"Causa di Stravaganze": Order and Anarchy in Domenico Gargiulo's *Revolt of Masaniello*

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In July 1647, the Neapolitan populace rose in arms against the government of the Spanish viceroy. The revolt is named after its first leader, Masaniello, a poor fisherman in his twenties whose meteoric rise to fame was matched only by his rapid fall from favor with the Neapolitan people and his assassination ten days after the insurrection began. Masaniello's followers were opposed by the combined forces of the Neapolitan aristocracy and the Spanish administration, led by Philip IV's illegitimate son Don Juan of Austria, who eventually succeeded in entering the city in April 1648. He quickly suppressed the rebellion and restored the status quo, bringing to a close what, from the point of view of the establishment, would be remembered thereafter as an infamous nine months of violence and misrule.

The revolt's origins predate by many years its flashpoint in the summer of 1647.¹ By the early seventeenth century Naples had swollen to a teeming and in many respects unmanageable population of three hundred thousand, making it the second-largest and most densely inhabited city of Europe, after Paris. The flood of migration from the provinces was encouraged in great part by the viceregal decision to exempt the city from direct taxes, while at the same time increasing the burden of taxation on the provinces and continuing to maintain in the city what the administration judged to be (unwisely, as it transpired) a less politically sensitive policy of indirect taxation. This urban influx added considerable strain to an already stretched metropolis. The philosopher Tommaso Campanella, for example, estimated that no more than a sixth of the Neapolitan population worked. Although probably exaggerated, his words attest to the growing recognition of a volatile urban underclass, living more or less hand to mouth and referred to disparagingly as either the canaille (*canaglia*, pack of dogs, rabble) or the lazarus (*lazzari*), a term originally reserved for lepers but now extended to the poorest of the poor.² For the chronicler Giulio Capaccio, this "miserably, beggarly, and mercenary folk . . . the dregs of humanity" were to be identified as inveterate malcontents, responsible for "all the tumult and risings in the city" and incapable of being controlled "otherwise than by the gallows."³

The immediate trigger for the revolt was the decision, taken by the viceroy of Palermo on May 20, to abolish the tax on fruit in a bid to calm popular unrest. As the news spread during the following weeks, the Neapolitan populace came increasingly to demand the same concession in insistent and occasionally violent terms. The moment for rebellion came on Sunday, July 7, the Feast of the Virgin of the Carmine, when the populace forcibly claimed this right by evicting the tax collectors making their rounds of the stalls of the fruit and vegetable market in the Piazza del Mercato. This apparently spontaneous protest rapidly escalated into a full-scale insurrection, which spread throughout the kingdom of Naples and

captured the imagination of Europe, particularly England, which saw a parallel between the Neapolitan rising and its own political and social disturbances.⁴

In the years immediately following the revolt three pictures of the rebellion were painted in Naples by Domenico Gargiulo, also known as Micco Spadaro. Two small paintings (12½ by 17¼ inches [32 by 44 centimeters] and 11½ by 15 inches [29 by 38 centimeters]) depict individual incidents, while a third more comprehensive treatment (49½ by 69 ½ inches [126 by 177 centimeters]) synthesizes in one canvas a sequence of events in the Piazza del Mercato (Figs. 1–3). The last picture provided the direct model for a painting by Carlo Coppola, Gargiulo's associate and sometime imitator, that depicts Don Juan's triumphal entry into the Mercato on April 8 (Fig. 4).⁵ The Piazza del Mercato also forms the focus of a fifth picture of the event, produced in Rome by Michelangelo Cerquozzi and Viviano Codazzi, the latter of whom had recently arrived from Naples, possibly as a result of the disturbances (Fig. 5).⁶

The pictures represent an important early stage in the evolution of history painting, from the Renaissance and Baroque definition of *istoria* as a canonical subject from the Bible, mythology, literature, or ancient history to the depictions of contemporary political events by David and Goya, among others. They would accordingly have been appreciated in their own day as strikingly novel rather than as part of a clearly defined visual tradition. Gargiulo's eighteenth-century biographer, Bernardo de Dominici, perceived them in these terms. He describes Gargiulo's *Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt* as "not only marvelous, but a work of wonder," a phrase he borrowed from the seventeenth-century biographer Filippo Baldinucci's description of Cerquozzi and Codazzi's painting of the event.⁷ The continued challenge that they pose to attempts at classification has been recognized recently in the conclusion that they "lie somewhere between the popular imagery of prints and the elevation of contemporary events into grand-style history painting."⁸

These continued difficulties of classification are partly attributable to the fusion in the paintings of traditionally distinct forms of imagery. Gargiulo's *Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt*, for example, has been painted in the imposing dimensions the artist normally reserved for his religious paintings.⁹ Its emphasis on the unidealized life of the street, on the other hand, aligns it more closely with the generally smaller and considerably lower-ranked categories of genre and landscape painting in which he was also specializing during these years. To this blend has been added an awareness of other recent developments in the so-called minor genres of painting. The battle scenes of his teacher, Aniello Falcone, for example, share with the *Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt* the employment of an elevated viewpoint above a

1 Domenico Gargiulo, *Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt of Masaniello*, oil on canvas. Naples, Museo Nazionale di San Martino (photo: Luciano Pedicini)

teeming mass of figures, which is inspired, in turn, by the panoramic prints of fairs and other contemporary subjects by Jacques Callot. The architectural paintings of Codazzi, with whom Gargiulo frequently collaborated, are also important for their topographical emphasis.

Cerquozzi and Codazzi's painting may, in fact, slightly predate Gargiulo's, since it was completed by February 1648.¹⁰ It was, nonetheless, painted in Rome at some remove from the events depicted and displays, as we shall see, a less developed understanding of the revolt's development. Coppola's picture, by contrast, probably postdates Gargiulo's paintings by a few years. (It must date from 1656 onward, since it is paired with a picture of the plague of that year.) It also differs from the *Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt* in focusing on the single event that concluded the rebellion. Its emphasis on completion—and a correspondingly greater sense of historical distance from its subject—is further underlined by a commemorative inscription in the air above the piazza. The towering figure of Saint Michael sheathes his sword alongside this inscription like a saint in a votive painting indicating the restitution of order and the passing of a human scourge from the city.

The greater urgency of Gargiulo's response to the event, by contrast, is evident in the compelling force of the highly

distressing imagery that he presents. Observing the violently sketchy style and brutal anonymity with which one of the unfortunates in the *Execution of Don Giuseppe Carafa* is depicted, for example, with his hands tied behind his back and his face buried in the ground, as one figure lunges down on his head and severs it with a knife while another prepares to impale it on a pike, one can well understand why it continues to merit attention. These extraordinary events are presented even more insistently in the *Revolt of Masaniello*, in which such horrors are enacted on the sweeping scale of a large gallery painting.

This article will be directed toward resolving three fundamental misconceptions that continue to characterize the literature on these highly important yet still relatively little-understood pictures. The *Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt of Masaniello* is generally identified as originally having formed part of a series with two other pictures of contemporary events, *The Eruption of Vesuvius in 1631* and *Piazza Mercatello during the Plague of 1656*, whereas a little-known inventory of its original owner confirms that it was painted independently of these works. Gargiulo's paintings of the revolt are also commonly interpreted as informal, journalistic notations of contemporary events, a perception that belies both their artfulness and the seriousness of Gargiulo's attempts to

2 Gargiulo, *The Punishment of Thieves during the Revolt of Masaniello*, oil on canvas. Naples, Museo Nazionale di San Martino (photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici e Storici—Naples)

3 Gargiulo, *The Execution of Don Giuseppe Carafa*, oil on canvas. Naples, Museo Nazionale di San Martino (photo: Soprintendenza Naples)

synthesize the myriad events of the revolt into separate images. They are also frequently interpreted as anti-Spanish in emphasis, whereas an analysis of the political sympathies of Gargiulo's patrons clearly reveals the contrary to be the case.

The Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt of Masaniello and the Inventory of the Collection of Giovanni Battista Capece Piscicelli

In his *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti napoletani*, published in the mid-eighteenth century, Bernardo de Dominici included a detailed and enthusiastic description of a painting then in the collection of Don Antonio Piscicelli, which can probably be identified with the *Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt of Masaniello*. The two small pictures by Gargiulo are probably to be counted among the four small paintings of "various incidents" of the revolt that de Dominici saw in the same collection. A near-contemporary manuscript commentary on

the *Vite* by Onofrio Giannone also mentions the *Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt* and the four small pictures.¹¹

De Dominici's and Giannone's discussions also include descriptions of paintings of the eruption of Vesuvius and the Piazza Mercatello during the Plague of 1656. These are generally identified with Gargiulo's two other pictures of contemporary history, which are today in a private collection and in the Museo Nazionale di San Martino (Figs. 6, 7). The *Revolt of Masaniello* is, accordingly, grouped with these other two pictures as a series, despite the fact that de Dominici and Giannone never describe them as such and despite the fact that they have hitherto only been documented securely to separate nineteenth-century collections.¹² From this stems the common perception that each painting gains its meaning in relation to the series as a whole, which is taken to present a grand narrative of the three major cataclysms of seventeenth-century Neapolitan history. The painfully human chaos of a popular uprising is thus redeemed by virtue of its forming part of the divine plan for Naples. According to this interpretation, the *Revolt* is to be viewed as "another kind of natural catastrophe," which, in combination with the other two paintings, "could be contemplated with awe accompanied by a sense of security, for these remarkable and unique events were given controlled, comprehensible order through the artist's representations."¹³ A related interpretation perceives all three paintings as an attempt by Gargiulo and his patron "to impose an order on (or find one in) catastrophic events" and concludes that the *Revolt of Masaniello* cannot be anti-Spanish in emphasis since it forms part of a set with depictions of two natural upheavals.¹⁴

These views can now be modified by consideration of a little-known inventory of 1690 of the collection of Giovanni Battista Capece Piscicelli, which can be identified with certainty as the forerunner to Don Antonio Piscicelli's painting collection subsequently viewed by de Dominici and Giannone, since the document records many of the paintings that they subsequently describe.¹⁵ The inventory lists the paintings located in the family's "casa palatiata," situated behind the monastery of SS. Apostoli, shortly after Giovanni Battista Piscicelli's death in August 1690. It forms part of the "aditio hereditatis" (acceptance of the inheritance) by the co-beneficiaries of his estate, his sons Nicola, Cristoforo, Francesco, and Domenico, from whom the collection presumably passed by inheritance during the next generation to the otherwise unknown Don Antonio Piscicelli.

Giovanni Piscicelli was an aristocratic member of the *Seggio* of Capuana, one of the five ancient subdivisions of the established aristocracy of the city, whose membership became closed at the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was elected by his peers in 1674 to the administrative board of the Casa Santa dell'Annunziata, a financial and charitable institution that included a bank, hospital, church, orphanage, and girl's conservatory.¹⁶ He is rarely mentioned in histories of the Neapolitan aristocracy, and the will that might have provided us with further information about him remains, unfortunately, undiscovered. It might at this point be worthwhile asking, therefore, whether this lack of further evidence about Piscicelli and his patronage might leave open the possibility that Gargiulo's pictures of the revolt may have been originally

4 Carlo Coppola, *The Entrance of Don Juan of Austria into Naples*, oil on canvas. Naples, Museo Nazionale di San Martino (photo: Soprintendenza Naples)

5 Michelangelo Cerquozzi and Viviano Codazzi, *The Revolt of Masaniello*, oil on canvas. Rome, Galleria Spada (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale—Rome)

commissioned by another collector and then acquired by Piscicelli on the secondary market sometime prior to 1690. We can be reasonably certain that this was not the case, however, since the inventory establishes that Gargiulo's pictures of the revolt occupied a central place in Piscicelli's collection, which contains an unusually consistent and chronologically focused group of paintings by artists active in the

1640s and 1650s. Conspicuously absent from the collection are works by artists active during the 1660s through the 1680s, whose presence we would expect were the collection still being assembled at this date.¹⁷

The pictures of the revolt, moreover, served as the centerpieces of a comprehensive collection of Gargiulo's work, which was particularly rich in the landscape and genre

6 Gargiulo, *The Eruption of Venus in 1631*, oil on canvas. Capua, private collection (photo: Soprintendenza Naples)

7 Gargiulo, *Piazza Mercatello during the Plague of 1656*, oil on canvas. Naples, Museo Nazionale di San Martino (photo: Soprintendenza Naples)

8 Gargiulo, *Expulsion of the Moneylenders from the Temple*, oil on canvas. Location unknown (photo: MAS, Barcelona)

pictures that formed the basis of his reputation. Piscicelli owned no fewer than twenty-nine pictures by Gargiulo, five times more than any of the other artists represented, with a further two architectural scenes by Codazzi, which may have included genre *figurine* by Gargiulo. His collection covered all aspects of Gargiulo's landscape and genre painting, including landscapes together with coastal views and architectural view paintings. He also collected the work of related specialists, including numerous still lifes by Luca Forte and Giovan Battista Ruoppolo, animal pieces and landscapes by Andrea de Leone, and a pair of battle pieces by Aniello Falcone.

Piscicelli's predilection for the so-called minor genres of painting was highly unusual for its day, given that the bulk of most aristocratic collections still consisted of gallery pictures

of standard religious subjects.¹⁸ Piscicelli made no concerted effort to collect such painting. Only eight of his fifty-four pictures by known painters were of religious subjects, and he seems to have appreciated some of these at least as much for their landscape and genre imagery as for their subject matter. One of his only two pictures of religious subjects by Gargiulo, for example, illustrates this. It can be identified with a painting of the *Expulsion of the Moneylenders from the Temple* containing an expansive landscape background and architectural setting, which would have particularly appealed to Piscicelli (Fig. 8).¹⁹ The influence of genre imagery in the picture has recently also been emphasized in the comment that it contains "an infinite number of situations and details taken from everyday life."²⁰ Piscicelli's inventory confirms,

9 Gargiulo, *Landscape with Washerwomen*, oil on canvas. Naples, private collection (from Sestieri and Daprà, 238)

moreover, the recent reattribution of the architectural elements in the picture to Gargiulo alone, rather than to Codazzi, to whom it was attributed by de Dominici.

Among the largest, and certainly the most unusual, of the pictures in Piscicelli's collection was "A painting of the Revolution by Spadaro," measuring five by seven Neapolitan *palmi*, which corresponds with the dimensions of the painting now hanging in the Museo Nazionale di San Martino (Fig. 1; App., item 20). The *Revolt* originally hung in a small room with only eight other pictures, including four small landscapes by Gargiulo and two medium-size religious pictures by Giordano. The four small paintings of incidents of the revolt mentioned by de Dominici are probably to be identified among a group of fourteen small "capricci" (meaning that they were of various subjects of the artist's own composing),²¹ which hung in an adjoining room (App., item 12).

The dimensions of these *capricci* correspond with the dimensions of the *Punishment of Thieves* and the *Execution of Don Giuseppe Carafa* and are highly unusual for Gargiulo. Similar dimensions, which appear only very rarely in inventory references to Gargiulo's work,²² occur in only one other extant picture by Gargiulo: the recently published *Landscape with Washerwomen* (Fig. 9). This painting also shares correspondences with the subject matter of the *Punishment of Thieves* and the *Execution of Don Giuseppe Carafa*.²³ Like them, it emphasizes the violent lawlessness of the Neapolitan populace, albeit on a more domestic scale, since it includes the incident of a woman chasing two would-be thieves with a stick. It also relates closely to the unusually sketchy style of the *Punishment of Thieves* and the *Execution of Don Giuseppe Carafa*. We might be justified, therefore, in tentatively identifying it as another of the *capricci* in Piscicelli's collection.

Piscicelli must have had a pronounced interest in the revolt, since he hung his *capricci* in close proximity to small portraits by Gargiulo and Jusepe de Ribera respectively of Masaniello and Don Juan (who is identified in the inventory as "il Reggente"). Piscicelli's picture of Masaniello would have probably resembled the recently published small portrait attributed to Gargiulo's associate Onofrio Palumbo (Fig. 10), while the latter picture would have related closely to

10 Attributed to Onofrio Palumbo, *Masaniello*, oil on copper. Naples, Museo Nazionale di San Martino (photo: Soprintendenza Naples)

Ribera's famous equestrian portrait of Don Juan, which is now in Madrid.²⁴

The *Eruption of Vesuvius* and the *Plague of 1656* did not hang with the *Piazza del Mercato* during the *Revolt of Masaniello*, nor do they figure elsewhere in the inventory. They must, therefore, have entered the collection sometime during the ensuing sixty years between the compiling of the inventory and the publication of de Dominici's *Vite*. Giovanni Battista's heirs may possibly have acquired them from the collection of the leading official of Naples, the *reggente* (regent) Stefano Carrillo y Salsedo, since we know that Carrillo y Salsedo commissioned pictures of this kind and that only part of his significant collection passed to his heirs in 1697, shortly before its dispersal on his death in 1698.²⁵ They were not, in any event, the only additions to the collection during these years. De Dominici elsewhere describes in Antonio Piscicelli's collection a painting by Salvator Rosa depicting the martyrdom of Saint Januarius in Solfatara, which can be identified with a little-known painting dating to the mid-1630s (Fig. 11).²⁶ No paintings by Rosa appear in the 1690 inventory.

The Piscicelli inventory confirms the weight of the independent evidence to suggest that the *Revolt of Masaniello* was painted separately from the *Eruption of Vesuvius* and the *Plague of 1656*. The *Revolt* is, in the first instance, to be distinguished from the *Eruption* and the *Plague* on stylistic grounds. The most recent attempt to date it places it between the late 1640s

11 Attributed to Salvator Rosa, *Martyrdom of Saint Januarius*. Location unknown (photo: Warburg Institute, London)

and very early 1650s, about a decade prior to the *Plague*, while Alfonso Pérez Sánchez's dating of about 1656–60 for both the *Eruption of Vesuvius* and the *Plague of 1656* also seems reasonable.²⁷ The pairings or groupings of Gargiulo's pictures of contemporary events cannot, in any event, have been regarded as integral to each painting's meaning, since we know from the early sources that Gargiulo painted them either singly or in differing combinations according to the wishes of his patrons. In the eighteenth century, for example, the Caracciolo di San Vito family possessed a now-lost painting, or paintings, of the *Revolt of Masaniello* together with a picture of the plague, while the previously mentioned Stefano Carrillo y Salsedo is also known to have sent versions of the *Eruption of Vesuvius* and *Revolt of Masaniello* to Spain.²⁸ The 1690 inventory thus provides further confirmation of the fact that the early owners of Gargiulo's now-lost pictures of contemporary events possessed them in differing combinations. A painting of the eruption of Vesuvius might have hung alongside a painting of the plague or of the revolt of Masaniello or by itself, depending on the preference of the patron.

This new information clarifies a final, and more fundamental, distinction between the *Revolt of Masaniello* and the other two pictures. The *Revolt* differs from the *Eruption* and *Plague* in the framework for interpreting events that it offers the viewer. In both the *Eruption* and the *Plague*, natural disasters are at the point of being averted through the vigorous intercession of heavenly presences. In the former, Saint Januarius moves decisively, and miraculously, to halt the lethal flow of lava. In the latter, the Virgin intercedes with Christ, who demonstrates clemency by allowing an angel to sheathe his sword (a grouping directly inspired by Domenichino's frescoes of twenty years earlier in the Tesoro di San Gennaro of Naples Cathedral).²⁹ Although undoubtedly cataclysmic and disturbing, these three paintings emphasize, as does Coppola's *Entrance of Don Juan* (Fig. 4), the overcoming of adversity through divine salvation. The man-made events taking place in Gargiulo's *Revolt*, by contrast, are beyond the intervention of heaven.³⁰

The Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt of Masaniello and the Events of 1647–48

A clearer sense of the broader scope and differing orientation of the *Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt* can be gained if we compare it more closely with Cerquozzi and Codazzi's interpretation of the event (Fig. 5). For all their similarities, Cerquozzi's treatment of the revolt is worlds removed from Gargiulo's. Although the painting is not merely humorous, Cerquozzi's interpretation appears to have been closely informed by a sense of the ridiculous.

This aspect of the painting has attracted the attention of some recent commentators. Laura Laureati has interpreted the painting as a mock-heroic "anti-Spanish satire," while Wendy Roworth has recently observed that the figure of Masaniello depicted "[a]s stride his little white horse plunging through the crowd before his army of ragged urchins . . . may be seen as a small, perhaps comic Alexander the Great in battle."³¹ These interpretations are strengthened by certain elements within the painting. The grinning figures behind and beside Masaniello, the dog standing guard against the fleeing tax inspectors, the contrast between the animated figures and the impassive farm animals, most notably the giant black pig poised to eat from the overturned basket of figs that has just triggered the revolution, not to mention the inherent ridiculousness of a revolution precipitated by a fight over figs. All these elements can be described as comical without strain.

Cerquozzi's burlesque treatment of the humiliation of the representatives of the viceroy is in keeping with the political sympathies of his patron, Cardinal Bernardino Spada, a prominent supporter of the French faction at the papal court.³² It may also be attributable to Cerquozzi's lack of understanding of the full political and social dimensions of the chaotic events that were unfolding in Naples even as he worked on the painting. Cerquozzi probably relied for his information on one or two eyewitnesses to the revolt. He may have had his account from Codazzi. He may, alternately, have had access via Cardinal Spada to the dispatches sent to Pope Innocent X by the archbishop of Naples, Cardinal Ascanio Filomarino.³³ Either way, he could not have had more than limited information about the revolt, which was still far from being resolved by February 1648.

This lack of detailed knowledge of the episodes, or their broader political significance, may help to explain Cerquozzi's decision to focus on the relatively straightforward genesis of the revolt in the tax collectors' eviction from the Piazza del Mercato. Whatever its motivation, the result is a genre painting containing an only partially realized and integrated recounting of a current political event.³⁴ The illustration of a topical popular uprising is set within the framework of a conventional, generalized market scene. The majority of the figures attending the market remain totally oblivious to the momentous incident taking place in the foreground. While it would be, perhaps, unduly harsh to describe the painting as intellectually and politically impoverished, it is certainly superficial.³⁵

Gargiulo's interpretation demonstrates a much greater depth of political insight.³⁶ In contrast to Cerquozzi, Gargiulo

has taken pains to suppress the burlesque humor that surfaces occasionally in his other genre paintings. Gone are the figures straining as they defecate in a corner of the scene, the old women chasing thieves, the thieves picking the pockets of gypsy fortune-tellers, the urchins fighting, and the horses attempting to copulate in the street, scattering the wares in the process. (The last four incidents are depicted in the otherwise closely related *Market in the Piazza del Mercato*.³⁷) In the *Revolt*, Gargiulo allows for no such anecdotal humor.

Gargiulo has, instead, condensed into one canvas a number of events, mostly from the initial stages of the revolt between July 7 and 16. Commentators from de Dominici onward have stressed the degree to which the scenes depicted in the painting remain faithful to the early accounts of the revolt.³⁸ By using these accounts as a guide, it is possible to isolate from the seemingly confused multitude of figures a carefully constructed narrative sequence delineating the main incidents that unfolded in Naples during the early days of the revolt.³⁹

Gargiulo's narrative of the revolt commences with the eviction of the tax collectors from the Mercato. This incident is not treated as the central focus, as it had been in Cerquozzi's picture, but is rather relegated to a small pocket of activity in the left background. Directly behind this, Masaniello is depicted on a temporary stage erected for popular entertainments, with his arm raised, calling out the civil militia. His address signaled the point at which the uprising changed from the more or less spontaneous riot of the first day into an organized, large-scale rebellion.⁴⁰ The remainder of the painting is devoted to the events that followed Masaniello's call to arms. Armed groups, some carrying standards and beating drums, congregate at various points in the piazza. One of the groups is composed of women, a novelty that merited de Dominici's particular attention.⁴¹

The civil militia's response to Masaniello's call, beginning on the Monday and lasting the next few days, was to loot and burn approximately sixty palaces belonging to some of the most prominent representatives of the Spanish administration (most of whom were members of the local aristocracy). In depicting these incidents, Gargiulo has overcome the problem of alluding to events that occurred beyond the Piazza del Mercato by representing the subsequent moment when the loot was transported back to the Mercato for distribution to the populace. He depicts a file of three carts, loaded with booty and surrounded by figures, which makes its way from the right foreground into the back of the piazza, where a large pile of chests, fabrics, and even paintings is accumulating.

At the end of the first few days, the Neapolitan people appeared to have gained the upper hand. The viceroy had fled the Palazzo Reale and left the city open to the will of the people. On Wednesday, July 10, an attempt to assassinate Masaniello, to massacre a large number of his followers, and possibly even to poison the cisterns of the city had been launched in the Chiesa del Carmine (which is depicted in the upper right of the picture). It had been defeated, and the probable mastermind of the plot, Don Giuseppe Carafa dei duchi di Maddaloni, the notorious baron and cultivated

collector, had been captured and beheaded by the militia. This significant early act of aggression against the Neapolitan aristocracy may be alluded to in the right foreground of the *Revolt*, where an armed group rushes into the piazza bearing on a pike a mustachioed head that is similar to the one depicted in Gargiulo's smaller picture of the *Execution of Don Giuseppe Carafa*.⁴²

In the *Revolt*, Gargiulo depicts the populace at the moment of its greatest power in almost emblematic form by concentrating on the figure of Masaniello, who reappears in the foreground. In the place of the humble fisherman in the left background is a figure of almost mythic power and preeminence. Masaniello is now the people's "king" of Naples, a status he was to enjoy for the few days remaining to him before the mounting of a second, and this time ultimately successful, assassination attempt in the cloister of the Chiesa del Carmine on Tuesday, July 16.

Masaniello is mounted on horseback and wears a jacket and breeches woven from silver, an appearance at odds with all other portrayals, which depict him in the humble dress of the fisherman.⁴³ His "ennobled" bearing and costume present a significant clue, allowing us to identify the precise moment indicated in the painting. Writing on July 12, Cardinal Filomarino stressed of Masaniello, "He did not wear any other clothing than a shirt and white canvas fisherman's trousers, choosing to go barefoot and bareheaded: and he never changed from this attire save for his trip to the viceroy."⁴⁴ Masaniello is thus depicted as he appeared on Thursday evening, July 11, when he rode in the silver costume described by the cardinal, Vincenzo de' Medici, and others, together with his confederates and Cardinal Filomarino, in procession to meet the viceroy.⁴⁵ The meeting was a great, albeit temporary, victory for the people. The viceroy granted the rebels their requests to overturn some of the most unpopular taxes and to right other injustices of the administration, which were solemnly ratified in the Chiesa del Carmine. Masaniello may be depicted on his way to the viceroy or, perhaps less likely, on his return, when he made "a fine speech to the people" immediately prior to entering the Mercato.⁴⁶ Masaniello's right arm is raised above the crowd in a gesture of authority, probably to be interpreted as a call for silence. He sits upright in his saddle, controlling his rearing horse while directly meeting the viewer's gaze. He is the only figure in the painting who is aware of the audience, a device that further underlines his absolute authority over the teeming mass around him.

The Political Sympathies of Gargiulo's Patrons

Thus far Cerquozzi's relatively superficial and comical interpretation of the revolt has been contrasted with Gargiulo's faithful and sophisticated delineation of the key events of its first days. This interpretation culminates in the depiction of Masaniello as powerful and resolute. Gargiulo's depiction of Masaniello seems, at first sight, to carry none of the negative invective of the many accounts opposed to the revolt. He does not appear to resemble, for example, the "idol of the Mercato" disparaged in a contemporary play.⁴⁷ This, in combination with the breadth and seriousness of Gargiulo's

delineation of the revolt, might appear to justify an interpretation of the painting as a positive commentary on the revolt.

Rosario Villari has recently developed an argument along these lines, which, while brief, constitutes the only serious recent attempt to discern the political content of the *Revolt*. His discussion of Gargiulo's painting forms part of a wider argument against the conventional interpretation of the revolt as a spontaneous plebeian uprising "without head or tail," as Benedetto Croce expressed it. In place of this view, Villari argues for a renewed understanding of the unjustly neglected participation of bourgeois and intellectual groups. Like the vast majority of Neapolitan painters, Gargiulo was from the middle classes. His painting of the revolt is thus, for Villari, an important visual documentation of this identification with the rebels' aims. It may have been commissioned by one of the intellectuals involved in the revolt, such as the lawyer Don Giulio Genoino, the so-called mind of Masaniello, or Giuseppe Donzelli, the doctor and experimental scientist who composed an early history of the rebellion in response to requests from the revolutionary leaders.⁴⁰

Villari's argument is directly contradicted by the evidence here presented, which securely establishes the painting's provenance in a seventeenth-century Neapolitan aristocratic collection. But it also involves a deeper and more fundamental misconception of Gargiulo's patrons and their position within Neapolitan society. Gargiulo may have been from the middle classes, but he worked resolutely throughout his career to position himself at the upper reaches of patronage. An examination of his patrons reveals him in this respect as a confirmed painter to the establishment. Without exception, his aristocratic patrons were to be counted among the greatest enemies of the revolt, who were utterly opposed to the aims of the populace and the political sympathies of the revolutionary bourgeois intellectuals nominated by Villari. While little is known specifically of the political allegiances of Giovanni Piscicelli, it is at least clear that he belonged to an established Neapolitan aristocratic family *di Seggio*, and would thus have been directly threatened by the disturbances of the revolt. The aristocrats of the *Seggi* were united in their opposition to the spread of any political influence on the part of the populace and the bourgeoisie.⁴¹ This opposition was based as much on economic factors as it was on traditional enmities of class and power since, by the mid-seventeenth century, the aristocracy had come increasingly to share in the administration of the state and thus to profit materially from the systems of oppression against which the populace rebelled. One of the most popular, and lucrative, means by which they achieved this was to capitalize on the viceregal policy of selling public revenues in both direct and indirect taxes and lands, the latter of which resulted in the alienation of many towns and properties previously in the royal domain.⁴²

The list of Piscicelli's assets included with his inventory of possessions indicates the extent to which he partook of this profit. He drew an annual income of 362 ducats from tax farms (*arrendamenti*) in the commodities of wine, oil, silk, and flour, together with salt from Puglia and the income of the customhouse of Naples. He also enjoyed an annuity of 243 ducats from the base hearth taxes, or *fiscali*, owed on a

number of towns and villages (*università*) located mainly in the Molise.⁴³ These annuities would be equivalent to 12.1 million lire in current terms, according to one recent equation for converting seventeenth-century Neapolitan currency to today's values, but it would perhaps be more prudent to compare it with the wages of two ducats paid per six-day week in the 1640s to the stonemasons working at the Certosa di San Martino or with the 25 to 40 ducats commonly paid in Naples for a horse.⁴⁴

Whichever system of comparison we choose to adopt, it is clear that Piscicelli drew a sizable income from the very taxes that precipitated the revolt. Piscicelli's fortune perpetuated this system of oppression, as did that of a great number of his peers, many of whom thereby earned their inclusion in a list drawn up by the rebels of palaces to be ransacked during the opening stages of the revolt.⁴⁵ The demand for retribution for the perceived injustices of the viceregal taxation system also resulted in the destruction of another institution drawn on by Piscicelli for income, the customhouse of Naples, which was sacked during the first day of the revolt. The above information should thus render clear Piscicelli's antipathy to any suggestion that his pictures of the revolt and its protagonists might contain prorevolutionary messages.

Our knowledge of the personalities of Neapolitan collectors remains, in many instances, limited by the fact that a comprehensive study of Neapolitan patronage has yet to be written (although the groundwork for this task has been laid by the fundamental researches of Gérard Labrot, Renato Ruotolo, and Eduardo Nappi, among others).⁴⁶ From early histories of the Neapolitan aristocracy and other sources, it is nonetheless possible to develop a comprehensive picture of the political sympathies of Gargiulo's patrons. From this can be established clearly the same degree of antipathy to the aspirations of the rebels in the case of the other collectors known to have owned pictures of the revolt and its protagonists.

It would be inappropriate, for example, to attach any anti-Spanish sentiment to the two small portraits by Gargiulo of Masaniello and Gennaro Annese (one of the main leaders of the rebellion after the death of Masaniello), which hung in the Pignatelli collection in the early eighteenth century.⁴⁷ The Pignatelli were one of the most influential aristocratic families in Naples, whose members included Antonio Pignatelli, archbishop of Naples and subsequently Pope Innocent XII. As such, their political associations and public loyalties were always firmly linked with the Spanish administration and with the preservation of the status quo.

This can be further confirmed by identifying the numerous Pignatelli family members with high-ranking positions within the Spanish administration. Ettore Pignatelli, for example, was appointed viceroy of Barcelona, while another family member received the senior military appointment of master of the field (*maestro di campo*) of Catalonia.⁴⁸ Another, Fabrizio Pignatelli, was on close terms with both Philip IV and Don Juan of Austria and served as grand constable of the kingdom (*gran contestabile del regno*) to Philip IV. Fabrizio spent much of 1647 leading troops against the rebels. In 1654, Philip IV rewarded his services by appointing him viceroy and captain general of Aragon. He eventually died in Catalonia fighting the French. Subsequent Pignatelli family members attained

comparable prominence at the Spanish court.⁵⁷ The loyalty of the Pignatelli to Spain and their antipathy toward the aims of the revolutionaries would thus have been beyond question.

The same degree of loyalty to Spain is evident in Gargiulo's close patron and associate the regent Stefano Carrillo y Salsedo, for whom Gargiulo painted versions of the *Eruption* and the *Revolt*. Carrillo, who was of Spanish descent, spent his career in the service of successive viceroys. His brother in Madrid, to whom he may have owed his political advancement and to whom he bequeathed the better part of his collection, was gentleman of the privy chamber (*gentiluomo di camera*) to Don Juan of Austria. Carrillo was, moreover, dedicated to fighting sedition and lawlessness. As superintendent of the countryside (*soprintendente alla campagna*) in the 1660s and 1670s, he was noted for his success in combating the banditry that was rife in the countryside.⁵⁸

There can be no question, therefore, that Carrillo might have commissioned his now-lost version of the *Revolt* as an anti-Spanish commentary. The opposite must, in fact, have been the case, since he is said to have commissioned versions of the *Revolt* and the *Eruption* for export to Madrid, presumably as royal gifts, in order to bring merit upon himself at the Spanish court.⁵⁹ Clearly, therefore, Carrillo's painting of the *Revolt* cannot be interpreted as representative of any "distance . . . separating the people of Naples from the Spanish Monarchy," as Villari asserts, but rather can only have been commissioned as an antipopular, pro-Spanish interpretation of the events.

A wider examination of the political sympathies of Gargiulo's other major patrons reveals the extent to which they were equally closely linked to the Spanish administration and opposed to the populace. Ettore Capececelatro, one of Gargiulo's earliest and most dedicated patrons, devoted a long and brilliant career to service of this kind and enjoyed the close confidence of successive viceroys.⁶⁰ He twice acted as Neapolitan ambassador to Madrid and eventually rose to the position of pro-regent of the Supremo Collaterale Consiglio, the highest judiciary and administrative body in the kingdom. At the time of his death, he stood as one of the preeminent figures of the administration, eliciting fulsome praise from the contemporary commentators Lorenzo Crasso and Nicolò Toppi, among others.⁶¹ His unswerving loyalty to Spain was even manifested in his collecting, in that he hung his own portrait between likenesses of the viceroy and the Spanish king. As a further indication of his loyalties and attitude toward the populace, it should be remembered that as an unusually unpopular overseer of the customhouse at Foggia, he was the subject of numerous violently negative satires written by the people of Puglia.⁶²

A dedicated patron of Gargiulo's later years, Giacomo Capece Zurlo, served as one of the four judges of the Vicaria loyal to Spain who met in April 1648, to prosecute the rebels.⁶³ An early collector, Francesco Marino Caracciolo, principe di Avellino, was one of the leaders of the forces loyal to the viceroy and fought a long campaign against the rebels throughout the kingdom of Naples.⁶⁴ His zeal was such that he presented to the viceroy a priest whom he had arrested at his feudal seat for disseminating anti-Spanish propaganda. His endeavors against the rebels were specially commended

by Don Juan of Austria.⁶⁵ Another associate of Gargiulo, the poet Francesco Dentice,⁶⁶ similarly spent the revolt stationed at Nola commanding a company of nobility who were defending the city against the rebels.⁶⁷ Even Don Giuseppe Carafa, the most popularly despised of aristocrats and the subject of Piscicelli's *Execution of Don Giuseppe Carafa*, can be identified as one of Gargiulo's earliest and most important patrons. His exceptional collection (which included several pictures by Gargiulo and Codazzi) is known to us from an inventory drawn up in 1648 of pictures that had been retrieved after his palace had been sacked "numerous times by the People."⁶⁸

The listing of Gargiulo's patrons with clear allegiances to the Spanish administration could be continued.⁶⁹ In fact, only the lawyer Vincenzo d'Andrea, who owned two large architectural paintings by Codazzi and Gargiulo, might conceivably be described as sympathetic to the people's cause.⁷⁰ D'Andrea helped to moderate the ferocity of the repression of the rebellion, but he was certainly no anti-Spanish revolutionary. He was rewarded for his labors after the revolt by the new viceroy, the conde de Oñate, with appointments as president of the Sommaria, the financial tribunal of Naples, and superintendent (*provveditore generale*) of the arsenal of Naples. He thus certainly would not have welcomed the inclusion into his collection of any pictures that might have cast doubt on his political allegiances.

A more tangible impression of the pro-Spanish sympathies of Gargiulo's patrons can be gained by considering the few overtly political images known to have been commissioned from Gargiulo and his associates. One of these, a little-known drawing by Gargiulo, depicts Don Juan of Austria as the victorious general entering the city gates while the people kneel before him in homage (Fig. 12).⁷¹ It is similar to, and was probably also influential on, Coppola's previously discussed picture of the subject. The technique of the drawing, which, unusually, is highly finished for Gargiulo, suggests that it was a preparatory or presentation drawing for a now-lost painting, a hypothesis that is strengthened by the fact that another drawing in the same technique has also been identified as preparatory to an extant painting.⁷²

Of equal interest is a picture commissioned from Aniello Falcone by Francesco Marino Caracciolo, prince of Avellino, previously mentioned as a collector of Gargiulo's and Codazzi's work (Fig. 13). The painting vividly evokes the linked social and political aspirations of Gargiulo's patrons by emphasizing the continuities of affiliation that spanned generations of the family line. It depicts Francesco's ancestor Cardinal Marino Ascanio Caracciolo, then recently appointed to the post of civilian governor-general of Milan, visiting the imperial encampment during the campaign waged against Francis I by his patron and protector Charles V in 1536.⁷³ Its message to the contemporary viewer would have been clear. It commemorates the honor and rank attained by a prominent sixteenth-century Habsburg servant as commissioned by a descendant who continues to maintain this allegiance to such an extent that he is prepared to bear arms for it and to denounce those of his own countrymen who stand against it.

Gargiulo's pictures of the revolt of Masaniello form a counterimage to these official declarations of aristocratic affiliation. They also represent, as we have seen, a more

12 Gargiulo, *The Entrance of Don Juan of Austria into Naples*. Naples, Knight collection (from Sestieri and Daprà, 43)

13 Aniello Falcone, *Cardinal Marino Caracciolo Visiting the Imperial Army*, oil on canvas. Private collection, Rome (from de Vito, "Aniello Falcone & Co.," *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano*, fig. 18)

comprehensive attempt to do justice to the complexity of the revolt by recording its different stages of development. In this respect, they diverge significantly from caricatures and other more explicitly negative forms of political imagery. Giovanni Battista Piscicelli evidently appreciated this aspect of Gargiulo's pictures. The portraits of Masaniello and Don Juan of Austria in his collection provide a further indication of his interest in documenting both sides of the opposed camps involved in the rebellion.

Yet for all his evenhandedness and seriousness of intent, Giovanni Battista Piscicelli's understanding of the political dimension of Gargiulo's pictures of the revolt would have remained clear. The previous discussion has confirmed that there can be no question that Gargiulo or his patrons conceived his paintings of the revolt as anything other than pro-Spanish in their outlook. Far from being produced from

within the immediate circle of its leaders, they were painted for precisely those enemies of the revolt whose united efforts eventually succeeded in crushing it. However carefully and seriously Gargiulo delineated the revolt, his underlying political motivation can only have been to create a visual record of the evils of popular insurrection.

A further examination of the *Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt of Masaniello* throws Gargiulo's pro-Spanish attitude toward his subject matter into sharper definition. Displayed prominently in the center of the piazza, behind Masaniello and his followers, is the so-called *epitaffio*, a monument originally commissioned from Cosimo Fanzago by Masaniello on July 14 to commemorate the accord reached with the viceroy on July 11.⁷⁴ The monument was to have included a marble base with a list in bronze of the privileges conceded to the people and to have been surmounted by statues of the

viceroys, Cardinal Filomarino, and Philip IV. As with the figure of Masaniello on horseback, the *epitaffio* thus serves a central visual and symbolic role in the painting. It encapsulates, within a single image, the wider aspirations of the revolutionaries as initially formulated during their brief moment of ascendancy.

As a symbolic visualization of the revolution's aims, however, the *epitaffio* can only have been regarded ironically by those who knew its outcome, since its history encapsulates the failure of the revolt. Fanzago had no sooner commenced work on it when he was halted by a violent uprising that threatened his life and home.⁷⁵ In September, work recommenced on a second, enlarged *epitaffio* in the center of the Mercato, which was to have included the inscriptions of the amended privileges. Gargiulo has also included the original *epitaffio*, which was left uncompleted, near the Cappella di Santa Croce behind and to the right of the figure of Masaniello on horseback.⁷⁶

The social and political turmoil of the following months prevented the completion of the second *epitaffio* (both were eventually demolished in December 1652).⁷⁷ In the end, the only use to which the *epitaffio* was put during its brief existence was to display the severed heads of those executed as enemies of the people.⁷⁸ Gargiulo depicts it in this manner as it appeared in the later months of the revolt.⁷⁹ It is lined with severed heads and has been used as a dumping ground for a pile of naked, headless bodies, one of which has been hung from a pole.

The *epitaffio* of the *Revolt* is thus, literally, a failed symbol. Far from communicating its origins as an expression of the democratic covenant between the people and the administration, it vividly expresses the principle of anarchy that, from the point of view of the establishment, strongly characterized the revolt. It is ruinous and grotesquely deformed by the marks of violence that dominate the painting: people being dragged, bleeding and bound, to the mob, and others threatened with pikes, assaulted, and knocked to the ground. Carafa's execution sent shock waves through the ranks of the Neapolitan aristocracy. In the left foreground, a huddled group of anxious figures wearing the *cappa nera* and *goniglia* favored by lawyers, bureaucrats, and *cavalieri* are menaced on all sides by the mob.⁸⁰ Another figure beneath the original *epitaffio*, dressed in the manner of the populace, is dragged by the foot to the second *epitaffio*, where he is, presumably, to meet the same fate as the others already executed. The people's ferocity is thus presented as indiscriminate and threatening to all sections of Neapolitan society.

The atmosphere of violence that pervades the painting is combined with an even more insistent impression of disorder of cosmic proportions. Although the painting articulates a carefully constructed sequence of events, the figures participating in these events are positioned in a manner that emphasizes their lack of unity and organization.⁸¹ Unregistered masses of figures are scattered in random groupings across the painting. In the right foreground, a frenzied mob of frantically gesticulating figures forms a jumble of heads, legs, and arms that collides, in turn, with one of the carts loaded with loot entering the piazza from the opposite

direction. The impression of an undisciplined, motley group is reinforced by the ragged clothing worn by most of the figures. A sense of cosmic disorder is further underlined by the manner in which many of the figures appear to reflect the contemporary paradigm of the world turned upside down.⁸² Miserably dressed children carry halberds and accost their superiors in both age and social status; women congregate in armed bands; shopkeepers loot palaces; and a lowly fisherman rides a fine horse and dresses in an ostentatiously elaborate costume.

Such is the nature, Gargiulo suggests, of the bizarre and threatening social and sexual distortions that accompany the overthrow of the established order. The behavior of the people, when empowered, degenerates into acts of perversion, violence, and mob rule. As such, the *Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt of Masaniello* conforms to the conventional interpretation of the revolt as demonstrating the degree to which the people were fundamentally capricious and irrational in their actions. This underlying disparaging attitude was adopted even by those sympathetic to the revolutionaries in certain regards. Cardinal Filomarino used the metaphor of boiling liquid to describe the riotous behavior of the people during the early days of the revolt.⁸³ The anti-Spanish physician Angelo della Porta interpreted the people's behavior as acts of "strange madness." Della Porta's alternative title to his account of the revolt—*Causa di stravaganze* (The Reason for the Eccentric Behavior)—perfectly fits the tenor of Gargiulo's interpretation of the revolt.⁸⁴

The Revolt of Masaniello and the Conventions of Genre Painting

Peter Burke has recently examined the degree to which contemporary narratives of the revolt were preconditioned by conventions of the dignity of history. These conventions did not allow the narrators to make any sense of the people's actions, which occurred outside the parameters of meaningful historical action in an unstable world of irrationality and inchoate fury.⁸⁵ Gargiulo's paintings of the revolt seem to have been subject to a directly analogous process of being circumscribed within preexisting conventions of low-life genre imagery.

In paintings with aristocratic and noble groupings, Gargiulo sought to unify and organize his figures in a becoming manner. Speaking of Gargiulo's now-lost *Triumph of Caesar*, for example, de Dominici noted the presence of "thousands of figures, clothed and armed with Roman propriety, and adorned with various additional embellishments, and so well positioned, that the excessive number did not result in confusion, but each figure distinctly made his own gracious actions."⁸⁶ Both Gargiulo's and de Dominici's awareness of the critical requirements of figure groupings was conditioned by their belief that history painting, like written history, should aspire to nobility and idealization. Genre painting represented the converse of this ideal. It was the realm of a lower and more informal style of representation that operated according to a different set of criteria founded on an emphasis on ignoble, burlesque humor and on principles of variety, invention, and anecdotal detail.⁸⁷

14 Gargiulo, *Triumph of David*, oil on canvas. Sarasota, Fla., John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art

This distinction can be illustrated by comparing the figures in an *istoria* and in a genre painting by Gargiulo (Figs. 14, 15).⁸⁸ The figures in Gargiulo's *Triumph of David*, which are larger and more carefully characterized than those in his picture of a *Fair*, closely match de Dominici's description of the *Triumph of Caesar*. Gargiulo has attempted to provide them with both a sense of group cohesion and a distinctness, so that each figure might display its own "gracious actions." By contrast, the figures in the *Fair*, like the *Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt of Masaniello*, are scattered in random groups across the canvas. The emphasis is on unidealized variety rather than dignified unity.

De Dominici recognized the importance of this distinction in his commentary on Antonio Piscicelli's collection. His description of the *Revolt*, for example, makes no mention of gracious figures or a unified compositional scheme. A response along these lines would have been inappropriate for a picture of this kind. De Dominici is struck, instead, by the disorderly spectacle presented by the "innumerable" and "infinite" Neapolitan masses. He makes no comment on the painting's composition, other than to point out its topographical features, and proceeds, instead, to a detailed, descriptive account of each of the painting's anecdotal scenes.⁸⁹ He employs the same framework when describing a painting of a

fair by Gargiulo, further underscoring its connection with the *Revolt* by placing it immediately after his commentary on the *Revolt*:

He has there likewise painted by the same author a *Fair* with various and copious inventions. [The artist depicts] He who does business, he who will buy, the loafer who watches goings on, while others listen to the Charlatans and Saltimbanks who perform comedies, and all is executed with very truthful and felicitous imitation.⁹⁰

The viewer should not perceive paintings of this kind from a broad, sweeping perspective, de Dominici suggests, but, rather, should lose himself in the anecdotal details that proliferate thanks to the "copious inventions" of the artist. The figure groupings in history paintings should demonstrate propriety and not "create confusion." Confusion, randomness, ungovernable variety, on the other hand: these are the rightful properties of genre painting, since its subject matter is taken not from the idealized realms of history painting but from the low, ignoble world of the populace.

The violence of the Neapolitan people's actions during the revolt of Masaniello was thus all too easily assimilated within artistic conventions that were informed, in turn, by class

15 Gargiulo, *Faiz*, oil on canvas. Sorrento, Museo Correale di Terranova (photo: Soprintendenza Naples)

stereotypes. As the most impressive example of Gargiulo's skills as a genre painter, Paolo de Matteis accordingly singled out Gargiulo's paintings of the revolt, above all, his pictures of "Popular, and tumultuous demonstrations,"⁹¹ because they expressed in a most spectacular manner a conventional view of popular disorder, which informed both the social attitudes of the upper classes and the critical status of Gargiulo's genre paintings.

This process is more readily apparent in Giovanni Piscicelli's two small *capricci* of *The Punishment of Thieves during the Revolt of Masaniello* and *The Execution of Don Giuseppe Carafa*. The paintings depict the rituals of degradation and punishment carried out by the people during the revolt. In one, a group of prisoners is paraded through the streets by a jubilant crowd. The heads of those already executed are carried aloft, while others shuffle to their fate with their hands bound. One prisoner is led on the back of an ass with a paper crown of false gold, a common symbol of treachery.⁹² In the second painting, figures rush into view carrying the heads of those just executed. A partly dismembered corpse lies on the ground beside another, depicted at the very instant of decollation. From the left corner, a group of children drag toward Masaniello Carafa's almost naked corpse, beating it as they go.⁹³

The pictures might appear, at first sight, to corroborate recent descriptions that have emphasized their informal, journalistic appearance.⁹⁴ They certainly contrast markedly with the carefully orchestrated gracefulness of an *istoria* like the *Triumph of David*. The figures rushing in all directions in and out of view in *The Execution of Don Giuseppe Carafa*, for example, are chaotically uncoordinated in comparison with those in the *Triumph of David*. This effect is heightened by the

arbitrary framing of the picture, which, like a hurried snapshot, captures only part of the scene. The frame truncates some of the figures, including a number of the victims of the mob's fury, who might normally have been expected to constitute the focus of the picture.

Yet, it would be misleading to conclude that the pictures are simple documentary transcriptions of unadorned reality. The pictorial devices of disorganized composition and randomly placed frame produce an effect that is every bit as contrived as an *istoria*, albeit one directed toward opposite ends. In the *istoria* Gargiulo sought to convey a dignified sense of clarity and timelessness. In these pictures he presents, by contrast, a series of chaotic, fragmentary impressions of recent and spontaneous outbursts of anarchy. Their extraordinarily sketchy technique serves to heighten the sense of confusion by blurring many of the figures in the midst of frenzied motion. The artistic freedom of Gargiulo's loose brushstrokes also has the effect of self-consciously focusing the viewer's attention on the act of depiction. This locates the pictures firmly within the tradition of the *macchia* or *capriccio* approach to painting, which Gargiulo commonly followed in his small, loosely painted landscapes (Fig. 16).⁹⁵ This connection is, indeed, underscored, as we have seen, by their probable identification as *capricci* in the 1690 inventory of Piscicelli's collection.

The term *macchia* (literally, a spot or a stain) was used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to describe the rapidly sketched form of the artist's initial conception, as opposed to the carefully conceived, fully finished image,⁹⁶ while *capriccio* denoted the approach informing its creation. Ideas of inventive variety and freedom from the customary rules of convention and decorum were central to the *capriccio* approach.⁹⁷

16 Gargiulo, *Landscape with Rapids and Travelers*, oil on canvas. Piacenza, private collection (from Sestieri and Daprà, 245)

But this emphasis on operating outside the rules could be applied in a negative sense. The *modo di macchiare* could also be used to describe an "accidental form," or ill-defined, disordered image beyond the redemption of artifice.⁹⁸ The violence and misrule that so characterize the small paintings of the revolt strongly suggest that Gargiulo, in this instance, drew on this negative aspect of the *capriccio* approach. The chaos and anarchy of the people's actions corresponded perfectly to the appearance of confusion created by a particularly extreme expression of *macchietismo*.

These negative visions of popular anarchy were to be contrasted with the propriety, order, and stability manifested by the establishment. Gargiulo's later *Eruption of Vesuvius* (Fig. 6) contains a vivid delineation of this collision of the opposed principles of established order and popular disorder. In the painting, the response of the establishment to the threat of the eruption is unified, decorous, and orderly. The viceroy, civil administrators, members of religious orders, and the aristocracy progress in rows of three and four, carrying lit torches in a group ritual that enables them to project a unified sense of composure in the face of disaster. Their confidence is bolstered by the fact that they hold the instruments of power: the relics of Saint Januarius and other saints, whose aid they solicit to overcome the disaster. The plebeians, on the other hand, remain disempowered and marginalized. They position themselves haphazardly, wherever they can, and crowd the procession in threateningly unstable groups. Lacking all decorum or restraint, they hysterically beseech the members of the procession for deliverance. One figure even licks the ground in a traditional expression of self-abasement still practiced in southern Italy by those seeking divine intervention.⁹⁹

The Eruption of Vesuvius differs fundamentally from Gargiulo's paintings of the revolt in the manner in which the people humbly defer to their superiors and to the socially controlling power of religion. However latently violent and unstable their actions may be, they remain, in this instance, positively channeled into acts of penitence and devotion. In the paintings of the revolt, on the other hand, the negative

interpretation that underlies this conception of popular diversity comes dramatically to the fore. The paintings of the revolt present antitheses of the rituals of unity and decorum displayed by the establishment in the *Eruption*. In a dramatic reversal of the class interaction in the *Eruption*, they act out for the aristocratic viewer public manifestations of popular anarchy.

As a spectacular visual reinforcement of a stereotyped conception of the Neapolitan poor, Gargiulo's painting would thus have functioned analogously to the traditional *cuccagna*. The *cuccagna*, a staple feature of Neapolitan seventeenth- and eighteenth-century festivities, was one of the few ritualized occasions on which the populace performed en masse for the entertainment of the upper classes.¹⁰⁰ Although rarely depicted in Neapolitan art, it is given noteworthy visual form in Filippo Falciatore's *Cuccagna in the Largo di Palazzo* (Fig. 17), which is indebted to the *Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt* and other paintings by Gargiulo.¹⁰¹ It consisted of an elaborately contrived temporary construction that was loaded with food and wine and then assaulted by the people following a signal from the viceroy. The *cuccagna* was designed and orchestrated in order to reinforce, in the most vivid and insistent manner possible, the stereotype of the inherent violence and bestiality of the people. It was supplied with live animals, which were tied or, in the case of birds, nailed by their wings to the walls, before being slaughtered by mobs of the poor in a frenzied riot of pillaging. The overabundance of foodstuffs, which were often hung high up and almost out of reach, occasioned fierce, and often lethal, fighting between the participants, who also skirmished with the troops posted to keep them back until the signal for assault came.

The vision of popular anarchy expressed in the *Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt of Masaniello* is much more serious and comprehensive than the entertainment of the *cuccagna*. Nevertheless, the *Revolt* operates in a similar sense as an image of a spectacular public event that has been painted to reinforce the principle of popular anarchy and confusion that underlay aristocratic attitudes toward the people. Like the *cuccagna*, it afforded aristocratic viewers an unforgettable opportunity to see their stereotyped conception of the Neapolitan poor reflected back on a grand scale.

Appendix

The Inventory of the Art Collection of Giovanni Battista Capece Piscicelli

The following inventory lists the paintings and other works of art located in the family's "casa palatiata" situated behind the monastery of SS. Apostoli, shortly after Piscicelli's death in August 1690. The inventory is reproduced in its entirety except for furniture and household effects, which have been omitted for reasons of space. The transcription follows *The Getty Provenance Index* in assigning a Roman numeral to each room listed in the inventory, and an Arabic numeral to each of the entries for individual works. It preserves the literal spelling, dialectal forms, and punctuation of the original, with the exception of abbreviations, which have been spelled out for clarity unless the meaning of the abbreviation is generally accepted and understood.

ASN, Notai del Seicento, notaio Nicola Antonio Collocola,

17 Filippo Falciatore,
*Cuccagna in the Largo di
Palazzo*, oil on canvas.
Naples, private collection
(Photo: Luciano Pedicini)

scheda 550, protocollo 20, ff. 760v-763 + ff. 1-4 allegati al f. 760v; in *The Getty Provenance Index: Cumulative Edition on CD-ROM* (Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Trust, 1996), Inv. I-245:

Adhuc hereditatis quondam D. Joannis baptiste Capicij Piscicelli.

Die secunda mensis septembris 1690 Nepoli hora vigesima 2.^a seu quasi ante Venerabilem Ecclesiam SS.orum Apostolorum. Ad preces Nobis factas pro parte Domini D. Nicolai, D. Cristofari, et D. Francisci Capicij Piscicelli Fratrum, dictique Domini D. Nicolai etiam uti procuratoris Domini D. Dominici Capicii Piscicelli similiter eius fratris . . . personaliter accessimus ante dictam Venerabilem Ecclesiam, et dum essemus ibidem, ipsi Domini D. Nicolaus, D. Cristofarus, et D. Franciscus nominibus quibus supra, sponte asseruerunt coram nobis mensibus proxime preteritis (sicut Deo placuit) quondam Dominum D. Joannem Baptistam Capicium Piscicellum eorum Patrem vitam cum morte commutasse, ob cuius obitum sequutum . . . ipsos Dominos D. Nicolaum, D. Cristofarum, et D. Franciscum, dictumque Dominum D. Dominicum fuisse declaratos filios legitimos, et naturales, ac heredes universales, et particulares dicti quondam Domini D. Joannis Baptiste ex Testamento . . . et deliberantes ipsi Domini Fratres ne Hereditas predicta sit eis potius damnosa, quam utilis, et fructuosa, deliberaverunt hereditatem predictam adire cum beneficio legis, et inventarii, et publicum conficere inventarium de omnibus bonis, et Juribus hereditatis predictae. . . . Inventario delli beni remasti nell'heredità del quondam D. Giovanni battista Capece Piscicelli.

Una Casa palatiata sita dietro il monasterio di Sant Apostoli detta la Casa grande nella quale al presente habitano detti heredi nel quarto superiore, et nel primo quarto vi habitano D. Francesco, et Altri di Brancia affittatoli infra annum . . .

I. Nel quarto di sopra à man destra vi sono l'infrascritte robbe videlicet

1. Dieci Ritratti di Rè, Regine, et Imperatori grandi e piccoli

II. Alla prima camera à man sinistra videlicet

2. Due quadri con cornice indorata intagliata con boschi, marina, e vache di Spadaro di 4 e 5

3. Due altri quadri di palmi sette e cinque e mezzo con boschi e marine Vache con cornice indorata intagliate di Spadaro.

4. Due altri quadri di 4 e 3 di scaramuzze d'huomini di Spadaro con cornice indorata

5. Uno quadro di 4 e 5 con cornice indorata di mano di Spadaro il quale rappresenta la discacciata del tempio con cornice indorata [sic.]

6. Due quadri di 3 e 4 con caccie di tori e cignali con cornice indorate di mano d'Andrea de Leone

7. Due quadri di mano del Cavalier massimo di 5 e 7 uno di locretia Romana, et laltro della Cleopatra con cornice indorate

8. Due quadri bislungi di 3 e quattro di frutti con cornice indorata liscia di mano di Ruoppoli

9. Due prospettive di uno e mezzo e due con cornice indorate intagliate di mano di Viviano

10. Un giardino, et una marinella di uno in quadro di luca forte con cornice indorate intagliate

11. Quattro quadri di uno in quadro con cornice indorate intagliate di luca forte

12. Quattordici quadretti di uno e mezzo e uno di capricci di Micco spatara con cornice indorate

13. Un ottangolo piccolo di Masaniello con cornice indorata intagliata di Spadaro

14. Due quadri di 3 e 2 di frutti con cornice indorate intagliate di mano di Ruoppoli

15. Una Giuditta di un Palmo e mezzo e due di mano d'Agostiniello [i.e. Beltrano] con cornice indorata intagliata

16. Un ritratto del Reggente di Rivera di due e uno con cornice indorata liscia

17. Due battaglie d'uno in quattro con cornice indorate intagliate di mano d'Aniello falcone

18. Una lavarina di notte d'uno e mezzo e due sopra pietra, con cornice indorata liscia di mano di Andrea de Leone

III. Nella prima camera à man diritta videlicet

19. Due quadri uno di S. francesco di mano di Giovanni battistello [i.e. Caracciolo], et altro di Santo Cristofaro di mano di spadaro con cornice indorata intagliate di palme due è due mezzo

IV. Nella Seconda Camera videlicet

20. Uno quadro della Revolutione di mano di Spadaro con cornice d'oro lavorato di 5 è 7

21. Uno quattro di due è mezzo è cinque è mezzo con cornice indorata intagliata di mano di Giordano che è la probatica pescina

22. Uno quattro di 5 è 7 di mano di Giordano con cornice indorata con la figura di S. Anna, S. Gioachino e la Madonna

23. Quattro quadri di due è mezzo è due con cornice indorata liscia di prospettive, et altro di mano di Spadaro

V. Nel altra camera videlicet

24. Uno quadro di Sant'Antonio grande di mano di Giovanni Ricca con cornice lavorata indorata

25. Uno quadro di Giuseppe Giusto grande con cornice liscia indorata mano di Artemisia

26. Un Santo Giovanni di 3 è 5 con cornice lavorata indorata di mano di [left blank]

27. Sette Quadri di diverse devotioni e diverse mistre con cornice d'oro liscia

28. Uno quadro con una marina di mano di Spadaro con cornice indorata di 3 è 5

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Notes

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1. John Huxtable Elliott, "Revolts in the Spanish Monarchy," in *The Preconditions of Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Robert Foster and Jack Green (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970), 109–30; Burke, 5–21; Villari, *passim*.

2. Benedetto Croce, "I 'lazzari,'" in *Aneddoti di varia letteratura*, vol. 3 (Bari: Laterza, 1961), 198–205.

3. Giulio Capaccio, quoted in Benedetto Croce, *History of the Kingdom of Naples*, trans. E. Frenaye (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 120; Bartolommeo Capasso, "Napoli descritta nei principi del secolo XVII da G. C. Capaccio," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 7 (1892): 535.

4. For English responses to the revolt, see Roworth, 230–32.

5. Giuseppe Fiorelli, *Del Museo Nazionale di Napoli: Relazione al ministro della pubblica istruzione* (Naples: Tipografia Italiana, 1873), 40; Demetrio Salazar and Gaetano Filangieri, eds., *Esposizione nazionale di belle arti in Napoli: Catalogo generale dell'arte antica compilato dal Comitato Esecutivo*, exh. cat., Palazzo dell'Esposizione, Naples, 1877, 150 (attributed to Scipione Compagno); Aldo de Rinaldis, *Panacea del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Naples: Richter, 1928), 427; Sergio Ortolani, *Giocinto Gigante e la pittura di paesaggio a Napoli e in Italia dal '600 al '800*, ed. Raffaello Causa (Naples: Moeniano, 1970), 71, 74–75; *Painting in Naples from Corrivaggio to Giordano*, exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1982, 270; Silvia Cassani, ed., *Civiltà del Seicento a Napoli*, 2 vols., exh. cat., Museo di Capodimonte and Museo Diego Aragona Pignatelli Cortes, Naples, 1984, vol. 1, 123, vol. 2, 45. See *ibid.*, vol. 1, 231, for its pendant, the *Piazza del Mercato during the Plague of 1656*, Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples.

6. D. Marshall, 16.

7. De Dominicis, vol. 3, 197; Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua . . .* (Florence, 1647; reprint, Florence: S.P.E.S., 1974–75), vol. 4, 516–17.

8. Roworth, 220; see Roworth for the most incisive discussion of this aspect of the pictures.

9. Such as the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 50 3/8 by 70 7/8 in. (128 by 180 cm.), Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples, inv. DR 599, in deposit at the Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples, illus. in Sestieri and Daprà, 230–36, cat. no. 102. The picture is documented at the Certosa di San Martino from 1806 and so probably forms part of the many pictures and frescoes commissioned from Gargiulo by the Neapolitan Carthusians; C. Marshall, chap. 15, 257–80.

10. D. Marshall, 170–73, cat. no. VC 68.

11. De Dominicis, vol. 3, 197–98; Onofrio Giannone, *Gente sulle vite de' pittori napoletani*, ed. Ottavio Morisani (Naples: R. Deputazione di Storia Patria, 1941), 139–40.

12. The *Revolt* and the *Plague* entered the Museo Reale Borbonico at an uncertain date and from an uncertain provenance or provenances sometime between 1821 and 1852, while the *Eruption* passed by descent to its present owners through various aristocratic Neapolitan collections (Sestieri and Daprà, 286–89, 294–95, cat. nos. 140, 141, 145). The issue of provenance is further complicated by the fact that the *Revolt* and the *Plague* are sometimes confused with Coppola's previously discussed paintings of the entrance of Don Juan of Austria and the plague of 1656. Gargiulo's *Piazza Mercatello during the Plague of 1656* is thus sometimes mistakenly identified as having been sold by the cavaliere Giovanni Antonio Lamberti to the Museo Reale Borbonico in 1829, whereas, in fact, Lamberti sold Coppola's *Piazza del Mercato during the Plague of 1656*, under an attribution to Gargiulo; Antonio Filangieri di Candida, "La Galleria Nazionale di Napoli (documenti e ricerche)," *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane, Notizie e Documenti* 5 (1902): 248–49 and n. 145, 359–40. De Rinaldis (as in n. 5), 426–27, was the first to point out the error. He is certainly correct, since the description of the painting sold by Lamberti mentions it as depicting the Piazza del Mercato (rather than the Piazza Mercatello, which is depicted in Gargiulo's painting of the plague) and mentions a wheel for executions, which is present only in Coppola's painting.

The incorrect provenance of Gargiulo's *Plague* continues to be cited in the recent literature (Sestieri and Daprà, 294).

13. Roworth, 290.

14. James Clifton, "Images of the Plague and Other Contemporary Events in Seventeenth Century Naples," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1987, 175, 144.

15. De Dominicis (vol. 3, 198) describes paintings of an *Attack of Turks by a Sea Shore* and an *Assault of Bandits in a Forest*, which may be identifiable with two skirmishes of men by Gargiulo in the 1690 inventory (item 4). Two landscapes with figures and animals also described by de Dominicis may be identifiable in the inventory with two paintings of "wood, sea and cows" (item 2), while four architectural pieces by Codazzi and Gargiulo may be identifiable with four "prospective," which are attributed in the inventory to Gargiulo alone (item 23). See nn. 19, 25, 26 below for the other pictures mentioned by de Dominicis.

16. Enrico Bacco, Cesare d'Engenio Garacciolo et al., *Naples: An Early Guide*, ed. and trans. Eileen Gardiner (New York: Italica Press, 1991), 152, rev. of *Descrizione del Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1671); Giuseppe Galasso, *Napoli spagnola dopo Masaniello: Politica, cultura, società* (Florence: Sansoni, 1982), 197. For the Casa Santa dell'Annunziata, see Giovanni Battista d'Addosio, *Origine, vicende storiche e progressi della R. S. Casa dell'Annunziata di Napoli* (Naples: Tipografia A. Cona, 1883); Gennaro Galante, *Guida Sacra della città di Napoli*, ed. Nicola Spinosa (Naples: Società Editrice, 1985), 164-67. Giovanni Battista is not mentioned in Candida Gonzaga's discussion of the Piscicelli family; Bernardo Candida Gonzaga, *Memorie delle famiglie nobili delle province meridionali d'Italia*, 8 vols. (Naples: Tipografia G. de Angelis, 1875-82), vol. 5, 143-47.

17. There are no pictures by Paolo de Matteis, Andrea Belvedere, Giacomo del Po, or others active in the years after the plague. The only possible exceptions to this are four pictures by Giovan Battista Ruoppolo and two by Luca Giordano (items 8, 14, 21, 22), but these might also date to the 1650s.

18. For the predominance of religious painting in Neapolitan collections, see Gérard Labrot and Renato Rucolo, "Pour une étude historique de la commande aristocratique dans le royaume de Naples espagnol," *Revue Historique* 1 (1980): 27. For the relative infrequency of mythological paintings in Neapolitan collections, see also Labrot, 57.

19. Sestieri and Daprà, 74, cat. no. 10; D. Marshall, 152, 41 1/4 by 53 1/8 in. (105 by 135 cm). The painting matches both the dimensions of the inventory reference (item 5) and de Dominicis's description of the painting in Antonio Piscicelli's collection, vol. 3, 108.

20. Sestieri and Daprà, 74.

21. For the usage of the term, see Jacques Callot's *Capricci di varie figure* of 1617, which also constitutes an important precedent for Gargiulo; Jules Lieure, *Jacques Callot*, 8 vols. (Paris: Éditions de la Gazette, 1924-29), cat. nos. 29, 429-74).

22. Dimensions of one by one and a half Neapolitan *palmi* (approx. 10 1/4 by 15 1/4 in. [26 by 40 cm]) occur in only 11 of the 281 further inventory references to pictures by Gargiulo, listed in C. Marshall (429-74); a landscape in the early 18th-century collection of Salvatore Ciavarella and an unusual series of 10 paintings on Genoese stone in the collection of Roderigo Messia di Pardo at the end of the 17th century; *The Getty Provenance Index: Cumulative Edition on CD-ROM* (Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Trust, 1996), Invs. 1-214, 1-154, items 20, 21.

23. Sestieri and Daprà, 238, cat. no. 104, 12 3/8 by 17 3/4 in. (31.5 by 45 cm).

24. Attributed to Onofrio Palumbo, *Masaniello*, Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples, Inv. 23026, illus. in Teodoro Fittipaldi, ed., *Il Museo di San Martino di Napoli* (Naples: Electa, 1995), 78. Josepe de Ribera, *Don Juan of Austria*, Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real, Madrid, illus. in Alfonso Emilio Pérez Sánchez and Nicola Spinosa, eds., *Josepe de Ribera 1591-1652*, exh. cat., Castel Sant'Elmo, Naples, 1992, 270, cat. no. 1.96.

25. Ruotolo, 145-46. For Carrillo's personality and collection, see also C. Marshall, 528-34.

26. Here attributed to Salvator Rosa, *Martyrdom of Saint Januarius*, 47 5/8 by 60 5/8 in. (121 by 154 cm), location unknown. Provenance: Berlin art market, Adolf Goetschewski, 1925 (attributed to Aniello Falcone); Gottschewski and Schäffer, 1928 (attributed to Salvator Rosa); K. Cassirer collection, Rome and Frankfurt, 1928. It is probably identical to the painting in the Hirsch collection, Berlin, referred to by Ortolani as by Gargiulo; Ortolani (as in n. 5), 108. The painting compares closely with the style, subject, and dimensions of Rosa's *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, which is signed with a monogram and has been dated by Salerno to the late 1690s; Tolley collection, Eastbourne, Eng., Luigi Salerno, *Salvator Rosa* (Milan: Edizioni per il Club di Libro, 1963), 141; idem, *L'opera completa di Salvator Rosa* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1975), 85, no. 9, illus. in Michael Mahoney, *The Drawings of Salvator Rosa*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1977), fig. 44.1A. De Dominicis's detailed description (vol. 3, 241) accords with the picture in all respects: "The knowledgeable Cavaliere D. Antonio Piscicelli possesses by Rosa the martyrdom of Saint Januarius and his companions with a view of Solfatara taken from nature which measures five palmi high by six palmi wide [52 by 62 1/4 in. (132 by 158 cm)]. The principal figures, which are two palmi high [20 7/8 in. (53 cm)], include an official on a white horse in the act of soliciting the decollation and another captain on foot wearing armor which appears truly to be of iron rather than to have been painted. The background figures make various gracious actions and are perhaps even more beautiful than the principal figures."

27. Sestieri and Daprà, 38-41, 286-87, cat. no. 140; Alfonso Emilio Pérez Sánchez, ed., *Pittura napoletana da Caravaggio a Giordano*, exh. cat., Museo del Prado and Palacio de Villahermosa, Madrid, 1985, 156. There are good reasons to associate the *Eruption* and the *Plague*. Both are signed with a monogram painted on a stone that aligns with the paintings' vanishing points, a form of signature not encountered elsewhere in Gargiulo's oeuvre, and the figures in the *Eruption* share with the background figures in the *Plague* the sprightly, mannered style of Gargiulo's late paintings. The figures of the *Revolt*, on the other hand, lack the mannered elegance of Gargiulo's late paintings. They have greater points of contact with Codazzi's and Gargiulo's paintings of the 1640s, particularly with the *Palace by the Sea, with Fountain and Salomonic Column*, which is signed and dated 1647 (D. Marshall, 135-36, cat. no. VC 43); compare, for example, the isolated pair of figures conversing and gesturing immediately to the left of the ruined monument in the center of *Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt* with the figures in the center background of *Palace by the Sea, with Fountain and Salomonic Column*.

28. De Dominicis, vol. 3, 194, 196, 213; Giannone (as in n. 11), 139.

29. Domenichino, *The Virgin Intercedes with Christ on Behalf of the City of Naples*, ca. 1631-33, Cathedral of Naples, illus. in Richard Spear, *Domenichino* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), cat. no. 109.i.

30. Roworth, 290.

31. Giuliano Briganti, Ludovica Trezzani, and Laura Laureati, *The Barbiocanti: The Painters of Everyday Life in Seventeenth Century Rome*, trans. Robert E. Wolf (Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 1983), 152; Roworth, 223.

32. Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 159.

33. Ibid.; Trezzani in Briganti et al. (as in n. 31), 153; D. Marshall, 170; Roworth, 223-24.

34. Villari, 162.

35. Ibid.

36. Rosario Villari, "Naples in the Time of Ribera," in *Josepe de Ribera 1591-1652*, Craig Felton and William Jordan, exh. cat., Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Tex., 1982, 43.

37. Sestieri and Daprà, 292, cat. no. 144.

38. De Dominicis, vol. 3, 197, notes of the depiction of Masaniello and his confederates that they are "so lifelike in their portrayal according to the testimonies of those who witnessed that long tragedy." He also notes that Masaniello is depicted "as he is described by our historians." For the *Revolt* in the context of early accounts, see also Bartolommeo Capasso, "Masaniello ed alcuni di sua famiglia effigiati nei quadri, nelle figure, e nelle stampe del tempo," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 22 (1897): 71-75, and Fiorentino, 45.

39. For a detailed chronology of the events of the revolt, see Alessandro Giraffi, *An Exact History of the Late Revolution in Naples* (London: R.A. for R. Lowndes, 1650); Vincenzo de' Medici's reports to the grand duke of Tuscany, in Palermo, 1846a, 348-53; Cardinal Ascanio Filomarino's dispatches to Innocent X, in Palermo, 1846b, 579-93; and Pietro Giannone, *Historia civile del Regno di Napoli*, ed. Antonio Marongiu (Naples, 1725; reprint, Milan: Mazzorati, 1972), vol. 7, 10-16. For a recent summary of the events based on these and other sources, see Burke, 3-21.

40. Burke, 15.

41. Ibid.; de Dominicis, vol. 3, 198.

42. Villari, 257 n. 22; Rosario Villari, "Piazza Mercato 10 luglio 1647," in *Napoli: Una storia per immagini* (Naples: Gaetano Macchiaroli, 1985), 318.

43. As, for example, in the painting attributed to Onofrio Palumbo, where Masaniello also displays the baton and bearing of a general (Fiorentino, 46). For other instances, see Aurelio Musi ed., *Masaniello* (Naples: Elio de Rosa, 1994), passim.

44. Letter from Cardinal Ascanio Filomarino to Innocent X, July 12, 1647, in Palermo, 1846b, 385.

45. Ibid., 585-86; letter from Vincenzo de' Medici to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, July 13, 1647, in Palermo, 1846a, 348-49.

46. Ibid., 349.

47. *Partesope Pacificata*, act 1, quoted in Palermo, 1846a, 363.

48. Benedetto Croce, *Storia del Regno di Napoli* (1921; Bari: Laterza, 1951), quoted in Villari, 165; see Villari, 160-66; Villari (as in n. 36), 45.

49. Villari, passim, esp. 84, 134-37, 143-44; Elliott (as in n. 1), 109-30, esp. 124-27.

50. Tommaso Astarita, *The Continuity of Feudal Power: The Caracciolo di Brienza in Spanish Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 217-23; Antonio Calabria, *The Court of Empire: The Finances in the Kingdom of Naples in the Time of the Spanish Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 39-47; Villari, 98-109.

51. ASN, Nota del Seicento, notaio Nicola Antonio Collocata, scheda 550, protocollo 20, fol. 750v, ff. iv-llr, allegati al f. 760v.

52. For the equation of one ducat to 20,000 lire, see Fernando de' Rossi and Oualdo Sartorius, *Santa Maria Regina Caeli: Il monastero e la chiesa nella storia e nell'arte* (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 1987), 191. For payments to stonecutters at the Certosa di San Martino see ASN, Monasteri soppressi, vol. 2143, fols. 57r-v and 93r. For the price of horses, see Nunzio Federigo Faraglia, *Storia dei prezzi in Napoli dal 1130 al 1860* (Naples: Per Tipi del Commendatore G. Novile, 1878), 218-19.

53. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 5210, fol. 248r, "Copia di lettera del Maestro di Campo Ottaviano Sauli, All'Ecc.mo Sr Marchese Spinola

a Genova"; Sauli's letters (minus this list) were subsequently published as "Relazione del tumulto napoletano del 1647," in L. Correr, ed., *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 15 (1890): 355-87.

54. Labrot, *idem*, *Baroni in città: Residenze e comportamenti dell'aristocrazia napoletana, 1530-1734* (Naples: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1979); *idem*, *Palazzi napoletani: Storie di nobili e cortigiani, 1520-1750* (Naples: Electa, 1993); Renato Ruotolo, "Aspetti del collezionismo napoletano del Seicento," in Cassani (as in n. 5), vol. 1, 41-48; Eduardo Nappi, *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano: Catalogo delle pubblicazioni editte dal 1883 al 1990, riguardanti le opere di architetti, pittori, scultori, marmorari ed intagliatori per i secoli XVI e XVII, pagate tramite gli antichi banchi pubblici napoletani* (Milan: L. & T, 1992).

55. See the inventory of the collection of Giovanna Battista Aragona Pignatelli, duchess of Terranova e Monteleone, Naples, Sept. 30, 1723, in Labrot, *Inv.* 61, items 154, 155, 317.

56. Candida Gonzaga (as in n. 16), vol. 4, 184.

57. A second Ettore Pignatelli attained the high-ranking military position of gentleman to the pely chamber (*gentiluomo di camera*) to Charles II, while Nicola Pignatelli was viceroy of Sardinia and close advisor (*consigliere intimo*) to both Charles II and Philip V; *ibid.*, 184-86.

58. Ruotolo, 145-46.

59. De Dominicis, vol. 3, 194.

60. Capaceletro commissioned a massacre of the innocents from Gargiulo in 1636 and paid him for additional paintings in 1638; Eduardo Nappi, "Pittori del '600 a Napoli: Notizie inedite dai documenti dell'Archivio Storico del Banco di Napoli," in *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano: Saggi vari* (Milan: L. & T, 1983), 75; Franco Stracuzzi, *Documenti inediti per la storia dell'arte nella città di Napoli* (Naples: Il Mulino, Stabilimento Tipografico Genaro d'Agostino, 1955), 43-44. The inventories of his possessions compiled in the 1650s, one of which is by Gargiulo himself, contain numerous references to paintings by Gargiulo and his associates; Labrot, 101-4, 113-15, *Inv.* 16, 19. For Capaceletro's collection and association with Gargiulo, see Labrot, 101; and C. Marshall, 311-17.

61. Lorenzo Crasso, *Elogi degli uomini letterati*, 2 vols. (Venice: Per Combi e la Noè, 1696), vol. 2, 236; Nicolò Toppi, *De origine omnium tribunaliarum* (Naples, 1659), vol. 2, 345-47.

62. Aurelio Musi, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, ed. Giovanni Treccani et al., vol. 18 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1975), 441.

63. Ruotolo, 119.

64. De Dominicis describes a *Martyrdom of Saint Januarius* by Gargiulo and an unspecified number of *prospettive* by Codazzi and Gargiulo in the collection of the prince of Avellino (vol. 3, 199, 201). His description is corroborated by the paintings by Codazzi and Gargiulo that are listed in inventories of the collection of the prince of Avellino compiled in 1690 (in which, unfortunately, only a small proportion of the paintings are attributed) and in the nineteenth century; Renato Ruotolo, "Artisti, dottori e mercanti napoletani del secondo Seicento: Sulle tracce delle committenze borghesi," in *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano* (Milan: L. & T, 1987), 183 n. 32; Don Ferrante (Giuseppe Ceci or Benedetto Croce), "La quadreria dei principi di Avellino," *Napoli Notabilissima* 11, no. 10 (1902): 159, 11, no. 11 (1902): 175. For the proposed identification of the original owner of these works as Francesco Marino Caracciolo, prince of Avellino, see n. 75 below and C. Marshall, 341-45.

65. *Dizionario biografico* (as in n. 62), vol. 19 (1976), 363.

66. C. Marshall, 289-91. Gargiulo consulted with him regarding the collection of the Neapolitan connoisseur Giovan Camillo Cacace.

67. Crasso (as in n. 61), vol. 2, 507.

68. Labrot, 75-78, *Inv.* 9.

69. For the political sympathies of Ferrante Spinelli, prince of Tarsia, see Fritz Saxl, "The Battle Scene without a Hero: Aniello Falcone and His Patrons," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 3, nos. 1-2 (1939-40): 83-84.

70. For d'Andrea's collection and career, see Vincenzo Pacelli, "La quadreria di Vincenzo d'Andrea, giurista e rivoluzionario, da un inventario del 1649," in *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano* (Milan: L. & T, 1987), 145-52; and Galasso (as in n. 16), 5, 97-98.

71. Sestieri and Daprà, 43; Maria Causa Picone, *Maestri napoletani del Sei e Settecento: Caracciolo—Stanzione—Ribera—Spinelli—Rosa—Cavallino—Preti—Giordano—Solimena—De Mura—Vannucci—Gagliardi—Traversi—Mondo etc.* (Florence: Istituto Alinari, 1979), 30, cat. no. 13.

72. Sestieri and Daprà, 62. See also Arnould Bréjon de Lavergnée et al., eds., *Écoles du Baroque*, exh. cat., Centre de la Vieille Charité, Marseilles, 1988, 182-84, cat. no. 53. The related preparatory drawing is one of a group in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans, which was first identified and discussed by Walter Vitzthum, in Catherine Monbeig-Goguel and Walter Vitzthum, eds., *Le Dessin à Naples du XVIIe siècle au XVIIIe siècle*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, 1967, 24. Bréjon de Lavergnée identified one of the drawings as preparatory for the *Saint Lucy Being Led to Her Martyrdom* (Musée de l'Oise, Beauvais, inv. no. 61.10) and published photographs of some of the others, in "Autour de Falcone, de Rosa et de Micco Spadaro: Quelques tableaux napolitains conservés dans les musées de province français," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Raffaele Causa*, ed. Pierluigi Leone de Castris (Milan: Electa, 1988), 199, 202, figs. 16, 17, 19.

73. The painting is one of a series of four described by de Dominicis, vol. 3, 73; for discussion, see Saxl (as in n. 60), 84 n. 1; oil on canvas, 76 by 115 5/8 in. (193 by 293 cm); private collection, Rome; published with the title *Cardinal*

Entering a Medieval Encampment in Giuseppe de Vito, "Aniello Falcone & Co.," in *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano* (Milan: L. & T, 1982), 15, figs. 18-20. The present title follows that given in 1877 when the painting, then still in the possession of the Caracciolo di Avellino family, was included in a loan exhibition of Neapolitan art; Salazar and Filangieri (as in n. 5), 126, cat. no. 67. The dimensions given in the catalogue match those of the present work as well as those in the 1844 inventory of the collection of the prince of Avellino; Ferrante (as in n. 64), 174: "18. A painting on canvas depicting a medieval encampment with numerous figures including a cardinal on horseback (7 by 11 1/2 palmi) [approx. 72 1/2 by 121 5/8 in. (184 by 309 cm)] by Aniello Falcone, 60 ducats." For Marino Ascanio Caracciolo (1469-1538), see G. de Caro, in *Dizionario biografico* (as in n. 62), vol. 19 (1976), 414-25; and Astarita (as in n. 50), 27-29, who places Marino's career in the context of his family members' efforts to attain comparable positions within the Spanish administration.

74. Capasso, *passim*; Gaetano Cantone, *Napoli Barocca e Casino Fanzago* (Naples: ESI for Banco di Napoli, 1984), 420-21.

75. Capasso, 114-15.

76. For the size and placement of the second *spitaffa*, see *ibid.*, 116-17, quoting Pollio, "Historia di Napoli. Rivoluzione del 1647," ms., Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, fol. 60; and *ibid.*, 117, quoting Molini, "La vera sollevazione di Masaniello," ms., Biblioteca Universitaria Bologna, fol. 261. For the location of the first *spitaffa*, which was placed toward the northern end of the Mercato, see *ibid.*, 114.

77. *Ibid.*, 139.

78. *Ibid.*, 115-19. Daprà's suggestion that the *spitaffa* is lined with the heads of the leaders of the revolt has been corrected by Villari (257 n. 22) and Fiorentino (44).

79. As has also been noted by Roworth, 228.

80. De Dominicis (vol. 3, 198) identifies one of these figures as a "cappa nera," for which, see Giuseppe de Blasis, "Le giustizie eseguite in Napoli al tempo dei tumulti di Masaniello," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 9 (1884): 125 n. 2. For this style of clothing, see also Adelaide Cirillo Mastrocinque, "Moda e costume," in *Storia di Napoli*, vol. 6 (Naples: Società Editrice, 1970), 778-80.

81. This aspect is also emphasized by Daprà, in Cassani (as in n. 5), vol. 1, 300.

82. Burke, 14.

83. Letter from Cardinal Ascanio Filomarino to Innocent X, July 8, 1647, in Palermo, 1846b, 381.

84. For della Porta's account of the revolt, see Burke, 8-7.

85. *Ibid.*, 5-7.

86. De Dominicis, vol. 3, 194.

87. For the traditional dichotomy between the dignity of history painting and the ignobility of genre painting, see Barry Wind, "Genre: Some Problems and Perceptions," *Genre in the Age of the Baroque: A Resource Guide* (New York: Garland, 1991), xvi-xvii. For the association of genre imagery with burlesque comedy, see Mina Gregori, "Nuovi accertamenti in Toscana sulla pittura 'caricata' e giocosa," *Arte Antica e Moderna* 13-16 (1961): 400-416; Bert Meijer, "Esempi del comico figurativo nel Rinascimento lombardo," *Arte Lombarda* 16 (1971): 259-66; Barry Wind, "Pittura Ridicola: Some Late Cinquecento Comic Genre Paintings," *Storia dell'Arte* 20 (1974): 25-35; Giovanna Perini, "Genre Painting in Eighteenth-Century North Italian Art Collections and Art Literature," in *Giuseppe Maria Crespi and the Emergence of Genre Painting in Italy*, ed. John T. Spike, exh. cat., Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Tex., 1986, 80-85.

88. *Triumph of David*, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Fla., inv. SN 155; *Fuor* Museo Correale di Terranova, Sorrento; Sestieri and Daprà, 87-88, 67-68, cat. nos. 20, 5.

89. De Dominicis, vol. 3, 197-98.

90. *Ibid.*, 198.

91. *Ibid.*, 212, quoting Paolo de' Matteis, "notizie di alcuni pittori . . ." ms., ca. 1720. For the critical status of de' Matteis's manuscript, see Thomas Willette, "Bernardo de Dominicis e le Vite de pittori, scultori ed architetti napoletani: Contributo alla riabilitazione di una fonte," *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano* (Milan: L. & T, 1986), 261; and Sebastian Schütze and Thomas Willette, *Massimo Stanzione: L'opera completa* (Naples: Electa, 1992), 153.

92. For interpretations of the painting, see Gino Doria, *Il Museo e la Certosa di San Martino* (Naples: Di Mauro, 1964), 33; Fiorentino, 45; and Robert Paret, "L'ambiente fra cronaca e storia," in *Seicento napoletano: Arte, Costume, Ambiente* (Milan: Edizione di Comunità, 1984), 4. For the crown of false gold, see Burke, 15.

93. For contemporary accounts of the execution of Don Giuseppe Carafa, see Francesco Capaceletro, *Diario: Contenenente la storia delle cose avvenute nel Regno di Napoli negli anni 1647-50*, ed. Angelo Geanito and the principe di Belmonte, 3 vols. (Naples: G. Nobile, 1850-54), vol. 1, 56-58; and the letter of the Genoese ambassador to Naples, Aug. 3, 1647, in Correr (as in n. 53), 363-64.

94. Roworth, 221; Daprà (as in n. 81), vol. 1, 299; Daprà, in Sestieri and Daprà, 290, comments on "the modernity of the framing of the composition, which has been conceived almost as a photograph, in order to document a precise moment in a particular historic event."

95. Sestieri and Daprà, 245, cat. no. 109.

96. For a discussion of the development and usage of the term *macchia*, see Philip Sohm, "Macchia: Order or Disorder?" in *Pittresco: Marco Boschini, His Critics, and Their Critiques of Painterly Brushwork in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 36–43.

97. Enrico Crispolti, "Fantasy," in *Encyclopedia of World Art* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), vol. 5, 357.

98. Sohm (as in n. 96), 36–43.

99. Burke, 12–13. Causa makes a similar observation about the procession when he notes, "The populace crowds the procession without participating. Only the nobility, the religious orders and the viceroy maintain the dignity of class that allows them to follow the ampullae of the blood of Saint Januarius. . . ."; Raffaello Causa, *L'orazione del Venerdì nel 1631, un dipinto di Mico Spadaro ed un poemetto di G. B. Berguzano* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica, 1956), n.p.

100. For the *cucagna*, see Franco Mancini, *Feste ed apparati civili e religiosi in Napoli dal vicereame alla capitale* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1968), 31–32, 88, 91–94, 170–71. For 17th- and 18th-century descriptions of the *cucagna*, see also Harold Acton, *The Bourbons of Naples (1734–1825)* (London:

Methuen, 1956), 42–44; Franco Mancini, "L'immaginario di regime": Apparati e scenografie alla corte del viceré," in Cassani (as in n. 5), vol. 2, 31–32; Pietro Colletta, *Storia del Risorse di Napoli dal 1734 al 1825* (Florence, 1848), quoted in Desmond Seward, ed., *Naples: A Traveller's Companion* (London: Constable, 1984), 140–41.

101. Wolfgang Prohaska and Nicola Spinosa, eds., *Settecento napoletano: Sulle ali dell'aquila imperiale, 1707–1734*, exh. cat., Kunstforum der Bank Austria, Vienna, and Castel Sant'Elmo, Naples, 1993–94, 136, cat. no. 3a; Elio Catello, *Un episodio di vita napoletana in un dipinto di Filippo Falciatore* (Naples: E. Catello, 1993), passim; and Roberto Middione and Brigitte Daprà, eds., *Realtà e fantasia nella pittura napoletana (XVII–XIX secolo)*, exh. cat., Institut Culturel Italien, Paris, 1987, 66–67. Antonio Joli also depicted the *cucagna* on occasion, such as *Cucagna in the Largo di Palazzo*, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu collection, Beaulieu; see Nicola Spinosa et al., eds., *All'anima del Viceré: Napoli nella veduta europea dal Quattrocento all'Ottocento*, exh. cat., Castel Sant'Elmo, Naples, 1990, 196, 400. Also of interest is the series of ten engravings of the *macchine della cucagna* of 1729–34; Prohaska and Spinosa, 351–53, cat. no. 129.1–10.

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