EPHEMERAL ARCHITECTURE, ART
AND ROYAL GENEALOGY IN SPANISH SICILY,
FROM CHARLES II TO PHILIP V

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This essay focuses on the public image of King Charles II of Habsburg and his wife Mariana of Neuburgh in Palermo and Naples, and more broadly with the crafting of a public royal imagery for the late Habsburgs during the war of Spanish Secession. The author analizes drawings for three projects, deviced by architect Giacomo Amato and his artistic partners, the painters Pietro Aquila and Antonino Grano. The essay revindicates the importance of viceregal patronage in the fields of the decorative arts (in particular silversmith and goldsmith), and ephemeral architecture. It also contends that the Spanish capital port of Palermo was formally and stylistically connected with the court of Madrid rather than Rome.

Key words: Viceroys; Charles II; Mariana de Neoburgo; gift; Naples; Palermo; ephemeral art; genealogy.

**ARQUITECTURA EFÍMERA, ARTE Y GENEALOGÍA REGIA
EN LA SICILIA ESPAÑOLA ENTRE CARLOS II Y FELIPE V**

Este ensayo trata de la imagen pública de Carlos II de Asburgo y Mariana de Neoburgo en Palermo y Nápoles, y más en general de la imagen regia en los virreinatos de Nápoles y Sicilia durante la Guerra de Sucesión española. Se analizan los dibujos de tres aparatos efímeros de Giacomo Amato realizados por el arquitecto y sus pintores colaboradores Pietro Aquila y Antonino Grano. Se revindica la importancia de encargos de arte decorativa (platería y orfebrería) por parte de los virreyes Uceda, Santisteban y Veragua, subrayando su afinidad proyectual con los encargos de arquitectura efímera. También se explican las conexiones estilísticas y de gusto que colegan la capital portual hispána de Palermo con la corte en Madrid más bien que con la capital pontificia.

Palabras clave: Virreyes; Carlos II; Mariana de Neoburgo; dono; Nápoles; Sicilia; arte efimero; genealogía.

The recent flourishing of scholarship on Viceregal Italy, ruled and influenced by the Spanish crown,[3] allows us to contextualize the study of seventeenth- and eighteenth century Palermo in a global context. Likewise, it enables an evaluatation of the negative effects of the political upheaval and dynastic change in Italy in the wake of the War of Secession in the Mediterranean (1700-1714/19) [fig. 1][4].

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[2] I warmly thank Prof. James Gordon Harper for his beautiful translation of my text into English, and Maria Onori for her assistance in the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome.

[3] For updated and complete bibliography on Spanish Italy: Bravo/Lozano, 2013; Halcón Álvarez-Ossorio, 2018.

[4] Oil on canvas, 77,2 x 106,6 cm. Pestilli, 2013: 333, tav. 2. Marshall, 2016: 251-252, fig. 188 at p. 250.

Fig. 1. Paolo De Matteis, *Self-portrait with the allegories of the Peace of Rastatt and the Peace of*, about 1714. Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, Sarah Campbell Foundation, inv. BF.1980.4. Courtesy of the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Houston.

The study of Palermo as a Mediterranean capital claimed by two great European nation-states, and of Sicily as a "battle front" of political representation also deepens our understanding of the circulation and dialectic of models of power representation in the Italian capitals of the early eighteenth century (Palermo, Rome, Naples and Turin) in relation to other European capitals (Vienna, Paris and Madrid). The cases presented in the present article test theories of geography and artistic hierarchy that derive from Carlo Ginzburg and Enrico Castelnuovo's seminal 1979 essay on the center and periphery. Historicized, updated and further developed by Thomas Da-Costa Kaufmann into an elaborated theory of the geography of art, this idea that art reflects the transregionality and transnationality of civilizations and empires is now reorienting research (at least in the Anglo-Saxon world).[5] Scholars are increasingly paying attention to the stories of provincial or "peripheral" art, mapping the great "polycultural basins" of the pre-modern Era: for example, the spheres of Iberian influence in the Occidental Mediterranean.[6]

A privileged perspective on the Palermitan court in the years from 1680 to 1720, and above all on the image and the reign of King Charles II (1661-1700), is offered by the graphic corpus of the Sicilian architect Giacomo Amato (1663-1732), preserved in the Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe at the Museo Interdisciplinare Regionale della Sicilia in Palazzo Abatellis (hence-forth GIRSPA). This nucleus consists of about 600 drawings, organized by the architect himself into seven volumes, recently cataloged and published in a monographic study.[7]

The drawings in the Amato volumes show the vigor of court propaganda in the days of the last Habsburgs, clarifying how after the revolt of Messina (1674-1678) and royal restoration, the image of the crown returned, in reinvigorated form, to the foreground. In Messina, for instance, the bronze bells of the cathedral were melted down to create an equestrian statue (1681-84) of Charles II for the square where the ancient Senate once stood [fig. 2].[8] It also happened in Naples, where an-

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[5] DaCosta Kaufmann, 2004; 2008; 2015.

[6] For accurate studies of vernacular manufactures connected to regional identities in Southern Italy I refer to a conference held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome on July 6-7, 2017: soon available as D'Ovidio/Michalsky/van Gastel (2019, in press).

[7] De Cavi, 2017: 162-463 (cat. entries).

[8] Bronze cast, h. 39 cm. On the rebellion: Ribot, 2002. On Serpotta's statue, erected on May 26, 1684 and destroyed on March 21, 1848: Barbera Trapani, Museo Pepoli e Londra, With Coll e Cortes): Abbate (ed.), 2017b: 257, cat. 9. Barbera, 2017. Avery, 2015. Pascual Chenel, 2012; 2013.

Fig. 2. Giacomo Serpotta, *Bozzetto for the equestrian portrait of Charles II of Habsburg*, 1679-1680. Trapani, Museo Regionale Agostino Pepoli, Inv. n. 605.

other statue of the same king was erected in Monteoliveto,[9] and where Luca Giordano was hired to paint the famous Allegory of the Restitution of the City of Messina to Spain on the facade of the Hospice of the Needy (1705) [fig. 3].[10] This scene was flanked by mammoth portraits of Charles II and Maria Luisa d'Orleans, now unfortunately lost. At the end of the seventeenth century, the Hapsburg image also triumphed in Palermo, thanks to the work of the last two viceroys Uceda and Veragua, who in the wake of the restoration inaugurated an intense program of public projects to celebrate the crown.[11] They entrusted many of these to the Sicilian architect Giacomo Amato, who had just returned from Rome.[12]

The patronage of the last two Hapsburg Viceroys of Sicily, the Duke of Uceda (Juan Francisco Pacheco Téllez-Girón, 1649-1718, Viceroy from 1687 to 1696 and Ambassador of Spain to Rome from 1699 to 1709)[13] and

Fig. 3. Luca Giordano, *The city of Messina returned to Spain*, 1678. Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. n. P03946.

the Duke of Veragua (Pedro Manuel Colón de Portugal, 1651-1710, Viceroy of Sicily in 1696-1701) has been recently explored by Vincenzo Abbate and Maria Concetta di Natale (for metalwork, decorative arts and antiquarianism), by Anna Tedesco (for the theater and public spectacles) and Margarita Martín Velasco (for literary culture and book collecting), to whom I merely

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[9] Charles II's standing bronze statue, planned to top the Fountain of Monteoliveto in Naples, was created by Cosimo Fanzago and Francesco d'Angelo and is dated 1668-1676.

[10] Oil on canvas, 272 x 103 cm. Marshall, 2016: 242-243, fig. 183 at p. 242.

[11] On Charles II's public iconography: Santiago Paez-Ríos, 1966-1970. Mínguez Cornelles, 2001; 2013.

[12] On his time in Rome: Mazzeo, 2017 and de Cavi (2019, in press).

[13] On the artistic collections of Viceroy Uceda: Leithner, 2014 (with previous bibliography). On his projects for Palermo: Manfré/Martín Velasco, 2013. On the political context in Vienna during his stay in exile from Spain: León Sanz, 2002.

refer in general due to space restrictions in this essay. Their public patronage in Palermo honoring the king of Spain is strongly represented in the drawing corpus.[14] Among many projects, many of which related to the world-wide expansion of Roman Baroque Ephemera,[15] this essay will focus on three apparatuses commissioned by them, which reveal a clear dependence on the models in vogue in Madrid.

The first monumental work is the papier mâché scenography and apparatus for a "Game of Fire," which took place in Palermo in 1689 as part of the celebrations for the wedding of Charles II and Mariana of Bavaria (1667-1740).[16] The bride was the daughter of the Elector Palatine Philip Wilhelm of Neuburg (1615-1690) and Isabella Amalia of Hesse-Darmstadt (1635-1709), a close friend to the Queen Mother and to the Austrian ambassador in Madrid. The marriage was celebrated by proxy on August 28, 1689, six months after the death of Charles II's first wife, Maria Luisa d'Orleans (1662-1689), and held the promise (ultimately unfulfilled) of a fresh start for the faltering dynasty.[17]

The four drawings for the festive apparatus,[18] with architecture by Giacomo Amato and figures by Pietro Aquila (o Dell'Aquila, Marsala, about 1630-Álcamo, 1692), are dated to 1689, with inscriptions that confirm that the apparatus was a celebration of the monarchy and of the felicity of the kingdom. The sheets represent a composition preparatory to the engraving of the festival book issued on the occasion [fig. 4][19] and include an inscription-free printer's proof and a copy from the final print run, complete with inscription.[20] The design is reminiscent of the printed urban views that Lieven Cruyl did of Rome in the second half of the 17th century, which Amato could have well seen in Rome. A little earlier, bound in the same volume, are drawings for the elevation and the plan of the central papier-mâché figure, depicting Hercules supporting the celestial globe, traditional iconography among the Habsburg monarchs and their loyalists.[21] The architect also draws the elevtion of one of the pyramids that were erected in the four corners of the piazza regia.[22]

Jorge Fernández-Santos Ortíz-Iribas has already connected this design to the Roman catafalque that Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) designed for the funeral ceremonies of Pope Alexander VII (1655-1667), noting the presence of the giant pyramids.[23] Furthermore, the overall design, in my opinion, expresses a direct allusion to the "alla romana" collection of the duke of Uceda, whose Sicilian residence featured four agate pyramids mounted on carved wooden bases. Designed by Amato, these pyramids are documented in the same volume, not far from the series of drawings for the festival apparati described above.[24]

In 1696, in honor of the same new queen and at the commission of the new viceroy the Duke of Veragua, Giacomo Amato and Antonio (or Antonino) Grano (Palermo, 1660 ca.-Palermo,

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[14]   On Amato and ephemeral art: de Cavi, 2017a: pp. 364-435; de Cavi 2018a. More in general, on royal festivals in the Kingdoms of Sicily and Naples at the time of Charles II: Mínguez Cornelles (ed.) 2014. Ruggieri Tricoli, 1991a; 1991b; 1993. Trigiglia, 2012. Morales Folguera 2015.

[15]   Reseach on ephemeral art started with the groundbreaking works of Fagiolo dell'Arco/Carandini, 1977-78; Fagiolo, 1985; Fagiolo dell'Arco/Fagiolo, 1997, which are still meaningful and inspiring today. On baroque ephemeral art in Spain, among others: Mínguez Cornelles/González Tornel/Chiva Beltrán/Rodríguez Moya (eds.), 2014. Checa Cremades/Fernández González, 2015. Rodríguez Moya/Mínguez Cornelles, 2016, especially pp. 9-92.

[16]   Moli Frigola, 1989; 1990. See also the latest theoretical approaches in Palos/Sánchez 2019.

[17]   Maria Luisa of Orleans wed "per procura" on August 31, 1679 and died on February 12, 1689, without heirs. On the painting by Sebastián Muñoz (1654-1690), representing her lying in state in the *alcázar* of Madrid: Martínez Ripoll, 1985.

[18]   De Cavi, 2017a: 391-393 (Inv. n. 15757/ dis. 46-51). On wedding symbology in the Habsburg crown: Zapata Fernández de la Hoz, 2010. Rodríguez Moya, 2013 and Mínguez Cornelles, 2013, 237-260: 251-260: chapt. XI (*El rey se casa. El rito de la dextrarum iunctio*).

[19]   Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash, 577 x 410 mm.: de Cavi, 2017a: 392 (Inv. n. 15757/ dis. 49).

[20]   De Cavi, 2017a: 393 (Inv. n. 15757/ dis. 50 and 51).

[21]   De Cavi, 2017a: 391 (Inv. n. 15757/ dis. 46 and 47. On Charles II as new Hercules: Mínguez Cornelle, 2013: 83-106 and Mauro, 2018, for the same iconography in Naples.

[22]   de Cavi, 2017a: 392 (Inv. n. 15757/ dis. 48).

[23]   Fernández-Santos Ortíz-Iribas, 2008.

[24]   The pyramids measured 73 x 49 cm: de Cavi, 2017a: 390 (Inv. n. 15757/ dis. 45).
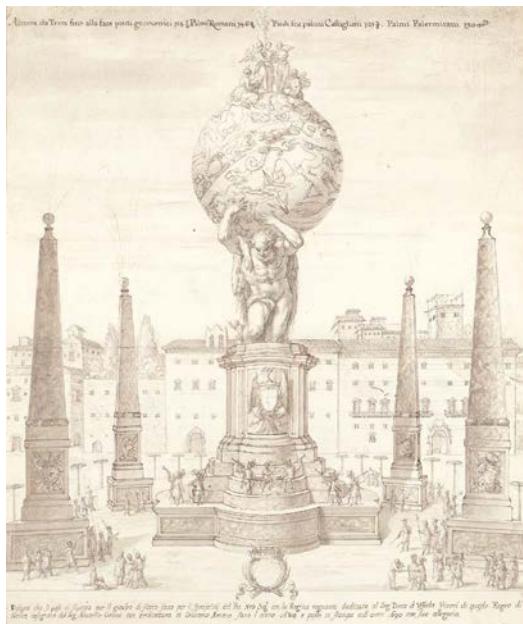
Fig. 4. Antonino Grano and Giacomo Amato, *Preparatory drawing for the engraving representing the Gioco di Fuoco celebrated in Palermo for the wedding of Charles II of Hasburg and Maria Ana of Neuburg*, 1690. Palermo, Galleria Interdisciplinare Regionale della Sicilia a Palazzo Abatellis, Inv. n. 15757/ dis. 49.

Fig. 5. Giacomo Amato and Antonino Grano, *Frontal elevation of the Genalogical machine of Mariana of Neuburg*, 1696. Palermo, Galleria Interdisciplinare Regionale della Sicilia a Palazzo Abatellis, Inv. n. 15758/ dis. 28.

Fig. 6. Giacomo Amato and Antonino Grano, *Table base sculpted with Scylla and Charybdis and the Cyclopes Polyphemus, Enceladus, and Ericius, commissioned to sustain the Genalogical machine of Mariana of Neuburg*, 1696. Palermo, Galleria Interdisciplinare Regionale della Sicilia a Palazzo Abatellis, Inv. n. 15756/ dis. 99.

1718) designed a Genealogical Machine of Queen Maria Anna of Neuburg [fig. 5][25] and the drawing for its pedestal to be carved, gilded and polychromed in wood, an important baroque furnishing piece now lost [fig. 6].[26] The mythological figures carved in the base were to represent the three Cyclopes, Polyphemus, Enceladus, and Ericius (traditional defenders of the island of

[25] Black chalk, brown wash, 790 x 736 mm: de Cavi, 2017a: 426-427 (Inv. n. 15758/ dis. 28-29).

[26] Black chalk with gray wash (l.); pen and brown ink, watercolored and partially gilded (r.), 418 x 626 mm: de Cavi, 2017a: 356 (Inv. 15756/ dis. 99). In the absence of a scale or notes about the latter, approximate measurements can be deduced from the size of diameter of the base: 4 *palmi* siciliani.

Sicily) along with Scylla and Charybdis from foreign invaders.[27] The architect explained in detail its iconography in a mythological poem, expressing his filimonarchic position and devotion to the Hapsburg dynasty.

Amato describes the:

> Genealogical Machine" as a "machina Genealogica della REGINA Regnante N[ost].ra Sig[no]. ra [Dio Guardi] composta di pietre Aghite,/ lapis Lazaro ingrastate in argento indorato, è filograno adornata di topatij Smeraldi robbini e diamanti ingastati/ in oro: Ordinata dal Ecc[ellentissi].mo Sig Duca de Veraguas Vicerre in questo Regno di Sicilia l'anno primo del suo gouerno in/ Palermo 1696: scoltura designata dal Sig[nor]. Antonio Grano & arch[itettura]: di Giacomo Amato

This magnificent piece of goldsmith work, which was ultimately cast and sent to Madrid as a present for the queen, was known in Spain as the Alaja de la Genealogía de Mariana de Neoburgo. Originally installed in her apartment in the royal palace of Madrid, in January 1701 the alaja followed Mariana to her exile in Toledo (1701-1706), ending in the Monastery of Vallecas in Madrid until she died in July 1740. In her testament she entrusted the precious object to the Monastery of El Escorial, where it was showcased in the library until it was looted by the French troops in 1809.[28] Since the object was destroyed in the French invasion of Spain, Amato's drawings are the only testimony of its original setting and iconology.

The circular base of the Genealogical Machine, organized on two levels each accessible by a 10- or 8-step flight of stairs, surrounds the central tower-like block. This base exhibits the genealogy of Mariana de Neuburg, with particular emphasis on the genealogy of the Electors Palatine. The program further proclaims Mariana's noble lineage by presenting the statues of 29 ancestors: from the Emperor Charlemagne to the new queen's own father, Philip Wilhelm, Count Palatine of the Rhine.

The sculptures of Charlemagne and of an unspecified emperor are detailed on another small sheet of the Amato collection,[29] while the ancestors are listed in a manuscript page bound into the volume right after the three drawings. At the apex of the precious piece of furniture, where one might expect to see the image of the new queen, we find instead a figure of King Charles II. Crowned and wearing armor, with a sword and a candle in his hand, he stands atop a terrestrial globe borne by allegorical figures of Fame and Victory. Just below him, are the allegories of the Four Continents (in the drawing we can only see Europe, with her temple and horse, and Asia, with her camel and censor, yet the inscription also mentions Africa and America). Further down, in the lowest register, vertical bas-reliefs with battle scenes alternate with eight columns and empty mirrors, while in the second register space is given to the imperial eagle motif. The inscriptions also mention allegories of Felicity, Majesty, Justice, Peace, Charity, Magnificence and Clemency, though these are not discernable in the drawing. The position of the statues, however, is clearly marked in the plan.

The Genealogical Machine, although designed in Palermo, had no precedents in Sicilian goldsmith's manufacturing or local typologies. Instead, it is linked to the long Hapsburg tradition of dynastic legitimation, as celebrated in funerary art at the court of Madrid. The most direct model for the figures of the emperors and the genealogical "concept" of the monument, for instance, can be found in the thirteen preparatory drawings by the theorist and painter Vicente Carducho (1576/8-1638) for the catafalque of Philip III (1598-1621), erected in the church of the Jerónimos in Madrid in 1621. The architect Juan Gómez de Mora (1586-1648) oversaw the project, carried out with the collaboration of the sculptor Antonio de Herrera and the painters Giulio Cesare Semini, Eugenio Cajés and Vicente Carducho. Carducho's drawings, which depict various

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[27] It is a manuscript, non-numbered sheet of paper, inserted in volume IV (Inv. n. 15756, between dis. 100 and 101, at cc. nn. 131*r-v* (see de Cavi, 2017a: XIX and Inv. n. 15756/dis. 99, p. 356).

[28] Martínez Leiva 2016; Martínez Leiva, 2019; cat. ES2, pp. 349-361 (with 18th century descriptions of the piece when at the El Escorial) and 484-488. I thank Gloria Martínez Leiva for sharing her text with me before its final defense.

[29] De Cavi, 2017a: 427 (Inv. n. 15758/ dis. 30).

ancestors of the dead king, are now dispersed among the collections of the Uffizi, the Biblioteca Nacional de España and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[30]

Commissioned in 1696 by the Duke of Veragua, the Genealogical Machine demonstrates the architect's ability to shift between a minimal to a monumental scale, as well as the interchange-ability of Amato's design for architecture, furnishing and the decorative arts. The object was a masterly essay in micro-architecture, a monumental example of the goldsmith's art similar in form and importance to the finest Spanish processional tabernacles. Crafted in solid gold or gilded silver with precious stones, these were usually paraded at the Feast of the Corpus Christi. These pious ceremonies were sites of representation for the Habsburg dynasty, and the celebra-tions for the Corpus Christi were rigorously observed by the viceroys Uceda and Veragua in Palermo.[31]

The presence of small scale statuettes of the Four Continents in the attic of Amato's project for the Genealogical Machine of Mariana obliges us to discuss here the monumental sculptures of the Four Continents [fig. 7a-d],[32] also cast in gilded silver in 1696[33] by Lorenzo Vaccaro (1655-1706) and described by Bernardo De Dominici (1683-1759). The statues, which Queen Mariana owned and left to the cathedral of Toledo, had been commissioned by the ninth Count of San-tisteban (Francisco de Benavides y Dávila, 1640-1716, viceroy of Sardinia in 1676-78, of Sicily in 1678-86 and of Naples in 1687-96), in his Neapolitan tenure and donated them to King Charles II upon his return to Spain.[34]

The connection between Amato's drawing for the Genealogical Machine and Vaccaro's silver casts is clear in the recurrence of the iconography of the Four Continents (they use the same symbols, ultimately derived from the Iconologia, of Cesare Ripa) and the inclusion of the ter-restrial globe, symbol par excellence of the Spanish monarchy (Orbe Hispánico).

In this regard it is important to note that all these gifts were commissioned around 1696, and likely cast in Naples, as Palermo had a very different tradition of silver manufacturing (silver-embossing rather than silver-casting).[35] According to my reconstruction, Amato would have sent a drawing project to Naples, as he used to do for other objects in the viceroys' collections.[36] The presence of his drawings in Vaccaro's workshop could have inspired Santisteban to rival with Veragua (or Uceda). Borrowing the subject from Amato's original design, Vaccaro might have been asked or might have suggested the transformation of the statuettes of the Four Continents of the attic into monumental silver sculptures 1.35 meters high. The existence of these two sepa-rate yet interconnected commissions, respectively dated 1695 and 1696 (the Neapolitan one, and the Palermitan one), both sent to Queen Mariana, perfectly reflect the sort of competition in munificence and grandeur which characterized Spanish viceregal patronage in Italy.[37]

Sent to Spain around 1696, the genealogical machine of Giacomo Amato should be identified with the famous Alaja de Mariana de Neoburgo, studied by José Manuel Barbeito in his catalogue

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[30] Pascual Chenel, 2015 (with previous bibliography): 131-145 (cat. 24, 1-13). Carducho's drawings measure about 370 or 390 mm x 120 mm, they are traced in black chalk, pen and brown ink. The size of Amato/Grano's drawing for the two emperors is smaller.

[31] De Cavi, 2015.

[32] Silver, gilded silver, precious stones, ebony, about h. 135 x 70 cm. Rizzo 2001: 189; Sricchia Santoro/Zezza (eds.), 2017, vol. III, part II, pp. 891-892 (n. 11) (with full bibliography). For a total cost of 95,000 *ducati*: Sricchia Santoro/Zezza (eds.), 2017, vol. III, part II, p. 891 (nn. 9-10). I am thankful to the Cabildo Catedral Primada of Toledo for attending my petitions and for generously providing me with the photographs.

[33] Once dated to 1691 by González-Palacios, the inscription on the statue of America has been re-interpreted as 1695: Martínez-Leiva, 2019.

[34] On him: Muñoz-González, 2009, Lleó Canal, 2009 and Manfré, 2016. On the importance of diplomatic gifts as a source for royal collecting in Spain (starting from Alvar González-Palacios preliminary observations): Von Bernstoff/Kubersky-Piredda/Ebert-Schifferer (eds.), 2013; Anselmi (ed.), 2014.

[35] Note that the inscription on the drawing for the wooden pedestal reports the date 1696 but also the the alteration of the name "Uceda" to "Veragua": de Cavi, 2017a: 356 (Inv. 15756/ dis. 99).

[36] See another project for a table: "Disegno per un piede scolpito in Napoli": de Cavi, 2017a: 356 (Inv. n. 15755/49)

[37] On viceregal gift-policies in the 17th century: García Cueto 2009.

Fig. 7a-d. Lorenzo Vaccaro, *Africa, America, Asia, Europe*. Cabildo Catedral Primada, Toledo. Fotografía © David Blázquez.

Fig. 8. Lázaro Gómez, *Precious monument with the genealogy of Queen Mariana of Neuburg*. Madrid, BNE, Dib/14/48/3.

Fig. 9. Lázaro Gómez (dis.) and Johannes Minguet (inc.), *Precious monument with the genealogy of Queen Mariana of Neuburg*. Madrid, BNE, BA/45943, between p. 204 and p. 205.

entry for an altar drawing by architect Lazaro Gómez, now in the collection of the Biblioteca Nacional de España [fig. 8].[38]

This sheet is usually interpreted as a preparatory drawing for the engraving used to illustrate Mariana's alaja in Father Andrés Ximénez's famous description of the Escorial's collections [fig. 9].[39] However, a series of inconsistencies between drawing and engraving lead me to believe that the BNE drawing should, rather, be considered as an intermediate design for a new architectural setting which olded, in a renewed setting, Vaccaro's older sculptures. Devised after Mariana's death (1740) and before the publication of Father Ximénez' book (1764),[40] this new setting erased the old architecture and resulted in a new object with fewer sculptures. We know, in fact, that in 1741 the piece was already in bad condition,[41] and that Queen Elisabeth Farnese (1692-1766) took a keen interest in reconfiguring the monument after it arrived in the Monastery of El Escorial.

Father Ximénez' description of the Alaja allows us to understand what got lost of Amato's original masterpiece in the new setting. His text mentions statuettes of the Four Parts of the World

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[38] Pen with brown and black ink, graphite, 420 x 300 mm. García-Toraño Martínez (ed.), 2009: 37-38, cat. 45, fig. a p. 37 (BNE, Sala Goya, Dib./14/48/3). Catalogue entry by José Manuel Barbeito who was not aware of the existence of earlier Sicilian designs for the same object.

[39] Etching, 405 x 305 mm. Ximénez, 1764, non-numbered plate between p. 204 and 205. Signed in lower left: *Lazarus Gomez delin.* and in lower right: *Johannes Minguet sculpsit Matriti Anno 1763*.

[40] The genealogical machine is cited in Mariana's testament: Barbeito Carneiro, 1991 and carefully described in Ximénez, 1764: 201-205, pars II, cap. IV, Ap. VII, who also mentions Elisabeth Farnese at p. 202.

[41] Martínez Leiva 2019, p. 354: (describing Amato's *genealogical machine*): "… de plata de martillo… maltratada, así en sus figuras, como en lo restante de sus obra, con falta de vastantes piedras… *que al presente se halla desarmado*, con motivo de haverse conduzido con los demás vienes desde Toledo, a esta Corte…".

and four of the six allegories already named by Amato in the drawing's inscription: Magnificence, Peace, Justice, Felicity. The new object thus did not include the statues of Magnificence and Clemency, and only showcased 25 over 29 ancestors. Father Ximénez is also unclear about the author of the alaja, concluding and attributing the new setting to a Neapolitan silversmith, as if the new staging was the original.[42]

It is important to remember the importance of this kind of silversmith's and goldsmith's work in the royal and viceregal collections, where it was often considered far superior to the collections of paintings. Mariana of Neuburg in particular always showed an interest in monumental metalwork. To cite one example, in response to a serious illness that struck her in 1691, Mariana commissioned a silver urn for the relics of S. Isidore, as an ex voto for her recovery. Carried out from 1691 to 1692, it was probably executed by the silversmith Simón Navarro.[43]

The queens' attention to these sorts of objects should alert us that, rather than simply repeating the canonical story of the Spanish baroque as an importation of the Italian taste for a grand new style of painting, we should expand our consideration.[44] It is necessary to reconstruct the impact of the precious decorative arts, above all that of silverwork, goldsmith's work and arms and armor in the collections of this period. As we have seen, the collections of the Count of Santisteban, a tastemaker famously responsible for the arrival of the painter Luca Giordano (1634-1705) in Spain, and of the Dukes of Uceda and Veragua offer elucidating cases in support of such revisionism.[45]

Another impressive piece that certainly arrived from Italy, and was perhaps sent at the behest of Uceda or Veragua was: "… Otra estatua algo menor del natural que representaba la ciudad de Mecina toda de plata: con una custodia de oro que pesaba veinte y seis libras y una corona, cintillo y collar de lo mismo con piedras de inestimable precio…".[46] Like the Genealogical Machine it was kept at the Escorial but is now lost. We can imagine it, however, in comparison to a splendid reliquary bust (1733) of St. Irene by the silversmith Carlo Schisano [fig. 10].[47] Still conserved in the Treasury of S. Gennaro at Naples, the reliquary is famous for presenting a large model of the city of Naples, cast in silver, in Saint Irene's hand.

As for the export of imposing silver and gold pieces, including even entire precious environments, De Dominici also reports on King Charles II comissioning Lorenzo Vaccaro with an entire gilded copper chapel, which was sent to Spain in 1700.[48] One of the most notable instances of such commissions is King João V's grandiose request, from Rome, of a chapel of St. John the Baptist for the church of S. Roque in Lisbon in the mid-eighteenth century, studied in depth by Teresa Vale. On the whole, this taste for the export of entire silver "prefabricated" chapels, constructed, assembled and exhibited in Italy and shipped to Iberia, merits further investigation.[49]

The Genealogical Machine of Mariana of Neuburg, perhaps the most important piece of the Veragua collection, together with the so-called Globo Uceda, published by Francesca Pipitone in

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[42] Ximénez, 1764: 205: Ximénez wrote: "…The maker is unknown, and we only have notice that it was made in Naples at the end of the last century…" (translation by J. G. Harper).

[43] Martínez Leiva, 2004, fig. 3. This silver coffer remained a property of the queen and is mentioned in her testament.

[44] Martínez Leiva, 2002 (on the queen's painting collection); 2002; 2013 (both on her portraits and portraiture) and Marínez Leiva, 2019, in particular vol. II, pp. 347-59, cat. ES2 (on the queen's genealogy).

[45] On Santisteban's collections: Cerezo San Gil, 2006. On his work in Sicily: Manfré, 2016. On Uceda's and Veragua's: Abbate, 2017a.

[46] Bermejo, 1820: 367 ("Plata y oro").

[47] Cast and ciselled silver, gilded copper, 141 x 84 x 60 — 54 kg. Jorio/Paolillo (eds.), 2013: cat. 43, fig. at p. 147. On a reliquary-bust of St. Rosalia, exported from Palermo to Seville in those very years: Chillón Raposo, 2017.

[48] Sricchia Santoro/Zezza (eds.), 2017, vol. III, part II, pp. 890-891 "…cappella tutta di rame indorato che da Lorenzo fu fatta con colonne, pilastri, bassi rilievi, e statue bellissime, e si espose prima di partire in una gran sala a palazzo con armaggi di legno di sotto che formarono la cappella, che andò un'infinità di persone a vederla, poichè fu cosa veramente meravigliosa a vederla così bene ordinata… Ma tra per la grandezza dell'opera, e tra perchè le commessioni de' principi son lunghe, s'indugiò tanto a finirla che quando poi fu inviata in Ispagna, prima che vi giungesse, era assai aggravato il male a quel pio regnante ed indi succedé la morte…". The king commissioned it from Vaccaro for his positive appreciation of the statues of the Four Continents.

[49] Vale, 2015a; 2015b. For massive silver altars in contemporary Seville: Chillón Raposo 2017.

Fig. 10. Silversmith Carlo Schisano, *Saint Irene*, 1733. Naples, Museo del Tesoro di S. Gennaro, without inv. n.

Fig. 11. Giacomo Amato and Antonino Grano (attr.), *Frontal elevation of the cataphalque for the exequies of King Charles II of Habsburg in the cathedral of Palermo*, 1701. Palermo, Galleria Interdisciplinare Regionale della Sicilia a Palazzo Abatellis, Inv. n. 15758/ dis. 26.

2001 and recently revisited,[50] is one of the many treasures that were lost in an age of convulsive political changes (caused by the Spanish War of Succession and other military crises). Upheaval caused the dispersion and the sudden movement of many collections, including that of Queen Mariana herself; from 1706 to 1738 she was disgraced and lived in exile in Bayonne (France). At the same time, the viceroy Uceda crossed over to the Austrian faction in 1710 and died in exile in Vienna in 1718. Though their stories are different, the effects of their vicissitudes on their collections are parallel. And the Uceda collection, like the Veragua collection, is still relatively unexplored.

The third and last project discussed here is the catafalque intended for the cathedral of Palermo at the time of Charles II's funeral in 1701, documented by two large presentation drawings [fig. 11][51] yet never executed.[52] A plan and elevation in pen and brown ink with gray watercolor, they are by Giacomo Amato, probably assisted by the painter Antonino Grano.

As in the case of the Geneaological Machine, the catafalque design displays the genealogy of the dynasty (with sixteen statues of ancestors placed above the balustrade) and the virtues of the ruler (expressed through allegorical figures flanking the royal insignia, and also crowning the first and second levels of the actual catafalque). The imagery adheres to the dominant and traditional themes for the castrum doloris in Hapsburg house iconography.[53]

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[50] Pipitone, 2001. de Cavi, 2017b.

[51] Black chalk, gray wash, 1,05 m. x 73,7 cm.: de Cavi, 2017a: 425-426 (Inv. n. 15758/ dis. 26-27), measuring respectively 1.50 m x 73 cm. and 79 x 74 cm.

[52] An engraving of the catafalque of Paolo Amato (1634-1714) for the same even shows that Amato's project was not selected (Palermo, BCRS, coll. 4.42.G.8), included in a celebratory *pamphlet* (see Abbate, 2017: 94, fig. 5).

[53] Soto Caba, 1991: 203-248: 205 sgg. (chapt. VII, *Los últimos Austrias*).

The exact number of statues, according to the plan, could be variable. The royal insignia, placed according to tradition on a cushion inside the catafalque, are surmounted by a huge crown supported by angels in flight. Borne aloft it aligns perfectly with the oval portrait of Charles II at the center of the cornice of the second order. This portrait in turn is flanked by the statues of Time and Eternity, with the imperial eagle at the center in the upper story. Finally, at the top of the attic, the Orbe Hispánico (Terrestrial Globe) reappears, carried by four winged figures of Fame or Victory as it was also in the Genealogical Machine of Queen Mariana. Chronologically this catafalque design sits among a series of Spanish Royal catafalques, recorded in prints. Notable examples are Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo's 1665 catafalque of Philip IV for the Convento de la Encarnación in Madrid,[54] José Benito Churriguera's 1689 funeral apparatus for Maria Luisa d'Orleans, designed for the church of the Girolomites but actually built in smaller scale in the convent of the Encarnación,[55] and the great catafalque for the funeral of Philip V (1683-1746), erected in Saragossa in 1746.

In this sequence of the Spanish tumuli, the design of Amato and Grano stands out for the quantity of the allegorical figures and ancestors (presumably 26 and 16). In this detail, it goes beyond the purist Iberian tradition of the mound, decorated with motifs, candles and mortuary symbols; here Amato benefits from the excellent training of his painters in the best workshops of the late Roman Baroque, who conceived the sculptural inventions. Although formal references to the contextual work of Carlo Fontana (1638-1714) in Rome are discernable, rather than reading it as a copy from Roman models, it is necessary to consider this Sicilian monument as a test of skill and innovation within the tradition of the Spanish Habsburg royal exequies.[56]

Comparison to other examples highlights the stylistic contiguity of Giacomo Amato's architectural work with that of Spanish wood artists, decorators and outfitters active in the court of Madrid between the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. These include Teodoro Ardemans (1661-1726), studied extensively by Beatriz Blasco Esquivias, and the Churriguera dynasty, architects who should also be considered internationally.[57]

To conclude, I would like to highlight how the private collecting and public patronage of the Spanish Viceroys of Sicily reveal a kind of stylistic contradiction: while the viceroys' activity in interior design and art collecting clearly situate them in a Roman matrix, their public commissions refer more directly to Madrid and to the international agenda of the crown.

The independence of Palermo from Rome in the early eighteenth century is well documented by the absence of celebratory monuments, memorials or cenotaphs to Popes and cardinals. Indeed these are almost entirely absent, with the notable exception of two projects, one in honor of Innocent XI Odescalchi (Benedetto Odescalchi, 1611-1689, r. 1686-89)[58] and the other in honor of Innocent XII Pignatelli (Antonio Pignatelli of Spinazzola, 1615-1700, r. 1691-1700).[59] Both popes were famously favorable to Spain, and the latter dying right at the time the dynastic crisis was unfolding. From this date onwards, Giacomo Amato brought his work for the Spaniards to a conclusion. After the great catafalque for Charles II, his corpus no longer reflects any connec-

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[54] Bonet Correa, 1961; Orso, 1989; Allo Manero, 2003. On the exequies of Philip IV: Mauro, 2008, with previous bibliography.

[55] The queen died in Madrid on February 12, 1689. Her exequies were celebrated on March 22-23. The catafalque is reproduced as an illustration in de Vera Tassis y Villaroel, 1689, mentioned in Rodríguez de Ceballos, 1971: 18-19, lam. 6. Also discussed in Soto Caba, 1991: 205 ff. (chapt. VII, Los últimos Austrias: 203-248).

[56] A dependency on Spanish models has also been proved in Manfré/Mauro (2010-2011), with regard to the pictorial series of the Spanish viceroys in the Spanish courts of Italy. On the diffusion of Habsburg pictorial models from Madrid: Bodart 2000. Bodart 2011.

[57] Blasco Esquivias, 1992; 2013. For ephemeral *apparati* of the 18th century: Soto Caba, 1991: 249-284.

[58] See the *Catafalco funebre di Innocenzo XI eretto nella chiesa di S. Carlo dei Lombardi* a Palermo (1689) in de Cavi, 2017a: 394-396 (Inv. n. 15757/ dis. 52-56), on which: Miranda/Pace, 1986 (they only publish drawing n. 55r).

[59] See his project for a *Fountain/Theater in honor of Innocent XII*, commissioned to celebrate his election by Viceroy Veragua: an obvious reference to Bernini's Four Rivers' Fountain in Piazza Navona (1648-1651). The drawings, likely designed for a square in Palermo, still need to be fully studied (de Cavi, 2017a: 408-410, Inv. n. 15757, dis. 78-80). On baroque squares in Palermo in the 18th century: Giuffrida, 1985.

tion with the court. The decline in his activity confirms his dynastic loyalty. But while the architect retired from the world of political image-making, his works began to move outward, from Palermo into Europe.

Through the examples cited in this essay, we see the consolidating tendencies of the past centuries inverted. While the Carpio collection, which passed from Rome to Madrid, had the strength to foster the great "alla Romana" taste among Spanish collectors in the seventeenth century, the roles were reversed in the eighteenth century. The Veragua collection presumably passed from Sicily to Spain. And the Uceda collection, created in Palermo, moved with its owner to Rome and then subsequently (in whole or in part) to Genoa and finally to Vienna, where the former viceroy died in exile and reduced by the expropriation of his Spanish assets. These peregrinations brought the Sicilian arts through Italy and right into the heart of the Empire and Europe. The influence of this exportation for the developments of the late Baroque and eighteenth century, even if carried out under the circumstances of "defeat" and "retreat," are significant though still to be verified.

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