be deduced from the reaction of the liberal press when it was rumoured that D. Pedro was considering this princess. And this is because, since 1848, the House of Savoy has clearly shown its allegiance to constitutionalism»⁷.

He added that there might be advantages in establishing a close familiar connection with Italy because, as there were delicate questions in Africa between Portugal and England and France, and given that Italy was not a colonial power, this nation might be useful as a friendly mediator or referee, and well accepted by the other two powers.

The King of Portugal asked for Maria Pia's hand in June 1862, which her father accepted. In his answer, Vittorio Emanuele writes that the match «will be received with enthusiasm in Italy», and he rather imprudently adds:

On this auspicious occasion I would like to express my best wishes for the fulfilment of the glorious destinies that await Your Majesty and Your Majesty's nation. That the star that has so far shined so brightly on Italy will in the same manner protect the peoples entrusted to your Majesty's rule and wisdom⁸.

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Vittorio Emanuele clearly saw Portugal as a new Piedmont, meant to unify the Iberian Peninsula. And he wished to have his family linked to that purpose. It goes without saying that such a notion could not be made public, given the political uproar, both internally and externally, that it would cause. The Spanish government would voice its indignation and even in Portugal such a project would cause upheaval among discontented politicians. France and England would equally react and it is even possible that the king would have been compelled to withdraw his marriage proposal and/or that the Italian king would equally be compelled to

7. Quoted in J. Vilhena, *D. Pedro V e o seu reinado. Novos documentos. Suplemento*, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra 1922, pp. 174-175.

8. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Arquivo da Casa Real (ACR), cx. 7336.

back down. But none of this happened, because Vittorio Emanuele's words were not made public.

On September 27th, 1862, Princess Maria Pia got married by proxy at Turin Cathedral. She left the church, this teenager (she was 14 years and 11 months old) as the Queen of Portugal. She embarked on the 29th and the Luso-Italian flotilla arrived in Lisbon on October 5th, where the young couple met for the first time.

3. A common political ideal

There was great enthusiasm in Italy when the engagement was announced. The fact that the princess was marrying a king and not a throneless Bonaparte – like her sister Clotilde, who had been sacrificed to ensure France's support for Italian unification – was well received by Italians. There was a widespread belief among politicians that Portugal, a nation where constitutional liberties were respected, would become the Piedmont of the Iberian Peninsula. The news was received with a round of applause in the Italian Chamber of Deputies. The commission sent to present their compliments to Vittorio Emanuele alluded to the «glorious destinies» awaiting the two peoples. The Senate also applauded the news, and its representatives mentioned the sacred cult of liberty common to both Italians and Portuguese, as well as the political convenience of this dynastic union, in a reference to the long association between the two houses since the days of Mathilde of Savoy, wife of Afonso Henriques, the first King of Portugal⁹.

This choice was also welcomed by Portugal's progressive wing. «The marriage of the granddaughter of Carlo Alberto, the founder of Italy's liberty, with the grandson of Pedro IV, the liberator of Portugal, would always deserve the approval of the Portuguese people and consensus among the free nations»¹⁰. The conservative reaction was as expected. The newspaper *A Nação* (The Nation) wrote that «the chosen princess is the daughter of an excommunicated man»¹¹. Maria Pia was ideologically branded. She would always be

9. *O Conimbricense*, 26.7.1862, pp. 2-4.

10. *Archivo Pittoresco*, 1862, p. 305

11. Quoted in L.E. Espinha da Silveira, P.J. Fernandes, *D. Luís*, Círculo de Leitores, Lisbon 2006, p. 53.

remembered as the granddaughter of Carlo Alberto and Vittorio Emanuele's daughter, and she would herself become an icon of constitutional liberties in Portugal.

Physically, Maria Pia was not stunning. She was still a teenager who did not conform to classical standards of beauty. Her most striking feature was her mass of reddish hair. «D. Maria Pia of Savoy was very young when she married the king of Portugal; her figure had not yet blossomed into what it would later become»¹². From the time she turned 18 and until she became a widow, at 42, Maria Pia was admired for her majestic, elegant and graceful posture. The people were drawn by her beauty, her smile and her charitable work. The upper class were captivated. When the Portuguese royal couple made their first foreign trip, in 1865, Maria Pia was completely transformed, and made an impression in such demanding and cosmopolitan centres as Biarritz, where the French imperial court resided. The Queen thus became a political asset, both at home and abroad.

4. The role of the queen in the relations between Portugal and Italy

Maria Pia's close ties with her family led her to play a vital role in the relations between the two countries. The papal efforts to disrupt these relations failed during Luís' reign because of the close ties between the two reigning families and because of Maria Pia's personality. However, it should be acknowledged that the King always supported his wife and that he held her family in great esteem, as I will show below.

Etiquette prescribed that a second son should have his maternal grandfather as godfather. When Prince Afonso was born, in 1865, the king and the queen were asked not to follow this custom because of Vittorio Emanuele's excommunication, and for fear of the Pope's reaction. The king resisted the pressure and invited his father-in-law to be godfather, but the Italian king reacted with similar courtesy and declined the invitation to avoid embarrassment to

12. F.F. Benevides, *Rainhas de Portugal. Estudo histórico*, Livros Horizonte, Lisbon 2007 (1879), p. 625.

Portugal. Two months later the royal couple went on a visit to Italy and took with them little Carlos, the crown prince.

In her birthplace, Maria Pia was reunited with her family after a three-year absence. Florence had replaced Turin as capital, while there was hope that Rome would someday take its place. The couple headed for Florence, where they were received by Vittorio Emanuele with royal splendour. They were accompanied by a procession of coaches.

The youthful looks and open smile of Vittorio Emanuele's daughter took the Florentines' hearts by storm. For the first time the people of the new capital caught sight of the splendours of Savoy and were impressed: they gathered on the streets under heavy and persistent rain and cheered the Portuguese royal couple and the other princes¹³.

The first court ball organized in the new capital was held in her honour. Luís and Maria Pia stayed in Italy for a month and a half, visiting Turin, Florence, Genoa and Milan. The friendship between the two countries and the two reigning families was thus widely proclaimed through Europe.

The queen attended the weddings of Amedeo and Umberto, in 1867 and 1868, both as sister and as Queen of Portugal. At the wedding of the future King of Italy, Umberto, she took her father's arm. The two crowns displayed their union. From 1870, when Rome was made capital and the pope retired behind the Vatican walls, the city had two governments, one in Quirinal and the other in the Vatican. Pius IX refused to receive any head of State who had visited the King of Italy at his palace in Quirinal, threatening with a breakup of diplomatic relations.

On the death of Vittorio Emanuele II, in 1878, Portugal paid homage to the late king. Both chambers delivered eulogies and passed messages of condolences, suspending its sittings for three days. The queen, who had not left the country for 9 years, travelled to Italy accompanied by the heir to the throne, representing the king. On January 15th, when the queen was a few hours away from Rome, Pius IX demanded that the Italian and Portuguese families break off their relations, warning the Portuguese king and gov-

13. U. Pesci, *Firenze capitale (1865-1870). Dagli appunti di un ex cronista*, Bemporad, Florence 1904, p. 80.

ernment that the Holy See would break off relations with Portugal if the country did not comply¹⁴. Such insensitivity, on the very day of Vittorio Emanuele's vigil, revealed the «heart of stone» that many attributed to the pope, but he had always been motivated by reasons of State.

Maria Pia stayed at the Quirinal Palace¹⁵ with the prince, and the Portuguese king did not give in to the pressure of the pope. She stayed for her father's funeral, on January 17, and two days later for the coronation ceremony of the new King of Italy. The presence of the Queen of Portugal at the coronation of Umberto I was not by chance; it was an open challenge to the pope.

5. Maria Pia, a pillar of the Portuguese monarchy

Maria Pia ruled in conjunction with her husband. Their correspondence reveals their deep understanding, as well as the king's reliance on his wife's views on political questions. In periods of crisis, and especially during the attempted coup of 1870, public opinion recognized the resolution and courage of the queen, which helped preserve the image of the royal couple. The same occurred again in 1880, when Republican ideals inflamed the streets of Lisbon. Two years later, during the centenary commemorations of the death of the Marquis of Pombal, Republican propaganda was outperformed by the popular enthusiasm for the queen, who had never been close to the clergy and was the daughter of the man whom they saw as the victor of the pope.

Maria Pia saw herself and was seen as a protector of the poor, but she was the only queen of the Portuguese constitutional monarchy whose work for the poor was in tune with what the new liberal order defended. She became the public face of a social assistance supported by civic bodies that were outside the sphere of influence of the church. Her initiatives – and her prompt assistance in times of crisis, as well as her kindness, gained her the support of the people, and in this way she became a powerful means of ideological, dynastic and governmental propaganda.

In 1889, when she was widowed, Maria Pia, aged 42, left

14. ANTT, ACR, cx. 7337.

15. *Ibid.*

the stage. Reviewing Luís' reign, many considered that the queen had been its mainstay. The writer Fialho de Almeida even claims that it was she who guided her husband as he learned to be king, and that during his 28-year reign only two people deserved to be remembered by posterity: the Prime Minister Fontes and Maria Pia. He writes that «few European monarchs will have had a more intelligent companion, a more discerning associate or a more refined and accomplished player in the dynastic *mise-en-scène*». And he added: «On an imperial throne, she would certainly be a model empress, with her indisputable spiritual strength, her proud understanding of royal prestige, her regal splendour, and above all her instinctive capacity to adjust to the needs of modern majesty, which is as full of artifice as a modern theatre play»¹⁶.

6. Her son's reign

Rui Ramos argues that Carlos placed her mother in a «sub-political world», and that the widowed queen «grabbed hold of anything that could strengthen her position» but no one paid her any attention¹⁷. I have a different perspective. The king kept his mother informed about important decisions and political problems and used her diplomatic influence in the Italian Court on some occasions. In fact, several contemporary and early twentieth-century authors realized that Maria Pia never was minor that figure, ignored by all. The fact was that Carlos was very conscious of his role and image and would not allow her to take the initiative. She remained in the background, as she always had, regarding political matters; furthermore the king also had to deal with his wife's jealousy.

Carlos relied on his mother to captivate the people, ever more attracted by Republican ideals; but in the 1890s he also used her diplomatic skills, because the king had very little influence in foreign courts – something that his biographers always fail to mention. It was, in fact, only after the death of Queen Victoria, in 1901, that Carlos's friendship with Edward VII gave him a measure of influence. As a

16. F. de Almeida, *Os Gatos I*, Livraria Clássica, Lisbon 1919, pp. 149-151.

17. R. Ramos, *D. Carlos*, Círculo de Leitores, Lisbon 2006, p. 221.

member of the House of Orleans, a family that had been banished from France, Queen Amelia had no say in international affairs, while Maria Pia was the sister of the King of Italy, whose political weight far surpassed his being a European king: as a member of the Triple Alliance, with Germany and Austro-Hungary, Italy had greatly increased its influence. Carlos never dealt directly with his Uncle Umberto or with his cousin, Vittorio Emanuele III; his mother played that role. These are some examples of what she was able to achieve.

In April 1893, Maria Pia left for Italy, on her first trip abroad after becoming a widow. It was widely reported at the time, and frequently repeated since, that she was going for her brother's silver wedding anniversary, but in reality she was on a diplomatic mission to meet the Italian king and the German emperor in Rome. She achieved the support of the two rulers on an agreement with the foreign creditors of the Portuguese public debt, to save the country from bankruptcy¹⁸. The agreement was signed on 20th May 1893, but the queen's involvement was concealed.

In the following two years, Maria Pia continued to work in the background, this time for Portugal's interests in Brazil and in Africa, using her privileged relations with the Italian royal family and with the German emperor¹⁹.

In 1896, she managed to restore diplomatic relations between Portugal and Italy, which had been broken off in the previous year. In 1895, the Portuguese king had made a tour of Europe. The visits to France, Germany and England went well, but there was a serious diplomatic incident with Italy, concerning the Vatican. The Portuguese government had suggested that the two kings should meet in Monza, but the Italian government insisted that the meeting should take place in the capital, as was to be expected. However, to avoid upsetting the pope, Carlos decided to cancel his visit to Italy. Trying to please both the pope and Umberto, Carlos «had the door slammed in his face by both», as a newspaper wrote. To solve the rift, in a concerted action with the king and the government, Maria Pia used

18. Archivio di Stato di Torino, Legato Umberto II, 1^o v., c. 16.

19. Arquivo Regional de Ponta Delgada, Arq. Ernesto Rodolfo Hintze Ribeiro, 3.10.69.R and 3.11.30.R.

the pretext of attending her nephew's wedding to go to Rome and try to patch up the relations between the two countries – and she succeeded. She announced the good results in two telegrams, one addressed to the king and the other to the foreign minister²⁰. According to local testimony, the solemn arrival of a smiling Maria Pia in Rome on 22th October 1896, accompanied by Umberto, was loudly cheered by the people in the streets. Because they had felt that their city had earlier been ostracized, the Roman population now felt warmly towards the Portuguese queen. She became and continued to be very popular in Rome²¹. This time, her diplomatic endeavours did not go unacknowledged by the public. On January 22th 1897, the Portuguese House of Peers paid «their respectful homage to Her Majesty D. Maria Pia for her good offices with her brother, the king of Italy».

In 1901, the Portuguese government was trying to reach an agreement with its external creditors which was absolutely crucial for the country, and King Carlos was aware of the Kaiser's opposition to it. As in 1893, Maria Pia was called in, and the exact same strategy was used. She left for Rome, under a shower of criticism from the opposition, who accused her of extravagant spending. She was allegedly going to the christening of Princess Iolanda, Vittorio Emanuele III's daughter, where she knew she would meet the German emperor. The problem was solved²², and a few months later the agreement was signed.

7. The Portuguese regicide

On February 1st 1908, the King and the Crown Prince, Luís Filipe, were assassinated. It took a long time for Maria Pia to recover from her overwhelming grief, and there were relapses. Her retinue was reduced to two gentlemen and two ladies, and her financial situation went from bad to worse. The palace where she lived was deserted and sombre, scarcely staffed and there were instructions to save every

20. ANTT, ACR, cx. 7426.

21. *A rainha Maria Pia*, «Almanach Bertrand», 1913, pp. 23-26. The article is presented as a text written by an Italian correspondent who is not identified.

22. J. M. Espírito Santo de Almeida Correia de Sá (ed.), *Memórias do sexto marquês de Lavradio*, Nova Ática, Lisbon 2004, pp. 37-38.

penny. The final affront to her dignity was the rumour that the «old queen» had gone mad to such an extent that she watered the flowers of the carpets and talked with the dead, and that she had gone into exile without recovering from her mental breakdown. This version of events, repeated *ad nauseam* until 2011 without presenting one single witness, is contradicted by all the available documented evidence.

In 1908, when her grandson was proclaimed King Manuel II, the municipal council of a Portuguese small town sent a message to each of the two queens. To Amelia, now the Queen Mother, it said: «May Your Majesty's overwhelming grief be a little appeased with the certainty that the heart of the Portuguese people is with your beloved son, on whom rest our hopes for the resurgence of Portugal». To Maria Pia: «With the day's greetings, this chamber [...] salutes Your Majesty as an unflinching defender of constitutional liberties»²³. Maria Pia was, thus, still seen as the symbol of progressive monarchists, in clear contrast with the Queen Dowager, whose conservative clericalism had made her unpopular.

In the two last years of the monarchy, Maria Pia suffered from poor health, straightened finances and little recognition from the Court. Although she clearly had no political role, she had become a symbol. When the rumours of her madness spread, some saw in it a metaphor for the national collapse. António Patrício's 1909 drama *O Fim* (The End) is a case in point. The action takes place in that same year. The protagonist, unnamed but immediately recognizable as Maria Pia, is a mad, old, destitute woman, her palace in ruins, with a mad duke, a lucid handmaiden and a few servants. She had been abandoned and betrayed by the king, her grandson, and by her daughter-in-law. Then Lisbon is bombed by foreign powers, the king dies and the city is conquered. But Portugal is more than just Lisbon, and hope survives. An unknown man shows up at the palace; he wants to unite the country behind the old queen, only to discover, to his horror, that she is just a demented old woman. It is the end. Of the country and of the people. The

23. *Diário de Notícias*, 10^m may 1908.

author had thus identified the destiny of Maria Pia with the destiny of Portugal.

Even the most ardent republicans, such as João Chagas, admired her for herself and for the image she had created of herself. In his *Cartas Políticas* (Political Letters), published from December 1908 onwards, Chagas writes:

Queen Maria Pia undoubtedly used her charitable work as a means to enhance her personal prestige, like all queens do – their main virtue consists in giving what is not theirs to the poor – , but she did not use it to fight off the liberal spirit of the nation. She did not use it to corrupt, to entice, to buy votes for a political party, and so she did not divide the nation. During her reign, the Portuguese people were liberals, even the Church was liberal. She raised her two sons in that spirit. [...] Now, with her gone from the political scene, and even to a certain extent, from the social scene [...] it is time to say a few words to do her justice. And this is all the more necessary because after her there were other queens in Portugal who do not deserve such words, for their lack of respect for public conscience, for the influence of their education on the character of the young princes, even for their lack of splendour as royalty – for indeed, after her, there were no other queens in Portugal²⁴.

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8. The Republic: Maria Pia returns to Italy

The Republic was proclaimed on 5th October 1910. On that very day, and against her will, Maria Pia left her adopted country, where she had lived for 48 years, for ever. The royal family, consisting of the young King Manuel II, his uncle, Afonso, and the dowager queens, embarked on their exile journeys – Maria Pia, to Italy, and the rest of the family, to England.

Maria Pia was received in her homeland by her nephew, Vittorio Emanuele III. She was no longer a queen in Portugal, since a Republican decree had proscribed the House of Braganza and its descendants, but as a member of the Italian royal family, in Italy she continued to be treated as a queen.

In the same month of October, the Portuguese govern-

24. Quoted in F.R. Martins, *D. Manuel II, historia do seu reinado e da implantação da República*, Ed. A., s.n. 1931, p. 401.

ment realized that it was impossible to ignore the fact that Maria Pia's marriage treaty had settled on her a state pension. The contract had been signed by the Portuguese and the Italian parliaments; it was an international treaty, independent of regime and one the Republic should honour. Queen Amelia's situation was different, because her marriage with the former king had been privately arranged. In these circumstances, the Republican government decided to pay Maria Pia's allowance in full. It was also prepared to allow her to return, singling her out from the exile to which the rest of the family had been condemned. In other words, the Portuguese government granted the older queen what it categorically refused other members of the royal family – which once again shows Maria Pia's central position in the relations between Portugal and Italy, which depended on the way the former queen was treated by the Republic.

Maria Pia did not return to Portugal. On 5th July 1911, 9 months after arriving in Italy, she died in her native Piedmont.

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The controversial connection between monarchy and fascism is a subject that has perhaps been little examined, if not even ignored¹, for a long time. It not only concerns the institutional element, but also involves the complex relationship, which might be interpreted as a mutually advantageous, albeit contradictory, abrasive and spiteful, compromise established between their leaders, Victor Emmanuel III and Benito Mussolini. This relationship in fact gave rise to a particular system of government, described by many as a «diarchy»,² in which the sovereign and the fascist leader, so different in character, while collaborating, «looked at each other, appraised each other, like two fencers on the piste, with foils raised»³. This compromise could be regarded as the equivalent of an agreement between two

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1. P. Colombo, *La monarchia fascista, 1922-1940*, il Mulino, Bologna 2010, p. 7.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 8. Mussolini himself, in the months of the Republic of Salò, called this report a “drama.” See B. Mussolini, *Opera omnia*, ed. E. Susmel and D. Susmel, La Fenice, Florence 1961, XXXIV, p. 406.
3. Archivio Centrale dello Stato (=ACS), *Archivio Dino Grandi*, b. 152, fasc. 199, sf. 6, ins.2, *Frammenti di diario*, 15 November 1944, «Il Re e Mussolini», in R. De Felice, *Mussolini il duce. Lo stato totalitario 1936-1940*, Einaudi, Turin 1981, p. 14.

centres of power which, in the convulsive phases of the «total» and «frightening political vacuum»⁴ following the First World War, could not, and did not want to, do without one another.

1. The March on Rome and the role played by the sovereign

In fact, the House of Savoy, while having survived the collapse of the central empires, was afflicted by a profound crisis of consensus. Despite the triumph of Vittorio Veneto, the monarchy had not only been weakened by the gruelling battle waged against Parliament since entering the war in May 1915, but was also bedevilled by persistent requests to convene constituent assemblies aimed «at the abolition of any arbitrary power in the administration of the State» and foreign policy⁵ – the traditional field of Savoy competency⁶ – if not an explicit proclamation of a «republican form of government based on popular sovereignty» capable of implementing a «radical transformation of the political and economic foundations of social life»⁷.

In the meantime fascism, which initially «emerged from a splinter of the socialist movement and was strongly influenced by anarcho-syndicalist thought»⁸, quickly wedged itself to perfection within the «systemic crisis»⁹ of the first post-war, and was on a dizzying rise while at the same time in search of legitimacy. Hence the movement – which had now become a party – was, by virtue of its explicit ideological indeterminateness and under the impulse of its leader Benito Mussolini, managed gradually but inexorably, and with clear opportunism, to soften its republican tendency, which had been clearly expressed in the «Programme of San Sepolcro»¹⁰. The fascist leader, who in the past had

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4. G. Maranini, *Storia del potere in Italia. 1848-1967*, Corbaccio, Milan 1995, p. 289.

5. M. D'Addio, *La crisi dello stato liberale e l'avvento dello stato fascista*, «Il politico», 4 (1999), pp. 511-512.

6. V. Villa, *La visibilità pubblica del re nella storia costituzionale italiana: continuità tra età liberale e fascismo*, «Storia Amministrazione Costituzione», XIX (2011), pp. 47-65.

7. M. D'Addio, *La crisi dello stato liberale e l'avvento dello stato fascista* cit., pp. 511-514.

8. F. Battistelli, *Ethos e Polemos. Perché gli italiani non hanno spirito militare*, «Teoria politica», I (2000), p. 85.

9. G. Rebuffa, *Lo Statuto albertino*, il Mulino, Bologna 2003, p. 160.

10. The hope of the «San Sepolcro Programme» was to bring about, after the elections,

made a name for himself with a series of contemptuous anti-monarchical declarations¹¹, now went so far as to issue, in September and October 1922, a series of declarations of monarchical loyalty, praising the House of Savoy as the «ultimate factor of national cohesion»¹². Thus in the face of a potentially destructive situation for the crown, the foundations were being laid for the regime – with its totalitarian vocation – that would rule Italy for more than two decades and eventually lead it into war. The birth of this agreement – with which «the Italian postwar came to an end»¹³ as did «the so-called parliamentary form of government»¹⁴ – can therefore be interpreted as a necessary form of compromise. In fact the crown, in search of consensus, was able to offer its most significant political instrument¹⁵, that is, the legitimation which Mussolini's movement lacked, while the latter, in exchange for its rise to power, could ensure the monarchy the valuable validity of the mass bases on which it was founded.

However, it should not be forgotten how, faced with the need to reconstruct the institutional structure of the country, Victor Emmanuel III received assistance from the highest echelons of the army – which considered repressive action against fascism «inappropriate» in so far as it might reinvigorate the communists and place the armed forces in the «“monstrous position” of cooperating with that party against the fascists»¹⁶ – as well as support from the liberal

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the birth of «a national assembly that we ask will decide on the form of government of the Italian state. It will say: republic or monarchy, and we who have always tended to be republicans, say from this moment on: republic». See. B. Mussolini, *Opera omnia* cit., XII, p. 326.

11. Mussolini, during the electoral campaign for the administrative elections of 1914 was determined to steal voters from the Republicans and move them in the socialist direction, and had gone so far as to have the socialists approve a rather harsh agenda in relation to the crown: «hence if, for example, tomorrow His Majesty Vittorio di Savoia had the idea of coming to Milan, he will find the door of Palazzo Marino firmly bolted». Cf. R. De Felice, *Mussolini il rivoluzionario. 1883-1920*, Einaudi, Turin 1965, p. 198.

12. D. Veneruso, *L'Italia fascista. 1922-1945*, il Mulino, Bologna 1996, p. 30.

13. G. Melis, *La macchina imperfetta. Immagine e realtà dello Stato fascista*, il Mulino, Bologna 2018, p. 118.

14. L. Paladin, «II. Fascismo (diritto costituzionale)» in *Enciclopedia del diritto*, XVI, Giuffrè, Milan 1967, *ad vocem*.

15. F. Quaglia, *Il re dell'Italia fascista. Forma di governo e costituzione nel regime dittatoriale*, Aracne, Rome 2008, p. 217.

16. ACS, *Ministero dell'interno*, Direzione generale di pubblica sicurezza, *Divisione affari*

ruling class, which could not fully comprehend the nature and real objectives of the movement led by the former director of *L'Avanti*. The latter, on 16th November 1922, gave its support in a vote of confidence in the coalition government led by Mussolini, on the basis of its ability to embody «the head of a new restored liberalism»¹⁷. These, too, were reasons for which the monarch chose to «play for time» by espousing the modern and unscrupulous fascist option¹⁸.

One can therefore assert that the intention of the king was to exploit the «exorbitant competences»¹⁹ that the Albertine Statute had conferred on him to pin his faith on the fascists – who, despite his loathing of their fake military hierarchy,²⁰ he admired as a powerful anti-communist force²¹ – so that he could follow the course already embarked on in his intervention of May 1915, in other words to bypass parliament once and for all by effecting a transformation «of the liberal state in an authoritarian direction as begun in 1898» in the style of «a Prussian-style power bloc» capable of «promoting and accentuating industrial and capitalist development» while also seeking to «safeguard and even accentuate, as a condition of this very development, the pre-existing system of elites»²².

In this way, the sovereign could ensure his decisive endorsement of the «convergence between different liberal and conservative forces and the fascist *squadrismo*» created to prevent «the transition from liberal parliamentarism to a democracy based on mass parties, in a pluralistic vision of the state founded on the balance of powers»²³. There would also be a possibility of replacing the old liberal ruling

generali e riservati. Archivio generale, Ctg. annuali, 1922, b. 57, «da Comando del Corpo d'Armata di Milano a Ministro della Guerra e Ministro dell'Interno», 7th August 1922, pp. 2-3, in M. Mondini, *La politica delle armi*, Laterza, Rome-Bari 2006, p. 155.

17. D. Veneruso, *L'Italia fascista. 1922-1945* cit., p. 30.

18. M. Leonardis, *La monarchia e l'intervento dell'Italia in guerra*, in E. Di Nolfo et al. (eds.), *L'Italia e la politica di potenza in Europa*, Marzorati, Milan 1985, p. 41.

19. S. Lupo, *La decisione politica nella storia d'Italia*, «Meridiana», 29 (1997), p. 28.

20. P. Colombo, *La monarchia fascista, 1922-1940* cit., pp. 47-48.

21. J. Chapoutot, *Controllare e distruggere. Fascismo, nazismo e regimi autoritari in Europa (1918-1945)*, Einaudi, Turin 2015, p. 72.

22. G. Procacci, *Appunti in tema di crisi dello Stato liberale e di origini del fascismo*, «Studi Storici», 6 (1965), no. 2, pp. 225-229.

23. F. Barbagallo, *Stato nazionale, Costituzione, democrazia in Italia*, «Studi Storici», 36 (1995), no. 3, p. 629.

class, that is, the «elite that was exhausted and deprived of authority in the war and after the war», with «a younger and more dynamic ruling elite, more capable of preventing the establishment of a revolutionary and renovating democracy»²⁴: Mussolini, in fact, according to Guido Melis, was a real «homo novus par excellence» who would embody «in terms of content, ways of presenting himself, even for style, as a radically alternative model to that of the old liberal world»²⁵.

Thus the “victorious king” who failed to enjoy the success obtained in 1918 identified – in keeping with the Savoyard mindset that struggled to reconcile itself to greater democratisation – fascism and its leader as the cornerstones of a conservative and mass reactionary regime in which the Savoy monarchy had to be at the centre. Indeed, acting, albeit in a «nebulous and indecipherable»²⁶ way, as an «arbiter»²⁷ or «*dramatis personae*»²⁸ of primary importance in the hectic days of October 1922 and endorsing Mussolini’s «self-designation»²⁹, Victor Emmanuel III did not sign the martial law decree proposed by the precarious prime minister, Luigi Facta. Instead, the sovereign believed he could use the fascists and their leader by channelling and absorbing the revolutionary energy of which fascism maintained it was the bearer³⁰: The king’s aim thus appeared to be that of re-establishing his authority over the country, guaranteeing an enduring future for it and, more importantly, for his dynasty, in pragmatic accordance with the “will to survive” that had typified the Savoy dynasty over the centuries³¹. In this way, Victor Emmanuel was able to rely on a «strong man who had no need to entrench himself behind the crown in order to govern the country»³², finally implementing Article

24. E. Sereni, *Le origini del fascismo*, La Nuova Italia, Scandicci 1998, p. 247.

25. G. Melis, *La macchina imperfetta* cit., p. 9.

26. P. Colombo, *La monarchia fascista, 1922-1940* cit., p. 17.

27. G. Melis, *La macchina imperfetta* cit., p. 119.

28. R. De Felice, *Mussolini il fascista. La conquista del potere, 1921-1925*, Einaudi, Turin 1966, p. 315.

29. D. Veneruso, *L'Italia fascista. 1922-1945* cit., p. 28.

30. E. Sereni, *Le origini del fascismo* cit., p. 247.

31. F. Le Moal, *Vittorio Emanuele III*, LEG, Gorizia, 2016, p. 22.

32. R. Martucci, *Storia costituzionale italiana. Dallo Statuto Albertino alla Repubblica (1848-2001)*, Carocci, Rome 2002, p. 134.

4 of the Statue, which prescribed the «political powerlessness of the king». The king saw an opportunity to exit the political scene, in so far as he would be relieved of the «joint management of daily governance», while maintaining a primary and certainly not residual role³³. In short, after the March on Rome, the fascist revolution would come to a stop «before a throne»³⁴.

Nevertheless, the king, by embracing the modern yet unscrupulous fascist model, ended up making an «irreversible mistake»³⁵. For in actual fact Victor Emmanuel failed to grasp the disruptive totalitarian nature of fascism – which, conversely, was readily intuited by the liberal Giovanni Amendola³⁶ – the rise to power of which ushered in a new phase characterized by a bitter internecine struggle between the crown and the regime linked in the main to the continuous search for primacy in various areas, from control over military mythology to the management of foreign policy. In short, the small print of the apparent reinforcement of the monarchical institution put in place by a king who, in order to avoid opening the way to democracy and plurality, chose to bind the destiny of the dynasty to that of fascism, not only brought about – albeit in an enforced and passive way – «the first form of admission of the masses into the national team as an indispensable political subject»³⁷, but also laid the foundations for the radical transformation of the institutions after the Second World War. In fact, from this moment on, monarchy and fascism would coexist for over twenty years, tying their fortunes together through a series of events and measures – from the arrogant establishment of the Militia to the ignominious promulgation of racial laws unopposed by the sovereign, who thereby became complicit in the reprehensible anti-Semitic campaign launched by the regime – that would culminate in the fall of Mussolini on 25 July 1943.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

34. P. Colombo, *La monarchia fascista, 1922-1940*, p. 17.

35. G. Rebuffa, *Lo Statuto albertino*, p. 160.

36. E. Gentile, *Le religioni della politica. Fra democrazie e totalitarismi*, Laterza, Rome-Bari 2001, pp. 50-51.

37. P. Soddu, *I monumenti della guerra sacra*, in M. Scavino (ed.), *Torino nella Grande Guerra. Società, Politica, Cultura*, L'Harmattan Italia, Turin 2017, p. 273.

2. The events of 24-25 July 1943

In the second half of the 1930s, the vicissitudes of foreign policy brought Mussolini's Italy significantly closer to Hitler's Nazi Germany: in reality «Italy [did] nothing but clumsily follow what Germany is doing»³⁸. And it is in this perspective that the entry into the war on 10 June 1940 should be construed. The eagerness of the Duce to join the conflict, partly in order to be accredited – with France and Great Britain – as a mediator for a quick and advantageous peace³⁹, contrasted with the state of mind of the king, who for several months has been disillusioned and resigned, and in many ways at the mercy of Mussolini: he would go so far as to claim, in 1946, that he had consented to the intervention since it had been impossible for him to «oppose the head of government»⁴⁰. It is true that, although fearful of the development of a long and deleterious war for Italy, the sovereign sought to convince himself – as the intervention drew near – by asserting that «most of the time the absent are wrong»⁴¹. In short, as Galeazzo Ciano stated, «now that the sword is about to be drawn, the king, like all the Savoy, is preparing to be a soldier and only a soldier»⁴². But the question relating to the command of the armed forces became a new battleground between the monarch and the fascist dictator: Mussolini in fact «[aspired] to become the political-military commander of the war»⁴³ and the king was obviously reluctant. However, for the umpteenth time, it was the latter who yielded, «for the sake of the country, since there is no need to open a crisis with the war at the gates», albeit specifying that the command would only be delegated to the Duce⁴⁴, who was in any case already sure of obtaining it, as a letter sent to Hitler reveals⁴⁵.

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38. J. Chapoutot, *Controllare e distruggere* cit., p. 175.

39. R. De Felice, *Mussolini l'alleato. L'Italia in guerra, 1940-1943. Dalla guerra breve alla guerra lunga*, Einaudi, Turin 1990, p. 283.

40. P. Puntoni, *Parla Vittorio Emanuele III*, il Mulino, Bologna 1993, p. 321.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 9 (15th May 1940).

42. G. Ciano, *Diario 1937-1943*, R. De Felice (ed.), Rizzoli, Milan, 1980 (1st ed. 1946), p. 439 (3 June 1940).

43. P. Puntoni, *Parla Vittorio Emanuele III* cit., p. 7 (14th May 1940).

44. *Ibid.*, p. 10 (1st June 1940).

45. R. De Felice, *Mussolini il duce. Lo stato totalitario 1936-1940* cit., p. 836 («Command of all armed forces will be assumed by me»). The very fact that Mussolini was certain that

The events of the conflict, which contrary to the expectations of the Axis went from short to long, saw a significant deterioration of Italian prospects: the Allied landing in Sicily on 10th July 1943 complicated the situation, which was about to “precipitate” with the clashes of 13-14 July. The king began to understand that the moment had come to act: on 15th July he met with Badoglio, giving his aide-de-camp Paolo Puntoni the impression of being «in the process of making serious decisions»⁴⁶. He also paid heed to the outburst – on the occasion of the bombing of Rome, greeted by a «popular hatred»⁴⁷ of fascism never felt before – of the ministers Acerbo and De Marsico, according to whom “the moment has arrived to change at all costs” a now dying regime.⁴⁸ Nor was he insensitive to the pressures of Grandi.⁴⁹

The latter was responsible for the drafting of one of the three agendas of the Grand Council convened on 22 July (the day in which the king had another conversation with a Mussolini by then «discredited»⁵⁰ by the continuous military setbacks, who «has not understood or has not wanted to understand» the king’s invitation to withdraw⁵¹) for the afternoon of the 24th. The approval of the agenda promoted by Grandi aimed at restoring, «for the honour and salvation of the homeland»⁵², the royal prerogatives – in particular the effective command of the armed forces – convinced the king to intervene: «procrastinating is no longer possible»⁵³. The sovereign finally had the «right opportunity»⁵⁴ he had been waiting for, and decided to focus on the «extreme

he would take full military command might well be the cause of the Duce’s «disappointment» once he learned that he had only been granted proxy control. Cf. G. Ciano, *Diario 1937-1943* cit., p. 440 (6 June 1940).

46. P. Puntoni, *Parla Vittorio Emanuele III*, p. 140 (15 July 1943).

47. ACS, Ministero dell’interno, Direzione generale di pubblica sicurezza, Divisione Polizia politica, 1927-1945, «Relazione fiduciaria in data Roma», 20th July 1943, in S. Colarizi, *La seconda guerra mondiale e la Repubblica*, Utet, Turin 1984, p. 183.

48. P. Puntoni, *Parla Vittorio Emanuele III* cit., p. 141 (20th July 1943).

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-120 (12 February 1943, in which the king stated that he had some doubts about Grandi) and p. 142 (21 August 1943).

50. J. Chapoutot, *Controllare e distruggere* cit., p. 176.

51. P. Puntoni, *Parla Vittorio Emanuele III* cit., p. 142 (22th July 1943).

52. The Grandi agenda can be consulted in R. De Felice, *Mussolini l’alleato. Crisi e agonia del regime, 1940-1943*, Einaudi, Turin 1990, p. 1541.

53. F. Le Moal, *Vittorio Emanuele III* cit., p. 14.

54. P. Puntoni, *Parla Vittorio Emanuele III* cit., p. 144 (24th-25th July 1943).

resource of political power», that is, of primary importance in an undemocratic regime: the invaluable support of the heads of the armed forces⁵⁵. The sovereign thus received Mussolini at Villa Savoia on the afternoon of 25 July, and following a brief but decisive speech – in which on the one hand he renewed his esteem from a personal point of view but on the other harshly reproached Mussolini for the wrong he suffered by having to delegate him command of the armed forces – he notified him of the decision to have him dismissed in favour of Badoglio. Furthermore, the king ordered the arrest of the now former head of government, so that he was protected from anti-fascist attacks, but even more so as to prevent him from contacting certain elements close to him to try to regain power⁵⁶. The “diarchy” was dissolved.

3. A relationship beyond the boundaries of “diarchy”

The events of 24th and 25th July thus represent the epilogue of a complex twenty-year relationship, a «collaborative conflict»⁵⁷ terminated on the initiative of the sovereign. And he, after having almost always yielded to Mussolini, then carried out an act of immediate “reintegration” of his sovereignty⁵⁸, albeit one as untimely as it was useless for the purposes of saving the crown and the succession of the dynasty. Therefore, while delivering – but with reprehensible delay – a fatal blow capable of determining the “political death” of the fascist leader⁵⁹, there was no doubt that the sovereign had failed to absolve himself of co-responsibility for twenty years of dictatorship, the denouement of which was dramatically symbolised by a peninsula split in two and exhausted by a vehement civil war.

It can rightly be said that the relationship between fascism and the Savoy monarchy had gone beyond what is meant by a simple yet paradoxical⁶⁰ “diarchy,” bearing in mind, however, that the term can be used in reference to

55. F. Quaglia, *Il re dell'Italia fascista* cit., p. 224.

56. P. Puntoni, *Parla Vittorio Emanuele III* cit., p. 144 (24th-25th July 1943).

57. P. Soddu, *I monumenti della guerra sacra* cit., p. 273.

58. R. Martucci, *Storia costituzionale italiana* cit., p. 245.

59. R. De Felice, *Mussolini l'alleato. Crisi e agonia del regime, 1940-1943* cit., p. 1410.

60. G. Melis, *La macchina imperfetta* cit., p. 566. According to the author, this “diarchy”

forms of government diametrically opposed⁶¹ to that of the «fascist monarchical state»⁶². In fact, it is in the context of a «totalitarianism always announced but never entirely achieved», dominated by an «imperfect system of institutions» composed of «old and new materials confusedly assembled without a linear plan» that the «compromise between the old and new» that would lead fascism to besmirch the men and institutions with which it came into contact was realised⁶³. The crown was no exception, to the extent that it was irrefutably invested in, and contaminated in its essence by, the twenty years of institutional cohabitation with the Mussolini regime, to the point that one might go as far as to argue that the king sometimes appeared to «convey the disgrace of fascism more so than did Mussolini»⁶⁴.

However, these considerations cannot be detached from a quick excursus on the behaviour of the monarchy between 25th July 1943 and the institutional *redde rationem* represented by the referendum of 2th June 1946, in which at times the crown badly wasted its slim chances of survival. The king failed to exploit the tensions between the British and Americans concerning the fate of the Savoy monarchy (described by an American report of 7 January 1943 as the «legitimate source of authority of the Italian state»⁶⁵). Indeed, while Churchill was pragmatically in favour of retaining the crown – and, if necessary, Victor Emmanuel III himself – in order to establish a deep British influence on the peninsula with the complicity of the king and Badoglio⁶⁶, on the other

nevertheless represented a “paradox,” a regime that is considered totalitarian but which preserves a king formally above the Duce».

61. One can speak of “diarchy” both with reference to the English system (cf. P. Carozza, *Governo e amministrazione*, in P. Carozza (ed.), *Diritto costituzionale comparato*, vol. II, Laterza, Rome-Bari 2014, p. 1005), but also in relation to the French Fifth Republic (cf. G. Sartori, *Ingegneria costituzionale comparata*, il Mulino, Bologna 2004, p. 136).

62. F. Quaglia, *Il re dell’Italia fascista* cit., p. 204.

63. G. Melis, *La macchina imperfetta* cit., p. 566.

64. F. Le Moal, *Vittorio Emanuele III* cit., p. 15.

65. Report «Problems related to a Government of Italy based on the House of Savoy», 7th January 1943, in National Archives of Washington, RG 59, Notter File, box 64, in D. W. Ellwood, *L’alleato nemico. La politica dell’occupazione anglo-americana in Italia 1943-1946*, Feltrinelli, Milan 1977, p. 265.

66. «I have no fear of showing myself ready to recognise the House of Savoy or Badoglio, as long as they are able to make the Italians do what we need for our war purposes», W. Churchill to F. D. Roosevelt, 31th July 1943, in E. Ralph Perkins, N.O. Sappington

hand Roosevelt found himself between a rock and a hard place: the American president not only had to deal with US public opinion largely hostile to the Italian monarchy, but also with the opinions of both Eisenhower and the secretary of war, Henry L. Stimson.

In truth, while the commander of the Allied forces in Italy suggested – so long as the king did not delay waging war on Germany, thus avoiding bringing upon himself the hatred previously reserved for Mussolini – seeking softer compromise solutions with regard to the monarchy, albeit ones that could still quickly remove Italy from the Axis forces⁶⁷, Stimson also suggested – recalling the Savoyard parliamentary tradition – not committing the «mistake» of imposing a «modern democracy» with excessive severity⁶⁸. In the end the excessively wait-and-see and ambiguous attitude of the sovereign, who decided only in October 1943 to officially declare war on Italy's former Teutonic allies, definitively frittered away any remaining possibility of survival for the crown which, despite the lieutenancy of Prince Umberto, showed itself incapable of recouping the consensus needed to strengthen the image of a heavily compromised monarchy.

In point of fact, during the institutional referendum, the «symbiotic nature»⁶⁹ of the close relationship between monarchy and fascism, which had indeed already been understood in 1930 by the judgment *simul stabunt aut simul cadent* formulated by Italo Balbo's «Corriere Padano»⁷⁰, would manifest itself in a definitive and irreversible form, that would come to be enshrined in the wording of the Republican Constitution. In its transitional and final provisions, this actually prohibited «the reorganisation, in any form, of the dissolved fascist party»⁷¹, and – as an «exemplary punishment» for the “prolonged and decisive support

(eds.), *Foreign Relationship of The United States (FRUS)*, Diplomatic papers, 1943, Europe, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 1964, Vol. II, p. 339.

67. D. D. Eisenhower, *The papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower, The war years*, Vol. II, Part VI, The John's Hopkins press, Baltimore 1970, p. 1138 (26th July 1943).

68. H.L. Stimson to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 20 September 1943, in Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, *The President's Secretary Files (PSF)*, box 84, War-Stimson 1942-45.

69. P. Soddu, *I monumenti della guerra sacra*, cit., p. 273.

70. P. Colombo, *La monarchia fascista, 1922-1940* cit., p. 175.

71. Costituzione Italiana, XII Disposizione transitoria e finale.

offered to the fascist movement and regime»⁷² – denied the former king and the male heirs of the Savoy dynasty «entry and residence in the national territory» for more than fifty years.⁷³ And it is perhaps precisely from these provisions, contained in the fundamental charter of the democratic and pluralistic regime built on the ruins of a conflict iniquitously desired by Mussolini and ratified in a submissive manner by the king, that a decisive interpretation can be deduced so that the compromise between monarchy and fascism can be read as a sort of “hinge” interposed, albeit connected by a double thread, between the liberal and republican experience of the unitary state, placing itself well beyond the terms of a simple “diarchy.”

72. P. Perlingieri, *Commento alla Costituzione italiana*, 2nd updated ed., Edizioni scientifiche italiane, Naples 2001, p. 965.

73. Costituzione Italiana, XIII disposizione transitoria e finale (repealed by Constitutional Law no. 1/2002).

Part 2
Places, Heritage and Representations

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The Myth and Representation of Emmanuel Philibert in the Dynastic-National Project of Charles Albert

Silvia Cavicchioli

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1. The programme of Charles Albert between history, culture and dynastic cults

In the years of his education, which he spent mainly at the Castle of Racconigi immersed in the atmosphere of romanticism and driven by a curiosity for the historical research transmitted to him by his teacher, Giuseppe Vernazza, Prince Charles Albert of Savoy-Carignano completed an intense apprenticeship, studying like a king in preparation for what would be the most important event in the history of the dynasty's cadet branch. With the death of Charles Felix, a sovereign without male heirs (like his brothers Charles Emmanuel IV and Victor Emmanuel I) it would in fact be Charles Albert, the direct heir of the founder of the Carignano family, Thomas Francis, who would accede to the throne. His interest in the genealogies and lineages of the subalpine aristocracy, already made clear by his youthful *Réflexions historiques*, was repeated in his quickly interrupted work on a history of the Savoy family, *Observations sur l'histoire de la Maison Royale de Savoie*, which he began in 1815 and which revealed how he, a young prince, already had a particular interest in the dynasty's Italian origins.

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In those historical-literary exercises, the Savoy dynasty, whose roots had traditionally been linked to the Saxon kings, was traced back to the marriage between Count Otto and Adelaide of Turin (the «marquise of Susa»), and moved to Italian territory. Charles Albert, «a personality with eminently chivalrous spirits»¹ certainly had a kind of natural predisposition for the «fashion of the medieval» then flourishing throughout Europe: the recovery of the medieval tradition in fact offered his kingdom a new image in artistic, architectural and monumental terms, with the restoration of ancient buildings carried out in the midst of a veritable neo-Gothic (often mixed with neoclassical) revival². However, his immersion in the Middle Ages, in particular those of Italy, served his research into the dynasty's national identity. As soon as he acceded to the throne, the new sovereign in fact aimed to establish a consensus policy through the glorification and «nationalization» of the dynasty, along the lines of what we would call the invention of tradition, and which involved public works. This, as Romagnani has illustrated, was a complex operation of cultural politics that was pursued, with regard to the sovereign's relationship with history and historiography, out of a «concern to demonstrate the Italianness of the reigning dynasty and its complete extraneousness from the Saxon lineage»³, thus abandoning the attempts of sixteenth-century subalpine historiography to establish a direct link to the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire in order to reinforce instead the vicarial role of the Savoy in the Italian peninsula⁴.

1. R. Bordone, *Lo specchio di Shalott. L'invenzione del medioevo nella cultura dell'Ottocento*, Liguori Editore, Napoli 1993.

2. This was the case with the interventions recalling and revisiting the medieval period experimented in the family residence in Racconigi and the model farm in Pollenzo.

3. G.P. Romagnani, *Storiografia e politica culturale nel Piemonte di Carlo Alberto*, Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria, Turin 1985, pp. XXII-XXIII, 59-118. As pointed out by Levra, the *ancien régime* intellectual Galeani Napione, superintendent of the royal archives, in February 1815 had already explained very clearly to the foreign minister Vallesa, and thus to the king, the reasons behind that decision. See U. Levra, *Metamorfosi di miti nell'Ottocento. Arduino re d'Italia*, «Il Risorgimento», LXIV (2017), no. 1, pp. 5-25 (14).

4. G. Ricuperati, *Le avventure di uno stato «ben amministrato». Rappresentazioni e realtà nello spazio sabaudo tra Ancien Régime e Rivoluzione*, Tirrenia stampatori, Turin 1994, pp. 47-56; A. Merlotti, *Morte (e resurrezione) di Beroldo. Le origini sassoni dei Savoia nella storiografia del Risorgimento*, in M. Bellabarba and A. Merlotti (eds.), *Stato sabaudo e Sacro Romano Impero*, il Mulino, Bologna 2014.

The new task of Italianising the origins of the monarchy was given to a group of intellectuals and statesmen, young members of the Academy of Sciences of Turin who would later contribute to the establishment of the Deputation of Homeland History in 1833, in particular Federico Sclopis, Cesare Balbo and Luigi Cibrario. Charles Albert found in the last-named the ideal promoter of the historiographical programme of legitimising the Italian and royal origins of the Savoy, which Cibrario carried out through the brazen use of every instrument at his disposal (such as the creation of impossible genealogies, the invention of tradition, the control of royal archives, and documentary distortion). Cibrario had already introduced this approach in 1825 with the publication of his *Storiche notizie dei principi di Savoia* (Historical Notices of the Princes of Savoy), and consolidated it starting in 1840 with the first of the three volumes of the *Storia della monarchia di Savoia*⁵ (History of the Savoy Monarchy), the first complete codification of the project, and then with two more contributions published soon after⁶.

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The history of the family was a long-awaited work, one in which the new sovereign had immediately hoped to involve the historian Carlo Botta, an exile in France. Having previously been supported by the prince of Carignano, Botta was rehabilitated and convinced to return to his homeland by the newly crowned king, who offered him pensions and honours, and was in fact one of the first to receive the Order of Civil Merit established in October 1831⁷. This was

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5. L. Cibrario, *Storia della monarchia di Savoia*, vol. I, Fontana, Turin 1840. See also Id., *Cronologia de' Principi di Savoia rettificata*, «Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino», s. II, I (1838), no. 2, pp. 385-400.

6. «Otto William, who due to his Italian origin was called the Stranger in Burgundy, is therefore the only one to whom can be adapted the tale of the ancient chronicles of Savoy, which, however, not by chance refer to him as Beroldo or Geroldo, as they have confused him with Geroldo, Count of Geneva, his contemporary»: Id., *L'origine italiana della Reale Casa di Savoia*, «Museo scientifico, letterario ed artistico», 1st August 1840, supplement to no. 31, pp. 249-256 (251); Id., *Scoperta di nuovo documento intorno all'origine italiana e regia della Casa di Savoia*, *ibid.*, 1844, no. 8.

7. By then converted to monarchical legitimism, Botta welcomed the accession to the throne of Charles Albert for whom he had great hopes, as he expressed to the sovereign in a letter dated 26 June 1831 written in fact in the *château* Marochetti in Vaux. See A. Manno, *Una scorsa nel mio portafogli. Notizie e carte sparse sopra i monumenti torinesi, il re Carlo Alberto, Carlo Botta ed altri illustri*, in *Curiosità e ricerche di storia subalpina pubblicate da una*

the period in which the historian, previously a guest of the Marochetti family in the Château de Vaux-sur-Seine near Paris⁸, took charge of publishing the *Storia d'Italia continuata da quella del Guicciardini sino al 1789* (History of Italy Continued from that of Guicciardini up to 1789), and the king immediately sent him specific instructions through his archivist and personal adviser, Luigi Nomis di Cossilla. The intention, which was made clear even in the very first of these letters, dated 16 September 1831, was to persuade the historian to validate the Italian origins of the House of Savoy through his work. However, leaving unanswered the request for proof and reliable information on «where or how the sovereign lineage came from», Botta avoided taking the role of court historian, citing «the need not to delay the printing» of the volumes and the too recent chronological start of his work⁹.

All of this gives the impression of a close exchange between the ruler and his advisors, and also of strong planning in the matter of national identity. The need to overcome the old tradition that placed the roots of the dynasty in the German sphere and to demonstrate instead the Savoy's ancient link with Italian history would become more and more explicit and obvious in the 1840s, in parallel with the emergence of the idea of the possibility of expanding the kingdom farther into the peninsula, then with the first war against Austria, and then even more so with the aspiration to reign over the whole peninsula. In the mean-

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società di studiosi di patrie memorie, vol. V, Fratelli Bocca, Turin 1883, pp. 263-264. Botta received the Civil Order of Merit on 13th December 1831.

8. On Vincenzo Marochetti's political activities I refer the reader to A. Bersano, *Labate Francesco Bonardi e i suoi tempi. Contributo alla storia delle società segrete*, Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria, Turin 1957, pp. 48-81, 168-169. On the friendship with Botta, see Carlo Dionisotti (ed.), *C. Botta. Scritti minori*, Amosso, Biella, 1860, pp. 65-66; G. Vaccarino, *I giacobini piemontesi (1794-1814)*, Ministero per i Beni culturali e ambientali, Ufficio centrale per i beni archivistici, Rome 1989, p. 769.

9. Botta would write to Nomis: «You well understand, my lord, that it would be beyond the scope of a story like mine, which begins only in 1534, to indulge in dissertations on the origin of the august House of Savoy, most of all since this is a subject that is still surrounded by a lot of uncertainty and has not been proven conclusively.» Nonetheless, the historian was convinced that the ten volumes of the work would add to the glory of the Savoy by narrating its exploits «from the times of Charles III and his glorious son Emmanuel Philibert up to that of Victor Amadeus III»: letters of Carlo Botta to Luigi Nomis di Cossilla, 27th September, 29th October and 20th December 1831, 6th February and 2nd March 1832, in C. Botta, *Lettere cit.*, pp. 97-107.

time, however, history helped to solidify the foundations of Charles Albert's reign, which initially was based on a few fragile factors. Only ten years earlier (14th March 1821), in a time of considerable uncertainty, the then prince regent Charles Albert, speaking from his balcony, had proclaimed the adoption of the Spanish constitution, only to change his mind later and, reluctantly forgiven by Charles Felix, had been forced to spend several years away from Turin. The undertakings of his predecessors also weighed heavily: his parents, Charles Emmanuel and Maria Cristina Albertina, had sympathized with the French and with Napoleon, exasperating of the Savoyard court in exile at Cagliari, and even further back in time the Carignano family had been in conflict with the main branch of the dynasty, to the extent that a civil war (1638-1640) had broken out between his forefather, Thomas Francis, and the Duchess and Regent of Savoy, Christine Mary. Finally, according to a far from politically stable picture, Charles Albert's accession to the throne coincided with the conspiracy of the so-called Knights of the Liberty and was followed by attempted revolutions and bloody repressions (1831-1834)¹⁰.

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To be sure, the restoration had restored the sovereignty of the monarchies, dimming the bloody memory of the revolutionary period. But dynastic legitimacy was something else, a principle no longer taken for granted in the post-Napoleonic period, and one that was in fact sought and confirmed day by day through a widespread search for consensus built by the most faithful and shrewd men without neglecting the emotional aspects of politics and government. Political requirements, ambitions and personal inclinations therefore drove the king and his closest advisers to accelerate initiatives promoting the dynasty and to make public use of history, not only medieval history, in order to promote the rediscovery of warrior ancestors and the cult of dynastic saints: this was a decidedly modern feature of his programme of government. The new sovereign's immediate goal was to transform the Savoy capital into an artistic centre of European appeal, capable of rivalling the other great art cities of the Italian peninsula, by investing

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in the rebirth of the arts and culture. He therefore set out to use the organization of the royal art gallery and the establishment of the Deputation of Homeland History, the Royal Armoury and the Society for the Promotion of Fine Arts, to self-celebrate the patronage of the Savoy family in a predominantly national perspective, by visually and publicly realizing the myth of the connection between Savoy history and that of Italy.

The Duke of Savoy Emmanuel Philibert (1528-1580), the first person to inaugurate the personal pantheon of Charles Albert, was placed at the top of the figurative programme developed by the court (fig. 1). The hero of Saint Quentin – a memorable battle of 1557 in which the Spanish troops of Charles V defeated the French, allowing the Emperor's nephew to retake the duchy lost in 1536 – had been one of the founders of the Savoy state. His military and diplomatic fame had earlier attracted the attention of Charles Emmanuel I, who had commissioned Jacopo Palma the Younger to paint a large canvas depicting the battle¹¹. From 1825 Cibrario had already outlined the broad historiographic strokes of the myth of the duke:

Emmanuel Philibert, destined to be the father and the second founder of the Savoy monarchy [...] after having regained the states lost by his father with no aid other than his own virtue, abandoned his warlike thoughts and sought to maintain peace.... He took advantage of idleness to appease factions, rearrange and amend the ancient institutes, promote the industrious arts, favour the sciences and letters, and make religion and morality flourish [...]. Emmanuel Philibert, the most illustrious captain and the most astute politician of his time, died on 30 August 1580, at the age of 50¹².

Emmanuel Philibert had been the architect of the political and military unification of the ancient fiefdoms and of the centralisation of powers in the crown, and the reformer of

11. M.B. Failla, *L'immagine del duca: ritratti e strategie di rappresentazione di una corte europea* in A.M. Bava, E. Pagella (a cura di), *Le meraviglie del mondo. Le collezioni di Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia*, Sagep, Genoa 2016, pp. 25-29; A.M. Bava, *La collezione di pittura e i grandi progetti decorativi*, in G. Romano (ed.), *Le collezioni di Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia*, Cassa di risparmio di Torino, Turin 1995, pp. 211-264.

12. *Notizie sopra la storia dei Principi di Savoia date dall'avvocato Luigi Cibrario*, Per Alliana e Paravia, Turin 1825, pp. 57-61.

the statutes. As such, he had done in a previous era exactly what Charles Albert would achieve in the very first years of his reign through the proclamation of the new codes. Not only had the duke managed to establish a small but efficient army no longer reliant on mercenary troops, but he had also strengthened the Piedmontese element in the duchy by imposing the use of Italian rather than French on legislation and the bureaucracy, and by transferring the capital from Chambery to Turin (1563), thus opening the dynasty up to the *grande large* of Italy.

The decision to reuse Emmanuel Philibert in such a self-congratulatory way also legitimised the sovereignty of Charles Albert, since, as mentioned, the cadet branch of the Carignano princes that had risen to the throne through the sixth application of the Salic law had descended from Thomas Francis, the grandson of the «Iron Head» duke.

Emmanuel Philibert was truly at the centre of a vast programme of iconography and symbolism promoted by the new king. While the duke had always been celebrated in the public and private dynastic pantheon, and not only for his militaristic attributes¹³, this was a rediscovery desired and pursued by the first Carignano monarch.

Now, already in the autumn of 1831, the palatine apotheosis of Emmanuel Philibert took physical form in the assignment to the sculptor Carlo Marochetti of the first public monument ever erected in Turin, one that would be followed by many others that would give the city a peculiarly urban air to which celebratory and patriotic sculpture gave a decisive contribution. Following the modern of Plinian classical statuary, which had found its highest expression in Donatello's equestrian depiction of Gattamelata in Padua, the so-called *Caval d brôns* of Turin ushered in the great season of Carloalbertine and then Risorgimento civil statuary¹⁴.

13. The reference is, for example, to the ceiling painted in the earliest years of the Restoration (1817) by Carlo Pagani in the newly enlarged apartment of the queen, on the second floor of the Royal Palace, in celebration of the Savoy's promotion of agriculture. This features a panel depicting the Genius of Agriculture holding the portrait of Duke Emmanuel Philibert «who introduces into Piedmont the plantation of the Moroni and the cornucopia»: P. Cornaglia, *Giuseppe Battista Piacenza e Carlo Randoni. I reali palazzi fra Torino e Genova (1773-1831)*, Celid, Turin 2012, p. 127.

14. F. Bonamico, *Caratteri e connotazioni dei monumenti celebrativi torinesi nell'Ottocento*, «Bollettino Storico-bibliografico Subalpino», 93 (1995), no. 1, pp. 294-314; F. Dalmas-

Marochetti, who was already at the centre of the international circuit of commissions and, thanks to the victory won in the competition announced in 1831 by the Turin Academy of Fine Arts for a statue of Archbishop Mossi of Morano, had imposed himself on the attention and intuition of the sovereign, who was attracted by his creativity and youthful energy. However, there is no doubt that the final decision to entrust the *Emmanuel Philibert* statue to Marochetti was influenced by the role of patron and intermediary played by Botta, who in 1822 had taken care of the young Carlo and his brother Paolo after the death of their father, Vincenzo¹⁵. Botta loved Carlo as a son and admired him as an artist¹⁶, and the historian's patronage was certainly shared by the king and his advisers who, aware of the bond between the two and of the historian's long sojourns in Vaux (particularly in 1831), must have foreseen the historical assistance

so, *La cultura artistica*, in U. Levra (ed.), *Storia di Torino*, vol. VI, *La città nel Risorgimento (1798-1864)*, Einaudi, Turin 2000, pp. 691-692; C. Roggero Bardelli, *Monumenti e città nella Torino risorgimentale*, in L. Mozzoni and S. Santini (eds.), *Architettura dell'eclettismo. Il rapporto con le arti. Atti del Convegno (Jesi 2004)*, Liguori, Naples 2007, pp. 335-389; R. Villa, *Il quadrivio patriottico: la città monumentale*, in C. Beltrami and G.C.F. Villa (eds.), *Scolpire gli Eroi. La scultura al servizio della memoria*, Silvana Editoriale, Cinisello Balsamo 2011, pp. 46-47.

15. Botta was a second father to the sculptor, who was forever grateful to him. In fact Carlo Marochetti, together with Pierre Charles Vitoux, helped him with the organisation of his funeral during his final moments in 1837. On 15th July 1839, the sculptor also made a personal approach to the special commission established to decide who would have the honour of executing the monument: «Charles Botta était un second père pour moi; c'est donc un devoir qui me rest à remplir, que d'attacher mon nom au pieux édifice [...]. Ne me privez pas, Messieurs, de l'honneur que je réclame: nul autre que moi ne peut apporter à l'exécution de ce Monument plus de désir de le rendre digne de son but, ni plus de désintéressement»: C. Dionisotti, *Vita di Carlo Botta*, Tipografia G. Favale e Comp., Turin 1867, pp. 486, 497-499. For the list of subscribers see *Monumento alla memoria di Carlo Botta, eretto in San Giorgio Canavese, sua patria, opera del barone Carlo Marochetti*, Stamperia Reale, Turin 1843. It should also be noted that in 1836 Botta had commissioned his godson to paint the portraits of Virgil and Giovanni Paisiello, two emblematic and key figures for the Canavese historian, who personally wrote the Latin inscriptions of their respective pedestals. See F. Carandini, *Carlo Marochetti e il Monumento a Carlo Botta*, «La Rivista Biellese», November 1928, pp. 11-16; C. Botta, *Scritti minori* cit., pp. 65-66; C. Botta, *Lettere*, Pompeo Magnaghi, Turin 1841, pp. 132-134.

16. On the subject of his admiration for Marochetti, Botta wrote to the Torinese doctor Giovanni Giordano: «If he does not do like Benvenuto Cellini, we will box his ears; but I'm sure that he will, I mean for the monument». And later, «Paris [an allusion to the sculpture by Antonio Canova] is in Vaux where he is working at length on the monument», Letters of Carlo Botta to Giovanni Giordano, 13th January and 6th February 1832, in C. Botta, *Lettere* cit., pp. 50-53.

that Botta would, as we shall see, provide in the pursuit of the best possible realisation of the work of art.

Charles Albert therefore gave Marochetti the prestigious assignment, the first of a series¹⁷, despite criticisms and reservations from within Turin, especially its academic circles. In fact, he even accepted, albeit reluctantly, the sculptor's condition that the monument be cast in Paris, at the Soyer et Ingé foundry, so that he could follow each stage and ensure the proper execution of the work, even though this effectively frustrated the king's desire for an entirely «national» product¹⁸.

In any event, a full seven years would pass from 1831 to the inauguration of the work on 4th November 1838, the king's name day, a delay caused by a series of bitter arguments between the artist and the Academy, which at the time acted as artistic consultancy for the government.

During the anxious wait for the conclusion of the monument – the king sought direct news about its execution from the young Camillo Cavour¹⁹ – Charles Albert, apart from launching the cultural projects of the Deputation of Homeland History, the Armoury and the Royal Gallery of Art, turned his attention to funeral rites and processions. The example of what had occurred in France during the first Restoration – the *France des larmes* reconstructed by

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17. In addition to the Berthollet monument in Annecy, Savoy, once again a work completed without payment with the clear aim of pleasing the sovereign, he created the busts of Victor Emmanuel I, Charles Felix, the Duke of Savoy and the Duke of Genoa.

18. For a reconstruction of the long genesis of the work and the conflicts with the Academy, I refer to L. C. Bollea, *Il monumento di Emanuele Filiberto del Marochetti e la Reale Accademia Albertina delle belle arti*, in Id., *Studi su Torino e il Piemonte*, Stab. Tip. Di Miglietta & C., Turin-Casale Monferrato 1933, pp. 129-206; Id., *Il monumento di Emanuele Filiberto del Marochetti*, «L'Illustrazione Biellese», 13 (1933), pp. 13-17; and to the well-documented contribution by C. Hedengren-Dillon, *L'Emmanuel-Philibert de Marochetti, histoire d'une réduction*, «La Tribune de l'Art», 6th July 2014. See also D. Presa, *Col caval 'd bruns si entra in Europa*, «Rivista Biellese», 4 (2005), pp. 45-50.

19. The future statesman, at the age of twenty-seven had been one of the first admirers of the equestrian statue. Having gone to Paris in 1837 he was commissioned by his father Michele, prompted by the impatient sovereign, to inquire about the progress of the sculpture, thus having the unique opportunity, for a Sardinian subject, to preview the masterpiece. His father wrote to him: «Sa Majesté me charge de t'écrire d'aller voir, quand tu seras à Paris, bien au juste où en est le monument Marochetti, savoir exactement quand il pourra arriver à Turin. Il voudrait à cet égard quelque chose de positif; je te prie de m'envoyer une lettre détaillée et ostensible»: M. Avetta (ed.), C. Cavour, *Epistolario*, vol. I, (1815-1840), Zanichelli, Bologna 1962, p. 205, letter of Michele Cavour to his son Camillo, 23th December 1837.

Emmanuel Fureix²⁰ – provided him with the closest example of how the monarchies that survived the revolution had to redesign the geography of the sacred of their dynasties to make it fit their purposes, transforming public grief, burials, liturgies and funeral processions into living monuments, instruments of dynastic sacrality and political pedagogy. The serialised publication of the *Celebrated Families of Italy* dedicated to the Savoy dynasty in the monumental work of Pompeo Litta, with the serial sequence of tombs and funeral monuments, was precisely the cultural manifesto and the visual story of this project of dynastic and genealogical celebration. Among the various initiatives of the crown, two deserve a mention here. In 1835, at Charles Albert's behest, the remains of Emmanuel Philibert and of Amadeus VIII were translated from beneath Turin Cathedral to the Chapel of the Holy Shroud, and placed close to Christ's grave cloth, symbol par excellence of the divine protection granted to the dynasty, which Duke Emmanuel Philibert himself had transferred to the capital along with Amadeus VIII's remains. The statue of Emmanuel Philibert in the cathedral was entrusted to a traditional artist, Pompeo Marchesi, and some of the figurative elements (including the cornucopia) were completed thanks to the meticulous description of Cibrario.

The second project centred on the ancient abbey of San Michele della Chiusa²¹. While the will of the widowed queen ensured the continuation of work on the abbey of Hautecombe in Savoy, which had been transformed by Charles Felix into a sort of Savoird answer to Saint-Denis²², Charles Albert decided to transform the Sacra di San Michele into a new, Italian Hautecombe, in order to create a dynastic mausoleum that was no longer Savoyard but Italian. The following year, after having commissioned the architect Melano to design two «two large Gothic sarcophagi» to be placed on

20. E. Fureix, *La France des larmes. Deuils politiques à l'âge romantique*, Champ Vallon, Seyssel 2009.

21. R. Bordone, E. Dellapiana, *La Sacra di San Michele nella riscoperta ottocentesca del Medioevo. Il progetto dinastico di Carlo Alberto*, «Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino», XVC (1997), pp. 639-655.

22. L. Pittarello, *Hautecombe, sacrario della dinastia sabauda*, in E. Castelnuovo, M. Rosci (ed.), *Cultura figurativa e architettonica negli Stati del re di Sardegna 1773-1861*, vol. I, Stamperia artistica nazionale, Turin 1980, pp. 332-346.

either side of the altar, he had the remains of royals of Savoy still in the vaults of the Turin cathedral transferred there, with a spectacular funeral procession of great fervency:

27 crates are placed on the wagons, the canons intone the *de profundis*, the «wind torches» are lit and the caravan moves, passes through the royal gardens and exits the gate next to the green bastion. In Giaveno the crates are moved onto *brancardi* with a hundred men who will transport them and who will arrive at the church at 11 in the morning of the following day²³.

In the same period a decision was made on the decoration of the central Piazza San Carlo, dedicated to one of the major dynastic cults of the House of Savoy, that of San Carlo Borromeo. The Church of San Carlo was built there in the neoclassical style: on the pediment Stefano Butti sculpted the bas-relief *Emanuele Filiberto che riceve l'Eucarestia da San Carlo Borromeo in visita a Torino* (Emmanuel Philibert Receiving the Eucharist from San Carlo Borromeo on a visit to Turin). This featured the image of the duke as the paladin of the true religion, of which Charles Albert, in his deep mysticism, believed himself to be the defender²⁴. The work was completed in 1838, leaving the public square ready to welcome and inaugurate the equine statue on its arrival from France.

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2. The making of the monument

In 1828, on the occasion of the third centenary of Emmanuel Philibert's birth, Botta had shared with Cibrario his clear awareness of the greatness and historical role of the Savoy duke in a letter which, in retrospect, alluded to the role that the future court historian would go on to play in the creation of the political myth of Emmanuel Philibert:

You have a very noble subject in your hands dealing

23. E. Dellapiana, «*Sepolcri di Principi di Savoia*». *Il ricordo al servizio della Restaurazione*, «Studi piemontesi», 33 (2004), pp. 81-92. As the author recalls, «The same “royal funeral pomp” was used in Casale Monferrato the following year by order of Charles Albert for the translation of the remains of some of the Paleologian princes, which were moved from the cemetery of Saint Francesco to the church of Saint Dominic, which was supposedly founded by the dynasty in 1469».

24. A.A. Volonnino, *La fabbrica del Re magnanimo. Arte e la storia nel progetto politico di Carlo Alberto*, «Il Risorgimento», LXIV (2017), no. 1, p. 34.

with the story of Emmanuel Philibert. He is one of the greatest princes to have governed a people, both for civil wisdom and for military valour. Piedmont must recognise its strength, its civilisation in him above all: he is the true founder of the Piedmontese monarchy [...]. I have touched on Emanuel Filiberto when I was involved in the project for a general history of Italy; I am delighted that a pen like your own will write about him²⁵.

Botta poured his deep knowledge of the duke and his exploits into the creation of the work. Indeed, if in all probability the historian from Canavese had a part in the decision to assign the most important monument in Turin to Marochetti, it is a proven fact that his influence was decisive during the execution of the work, when he collaborated with the sculptor, in particular for the narrative part of the pedestal, offering decisive advice with regard to the composition of the bas-reliefs. From this point of view his 3rd February 1832 letter to his godson is an extraordinary document for those wishing to understand the genesis of the work at the base of the *Emmanuel Philibert* statue²⁶. This clearly indicates, apart from the fact that the design of the frieze was determined early on, the contribution that, from the height of his knowledge, Botta was able to offer the sculptor in historical and philological terms. Such advice went well beyond the epigraphs that he dictated for the busts of Virgil and Paisiello²⁷ or for the funerary monument to the Marquis of Saint Thomas in the Père-Lachaise cemetery²⁸.

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25. Letter of Carlo Botta to Luigi Cibrario, 23rd January 1828, in C. Botta, *Lettere* cit., p. 39. In the period that interests us, the figure of Emmanuel Philibert recurs frequently in the letters written by Botta, almost always in an attempt to draw a comparison with the king. For example, when thanking the minister La Tour for the new annuity granted to him by Charles Albert, the historian wrote: «Emmanuel Philibert, the strong and wise ancestor of his majesty, wanted to honour Annibal Caro, and I, who is no Annibal Caro, found myself honoured and rewarded by a sovereign who resembles his glorious grandfather so much; what good fortune for me»: Letter of Carlo Botta to Vittorio Amedeo Sallier de la Tour, 20th January 1832, in N. Bianchi, *Carlo Botta e Carlo Alberto. Lettere inedite*, «Rivista Contemporanea», 28 (1862), p. 337.

26. This, along with other documents, was published by me in S. Cavicchioli, *Scolpire il principe. Carlo Marochetti e l'identità nazionale nell'Europa dell'Ottocento*, in M.G. Castello and E. Belligni (eds.), *La fabbrica della storia. Fonti della storia e cultura di massa*, FrancoAngeli, Milan 2016, pp. 133-166.

27. See note no. 9.

28. As regards the latter Botta had told the son of the late marquis, Felice, that he had personally requested the appropriate «Italian translation of the epitaph [...] by the very

Thus while the scene from the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis (1559) envisaged by Marochetti immediately won Botta's admiration, the group of characters that had given him the impression of «a nativity scene» at the historian's suggestion was augmented by the sculptor with additional characters: «Je désirerais seulement que parmi les personnages il y'ait un espagnol et un évêque, car il y en avait réellement parmi les négociateurs de la paix: les costumes espagnol et ecclésiastique donneraient de la variété à la chose». Other, deeper intuitions concerned the historical verisimilitude of the composition:

Pourquoi Emanuel Philibert sous un dais? Car voici une idée qui me vient. Ne serait il pas mieux le représenter dans sa tente recevant le traité de paix que lui présentaient ces personnages? Il n'était pas négociateur, lui, mais général en chef, il n'était pas en ville, mais au camp au milieu de ses soldats. Cette scène [...] témoignerait de plus de respect envers lui de la part des signataires de la paix. Il me semble qu'il faut un peu de militaire dans cette affaire. Un cabinet de lecture et un dais ne sont pas cela. Pardon, mon cher Charles, de mon impertinence²⁹.

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The setting and parade of collateral figures that animate the crucial scene of the signing of the peace treaty became, thanks to this joint effort, an intense and dramatic historical tale in bronze, creating a superb fusion between historical fidelity and invented tradition³⁰. In this regard, it should be noted that in order to be in full and precise conformity to the original model, Marochetti scrupulously copied the armour worn by Emmanuel Philibert, which was kept in the Royal Armory³¹.

learned Boucheron», messing up «somewhat the beautiful style»: letter of Carlo Botta to Felice Carron di San Tommaso, 9th January 1834, in C. Botta, *Lettere* cit., pp. 148-150. Shortly thereafter Botta directly suggested to Marochetti the short poetic inscription to be placed on the pedestal. C. Hedengren-Dillon, *Les monuments funéraires de Carlo Marochetti* cit.

29. Private Archive Hedengren (Vaux-sur-Seine), letter of Carlo Botta to Carlo Marochetti, 3rd February 1832.

30. Botta provided Marochetti with the precise list of names of all those who participated in the treaty, *ibid.*

31. *Guida-Ricordo di Torino e dell'Esposizione Nazionale Italiana 1884, compilata per cura dell'avv. G. I. Armandi, illustrata con incisioni e corredata delle piante colorate di Torino e dell'Esposizione*, Soave e C. Editori, Turin 1884, p. 23.

In Paris, the newly completed statue was exhibited for two months in the courtyard of the Louvre as part of its 1838 exhibition, and was admired by tens of thousands of visitors³². It then travelled across the Alps to Turin, accompanied by an escort of road supervisors.

The twofold gesture of Emmanuel Philibert, who orders a final cavalry charge and, sensing victory, puts his sword back in its scabbard, symbolising the end of the war and the start of a long period of peace, was yet another of Charles Albert's political forward projections, with the king anxious to leave behind the conspiracies and revolts of the start of his reign.

The equestrian statue, which during the Risorgimento became one of the symbols of the national resurrection, was only one element of the larger effort to recover the memory of his ancestor. The propaganda effect of the monument's 1838 inauguration would in fact have been deliberately amplified. This was achieved on the one hand by the presence in the Turin Exhibition of that year of a masterpiece of historical romanticism, Massimo d'Azeglio's painting *Il Duca Emanuele Filiberto vince i Francesi ne' campi di San Quintino (X Agosto MDLVII)* (Duke Emmanuel Philibert defeats the French in the fields of Saint Quentin (10 August 1557), which the king had commissioned a year earlier³³. On the other hand it was aided by the coining of a commemorative medal (1839) which, displaying an effigy of the king on one side and the relief of the statue on the other, explicitly evokes the historical-political continuity between the Iron Head duke and the last prince of Carignano³⁴ (fig. 2).

32. F.M. Fortis, *Notice sur la statue équestre d'Emmanuel Philibert, duc de Savoie*, Impr. de A. Éverat et C.ie, Paris 1838, pp. 1-8, 52-57.

33. The scene commemorates the victory of Duke Emmanuel Philibert at the Battle of San Quentin in Flanders, the landscape to which the huge windmill turning in the centre of the canvas refers. In the foreground, the duke, on horseback, negotiates with his defeated opponents. A. Cavagna Sangiuliani di Gualdana (ed.), *Mostra dei dipinti di Massimo d'Azeglio fatta a cura del Municipio di Torino nel Palazzo Carignano. Catalogo*, Eredi Botta, Turin 1866, p. 111. The canvas is located in the Royal Palace of Turin.

34. The medal (*recto*: «CARLO ALBERTO RE DI SARDEGNA»; *verso*: «INAUGURAVA AD EMANUELE FILIBERTO TORINO MDCCCXXXVIII, Marochetti inv. Soyer Fus») is reproduced as no. 580 in *Il Museo Nazionale del Risorgimento Italiano*, Catalogue-Guide, Tip. Enrico Schioppo, Turin 1911, p. 84. See also *Cultura figurativa e architettonica negli Stati del re di Sardegna 1773-1861*, vol. III, Stamperia artistica nazionale, Turin 1980, p. 985, fig. 1225.

Not only this: the work, having finally been completed, imperiously took its place in the genuine national monument that was the aforementioned serialised publication of the *Celebrated Families of Italy* dedicated to the Savoy dynasty and written by Litta in collaboration with Nomis di Cossilla, and thus under the supervision of the king³⁵. Five full plates were dedicated to the statue in the book, which would have been among the first printed representations of the *caval 'd brôns* in Italy (fig. 3). Immediately following them were a series of images depicting the equestrian monument of Charles Albert inaugurated in Casale in the same year as the publication of the book (1843), showing the king on horseback and dressed as an ancient Roman (in imitation of the statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline)³⁶ (fig. 4). The two sets of images invited – then as now – yet another comparison between the two princes, conveying the idea of a symbolic inheritance in the form of a *renovation imperii*: after so many funeral monuments, finally the chivalrous triumph of Emanuele Filiberto and Charles Albert! At the same time, the *Gazzetta piemontese*, the tri-weekly that in 1834 the king wanted to turn into a daily under the editorship of the Genoese librettist Felice Romani to make it another means of creating consensus in the service of the sovereign, dedicated a great deal of attention to the achievements of Emmanuel Philibert³⁷.

In this amplification of the representation of the ancestor, the targeted use of intermediary codes, the modernity of the language, and the variety of communication devices are all striking. Among these we must certainly not overlook the traditional practice that informed one of the most symbolic gestures of royalty, namely the custom for the sovereign to confer the Supreme Order of the Most Holy Annunciation

35. P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri d'Italia*, Fasc. XLVI, *Duchi di Savoia*, tipografia del dottor Giulio Ferrario, Milano, 1841; A. Merlotti, *Luigi Nomis di Cossilla*, voce del *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 78, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma, 2013. About this operation and its archival implications see also L. Mineo, *Dai Regi archivi di Corte all'Archivio di Stato. Strategie archivistiche e contesto politico-culturale a Torino (1831 – 1870)*, in A. Giorgi et al. (eds.), *Erudizione cittadina e fonti documentarie. Archivi e ricerca storica nell'Ottocento italiano (1840-1880)*, Florence University Press, Florence 2019, vol. I, p. 233.

36. Thus in this public image of the king, the neoclassical style prevailed.

37. A.A. Volonnino, *Il Re magnanimo. Dal mito dinastico al mito nazionale-liberale*, Ph.D. thesis in Contemporary History, University of San Marino Republic, a.a. 2013-2016, supervisor S. Montaldo.

using the sword of his ancestor. This ritual took place on 24 December 1836, when the highest honour of the House of Savoy was given to the heir to the throne Victor Emmanuel and to Prince Eugenio³⁸. For the first decade of his reign, a complex, articulated figurative programme was therefore focused on Emmanuel Philibert, through which Charles Albert had brought together the legitimacy of his power, the continuity of his dynasty and the expansionist ambitions of the Savoy. A new season would be inaugurated starting from the early 1940s with the genealogical recovery and promotion of the memory of another example to be offered to the people, that of Amadeus VI of Savoy, the so-called Green Count, who united the spirit of crusade and the patriotic aspirations of the House of Savoy. Dynastic history was now being bent to new political demands



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Fig. 1
C. Marochetti, *Emmanuel Philibert*, Turin, 1838

38. P. Gentile, *Carlo Alberto in un diario segreto. Le memorie di Cesare Trabucco di Castagnetto, 1834-1849*, Comitato di Torino dell'Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano-Carocci, Turin-Rome 2015, pp. 50 e 140.

The Myth
and Representation
of Emmanuel
Philibert



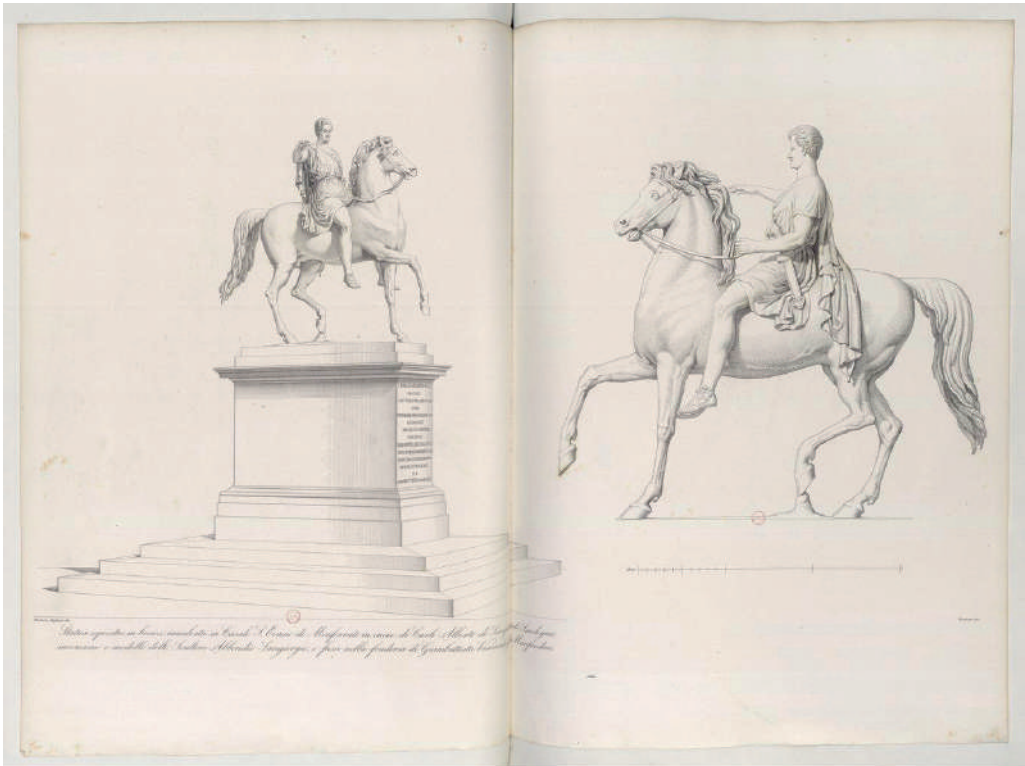
Fig. 2
G. Galeazzi, *Commemorative Medal*. Recto: «CARLO ALBERTO RE DI SARDEGNA»; verso: «INAUGURAVA AD EMANUELE FILIBERTO TORINO MDCCCXXXVIII, Marochetti inv. Soyer Fus.», in A. Colombo (ed.), *Il Museo Nazionale del Risorgimento Italiano*, Tip. Enrico Schioppo, Turin 1911, no. 580, p. 84

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Fig. 3
Equestrian Monument of Emmanuel Philibert in Turin, in P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri d'Italia*, Fasc. XLVI, *Duchi di Savoia*, tip. Ferrario, Milan 1841



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 4
Equestrian Monument of Charles-Albert in Casale Monferrato, in P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri d'Italia*, Fasc. XLVI, *Duchi di Savoia*, tip. Ferrario, Milan 1841

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A Library for the Crown: Charles Albert of Savoy and the Foundation of the Biblioteca Reale of Turin

Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni

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1. Kings and libraries: an outline and the case study

A fascinating compilation of essays was published a few years ago in order to provide insights into the main collections of the British Library. As might be expected, one chapter of the book was devoted entirely to the King's Library, and this included an essay which started with a sentence that could easily be adapted and applied to the subject of this paper: «When George III came to the throne in 1760 there was no royal library»¹.

A very similar situation did in fact present itself to Charles Albert when he acceded to the throne in 1831: there was no royal library in Turin, and the reason for this was much the same as the situation in Britain. Three years before George III became king, the old royal library collection had been donated to the recently founded British Museum (1753), which would go on to become one of the most important public cultural institutions in the Western world.

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1. P.R. Harris, *The King's Library*, in G. Mandelbrote, B. Taylor (eds.), *Libraries within the Library. The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections*, London, The British Library 2009, p. 296.

The private collection of the sovereigns now belonged to the nation.

It might therefore appear that a similar decision had been made by Victor Amadeus II of Savoy who, in around 1720, had made the reorganisation of the ducal collections an element of a great reformation of the State. The king had decided to split up the renowned library – known as the «Grande Galleria» – of Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy and bestow most of it to the enhancement of the university library, which had been given royal status². The remaining collections were kept in the Royal Palace or the Royal Archives, where they provided a source of information for public officials or were shown to select groups of visitors.

The reforms made by Victor Amadeus II in fact involved a complete renewal of the city of Turin, in a project headed by the Sicilian architect Filippo Juvarra³. The urban landscape was redeveloped in the splendid late-Baroque style that still distinguishes much of it today, and its topography was restructured following a rational, aesthetically pleasing plan. An entire wing of the remodelled Royal Palace was built to house the secretariat and the Royal Archives, which were arranged systematically in a sequence of divisions, from documents on current affairs to historical sources.

A series of beautifully wainscoted rooms were prepared to host the archival documents and the library, and the latter can still be visited and admired as part of the cultural heritage preserved in the State Archives. The library was not given the status of an autonomous institution, nor was it recognised as a royal library, and so it was not until 1832 that a royal library – the «Biblioteca Realea» – was established, in accordance with the wishes of Charles Albert, who had become king of Sardinia the year before⁴.

2. In the meantime, the Grande Galleria had been devastated by two fires which destroyed the marvellous setting of the library, but parts of the collections were saved by being thrown out of the windows. The fires occurred in 1659 and 1667, around the time of the Great Fire of London (1666).

3. An enthralling exhibition on Juvarra was held recently, and a catalogue is available to the many who could not attend, especially because of the Covid-19 pandemic: F. Porticelli *et al.* (eds.), *Filippo Juvarra regista di corti e capitali. Dalla Sicilia al Piemonte all'Europa*, Turin, Centro Studi Piemontesi 2021; on the urban landscape: C. Roggero Bardelli, *Juvarra e la visione urbanistica*, pp. 333-338.

4. He did precisely what George III had done and, strange as it may seem, the foundation of the Royal Library of Turin happened at more or less the time of that George III's

In 2011 a great exhibition on the libraries of the Savoy was organised as part of the celebrations of the 150th anniversary of the unification of Italy, and a tome-like catalogue was published. The title of the chapter dedicated to the Biblioteca Reale significantly highlights how the library originated from private book-collecting and a desire to celebrate the glory of the dynasty: *La Biblioteca Reale: una "libreria" privata tra collezionismo e celebrazione dinastica*⁵. Interestingly, the relation between public interests and private book-collecting forms the focus of a recent volume in which David McKitterick (formerly Head Librarian of the Trinity College, Cambridge) considers the subject from a wide perspective: *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interests and Public Memory, 1600-1840*⁶.

Rarity is a crucial factor: collectors, including book-collectors, search for and long to own rare objects. However – as McKitterick makes clear – rarity has not always meant the same thing nor always been clearly defined. This is particularly true of book-collecting where the concept can be applied to volumes that are deemed interesting, strange or in some way special, judgments that depend on prevailing tastes. As a matter of fact, from the early seventeenth to the nineteenth century the concept of rarity was constantly subjected to revision and was used to describe a wide range of objects.

In the meantime, the practice of private book-collecting formed the basis for the acquisition of the knowledge (and the development of the discipline) that underpinned the curation collections which, for well-known historical reasons, had gone from being private to public and now form

great collection was donated to the British Museum (ab. 1828). A wing was added to the museum to house it, a beautiful gallery which was home to the King's Library until 1997, when the British Library moved from Bloomsbury to St Pancras. As expected, moving the King's Library was not painless but the solution that was found (a floor-to-ceiling glass tower in the centre of the library's main hall that makes the royal collections visible to all) is astonishingly communicative. On this: J. Goldfinch, *Moving the King's Library. Argument and Sentiment 1825-1998*, in Mandelbrote, Taylor, *Libraries within the Library* cit., pp. 280-295.

5. C. Vitulo, E.A. Pollone, *La Biblioteca di Sua Maestà*, in I. Massabò Ricci et al. (eds.), *Il teatro di tutte le scienze e le arti. Raccogliere libri per coltivare idee in una capitale di età moderna. Torino 1559-1861*, Turin, Centro Studi Piemontesi et al. 2011, pp. 397-400.

6. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018; the theme was originally explored and presented at the British Library in 2015 for the *Panizzi Lectures*.

the core of our contemporary national libraries. From this standpoint the Biblioteca Reale of Turin is a fascinating case study that enables us to make an in-depth analysis of the book-collecting practices of the Savoy kings in order to determine how and to what extent the royal library was, from the very start, an expedient adopted for the purpose of projecting and enhancing the image of the monarchy.

What kind of rarities were acquired for the royal library of Turin in its early days? Who made the choices and how much were these determined by the need to create a certain image of the monarchy? And, afterwards, did Charles Albert's successors follow in his footsteps or did they move in other directions?

With this paper I aim to offer an initial outline of the question, to show what sources are available, and to give examples by focusing on a particular section within the collections, that of the 'incunabula', in other words books printed in the early period after the introduction of printing. Probably more than any other part of the library, the incunabula provide good insight into the book-collecting practices and choices of the librarians in charge of acquisitions, in part because we now have tools (such as databases) that help to sharpen the heuristic skills of researchers by enhancing the documentary and evidential value of the books.

2. The incunabula collection

It is necessary to provide a brief survey of the collection of incunabula as an introduction to the overall quality of the material and the research paths that it might open up⁷.

The earliest such edition preserved in the Biblioteca Reale is a copy of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* printed in Venice by

7. Data are taken from various sources: the ISTC (*Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue*, https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search), where copies of 185 editions are currently recorded for the Biblioteca Reale of Turin; a dedicated catalogue: G. Russo, *Catalogo degli incunaboli della Biblioteca Reale di Torino*, Regione Piemonte, Turin 1987, 2nd revised ed.; from the books themselves, some of which I have examined in detail to start their recording in the database MEI - Material Evidence in Incunabula (https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search) on which more is said in the final pages of this article. Finally, data are also taken from a recent report provided by Giuseppina Mussari, Director of the Library, to whom I send sincere thanks. On the ISTC and MEI see: C. Dondi (ed.), *Printing R-Evolution and Society 1450-1500. Fifty Years that Changed Europe*, Edizioni Ca' Foscari, Venice 2020, especially C. Dondi, *Introduction* (pp. 21-54) and J. Goldfinch, K. Limper-Herz, *The Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue (ISTC). Past, Present and Future* (pp. 899-909).

Vindelinus de Spira in 1469 (ISTC ip00786000), and the latest is a copy of Johannes de Sacrobosco's *Sphaera mundi* printed around 1500, also in Venice, at the expense of a certain Georgius de Monteferrato, *doctor artium et medicinae* (ISTC ij00421000), who also contributed a commentary to the volume. The connection with Monteferrato (also known as Georgius de Ferrariis)⁸ is what sets this book apart from the many other editions of the *Sphaera mundi* printed in the fifteenth century. The ISTC lists thirty-three editions printed before 1501, and dozens more were published in the sixteenth century. It is worth noting that Monteferrato's name appears only in the above named edition, the copies of which are therefore the only printed documents (at least for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) that provide information of him. There are more than a few copies of this edition, which is currently found in forty-two libraries⁹, but among the incunabula cases of *unica* (that is, editions of which there is only one extant copy) are not rare.

Sometimes it actually happens that *unica* are copies of the only printed edition of a text, which is otherwise either known only through manuscripts or not at all. In consequence, incunabula are often documents of primary importance for the study of texts or for the information they provide about obscure scholars (such as Georgius de Monteferrato) involved in book production. From this point of view, the collection of incunabula of the Biblioteca Reale of Turin is of the utmost importance for the number of extremely rare editions it contains. These are listed on the next few pages.

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3. Unica

The following fourteen editions, listed here in chronological order, are known today only through the copies preserved in the Biblioteca Reale:

Guarino Veronese, *Regulae grammaticales. Carmina differentialia. De diphthongis*. Pinerolo, Jacobus Rubeus, 1479, 4°, ISTC ig00534950 (INC. I.22)

Psalterium. Mondovì, Laurentius de Vivaldis, II.1480, 4°, ISTC ip01041600 (INC. I.28)

8. See Cerl Thesaurus: <https://data.cerl.org/thesaurus/cnp00523652>.

9. Last consultation of ISTC was on 14/10/2021.

- Psalterium*. Mondovì, Laurentius de Vivaldis, II.1480, 4°, ISTC ip01041700 (INC. I.29)
- Prospero d'Aquitania, *Epigrammata de virtutibus et vitiis*. Torino, Franciscus de Silva, 17.XII.1488, 4°, ISTC ip01020500 (INC. I.21)
- Prospero d'Aquitania, *Epigrammata de virtutibus et vitiis*. Torino, Nicolaus de Benedictis e Jacobinus Suigus, 1491, 4°, ISTC ip01020700 (INC. I.15)
- Pietro Paolo Vergerio (il Vecchio), *De ingenuis moribus ac liberalibus studiis* [con:] Vita Vergerii. [e] Basilius Magnus, *De legendis antiquorum libris*. Johannes Sulpitius Verulanus, *De moribus puerorum*. Torino: Nicolaus de Benedictis e Jacobinus Suigus, [ca. 1494], 4°, ISTC iv00138200 (INC. I.24)
- Bonifacius Bugellanus, *Oratio ad Taurinatem Academiam*. [Torino, Nicolaus de Benedictis e Jacobinus Suigus, 1495], 4°, ISTC ib01276500 (INC. I.47.5)
- Ludovico Maria Sforza (Il Moro), *Decretum* [Cremona, Carolus de Darleriis, dopo il 17.III.1495], 2°, ISTC is00487130 (INC. II.29.3)
- Ludovico Maria Sforza (Il Moro), *Decretum circa testamentorum donationum et dotium instrumenta et nonnulla alia*. [Milano, Antonius Zarotus, dopo il 30.IV.1495], 2°, ISTC is00487150 (INC. II.29.2)
- La rotta di Serezana e Serezanello* “*Quello infinito amor che'l tucto vede*” [Firenze, Laurentius de Morgianis e Johann Petri, 1495], 4°, ISTC ir00339500 (INC. I.49)
- Leggenda di Lazzaro, Marta e Maddalena*. Torino: Francesco de Silva, 1496, 4°, ISTC il00109500 (INC. I.38)
- Prospero d'Aquitania, *Epigrammata de virtutibus et vitiis*. Torino: Jacobinus Suigus, 1497, 4°, ISTC ip01021600 (INC. I.33)
- Francesco Petrarca, *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* [et al.] Torino: Franciscus de Silva, 1497, 8°; ISTC ip00413400 (INC. I.1)
- Domenico Serafini, *Synonyma; Aequivoca; Differentiae*. Torino: Franciscus de Silva, 1500, 4°, ISTC is00463400 (INC. I.26).

As can be seen, eleven of these fourteen editions were printed in Piedmont, specifically in Pinerolo, Mondovì and Turin. This is justification for one of the points of scholarly interest in the formation of the collection, namely the study of the local development and diffusion of printing processes in the region. Two of the editions are evidently documents issued by the duke of Milan, Ludovico Maria Sforza, both dated 1495, although the printed versions bear no typographical

notes and therefore imprint data have been determined by critical analysis: more work may nevertheless be needed since the two editions have thus far been described in IGI, ISTC and Russo's catalogue of incunabula, but not in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiedendrucke*¹⁰.

This points to a need for a more detailed study in order to provide the Berlin curators with data that enables them to include the two editions in their most important bibliography. To this end, a second examination of the text and the typefaces, or even of the support material (such as parchment or paper), will provide a better understanding of the initiative. In this case, however, copy-specifics may also reveal useful evidence for statements pertaining to the edition. The two documents, along with a copy of the Statutes of Piacenza, are in fact bound together within a *sammelband* which appears to have been created around the time the documents were printed, and this may provide further information about the imprint data of the Statutes themselves¹¹.

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In addition, many manuscript leaves are bound into the volume, and long manuscript notes dating back to the time of printing are found on the flyleaves and elsewhere. In short, even at first glance, this *sammelband* reveals various interesting features. So, too, does the recent history of the copy, which bears the *ex-libris* of Umberto I of Savoy¹², telling us that the book must have entered the library after 1878, the year of Umberto's accession to the throne. This sheds some light on the acquisition practices put in place by the successors of Charles Albert and will be of use in subsequent studies. For the purposes of this paper, however, we will focus on the acquisition choices made by the founder of the library, namely Charles Albert, the study of which can rely upon material evidence found in the books (*ex-libris* and the like) and in other documentary evidence, such as the registers of acquisitions maintained by or for the king.

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10. <https://data.cerl.org/istc/is00487130>; <https://data.cerl.org/istc/is00487150>.

11. Which have no imprint data and are attributed to either Boninus de Boninis (Brescia, 1485) or to Bernardinus de Misinta (ca. 1495) (ISTC is00722000),

12. The *ex-libris*.

4. Charles Albert's acquisitions (1832-1849) and his collection of incunabula

Seven volumes of acquisition registers form the core of the library's archive. These were carefully examined during the organisation of the exhibition held in 2011 and have since been made available online on a database hosted by the Archivio di Stato website¹³.

After scrutinising this database and comparing it with the incunabula listed in the ISTC, it has been possible to identify the following editions, along with the date of their acquisition and the name of the antiquarian bookseller who sold them or (as in several cases) the donor who gave them. The items in the list are ordered by printing date (from the earliest to the latest), and the following information is provided: descriptions taken from the ISTC, though titles are shortened and minor changes have been made in the formulation of the imprint data; then information from the documents (obtained from the transcriptions in the online database) giving the name of the bookseller or the donor of the books, the year of acquisition and the record number; then the shelf location, in brackets; then the number of institutions (including the Biblioteca Reale) which have one or more copies of the edition, a detailed provided in order

13. On the same website several sources on the historical libraries of Turin are available, to start with the old library of the Archivio itself; they include digital versions of historical inventories and catalogues of the dukes' library. The earliest document is the inventory of the Grande Galleria of Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy written in 1659, just after the fire which damaged the marvellous collection together with the thesis of Mauro Albenga that provided a full transcription of the text (both documents are found here: <https://archiviodistatorino.beniculturali.it/larchivio/la-biblioteca-asto/la-biblioteca-antica/torri/>); the catalogues made for Victor Amadeus II follow: the one compiled in around 1713 by Filiberto Maria Machet, who was charged with the task of reorganising the collections (<https://archiviodistatorino.beniculturali.it/larchivio/la-biblioteca-asto/la-biblioteca-antica/machet/>); the catalogue of manuscripts and early printed books of the Library of the Royal University created by Francesco Domenico Bencini after Victor Amadeus II, by then King of Sardinia, decided to give some parts of the library of the dukes to the university (<https://archiviodistatorino.beniculturali.it/larchivio/la-biblioteca-asto/la-biblioteca-antica/bencini/>). Acquisitions made for the university library over nearly one-hundred years (1729-1826) can be studied by means of a database of orders of payments (<https://archiviodistatorino.beniculturali.it/larchivio/la-biblioteca-asto/la-biblioteca-antica/mandati-di-pagamento/>) preserved in the university archive; royal collections of Hebraica are the object of a special project (<https://archiviodistatorino.beniculturali.it/larchivio/la-biblioteca-asto/la-biblioteca-antica/libri-ebraici-a-corte/>). Along with all the above there is a database dedicated to the acquisitions of the Biblioteca Reale made during the reign of Charles Albert, 1831 – 1849 (<https://archiviodistatorino.beniculturali.it/larchivio/la-biblioteca-asto/la-biblioteca-antica/registri-di-carico/>).

to indicate the degree of rarity (here meaning “scarcity”) of the edition; and finally a note concerning the provenance evidence gleaned from the library of Charles Albert (usually the ex-libris bearing the script: «Ex Bibliotheca Regis Karoli Alberti»).

- 1) Sixtus IV papa, *De sanguine Christi et De potentia Dei* [et al., Roma, Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, post 1471] (ISTC is00579000);
‘Dono del Sig. Cav. Promis’, 1841, reg. n. 5971 (INC. II.6; holding institutions: 52); «Ex Bibliotheca Regis Karoli Alberti» (from now on Ex-libris KA).
- 2) Petrarca, Francesco, *Secretum de contemptu mundi*, [Strasburgo, Adolf Rusch, ante 1473] (ISTC ip00412000);
«Dono del Sig. Cav. Promis», 1841, reg. n. 4489 (INC. II.18; hold. inst.: 63); Ex-libris KA.
- 3) Petrarca, Francesco, *De vita solitaria*, [Strasburgo, Adolf Rusch, ante 1473] (ISTC ip00417000);
«Dono del Sig. Cav. Promis», 1841, reg. n. 4488 (INC. II.19; hold. inst.: 55); Ex-libris KA.
- 4) Biondo, Flavio, *Italia illustrata*, Roma, Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, 1474 (ISTC ib00700000);
«Librajo Foa», 1847, reg. n. 872 (INC. IV. 11; hold. inst.: 29); Ex-libris KA.
- 5) Bruni, Leonardo, *Historiae Florentini populi* [tr. Donato Acciaiuoli], Venezia, Jacobus Rubeus, 1476 (ISTC ib01247000);
«Libreria del Conte Caissotti di Chiusano», 1837, reg. n. 318 (INC. IV. 9; hold. inst.: 153); Ex-libris KA.
- 6) Alighieri, Dante, *La Commedia*, comm. Jacopo della Lana [et al.] [prec.]: Giovanni Boccaccio, *Vita di Dante*, [Venezia], Vindelinius de Spira, 1477 (ISTC id00027000);
«Librajo Pezzi», 1840, reg. 7835 (INC. III.8; hold. inst.: 101); Ex-libris KA.
- 7) Petrarca, Francesco, *Vite dei Pontefici e Imperatori Romani*, Firenze, Apud Sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli, 1478/79 (ISTC ip00420000);

- «Librajo Pezzi», 1839, reg. n. 4491 (INC. II.17; hold. inst.: 63); Ex-libris KA.
- 8) S. Hieronymus, *Vitae sanctorum patrum, sive Vitas patrum* [et al., tr. Domenico Cavalca], Venezia, Nicolaus Girardengus, 1479 (ISTC ih00227000);
«Librajo Foa», 1836, reg. n. 9809 (INC. III.1; hold. inst.: 25);
Ex-libris KA (but also «del Barone Vernazza»).
- 9) Caoursin, Guillaume, *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio*, [Venezia, Erhard Ratdolt, post 1480] (ISTC ic00108000);
«Acquistato da N. Librajo a Londra», 1840, reg. n. 1338 (INC. I.36; hold. inst.: 42); Ex-libris KA.
- 10) *Aesopi Vita. Aesopus moralisatus*, Napoli, Francesco del Tупpo, 1485 (ISTC ia00155000);
«Libreria Chisano», 1846, reg. n. 6791 (INC. III.5; hold. inst.: 43); Ex-libris KA.
- 11) Leo I papa, *Sermones* [et al.; tr. it. Filippo Corsini], Firenze, [Antonio di Bartolommeo Miscomini], 1485 (ISTC il00136000);
«Librajo Pezzi», 1841, reg. n. 3735 (INC. II.15; hold. inst.: 71); Ex-libris KA.
- 12) *Sabaudiae decreta ducalia* [ed. Pietro Cara], Torino, Jacobinus Suigus, 1487 (ISTC is00002000);
«Librajo Bocca», 1835, reg. n. 7855 (INC. II.22.1; hold. inst.: 24); Ex-libris KA.
- 13) Vegetius, Flavius Renuatus, *Epitoma rei militaris* [et al.], Roma, Eucharius Silber, 1487 (ISTC iv00106500);
«Camera di S.M., Sig. Cantel», 1834, reg. n. 6937 (INC. I.16.1-3; hold. inst.: 57); Ex-libris KA.
- 14) Modestus, *De vocabulis rei militaris*, Roma, Eucharius Silber, 1487 (ISTC im00738100);
'Camera di S.M., Sig. Cantel' (see INC. I.16.1-3, after which this copy is bound) (INC. I.16.4; hold. inst.: 63); Ex-libris KA.
- 15) Christine de Pisan, *Faits d'armes et de chevalerie. Les douze*

vertus d'un noble homme, Paris, Antoine Vérard, 1488 (ISTC ic00471000);

«Librajo Bocca», 1841, reg. n. 8539 (INC. III.23; hold. inst.: 14); Ex-libris KA.

16) *Aesopus moralisatus* [adapted by Accio Zucco], Venezia, Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, 1491 (ISTC ia00151000);

«Librajo Pezzi» (see INC. I.35.1, after which the copy is bound); (INC. I.35.2; hold. inst.: 8); Ex-libris KA.

17) *Vita Aesopi*, Venezia, Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, 1493 (ISTC ia00111000);

«Librajo Pezzi», 1837, reg. n. 9807 (INC. I.35.1; hold. inst.: 9); Ex-libris KA.

18) Schedel, Hartmann, *Liber chronicarum*, Nuremberg, Anton Koberger, 1493 (ISTC is00307000);

«Librajo Picca», 1843, reg. n. 7663 (INC. IV.14; hold. inst.: 856); Ex-libris KA.

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19) *Scriptores rei militaris*, Roma, Eucharius Silber, 1494, (ISTC is00344000);

'Librajo Pezzi', 1836, reg. n. 6983 (INC. I.27; hold. inst.: 105); Ex-libris KA.

20) Campano, Giovanni Antonio, *Opera* [ed. Michael Fernus], Roma, Eucharius Silber, 1495 (ISTC ic00073000);

«Librajo Foa», 1845, reg. n. 1266 (INC. IV.18; hold. inst.: 221); Ex-libris KA.

21) Livius, Titus, *Historiae Romanae decades*, Milano, Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 1495 (ISTC il00246000); «Restituita dalla Regia Biblioteca dell'Università», 1841, reg. n. 3830 (INC. IV.15; hold. inst.: 41); Ex-libris KA.

22) *La rotta di Serezana e Serezanello*, [Firenze, Laurentius de Morgianis, 1495] (ISTC ir00339500);

«[Librajo] Bocca», 1847, reg. n. 9401 (INC. I.49; *unicum*); Ex-libris KA.

23) Pius II papa, *Epistolae familiares. De Duobus amantibus. De-*

scriptio urbis Viennensis. Norimberga, Anton Koberger, 1496 (ISTC ip00720000);
«Sig. Lancetti di Bologna», 1844, reg. n. 6385 (INC. II.1; hold. inst.: 181); Ex-libris KA.

24) Simon de Cassia, *Espositione sopra evangeli* [ed. by Fra Guido, i.e. Giovanni da Salerno], Firenze, Bartolommeo di Libri, 1496 (ISTC is00523000);
«Librajo Pezzi», 1846, reg. n. 8145 (INC. II.26; hold. inst.: 8); Ex-libris KA.

25) Pius II papa, *Epistolae familiares*, Lione, Jean de Vingle, 1497 (ISTC ip00722000);
«Dono di S.E. il Cav. di Saluzzo», 1847, reg. n. 9034 (INC. II.16; hold. inst.: 56); Ex-libris KA.

26) *Sabaudiae decreta ducalia*, Torino, Franciscus de Silva, 1497 (ISTC is00003000);
«Librajo Bocca» (INC: II.22.2; for provenance see INC. II.22.1 after which this copy is bound); Ex-libris KA (on II.22.1).

27) Poliziano, Angelo, *Omnia opera*, Venezia, Aldo Manuzio, 1498 (ISTC ip00886000);
«Librajo Bocca», 1842, reg. n. 5362 (INC. III.22; hold. inst.: 274); Ex-libris KA.

28) *Statuta Genuae*, Bologna, Caligula de Bazaleriis, 1498 (ISTC is00714000); «Librajo Bocca», 1837, reg. n. 9576 (INC. II.20; hold. inst.: 62); Ex-libris KA.

29) Leto, Pomponio, *Romanae historiae compendium* [et al.], Venezia, Bernardinus de Vitalibus, 1499 (ISTC il00024000);
«Librajo Pezzi», 1836, reg. n. 5375 (INC. I.34; hold. inst.: 116); Ex-libris KA.

Even such brief descriptions give an idea of the variety of research pathways that might be taken starting from this material. Beginning with the overall quality of the collection of incunabula gathered by Charles Albert, it is evident that very few copies are rare, in the sense of scarce: there is one *unicum*, and most of the editions on the list are in fact fairly common, which is somewhat unexpected. *Unica*, as we have

seen above, is today one of the features of the library, but clearly this was not so in its early years. What was it, then, that influenced Charles Albert's choice of acquisitions? Attempting to answer this question may well prove to be a rewarding investigation, while provenance is another question that calls for in-depth research.

Before examining the list of the booksellers named above, the isolated case of a copy which was neither bought nor donated, but instead was given back by the University Library («Restituita dalla Regia Biblioteca dell'Università», nr. 21¹⁴) might provide more pointers for further inquiry. The book is a copy of Livy's *History of Rome* (published in Milan, 1495); it is not particularly rare, but it is enriched by illuminated initials and borders, and, on the first printed leaf, a coat of arms that presumably belonged to its first owner. The Savoy coat of arms on the cover was added later, probably when the book was donated to Victor Amadeus II¹⁵.

From this copy we might infer that the king aimed to create a new collection of books once owned by his ancestors, in particular ones dealing with topics of particular interest, such as history. The list of booksellers and other individuals who provided items for the royal library is obviously a rich source of information which still waits to be fully plumbed. Since McKitterick had a wide range of vision, perhaps the focus should be the antiquarian book trade in Turin and the whole of Piedmont.

It is noteworthy that the provenance of fifteenth-century books only partially overlaps that of the major part of the collection, as the following tables show:

Provenance (Incunabula)	Items	Provenance (later editions)	Items
Librajo Pezzi	8	Gabinetto di S.M.	2030
Librajo Foa	6	Camera di S.M.	488

14. The book had been part of the library of the dukes of Savoy before Victor Amadeus II decided to give part of the collections to the University.

15. The book appears to have been rebound in the eighteenth century, and the Savoy coat of arms tooled in gold at the centre of the boards; a printed leaf was inserted to acknowledge that the book had been donated to the duke Victor Amadeus by Claudio Nicola Stampa; see G. Russo, *Catalogo degli incunaboli* cit., pp. 84-85.

Librajo Bocca	5
Dono del Sig. Cav. Promis	4
Dono di S.E. il Cav. di Saluzzo	2
Libreria Chisano	1
Camera di S.M., Sig. Cantel	1
Librajo Picca	1
Libreria del Conte Caissotti di Chiusano	1
Restituuta dalla Regia Biblioteca dell'Università	1
Sig. Lancetti di Bologna	1
Acquistato da N. Librajo a Londra	1
Total Items	32

Librajo Pezzi/Pezzi	494
Librajo Bocca/Sig. Bocca	502
Librajo Foa	214
Racconigi	166
Librajo Giannini/Giannini	184
Sig. Lancetti di Milano	130
Librajo Mazzetti di Bologna	67
Libreria de fu Conte Caissotti di Chiusano	58
Librajo Bertacco	43
da Milano [i.e. from Milan]	33
Librajo Genova	30
da Napoli [i.e. from Naples]	28
Azienda della Real Casa/ Azienda	51
Sig. Demarchi	26
Librajo Pic	25
Da N.N.	24
etc.	etc.

Even a quick glance at these lists reveals the part played by three booksellers through whom the royal library acquired both incunabula and later editions: Bocca, Foà and Pezzi. However, as regards editions printed in the sixteenth century onwards, the most important source was the private library of the king (Gabinetto di Sua Maestà).

The importance of the acquisition registers and the database which gives access to them can hardly be overstated. Suffice it to say that this data has not been recorded by Giselda Russo in her catalogue, which is based on the description of the copies¹⁶. On the other hand, the ex-libris of

16. It must also be said that Russo did not include the names of the kings in the index of former owners of incunabula, probably because they were not perceived as former owners, like all the previous ones. This means, however, that one has to go through the whole catalogue to retrieve the incunabula belonged to each king, from Charles Albert to his successors.

Charles Albert is found in other copies that are not included in the registers, namely the following thirteen:

- 1) Brasca, Santo, *Itinerario alla santissima città di Gerusalemme* [et al.], [Milano], Pachel and Scinzenzeler, 1481 (ISTC ib01101000);
(INC. I.14; hold. inst.: 16); Ex-libris KA;
- 2) Pius II papa, *Epistolae in Pontificatu editae*, Milano, Antonius Zarotus, 1481 (ISTC ip00725000);
(INC. III.12; hold. inst.: 70); Ex-libris KA.
- 3) Aegidius Romanus, *De regimine principum* [et al.], Roma, Stephan Planck, 1482 (ISTC ia00088000);
(INC. II.27; hold. inst.: 87); Ex-libris KA.
- 4) Valturius, Robertus, *De re militari* [tr. it. Paulus Ramusius], Verona, Boninus de Boninis, 1483 (ISTC iv00090000);
(INC. IV.16; hold. inst.: 55); Ex-libris KA.
- 5) Blondus, Flavius, *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii decades*. Pius II papa, *Abbreuiatio supra Decades Blondi*, Venezia, Thomas de Blavis, de Alexandria, 1484 (ISTC ib00699000);
(INC. IV.8; hold. inst.: 121); Ex-libris KA.
- 6) Foresti, Giacomo Filippo, *Supplementum chronicarum*, Brescia, Boninus de Boninis, 1485 (ISTC ij00209000);
(INC. III.17; hold. inst.: 97); Ex-libris KA.
- 7) Platina, Bartholomaeus, *Vitae pontificum*, [Treviso], Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, 1485 (ISTC ip00770000);
(INC. II.11; hold. inst.: 239); Ex-libris KA.
- 8) *Sabaudiae decreta ducalia*, Torino, Suigo, 1487 (ISTC is00002000);
(INC. II.12.1; hold. inst.: 24); Ex libris KA (on II.12.2, see below).
- 9) Pellos, Frances, *Compendio de lo abaco*, Torino, Nicolaus de Benedictis, Jacobinus Suigus, 1492 (ISTC ip00260000);
(INC. II.4; hold. inst.: 7); Ex-libris KA.

- 10) *Constitutiones synodales Episcopi et Cleri Montisregalensis*, Mondovì, Laurentius de Vivaldis, 1495 (ISTC is00749500); (2 copies: INC. I.13; INC. I.40; hold. inst.: 4); Ex-libris KA on both copies; the former one bears also «Ex Bibliotheca Regis Victorii Emmanuelis».
- 11) Brant, Sebastian, *Das Narrenschiff. La nef des folz du monde* [French Tr. Locher da Pierre Rivière], Parigi, Geoffroy de Marnef et al., [post 1497] (ISTC ib01094000); (INC. III.4.1; hold. inst.: 13); Ex-libris KA.
- 12) *Sabaudiae decreta ducalia*, Torino, Franciscus de Silva, 1497 (ISTC is00003000); (INC. II.12.2; hold. inst.: 13); Ex Libris KA.
- 13) Annius, Johannes, Viterbiensis, *Auctores vetustissimi*, [Venezia], Bernardinus de Vitalibus, 1498 (ISTC ia00749000); (INC. I.18; hold. inst.: 84); Ex Libris KA.

Why are these books not in the acquisition registers? More research and further analysis of the copies and particularly of information relating to previous owners, such as the note found on INC. II.12.2, is required before that question can be satisfactorily answered.

INC. II.12.2 is a copy of the *Sabaudiae decreta ducalia* printed in Turin in 1497. It bears a note saying it was bought, along with a copy of the edition printed in 1477, for the sum of 400 lire and 5 cents («Acquistato all'incanto dei libri del senator Paolo Emilio Carena, unitamente ad un esemplare dell'edizione del 1477 per la somma di lire 400, centesimi 05») at an auction of the books once owned by the senator Paolo Emilio Carena. The note appears right above the ex-libris of Carena: «Paulii Aemilii Carena regii professoris»¹⁷. Carena, a professor of law in the University of Turin and member of the senate (of Piedmont), is known mainly through his works; his biographical dates are not known but he must have been born in Carmagnola in around 1735 – 40, since he entered the professional college in 1761¹⁸. The ex-libris of Charles Albert is the other prove-

17. G. Russo, *Catalogo degli incunaboli* cit., p. 112.

18. Evidence can be found in the work he published for the occasion: *Paulus Aemilius*

nance note found in the book, which leads us to think that he bought this copy (and the copy of the Statutes printed in 1477) before becoming king. If so, the same may be true of the rest the collection not recorded in the acquisition registers.

This is just hypothesis, of course, the truth of which can only be established through a detailed analysis of the copies together with evidence from documents pertaining to the Savoy collections before the foundation of the Biblioteca Reale, as well as from the archive of the library.

5. A few preliminary observations

Forty-two copies of incunabula are therefore identified as once belonging to the founder of the Biblioteca Reale. The list itself along with notes about the rarity (scarcity) of the copies and what one can read in the catalogue provide enough elements for planning the course of research paths, starting with authors and texts. Humanists and classical authors—especially authors of history, military art and architecture—are major constituents of the collection. They include Pius II, Flavius Blondus, Pomponius Laetus, Bartholomaeus Platina, Johannes Annius, Flavius Vegetius and Angelus Politianus; the last-named is represented by the prestigious edition of his *Opera omnia* printed in Venice by Aldus Manutius. Hartmann Schedel, the physician and humanist from Nuremberg, falls within this category, although the text and the very idea of his celebrated *Liber Chronicarum* belong very much to the medieval tradition of universal chronicles. The edition, however, was somehow brought into the new age by the flourishing use of illustrations, attributed to the workshop of Wohlgemut, the master of Albrecht Dürer, and to Dürer himself. That the first and later editions of this beautiful book enjoyed great success is confirmed by the great number of copies still preserved all

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Carena civis Carmaniensis, juris utriusque doctor, ut in amplissimum Jurisconsultorum Collegium cooptetur in Regio Taurinensi Athenaeo, anno MDCCLXI die XXVII, Julii, hora VIII. matutina cum dimidio, Augustae Taurinorum, Ex Typographia Regia. Google Books is, so far, the only place where I have found notice of this publication; for this reason, I cannot say where this particular copy is preserved, the information not being provided by Google (despite its claims of being proud to help libraries). It does, however, appear to be the second item within a tract-volume (the number two is visible in the upper right-hand corner of the title-page).

over the world, including Turin where there are copies in the Biblioteca Nazionale, the old library of the Archivio di Stato and the city library.

Aesop, Livy, the *Scriptores rei militaris* (Vegetius, Frontinus, Aelianus Tacticus, Onosander), in two editions both edited by the humanist Sulpitius Verulanus, and the *Auctores vetustissimi*, in the edition by Johannes Annius represent the classical authors. Of the great authors of Italian literature only Dante is present, with one edition of the *Commedia* (but not the *princeps* nor the celebrated Florentine edition of 1481, commented by Landino and illustrated with beautiful engravings). Petrarch, however, is present with two editions of his Latin works (*Secretum* and *De vita solitaria*).

Among the medieval works, the juridical collections of the *Decreta ducalia* are worth noting, not least because they are copies of local editions, both edited (by the famous jurist Petrus Cara) and printed in Turin. Of a comparable kind, there are two copies of the same edition of the bishopric constitutions of Mondovì, printed in that town. Other editions printed in Piedmont, and especially Mondovì, were later acquired for the Biblioteca Reale, resulting from the flourishing of studies on bibliography started by Giuseppe Vernazza (1745-1822). Similarly, the two editions of the *Decreta ducalia* started a collection of city statutes and other legal compilations, which would become a feature of the library.

6. Conclusion

Even a brief account such as this demonstrates that a study of the foundation of the Biblioteca Reale and its connection with the making of the image of the monarchy can lead to a number of research efforts. As we have seen, rarity does not seem to have been the determinant for Charles Albert when he was buying early printed books. Rather, he seems to have started the collection of two kinds of books: local editions, which sometimes were rare, or very rare; and statutes and other legal compilations. This approach to the acquisition of books perhaps indicates an attempt to make a convincing portrayal of the values of the Crown.

Details of who had charge of the acquisitions and of how and when the collections were built up can be discovered by way of a systematic examination of data taken from archi-

val documents – such as the acquisition registers – and the books themselves. This kind of research is now being conducted on the collection of incunabula, via the recording of copy-specifics in the MEI database mentioned above (note 10). During the present year the recording of incunabula in the Biblioteca Reale has been also the subject of a workshop organised in collaboration with the University of Turin¹⁹, and that joint effort will hopefully help us achieve another goal: spotlighting the function of libraries as superlative research laboratories.

19. The workshop was offered to students enrolled in the postgraduate degree “Archival, Library and Culturale Heritage Studies” (<https://en.unito.it/ugov/degree/38172>); it involved both the Biblioteca Reale and the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria and was run by Giuseppina Mussari, (Director of the Royal Library), and Fabio Uliana (curator at the National Library).

Dynastic Caskets, Arsenals of Authority, Laboratories of History: Royal Court Archives in Sabaudian Nineteenth-Century*

Leonardo Mineo

1. At the dawn of the restoration

Starting with the pioneering studies of Gian Paolo Romagnani dating back to the 1980s¹, the attention of historiography has long focused on the relationship between historical research and archives in Restoration Piedmont and, in particular, on the question of access to archives. The control of documentary memory was then at the centre of the reflections carried out during the nineties up until recent times from new perspectives². More generally, recent stud-

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* This paper is an updated and translated version of L. Mineo, *Dai Regi archivi di Corte all'Archivio di Stato. Strategie archivistiche e contesto politico-culturale a Torino (1831-1870)*, in A. Giorgi et alii (eds.), *Erudizione cittadina e fonti documentarie. Archivi e ricerca storica nell'Ottocento italiano (1840-1880)*, Florence University Press, Florence 2019, vol. I, pp. 223-257. The following abbreviations have been used: *Giornale di quanto accade nei Regi archivi di Corte* = Archivio di Stato di Torino, *Archivio dell'Archivio di Stato*, reg. 41, vol. I (1822-1832); reg. 42, vol. II (1833-1840); reg. 43, vol. III (1841-1846).

1. G.P. Romagnani, *Storiografia e politica culturale nel Piemonte di Carlo Alberto*, Deputazione subalpina di storia patria, Turin 1985.

2. U. Levra, *Fare gli italiani. Memoria e celebrazioni del Risorgimento*, Comitato di Torino dell'Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento, Turin 1992; A. Merlotti, *Negli archivi del Re. La lettura negata delle opere di Giannone nel Piemonte sabauda (1748-1848)*, «Rivista storica italiana», CVII (1995), no. 2, pp. 331-386; P. Gentile, *Le carte dei re d'Italia tra dispersioni, epurazioni, occultamenti e (parziali) ritrovamenti*, «Passato e Presente», 106 (2019), no. 2,

ies have assessed the organisational methods of the Savoy archival system during the Nineteenth century, relating the experience to the more general national context³. This occurred thanks to the fruitful convergence of a well-established scholarly tradition and certain new historiographical approaches which in the last decade have made the history of archives an interesting field of discussion between historians and archivists⁴.

As it is known, at the dawn of the Restoration, after the Napoleonic upheaval, the archival system of the Savoy monarchy was organised with various institutes again: for example, the Chamber of Accounts Archives (*Archivio Camerale*), which guaranteed access to private citizens for the protection of their rights; the archives of certain branches of the central administration, such as the Archives of finance (*Archivio di finanze*) or the Archives of Ministry of War (*Archivio di guerra e marina*); but, above all, the Royal Court Archives (*Regi Archivi di Corte*), which were closed to the public or accessible only under particular conditions⁵.

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pp. 73-89; P. Caroli, *Il fondo Casa di sua maestà all'Archivio di Stato di Torino. Storie di vuoti, di assenze, di dispersioni: il caso dell'Archivio dell'Intendenza generale della Casa di Eugenio di Savoia Carignano (1834-1888)*, in *Trous d'archives, trous de mémoire?*, actes du 9^e colloque des archivistes de l'Arc alpin occidental (Vaucluse, 17-19 octobre 2019), pp. 87-101 (available *on line* at <https://archives.vaucluse.fr/>).

3. See the two contributions recently published in Giorgi *et alii* (eds.), *Erudizione cittadina e fonti documentarie* cit., S. Vitali, *Dall'amministrazione alla storia, e ritorno: la genesi della rete degli archivi di Stato italiani fra la Restaurazione e l'Unità*, vol. I, pp. 21-63 and, regarding Piedmont, L. Minco, *Dai Regi archivi di Corte* cit.

4. On the intersection between the turn in Italian archival studies and the "archival turn" internationally, S. Vitali, *Premessa*, in M. Lanzini, *L'utile oggetto di ammassare notizie. Archivi e archivisti a Milano tra Settecento e Ottocento*, Cosme B.C., Naples 2020, pp. XX-XXIII e F. De Vivo, A. Guidi, A. Silvestri, *Introduzione ad un percorso di studio*, in F. De Vivo *et alii* (eds.), *Archivi e archivisti in Italia tra medioevo ed età moderna*, Viella, Rome 2015, pp. 9-39. For a recent summary of the intense period of studies at the international level, see O. Poncet, *Archives et histoire: dépasser les tournants*, «Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales», LXXIV (2019), no. 3, pp. 711-743.

5. On the Savoy archival system, see P. Rück, *L'ordinamento degli archivi ducali di Savoia sotto Amedeo VIII (1398-1451)*, trans. S. D'Andreamatteo, preface by I. Soffietti, Ministero per i beni ambientali e culturali, Rome 1977, pp. 25-32 and M. Carassi, I. Ricci Massabò, *Gli archivi del principe. L'organizzazione della memoria per il governo dello Stato*, in *Il Tesoro del principe. Titoli, carte, memorie per il governo dello Stato*, catalogue of the documentary exhibition (16 May-16 June 1989), Archivio di Stato di Torino, Turin 1989, pp. 21-39. On the tortuous archival itinerary of the Savoy records on both sides of the Alps, see the recent contributions published in the volume M. Gattullo (ed.), *Archivi sul confine. Cessioni territoriali e trasferimenti documentari a 70 anni dal Trattato di Parigi del 1947*, proceedings of the international conference (Turin, State Archives, 6-7 December 2017), Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il turismo, Rome 2019, in particular L.C. Gentile, *I fondi*

The last-named, an institute of “history and government”, claimed of being the arsenal of authority as in the *ancient régime*: the Royal Archives contained a treasure trove of papers and were dedicated both to collecting records of any provenance selected to corroborate and certify the rights and prerogatives of the monarchy and also to performing the qualified function of supplying documentation in support of the political and institutional decisions taken by the Court and the steering system. This is how one should interpret the aspiration of Gian Francesco Galeani Napione (1748 – 1830)⁶, the head of the Royal Court Archives immediately after the return of the Savoy, to make it «a school, a nursery for young people, to whom he would teach the arts of government, precautionary measures, and the facts and reasons for which the public administration had, in the past, conducted itself in one way rather than in another»⁷.

Access to the records in this documentary arsenal, reserved for the sovereign and high officials, was granted, on an exceptional basis, to well-known scholars approved by the dynasty following a complicated admissions procedures, without any other formality than the *ad personam* concession of the sovereign⁸. In either case, the access to the documentation was strictly regulated and included the archivists’ involvement for assessing the research suitability and its political implications, controlling and expurgating the files

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archivistici dell’Archivio di Corte, memoria di uno Stato sovraregionale, pp. 89-105 and M.P. Niccoli, *Da Chambéry a Torino: il lungo viaggio degli archivi camerati di Savoia*, pp. 107-120.

6. On Gian Francesco Galeani Napione, see P. Bianchi, *Introduzione*, in G.F. Galeani Napione, *Del modo di riordinare la Regia Università degli Studi*, introduction and notes by P. Bianchi, Deputazione subalpina di storia patria, Turin 1993, pp. 1-43 and G.P. Romagnani, «Fortemente moderati». *Intellettuati subalpini fra Sette e Ottocento*, Edizioni dell’Orso, Alessandria 1999, pp. 31-44.

7. «Una scuola, un vivaio di giovani, che dovevano essere da lui ammaestrati nelle arti del governo, nelle cautele da usarsi e nelle cognizioni dei fatti e delle ragioni per cui la pubblica amministrazione s’era condotta, nei tempi andati, piuttosto in un modo che in un altro» in L. Sauli d’Igliano, *Reminiscenze della propria vita*, edited by G. Ottolenghi, Società editrice Dante Alighieri, Milan-Rome 1909, pp. 316-317, also quoted in M. Carassi, I. Ricci Massabò, *I dilemmi dell’archivista ottocentesco tra strategie politiche, orientamenti storiografici e doveri professionali: il caso del Piemonte*, in I. Cotta, R. Manno Tolu (eds.), *Archivi e storia nell’Europa del XIX secolo. Alle radici dell’identità culturale europea*, proceedings of the international conference (Florence, 4-7 December 2002), Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Rome 2006, pp. 411-421, in particular p. 414.

8. The regulation governing access to the Royal Court Archives, issued in 1822, largely repropounded the practices of the eighteenth century. On this regulation, G.P. Romagnani, *Storiografia e politica culturale* cit., pp. 44-45, 51.

made available. This procedure concerned only the capacity of simply viewing the papers: the authorisation to take notes or copies of the records required a further evaluation which, if successful, included the payment of fees, even large ones, intended to supplement the meagre salaries of the staff⁹. Nevertheless, these safeguards did not prevent users from grasping the omissions in their research, thus helping, in the early decades of the Restoration, to spread well beyond the borders of the Royal States both the fame of the wealth of the heritage preserved in the Court Archives and the difficulties of having recourse to it.

The 1823 visit to Turin of the Prussian scholar Georg Heinrich Pertz (1795-1876)¹⁰, who was working on his *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae*¹¹, was a symbolic representation of the entry of the Royal Court Archives into “the Century of History”. This event would come to undermine the practices and procedures typical of the *ancien régime*. Although subjected to the cumbersome process to obtain copies of numerous imperial diplomas, keeping silent about those that had been denied, Pertz, repaid the favours he received in Turin by promoting the admission to the Historical Society of Frankfurt of the president of the Royal Court Archives, Galeani Napione. A few months later Napione obtained authorisation from the sovereign,

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9. This was a common feature of the government archives of the rest of Italy on which, in general, S. Vitali, *Dall'amministrazione alla storia, e ritorno*, pp. 31-44 and D. Rando, *Il viaggio in Italia. Archivi e biblioteche dai resoconti e dalle corrispondenze dei Monumenta Germaniae Historica (1819 – 1876)*, in A. Giorgi et alii (eds.), *Erudizione cittadina e fonti documentarie* cit., pp. 167-202. On the difficulties encountered by scholars wishing to access Italian archives, see, for example, A. Luzio, *L'archivio Gonzaga di Mantova. La corrispondenza familiare, amministrativa e diplomatica dei Gonzaga*, A. Mondadori, Verona 1922, pp. 22-24; S. Vitali, *Pubblicità degli archivi e ricerca storica nella Toscana della Restaurazione*, in *Istituzioni e società in Toscana nell'Età moderna*, proceedings of the study days dedicated to Giuseppe Pansini (Florence, 4-5 December, 1992), Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, Rome 1994, pp. 952-991, in particular pp. 965-975; S.A. Meyer, *The artist in the archive. Writing the History of Art with the Artists' Letters (Bottari, Fiorillo, Rumohr, Gaye)*, in M.P. Donato, A. Saada (eds.), *Pratiques d'archives à l'époque moderne. Europe, mondes coloniaux*, Classiques Garnier, Paris 2019, pp. 115-133, in particular 127-128.

10. On Georg Heinrich Pertz visit to Turin see G.H. Pertz, *Italiänische Reise vom November 1823 bis August 1824*, «Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesamtausgabe der Quellenschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters», 5 (1824-25), pp. 37-39 and recently G.P. Romagnani, *Storiografia e politica culturale* cit., pp. 174-175 and D. Rando, *Il viaggio in Italia* cit., pp. 172-173.

11. H. Bresslau, *Geschichte der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, im Auftrage ihrer Zentral-direktion, Hannover 1921.

Charles Felix (1765-1831), «to give copies and communications of merely literary items to known persons» without further formality¹². The royal archivist Luigi Nomis di Cossilla (1793-1859)¹³, who was more cautious than his superior, immediately understood what could be, in probability, the consequences of this conferment for the jealous custody of the Royal Archives:

In this way, graduates and scientists will compete to found a colossus which, if it lets itself be reinforced, can over time repay with anything but gratitude those who, due to excessive weakness or fear, did not oppose its re-establishment in time¹⁴.

Thus from 1825 there began, at first silently, a procession into the Royal Court Archives of persons, such as Luigi Cibrario (1802-1870), Giuseppe Manno (1786-1869), Ludovico Sauli d'Igliano (1787-1874) and Federico Sclopis (1798-1878), to name but several of those who in a few years would cross the threshold of the Juvarra Palace with a very different mandate and for whom the practice of historical studies and documentary research would be at the heart of their careers as senior officials and leading politicians. The idea that the governance of the state had to be based on solid historical foundations belonged to Prospero Balbo (1762-1837), the mentor of this cohesive group of officials, which would go on to energise subalpine political and cultural life in the mid-nineteenth century. For Balbo, in fact, the profession of historian was «more a matter for a statesman than a man of letters or, to put it better [...] of a man who combines the two faculties»¹⁵.

12. «A dare copie e comunicazioni di cose meramente letterarie a persone conosciute» (L. Mineo, *Dai Regi archivi* cit., p. 227).

13. On Nomis, see A. Merlotti, *Negli archivi del Re* cit., p. 346, note 33 and A. Merlotti, *Nomis di Cossilla, Luigi*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma 2013, vol. 78, pp. 704-707. On his role in the Royal Court Archives, see L. Mineo, *Dai Regi archivi* cit.

14. «Così concorreranno ed i diplomati e gli scienziati a fondare un colosso che se si lascia rinforzare puote col tempo pagare di tutto altro sentimento che di riconoscenza quelli che per troppa debolezza o meto non si opposero a tempo al suo ristabilimento» in *Giornale di quanto accade nei Regi archivi di Corte* I, pp. 35-36 (30 March 1824).

15. «Più faccenda da uomo di Stato che di lettere o, per dir meglio [...] da uomo che unisca le due facoltà» in F. Odorici, *Il conte Luigi Cibrario e i tempi suoi. Memorie storiche*, Civelli, Florence 1872, pp. 37-38, which refers to a letter written by Prospero Balbo to Luigi Cibrario in 1825. On the members of the first generation of “sabaudisti” historians

2. The Royal Court Archives in the Century of History

The accession to the throne of Charles Albert (1798-1849) in 1831 significantly accelerated the changes in the nature of the Royal Court Archives that had begun in the very recent past. The new sovereign's cultural plans were clear. The first step was endowing the House of Savoy with a history that would illuminate its past and its military glories, that would give lustre to the reigning prince and his family line and that – breaking with a long-established historiographical tradition in the court – confirmed the Italian origins of the dynasty¹⁶. These were dynamics, already largely reconstructed, that would first lead to the creation in 1833 of the Deputation of Homeland History, the first of its kind in Italy, which was allowed free access to the records held in the archives and libraries of the kingdom up to 1560. This initially aroused stormy relations with some of the staff of the Royal Court Archives, who strenuously opposed¹⁷. But the new sovereign did not create only the Deputation opening the Royal archives: the cultural institutions created or relaunched in that period — the Royal Library, Royal Armoury, Albertina Academy and Royal Gallery¹⁸ — also enriched their collections with various kinds of antiquities

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and on the start of their studies, see G.P. Romagnani, *Storiografia e politica culturale*, cit. For an evaluation of the internal dynamics of this group from a different perspective, see U. Levra, *Gli storici "sabaudisti" nel Piemonte dell'Ottocento: personaggi, istituzioni, carriere, reti di relazioni*, in L. Lo Basso (ed.), *Politica e cultura nel Risorgimento italiano. Genova 1857 e la fondazione della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, proceedings of the conference (Genoa, 4-6 February 2008), Società ligure di storia patria, Genoa 2008, pp. 113-125.

16. G.P. Romagnani, *Deputazione, Accademia delle scienze, archivi e Università: una politica per la storia*, in *I primi due secoli dell'Accademia delle scienze di Torino. Realtà accademica piemontese dal Settecento allo stato unitario*, «Atti dell'Accademia delle scienze di Torino», 119 (1985), pp. 163-188, in particular 176. On the long-running and much-debated question, initially political rather than historiographical, on the origin of the Savoy dynasty, A. Merlotti, *Morte (e resurrezione) di Beroldo. Le origini sassoni dei Savoia nella storiografia del Risorgimento*, in M. Bellabarba, A. Merlotti (eds.), *Stato sabaudo e Sacro Romano Impero*, il Mulino, Bologna 2014, pp. 135-163 and Silvia Cavicchioli's essay published in this volume.

17. On the origins and early years of the Deputation of Homeland History, see G.P. Romagnani, *Storiografia e politica culturale* cit., pp. 81-171, 273-300 and G.S. Pene Vidari, *La Deputazione di storia patria di Torino*, in A. Bistarelli (ed.), *La storia della storia patria. Società, Deputazioni e istituti storici nazionali nella costruzione dell'Italia*, Viella, Rome 2012, pp. 117-143.

18. On some of these institutions, see G.P. Romagnani, *Storiografia e politica culturale* cit., pp. 6-37, as well as, with reference to the commissioning of artworks, S. Montaldo, *Celebrare il Risorgimento. Collezionismo artistico e memorie familiari a Torino 1848-1915*, Comitato di Torino dell'Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento-Carocci, Turin-Rome 2013, pp. 25-28.

of homeland history, including medals, illustrations and drawings, manuscripts, codices and relics, which hitherto had been kept in the Court Archives, thereby limiting the role they had traditionally played until that moment.

From the early 1830s, the Royal Court Archives were at the centre of attention of at least three key players destined to bring about changing alignments and sudden reversals of alliances, based on the contingencies that gradually presented themselves over the course of almost twenty years. For their custodian, Luigi Nomis di Cossilla, more a man of the *ancien régime* than of the century in which he lived most of his life, the Court Archives, should have continued to be the natural place to keep the papers «interesting the history and essentials of the government»¹⁹, often concealing them in the name of the higher interests of the state and the dynasty; for the sovereign Charles Albert they represented the dynastic casket from which to extract rarities for his collections, in which to find monuments to justify current choices with reference to the past or, if necessary, from which to remove memories considered uncomfortable, sometimes destroying them²⁰; for the members of the Deputation, finally, the Court Archives were a fertile ground to be exploited with intensive cultivation methods, in the interests of the monarchy, and an exclusive garden in which to curate with a certain autonomy their political and cultural interests and welcome their associates *savants* with the help of the archivists who were better prepared and less inclined to bureaucratic routine. Acting as a backdrop to this was the sabaudian institutional and administrative apparatus, which was set to definitively overcome the practices of the *ancien régime*.

The birth of the Deputation of Homeland History further consolidated the reputation of the liberality of the Royal Court Archives (and of those who frequented them) towards scholars, who in the Europe of the time did not

19. «Interessanti la Storia e l'essenziale del Governo» in *Giornale di quanto accade nei Regi archivi di Corte*, III, p. 124 (16 November 1843).

20. On the attitude of the sovereign, which oscillated between a liberal attitude to studies and the concealment or destruction of documents deemed inappropriate both for the image of the dynasty and for the contingent political situation, see G.P. Romagnani, *Storiografia e politica culturale* cit., pp. 217-218; U. Levra, *Fare gli italiani* cit., pp. 186-188; A. Merlotti, *Negli archivi del Re* cit., pp. 352-353.

have an easy life²¹. Already in 1832, that is, a year before the creation of the Deputation, the editors of Giovan Pietro Vieusseux's «Antologia» commented on a brief contribution by Luigi Cibrario with these meaningful words:

We owe this article to the kindness of one of the most active Piedmontese scholars of the homeland, whose many public duties include facilitating the most meticulous research, even when the public archives in Piedmont were not very liberally open to the learned and to scholars of all types²².

Such a reputation brought an increase in requests for admission from scholars and this grew significantly from the early 1840s, well beyond the initial plans and boundaries set out by Charles Albert himself. A new way of carrying out research had emerged in the Royal Court Archives, and this too brought important innovations in the role of the institute and the archivists who ran it: direct access to inventories, previously denied to scholars, became a formidable instrument in the hands of members of the Deputation and their network of relations, who were able to understand and to speculate on the gaps in the documentation consulted, and to ask for explanations and devise new strategies by addressing other series of records and other archives²³. The dense network of relationships that linked the community of scholars ensured that this information was widely circulated, acting as a prelude for further consultation requests²⁴. This was not only a Piedmontese phenomenon, although in Piedmont it undoubtedly was very peculiar and precocious compared to the rest of Italy. People and times were now

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21. See above note 9.

22. «Andiamo debitori del presente articolo alla gentilezza d'uno dei più attivi fra' piemontesi studiosi delle cose patrie, il quale fra' molti suoi titoli alla pubblica fiducia ha pur quello della carica da lui coperta, che gli faciliterebbe le più minute ricerche, anche quando i pubblici archivi non fossero nel Piemonte liberalissimamente aperti agli eruditi e agli studiosi d'ogni specie» in L. Cibrario, *Considerazioni sulla storia civile e sui fondamenti di essa nella Monarchia di Savoia*, «Antologia. Giornale di scienze, lettere ed arti», 138 (June 1832), pp. 40-49, in particular 40.

23. On the dense epistolary network that linked intellectuals and scholars throughout Europe in the central decades of the nineteenth century, see A. Giorgi, S. Moscadelli, «Leggo sempre volentieri le lettere del vostro bravo corrispondente». *Reti di persone e istituzioni nelle corrispondenze di storici ed eruditi nei decenni centrali dell'Ottocento*, in A. Giorgi et alii (eds.), *Erudizione cittadina e fonti documentarie* cit., vol. I, pp. 71-165.

24. L. Mineo, *Dai Regi archivi* cit., pp. 231-232.

irremediably changing throughout Europe, where all governments, even the most careful, began to open the doors of their archives²⁵.

As part of a new circuit, the Royal Court Archives ended up redefining its archival strategies (acquisitions, arrangements, regulations, internal organisation) in response to the mission that was becoming prevalent²⁶. As such, the Deputation's network of relations and, more generally, that of the scholars (in which, despite themselves, the Royal Court Archives had been entangled) became an instrument, for example, through which to become aware of the existence of records that should have been acquired in their own cabinets (*guardarobbe*)²⁷. The Royal Court Archives in this period pursued the recovery of documentation of relevance to the history and the government from several sources²⁸. This strong commitment can also be explained by the gradual weakening of the contribution, above all qualitative, of the institutions which, in theory, were meant to be the main sources of supply of repositories. We can remember, on the one hand, the secretariats of state and, on the other, the cabinet of the king, guardian of the secret archives that from the eighteenth century had been the temporary home of records of various provenance and nature collected by the sovereigns and sent to the Royal Court Archives at the time of every succession to the throne. On the first front, the change in the origin and scope of the Royal Court Archives was to a large degree the inevitable outcome of a process that directly influenced their relationship with the dicasteries. The archival model that came out of the eighteenth-century reforms and that was largely re-proposed

25. In general, on this process within the Italian context, see S. Vitali, *Dall'amministrazione alla storia, e ritorno* cit., pp. 44-50. On the case of Turin, L. Mineo, *Dai Regi archivi* cit., pp. 229-233, while on that of M. Lanzini, *L'utile oggetto di ammassare notizie* cit., pp. 321-331. On the French case, which influenced and inspired the model adopted in Piedmont, L.J. Moore, *Restoring Order. The Ecole des Chartes and the Organization of Archives and Libraries in France, 1820-1870*, Litwin Books, Duluth, Minnesota 2008.

26. L. Mineo, *Dai Regi archivi* cit., pp. 233-235.

27. On such strategies, *ibid.*, pp. 236-237.

28. Consider, for example, the actions taken to recover the papers preserved in the Archives of the Chamber of Accounts, those of the deceased senior officials, those transported to Paris in the Napoleonic era, those of the ancient Duchy of Monferrato preserved in Mantua and Vienna, and those of the Provisional Government of 1798-1799 traced to Grenoble, *ibid.*, pp. 238-241.

after the restoration made the Royal Court Archives a *trésor des chartes* rather than a real consolidated repository of records of the state secretariats, where only certain types of papers were allowed to be kept there permanently, after a careful and radical selection procedure²⁹. However, while from the first restoration the main occupation of the royal archivists was to remedy the confusion in which the papers of the *ancien régime* were deposited after the Napoleonic age³⁰, for the bureaucratic organisation of the ministries the clock of history could no longer be turned back to 1801.

The ministries had developed a different relationship with their archival assets compared to the model of the *ancien régime*, as the court archivists were well aware. The archives of the active administration in fact tended to become an internal system, an appendix, to which to turn for reasons of self-documentation, leading on the one hand to the creation of selected thesauruses of important files and plans to keep close by, and on the other hand sanctioning the crisis of the model of the archives as an autonomous institution of which the Royal Court Archives had been the archetype³¹. Thus becoming ever less effective as arsenals of authority, the Royal Court Archives found new legitimacy primarily as laboratories of history at the service of subjects who worked, albeit within the context of a broader political design, principally to satisfy their own inclinations and cultural interests. Due to the variety of purposes, the intense organisational activity carried out without interruption from the early 1820s and implemented in a declared ideal (and ideological) continuity with those of the eighteenth century, instead of reaffirming the role of the Royal Court Archives in the decision-making process of the Savoy political-administrative system, unwittingly played a large

29. On this process, *ibid.*, pp. 241-243.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 233-234. On the transfer of the Court Archives and a large portion of the Archives of the Chamber of Accounts to Paris in the Napoleonic era, M.P. Donato, *L'archivio del mondo. Quando Napoleone confiscò la storia*, Laterza, Rome-Bari 2019, pp. 31-34. For a synthetic reconstruction of the events that occurred in the Napoleonic age in the Court Archives and of the reorganisation work carried out up to 1830, see G. Fea, *Cenno storico sui Regi archivi di Corte (1850)*, edited by State Archives of Turin's archivist, Archivio di Stato di Torino, Turin 2006, pp. 84-106, 131.

31. On the outcomes after unification of this process, which has its roots in the first half of the nineteenth century, see I. Zanni Rosiello, *Archivi e memoria storica*, il Mulino, Bologna 1987, p. 82 ff.

part in historicising them, inverting the hierarchy between the political-governmental spirit and the historical-cultural one that had always coexisted there. If the evolution of the relationship between the Royal Court Archives and the state secretariats was therefore mainly owed to the changes that occurred in the Savoy administration, it is certainly necessary to call into question the favours granted to historical and scholarly studies under the reign of Charles Albert in order to evaluate the interruption of the relationship between the Royal Court Archives and the sovereigns' cabinet and the so-called "archivi segreti." Paradoxically, it was precisely the greater accessibility of the archives that sealed the fate of the records relating to the most confidential sphere of the dynasty or to the erudite interests of the sovereign, which, at the behest of Charles Albert himself (who had been the driving force behind the opening of the archives), were henceforth preserved in the new confidential and private casket, the Royal Library, when not marked for destruction³².

3. From 1848 to the unification of Italy: The epilogue and the beginning

But at the end of the 1840s other events were knocking on the doors of the Royal Court Archives and the whole of the Kingdom of Sardinia. The proclamation of the 1848 statute was the definitive acceptance of a process, begun twenty years earlier, of the loosening of the ties between the Royal Court Archives and the Court. Noting without particular regret the end of their direct dependence on the sovereign, which they marked by promptly archiving the reports presented in audience with His Majesty from 1814 onwards, the royal archivists were concerned with resolving the question of the positioning of their institution, on the basis of an assumption that all government archives should be united as one body and rejecting the hypothesis of dependency on a single dicastery, that would have reduced the Royal Court

32. L. Mineo, *Dai Regi archivi di Corte* cit., p. 43. Not coincidentally, at the end of the nineteenth century, the urgency of removing from consultation the documents deemed most confidential relating to the Savoy family led to the creation of a commission that extracted them from the series of the ancient Court Archives, assigning them instead to the Royal Library. On this, see P. Gentile, *Le carte dei re d'Italia* cit.

Archives to the status of an entirely subordinate office (as will happen shortly thereafter...)³³.

In July 1850 the resignation of Nomis di Cossilla after 35 years of service ended an era in the life of the Royal Court Archives. The period which opened up would be characterized by elements of distinct continuity with the past, and by others of discontinuity. Ignazio Somis was established as the director general at the end of December 1850³⁴, after the formal institution of the General Archives of the Kingdom (under the competence of the Ministry of the Interior), on which the state archives of the other “capitals” of the kingdom depended: Cagliari, Genoa and Chambéry. In line with the policies of his predecessor, Somis pursued the attempt, which was to prove unsuccessful, to allow up the organic reorganisation of the General Archives with a specific legislative provision and regulation, which nevertheless were never officially ratified³⁵.

The project revived the old idea of National Archives in Turin, which would bring together all government records preserved in all the state archives of the kingdom, finally providing it with a staff which, compared to the recent past, would have specific abilities: «possession of the Latin language, especially as used in the middle age, and the ancient Gallic and Spanish languages [...], being well versed in political, civil and ecclesiastical history, especially in the history of our country [...], being initiated in paleography» («il possedere la lingua latina, massime quella adoperata ne' secoli di mezzo, le antiche lingua gallica e spagnuola [...], l'essere versato nella storia politica, civile ed ecclesiastica, massime nella storia del nostro paese [...], l'essere iniziato nella paleografia»). No longer a comfortable sinecure, the job of archivists was at least meant to be reserved for a specific professionalism that required training and updating through a regular school of paleography that would also be open to volunteers and external parties, subject to the authorisation of the director general. The new organization of the National Archives would then be based on uniform-

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33. L. Mineo, *Dai Regi archivi di Corte* cit., pp. 243-244.

34. On Ignazio Somis, a long-time official in the Savoy administration, *ibid.*, pp. 244-245.

35. *Ibid.*

ity: first in the method of archival arrangement, so as to make up for gaps in the records held by the institutes; and secondly, «in order to remove any shadow of suspicion of arbitrariness and partiality» («onde togliere ogni ombra di sospetto di arbitrio e di parzialità»), there was a recognition of the need to make clear the criteria for making records public to avert the «reproach of arbitrariness, partiality and secrecy» («taccia di arbitrarietà, di parzialità, di segretume»), recognising that in most European archives «political records such as negotiations, diplomatic correspondence and the like» («le carte politiche come negoziazioni, carteggi diplomatici e simili») were not open to examination by scholars. As for communication, viewing and making copies of such records, along with those relating to the Royal Household, the regulation provided for written authorisation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was possible to obtain a copy or simply view other types of records if authorised by the director of the National Archives, who in the case of doubt had to refer the request to the Ministry. In order to act as a barrier «to the simply curious,» («ai semplici curiosi») who were increasingly interested in archival research, it was proposed to fix a modest compensation fee for the right to find, view and copy, which would no longer go to the staff but to the Exchequer and the budget of the kingdom's archival system³⁶.

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With the direct relationship with the sovereign at an end, the Royal Court Archives thus became the General Archives of the Kingdom which focused on the recovery of the most precious documentation relating to recent political and military upheavals, maintaining its self-representation as a symbol of dynastic continuity and custodian of its choicest historical memories in keeping with ancient responsibilities. After acquiring the acts of annexation of the Dukedom of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla and of Lombardy and Veneto provinces sanctioned between 1848 and 1849, and the act of abdication of Charles Albert, the concern of the General Archives was to ensure worthy custody of, for example, the copious collection of the many political writings published

36. For the report accompanying the legislative bill and the regulation of the state archives, see ASTo, *Archivio dell'Archivio*, reg. 40, *Registro segreto di lettere e memorie dei Regi archivi di Corte*, III, pp. 70-90.

after the reforms of October 1847, in order to provide for future historical research³⁷. The clearest signs of discontinuity lay in the definitive completion of the process of opening up the Royal Court Archives that had begun almost thirty years earlier. In September 1852, the members of the Deputation of Homeland History were officially granted permission to see and examine every and any writing papers in the General Archives, without any chronological limitations³⁸. The role of the deputation in the admission of the most illustrious scholars was institutionalized, appointing the faithful archivist Celestino Combetti (1802-1880) of the researches for the foreigners which were recommended by the ministers and by other characters³⁹. Those who twenty years earlier had launched the deputation now sat on the benches of parliament or held prominent positions in the high administration, and maintained their attitude for archival research. It is therefore not surprising, for example, to find Luigi Cibrario consulting letters relating to the Piedmontese legation to Portugal to place the report of his mission to Porto at the service of the exiled Charles Albert, or to find Federico Sclopis consulting records useful for debates on laws being discussed in the Senate⁴⁰.

Alongside the definitive evolution of the former Royal Court Archives under the direction of Somis was the idea of establishing a real study room – «an *ad hoc* common room where users would be admitted on a set day and assisted by one of the archive's employees, who would be responsible for supplying them with their requested documents and providing necessary clarifications»⁴¹ — and the project

37. L. Mineo, *Dai Regi archivi di Corte* cit., p. 246.

38. The provision, issued by Somis, followed Federico Sclopis's request to consult the series *Lettere ministri d'Inghilterra dal 1745 al 1750* (*ibid.*, p. 247).

39. *Ibid.* State archivist from 1833 to 1875, Celestino Combetti, a collaborator and then member of the Deputation of Homeland History, was entrusted with the management of the most delicate archival tasks. He was also known for the dedication with which he dedicated himself to the concealment of documents deemed inconvenient to the dynasty, as well as for his deep knowledge of the assets of the Court Archives. On Combetti, see C. Danna, *Biografia di Celestino Combetti*, «Miscellanea di storia italiana», s. II, t. V, pp. 457-519 and U. Levra, *Fare gli italiani*, pp. 258-259.

40. L. Mineo, *Dai Regi archivi di Corte* cit., p. 247.

41. «Una sala comune ad hoc, dove verrebbero ammessi li richiedenti in giorno fisso e coll'assistenza di uno degli impiegati delli archivi che sarebbe incaricato di somministrarli documenti addomandati e li chiarimenti necessari» in ASTo, *Archivio dell'Archivio*, reg.

being developed for the «total reform of the old inventories and the subsequent formation of a general catalogue divided into subjects, which is so sought after in well-organised archives»⁴², that would keep busy at least a couple of generations of Turinese archivists, without ever reaching a conclusion. This instrument, Somis argued, would be «indispensable to facilitating the research of the man of letters, antiquarian, legal expert, historian, economist and finally all those who profess some part of human knowledge, since there are things reflecting the same subject, which have been scattered among a great many diverse writings spanning very distant eras»⁴³. Finally, the publication in the «Calendario generale del Regno» (the official yearbook of the Kingdom of Sardinia) of 1853 of a note inspired by the archivist Giuseppe Fea's work, *Cenno storico sui Regi archivi di Corte*⁴⁴, in which, in addition to a brief history of the Royal Court Archives, he listed their inventories⁴⁵, makes clear the distance from Nomis's opinion, expressed only eight years before, about the request from the Government of the Canton of Vaud to obtain a copy of the inventory of that country, a former Savoy dominion: «it may therefore be worth printing them and we would certainly be applauded by literary circles throughout Europe, an honour about which in truth I care little»⁴⁶.

40, *Registro segreto di lettere e memorie dei Regi archivi di Corte*, III, 63, *Relazione del direttore generale degli Archivi del Regno per il Ministero dell'interno sul progetto di regolamento per gli archivi di Sardegna* (5 May 1851).

42. «Riforma totale degli antichi inventarii e la successiva formazione di un catalogo generale diviso per materie, cotanto raccomandata in un ben ordinato archivio» (*ibid.*).

43. «Indispensabile onde facilitar le ricerche al letterato, all'antiquario, al legisperito, allo storico, all'economista ed in fine a tutti coloro che professano qualche parte dello scibile umano, avvegnaché vi sono cose riflettenti la stessa materia, le quali trovansi sparse in una grande quantità di scritture differentissime, e di epoche distantissime» in *ibid.*

44. Completed in 1850, it was published only in 2006: G. Fea, *Cenno storico sui Regi archivi di Corte* cit. On Fea's work and its influence on subsequent studies cf. L. Mineo, *Tra amministrazione, storia e genealogia. Prime riflessioni sul Seicento archivistico sabaudo*, in E. Guadagnin, M. Vivarelli (eds.), *Reimmaginare la Grande Galleria. Forme del sapere tra età moderna e culture digitali*, Accademia university press, Turin 2022, pp. 309-314.

45. G. Stefani (ed.), *Archivi Generali del Regno, Calendario generale del Regno del 1853 con appendice di notizie storico statistiche*, Tipografia sociale degli artisti, Turin 1853, 30, pp. III-XXXV.

46. «Tanto vale allora farli stampare e certamente otterressimo allora gli applausi di tutta Europa letterata, onore del quale poco mi curo per la verità» in *Giornale di quanto accade nei Regi archivi di Corte*, III, p. 184 (28 January 1845).

In July 1854, Michelangelo Castelli (1808-1875) was appointed director of the General Archives of the Kingdom. He was a senior official of the Ministry of the Interior⁴⁷ and a trusted lieutenant of Camillo Cavour (1810-1861), certainly more a man of state than a man of letters and essentially unconnected to the network that controlled the destiny of the principal cultural institutions of the city. Hence his appointment did not result in significant changes to the management of historical-archival matters, which by then had been entrusted to officials who were extremely loyal to the system to which they had been co-opted⁴⁸. It had nevertheless been the looming of «modern times» that suddenly brought back to mind the origin and purpose of the old Royal Court Archives, outlining a path from administration to history and back, as Stefano Vitali has recently observed with regard to Italian archives in the nineteenth century⁴⁹. Castelli's leadership was in fact marked chiefly by a decisive relaunch of the administrative role of the institute in terms of its relations with the ministries and its political role in the control of more recent documentation. As regards the first aspect, Cavour's 1853 reform of the central administration, which involved the transfer of the Royal Court Archives' role to the General Archives of the Kingdom, had placed the latter in the position of opposing with increasingly weak resistance, until eventually surrendering, the quantitative burden of merely administrative records that had suddenly ceased to have any practical use but which still had to be accommodated in some way⁵⁰.

In the meantime, however, a completely different revolution had brought up the highly political question of control over contemporary documents and the public use that

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47. At the time of his appointment, Castelli was an employee of the Ministry of the Interior with the title of «primo ufficiale per la parte politica». On his appointment to the General Archives, supported by Urbano Rattazzi, see R. Rocca (ed.), *Epistolario di Urbano Rattazzi*, Gangemi, Rome 2009, vol. I, 1846 – 1861, pp. 198-199 (17 July 1854). More generally on Castelli, see P. Gentile, *Sentimento, progresso, politica. Michelangelo Castelli, testimone del Risorgimento*, «Rassegna storica del Risorgimento», 98 (2011), no. 2, pp. 220-234.

48. On the changing of the guard at the top of the Royal Court Archives see L. Mineo, *Dai Regi archivi* cit., pp. 244-248.

49. S. Vitali, *Dall'amministrazione alla storia, e ritorno* cit.

50. L. Mineo, *Dai Regi archivi di Corte* cit., p. 252.

could be made of them. A visit to the Court Archives by another foreigner closes the circle of the events outlined here: the arrival in October 1850 of an exile from Reggio Emilia, Nicomede Bianchi (1818-1886), in the guise of a scholar working on his first essay on the history of the Duchy of Modena and Reggio from the Restoration to 1848⁵¹, represents a clear signal of the process that would make archives and historiography even more an instrument of political action and no longer merely a means of legitimising and glorifying the dynasty⁵². It was above the wave of annexations of central Italy and the military conquest of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies that would once more lead to the General Archives assuming the role of trusted custodian of confidential papers, this time from the pre-unification states. It was in fact in carrying out this role that the Piedmontese General Archives obtained a right which, in the course of the debate that had recently been launched on bringing the archives under the auspices of the unified state, would be decisive in the decision to place them under the Ministry of the Interior⁵³. The Castelli-Bianchi relationship had revived the historical role of the archivist, careful to preserve everything and, if necessary, to conceal papers the knowledge of which would have harmed the image of more or less well-known personages. Thus, for example, in 1862 while consulting as part of a diplomatic mission from Florence the papers of the cabinet secretariat of the Grand

51. N. Bianchi, *I ducati estensi dall'anno 1815 al 1850 con documenti inediti*, Società Editrice italiana, Turin 1852. For some biographical notes on Nicomede Bianchi and on the characteristics of his historiographical production, see W. Maturi, *Interpretazioni del Risorgimento. Lezioni di storia della storiografia*, Einaudi, Turin 1962, pp. 289-302.

52. On the political aims of Bianchi's early historiographical works, which were closely linked to the Cavour group, see U. Levra, *Fare gli italiani*, pp. 204-206 and *passim*. The publication of a pamphlet by Michelangelo Castelli dedicated to Sardinian policy on the question of the Orient between 1783 and 1784 belongs to the same period. The argument was highly topical due to the Sardinian intervention in the Crimean War: M. Castelli, *La politique Sarde sur la question d'Orient en 1783 au 1784, documents diplomatiques extraits des archives du Royaume* Imprimerie scolastique de S. Franco et fils et C., Turin 1855. On this work, see P. Gentile, *Sentimento, progresso, politica* cit., p. 230.

53. The long debate on the institutional location of the state archives in the post-unification age, as is well known, found its conclusion in the works of the commission appointed in 1870 and chaired by Luigi Cibrario, alongside whom Michelangelo Castelli sat as a representative of the government. On the subject, see the classic A. D'Addario, *La collocazione degli archivi nel quadro istituzionale dello Stato unitario. I motivi ottocenteschi di un ricorrente dibattito (1860-1874)*, «Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato», 35 (1975), pp. 11-115.

Duchy of Tuscany held in the prefecture⁵⁴, Bianchi agreed with Castelli that great care should be taken in making them public: Charles Albert's Metternich panegyrics, his hostility towards constitutional governments, the political opinions of public officials after the post 1848 restoration, the intimate letters of the Grand Duke's wife or the letters sent to the Grand Duke while in exile in Gaeta, by other figures who would go on to participate in post-unification politics. All these documents should have been placed in strict custody if transported to Turin, where they should have been kept out of memory for a long time⁵⁵.

The transfer of the capital of the kingdom first to Florence and then to Rome, after 1870 led to the transformation of the General Archives of the Kingdom into the State Archives of Turin, under the management of Nicomede Bianchi, who would play the role of trusted guardian of the memories of Savoy and of the Risorgimento for more than fifteen years until his death⁵⁶.

54. On the events related to the recovery and custody of the papers of the Grand Ducal cabinet secretariat, see S. Vitali, C. Vivoli (eds.), *Fra Toscana e Boemia. Le carte di Ferdinando III e di Leopoldo II nell'Archivio centrale di Stato di Praga*, Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Rome 1999, pp. 45-86. Bianchi had obtained free access to the Tuscan archives for his research from the Minister of Education, Carlo Matteucci.

55. L. Mineo, *Dai Regi archivi di Corte* cit., p. 253 and U. Levra, *Fare gli italiani* cit., pp. 208-209.

56. On Bianchi's stewardship of the State Archives, see *ibid.*

Heraldry and the Dynastic Image of the Nineteenth Century Portuguese Monarchy: the Palace of Cidadela, at Cascais*

Miguel Metelo de Seixas

In the construction of the image of the nineteenth century monarchies, heraldry played a relevant role. Both as visible proof of the continuity with the past – and not only with the near past, but also with the remote past, in particular the medieval one – and as proof of the capacity of renewal of these monarchies, and of their desired projection in the future. In the Portuguese case, heraldry certainly functioned as an instrument of consolidation of a regime that, although forged by a long period (between 1820 and 1851) of revolutions, counterrevolutions, military pronouncements, coups d'état and civil wars, always aimed to reinvent the nation: what was then called, precisely, the *Regeneração* (regeneration) principle. In the political equation of the constitutional monarchy emerging from these thirty years of convulsions, both the monarch and the royal arms emerged as symbols of connection to the past and of perpetuation of the national feeling. It is important, in this context, to analyse how the successive constitutional kings managed to apply

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this heraldry to palatial spaces, making it useful in the construction of the dynastic image. The following pages focus on a case study, that of the summer palace that the kings of Portugal created in Cascais in the second half of the nineteenth century.

1. Cascais, the summer residence of the kings

Cascais was slow to find its own place in the political and social equation established with the advent of the Portuguese constitutional monarchy. At first, the town maintained the somewhat desolate air that still resulted from the devastating effects of the 1755 earthquake and the relative loss of influence of its citadel as an essential strategic point for the defence of the Tagus estuary. With the prestigious palace of its former medieval lords of the Castro family (counts of Monsanto and later marquises of Cascais, extinct for lack of genealogical continuity at the end of the eighteenth century) and the Carmelite convent both reduced to ruins, having also lost one of its parish churches, Cascais lived off fishing activity, the connection with inland lands, the presence of a garrison that the extinction of the nineteenth Infantry Regiment had reduced to scarce units of veterans¹. It would then be a relatively depopulated and isolated borough, despite its geographical proximity to the capital of the kingdom, and certainly devoid of intense social and cultural life.

Everything changed in the second half of the nineteenth century. Various authors have emphasized the role that fell to two successive kings in this change: Louis I and his son Charles I. Without disrespecting the effective action of these monarchs, which will be referred to in more detail below, the change in Cascais' history during this period was part of wider circumstances. In effect, the process of opening Cascais, in a more effective way, to Lisbon's sphere of influence, is directly related to a new use that was given to the town: that of seaside resort². The fashion of Cascais as

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1. A. Costa, *Duas fortalezas formando uma fortificação*, in D. Gaspar (ed.), *Palácio da Cidade-la de Cascais*, Museu da Presidência da República / Câmara Municipal de Cascais, Lisbon 2014, p. 65.

2. R.H. Silva, *Arquitectura de veraneio. Cascais*, Câmara Municipal de Cascais, Cascais 2010, p. 10.

a seaside resort town was inaugurated by Joaquim António Velez Barreiros, first viscount of Nossa Senhora da Luz, responsible for the construction of the first road connecting to the capital, as well as a *promenade*³. It was around these initiatives by the viscount da Luz (as he became known for short) that the essential developments for the progress of Cascais as a summer resort began to be built: other roads, other parks, a theatre, a casino and hotels.

The royal intervention, therefore, exacerbated a tendency that could be framed within a general phenomenon. Such a framework does not reduce the importance of the monarchs' action, which proved crucial in the case of Cascais. For two generations, until the end of the monarchy in 1910, Cascais played a leading role in the life of the royal family and the Portuguese court. This connection began with Louis I, through a series of circumstances that eventually attracted this king to Cascais: first of all, his training in the navy and his passion for the sea found in this town the appropriate stage⁴. Also in this domain, individual circumstances are part of a general phenomenon. As pointed out by Raquel Henriques da Silva,

It should also be considered that Louis and Charles' love of the sea was not a mere subjective whim. There is, on the one hand, an important European context, related to the progress of medicine and the increased care taken in the education of children that led, from the mid-nineteenth century, to the appreciation of the beach as a healthy practice, almost indispensable for a balanced growth and recommended for all age groups.

Hence the implementation of summer bathing, first in Cascais and Monte Estoril, then in other beaches along the Portuguese coast.

In order to liven up these resorts, hotels, theatres and casinos were set up, sightseeing tours were created, sports were encouraged; this set of means marks the birth of contemporary tourism from which only the social elite initially

3. G. Briz, *Quando o pavilhão real se hasteava na Cidadela*, in D. Gaspar (ed.), *Palácio da Cidadela* cit., p. 91.

4. M.M. Ramalho, *Uma corte à beira-mar: 1870-1910*, Quetzal/Câmara Municipal de Cascais, Lisboa/Cascais 2003; L.N. Espinha da Silveira, P.J. Fernandes, *D. Luís I*, Círculo de Leitores, Rio de Mouro 2006, pp. 62-69.

benefited but which gradually expanded until it reached the mass tourism dimension we know today⁵. (Fig. 1)

It should also be borne in mind that court life was then undergoing profound changes – a phenomenon that has yet to be studied in a substantiated way⁶. These changes included the valorisation of leisure – a private leisure, different from the court entertainments of the Ancien Regime – , coinciding with the formation of a “high society” in which the remains of the court aristocracy merged with the ascendant elites, strongly moulded to the social, cultural, and symbolic uses of the ancient nobility⁷. This composite court aristocracy managed differentiated – and differentiating – forms of sociability, among which was the practice of sport. Cascais proved to be an ideal location for such practices, whether at sea, with its beaches and colourful regattas, or on land, with its various sports (such as shooting, tennis, motor racing and football, among many others). It was not by chance that the Sporting Clube de Cascais – created in 1879 on the grounds of the old parade grounds of the citadel, and therefore known as the Clube da Parada – became the institution par excellence where all those who aspired to be part of the social elite that revolved around the court gathered. As Pedro Falcão observes with heraldic metaphor, «It is impossible to invoke juvenile Cascais without talking about the Parada. The Parada, where the nobility gathered, was to Cascais what a coat of arms ring is to those who wear it on their finger»⁸. Underlying it was always the idea of domination over the body: a body submitted to educational guidelines, that is, a dominated body, inserted in norms shared by the elite, which constituted fashions. Basically, this elite practised sport for similar reasons to those that led

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5. R.H. Silva, *Arquitectura de veraneio* cit., pp. 12-13.

6. N.G. Monteiro, I. Corrêa da Silva, *Elites e nobreza na monarquia liberal portuguesa: um itinerário crítico*, in R. Ramos, J. Murillo de Carvalho, I. Corrêa da Silva (ed.), *Dois países, um sistema. A monarquia constitucional dos Braganças em Portugal e no Brasil (1822-1910)*, D. Quixote, Lisbon 2018, pp. 321-351.

7. P. Urbano, *Nos bastidores da corte: o rei e a Casa Real na crise da monarquia, 1889-1908*, doctoral thesis in contemporary history, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisboa 2013; P. Urbano, *The everyday life on the Royal Household*, in M.L. Rosa (org.), *Arquivos de Família, séculos XIII-XX: Que presente, que futuro?*, Instituto de Estudos Medievais/Centro de História de Além-Mar /Caminhos Romanos, Lisbon 2012, pp. 409-419.

8. P. Falcão, *Cascais Menino*, Câmara Municipal de Cascais, Cascais 1981, vol. I, p. 43.

them to bathe, whether in a salutary and playful sense (at sea) or in a purely hygienic sense (at home): it was always a matter of promoting practices of distinction, which allowed the feeling and idea of a superior group to be reinforced. Such practices functioned both as instruments of internal cohesion in this group and of exclusion for those who did not belong to it. More than the mere genealogical origin, it was increasingly the conjugation of this with the insertion in certain worldly behaviours and with the practice of a widely codified sociability that determined the belonging to the court group. It should be noted, in passing, that such codification of social behaviour was, by essence, mutant, in order to function as a fashion phenomenon – thus allowing the exclusion of newcomers. Frequency in the same resort places did not mean immediate acceptance in the courtly group, on the contrary⁹.

This sense of exclusivity of the court aristocracy, and the social and cultural practices associated with it, worked better in small urban spaces than in large cities. In Lisbon and Porto, it was difficult to maintain the fiction of a superiority that had lost a substantial part of its economic and cultural bases, even when its social prestige could still be maintained (but under an accelerated process of erosion). In Cascais, as well as in Sintra, Vila Viçosa, Mafra, Alente and other secondary royal residences, the relative isolation allowed this feeling of exclusivity, if not superiority, to be reinforced. The royal family and the court aristocracy did not suffer any serious competition here. On the contrary, it was they who acted as a binding element for the new elites, who ended up in the same circle as long as they were willing to mimic their behaviour. With due hierarchical unevenness. The memorialist Tomás de Melo Breyner, fourth Count of Mafra, when describing the houses that the court nobility came to live in in Cascais, pointed the finger at the inconsistency between their modesty and the lavish practices that these families perpetuated there, «subjecting themselves voluntarily to spend the bathing season living in some shacks deprived of comfort, without sea view although being just two steps away from the beach, they still kept

9. R. Ortigão, *As Praias de Portugal. Guia do banhista e do viajante*, Livraria Universal de Magalhães & Moniz, Porto 1876, pp. 81-82.

luxury and grandeur in, at least, three things: the silverware, often very rich, decorating improvised dining halls in rooms with whitewashed walls and rough-hewn ceiling; the servants with elegant liveries, lapels bearing the heraldic colours and brass buttons; the well-dressed carriages pulled by magnificent well-bred horses»¹⁰. But precisely the opposite happened: the simplicity of the fishing village and its unpretentious houses allowed the magnificence of the nobility and courtly practices to be highlighted, which, by contrast, gained new lustre there. In the mutating and diluting universe of the kingdom's capital, this would no longer be possible.

Cascais thus became a point of escape for the king: a secluded and humble place, where it was possible to compensate for a relative abandonment of protocol by exercising other forms of sociability. The various elites that made up the court joined them wholeheartedly, completely changing the configuration of the town¹¹. But on the other hand, the Cascalense sojourn also ended up influencing the court life to a great extent.

aA However, among so many other possibilities, why did the king choose Cascais? Luís I's choice would probably not have succeeded without the previous existence of Cascais' citadel. The king would not have had the will – and perhaps not the means – to build a new palace. It was another matter altogether to take advantage of an existing building, adapting it to palace needs – relatively modest ones, incidentally. In this sense, Cascais offered a unique location: the old citadel, disused and practically abandoned, dominated a vast bay and a contiguous territory where it was possible to do all the sporting and leisure activities that increasingly framed the new life of the court.

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2. An old barracks transformed into a palace by the sea

The building itself was peculiar. What we call today the citadel results from the meeting of two complementary fortresses: Nossa Senhora da Luz, a small triangular forti-

10. C. de Mafra, *Memórias do Professor Thomaz de Mello Breyner*, 4.ª *Conde de Mafra*, Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira, Lisbon 1930, p. 314.

11. B.G. Colaço, M. Archer, *Memórias da Linha de Cascais*, Parceria A. M. Pereira, Lisbon 1943, pp. 339-340.

fication mentioned above, ended up being inserted in the other, a wide outer polygon¹². Thus, «since its construction, which began in 1641, Cascais' citadel was an intricate military complex [...]. It had a set of logistical facilities, inserted in the town's own urban fabric and, at least in a later phase (eighteenth century and early nineteenth century), an area destined for the training of the resident unit – the so-called Parada grounds»¹³. Inside the fortification that was the head of this structure, around a wide central patio, were the facilities for the staff: buildings of Santo António, São Luís, Santa Catarina and São Pedro, a storehouse, storerooms, warehouses, hospital, two cisterns, a stable. Besides the two chapels (one of which has completely disappeared, only the one dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Vitória survives) and the governor's houses. Access to this complex was exclusively through a gate facing the town.

When Louis I decided to settle in the citadel, he naturally opted for the old governor's houses. But the other castle buildings were also used for the court's needs¹⁴. The condition of the buildings was such that extensive work was needed. But not really deep, that is, it was decided to adapt as best as possible everything that existed, without constructing any new buildings. The renovation of the citadel was entrusted to the architect (also an archaeologist) Joaquim Possidónio Narciso da Silva, who used to work for the Royal House, under the guidance of Queen Maria Pia of Savoy¹⁵. Possidónio made the connection between the old governor's houses and the building of Santa Catarina, trying to create in the resulting space a set of rooms of dimensions more compatible with the status of royal palace and with the uses that came from this new condition. Of course, the effect never disguised the military origin of the new palace. Branca de Gonta Colaço and Maria Archer summarise: «Workers came, rooms were repaired, others were enlarged and built. But in spite of all this, the house always remained modest, small, reduced in comfort, and entirely devoid of

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12. A. Costa, *Duas fortalezas* cit., p. 64.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

15. P.B. Braga, *Do mobilar e decorar a cidadela*, in D. Gaspar, *Palácio da Cidadela* cit., pp. 190-191.

ostentatiousness»¹⁶. Even more caustic was Princess Rattazzi: «The Royal Palace is a poorly furnished and unattractive mansion. It used to serve as barracks and still has all the appearance of a state building. Imagine a large courtyard, where the grass grows freely, surrounded by a considerable number of seamless rooms, like those given to soldiers and non-commissioned officers. [...] On closer inspection, one discovers a house that is little more than modest; it is the royal residence. No kind of luxury; spacious houses and nothing else»¹⁷.

We should give some discount to the opinion of the travelling princess: besides her well-known acrimony, she showed a certain inability to sense the grandeur of the citadel, which certainly did not come from its architectural quality (unless it was in a purely castristic sense), but rather from its extraordinary location and its privileged relationship with the bay and the sea. And if it is true that the building suffered from the decision not to build at least a new façade for the old governor's houses, the truth is that the entrance through the military gateway had some monumentality. In fact, access to the citadel was only through this large seventeenth century gateway, on which an inscription is engraved dating it from the rule of arms of António Luís de Meneses, third Count of Cantanhede and first Marquis of Marialva¹⁸. The pediment of the gateway is topped by a stone bearing the royal coat of arms (**fig. 2**). But it is unlikely to be the original: firstly, because it would make sense for the primitive heraldry to occupy the empty space in the middle of the pediment, directly above the inscription; secondly, because the model of the current coat-of-arms, with its “modern French” shaped shield topped by the closed royal crown, without any other ornaments, corresponds to an eighteenth-century use. Another criterion, more subjective, can be adduced for this dating: on contemplating the whole of the doorway, the relative smallness of the coat-of-arms stone stands out, set at an exaggerated height. If it is true that this position gives visibility to this heraldic presence, the lack of proportion of the stone in relation

16. B.G. Colaço, M. Archer, *Memórias da Linha de Cascais* cit., p. 339.

17. M. Rattazzi, *Portugal de relance*, Antígona, Lisbon 1997, p. 313.

18. A. Costa, *Cidadela de Cascais* cit., pp. 77-79.

to the monumentality of the portico is also strange. Such disproportionality, almost unthinkable for the seventeenth century, fits without any problem into the heraldic art of the nineteenth century. It must therefore be concluded that the coat-of-arms of the gateway to the citadel must have been placed there during the nineteenth century, perhaps to replace an old one that was worn out (fig. 3).

As we advance through the courtyard and come across the façade of the citadel palace, another, more glaring absence stands out. Neither on this façade, nor on the side one, where the main entrance to the palace opened, is there a coat-of-arms stone. This must be surprising: one would expect a residence of the royal family to display its heraldic identification on its frontage. And, in the case of Cascais, the configuration of both façades would easily allow it; even more so in the case of the façade overlooking the patio, where the empty space in the middle of the row of six windows is almost begging to receive its heraldic complement... (fig. 4). Was this the original location of the coat-of-arms stone visible today, in its mutilated version, above the inner arch of the entrance tunnel to the citadel? The heraldic omission is only slightly compensated by the presence of lamps bearing the royal coat-of-arms, in a composition identical to that of the outer stone. The presence of these lamps is, moreover, common to the other royal palaces of the same time, namely those of Necessidades and Ajuda, and must therefore correspond to a common order for all of them, coinciding with the installation of this type of lighting (fig. 5).

The absence of heraldry on the facades of the citadel palace also corresponds, however, to a fashionable phenomenon of the nineteenth century. Until then, the presence of a coat-of-arms had functioned as a characterising element of the noble house; but the nineteenth-century nobility, without abandoning the habit of providing the façades of their houses with coat-of-arms, began to concentrate the heraldic decoration inside, sometimes exclusively¹⁹. This is precisely what we will find in the citadel of Cascais. The

19. See a case study in M. Metelo de Seixas, *As pinturas armoradas do palácio Cabral Metelo, «Armas e Troféus»*, IX (2014), no. 16, pp. 35-60.

heraldic poverty of the exterior corresponds to an interior profusion of decorations and armorial objects.

Some of these representations repeat the heraldic messages already present on the exterior, without adding any additional elements. Thus, for example, we find the royal coat-of-arms on a wooden surface situated on the landing of the staircase leading to the main floor (fig. 6). No doubt, during the republican regime, the crown, which was supposed to finish it off, was removed. This action is understandable since the palace then became the summer residence of the president of the republic; and these arms were located in an area where any visitor would necessarily see them. The vestiges of the previous regime should be erased. At least the most visible ones. The next example is one of those that, due to their small size, managed to avoid such mutilation: in the dining room, the window handles display the crowned royal coat-of-arms. Pedro Bebiano Braga mentions, in fact, «the curious metal fittings on the doors of this room, which feature the coat-of-arms and the royal crown on the handles, surrounded by shell-shaped shell-shells that extend to a long shield with an open mouth mask. It was probably made by Tiago António da Silva, who provided the ironwork»²⁰. As with the patio lamps, these knobs can also be found in other royal palaces, namely that of Necessidades and Ajuda, in Lisbon²¹.

Another place full of royal heraldry is the chapel, dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Vitória. The interior of the temple has undergone extensive restoration, and today it is difficult to distinguish what dates back to its foundation in the seventeenth century, to the period of the constitutional monarchy (particularly Queen Amélie's action) or the later twentieth-century interventions of the Estado Novo. In fact, transformed into a storeroom under the First Republic, the chapel was returned to worship in 1930 by initiative of Maria do Carmo Carmona, wife of the president, according to the stone that can be seen there²². It is certain that most

20. P.B. Braga, *Do mobilar e decorar a cidadela*, cit., p. 219.

21. Cfr. M.H. Côrte-Real, *O Palácio das Necessidades*, Chaves Ferreira Publicações, Lisbon 2001.

22. P. Vaz, *Reabilitação do palácio da cidadela de Cascais*, in D. Gaspar, *Palácio da Cidadela*, cit., p. 254.

of this heraldry corresponds to a revivalist taste, and it can be deduced that it was probably inspired by pre-existing elements, dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

So far, the examples of the royal coat of arms that we have seen in the palace of Cascais have only the shield and crown, sometimes completed with mere decorative ornaments. But this simple shield-crown binomial can also be complemented with other elements of heraldic significance. Thus, the fireplace in the former atelier of Charles I displays two similar heraldic compositions, in which the shield topped by the crown is supported by two facing dragons (fig. 7). One of the examples is carved in wood on the side of the fireplace: it is a work of remarkable finesse, both in the proportions of the shield and its figures, and in the three-dimensionality of the crown, and also – or above all – in the graphic treatment of the dragons, of an unusual elegance. It is possible that it is the work of the carver Guilherme Coutinho, who worked in the team of Frederico Augusto Ribeiro at the service of King Charles²³. Similar composition is found on the back stone of the same fireplace, here naturally more worn by use.

Dragons are a characteristic element of the heraldry of the House of Braganza. The dragon was already adopted at the end of the fourteenth century as crest of the royal coat of arms, that is, as a figure on top of the king's crowned helmet²⁴. The success of this crest of the Portuguese royal arms led to its wide dissemination, not only as such, but also, from the modern era, as a support (i.e., the shield was sometimes depicted with a dragon on each side, in the position to support it) replacing the angels that traditionally played this role²⁵. In the period after the Restoration of Independence in 1640, for example, the Portuguese dragon was widely pitted against the Spanish lion: the war actual-

23. P.B. Braga, *Do mobilar e decorar*, cit., p. 219.

24. F.S.A. Azevedo, *A cimeira do Rei de Portugal*, in *Estudios Genealógicos, Heráldicos y Nobiliarios en Honor de Vicente de Cadenas y Vicent*, Hidalguía, Madrid 1978, t. I, pp. 315-328; veja-se também F.S.A. de Azevedo, *Ainda o dragão do rei de Portugal*, «Tabardo», 3 (2006), pp. 55-56; J.P. Abreu e Lima, *Armas de Portugal. Origem. Evolução. Significado*, Inapa, Lisbon 1998, pp. 102-106.

25. M. Metelo de Seixas, *Quinas e castelos. Sinais de Portugal*, Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos, Lisbon 2019, pp. 38-39.

ly waged on the battlefields thus unfolded into a symbolic struggle between the totemic animals of each kingdom²⁶. But even more curious was the use of the dragon as a “royal beast”: this fabulous animal became a free emblem of the Royal Household, often depicted in isolation, disconnected from the other components of the royal heraldry²⁷. He was even incorporated into the insignia of royal power, as can be seen on the sceptre now kept in the Ajuda Palace, on which he is shown carrying a shield with the *quinois*, holding up the Constitutional Charter on which the closed royal crown rests²⁸.

Both the royal arms, in their various representations, and the isolated use of the dragon as a royal beast, constitute an impersonal heraldry, so to speak. That is, they do not designate specific persons, but only the royal house in general. Other heraldic examples of the citadel fill this gap, presenting themselves as being characteristic of the two royal couples which successively occupied this palace: Louis I and Maria Pia of Savoy; Charles I and Amélie of Orléans.

Of the first couple there is the backstone of the fireplace in the state room (fig. 8). There are two shields, the dexterous one superimposed on the sinister, both inclined towards the outside of the composition. The dexterous shield shows the primitive coat of arms of the House of Braganza, that is, the modality used from the beginning of the fifteenth century by Afonso, the first Duke, until the end of the same century by Jaime, the fourth Duke²⁹. Such a choice seems unusual, considering that they had ceased to be used by the House of Braganza since the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century. In fact, the first to readopt them, as early as the nineteenth century, was Peter I of Brazil (IV of

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26. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-68.

27. F.S.A. de Azevedo, *Fizeram os Reis de Portugal e os Imperadores do Brasil uso de «King's Beast»?*, in *Genealogica & Heraldica. Lisboa 1986. Actas do 17.º Congresso Internacional das Ciências Genealógica e Heráldica*, Instituto Português de Heráldica, Lisbon 1989, pp. 21-38.

28. I. Corrêa da Silva, M. Metelo de Seixas, *Uncrowned Kings: rituals and ritual objects in the Portuguese royal acclamation ceremonies (XVIII-XIX centuries)*, «European Review of History-Revue européenne d'Histoire», 27 (2020), pp. 1-22.

29. M. Metelo de Seixas, *Entrelazamientos heráldicos: la emblemática de la Casa de Braganza (siglos XV-XX)*, in J.A. Guillén Berrendero, J. Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, T. Martialay Sacristán (eds.), *De señal y prerrogativa de nobleza. Heráldica, honor y virtud, ss. XIV-XIX*, Sílex, Madrid 2021, pp. 87-111.

Portugal) who, on renouncing the Brazilian throne in 1831 and coming to Europe to assume the Portuguese regency on behalf of his daughter Queen Maria II, took on the title of Duke of Braganza. By granting himself such a dignity, Peter also began to wear the arms of this House in his first modality³⁰. An unusual and erudite choice, no doubt. The desire to separate the dynastic and state usages, clearly affirmed by Peter's choice, was certainly part of a context in which the bearer of the insignia had an uncertain status: former king, former emperor, he had taken the regency with no more right than his own will and the consent of the exiled liberals (not all of them, however), just as he had taken the title of Duke of Braganza in a possible reference to the fact that he was heir to his daughter as long as she had no descendants. Thus, Peter could not use the imperial arms of Brazil (which belonged to his son Peter II) or the royal arms of Portugal (which belonged to his daughter Maria II); if he wanted to use either of them, he would have to differentiate them with a label, which would constitute an absolute precedent: never before had a father used a label to mark his status as heir to his own progeny! In this complex dynastic context, the choice of the primitive coat of arms of the House of Braganza is therefore quite resourceful.

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The precedent of separation between an institutional heraldry (royal arms) and a dynastic one (ducal arms), thus set by Peter, ended up being echoed in the subsequent usages of the House of Braganza in the final phase of its reign in Portugal. The use of the same arms by Louis I seems less understandable, however, insofar as he was never Duke of Braganza: as second-born son of Maria II, he received the title of Duke of Oporto, and then directly succeeded his older brother Peter V on the latter's abrupt death in 1861. Louis's adoption of the primitive coat of arms of Braganza can therefore only be understood as an expression of the multiplicity of heraldic options available to the kings of Portugal, oscillating precisely between state and dynastic usages. In this sense, the application of the recovered medieval

30. F.S.A. de Azevedo, *Apontamentos sobre algumas armas dinásticas portuguesas oitocentistas e sua mensagem*, in *Fraternidade e Abnegação. A Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão os Amigos*, Academia Portuguesa da História, Lisbon 1999, pp. 453-466.

arms worked as a kind of visual counterpoint to the use of ancient noble titles of the Royal Household when the same sovereign travelled incognito. The ancient ducal arms were also widely used by the first-born son of Louis I. Indeed, the Crown Prince Charles, when he received the government and title of the Duchy of Braganza from his father in 1884, began to use these same ducal arms³¹. And even after becoming king, he continued to wear them whenever he wanted to show that his presence had a private, unofficial character, as when he was acting as a landowner, painter, oceanographer, or ornithologist³².

The second coat-of-arms on the mantelpiece in the State Room shows the coat of arms of the House of Savoy, as used since Charles Albert, King of Sardinia. This monarch abandoned the complex heraldry hitherto used by the House of Savoy, reducing it to the most straightforward visual form: that of the simple silver cross on a red field, which corresponded to the medieval uses of the dynasty³³. His son Victor Emmanuel II, in carrying out the Italian unification in 1861, transferred his father's heraldry to the new kingdom thus created. Hence, the arms of the House of Savoy were assumed as the heraldic emblem of the Kingdom of Italy, and remained as such until their extinction in 1946, in the aftermath of World War II. On the Cascais specimen, the shield of Savoy is subordinate to that of Braganza, both in lateral position (the shield of Braganza is on the dexter side, and that of Savoy is on the sinister side) and in top position (the shield of Braganza is superimposed on that of Savoy)³⁴. Both shields bear the respective supports, the Brigantine dragon and the Savoyard lion, placed over a phytomorphic decoration and having the insignia of the Portuguese Order of the Tower and Sword above them, the whole being topped by the closed royal crown. This heraldic composition representing the marriage of Louis I

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31. I. Corrêa da Silva, M. Metelo de Seixas, *D. Carlos de corpo inteiro*, Objectiva, Lisboa 2009, p. 96.

32. I.C. da Silva, M. Metelo de Seixas, *D. Carlos*, cit. pp. 96-97.

33. L.C. Gentile, *Lo stemma e le sue variazioni, specchio della politica dei Savoia in età moderna*, in W. Barberis (ed.), *I Savoia. I secoli d'oro di una dinastia europea*, Einaudi, Turin 2007, p. LXXI.

34. F.S.A. de Azevedo, *Genealogia e Heráldica duma rainha de Portugal ligada a Cascais*, in *Símbolos, Gerações e História*, Academia de Letras e Artes, Cascais 2002, pp. 303-310.

and Maria Pia of Savoy is common in the palaces in which these sovereigns lived – and even outside these aulic spaces, in varied manifestations³⁵.

The profusion of the combined arms of Portugal and Savoy reflects, above all, the understanding that the marriage of Louis and Maria Pia represented a providential union, on which depended the survival of the Braganza dynasty in its Portuguese and liberal branch, confined to the increasingly close descent of Queen Maria II. Once the fertility of the marriage had been demonstrated, the need was felt to highlight various points of connection between the two royal Houses³⁶. From a historical point of view, first of all. The parallelism between the Houses of Braganza and Savoy was highlighted: both had attained ducal status in the 15th century, yearning over centuries to attain regal dignity; both rose to kingship during the Ancien Régime – the House of Braganza on the occasion of the Restoration of 1640, the House of Savoy when it was conferred the Kingdom of Sicily in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht, exchanged for that of Sardinia in 1720 by the Treaty of London. Finally, in the 19th century, both dynasties had spearheaded movements to refound their respective states – the House of Braganza taking the lead in what was called the “second foundation” or *Regeneração* of the kingdom, the House of Savoy launching itself on the unification of Italy and creating this new monarchy under the banner of the *Risorgimento*.

The interpretation of this historical parallelism was also transposed to an ideological level: these were two houses of medieval origin committed to the construction of a new constitutional monarchic model. In this sense, the communion of Bragantine and Savoyard heraldic emblems did not only function as a form of memory and reconstruction of a shared past: it also had a prospective character, serving as an expression of a common dynastic future.

In both cases, therefore, the role of the heraldic expression of the royal dynasty in affirming a legitimacy that was

35. M. Metelo de Seixas, *Stars, Knots, Dragons and Royal Weddings: Badges of the Houses of Braganza and Savoy in a Nineteenth-Century Portuguese Royal Palace*, «Visual Resources», 34-3/4 (2018), pp. 1-23.

36. M.A. Lopes, *Rainhas que o povo amou. Estefânia de Hohenzollern. Maria Pia de Savoia*, Círculo de Leitores, Lisbon 2012, pp. 135-142.

both historical and renewed was emphasised: a patriotic and nationalist value that differed fundamentally from the heraldic message of the Ancien Régime. In the Savoyard case, these intentions had led, as we have seen, to a drastic simplification of the dynastic heraldry: the traditional shredded composition, expressive of genealogical chimeras and feudal logic, was abandoned, leaving only the simple flat cross, the only emblem capable of symbolising and promoting Italian national unity. In the Portuguese case, the very nature of the royal coat of arms, linked from very early on to the abstract concept of monarchy and detached from a truly territorial understanding, helped to maintain them without any alterations other than those of style³⁷.

There was also a search for a visual expression of dynastic legitimacy through heraldry, not only royal, but also municipal: in both monarchies, the royal coat of arms was displayed together with the municipal armorial in the great ceremonies consecrating the monarchy and in the spaces of memory that were then being revived or created³⁸. The matrimonial unions between dynasties equally involved in the defence of a constitutional monarchic model were thus seen as a propitious moment for the consecration of the national civic ideal. Hence the propensity for such occasions to take on not only aulic pomp, but also a festive dimension for all citizens. The dynasty thus sought to project itself into the renewed fatherland, proposing a new model for the incarnation of power in the person of the king and his family: the legitimacy of divine origin, which continued to be mentioned because it was implicit in the hereditary principle, was juxtaposed with the idea of a communion of ideals between the sovereign and all his subjects, who were also considered to be his fellow citizens.

As the marriage of Louis and Maria Pia proved to be a lasting union and capable of ensuring dynastic continu-

37. M. Metelo de Seixas, *El simbolismo del territorio en la heráldica regia portuguesa. En torno a las armas del Reino Unido de Portugal, Brasil y Algarves*, «Emblemata. Revista Aragonesa de Emblemática», XVI (2010), pp. 285-330.

38. For the Italian case, see, L. Cirri, S. Casprini, A. Savorelli, *Le Bandiere di Dante. L'inaugurazione del monumento a Dante in Firenze Capitale*, Edizioni Il Campano, Florence 2014; for the Portuguese case, M. Metelo de Seixas, *Heráldica, representação do poder e memória da nação: o armorial autárquico de Inácio de Vilhena Barbosa*, Universidade Lusíada Editora, Lisbon 2011.

ity, the palace where the royal family had settled became increasingly filled with the emblematic expression of this alliance. In Lisbon, the palace of Ajuda was, in a way, considered to be the manor house of the renewed dynasty; therefore, a repository of the combined heraldry of the two Houses was established there, applied to all kinds of objects of daily use or of ostentation. The message contained in this profusion of the arms of the Portugal-Savoy alliance was complemented by the historicist paintings commissioned for the staterooms, which recalled the antiquity of the dynastic unions between the two Houses, which dated back to the marriage of the founder of the Portuguese monarchy himself to Mafalda of Savoy; as well as the gallery of portraits of Italian family members, with heraldic frames³⁹. In some objects, there is even a fusion of the emblems of the two Houses, which would translate the dynastic junction itself, as for example in a side table where the arms of Savoy are supported by the Brigantine dragons⁴⁰. The emblematic Portugal-Savoy binomial was also transposed to contexts far removed from the aulic area: in a phenomenon typical of the valorisation of heraldry for commercial purposes, authorisation was granted for its use by the beneficiaries of the designation of Queen Maria Pia's suppliers⁴¹. It is not surprising, therefore, that the combined heraldry of the Houses of Braganza and Savoy was also represented in the palace of the citadel of Cascais, the beloved residence of King Louis I.

This is not, however, the only heraldic representation of a royal marriage in this palace. The next marriage, of Charles I and Amélie of Orléans, is also heraldically represented here. In fact, the fireplace in the former bedroom of this queen (now the billiard room) has a wooden panel with the arms of the Portugal-France alliance (**fig. 9**). As in the previous specimen, there are two shields, each inclined to its side, towards the outside of the composition, with

39. M. Metelo de Seixas, J. de Morais Vaz, *Uma série de molduras armoriadas do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda referentes à parentela da rainha Maria Pia de Sabóia*, «Tabardo», 1 (2002), pp. 113-130.

40. I.S. Godinho (ed.), *Tesouros Reais*, Palácio Nacional da Ajuda / Instituto Português do Património Cultural, Lisbon 1992 p. 114.

41. L. Correia de Matos, *Os Fornecedores da Casa Real (1821-1910)*, Dislivro Histórica, Lisbon 2009.

the shield of the king superimposed on that of his consort. In this case, however, the shields are held up only by the dragon of the Portuguese royal house – whose design is very close to the dragons on the mantelpiece of the former cabinet of Charles I, already analysed here – and topped by a closed royal crown. This Luso-French heraldry is also presented with a refined graphic alignment: once again, the stylisation of the Brigantine dragon is remarkable, and combined with the crown in such a way as to confer some symmetry to the whole.

The representation of the Portugal-Orléans alliance arms is a similar phenomenon to that of the Portugal-Savoy binomial analysed earlier, although with some characteristics of its own. Both these heraldic representations sought to enhance the prestige of the dynastic connections established by the House of Braganza⁴². As we have seen, this was due to the antiquity of the houses with which relations were established, but also to the political role that these same dynasties played in Europe at the time, as defenders and disseminators of a liberal monarchical model. But unlike Maria Pia, the marriage of the crown prince of Portugal to a princess of the House of Orléans was far from invoking political benefits. First, because when Charles married Amélie, France was living under a republican regime. The princess was therefore only a daughter of the Count of Paris, who considered himself a pretender to the French throne. Even such a claim was not without historical ambiguity, since the Count of Paris' supposed rights to the throne of France came to him from his grandfather, Louis Philippe of Orléans, King of the French, who had dethroned his cousin Charles X in 1830, before being in turn ousted by the republican revolution of 1848.

The heraldry of the House of Orléans itself reflected such ambiguities. Indeed, as a second-born branch of the House of Bourbon, the Orléans used the royal coat of arms of France (azure three fleurs-de-lis or) with a label argent for cadency. As king, Louis Philippe of Orléans had avoided

42. This had already happened in the marriage of Peter V to Stephanie of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, of which some heraldic traces remain, despite the short duration of this union. M. Metelo de Seixas, *Heráldica no Hospital Rainha Dona Estefânia*, «Armas e Troféus», IX (2015), no. 17, pp. 243-258.

assuming the full arms of France, which Charles X continued always to bear in exile as was his right because he was head of the House of Bourbon. It is likely that the King of the French did this less out of dynastic scruple than political calculation, since the fleur-de-lis were associated with the traditionalist monarchy, banished by the revolution that he had led. Nor did the new sovereign wish to continue the specific heraldic usages of the House of Orléans, since the coat of arms of this lineage (i.e., the coat of arms of France with the label marking the cadency) made it too clear that it was a second branch of the Royal House. It was only when Louis Philippe was forced to go into exile that he was able to take back the dynastic arms of his House⁴³. In 1883, with the extinction of the first-born branch descending from Charles X with the death of the Count of Chambord (Henry V for the legitimists), his grandson, the controversy over the headship of the House of France arose, opposing two subsisting branches by male line: the branch of the kings of Spain (which came from Philip V, Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV) and the branch of Orléans.

This quarrel had heraldic repercussions in that, on different occasions, both these branches assumed the full arms of France as a way of showing their claim to head the respective Royal House⁴⁴. It is therefore understandable that, in this confused political and dynastic context, the heraldic expression of the marriage of Charles and Amélie gained less projection than that of the previous royal couple. It should be added that this queen, following the customs of her father and the other members of the family, also oscillated between the royal French arms, as can be seen on the Cascais' fireplace, and the dynastic arms of Orléans (with the label argent) as can be seen, for example, on the tiles decorating the canal in the garden of the Palace of Queluz. King Charles himself devoted himself to painting the joint arms of the Houses of Braganza and Orléans, revealing an

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43. H. Pinoteau, *Le Chaos Français et ses Signes. Étude sur la symbolique de l'État Français depuis la Révolution de 1789*, PSR Éditions, La Roche-Rigault 1998, pp. 284-311.

44. H. Pinoteau, *Les pleines armes de France de Clovis au duc d'Anjou*, Le Léopard d'Or, Paris 1995.

artistic capacity to reinterpret this heraldry according to the aesthetic standards of his time⁴⁵.

Besides the personal and impersonal emblems of the members of the Royal Household, the palace of the citadel of Cascais also has other heraldic manifestations of different content. As we have seen up to this point in this tour of a nineteenth-century royal palace, this century nurtured an interest in heraldry which, fuelled by its passion for the Middle Ages, sometimes verged on obsession⁴⁶. In fact, one of the most intense links of 19th century heraldry was undoubtedly the one it established with the revivalist currents, typical of this century. It can be said that the romantic taste was medievalist and, consequently, heraldic.

In a collector's context, first and foremost: the presence of heraldic elements on ancient pieces not only endowed them with an extraordinary charm, but also sometimes provided them with dating and attribution possibilities that enhanced their value. Although the original furnishings of the citadel palace were largely dispersed after the proclamation of the republic, there can be no doubt that they would have comprised quite a few armoured pieces⁴⁷. One only must look at the other nineteenth century royal palaces to see how the royal family surrounded itself with antique pieces: the King-Consort Ferdinand of Saxe-Cobourg-Gotha (husband of Queen Mary II), his son Louis I and his grandson Charles I were all men of refined aesthetic taste and a strong collector's taste⁴⁸. But, for the reasons given, there is little left of any armorial pieces that may once have adorned the palace of the citadel of Cascais. There is, for example, a cupboard originally placed in the State room

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45. Take, for example, the beautiful menu composed by Charles for the dinner of 15th December 1900, in Vila Viçosa, with a shield of the Portuguese and French royal arms, or a separate sheet with only the latter. R. Henriques da Silva, M.J. Monge, *El-Rei Dom Carlos, Pintor (1863-1908)*, Fundação da Casa de Bragança, Caxias 2007, p. 157 and 208.

46. M. Metelo Seixas, *A heráldica em Portugal no século XIX: sob o signo da renovação*, «Análise Social», 202- XLVII (2012), pp. 56-91.

47. It should also be noted that it was common for furniture to circulate between the royal residences, according to the seasons that the royal family spent in each of them P.Bebiano Braga, *Do mobilar e decorar*, cit., pp. 190-191.

48. A.N. Pereira (coord.), *Fernando Coburgo fecit. A atividade artística do rei consorte*, Parques de Sintra – Monte da Lua, Sintra 2016; I.S. Godinho (ed.), *Luís I. Duque do Porto e Rei de Portugal*, Palácio Nacional da Ajuda/Instituto Português do Património Cultural, Lisbon 1990; R.H. da Silva, M.J. Monge, *El-Rei Dom Carlos* cit.

and now kept in the Mafra palace, topped by a shield with two fasces⁴⁹; a trunk visible today in the same room, which displays an ovate shield with a stove resting on a tripod, topped by three stars, the shield being placed on a cartouche supported by two lions. The motifs invoked also explain the poverty of the Cascais palace regarding nineteenth century heraldic recreations, i.e., pieces inspired by ancient armorial models. There remains one interesting piece: a piece of furniture in the revivalist style, whose decoration displays medieval knights and various imaginary heraldic shields, some of which are supported by burlesque figures (fig. 10).

In contrast to the scarcity of heraldic furnishings, one of the rooms in the same palace still has an applied decoration with a strong armorial dimension: it is the Arab room. Naturally, the existence of this room is linked to the nineteenth-century attraction for “oriental exoticism”: the Pena Palace, built by the King-Consort Ferdinand of Saxe-Cobourg-Gotha, reflects, better than any other royal residence, this taste for orientalist ornamentation⁵⁰, which was part of the general eclecticism of palace architecture in the second half of the nineteenth century throughout the European continent⁵¹. In Cascais, the Arab room has a ceiling entirely worked with the complex geometric motifs of Islamic art, in the centre of which are two florets, each containing a green shield with an inscription in kufic (or cursive) Arabic calligraphy, set in a band (fig. 11). These are the coat of arms of the Nasrid dynasty, which reigned in Granada from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. The choice of green is explained by the fact that it is the colour associated with the prophet Muhammad, while the inscription, called *gālība*, refers to the mystical dimension of the monarchy: ‘There is no other ruler but God’. Traditionally, the adoption of this heraldry by the Granadian sovereigns has been explained as a concession by Peter I

49. P. Bebiano Braga, *Do mobilar e decorar* cit., p. 198.

50. M. Schedel, *Palácio da Pena. Casa de D. Fernando de Saxe-Coburgo (1839-1885)*, Parques de Sintra – Monte da Lua/Caleidoscópico, Casal de Cambra 2019.

51. P. Cornaglia, *Il trionfo dell'Eclettismo nelle residenze di corte in Europa, 1860-1920*, in S. Ghisotti, A. Merlotti (eds.), *Dalle Regge d'Italia. Tesori e simboli della regalità sabauda*, Sagep, Genoa 2017, pp. 43-50.

of Castile and Leon as a sign of gratitude for the support given to him by Mohammed V: the Christian king would have granted his personal insignia, which was the Order of the Band⁵². But this hypothesis has been invalidated by the confirmation that there are representations of Nasrid heraldry from before the reign of Peter I of Castile and Leon⁵³. Faustino Menéndez Pidal points out that the transmigration of visual signs between the Christian and Islamic kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula was a common phenomenon, of vast proportions and various contours⁵⁴. It is therefore not difficult to understand why a visual theme as strong as that of the band of Castilian sovereigns was adopted by the kings of Granada, who Islamised it by affixing the inscription.

The Nasrid heraldry has thus gained remarkable projection⁵⁵. From the nineteenth century onwards, this projection was amplified by the fascination that Romanticism nurtured for the historic palace of this dynasty, the famous Alhambra, perhaps one of the most reproduced monuments in images that, thanks to the popularisation of the means of graphic reproduction, circulated throughout the world in ever-increasing quantities, especially since the publication in 1856 of Owen Jones' work, successively re-edited⁵⁶. These images evidently included the reproduction of the shields bearing the heraldry of the Grenadine dynasty. It is not surprising, therefore, that these same shields can be found in the decoration of the Arab room in the palace of the citadel. Two nineteenth century passions merged in them: heraldry and orientalism.

Overall, the existing heraldry in the palace of Cascais seems diverse both in its typology and in the type of plastic application. It can certainly be used as an instrument for

52. B. Pavón Maldonado, *Arte, símbolo y emblemas en la España musulmana*, «Al-Qantara», 6 (1985), pp. 421-422.

53. N. Silva Santa-Cruz, *Escudo nazari de la banda*, in *Base de datos digital de Iconografía Medieval*, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, consulted online at 18/11/2019: <https://www.ucm.es/bdiconografiamedieval/escudodelabanda>.

54. F. Menéndez Pidal, *Armoiries hispano-arabes et hispano-hébraïques. Échanges d'influences dans le domaine héraldique*, in *Genealogica & Heraldica Lisboa 1986* cit., pp. 357-371.

55. V. Martínez Enamorado, *Lema de príncipes. Sobre la gálila y algunas evidencias epigráficas de su uso fuera del ámbito nazari*, «Al-Qantara», 27 (2006), pp. 529-550.

56. O. Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, Dorling Kindersley Books, London 2004, pp. 185-221.

dating construction phases and objects present in the building; however, in a broader sense, it allows us to understand how the Portuguese royal dynasty sought to construct a particular political-dynastic image, at the service of the identity that it wished to assert, of a monarchy with roots in the medieval past but capable of projecting itself into the future and of creating links with other dynasties and kingdoms with similar intentions. The obvious and successful case of the Portugal-Italy union represented by Louis I and Maria Pia; the less fortunate case, given the political and dynastic circumstances, of the Portugal-France matrimony, led by Charles I and Amélie of Orléans.



Fig. 1
Watercolour painted
by King D. Carlos
representing the Bay
and the Citadel of Cascais,
1885
(Arquivo Histórico de
Cascais, B/05063 CX 029)

**Heraldry and
the Dynastic Image**

Fig. 2
Illustrated postcard
*Fosso e porta de armas da
Cidadela de Cascais*, 1900
(Arquivo Histórico de
Cascais, CAS 151)



Fig. 3. Portuguese royal arms
at the gateway
to Cascais' citadel
(photo by Jorge Figanier
Castro)



Fig. 4. Façade of the Royal
Palace, former governor's
houses, to the courtyard
(photo by Miguel Metelo de
Seixas)





Fig. 5
Cascais Palace courtyard lamp
with the Portuguese royal arms
(photo by Jorge Figanier Castro)



Fig. 6
Portuguese royal arms amputated from their crown
on the main staircase of the Cascais palace
(photo by Jorge Figanier Castro)

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Fig. 7
Portuguese royal arms in the fireplace of King Carlos I's atelier
(photo by Jorge Figanier Castro)

**Heraldry and
the Dynastic Image**



Fig. 8
Arms of Luís I and Maria
Pia of Savoy in the
state room's fireplace
(photo by
Jorge Figanier Castro)

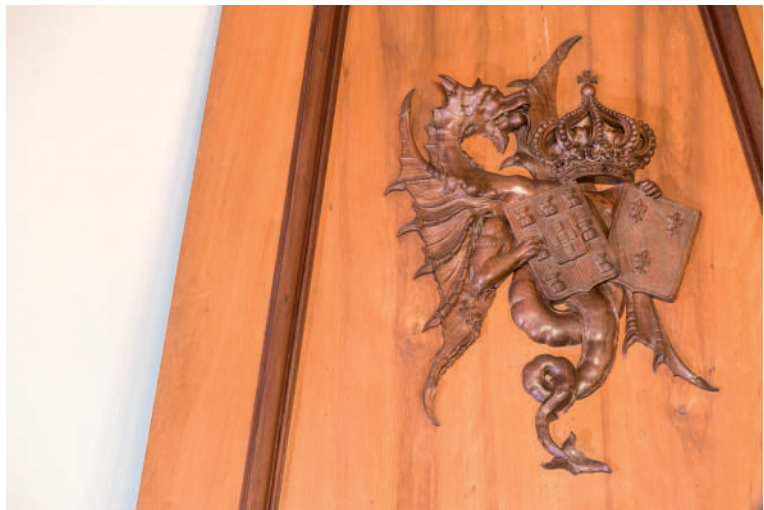


Fig. 9
Arms of Carlos I and
Amélie of Orléans
in the former Queen's
bedroom's fireplace
(photo by
Jorge Figanier Castro)



Fig. 10
Cabinet with imaginary
heraldry in the revivalist style,
Cascais Palace
(photo by
Jorge Figanier Castro)

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Fig. 11
Nasrid arms in the ceiling
of the Arab room,
Cascais Palace
(photo by
Jorge Figanier Castro)

Savoy Symbols in the Italy of Victor Emmanuel III. The Decorations of the Racconigi Castle Staircase (1900-1906) and the Royal Train (1925-1929)

Andrea Merlotti

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When the House of Savoy became Kings of Italy in 1861, they came into possession of a large number of palaces and mansions. They were the residences of the ruling dynasties in the states that had been annexed by the new Kingdom. Some of them were put to other uses, but most were adapted to the needs of the dynasty. The House of Savoy knew they needed to make the new monarchy known in the cities that had been capitals². And, at the same time, they needed to involve the urban ruling classes in the life of the court, so that they would believe in the monarchy's cause. First Victor Emmanuel II and then Umberto I developed an 'itinerancy' that acknowledged the importance of Naples and Milan. It was certainly not a matter of simply repeating what their ancestors – the Dukes of Savoy and

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1. For this article I would like to thank Alessandra Giovannini Luca and Alessandra Longo for the photos of the Grand Staircase of the Castle of Racconigi; Paola Gribaudo, President of the Accademia Albertina, for having kindly allowed me to consult the Casanova Archive; and Enrico Zanellati for his help with this project.

2. On this subject I refer to A. Merlotti, *I Savoia e le Loro Regge*, in S. Ghisotti, A. Merlotti (eds.), *Dalle Regge d'Italia. Tesori e Simboli della Regalità Sabauda*, exhibition catalogue (Reggia di Venaria, 25 March-2 July 2017), Sagep, Genoa 2017, pp. 21-27. See also *Id.*, *Andare per Regge e Residenze*, il Mulino, Bologna 2018, pp. 119-139.

the Kings of Sardinia – had done for centuries³. Rather, it was to update a practice that was as old as the itinerancy of the court, while also taking advantage of the progress of the means of communication of the time. Thanks to the development of railways, the rulers could move easily from the North to the South of the peninsula. During their reign, Umberto and Margherita spent about eight months in Rome (from November to May) and four in the holiday residences (from June to October). However, during these times they would also constantly travel to the former capital cities. Their main destinations were Milan (and Monza) in the north and Naples in the south. The ancient capital of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies became, indeed, the one city – second only to the capital – where the dynastic presence was more continuous and important. Even if they still went to Turin (much less than Victor Emmanuel II did) they would visit the ancient Savoy residences less and less. The cadet branches – the Dukes of Genoa and the Dukes of Aosta – continued to live there, as did several Princesses of the dynasty, in particular Maria Clotilde and her daughter Maria Letizia at Moncalieri Castle (from 1870 to 1926)⁴.

As proof of this distancing from Piedmont we know that the Prince of Naples, the future Victor Emmanuel III, got to know Racconigi and Pollenzo only when he was almost

3. On itinerancy A. Merlotti, *Una Corte Itinerante. Tempi e Luoghi della Corte Sabauda da Vittorio Amedeo II a Carlo Alberto (1713-1831)*, in F. De Pieri and E. Piccoli (eds.) *Architettura e Città negli Stati Sabaudi*, Quodlibet, Macerata, 2012, pp. 59-83; Id., *Cortes, Capitales y Residencias en la Europa Católica de los Siglos XVII y XVIII. Puntos de Reflexión Sobre un Problema Político*, in J. Ortega Vidal, J.L. Sancho Gaspar (eds.), *Una Corte para el Rey. Carlos III y los Reales Sitios*, edited by, Dirección General de Patrimonio Cultural - Oficina de Cultura y Turismo de la Comunidad de Madrid, Madrid 2017, pp. 22-35; Id., *L'itinérance des cours européennes à la fin du XVIII^e siècle entre cité-capitale et résidences suburbaines. Le cas de la cour de Victor-Amédée III de Savoie, roi de Sardaigne (1773-1796)*, in E. Hassler, A. Motta (eds.), *Noblesses et Villes de Cour en Europe (XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles). Le Ville de Résidence Princière, Observatoire des Identités Nobiliaires à l'Époque Moderne*, PUR, Rennes 2022, pp. 71-82. For European comparisons, see the essays collected in B. Bove, A. Salamagne, C. zum Kolk, Villeneuve-d'Ascq (eds.), *L'itinérance de la Cour en France et en Europe*, Presse Universitaire du Septentrion, Lille 2021.

4. See P. Cozzo, *Maria Clotilde di Savoia, la «Santa» di Moncalieri Fra Biografia e Agiografia*, and A. Merlotti, *Conti di Moncalieri. Il Castello e i Bonaparte (1870-1926)* in A. Malerba, A. Merlotti, G. Mola di Nomaglio, M.C. Visconti (eds.), *Il Castello di Moncalieri. Una presenza sabauda fra corte e città*, Centro Studi Piemontesi, Turin 2019, pp. 239-250 and 251-264.

twenty-five years old⁵. In August 1893, Count Paulucci delle Roncole noted in his diary that it was the first time the future King of Italy had visited Racconigi and Pollenzo. Since 1849 the two residences had been on the whole neglected (Victor Emmanuel II had preferred Moncalieri and his son Umberto at the age of eighteen had settled in Monza), so much so that the furnishings had remained as they were at the time of Charles Albert. The Prince of Naples fell in love with the two residences, so different from the Neapolitan ones where he had been born and where he had lived until then. Once he ascended to the throne, he started extensive restoration and renovations that also involved the villa in Sant'Anna di Valdieri⁶. From then on, the Cuneo residences returned to being the holiday homes of the sovereigns.

Victor Emmanuel III was an erudite man, who combined his passion for numismatics with his knowledge of dynastic history. This actually found a way to express itself on the occasion of refurbishments, such as the one in Racconigi, but it has remained in the shadows when we look at writings about the sovereign⁷. I have decided, therefore, to look at two decoration series started by and presided over by Victor Emmanuel III, which occurred at very different times of his reign. The first is the decoration of the Castle of Racconigi staircase, created and painted between 1900 and 1906. The second is the Royal Savoy train, built by FIAT between 1925 and 1929. They refer to two different political situations: the first at the dawn of Giolitti's liberal Italy, the second during the establishment of Fascism. A situation that did not fail to have consequences for them also.

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5. A. Merlotti, *Ritorno al Piemonte. Le scelte di Vittorio Emanuele III per le Residenze Sabaude (1900-1906)*, in M. Rosa (ed.), *Gli arredi monzesi al Palazzo del Quirinale*, Betagamma, Viterbo 2020, pp. 29-42.

6. W. Cesana, *I Soggiorni dei Savoia a Sant'Anna di Valdieri*, in S. Ghisotti, A. Merlotti (eds.), *Dalle Regge d'Italia* cit., pp. 276-279; Id., *I Savoia in Valle Gesso. Diario dei Soggiorni Reali e Cronistoria del Distretto delle Alpi Marittime dal 1855 al 1955*, Primalpe, Cuneo 2017.

7. On the vast and varied bibliography about the sovereign, I refer above all to P. Gentile, *Vittorio Emanuele III*, Milano, Il Sole 24 ore, 2014 and to the essays in S. Ghisotti, A. Merlotti (eds.), *Dalle Regge d'Italia*, cit. Among the books that appeared later, see C. Cipriani, *I Disegni del Re. L'educazione all'Arte di Vittorio Emanuele III di Savoia*, Gangemi, Rome 2021.

1. The decoration of the Racconigi Castle staircase (1900-1906)

After the assassination of Umberto I at the Royal Villa of Monza on 29 July 1900 at the hands of an anarchist, Victor Emmanuel III decided to abandon the Lombard residence. It had been his father's favourite home for forty years, but Victor had never loved it. For some time, as I have already remarked, the new King had resolved to return to live in the ancient castles of the Carignano in Piedmont, *primarily* Racconigi. This was above all to the detriment of the Neapolitan residences, where until then he had long resided.

Since the castle of Racconigi had been uninhabited for a long time, large works were carried out, and they lasted for years. Besides arranging the apartments for himself and for the family⁸, Victor Emmanuel III also decided to decorate the main staircase with what was probably the last decorative series in the Savoy residences in Piedmont. The subject was the history of the House of Savoy.

The King was personally involved in presiding over the project. The project was created with the help of Baron Antonio Manno (1834-1918), a well-known historian and scholar, who was head of the National Heraldic Council from 1887 (and whose task it was to decide upon the granting and recognition of noble titles)⁹. Manno's historiographic work was accompanied by his political work. He had a "fervent devotion to the Savoy monarchy", and he was at the same time a "militant Catholic"¹⁰. He was in fact one of the most influential politicians in Turin, although his work almost always took place behind the scenes. His role involved a direct relationship with the two sovereigns. (Umberto I and Victor Emmanuel III). The decision to call on Manno thus stemmed from the Crown's total confidence in his competence and devotion. Moreover, the King had

8. S.P. Milan, *Gli appartamenti Reali del Castello di Racconigi agli Inizi del '900: Nuove Considerazioni sull'Appartamento dei Principini*, «Studi Piemontesi», XLIII (2014), no. 1, pp. 91-98

9. On Manno, in addition to the entry of Giuseppe Monsagrati in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 69, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma 2007, see G.C. Jocteau, *Nobili e Nobiltà nell'Italia Unita*, Laterza, Rome-Bari 1997.

10. This is how Senator Francesco Ruffini remembered him in the Senate commemoration on 18 April 1918.

decided that the inspiration of the décor should be heraldry, a field in which Manno laid down the law at the time.

Engineer Adolfo Dalbesio (1857-1914) was called in to do the work. He was a unique painter, well known in Turin during the *Belle Epoque*, but almost unknown outside the confines of the old capital. The choice was very well thought out. He guaranteed that the Crown would have both strong monarchical loyalty and the necessary competence from a heraldic and artistic point of view. With a degree in engineering, although he worked as a painter in the so-called Rivara School and several of his paintings were publicly acclaimed, the field in which Dalbesio became most famous was actually “addresses”: decorated parchments, dedicated to people or institutions for encomiastic reasons¹¹. Since the 80s, various institutions in Turin had entrusted him with the creation of such “addresses” for various public ceremonies. His first known work in this field was a parchment dedicated to the King, then Victor Emmanuel II¹². His final success was the Italian General Exhibition of 1884, where he presented 32 miniatures (illuminated manuscripts) and was also commissioned to design the poster for that same exhibition. In 1906, Manno himself celebrated him as a «talented heraldic miniaturist»¹³. Until his death, Dalbesio was actually a sort of official «miniaturist» for the City of Turin and the main cultural institutions of the capital. The production of parchments for members of the Royal House was also one of the means by which the miniaturist engineer was able to make himself known to the Prince of Naples. In fact, in 1896 the city of Turin asked Dalbesio to recreate the

11. On Dalbesio, besides the entry dedicated to him by Ferdinando Mazzocca in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 31, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma 1985, pp. 706-708, see the recent D. Guernelli, *Pergamene Regali. Inediti Miniati di Adolfo Dalbesio*, «Studi Piemontesi», XLIV (2015), no. 1, pp. 191-198. Information in A. F. Stella, *Pittura e Scultura in Piemonte 1842-1891*, Paravia, Turin 1893, pp. 593-596; *Adolfo Dalbesio*, in *Augusta Taurinorum. Torino Illustrata nelle sue Cose e nei suoi Cittadini*, Marini, Genoa 1901, pp. 199-200.

12. This is an *Indirizzo del Club alpino... di Ivrea a S.M. il Re Vittorio Emanuele*, then displayed at an exhibition in 1880, two years after the death of the first king of Italy.

13. A. Manno, *Il Patriziato Subalpino*, Civelli, Florence 1906, vol. 2, p. 429 (under the entry *Brunati*, the family of Dalbesio's wife). See it in Archivio Storico della Città di Torino, Nuove Acquisizioni, *Iconografia 489*.

pages of a codex sent as a wedding gift to the Prince and Elena of Montenegro, bride and groom¹⁴.

In addition to miniatures (illuminated manuscripts), there was another area in which Dalbesio played a major role and which may have contributed to his fortune with the sovereign: he designed postcards. Although a catalogue of his work in this field is lacking, it was quite extensive and it had two main themes: military history and dynastic events. Again, in 1896 he designed a postcard celebrating the wedding of the Princes of Naples.

Dalbesio, moreover, was a very well established figure in Turin society. Vice-president of the *Società del Tiro a Segno in Torino* (Sharpshooting Society of Turin) since 1890 and vice-president of the *Circolo degli artisti* (Artists' Club) since 1911 (both positions were held until his death), at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries his name appears in a variety of roles, and in many of Torino's cultural and artistic events. He also played a role in the establishment of Turin as the first capital of Italian cinema. Dalbesio was an engineer, and he built two of the most important cinemas in the city. He was also one of the first film producers¹⁵. He had a relationship with the Savoys in this sector as well. He collaborated with Vittorio Calcina (1847-1916), considered the first film director in Italian history, who was not only the representative of Lumière in Italy but also the official photographer of the House of Savoy. Calcina was responsible for the first Italian film, made in 1896 and starring Umberto and Margherita in the park of Monza. When Calcina planned the first projections of this film and others in Turin, he also involved Dalbesio, who accompanied the projections on the piano¹⁶.

In addition to Manno and Dalbesio, set designer Giovanni Alessio (1851-1929), another person who was involved in the golden years of Turin cinema just like Dalbesio, was

14. *Album della Città di Torino ai Principi Sposi*, «La Stampa», 20 October 1896, p. 3.

15. He was the first artistic director of «Cenisia Film» and then, between 1913 and 1914, he was president of the film production company «Leonardo Films». In the Board of Directors of the former he sat next to Giovanni Agnelli and Vittorio Valletta (the founder and the general manager of FIAT. Cf. M.G. Imarisio *et al.* (eds.), *Una Città al Cinema: Cent'Anni di Sale cinematografiche a Torino (1895-1995)*, Associazione generale italiana dello Spettacolo, Turin 1996, pp. 36 and 209.

16. See T. Leconte, «*La Sonorisation des Séances Lumière en 1896 et 1897*», «1895. Mille huit cent quatre vingt-quinze», 52 (2007), pp. 28-55 (<http://1895.revues.org/1022>).

called to oversee the works. In fact, in 1913 Alessio was the set designer for the film *In Hoc Signo Vinces*, directorial début and first European success of poet and playwright Nino Oxilia¹⁷.

The recent delivery of Baron Manno's diaries to the State Archives of Turin give us insight into how the King supervised the work on the staircase, through periodic meetings with Manno at Racconigi Castle. This confirms, therefore, even if on a much reduced scale, that there was collaboration between the sovereign, the intellectual and the artist, and it is at the very foundation of almost all the decorative cycles of a historical-political nature that we see in the palaces of every type of sovereign.

Beginning in the spring of 1901, the newspapers started to announce the King's desire to spend his holidays in Piedmont and they informed everyone that in the castle there was ongoing «restoration, adaptation and embellishment works of the grandiose royal apartments for Their Majesties' next summer ... with their court and numerous retinues»¹⁸. The King arrived in Racconigi on July 11th¹⁹. About ten days later, he invited Baron Manno to the castle to discuss work on the staircase²⁰. From then on, there was one meeting after another, at least until 1906, when the campaign to decorate the staircase seems to have been completed²¹. It is interesting that only four days later, on July 25, he sent a well-known letter to Colonel Osio, his old tutor, in which he wrote: «Here in Racconigi I am doing very well. The more I see of this country, the more I like it ... I have my little table full of maps, surveys etc.; every day I go around morning and evening to get to know this place; it has been kept up with very little care: but I hope

17. Alessio's involvement is confirmed by a note about the staircase that appeared in «Musica e Musicisti», 60 (1905), p. 322.

18. *Il Soggiorno Estivo dei Sovrani a Racconigi*, «La Stampa», 11 April 1901, p. 3 and *Riattamento del Castello di Racconigi del Soggiorno Estivo dei Sovrani*, «Corriere della Sera», 15-16 April 1901.

19. *L'Arrivo dei Sovrani a Racconigi. Le feste della popolazione*, «La Stampa», 12 July, 1901, p. 3.

20. A. Manno, *Diario* cit., 21 July, 1901.

21. Again in September 1904 the King summoned Manno to discuss the progress of the décor with him and, talking about the grand staircase, the King told him: «Do as you please, take command, choose; but use a light tone: I do not like dark paints» A. Manno, *Diario* cit., 2 September 1904. The family tree fresco is dated 1906.

to put everything back together in a relatively short time: no one has seriously taken care of our private properties since Carlo Alberto, yet they are really worthy of care, and the only ones I can freely arrange»²².

If we compare it to the numerous decorations dedicated to the history of the dynasty that the various Savoy sovereigns had built in their residences, the Racconigi staircase has two differences.

The first is that it is predominantly heraldic. Certainly, the presence of coats of arms and emblems was recurrent in many dynastic cycles. But it had never been so central. If you walk along the staircase of the Racconigi Castle, you will see three large coats of arms (the meaning of which I will explain in a moment) and about sixty smaller ones, which refer to the dynasty's matrimonial alliances. Portraiture was almost absent, limited to the 'supports' of the coats of arms (fig. 1).

The second curious difference is that the staircase is the only Savoy cycle dedicated to the Carignanans as well. Ever since the cadet branch had ascended the throne in 1831, it had avoided showing how such an act had consummated a dynastic 'passage'. While in nearby France, Louis Philippe, even if he was a Bourbon and a quite close relative of Charles X, did everything to differentiate himself from the fallen dynasty, Charles Albert tried in every way to create full continuity with the branch that had gone extinct with the death of his cousin Charles Felix. Victor Emmanuel III, though he did not defy this choice, wanted his family tree to have a beginning cycle of two progenitors: Umberto I *Biancamano*, first Savoy sovereign, and Thomas of Savoy, first Prince of Carignano.

Turning now to the examination of the series, it is organised in two areas.

The first – the initial one – is located in a space to the right of the entrance on the staircase, which you can only look at, but you cannot enter. First, the visitor sees the coat of arms of Victor Emmanuel III (fig. 2). However, it is understandable only to those who are familiar with the language of heraldry. The weapon, in fact, appears excep-

22. The letter is in G. Artieri, *Cronaca del Regno d'Italia*, Mondadori, Milan 1977-78, vol. 1, p. 812.

tionally complex. The King and Manno chose to propose a 'quartered' coat of arms (divided into four parts), where each of the «quarters» references one of the King's ancestors. Each of them, however, is in turn divided into the coats of his parents. The coat of arms is thus divided into the King's eight great-grandparents. The origin of this selection, I believe, was due to the complex that Victor Emmanuel III had, which derived from being the son of two first cousins²³. By placing the coats of arms of his ancestors, he showed how in his veins ran the blood of Habsburgs, Wittelsbachs, and Wettins (Saxons). The lions that serve as a support for the coat of arms hold the banners of Savoy and Montenegro. The background chosen for the coat of arms was very light. Next to it are reproductions of Emmanuel Philibert and Victor Amadeus II facing each other, the first in Rome and the second in Turin²⁴. The meaning was all too clear.

To the left of the coat of arms is the only figurative scene of the cycle: the founding of the Order of the Collar (later of the Annunziata) by Amadeus VI, the *Conte Verde*. As head of the House of Savoy, Victor was Grand Master of the Order, so by celebrating its antiquity he was showing his prestige. On the right – in a position where we can only see it well if we climb the staircase – there is a large family tree of the dynasty. We have already mentioned the two chosen progenitors. The scene in the background of the tree depicts the three main dynastic burial sites: Hautecombe, Superga and the Sacra di San Michele.

Going up the grand staircase, visitors then see two other large coats of arms, which were the focus of the iconographic program. The first has the union of the coats of arms of all the ancient Italian states, under which we read *Ex omni-*

23. Umberto and Margherita were, in fact, the children of two brothers: Victor Emmanuel II and Ferdinand, Duke of Genoa. There was a famous episode when Umberto I, pointing to his son, said: «Marriages between relatives, see what fruit they bear». Cf. U. Alfassio Grimaldi, *Il Re "Buono"*, Feltrinelli, Milan 1970, p. 350. This anecdote was also recounted by Indro Montanelli in his *L'Italia di Giolitti* (Rizzoli, Milan 1974), who, however, cited Victor Emmanuel II as having said it. Montanelli was afterwards cited by almost all of the biographers of the sovereign.

24. When Dalbesio made the portraits, he used well-known iconography. Emmanuel Philibert was fashioned to resemble the Marochetti monument, while the scenery behind Victor Amadeus II was taken from a painting by Canaletto.

bus unum (fig. 3). The second brings together the coats of arms of the regions the Kingdom ruled, with the inscription *Omnes in unum* (fig. 4). In both cases, the setting is medieval, with knights on horseback and accompanied by squires²⁵. In this way, Victor Emmanuel III on the one hand claimed what had been done by the dynasty in the Risorgimento and on the other his own royal role as guarantor of the pact that had been established.

It is surprising, however, that the characters chosen to appear in the frescoes are Savoyes who lived between the Middle Ages and the beginning of the 18th century. The nineteenth century is completely absent. Antiquity and continuity remain, as they were between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the main motifs of dynastic exaltation and its narrative. The choice of ceiling decoration also appears to be in step with older styles. Victor Emmanuel III decided that the ceilings were to feature the ancient castles of Casa Carignano²⁶.

In what was the last dynastic cycle of the Savoy dynasty, Victor Emmanuel III wanted to remain faithful to centuries-old codes. And in Turin he found collaborators who were able to understand this request and interpret it in the appropriate way.

2. The décor of the royal train, between the Crown and Fascism (1925-1929)²⁷

Twenty years after the works at Racconigi Castle, Victor Emmanuel III had a new task: the decoration of a new space that would welcome both sovereigns and their guests: the royal train.

The House of Savoy had had a train as early as 1853, upon the occasion of the inauguration of the Turin-Genoa railway line, entrusting the technical aspects to the engi-

25. Dalbesio had also prepared contemporary scenes, with characters dressed in contemporary uniforms, but the sovereign rejected them. Today they are kept at the Quirinale. A. M. Damigella *et al.* (eds.), *Il Patrimonio Artistico del Quirinale: la Quadreria e le Sculture*, Ed. Lavoro, Rome 1991, vol. 1, p. 146.

26. They include the castles of Carignano, Racconigi, Pollenzo, Cavallermaggiore, Carmagnola and Barge.

27. A shorter version, in Italian, of this paragraph was published in P. Gribaudo (ed.), *Immaginare la Città. L'Accademia Albertina e Torino fra Eclettismo e Liberty*, Gli Ori, Pistoia 2021.

near Germano Sommeiller and the decoration to Gabriele Capello, the main cabinet-maker who was working for the Savoy court²⁸. Even then, they had ensured that the five carriages of the train (one for the King, one for the Queen and three for the court) would convey a political message that combined the exaltation of the dynasty with a clear expression of Italian politics. This train remained in service even after the national unification in 1861. Indeed, in 1860 Cesare Sala – one of the most important Italian coachbuilders of the time, with factories in both Turin and Milan – was asked to build two new carriages²⁹. In 1864 Victor Emmanuel II decided, however, that a new train was needed. Its construction was assigned to a German company, which delivered it at the end of the Third War of Independence. This second royal train was used first by Victor Emmanuel II and then by Umberto I and Margherita until 1891. Again in Germany (a country that was an ally with Italy in the Triple Alliance) the third royal train (initially composed by 11 carriages, and subsequently increased to 15) was built. Completed at the end of 1890 in the Nuremberg workshops³⁰, they started using it in May 1891³¹. Through various modifications, it remained in service for almost forty years, until 1929. We know that there was a carriage for the King, one for the Queen and one for the Prince of Naples, heir to the throne. Each of them included a bedroom and a small hall for the person for whom it was intended, as well as four rooms for the retinue (aides-de-camp for the King and the Prince, ladies for the Queen). There was also a coach that had a dining room for 18 people and four rooms for the King's retinue. The kitchen was in a fifth coach³². Little is known at present about the decoration of

28. See R. Antonetto, *Gabriele Capello "Moncalvo": Ebanista di Due Re*, Allemandi, Turin 2004, pp. 299-303 and P. Gentile, *Scheda 48*, in S. Ghisotti, A. Merlotti (eds.), *Dalle Regge d'Italia* cit., pp. 177-179

29. On Sala see M. Lattanzi, A. Merlotti, F. Navarro (eds.), *Carrozze Regali. Cortei di Gala di Papi, Principi, Re*, Cinisello Balsano, Milano 2013, pp. 160, 162, 168,

30. *Il Nuovo Treno Reale Italiano*, «Gazzetta Piemontese», XXIV (1890), 12/13 November 1890, p. 2.; *Il nuovo treno reale*, «Rivista Generale delle Ferrovie e dei Lavori Pubblici», VIII (1890), no. 52, 28 December 1890, pp. 833-834. Its construction was supervised by the «Società Italiana per le Strade Ferrate Meridionali».

31. *Il Nuovo Treno Reale*, «Monitore delle Strade Ferrate», 24 (1891), no. 16, April 18, p. 247.

32. *Il Nuovo Treno Reale Italiano*, «Monitore delle Strade Ferrate», 24 (1891), no. 1, 3 January, p. 10

this train. Almost everything, however, was made in Germany, except for the mirrors which were from Venice³³. The construction of the royal trains of 1866 and 1890 took place in a newly unified country, in which the House of Savoy was the symbol of a New Italy that was also seen in the construction of the national railway network and new stations. In each station there was a waiting room for the Royal House. Building the train that entered service in 1891 in Germany generated some controversy for this reason. In the pages of «Il Progresso», for example, an article appeared in which the choice was presented as proof of the ruling class's lack of confidence in the national industry:

Occasionally events occur [...] that cast doubt on the government's support for our domestic industry. Case in point, it occurs to us that the last royal train was built in Nuremberg, and we cannot find a reason as to why it was not built in Turin, Milan or Naples instead. Are we truly to believe that in the workshops where locomotives are built, workshops that do not fear, based on their very recent works, any comparison with English and German locomotives, one would not have been able to build luxury carriages and then know how to decorate them properly inside?³⁴

The echo of this controversy would last a long time, and we must keep it in mind when reconstructing the history of the fourth royal train, which is of interest here.

The construction of the fourth royal Savoy train happened in very different circumstances. It took place during the years in which Fascism came to power, defining its own powers in agreement with, but also to the detriment of, the Royal House.

In 1925 the State Railways – under the supervision of the Ministry of Communications, headed by Costanzo Ciano (Galeazzo's father) – issued a call for tenders for the construction of the new royal train³⁵. Its structure resembled the previous trains. There were carriages for the different

33. *Ibid.*

34. *L'Istruzione Tecnica e le Industrie Italiane*, in «Il Progresso. Rivista delle Nuove Invenzioni e Scoperte», 19 (1891), no. 6, March 21, p. 93 (the article had previously appeared in the magazine «L'Esercite»).

35. *Concorso per un Nuovo Treno Reale*, «La Stampa», 26 February 1925, p. 3.

members of the Royal House, as well as their retinues, and a dining carriage that could also serve as meeting rooms. There were several winning companies. The construction of the King's, Queen's and dining carriages was awarded to FIAT; the Prince of Piedmont's carriage was built by Piaggio. As for the decoration, the first three were assigned to Giulio Casanova (1875-1961) of Turin, while the Prince's carriage was assigned to a Roman, Vittorio Grassi (1878-1958)³⁶.

The train was built in just over three years. In March 1929 the carriages were ready on the tracks of the *Sezione Materiale Ferroviario (Railway Material Section)* of Turin, in Via Rivalta. Before leaving for Rome, on March 9th they were visited by Italo Balbo and the French Minister of Aeronautics Laurent Eynac, who was in town at the time to sign an agreement between the two countries³⁷. After it left for Florence, the train then reached Rome, where it remained waiting to start on its way on the railways of Europe. It began on New Year's Eve between 1929 and 1930, when the train left Rome bound for Brussels to bring Princess Maria José to Italy, as she was betrothed to Prince Umberto of Piedmont, along with her parents, King Albert I of Belgium and Queen Elizabeth of Bavaria. In the following years, the train would take Victor Emmanuel III on his (rare) trips abroad, such as his journey to Budapest in May 1937. However, the story of this train was not destined to last long. It ended fifteen years later, when in 1946 the Savoy dynasty's almost millennial sovereignty came to an end³⁸.

Circling back to the decorative design of the train, it was presented in 1925 and was well received by the press. In particular, there had been an emphasis on the 'national' tone of the decoration. The announcement had required that it respond "to characters of harmony and pure Italian-

36. Regarding Casanova, I refer to the essays collected in F. Dalmaso (ed.), *Giulio Casanova ed Edoardo Rubino. Eclettismo e Liberty a Torino*, a catalogue of the exhibition (Turin, Accademia Albertina, 18 January-5 March 1989), Il Quadrante, Turin 1989; on Grassi see the entry by Gloria Raimondi in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 58, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 2002.

37. *Il Convegno tra Balbo e il Ministro Francese dell'Aria*, «La Stampa», 10 March 1929, p. 5; *Il Nuovo Treno Reale Parte Oggi per Roma*, «Corriere della Sera», 13 March 1929, p. 2.

38. F. Dalmaso, *Il Treno Reale*, in Id. (ed.), *Giulio Casanova ed Edoardo Rubino. Eclettismo cit.*, pp 164-170

ism”³⁹. The Turinese architect Apollino Barelli wrote in «La Stampa» that Casanova’s work (whose drawings “for their virtuoso graphic elaboration” he considered “true masterpieces”) showed, in this regard, “a nobility of conception inspired by purely Italian motives”⁴⁰. The author of an anonymous article that appeared in 1928 in the «Corriere della Sera», while positively evaluating Casanova’s project, specified that it was inspired «by the famous fifteenth-century paintings on a gold background that decorate the chapel of Theodolinda in the Cathedral of Monza, not with the intention of repeating the motifs that he has developed with modern taste, but to bring into his inventions that sense of royalty that is widespread in the stories that celebrate the splendour of the Lombard Queen”⁴¹. While this may perhaps be true of the style, it is certainly not true of the novelty in his choice and depiction of the dynastic symbols. On the contrary, Casanova fit perfectly into an iconographic Savoy tradition that had begun in the late sixteenth century with the works of the court historian Emanuele Filiberto Pingone and had gone on for over three centuries with continuous adaptations⁴². Casanova had shown himself, indeed, to be fully at ease in using it, behaving as any good court artist would have in previous centuries. Moreover, like the artists who came before him, he was well aware that his work was not purely aesthetic, but had a precise political intent, all the more so in those years.

Journalists from various newspapers visited the royal train shortly before it left Rome. One of them was Cesco Tomaselli (1893-1963), one of the most famous Italian correspondents of the time. When presenting the train in the «Corriere della Sera», he described it as being a «travelling palace», a «train-work of art, a complete and genuine prod-

39. *Concorso per un nuovo treno reale*, cit.

40. A. Barelli, *The New Cars of the Royal Train. L’Opera d’Arte di un Torinese*, «La Stampa», 13 March 1929, p. 3.

41. *Il “Treno” del Re*, «Corriere della Sera», 29 February 1928, p. 2.

42. On Pingone see the entry I dedicated to him in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 83, Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 2015. and A. Barbero, *Filiberto Pingone, Storico ed Uomo di Potere*, in M. Gattullo (ed.), *Imagines Ducum Sabaudiae. Ritratti, Battaglie, imprese dei principi di Savoia nel Manoscritto di Filiberto Pingone*, L’Artistica, Savigliano 2009, pp. 9-14.

uct of Italian industry and craftsmanship»⁴³. The Turin art historian Marziano Bernardi (1897-1977) had already used those architectural similitudes, defining it in «La Stampa» as a «palace miniature»⁴⁴. Those who boarded the royal carriages suddenly found themselves literally surrounded by a profusion of Savoy iconography and symbolism, mostly consistent with centuries of Savoy iconographic translation. On the contrary – and this is what interests us here – there was very little that referred to the fascist regime.

In 1925 the train was decided upon and it was completed in 1929. The construction of the royal train happened during the first years that Fascism had come to power; the years when it established itself as a dictatorship. It is worth remembering that the year 1925 started with the speech of January 3rd, in which Mussolini claimed moral responsibility for Matteotti's murder, and the year closed with the law of December 24, which put executive power in the hands of the Prime Minister, making him accountable no longer to Parliament, but to the sovereign alone. Thus the diarchy between the King and Il Duce was sanctioned, and these less than twenty years would make their mark on Italy's history. This is certainly not the place to tackle the question of the balance of power between Victor Emmanuel III and Mussolini. What is of interest here, actually, is to remember that it also expressed itself in symbols. Fascism elaborated its own code that flanked the Crown's, often in an invasive way. In December 1926, the fascio littorio was proclaimed «emblem of the State». Through successive stages, it took on increasing importance, until the Royal Decree of 11 April 1929. Issued during the same days in which the royal train left the Turin station, the Decree established that from then on the «supports» of the Savoy coat of arms would no longer be the lions, which for centuries had worthily carried out this task, but two lictor fasces «leaning with the axe to the outside, tied with strips of interlaced leather and forming two Savoy

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43. C. Tomaselli, *Il Commosso Saluto di Bruxelles*, «Corriere della Sera», 4 January 1930, p. 1. On the departure of the train to Rome see: *Il Nuovo Treno Reale Parte Oggi per Roma*, «Corriere della Sera», 13 March 1929, p. 2 and *La Partenza del Treno Reale*, «La Stampa», 16 March 1929, p. 6. Cf. also C. Tomaselli, *Come è Fatto il Treno del Re*, «Corriere della Sera», 14 March 1929, p. 2.

44. M. Bernardi, *Il Nuovo Treno Reale*, «La Stampa», 13 March 1929, p. 3.

knots»⁴⁵. Making the fasces the supports of the dynastic coat of arms was one of those cases in which heraldry was able to represent a current political situation quite well. It is not clear how happy Victor Emmanuel was about this. In any case, he opposed Mussolini's attempt to put the fasces on the national and state flags. They remained as practised since 1861 and sanctioned in 1923, the tricolour with the royal coat of arms on the white «third», without a crown in the former, and with a crown in the latter⁴⁶. Since the royal coat of arms, unlike the state coat of arms, did not require supports, there was no need to replace the lions with fasces.

However, the three carriages of the royal train made by Casanova do not seem to bear any trace of all this. Despite the fact that the newspapers of the time point out that the train had «insignias of the Italian nation and of the Littorio»⁴⁷, there is no trace in the project of 1925 (which is not so strange), but not even in what was actually built in the following years, with the only exception the decoration of the dining room. The King's carriage and the Queen's carriage do not contain any fascist symbols. From this point of view, the “beautiful blue train of the regal bronze crown”, as a 1929 brochure defined it referring to the Savoy blue colour of the carriages, seemed to have been built twenty years earlier⁴⁸.

So in the halls of Royal Palaces, even in that «miniature palace» that was the royal train, the most important symbolic spaces were the ceilings of the rooms in which the carriages were developed.

In the King's carriage, Casanova's project had been brought to life with an important variation on the bedroom, where the King had wanted to use the theme of ancestors,

45. Royal Decree 11 april 1929, no. 504, *Foggia ed Uso dello Stemma e del Sigillo dello Stato*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale», LXX (1929), no. 92 (19 April), p. 1716. See P. Colombo, *La Monarchia Fascista 1922-1940*, il Mulino, Bologna 2010, p. 149.

46. The flag of the Kingdom was regulated by a Royal Decree of 24 September 1923, which later became law on 24 December 1925. The decree clarified that the “State flag” was used «in the residences of the Sovereigns and the Royal Family, in the seats of Parliament, diplomatic and consular representations abroad and government offices».

47. *Il Treno del Re*, «Corriere della Sera», 29 February 1928. Bernardi, in the article quoted at no. 18, also wrote about the «symbols of the Homeland» and lictor fasces in the carriages.

48. *Treno Reale*, Turin, Fiat (Genoa, Barabino and Grave), 1929. This work features photos of how the train was actually built. The drawings of the Casanova project are now part of the Albertina Academy Archives. Some were published in *Il Treno Reale*, «Rivista Fiat», 7 (1926), Jan-Feb, ff. 1-2.

a recurrent presence in historiography and in Savoy residences, but initially absent from Casanova's iconographic programme. Only the King could have decided upon such a change. It must be said that at the current state of research, there is no evidence of his direct involvement in the decorative plan of the train, but anyone who knows his almost maniacal attention to detail about everything related to dynastic history can never doubt it. Casanova, moreover, belonged to a Turin *milieu* with which both the King and the Prince of Piedmont had established relationships. Perhaps during his frequent stays in Turin and Racconigi he met with Casanova, as he had previously done with Dalbesio, to discuss the decoration with him.

Once built, the King's carriage featured – as did the Queen's carriage – three main spaces: a parlour, a sitting room and a bedroom. It also had a washroom and court spaces. The iconographic series began in the small hall. A Savoy eagle dominated, surrounded by the emblems and uniforms of various dukes and sovereigns. It continued in the living room, with the theme of the two crowns: the Savoy and the iron⁴⁹. It then ended in the bedroom, with the frieze of the sovereigns⁵⁰. It was not, however, the one of Kings of the nineteenth century, but much older sovereigns: a testament to the fact that Savoy history did not end with its recent Risorgimento events. The representation of secular mottos, the re-proposition of dynastic antiquity, the emphasis on the military element (with crosses and ribbons of the orders of knights) expressed a very exact choice: not to concede anything to more modern codes and, indeed, not to mix them. The same thing happened in the Queen's carriage, whose décor played on the symbols of the two dynasties.

The only fascist symbols – four lictor fasces – were in the dining room. But in a completely subordinate position. In 1925 Casanova had designed a sumptuous ceiling, with the coats of arms of the capitals of the regions of Italy (fig. 5). The frieze had the Savoy coat of arms in the centre of the two long sides, while at the centre of the short ones we see the iron

49. Regarding the crowns see L.C. Gentile, *Tante corone, nessuna corona*, in S. Ghisotti, A. Merlotti (eds.), *Dalle reggie d'Italia* cit., pp. 112-115

50. They included: Umberto *Biancamano*, Umberto III, Amadeus VI, Amadeus VIII, Emmanuel Philibert, Charles Emmanuel I, Victor Amadeus II, and Charles Emmanuel III.

crown. They are all united by the ribbons of the orders of the knights and other symbols of the same. The initial project was completely different. The coats of arms were not featured on the vaulted ceiling and were on the frieze. At the centre of the ceiling there was a large iron crown, surrounded by a frame with knots of the Annunziata and the motto FERT. This is how the 1929 *brochure* presented the frieze: «the ornamental nucleus is the coat of arms of Italy, with lions guarding it, paw on the shield and head turned backwards, to challenge and defend; and there is a Fascio Littorio; the coats of arms of the colonies beyond the sea and of Rodi, and those of the regions of Italy». We must note that in spite of the provisions of the decree of April 11th, the coat of arms was still held up by lions, not by fasces. Actually they appeared almost drowned in the sea of Savoy symbols in this and the other carriages. It was no accident. Nor was the disappearance of the ceiling that Casanova had designed for the King's drawing room in the dining car. In the 1925 project, it should have been the pavilion of the *grand'arma del Regno* (fig. 6). With the reform of 1929 (decided upon, however, some time before), the coat of arms would have two large fasces as support. The King therefore chose to give the room a much simpler decoration, thus avoiding the presence of the fasces.

In short, if you look at the style of the three carriages of the royal train, there appears to be a better relationship with liberal Italy than with (recently) fascist Italy (figg. 7-8). Not by chance, architect Arrigo Bonfiglioli, editor of «Casa Bella», had written «official art continues to turn to the past»⁵¹. Yet, at least in this case, this choice had been made, also, for purely political considerations. Victor Emmanuel III was well aware of the times in which he found himself and of the consequences that this could have (and indeed would have) on the future of the dynasty.

51. A. Bonfiglioli, *Considerazioni sul Treno Reale*, «La Casa Bella», 1929, March, f. III. Bonfiglioli was editor of this important magazine from 1929 to the end of 1932.

Savoy Symbols
in the Italy of
Victor Emmanuel III



Fig. 1
A. Dalbesio, *The Grand Staircase of the Royal Castle of Racconigi*. Detail
(©MiC – DRM Piemonte)



Fig. 2
A. Dalbesio, *Coat of arms of Vittorio Emanuele III*. The Grand Staircase of the Royal Castle
of Racconigi
(©MiC – DRM Piemonte)



Fig. 3
 A. Dalbesio, *Coat of arms of the Kingdom of Italy composed by the arms of the "ancient states" with the motto Ex omnibus unum*. The Grand Staircase of the Royal Castle of Racconigi (©MiC – DRM Piemonte)

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Fig. 4
 A. Dalbesio, *Coat of arms of the Kingdom of Italy composed by the arms of the regions with the motto Omnes in unum*. The Grand Staircase of the Royal Castle of Racconigi (©MiC – DRM Piemonte)



Fig. 5
G. Casanova, *Project of the Ceiling of the Dining Room in the Royal Train*
(Archive of the Accademia Albertina, Turin)



Fig. 6
G. Casanova, *Project of the Ceiling of the King's Hall near the Dining Room in the Royal Train*
(Archive of the Accademia Albertina, Turin)



Fig. 7
G. Casanova, *Project of the Ceiling of the King's Hall in the Royal Train*
(Archive of the Accademia Albertina, Turin)



Fig. 8
G. Casanova, *Project of the Ceiling of the King's Sitting Room in the Royal Train*
(Archive of the Accademia Albertina, Turin)

Using, Reusing and Removing Statues of the Kings of the House of Savoy in the Squares of Italy

Pierangelo Gentile

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During the second half of the nineteenth century Italy was filled with monuments to the “fathers of the fatherland” who had founded the Italian state through the Risorgimento. This act was not only a work of celebration, but also the beginning of a secular religion that saw the liberal ruling class engaged in the creation of a shared national code designed to smooth out political differences. After the death of Victor Emmanuel II, the likeness of the first king of Italy, rendered in bronze and marble, fully responded to Crispi’s theory that «the monarchy unites us, the republic would divide us». But the presentation of the Savoy king’s public image was nothing new; it had a long history behind it. This essay traces the origins of this phenomenon, one which changed over time and continued beyond liberal and Fascist Italy. Even today, the image of the king of Italy is not neutral.

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1. What history for the monuments?

First moment. 10pm, 14 March 2020. In a Turin deserted due to the Covid-19 lockdown, a handful of citizens moved furtively around the intersection of Corso Vittorio Emanuele II and Corso Galileo Ferraris. There, in the former pa-

rade ground, the mighty monument topped by the figure of the first king of Italy has stood since 1899¹ (fig. 1). This was no ordinary evening. Not only because of the restrictions imposed by the government, but also because it was the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Victor Emmanuel II. Even though the spread of the disease had disrupted a whole series of events planned to commemorate the occasion, the City of Turin decided, in consideration of the approaching 17 March, the «day of national unity, of the Constitution, of the anthem and of the flag» established by law no. 222 of 23 November 2012, to illuminate the columns of the elevated base with a huge Italian tricolour².

Second moment. Afternoon, 6 June 2020. After a sit-in protest in Piazza Castello against the killing of the African-American George Floyd by members of the Minneapolis Police Department, demonstrators paraded through the streets of central Turin until they reached the city hall. There a cluster of young antagonists split off from the main group and smeared the square with spray paint: in addition to vandalising columns and flower boxes with the words «Fuck Trump» and «Antifa», they also targeted the monument to Victor Emmanuel II situated under the colonnade of the city hall³ (fig. 2). The Five Star Movement (M5S) city councillor Andrea Russi and the district councillor of the Democratic Party (PD) Gianvito Pontrandolfo both spoke about the episode. The former, while considering it acceptable to «express opposition to gratuitous violence», lamented that some of the protestors had «had the smart idea of soiling the walls and statues of the Civic Palace, thus subjecting the public cultural heritage, and therefore the community, to another form of equally shameful and deplorable violence». The other, responding to Russi, was

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1. The monument was created by the sculptor Pietro Costa between 1879 and 1899. <https://www.museotorino.it/view/s/98fe4a9364e649e2bb7a9fcc33ce7037>. Except where otherwise stated the websites were accessed on 29 March 2022.

2. M. Quirico, *Un tricolore luminoso per l'Unità d'Italia e Vittorio Emanuele II*, «CittAgorà. Periodico del Consiglio comunale di Torino», 17 March 2020, <http://www.comune.torino.it/cittagora/in-evidenza/un-tricolore-luminoso-per-lunita-ditalia-e-vittorio-emanuele-ii.html>.

3. The task was entrusted to Vincenzo Vela in a contract dated 2 November 1861. In autumn 1863 the monument was completed, and it was put in position in January 1866. <http://www.museotorino.it/view/s/48a20af49b914dcca2441346dd139b5b>

more indulgent: «I don't much agree. The monument can be cleaned, and in any case, it is not alive. George Floyd, on the other hand, was a human being»⁴. The act, in either case, was immediately claimed by the «Kollektivo studenti autorganizzati», which, in a Facebook post, dismissed the criticism without mincing words: «when the city council of Turin is indignant about a spray-job on the statue of a shitty colonialist, we reply that this statue is not our cultural heritage»⁵. And so, for budding anarchists Turin was the same as Bristol, where Black Lives Matter protestors toppled the bronze statue of Edward Colston (1636 – 1721), an African slave trader⁶.

Third moment. 26 June 2020, Turin. A demonstration organised by the feminist movement «NonUnadiMeno» targeted the statue dedicated to the Green Count, Amadeus VI of Savoy (1334 – 1383)⁷ (fig. 3). On the gate protecting the group of sculptures that depicts the Savoyard Crusader hurling his sword at a defenceless Turk, they placed a banner, later removed by the police, which said: «Amadeus VI of Savoy, crusader, rapist, coloniser. Against your history of domination and violence we write our history of struggle and sisterhood. Not one woman left behind»⁸. This episode – which echoed a similar one that had taken place a few days earlier in Milan, once again connected to the Black Lives Matter movement (the statue of Indro Montanelli,

4. Torino, Palazzo di Città imbrattato con scritte contro Trump e la polizia durante la manifestazione, «Finestre sull'arte. Rivista on-line d'arte antica e contemporanea», 9 June 2020. <https://www.finestresullarte.info/attualita/torino-palazzo-citta-imbrattato-dopo-manifestazione>.

5. C. Palazzo, «Torino come Bristol»: imbrattata la statua di Vittorio Emanuele II «un colonialista», «La Repubblica-Torino», 11 June 2020. https://torino.repubblica.it/cronaca/2020/06/08/news/torino_sul_web_appare_una_lista_obiettivi_antirazzisti_dopo_le_proteste_per_la_morte_di_george_floyd-258728010/#:~:text=%22Torino%20come%20Bristol%22.,Colston%2C%20antico%20mercante%20di%20schiavi.&text=Un%20post%20in%20cui%20si,frase%20%22Torino%20come%20Bristol%22.

6. A Bristol la folla abbatte la statua di Edward Colston, trafficante di schiavi inglese, «La Repubblica», 8 June 2020. https://www.repubblica.it/esteri/2020/06/08/news/a_bristol_la_folla_abbatte_la_statua_di_edward_colston_trafficante_di_schiavi_inglese-258681198/.

7. The sculptural group, commissioned by Charles Albert to Pelagio Palagi, was inaugurated in 1853. http://www.comune.torino.it/papum/user.php?context=opere&submitAction=detttaglio&ID_opera=M009.

8. D. Petrizzelli, *Manifesto sulla statua del Conte Verde: «crociato e stupratore»*, «Torino Today», 29 June 2020. <https://www.torinotoday.it/attualita/manifesto-statua-amedeo-vi-conte-verde-palazzo-citta.html>.

“racist and rapist” was daubed in red paint⁹) – gave rise to a counter-protest: on 2 July, thirty or so members of «Aliud-Destra identitaria» group and the Fratelli d’Italia political party gathered to display a banner that read: «Nobody touches our history». Enrico Forzese, of Fratelli d’Italia, declared: «After the disgraceful attack on the memorial to Amadeus VI, the Green Count, carried out by feminists and community centres, we have decided to physically take the field in defence of our historical memory». He continued: «Apart from the nonsense said about him, we wanted to reiterate a cardinal principle: history is not subject to trial. And we have nothing to apologise for or to kneel for. The only white privilege of our ancestors was to build civilisation, to fight wars relentlessly so as to establish a peaceful order, to record in prose or verse the deeds of saints and heroes, as well as to die in coal mines. We have an entire history that the whole world would vaunt or boast about»¹⁰. In short, the Crusades and the 1956 Marcinelle mining disaster were part of a single history, a single source of pride.

These three news stories from Turin, focused on the House of Savoy’s “statue-mania”, perfectly reflect what David Dean called the «glocal» (global-local) horizon of study: arguments about monuments are markers of history in the public sphere, phenomena that traverse continents. Monuments become «victims» not only of drastic events, such as wars and revolutions, but may also have their legitimacy eroded by changes in political cultures. What was celebrated in one moment can become an embarrassment in another¹¹.

The point, therefore, is to place oneself within a historical narrative. But how many Italians, willingly or not, still understand the “Sabaudian” narrative, or are at least aware of being partly the product of such a narrative? To be sure,

9. D. Maida, *Statua di Indro Montanelli imbrattata a Milano. Tutte le volte che la scultura ha creato dissensi*, in «Atribune», 14 June 2020. <https://www.atribune.com/arti-visive/arte-contemporanea/2020/06/statua-di-indro-montanelli-imbrattata-a-milano-tutte-le-volte-che-la-scultura-ha-creato-dissensi/>.

10. *La statua del Conte Verde a Torino è diventata terreno di scontro, Aliud risponde a NonUnaDiMeno*, «Quotidiano piemontese», 3 July 2020. <https://www.quotidianopiemontese.it/2020/07/03/la-statua-del-conte-verde-a-torino-e-diventata-terreno-di-scontro-aliud-risponde-a-nonunadimeno/?cn-reloaded=1>.

11. D. Dean, *Fallen Monuments: An Introduction*, «International Public History», I (2018), no. 2, pp. 1-6. <https://www.degruyter.com/view/journals/iph/1/2/article-20180010.xml>. See also L. Parola, *Giù i monumenti*, Einaudi, Torino 2022.

the problem lies in part in the fact that so much history has passed under the bridge, and in part in the many “trials” calling for the removal of statues, in which the House of Savoy has often appeared as the defendant. Italy is a republic since 1946. It is a country that was defeated and brought low by the Second World War after twenty years of a dictatorship condoned by the monarchy. A monarchy irreparably disgraced for not preventing the Fascist seizure of power and the destruction of the liberal state, for contributing to the regime’s wars, for signing off racial laws and for endorsing the alliance with Hitler.

Even the Italian origin story is on trial: since the end of the last century the Risorgimento has been subjected to continuous revisionism not from academic circles but from the great wave of social media posts that tend to lay the blame on the dynastic-moderate solution that emerged with unification, while the values of the Resistance, after having been linked to the nineteenth century as a mythical «second Risorgimento», have progressively broken free over the years, becoming a re-founding myth in their own right.

The 17 March – the day on which Victor Emmanuel II, claiming the Crown of Italy for himself and his descendants, in effect sanctioned the unification of the peninsula – took its place in the republican national calendar very timidly, and even then only by force of law¹². These are all factors that bring into play the visible «public history» recounted by the late nineteenth-century monuments to the «fathers of the fatherland» (Cavour, Garibaldi, Mazzini, Victor Emmanuel II), with which the country is crammed, and which served to cement the nation and to pacify apparently irreconcilable souls, such as the moderates and the democrats¹³.

But as for the Savoy family, perhaps it pays to start from

12. See S. Montaldo, *La risacca neoborbonica. Origini, flussi e riflussi*, «Passato e Presente», 36 (2018), no. 105, pp. 19-48; A. Portelli (ed.), *Calendario civile. Per una memoria laica, popolare e democratica degli italiani*, Donzelli, Rome 2017; L. Falsini, *La storia contesa. L'uso politico del passato nell'Italia contemporanea*, Donzelli, Rome 2020; M. Baioni, *Vedere per credere. Il racconto museale dell'Italia unita*, Viella, Rome 2020; P. Gentile, *17 marzo 1861. La monarchia alla prova dell'Unità*, in A. Merlotti (ed.), *Studi da Venaria*, Centro Studi Piemontesi, Turin 2021, pp. 153-162.

13. F. Albano, *Cento anni di padri della patria 1848-1948*, Comitato di Torino dell'Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento italiano-Carocci, Turin-Rome 2017; A. Possieri, *All'ombra degli eroi: Italia e padri della patria*, in G. Belardelli (ed.), *L'Italia immaginata. Iconografia di una nazione*, Marsilio, Venice 2020, pp. 151-179.

farther back and to end later, rather than limit oneself to the peak season of “statue-mania”. After all, monuments are instrumental: they provide grounds for describing forms of political sociability and experiences of war, they aid the implementation of mass politics, they serve as places of remembrance, and they assist in the creation of nation-states¹⁴. In other words, they are much more than contingent. And Savoy history is a «public history» that is pre-unification and post-Republic. As demonstrated by the cases mentioned, monuments recount a contextualised story that is open to being re-contextualised.

2. From Piedmont to Italy: The meanings of marble and bronze

The year 1861 thus becomes the demarcation of three different interpretations of the public material representation of the Savoy. Before that date, the monuments responded to a need to celebrate the dynasty, serving an internal purpose (the prince’s homage to the lineage) and an external one (the community’s homage to the prince). After unification and until 1900 they responded to a political need to “nationalise” the ruling house; and from 1900 to the fall of the monarchy, in addition to the celebratory residues, the statuary became one of the new mass phenomena that forged contemporary Italy.

As regards celebrating the prince, if we were to go in search of possibly the earliest example of an effigy of the Savoy sovereign located not in a church or Royal Palace but in a public space, we would find it in Amadeus of Castellamonte’s unrealised baroque project to redevelop the current Piazza Carlina in Turin. There was to be a hexagonal space with a large fountain and a statue of Duke Charles Emmanuel II at its centre¹⁵.

But if instead we were to seek the oldest *surviving* example of a statue of the prince in a public square we would

14. C. Brice, *Perché studiare (ancora) la monumentalità pubblica*, in M. Tesoro (ed.) *La memoria in piazza. Monumenti risorgimentali nelle città lombarde tra identità locale e nazionale*, Effigie Edizioni, Milan, 2012, pp. 11-12; C. Brice, *Monarchie et identité nationale en Italie (1861-1900)*, EHHSS, Paris 2010, pp. 233-250.

15. M. Carassi, G. Gritella (ed.), *Il Re e l'Architetto. Viaggio in una città perduta e ritrovata*, Hapax, Turin 2013, p. 141.

have to leave Piedmont and go to Sardinia. There, in Carloforte on the island of San Pietro, stands the monument dedicated to Charles Emmanuel III, the king who not only founded the town but in 1738 also repopulated the small island with Genoese colonists originally from Pegli, who had previously colonised Tabarka, a small island off the coast of Tunisia. The monument recalls a specific episode that reverberated around Europe in 1741, namely the King of Sardinia's determined attempt to liberate the 840 former citizens of Tabarka enslaved by the Bey of Tunisia. The negotiations finally ended in 1753 with an exchange of prisoners¹⁶.

The Carlofortini naturally wanted to pay homage to their liberator but could do so only with an «ad memoriam» monument inaugurated thirteen years after his death in 1773, during the reign of his son, Victor Amadeus III. The prince, portrayed in the classical style of Roman statuary, was put in position on 16 July 1786. However, tradition has it that when the French attacked Sardinia in 1793, the Carlofortini hurriedly hid the statue by burying it, and when one of the prince's arms remained exposed, they decided to break it off. This is why the monument is incomplete and known by the name *Pittaneddu*, the nickname of a mythical one-armed local character¹⁷. The monument is part of the community's identity, as the municipality's official website makes clear: under the title «280th anniversary of the foundation» it states that the «statue of Charles Emmanuel III, which greets all those who disembark on the island, is the monument that best summarises the history of the population»¹⁸.

This is quite different to what is happening in other parts of Sardinia, where the presence of the Savoy is the cause of embarrassment and unease¹⁹. In Cagliari, the famous statue

16. G. Puggioni, *La colonia di Carloforte nelle sue vicende storiche*, «Genus», 23 (1967), no. 1-2, pp. 69-72.

17. http://www.isoladisani Pietro.org/storia/004_01.htm; <http://www.hieracon.it/Storia/A08-statua.php>.

18. <https://www.comune.carloforte.su.it/it/page/280-mo-anniversario-fondazione-carloforte>.

19. M. Pignotti, *Desabaudizzare la Sardegna. Uso e abuso dei luoghi della memoria sarda*, «Passato e presente», 40 (2022), no. 115, pp. 201-214.

of Charles Felix²⁰ – often enthusiastically «decorated» by the local football fans, usually to celebrate escaping relegation rather than winning championships – has ended up at the centre of heated controversy. This has recently been stoked by Francesco Casula, the author of an eloquently titled «revisionist» book on the Savoy²¹ and the driving force of the «let's move the statue of Charles Felix: an opportunity to study the history of Sardinia» campaign²². Thus the statue erected to celebrate the Savoy who built the road linking the two ends of the island (the present-day SS 131), and who Casula has labelled «one of the worst, most bloodthirsty and lazy viceroys»²³, has not only been disowned – with the Deputation of the History of Sardinia being accused of «working to protect the history of Savoy and not that of Sardinia and the Sardinian people» – but in the wake of the global debate on statues, has even been put on trial in a dramatisation staged in the council hall of the Viceroy's Palace²⁴.

We have begun with the Savoy of the eighteenth century and the Restoration, but we have found no public material testaments to Victor Amadeus III, nor to Charles Emmanuel IV, other than the bust on his funeral monument in the church of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale in Rome. As for Victor Emmanuel I, who in 1815 reclaimed his mainland states from the French, we can instead point to a statue now positioned in front of the church of Gran Madre di Dio. This monument has a tormented history: commissioned by Charles Albert and completed much later (after the end of absolutism in 1849) it was kept in storage at the Royal

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20. The statue was chosen in 1827 by the Stamenti (parliament) di Sardegna, and cast in bronze in 1833 by Andrea Galassi. The work was only placed in Piazza Yenne in 1860. See G. Spano, *Guida della città e dintorni di Cagliari*, Timon, Cagliari 1861, pp. 187-188.

21. F. Casula, *Carlo Felice e i tiranni sabaudi*, Grafica del Parteolla, Dolianova 2016. The front cover depicts the portrait of Giorgio Des Geneys (placed on top of the ruins of a nuraghe, an ancient Sardinian megalithic structure) that until October 2019 was labelled in the Wikipedia entry on Charles Felix as a portrait of the king.

22. <https://www.change.org/p/spostiamo-la-statua-di-carlo-felice-un-pretesto-per-studiare-la-storia-della-sardegna>.

23. E. Lobina, *Carlo Felice e i tiranni sabaudi, la Sardegna degli uomini con meno diritti degli altri*, «Il Fatto quotidiano», 5 Avril 2017. <https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2017/04/05/carlo-felice-e-i-tiranni-sabaudi-la-sardegna-degli-uomini-con-meno-diritti-degli-altri/3495706/>.

24. <https://www.vistanet.it/cagliari/2020/08/26/in-scena-processo-alla-statua-di-carlo-felice-per-riflettere-sulla-sua-rimozione/>.

Palace of Genoa until 1885, when at last it was placed on the plinth where it now stands, at the bottom of the staircase of the Church of the Gran Madre di Dio²⁵.

Charles Felix was instead the first sovereign to whom public statues were dedicated during his lifetime, a phenomenon that mainly has to do with the “bucolic province” of a sovereign who always harboured a visceral hatred towards the capital, tainted by the riots of 1821. We have already noted the statue in Cagliari but, in this “amphibious” kingdom crossed by the Alps, two other communities expressed their gratitude to the sovereign for the works he had carried out: Bonneville, in Savoy, which in 1826 placed a statue of Charles Felix atop a 44-metre column in order to thank the munificent monarch who had supported measures to shore up the Arve river²⁶, and Nice, which in 1828, through its Chamber of Commerce, decided to eternalise the king for having maintained the city’s free port status²⁷.

But it was during the reign of Charles Albert that numerous statues were built by the prince to honour his lineage or for the community to honour the monarch. Historiography has determined how Charles Albert used dynastic history for not only artistic but also political ends²⁸. This was a history that, through the work of Luigi Cibrario, gradually shifted its axis from the «incredible» genealogy to the Saxon Beroldo to that of Duke Otto-William of Burgundy, the son and grandson of the Italian kings Adalbert and Berengar II, who was confirmed as the father of Humbert the White-Handed in a manoeuvre aimed at rooting the family’s origins in Italy²⁹. The national and romantic myth was thus welded to family glories, from the Green Count statue

25. *Cittadini di pietra. La storia di Torino riletta nei suoi monumenti*, Città di Torino, Turin 1992, p. 88.

26. <http://www.histoire-passy-montblanc.fr/nos-dossiers/geographie-physique/hydrologie/la-riviere-arve-a-passy/la-colonne-charles-felix-a-bonneville/>.

27. R. Cleyet-Michaud *et al.* (dir.), *1388. La dédition de Nice à la Savoie. Actes du colloque International de Nice (septembre 1988)*, Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris 1990, pp. 460-461. In 1851, with the abolition of the free ports, the people of Nice broke the fingers of the hand of the prince pointing towards the port.

28. G.P. Romagnani, *Storiografia e politica culturale nel Piemonte di Carlo Alberto*, Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria, Turin 1985.

29. A. Merlotti, *Morte (e resurrezione) di Beroldo. Le origini sassoni dei Savoia nella storiografia del Risorgimento*, in M. Bellabarba, A. Merlotti (eds.) *Stato sabaudo e Sacro Romano Impero*, il Mulino, Bologna 2014, pp. 135-163; Id. *Storia e leggenda: origini e antichità di una dinastia*,

in Piazza Palazzo di Città to that of the *Caval' d brôns* (bronze horse) of Piazza San Carlo. Amadeus VI and Emmanuel Philibert acted as historical cases in point³⁰, the first as a medieval knight founder of the Order of the Annunciation, a point of reference for the neo-Guelf crusade (against the Austrians, no longer against the Turks), and the second as a warrior duke who restored the Savoy states and was a pillar of stability and strength for the kingdom in the national and international contexts.

Local communities also celebrated «the prince»: on 4 November 1837, the birthday of Charles Albert, the city of Novara inaugurated a statue to Charles Emmanuel III, who had cleaned and drained the city's sewer³¹. And on 20 May 1843, Casale Monferrato unveiled an equestrian statue to the ruling prince who had restored the local senate, with Charles Albert represented as the Marcus Aurelius of the Capitoline Hill³².

It was then the myth of the «magnanimous and martyr» king, created ad hoc, that eternalised the one who had granted the Statute and lost his crown in the first war of independence, a myth, however, that remained anchored to a Savoy-centric tradition: although the equestrian monument was forged in Turin in 1861, the year of unification³³, it took another four decades before the monument to the melancholy, exiled Charles Albert was erected in the public gardens beside the Quirinal Palace, ostensibly to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Albertine Statute, albeit with two years of delay, in 1900. This was thanks to the celebrations committee, which when facing bankruptcy was rescued by Umberto I, who settled its debts from his private funds³⁴.

in F. Porticelli et al. (eds.) *Piemonte bonnes nouvelles*, Centro Studi Piemontesi, Turin 2016, pp. 1-4.

30. S. Cavicchioli, *Scolpire il principe. Carlo Marochetti e l'identità nazionale nell'Europa dell'Ottocento*, in M.G. Castello, E. Belligni (eds.), *La fabbrica e la storia. Fonti della storia e cultura di massa*, Franco Angeli, Milan 2016, pp. 133-166.

31. *Monumenti inaugurati in Novara il giorno onomastico di S.M. il Re Carlo Alberto, 4 novembre 1837*, Artaria, Novara 1837.

32. G. Mazza, M.P. Soffiantino, *Il monumento a Carlo Alberto di Casale Monferrato*, in S. Montaldo (ed.), *Il Risorgimento nell'Astigiano, nel Monferrato, nelle Langhe*, Fondazione CRAsti, Asti 2010, pp. 110-113.

33. E. Gianasso, *Il monumento a Carlo Alberto a Torino*, «Studi Piemontesi», 40 (2011), no. 2, pp. 501-506.

34. *Rassegna dei lavori pubblici e delle strade ferrate*, 2 (1909), no. 30, p. 480.

The turn of the century marked the decline of the “monument-mania” that had helped the Historic Left to spread a new religion, by dint of the elevation onto pedestals – the new, secular altars – of the fathers of the fatherland. Lording it over everyone was Garibaldi, a model for Crispi and his associates; but since Cavour (who died too early and was not a “father” for the Left) and Mazzini (too strongly identified with republicanism) were both sidelined, it was Victor Emmanuel II, at the moment of his death, who was identified as the unifying force of the nation³⁵.

Hundreds of initiatives were taken throughout the peninsula to name streets and squares after the first king of Italy. But dozens of municipalities went further, choosing to memorialise the Great King in a more observable form. Rome had pride of place, for, having acquired the monarch’s body, inhumed in the Pantheon, it was to host the national monument, the Vittoriano³⁶. Even so, from north to south, east to west, after 9 January 1878 a race began to acquire a “memory” of the king who had founded Italy. Some cities did so very quickly, others took decades. Monza, seat of a royal residence, won the race, being the first to inaugurate the *re de sass* (king of stone) in the presence of Umberto I and Margherita, on 16 September 1878³⁷.

Other towns and cities, even important ones, found themselves bogged down in budget difficulties, competitions and appeals, second thoughts, alterations to the work and endless disputes with the artists³⁸. Hence in Milan it was not until the 25th anniversary of the Battle of Solferino and San Martino, in 1896, that there took place in Piazza Duomo the unveiling of the work of two artists, Barzaghi and

35. U. Levra, *Fare gli italiani. Memoria e celebrazione del Risorgimento*, Comitato di Torino dell’Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento italiano, Turin 1992, pp. 1-172; P. Gentile, *L’invenzione del Re d’Italia: all’origine del mito di Vittorio Emanuele II*, in P. Pressenda, P. Sereno (eds.), *Saperi per la nazione. Storia e geografia nella costruzione dell’Italia unita*, Olschki, Florence 2017, pp. 1-33.

36. C. Brice, *Il Vittoriano. Monumentalità pubblica e politica a Roma*, Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Rome 2015.

37. «L’illustrazione italiana», 15 September 1878, a. V, no. 37, pp. 161-162.

38. M. Savorra, *La monumentomania e i concorsi artistici nell’Italia unita*, in F. Mangone, M.G. Tampieri (eds.), *Architettare l’Unità. Architettura e istituzioni nelle città della nuova Italia 1861-1911*, Paparo, Naples 2011, pp. 351-363.

Rosa, who had by then passed away³⁹. Meanwhile in Turin, Italy's first capital and the "cradle" of the *Gentleman King*, the twentieth anniversary of Victor Emmanuel's death had come and gone by the time a monument was inaugurated; this had received an extraordinary personal contribution of one million lire from Umberto I as compensation for not having his father buried in the royal crypt of the Basilica of Superga, alongside his forebears⁴⁰. As to the Vittoriano, whose problematic construction on the slopes of the Capitoline did not conclude until 1911 (twenty-six years after the laying of the first stone!), when it was inaugurated by Victor Emmanuel III on the fiftieth anniversary of unification and on the eve of the Italo-Turkish War in Libya, the ceremony took place in an Italy that had changed profoundly since its foundation⁴¹.

In the twentieth century the dynasty changed. The process of nationalising the monarchy had undergone significant acceleration under the reign of Umberto I and Margherita⁴², as well as suffering a violent setback with the regicide of 29 July 1900. Victor Emmanuel III now had to take on the challenge of a country being propelled towards modernity and mass society⁴³. There was still time to celebrate in the old style, however, with grandiose classical equestrian monuments dedicated to Umberto I, from Asti to Catania via Bari. But other representations took hold. In Naples, the statue of the hieratic and proud *Good King* (Umberto wears the coat of an infantry general, with his hand resting on the hilt of his sword), recalls in the sorrowful figures in its bas-relief the 1883 Casamicciola earthquake and the cholera epidemic of 1884⁴⁴. In Turin, alongside the Superga basilica, a symbolic monument portrays Umberto I in the form of an eagle struck by an arrow in the company

39. E. Colombo, *Milano. Il padre della patria in faccia al Duomo*, in *La memoria in piazza* cit., pp. 95-110.

40. *Vittorio Emanuele II. Un monumento restituito alla città*, Consulta per la Valorizzazione dei Beni Artistici e Culturali di Torino, Turin, 2001, contributions by U. Levra, P.L. Bassignana, C. Ghibaudi; R. Varvelli, *Il re che vola*, «Torino storia», 4 (2019), no. 39, pp. 30-35.

41. C. Brice, *Il Vittoriano* cit.

42. See C.M. Fiorentino, *La corte dei Savoia (1849-1900)*, il Mulino, Bologna, 2008.

43. P. Gentile, *Vittorio Emanuele III*, Corriere della Sera, Milan 2018.

44. «Illustrazione popolare. Giornale per le famiglie», 41 (1910), no. 49, p. 776.

of an Allebroge, the legendary progenitor of the Piedmontese⁴⁵. But the true image of Umberto I was funereal, linked to his tragic fate, eternalised in the expiatory chapel built in Monza on the exact spot where Gaetano Bresci had fired the fatal bullets⁴⁶.

If Victor Emmanuel III reached the height of his myth as a *Soldier King*⁴⁷, after the First World War he was also a victim in a process of “desaubadisation”: from the burial of the unknown soldier at the Vittoriano with the creation of the Altare della Patria, which shifted attention from the first king of Italy to the last of the infantrymen, symbol of new mass ceremonies⁴⁸, to the pervasive Fascist liturgy that – heedless of the scrawny king – focused on the body of the vigorous (though undermined by various ailments) Duce and absorbed the ritualism of the monarchy⁴⁹. The only surviving monument, which is nevertheless significant, is that erected on the seafront of Reggio Calabria, on the spot where Victor Emmanuel III landed on 30 July 1900 as king of Italy after the assassination of his father. Erected in 1932, the monument, on which the image of Athena Promachos stands out, was moved in 2001 to the centre of a new arena by mayor Italo Falcomatà, a historian and former communist militant. And while Falcomatà turned the statue away from the sea to make it face the city (in order to protect it from “its” true enemies)⁵⁰, his successor Giuseppe Scopelliti, of the right-wing Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI) later rededicated the space to Francesco (Ciccio) Franco, the right-wing trade unionist who in 1970 led a series of bloody riots in the city⁵¹.

This episode introduces us to the incidents of removal

45. *Cittadini di pietra* cit., pp. 232-238.

46. P. Gentile, *Morte e apoteosi. Regolare i destini politici della nazione da Carlo Alberto a Umberto I*, in P. Cozzo, F. Motta (eds.), *Regolare la politica. Norme, liturgie, rappresentazioni del potere tra tardo antico ed età contemporanea*, Viella, Rome 2016, pp. 285-290.

47. E. Signori, *La Grande guerra e la monarchia italiana: il mito del “re soldato”*, in M. Tesoro (ed.), *Monarchia, tradizione, identità nazionale. Germania, Giappone e Italia tra Ottocento e Novecento*, Bruno Mondadori, Milan 2004, pp. 183-213.

48. B. Tobia, *Ealtare della patria*, il Mulino, Bologna, 2011.

49. P. Colombo, *La monarchia fascista*, il Mulino, Bologna, 2010.

50. *Il Sindaco Falcomatà: «finalmente libera la statua della Dea Athena, tornerà a difendere la città e a vigilare sul nostro futuro»*, article on the website of the City of Reggio Calabria: <http://www.reggiocal.it/on-line/Home/Amministrazione/Sindaco/articolo108688.html>.

51. <http://www.chieracostui.com/costui/docs/search/schedaoltre.asp?ID=19024>.

and reinterpretation that struck the House of Savoy after the 2 June referendum, which ushered in the republic. We should not overlook, however, the significant parenthesis, in the north, of the Italian Social Republic (RSI), which wanted to cleanse the public squares of all monarchical symbols⁵². The fury of the republican fascists did not limit itself to erasing the names of the kings and queens from streets and squares. In Novara, on 28 September 1944, after the detonation of a bomb in a barracks that killed thirteen RSI soldiers, the Fascists carried out a determined assault on Savoy monuments: they destroyed the bust of Ferdinand, Duke of Genoa, decapitated the equestrian statue of Victor Emmanuel II, dragging the head of the *Great King* with a rope amid singing and shouting, and while they did not succeed in defacing the statue of Charles Emmanuel III because it was situated too high up (though the intimidated inhabitants of the square were ordered to fetch a ladder), they wrecked the monument to Umberto I and vandalised that of Charles Albert⁵³. In Bologna, the Fascists acted with more restraint: in 1944 they moved Victor Emmanuel II from Piazza Maggiore (then called Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II, but promptly renamed «della Repubblica») to the Giardini Margherita, where it can still be found⁵⁴.

Without a doubt, following the referendum the republicans worked hard at renaming streets and squares, and this was lamented by Benedetto Croce who, entering Turin by car, noted with «painful wonder» that the Piazza Emanuele Filiberto had been renamed Piazza della Repubblica⁵⁵. It was of course more difficult to get rid of monuments, but nevertheless there was no lack of purges: in Crema, for example, the statue of Victor Emmanuel II was destroyed on 11 June 1946 in a bomb attack, and the same fate befell Victor Emmanuel II in Parma, which was blown up on 5 July 1946⁵⁶. After the war, in Ferrara, the statue to the *Gen-*

52. M. Ridolfi, M. Tesoro, *Monarchia e Repubblica. Istituzioni, culture e rappresentazioni in Italia (1848-1948)*, Bruno Mondadori, Milan 2011, pp. 143-149.

53. P. Fornara, *Passeggiando per la nostra Novara*, «Resistenza unita», July-August 1974, pp. 2-3.

54. See <https://www.storiaememoriadibologna.it/monumento-a-vittorio-emanuele-ii-1195-opera>.

55. B. Croce, *Scritti e discorsi politici (1943-1947)*, Laterza, Rome-Bari 1963, p. 338.

56. <https://www.anpiparma.it/it/il-monumento-al-partigiano>.

leman King was removed from the cathedral square and consigned to the local Museum of the Risorgimento and the Resistance⁵⁷.

Other statues of the Great King were removed for traffic reasons. In Ascoli, the statue of Victor Emmanuel II was moved in 1961 from the central Piazza Arringo to the public gardens⁵⁸. In Verbania, in 2014 the tormented *Toju* (which had been removed during the RSI, almost melted down to make a monument to the partisans, then put into storage after the war, and resited in the 1990s), was finally placed on the Intra lakefront⁵⁹ to make way for a roundabout; this happened despite intense protests by the monarchists and the king's great-grandson, Prince Victor Emmanuel⁶⁰. In Acqui Terme, the statue of Victor Emmanuel II has seemed to wander from place to place in response to urban redevelopment or political decisions made by the municipal councils⁶¹. And in Naples, the 2010 relocation of the statue of Victor Emmanuel II from the Piazza del Municipio (made necessary by nearby works on the underground) gave rise to lively neo-Bourbon protests for the new «Teano», that is, the axis created at the end of Corso Umberto I between the Victor Emmanuel II in Piazza Bovio and the Garibaldi at the central station⁶².

The case of Naples, in the wake of revisionism, relates to a wider discussion that cannot be addressed here⁶³. Limiting ourselves to the Savoy versus Bourbon question, the

57. Anselmi: *troviamo un parco per la statua di Vittorio Emanuele II*, «La nuova Ferrara», 30 settembre 2010, <https://lanuovaferrara.gelocal.it/ferrara/cronaca/2010/09/29/news/anselmi-troviamo-un-parco-per-la-statua-di-vittorio-emanuele-ii-1.525461>.

58. G. Gagliardi, *Le piazze di Ascoli*, Silvana Editoriale, Cinisello Balsamo 1996, p. 20.

59. Intra, *il monumento a Vittorio Emanuele II*, in <http://www.ecosistemaverbano.org/scheda.html?id=8737>.

60. A. Ronzoni, *A Verbania non c'è posto per Vittorio Emanuele II. Rimossa statua del re e Casa Savoia*. www.titolidigiornali.it, (accessed 8 February 2014).

61. A. Martini, *Il monumento a Vittorio Emanuele II ad Acqui Terme*, in *Il Risorgimento nell'Asstigiano* cit., pp. 192-193.

62. Press office of the Neo-Bourbon Movement, *Vittorio Emanuele a piazza Bovio per una nuova Teano. Il Parlamento delle Due Sicilie chiede chiarezza al Sindaco Iervolino e propone il trasferimento della statua a Torino!*, 10 dicembre 2010, <https://angeloforgione.com/2010/12/10/vittorio-emanuele-ii-a-piazza-bovio-per-una-nuova-teano-il-parlamento-delle-due-sicilie-chiede-chiarezza-al-sindaco-iervolino-e-propone-il-trasferimento-della-statua-a-torino/>.

63. C. Pinto, *La guerra per il Mezzogiorno. Italiani, borbonici e briganti*, Laterza, Rome-Bari 2019; S. Sonetti, *L'affaire Pontelandolfo. La storia, la memoria, il mito*, Viella, Rome 2020.

teleological row of statues commissioned by Umberto I in 1889 of the founders of the various dynasties that reigned over Naples (Roger the Norman, Frederick II of Swabia, Charles I of Anjou, Alfonso I of Aragon, Charles V, Charles III of Bourbon, Joachim Murat, Victor Emmanuel II), for the façade of the Neapolitan Royal Palace, has lost its conciliatory value⁶⁴. In the south, the war of the royal statues has regained momentum⁶⁵, while in the centre-north the debate appears not to have aroused much emotion: in Lucca, for instance, the statues of Maria Luisa of Bourbon and of Garibaldi were restored as part of the same improvement works⁶⁶. It is clear, however, that this example does not support any particular theory and does not exhaust a subject in need of further investigation of the “removals” and “substitutions” that not only took place during the key moments of 1861, 1943 and 1946 but were also intrinsic to the revolutions of the Risorgimento, with developments within the pre-unification states⁶⁷.

There has also been no lack of discussions about unwelcome monuments to the first king of Italy, such as that of Genoa, which some have called to be removed due to the bombing of the city ordered by the king and carried out by La Marmora in 1849⁶⁸; or that of Palermo, where a local journalist’s criticisms of the «wasteful» restoration received support from the separatists of the «Frunti Nazionali Sicilianu»⁶⁹. Conversely, it is true that some statues

64. B. Tobia, *Una patria per gli italiani. Spazi, itinerari, monumenti nell'Italia unita (1870-1900)*, Laterza, Rome-Bari 1998, pp. 163-167.

65. A. Forgiione, *La cattiva sorte delle pregevoli statue borboniche*, «Napoli.com», 3 settembre 2009, <http://www.napoli.com/viewarticolo.php?articolo=29873>.

66. *Dopo la statua di Maria Luisa in piazza Grande, adesso si sistema quella di Garibaldi in piazza del Giglio*, 29 agosto 2016 <http://www.comune.lucca.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/16181>.

67. P.M. Delpu, *Gli attentati popolari contro i Borbone di Napoli: iconoclastia e progetti di tirannicidio (1848-1856)*, in R. De Lorenzo, R.A. Gutiérrez Lloret (eds.), *Las Monarquías de la Europa meridional ante el desafío de la modernidad (siglos XIX y XX)*, PUZ, Zaragoza 2020, pp. 189-212.

68. “Vile e infetta razza di canaglie”. *Rimuoviamo la statua di Vittorio Emanuele da Corvetto*, https://www.change.org/p/marco-bucci-vile-e-infetta-razza-di-canaglie-rimuoviamo-la-statua-di-vittorio-emanuele-da-corvetto?recruiter=224298226&utm_source=share_petition&utm_medium=facebook&utm_campaign=share_petition&recruited_by_id=ba19cdf0-abae-11e4-bc42-c9e6bb07b102.

69. G. Ambrosetti, *Vittorio Emanuele II? No, grazie!*, «Meridionews», 5 December 2011, <https://palermo.meridionews.it/articolo/12701/vittorio-emanuele-ii-no-grazie/>.

have been enhanced: in preparation for the 150th anniversary celebrations various monuments were restored, such as those of Victor Emmanuel II in Bergamo⁷⁰ and Pisa⁷¹, and the equestrian statue of Umberto I in Bari⁷².

But leaving aside the general indifference towards the figure of the king of Italy, and the few “rediscoveries” there have been not a few wars of memory. In Crema, where the aforementioned statue of Victor Emanuel II was blown up, the restoration with private money and support of a centre-right council embarrassed the successive centre-left administration, which was forced to accept the previously agreed positioning of the work in the piazza named after Aldo Moro, one of the architects of the republic⁷³. In Bologna, where the anarchists had not forgotten Gaetano Bresci, in 2019 the Hobo collective reacted to the initiative of the entrepreneur Francesco Amante to reposition the bronze high-reliefs of Umberto I that were removed in 1943 on the facade of Palazzo d’Accursio by smearing them in red paint⁷⁴. These antagonists would have cared little about the argument that took place on the day of the inauguration between the journalist and former deputy mayor of Modena, Mario Lugari, and the mayor of Bologna, Virginio Merola of the Democratic Party (PD):

Lugari: What prompted the mayor of a city that received the Gold Medal [of the Resistance] to find a new home for a statue that honours Umberto I, who was respon-

70. *Restaurati a Bergamo i monumenti di Vittorio Emanuele II e Garibaldi*, «Cultura Italia», 10 novembre 2011, http://www.culturaitalia.it/opencms/it/contenuti/focus/focus_9293.html?language=it.

71. E. Piras, *Finiti i lavori in piazza Vittorio Emanuele: nuovi spazi per la città*, «PisaToday», 10 febbraio 2012, <https://www.pisatoday.it/cronaca/inaugurazione-piazza-vittorio-emaneuele-pisa-11-febbraio-2012.html>.

72. *150° Italia: restaurato a Bari il monumento a Umberto I*, in «Giornale di Puglia», 2 marzo 2012, <https://www.giornaledipuglia.com/2012/02/restaurato-bari-il-monumento-umberto-i.html>.

73. A. Galvani, *Statua di Vittorio Emanuele II, interviene Livia Severgnini: «forti perplessità sul posizionamento ed il contributo economico, tuttavia l'iter era praticamente già concluso»*, «Crema on line», <https://www.cremaonline.it/articoli.php?ID=20290>. There is a substantial dossier on the history of the Crema statue: http://www.societanazionale.it/pagine.php?page=Liv2&id_scheda=436&prod=Notizie.

74. *Bologna, imbrattate le statue sull'amor patrio. Hobo rivendica l'atto*, in «La Repubblica-Bologna», 11 March 2019, https://bologna.repubblica.it/cronaca/2019/03/11/news/bologna_imbrattate_le_statue_sull_amor_patrio-221235493/.

sible for the 1898 massacre in Milan? What were you thinking of? Do you realise what you've done?

Merola: You see history in the sense that what happened in the past must be denied.

Lugari: Absolutely not, you don't know history.

Merola: You don't know history, it's time to stop removing or placing monuments on the basis of which party is in government. Shame on you!

Lugari: It is you, as the mayor, who should be ashamed. You don't know a damn thing!

Merola walks away, directing an irritated gesture towards his interlocutor⁷⁵.

Thus the House of Savoy continues to divide public opinion and provoke debate. This was evident in December 2017, at the time of the secretive return to Italy of the bodies of Victor Emmanuel III and Elena of Montenegro. There was “no room” for them at the Pantheon, and the makeshift solution was to place them in a chapel in the Vicoforte Sanctuary near Mondovì, in the province of Cuneo. But while the monarchists, still grumbling, thanked the President of the Republic for the humanitarian gesture, the Italian Jewish Community expressed «concern» about an event that took place on the eve of the eightieth anniversary of the racial laws⁷⁶.

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75. *A Bologna torna la statua in onore di Umberto I. Un cittadino critica e Merola perde la pazienza*, «Dire. Agenzia di stampa nazionale», <https://www.dire.it/01-03-2019/303272-video-a-bologna-torna-la-statua-in-onore-di-umberto-i-un-cittadino-critica-e-merola-perde-la-pazienza/>.

76. A. Giovagnoli, *La traslazione. Né onori, né pietre: Vittorio Emanuele III e i saggi modi della pietà*, «Avvenire», 19 dicembre 2017 <https://www.avvenire.it/opinioni/pagine/vittorio-emanuele-iii-i-saggi-modi-della-piet>. P. Gentile, *Le carte dei re d'Italia tra dispersioni, epurazioni, occultamenti e (parziali) ritrovamenti*, «Passato e presente», 37 (2019), no. 106, pp. 73-89.



Fig. 1
P. Costa,
Victor Emmanuel II,
1899, Turin

Using, Reusing
and Removing
Statues of the Kings
of the House of Savoy



Fig. 2
V. Vela,
Victor Emmanuel II,
1866, Turin

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Fig. 3
P. Palagi,
Amadeus VI, The Green Count,
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