

A Companion to Early Modern Naples

Edited by

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BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2013

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PART ONE

THE CITY

1. CONSTRUCTING THE PAST OF EARLY MODERN NAPLES: SOURCES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

John A. Marino

Early modern Naples has been rich and fertile ground for historical inquiry that reflects the methods, political philosophy, ideological commitments, and interpretive frameworks of its many students—from local chroniclers and foreign travelers to amateur antiquarians and academic professionals, from patriotic apologists and Enlightenment reformers to polemical propagandists and would-be objective positivists. Each age and each generation from 1500 on has sought to find answers to the pressing contemporary questions of its time in the city's history: e.g., whether the constant changes of government in Naples resulted from the pope's foreign intervention, the avarice and ambition of its local nobility, or the inconstancy and faithlessness of its *popolo* [non-noble citizens]; why the "most noble" and "most faithful" city of Naples was conquered and held by foreign and absentee princes; what were the causes and effects of the revolt of 1647; what changes Spanish, Austrian, or Bourbon rule had wrought for good or ill; how the city and kingdom could be reformed through enlightened principles; how the city and its kingdom fit into the history of Italy; what caused its decline or so-called backwardness; what was its path to modernity; what were its creative contributions or essential character; and what were the bases of its civic traditions and social capital. The historiography of Naples has generally presented the same kind of "short-circuited" or "failed" history in which some scapegoat—the church (the pope, the parish, religious orders), the state (monarchical rule, the Spanish, the Bourbons), the people (the nobility, an absent middle class, the *lazzaroni*),¹ or various institutions (political parties, unions, the Camorra)—is blamed for blocking social and economic development, leading to the decadence and chaos of the contemporary city.

¹ *Lazzaroni* was used, especially in the 18th century, to refer to the Naples plebs.

Problems and Methods in Neapolitan History

The early modern history of the city of Naples has traditionally been told in some half-dozen keys that weigh and combine its economy, society, politics, and culture in variant ways.

- 1) A dynastic story begins with Naples as a feudatory of the Holy See upon the pope's investiture of the Norman conqueror, Robert Guiscard, as Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily in 1059; with the Hohenstaufen inheritance, a bipolar conflict between the papal and imperial parties continues to contest lordship and is then passed to their Angevin-Guelph and Aragonese-Ghibelline claimants; conflict continues with war and invasion by their French and Spanish heirs supported by pro-French and pro-Spanish noble factions within the kingdom until the defeat of France leads to the confiscation of property, loss of office, and exile of pro-French supporters in 1530; there ensues a succession of non-native, non-resident Spanish and Austrian Habsburg kings whose viceroys rule in Naples; a strong anti-Spanish reaction is followed by optimism for reform under a resident Bourbon monarchy in the 18th century, only to then lead to a failed revolution in 1799, a decade of Napoleonic rule, and the Bourbon restoration in 1815.
- 2) A class conflict story revolves around the contestations and/or cooperation among the monarchy, nobility, and commoners. This story includes: the question of citizenship and inclusion/exclusion in city affairs; tension between city and countryside; the incorporation of large numbers of rural folk migrating to the city; an idealization or stereotypical deprecation of the character of the Neapolitan nobility, on the one hand, or the *popolo*, on the other; the establishment and dominance of a ministerial class [the *togati*]; the problematic rise of a middle class; the decadence of a teeming mass of underclass inhabitants; a patron-client system that reinforced hierarchy, privilege, favoritism, inequality, corruption, and inefficiency. In the sociological variant retold in Robert Putnam's study of history and culture influencing "civic traditions in modern Italy," a fundamental lack of trust points to the absence of social capital, such as that found in northern Italy. Putnam's analysis has roots in a 20th-century social science trope derived from Edward Banfield's "amoral familism"—the claim that a zero-sum game of an individual's or a nuclear family's short-term advantage transcends the common good.

- 3) An economic development story examines either who controlled property, production, and labor, or what was the nature of civic society and the cultural impediments to development. From an economic history perspective, the following questions have been posed: what were the networks of exchange of people, goods, and ideas; what was the balance sheet of income and expenses, imports and exports, agricultural and manufacturing production, and the place of the service sector in one of the largest cities in Western Europe; to what extent were internal and external production and exchange between northern and southern Italy constantly appropriating and assimilating products and peoples throughout the peninsula; and how did that equilibrium dramatically diverge during the 17th-century crisis to establish a dualism between the “two Italies?”
- 4) A freedom story places the revolt of 1647 as a turning point in Neapolitan history, which makes history the story of liberty, one that can be told from either Croce’s liberal or Villari’s Marxian point of view. This story finds the dream of liberty in the 17th-century revolts across the Spanish empire, Europe, and Asia as well as in its own native traditions; this story also assesses different 17th-century republican prototypes such as the Dutch federal model, the Venetian oligarchic model, a ministerial model of the fiscal-provisioning state, and a military type based on the English Civil War’s New Model Army; alternatively, such a story hypothesizes the existence of a distinctive Neapolitan path to democracy and modernization, borrowing from the German *Sonderweg* [special path] debate to explain the later road to failed democratic governments and Fascism.
- 5) A civil history emphasizes the separate genesis, development, and polices of the state and the church; it identifies, as early as Pandolfo Collenuccio in 1498, the papacy’s interference in Neapolitan affairs and internal divisions of its nobility as causes for the kingdom’s succumbing to foreign rule; but it also finds in the classic history of Pietro Giannone (1723) the definitive statement on the parallel development of the state and the church. Recent interest in cultural history and historical anthropology have offered new approaches to the study of both civic rituals (protocol, ceremonies, and secular celebrations and festivals) and popular religion (saint cults, religious orders, male and female piety, processions, and popular religiosity).
- 6) A moral or cultural-intellectual story that has its roots in Renaissance Humanism from the 15th-century Aragonese court continued in

the vernacular histories of the 16th and 17th centuries; it then found renewed vigor in the moral economy of the 18th-century reformers influenced by Ferdinando Galiani and Antonio Genovesi, and was canonized by Benedetto Croce (1866–1952) in the 20th century before being challenged by a Marxian history heavily influenced by Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937). It has since branched out into everything from court studies, history of science, and history of the professions to the contemporary cultural turn and historical anthropology influenced by trends in pan-European post-World War II historical studies.

The multiple teleologies of modernity—individualism, republicanism, capitalism, naturalism, rationalism, secularism, nationalism, and the rise of bourgeois society—all find their place with different valences, according to one's historiographical tradition, in the history of early modern Naples.

The need for a comparative, non-teleological, pan-Italian and pan-European history requires engagement with both politics (i.e., in the context of the early modern Italian states, the early modern international rivalries between Spain and France, the mid-17th-century wars and revolts in Flanders, France, Catalonia, Portugal, England, the Thirty Years' War, and the 18th-century wars of dynastic succession) and culture (in the context of Renaissance Humanism, the Reformation movements, the new science of Galileo, Bacon, and Descartes, and Enlightenment thought in Scotland and Paris). The question is how such a comparative history has been written and how it should be done today.

In a 1987 essay republished in 2006, the Neapolitan medievalist Mario Del Treppo cautions that false comparisons with “French feudalism, the northern Italian communes, the manorial system, or the Carolingian system” had been posited before about 1967 upon “the north-south polarization of the history of Italy, implicit in every analysis conducted by southern Italian historians on their history and founded on the radical contraposition of the feudal-monarchical South with the communes of the North. Every aspect of southern reality, more than its own specificities, was seen in its relationship of difference and diversity from a parallel and mirror image of northern Italian history.” Del Treppo argues that this insistence on demonstrating how the South diverged from a northern Italian normative model derived from the emphasis on the South's institution of monarchy, which defined its political, economic, and social structure. Since the late 1960s, then, Neapolitan history has finally begun to be

analyzed on its own principles, especially by medievalists and early modernists who have “renovated its themes and objects of study . . . in their methods and mono-, pluri-, inter-, and meta-disciplinarity.” Del Treppo concludes that only the study of the long-term structure of the modern Mezzogiorno across time during the whole preindustrial period from the 11th to the 18th century in terms of political, economic, and social continuities and change will allow the sources to reveal its history on its own terms without the prejudicial negativity assigned to claims of a “prolonged decadence or backwardness.”²

How then should we approach the history of Naples today? We might identify two separate historiographies that have dominated the study of Neapolitan history from the late 1960s: the internalist (a Crocean liberal history revived by Giuseppe Galasso) and the externalist (a Marxian history often inspired by Gramscian analysis identified with Rosario Villari). Both of these historiographical approaches are generally in agreement on existing sources and central topics and processes. Earlier interpretive disagreements between Galasso and Villari, moreover, have been resolved; and, a more or less consensus model of early modern Naples has emerged from new research that places Naples in its early modern Spanish and European context. A summary of the dominant political model should return us to the primary sources of Neapolitan history—a Neapolitan history that does not identify the Italian North or northwest Europe as the standard of normality, but rather one grounded in the context of exchange as an integral part of Italy, Europe, and the Mediterranean that finds no break between medieval and early modern history, but rather a decisive change that comes later in the long 19th century.

*The Standard Model*³

After the death of the Aragonese Ferrante (Ferdinand I) in January 1494, the French invaded Italy, led by his rival, the Angevin king of France, Charles VIII (1483–1498), and marched virtually unopposed to Naples. In Guicciardini’s ironic parody of Julius Caesar, Charles conquered even

² Del Treppo, *Storiografia*, “Appunti (datati) di medievistica meridionale,” 10–14; orig. pub. as “Mezzogiorno, Nord mancato” in 1987; see also Cochrane, “Southern Italy.”

³ The best short synthesis on 16th- and 17th-century Naples is Muto, “Il regno.” On 18th-century Naples, see Rao, *Il Regno*. For consensus presentations of the standard model, see two multivolume, multi-authored syntheses (Pontieri, *Storia*; Galasso and Romeo, *Storia*) and three single-author volumes, Galasso, UTET *Storia d’Italia*.

before he came and saw.⁴ In 1499 the Spanish entered the war in Italy, and with their victory over the French at Garigliano on 29 December 1503, they established a two hundred-year viceroyalty. The Spanish conquest of Naples executed by the new military techniques under the Great Captain Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba in his victory over the military might of France was generally credited by the contemporary Florentines Machiavelli and Guicciardini to the triple whammies of princely and noble ambition, rivalry, and miscalculation, the *popolo's* weakness, inconstancy, and manipulability, and the church's intransigence, political machinations, and greed. Croce, on the other hand, argues that the Spanish viceroyalty in Naples met a double need—"the subordination of the semi-sovereign baronial class to the sovereignty of the state and the protection of its territory."⁵

Spanish viceregal rule in Naples was fractured by the nine-month anti-Spanish revolt of 1647; it then stagnated during the half century after Masaniello and ended with the occupation of the city by the Austrian Habsburgs in 1707 during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14). The anti-Spanish polemic crested during that war with the critiques of Paolo Mattia Doria (1662?–1746) and Giambattista Vico (1668–1744), as well as with the anti-ecclesiastical history of Pietro Giannone (1676–1748), all of which wound around what John Robertson calls "the predicament of 'kingdoms governed as provinces.'"⁶ Vico's commissioned 1702 panegyric to memorialize the visit of Philip V (the Bourbon successor to the Spanish rule of Charles II), coupled with his subsequent history of the 1701 Conspiracy of Macchia (the failed two-day coup d'état by a group of pro-Austrian nobles) and reflections on the first ten years of Austrian Habsburg reformism, suggest that many of his works were grounded in the political realities of Naples. Doria argues in his *Massime del governo spagnolo a Napoli* [Principles of Spanish Government in Naples] (1709–12) that Spanish rule had two steering principles: first, to "divide and conquer" by setting social groups at odds within themselves and against one another, as had already been expressed by Andrea Doria in the 1530s against the policy of Viceroy Pedro de Toledo; second, "to change all the laws and customs practiced by past Neapolitan kings" through a slow and imperceptible transformation of the political and thereby social order of

⁴ Guicciardini, *Storia*, bk. 1, ch. 19.

⁵ Croce, *History*, 95.

⁶ Robertson, *Case*, 147–200. See also Ricuperati, "L'immagine."

the kingdom—a Machiavellian project on “how to gain and maintain a newly acquired state.”⁷ For Doria, the feudal nobility and the church had thus acted as imperious instruments of control and suppression under a tyrannical absentee monarchy. Giannone’s magisterial history of Naples, *L’Istoria civile del regno di Napoli* [Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples] (1723), traces the history of Naples from its Greek origins to the Austrian Habsburgs and represents the growth of the church as a parallel history in which the church transformed itself into a secular power after the fall of Rome, developed a hierarchy and bureaucracy without scriptural basis, and grew in power and wealth at the expense of the state and the people. Giannone’s work resonated across Europe, clearing a new path for later Enlightenment historians in the 18th century.

Austrian Habsburg rule gave way in turn to a resident Bourbon monarchy under Charles of Bourbon (1734–59) during the War of the Polish Succession (1733–38). Enlightened reformers in Naples were influenced by two dominant models, Ferdinando Galiani (1728–87) and Antonio Genovesi (1712–69). Galiani’s 1750 *Della Moneta* [On Money] marked a new, sophisticated beginning for reformist thinking on monetary policy, as his anti-physiocrat treatise *Dialogues sur le commerce des bleds* [Dialogues on the Grain Trade] (1770) did on the grain trade. Both works brought the same kind of fact-based realism to economic thought that Machiavelli had to political thought. Genovesi’s 1754 assumption of the first endowed chair in the new discipline of political economy in Italy created a school that trained students to design and implement reformist projects for Naples and its provinces. Francesco Mario Pagano (1748–99) and Gaetano Filangieri (1752–88) are two of the later Neapolitan *illuministi* [Enlightenment thinkers] whose contributions in political thought had a significant impact in Naples and beyond.⁸ The Bourbon dynasty ruled in the city of Naples until Italian Unification in 1860, save for their five-month expulsion (23 January to 13 June 1799) during the French-backed Neapolitan Republic and then in the French decade (1806–15).

Primary Sources

The city of Naples preserves the largest number of its primary sources in the Archivio di Stato di Napoli (ASNA), the Biblioteca Nazionale di

⁷ Doria, *Massime*, 22.

⁸ Carpanetto and Ricuperati, *Italy*, 310–33.

Napoli (BNN), and the Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria (BSNSP). During World War II, in reprisal for local partisan resistance in 1943, much of the ASNA's administrative records of the kingdom's government before about 1560, roughly prior to the rule of Philip II, including documents relating to the city's political wards and detailed census records from hearth counts in provincial towns covering the whole early modern period, which were being held for safekeeping outside Naples in the depository of the villa Montesano nel Nolano near San Paolo Bel Sito, were destroyed. One can compare ASNA holdings before its World War II losses in the inventory by the archive's first director after Unification, Francesco Trinchera, with that prepared during its reconstruction after the war by directors Riccardo Filangieri di Candida (1934–56) and Jole Mazzoleni (1956–73), with important assistance from the Accademia Pontaniana.⁹ The major administrative documents extant in the ASNA relate to the chief ministries of viceregal government: councils of chancellery/administration (the Consiglio Collaterale, founded in 1507 with legislative, administrative, and judicial competence and replaced in 1734 by the Real Camera di Santa Chiara); justice (the Sacro Regio Consiglio became the supreme court under Spanish rule, subsuming the Gran Corte della Vicaria); finance (the Regia Camera della Sommaria, founded in 1450 and abolished in 1807, was responsible for overseeing taxation, feudal lands, and offices); and church/state relations (the Cappellania Maggiore was founded in 1442 and abolished in 1808). In addition, the ASNA houses notarial and private archives, court cases of the silk and wool guilds, and documents relating to nobility, mutual aid institutions, ecclesiastical institutions, suppressed monasteries, and defunct banks, as well as maps, plans, and designs.

Likewise destroyed by vandalism in 1946 were the majority of materials on the city in the Archivio Storico Municipale di Napoli (ASMN) concerning the early modern city administration through the city council (Tribunale di San Lorenzo) and its working committees [*deputazioni*], which had jurisdiction over grain provisioning, public works, streets and roads, water, public health, city finances, public ceremonies, and religious processions.¹⁰ Some town council records of noble *Seggi* precedence in

⁹ Trinchera, *Degli archivii*; Mazzoleni, *Le fonti*. For an analytical inventory, see D'Angiolini and Pavone, *Guida*, 3: 1–161, “Archivio di Stato di Napoli”; for an inventory of present holdings, see: <http://patrimonio.archiviodistatonapoli.it/xdams-asna/public/application/jsp/inventari.jsp?titolo=inventari>.

¹⁰ Capasso, *Catalogo*. On Neapolitan urbanism, see de Seta, *Storia*.

public processions led by a temporary city *sindaco* [mayor] are extant in both the ASMN and the BNN.¹¹ One of the few lay committee archives to have survived, now stored in the Museo del Tesoro di San Gennaro, is the Archivio Storico della Deputazione della Real Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro, which documents the work of the lay board that oversaw the cult and relics of the city's primary patron, San Gennaro, a task that became particularly important after 1601, as plans for the construction of the chapel of San Gennaro in the Naples Cathedral proceeded. Important collections of primary sources on ecclesiastical court records and the history of the church in Naples are also preserved in the Archivio Storico Diocesano di Napoli (ASDN) and the Biblioteca Statale Oratoriana at the Gerolomini di Napoli.¹²

Archives in Spain preserve numerous primary sources on Naples under Spanish rule (1503–1707), and those in Austria under Austrian Habsburg rule (1707–34). Neapolitan materials preserved in the Archivo General de Simancas (AGS) are found in three essential series: Estado Nápoles (state affairs),¹³ Secretarías Provinciales Nápoles (titles and benefices overseen by the Council of Italy, which was founded c. 1555 and governed Milan, Naples, and Sicily),¹⁴ and Visitas de Italia Nápoles (visitors-general documents).¹⁵ Giuseppe Coniglio has published extensive transcriptions from the Neapolitan documents in the AGS.¹⁶ In Madrid, relevant manuscripts are in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, the Real Academia de la Historia, and the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan. In Vienna, primary materials are preserved at the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Wien (HHSAW).¹⁷

In addition to the state and diocesan archives, three other important contemporary primary sources survive, often in printed editions: chronicles and diaries, guide books, and histories. Two late medieval traditions

¹¹ ASMN, *Parlamenti Generali, Praecedentiarum*, vols. 1–10 (1488–1556) have been badly damaged. Vol. 1 (earlier transcribed by De Blasiis, “De praecedentia,” 535–77) and vol. 9 are missing; vols. 5, 6, and 10 are badly burned and illegible. BNN, Branc. V.B.4–9, “Parlamenti e Gratie della Città di Napoli,” are copies of the seven vols. 2–8 of the *Praecedentiarum* in 6 vols. for 1554–1642.

¹² Galasso and Russo, *L'Archivio*. See also Romeo, *Il fondo*.

¹³ Magdaleno Redondo, *Papeles and Secretaría* (Valladolid, 1956).

¹⁴ Magdaleno Redondo and González Vega, *Títulos*. For a prosopography of magistrates in the 16th and 17th centuries, see Intorcchia, *Magistrature*.

¹⁵ De la Plaza Bores and de la Plaza Santiago, *Visitas*. On the visitors-general reports, see Peytavin, *Visite*; Mantelli, *Burocrazia*.

¹⁶ Coniglio, *Visitatori; Consulte; Il vicerego di don Pietro di Toledo; Il vicerego di Napoli; Declino*.

¹⁷ Di Vittorio, *Gli Austriaci*.

of history writing, “unofficial” vernacular chronicles dating from the crisis of the Angevin monarchy after the death of Robert of Anjou in 1343 and “official” Latin Humanist histories commissioned by the Aragonese court of Alfonso and Ferrante, had a marked effect on early modern Neapolitan historians.¹⁸ Likewise, early modern Neapolitan history itself only makes sense when one understands the effects of the 14th-century crisis on Angevin kingship under Joanna I and Joanna II, followed by the conquest of King Alfonso V of Aragon in 1442 and the baronial revolts against Ferrante, his illegitimate son.

Angevin and Aragonese histories of assassination, revolt, and war pitted the centralizing power of the monarchy against the local city aristocracy and feudal nobility, which gave rise to the common historiographical Neapolitan themes of political instability, feuding nobility, and *popolo* unrest and disloyalty. Unlike the writings produced by the merchant culture of Renaissance Florence, Neapolitan vernacular chroniclers and diarists were drawn largely from the ranks of government functionaries, secretaries, jurists, and archivists in faithful support of the monarchy against the tyranny of the nobility. Similarly, Aragonese court historians such as Bartolomeo Facio, Antonio Beccadelli, Lorenzo Valla, and Giovanni Pontano debated the value and utility of history and developed a rationalist political ethic in the tradition of “mirror for princes” literature as they plied their Humanist rhetoric in celebratory propaganda for their dynastic patrons and through glorification of heroic virtues.¹⁹ The so-called differences between “unofficial” and “official” historiography begin to break down, however, as we discover the appropriation, correction, and additions made to the myths, legends, and stories of the chronicles by Humanist circles, as well as the long-term influence of the Neapolitan medieval chroniclers as a source for both amateur and published historians in 16th- and 17th-century vernacular histories. Thus, Spanish Naples always saw itself as the direct and legitimate heir to Aragonese Naples and to the deep past of the city’s Greek roots, foundation before Rome, and Virgilian legacy.

The first vernacular Neapolitan chronicle, the *Cronaca di Partenope* [Chronicle of Parthenope], was written by Bartolomeo Caracciolo-Carafa (d.1362) in the mid-14th century. It narrates the history of Naples from its Greek foundations in the 8th century BC to the accession of Queen

¹⁸ Vecce, “Les chroniques.”

¹⁹ Bentley, *Politics*.

Joanna I in 1343. The *Cronaca*'s wide diffusion from nineteen manuscript copies and three printed editions (1486–90, 1526, and 1680) profoundly influenced both the historical knowledge of Naples and the writing of history in Naples in the early modern period.

Samantha Kelly's recent critical edition provides the historical context, structure, sources, adaptations, diffusion, and influence of the *Cronaca* up to 1490.²⁰ Written at the time when the medieval city of Naples had only recently emerged as a wealthy and cosmopolitan capital in the Guelph and French Angevin orbit, the *Cronaca di Partenope*'s first fifty-five chapters (part 1) highlighted and promoted civic traditions and identity, while the final twenty chapters (part 2) told the story of the Norman consolidation of the kingdom and the deeds of successor kings up to the mid-14th century. Two long excerpts from the early 14th-century *Nuova Cronica* by the Florentine Giovanni Villani were appropriated with additions and subtractions to heighten the role of southern Italy into a "Southernized Villani" of 168 chapters (part 3a) chronicling the 8th-century Saracen sieges to 1325 and another "Universal Villani" of fifty-nine chapters (part 3b), beginning with Villani's universal history to 1296. Before 1400, part 3 spawned a redacted *B* version of the *Cronaca* that incorporated details of the various southern monarchies from the "Southernized Villani" into the original versions of parts 1 and 2. Finally, in the 1390s two additional historical works continued the *Cronaca di Partenope*'s narrative to 1382, the "Later Angevin Chronicle" (part 4), and the *Cronicon Sicilum*, a Latin translation and expansion of the last twenty chapters of the *Cronaca* into the start of a new history.

Over time, as the city of Naples grew under Spanish rule in the 16th and 17th centuries, civic elements came to subsume the royal narrative in subsequent borrowings from the *Cronaca*. The frequent assimilation of parts of the *Cronaca di Partenope* by both "native" and "foreign" historians of Naples shows that one major dispute among later historians between internal and external histories does not stand up under critical analysis, since they were often using and recycling the same sources and stories.²¹ Above all, the *Cronaca* had a significant impact upon both the steering interpretive assumptions and the genre of long-term chronicles and histories of Naples, although the great majority of chronicles in the early modern period continued to narrate short-term events personally witnessed by

²⁰ Kelly, *The Cronaca*.

²¹ Kelly, "Medieval Influences."

their authors (see table 1). From its treatment of founding myths, heroic legends, military prowess, saints' miracles, sacred spaces, cultural icons, independence from Rome, noble heritage, and royal lineages, the topics of the *Cronaca* established the ideological core and the broad parameters of Neapolitan interests and identity as a civic tradition at the center of a kingdom-wide history.

The *Cronaca di Partenope's* second printed edition in 1526, titled *Croniche de la inclita Città de Napole emendatissime, con li Bagni de Puzzolo, & Ischia* [Most Amended Chronicles of the Illustrious City of Naples, with the Baths of Pozzuoli and Ischia], claimed Giovanni Villani as its author. The 1526 text is essentially the same as the first edition of 1486–90, with the addition of commentary by its editor Leonardo Astrino and bound with a guidebook description of the ancient baths around Pozzuoli to the west of Naples. Early guidebooks emphasized both the natural landscape and the man-made cityscape in and around Naples in guides to *Napoli antica, storica, sacra, and artistica* (see table 2).

From Vesuvius and the river Sebeto running under the city to the Phlegraean Fields (Campi Flegrei) past Pozzuoli to Lake Avernus (the volcanic crater lake that was the entrance to the underworld in Virgil) and the cave of the Sybil of Cumae to the west of the city, the historical and literary itineraries around the Bay of Naples provided a constant reminder to the deeply ingrained Humanist tradition in Naples of their link to antiquity. Flavio Biondo's *Italia Illustrata* [Italy Celebrated], begun in 1447 under the patronage of King Alfonso with a first complete manuscript version in 1453, not only offered an antiquarian account of the historical landscape but was also one of the earliest examples derived from the 15th-century rediscovery of Ptolemy and the revived genre of chorography, a representation of space and place that brought together a hybrid geographic, topographical, and historical compendium. In 1507, Lucio Giovanni Scoppa published *Parthenopei in varios Authores Collectanea*, a collection of all the classical references to the ancient city of Partenope that would serve as a resource for the many local guidebooks later published in early modern Naples. Pietro Summonte's 1524 letter to Marcantonio Michiel is a Humanist essay on the painting, sculpture, and architecture of Naples.²² Giovanni Berardino Fuscano's 1531 *Stanze del Fuscano sopra la bellezza di Napoli* [Verses on the beauty of Naples] is an ottava rima poem in praise of the city during a dawn to dusk visit by the author.

²² Bologna, "Qualche osservazione," 181–93.

Benedetto Di Falco published the first comprehensive guidebook on Naples, *Descrittione dei luoghi antichi di Napoli* [Description of Naples's Ancient Sites], in a first dated edition of 1549, which served as the model for future guides and saw five later editions into the 17th century. The German Enrico Bacco, who came to Naples in 1575, published *Il Regno di Napoli Diviso in dodici Provincie* [The Kingdom of Naples in its Twelve Provinces] in 1609; it went through eleven more editions in the 17th century. Pompeo Sarnelli's *Guida de' Forestieri* [Guide for Foreigners] of 1697 and Domenico Antonio Parrino's *Napoli città nobilissima, antica e fedelissima* [Naples, most Noble, Ancient, and Faithful City] of 1700 dominated the 18th-century Neapolitan guidebook market and went through seven and eleven later editions respectively. Giuseppe Maria Galanti's 1792 *Breve descrizione della città di Napoli e del suo contorno* [Brief Description of the city of Naples and its Environs] saw nine editions by 1910. The most important of the guidebooks are, in fact, much more than guides for visitors. Giulio Cesare Capaccio's *Il Forastiero Dialogi* [The Foreigner: Dialogues], completed in 1630 but published posthumously in 1634, is a ten-day introductory visit to the people and places, politics and philosophy, and past and present of the city presented in the form of a dialogue between a citizen and a foreigner. Carlo Celano's 1692 *Notizie del bello, dell'antico, e del curioso* [Information on the Beautiful, the Ancient, and the Curious], also divided into a ten-day guide, relates antiquarian, historical, topographical, religious, and topical stories associated with the city's artistic and notable attractions in an omnibus overview. Both Capaccio and Celano continue to provide extraordinarily rich primary source information on a wide range of topics on early modern Naples.

The raw materials of chronicles, diaries, and guidebooks provided the details for historical interpretation that distinguished the early modern vernacular histories of Naples. In 1498, the Duke of Ferrara, Ercole d'Este, who was educated in the Aragonese court from the age of fourteen to thirty and married King Ferrante's daughter Eleonora, commissioned the Humanist diplomat Pandolfo Collenuccio to write a comprehensive history of the Kingdom of Naples, beginning with the birth of Christ. Often relying on manuscript copies of the redacted *Cronaca di Partenope* and the "Southernized Villani" in the Este Library, Collenuccio wrote his influential *Compendio delle Istorie del Regno di Napoli* [Compendium of the Histories of the Kingdom of Naples] from 1498 to 1504. An opening description of its regions and cities from their founding and of its inhabitants both natives and foreigners who came to enjoy its fruits was followed by a narrative

Table 1. Chronicles and Diaries, 1500–1732

Date	Author	Title
Greek origins–1511	Notar Giacomo	<i>Cronica di Napoli</i>
412–1617	Tommaso Costo	<i>Memoriale delle cose più notabili nel Regno di Napoli</i>
986–1552	Tommaso de Catania	<i>Cronache Antichissime</i>
1189–1531	Giuliano Passero	<i>Giornali</i>
1452–1534	anonymous	<i>Cronica di Napoli d'Incerto</i>
1495–1519	anonymous	<i>Cronica dell'anonimo napoletano</i>
1526–1537	Gregorio Rosso	<i>Istoria delle cose di Napoli sotto l'imperio di Carlo V</i>
1543–1547	Geronimo de Spenis	"Breve Cronica"
1547–1706	Antonio Bulifon	<i>Giornali di Napoli dal MDXLVII al MDCCVI</i>
1552–96	Giovanni Francesco Araldo	"Cronica"
1560s	Gaspere Fuscolillo	"Cronache de li antiqui Ri del Regno di Napoli"
1574–1627	Scipione Guerra	<i>Diurnali</i>
1577–79	Camillo Porzio	"Relazione del Regno di Napoli al Marchese di Mondesciar"
1580s–1622	Miguel Díez de Aux	<i>Libro de las ceremonias en el Palatio Real</i> (1622)
1622–34	José Raneo	<i>Etiquetas de la corte de Nápoles</i> (1634)
1629–37	Ferrante Bucca	"Aggiunta alli diurnali di Scipione Guerra"
1632	Jean-Jacques Bouchard	<i>Journal</i>
1647–1650	Francesco Capecelatro	<i>Diario delle cose avvenute nel Reame di Napoli</i>
1648–69	Andrea Rubino	"Notitia di quanto è occorso in Napoli"
1660–80	Innocenzo Fuidoro	<i>Giornali di Napoli dal MDCLX al MDCLXXX</i>
1679–99	Domenico Confuorto	<i>Giornali di Napoli dal MDCLXXIX al MDCIC</i>
1700–09	anonymous	<i>Diario napoletano</i>
1700–32	anonymous	"Racconto di notizie accadute nella città di Napoli"

Sources: Gravier, *Raccolta*; Pelliccia, *Raccolta*; Capasso, *Le fonti*. For a more complete list, see Pedio, *Storia della storiografia*, 53–89 for the 16th century, and 91–165 for the 17th century.

Table 2. Guide Books, 1500–1800

Orig. ed.	Author	Short Title	Later editions
1453	Flavio Biondo	<i>Italia Illustrata</i>	1st printed ed. 1474; Ital. trans. 1542; (mod. ed. and trans. 2005; 2009)
1507 1524	Lucio Giovanni Scoppa Pietro Summonte	<i>Partenopei in vario Authores Collectanea</i> Lettera di Pietro Summonte a Marcantonio Michiel	(mod. ed., 1925; Eng. trans. 2007)
1526	Giovanni Villani	<i>Croniche de la inclita Città de Napole emendatissime, con li Bagni de Puzzolo, & Ischia</i>	1486–90; 1680
1531	Giovanni Berardino Fusciano	<i>Stanze del Fuscano sopra la bellezza di Napoli</i>	(mod. ed., 2006)
1549	Benedetto Di Falco	<i>Descrittione dei luoghi antichi di Napoli</i>	n.d. 1548?; 1568; 1580; 1589; 1617; 1679–80; (mod. ed., 1992)
1560	Pietro De Stefano	<i>Descrittione de i luoghi sacri della città di Napoli</i>	
1562	Antonio Sanfelice	<i>Campania</i>	1566?; 1600; 1636; 1656; 1726; 1796
1566	Giovanni Tarcagnotta	<i>Del sito, et lodi della città di Napoli</i>	(mod. ed., 1988)
1569	Luigi Contarini	<i>Dell'Antichità, Sito, Chiese, Corpi Santi, Reliquie, e Statue di Roma con l'Origine e la nobiltà di Napoli in dialogo</i>	1575; 1680
1570?	Ferrante Loffredo	<i>Le Antichità di Pozzuolo et luoghi convicini</i>	1573; 1580; 1585; 1590; 1626?; 1667; 1675; 1752
1588	MS Giovan Battista del Tufo	<i>Ritratto o modello delle grandezze, delitie et maraviglie</i>	(MS; mod. ed., 1880)
1589?	MS Fabio Giordano	<i>L'Historia Neapolitana</i>	(MS BSNSP)
1591	Scipione Mazzella	<i>Sito, et antichità della città di Pozzuolo, e del suo amenissimo distretto</i>	1593; 1594?; 1596; 1606
1634	Giulio Cesare Capaccio	<i>Il Forastiero Dialogi</i>	originally prepared 1630, publication delayed to 1634
1609	Enrico Bacco	<i>Il Regno di Napoli Diviso in dodici Provincie</i>	1614; 1618; 1620; 1622; 1626; 1628; 1629 (reprint 1977); 1640; 1644; 1646; 1671 (partial Eng. trans., 1991); 1785
1617	Giuseppe Mormile	<i>Descrittione dell'amenissimo distretto della città di Napoli</i>	1625; 1670
1623	Cesare d'Engenio Caracciolo	<i>Napoli Sacra</i>	1624
1640	Ottavio Beltrano	<i>Breve descrizione del Regno di Napoli</i>	1644; 1646; 1671 (reprint 1969); 1673
1654	Carlo De Lellis	<i>Parte seconda ovvero supplimento a Napoli Sacra</i>	
1679	Antonio Farina	<i>Compendio delle cose più curiose di Napoli, e di Pozzuoli</i>	
1685	Pompeo Sarnelli	<i>Guida de' Forestieri</i>	1697; 1702; 1713; 1772; 1782; 1788; 1791
1692	Carlo Celano	<i>Notizie del bello, dell'antico, e del curioso, 10 vols.</i>	1724; 1758; 1792; 1856–60 (reprint 2000); 1970
1700	Domenico Antonio Parrino	<i>Napoli città nobilissima, antica e fedelissima</i>	1703; 1704; 1709; 1712; 1714; 1715; 1716; 1720; 1725; 1727; 1751
"	"	<i>Pt. 2: Di Napoli... le Ville, Terre e Città... del suo Golfo o sia Cratere</i>	1703; 1704; 1709; 1715; 1725; 1751; 1754
1703	Giovan Battista Pacichelli	<i>Il Regno di Napoli in prospettiva diviso in dodici provincie, 3 vols.</i>	(reprint 1975)
1788–89	Giuseppe Sigismondo	<i>Descrittione della Città di Napoli e Suoi Borghi, 3 vols.</i>	(reprint 1989)
1792	Giuseppe Maria Galanti	<i>Breve descrizione della città di Napoli e del suo contorno</i>	1803; 1829; 1838; 1871; 1882; 1910 (reprint 2005); 1845 (reprint 1990); 1857; 1861; 1871; 1882; 1910

Source: Amirante, *Libri per vedere*.

through the reign of Alfonso and his Humanist court that ends in 1459. Collenuccio argued that the political instability of Naples derived from the avarice and ambition of its people, who were so prone to rebellion that their changeability invited foreign powers to invade and intervene. His strong Aragonese-Ghibelline position appeared in sharp contrast to the Angevin-Guelph version of history promulgated in Tristano Caracciolo's *De varietate fortunae* [The Variety of Fortune] (1504–10). Giuseppe Giarrizzo's magisterial survey of the early modern historiography of Naples identified two different founding traditions: the Humanists' use of history to teach philosophy by example and Collenuccio's use of history to inform contemporary politics.²³

The wide circulation of Collenuccio's manuscript, its publication in Venice in 1539, its four subsequent printed editions (the last appearing in 1552), and its five continuations—by Mambrino Roseo to 1557, by Cola Aniello Pacca to 1562, and three by Tommaso Costo to 1582, then 1586, and finally 1610—produced a strong reaction in Naples against this foreigner historian and his denigration of Neapolitans as volatile and unfaithful.²⁴ With Di Falco's 1548 *Descrittione*, later in 1572 with both Giovan Battista Carafa's *Dell'istoria del regno di Napoli* [History of the Kingdom of Naples] and Angelo Di Costanzo's *Dell'istorie della sua patria* [History of His Fatherland], and especially with Costo's additions and annotations after 1583, Collenuccio's errors were corrected, his thesis was refuted, and Naples emerged not as faithless but with the formal and definitive appellation, “the most faithful” city.²⁵ Di Costanzo's complete edition of 1581 explains that his history is no longer “oppressed by the darkness of antiquity,” a phrase appropriated by Costo in the 1591 edition of his continuation and annotations to emphasize how that “darkness of antiquity” has been removed by “the light of modern things.”²⁶ These *cose moderne* would have included the availability of documents such as the city and kingdom's *Privilegi et Capituli* [Privileges and Statutes] that had been published in Naples in 1543 and again in Venice in 1588, and the model history of Camillo Porzio's *La congiura de' baroni* [The Barons' Conspiracy] (1565). The disputes over the nature of history between Costo and Scipione Mazzella, whom Costo derided as a derivative copier of others' errors, lies, thefts, and exclusions, exemplified the rich rhetorical tradition of history

²³ Giarrizzo, “Erudizione,” 511–26. See also Pedò, *Storia*.

²⁴ Masi, *Dal Collenuccio*.

²⁵ Costo, *La Apologia*, 142 (cited in Galasso, *Napoli capitale*, 97).

²⁶ Masi, *Dal Collenuccio*, 147; 187–88.

at the turn of the 17th century: the first two volumes of Giovan Antonio Summonte's monumental *Dell'Historia della Città e Regno di Napoli* [History of the City and Kingdom of Naples] appeared in 1601–02 (the third and fourth volumes appeared posthumously in 1640–43), and Capaccio published a two-volume Latin history in 1607.²⁷

Local historians in the early 17th century began to excavate ancient and medieval sources to propagate broader citizen participation in city government. Francesco Imperato, Francesco De Pietri, Giulio Genoino, and Camillo Tutini were leading figures in fostering the claims of the “civil class” [*ceto civile*] in city rule, and such publications are part of the activist prehistory to the Revolt of 1647. The revolt itself spawned some twenty contemporary diaries and histories, which include the texts of the pro-Spanish Tommaso De Santis and the anti-Spanish Giuseppe Donzelli, as well as works by Innocenzo Fuidoro, Alessandro Giraffi, Nescopio Liponari, Agostino Nicolai, Andrea Rosso, Ottaviano Sauli, Gabriele Tontoli, and Camillo Tutini/Marino Verdi.²⁸ In the period after the revolt, Antonio Bulifon emerged as an important publisher of Neapolitan materials, such as a new edition of Summonte's four-volume history in 1675. As the crisis of the Spanish monarchy's succession came to a head at the end of the century, Parrino's three-volume *Teatro eroico e politico de' governi de' vicere del Regno di Napoli* [Heroic and Political Theater of the Rule of the Viceroy of the Kingdom of Naples] (1692–94) appeared. By the end of the century and continuing into the period during and after the War of the Spanish Succession, works by Francesco D'Andrea, Doria, Vico, and Giannone (especially his *Istoria civile*) were at the center of debates and polemics on Spanish rule and early Enlightenment thought. After the Neapolitan famine of 1763–64, Genovesi's school of political economy took a leading role in reform projects, with significant works by Domenico Grimaldi, Giuseppe Maria Galanti, and the more philosophical history turn of Pagano. The last third of the 18th century also saw an explosion of historiographical interest in Naples with the publication of such collective works as Giovanni Graviera's *Raccolta di tutti i più rinomati scrittori*

²⁷ Mazzella had published his antiquarian *Descrittione del Regno di Napoli* in 1586 and a narrative history of the Neapolitan kings, *Le vite dei re di Napoli con le loro effigie naturale*, in 1594, which was incorporated into later expanded editions of the *Descrittione* in 1597 and 1601 (reprint ed. 1981). The *Descrittione* was translated into English in 1654 by James Howell and Samson Lennard in two parts as *Parthenopoeia, or The History of the Most Noble and Renowned Kingdom of Naples, with the Dominions thereunto Annexed, and the Lives of all their Kings*.

²⁸ See Musi, *Alle origini*; D'Alessio, *Masaniello*.

dell'istoria generale del Regno di Napoli [Collection of the most Famous Writers on the History of the Kingdom of Naples] (1769–77) in twenty-five volumes; Domenico Alfeno Vario's *Pragmaticae edicta, decreta, interdicta, regiaeque sanctiones regni neapolitani* [Laws of the Kingdom of Naples] (1772) in four volumes; Alessio Aurelio Pelliccia's *Raccolta di varie croniche, diarij, ed altri opuscoli così italiani, come latini appartenenti alla storia del Regno di Napoli* [Collection of Chronicles, Diaries, and Other Writings both Italian and Latin on the History of the Kingdom of Naples] (1780–82) in five volumes; Francescantonio Soria's *Memorie storico-critiche degli storici Napolitani* [Historico-Critical Memoirs of Neapolitan Historians] (1781–82) in two volumes; Alessio De Sariis's *Dell'istoria del regno di Napoli* [The History of the Kingdom of Naples] (1791–92) in three volumes, and his *Codice delle leggi del Regno di Napoli* [Law Code of the Kingdom of Naples] (1792–97) in nine volumes; and numerous bibliographical and geographical works by Lorenzo Giustiniani.

Ten Contested Topics

Three recent historiographical articles by John Marino, Gabriel Guarino, and Anna Maria Rao have reviewed ten contested topics that form the skeleton of early modern Neapolitan history.²⁹ Five topics are chronologically based: the Spanish conquest and the establishment of Spanish rule; the Spanish and Neapolitan exchange; the 17th-century crisis and the revolt of 1647; the Enlightenment and reform; and the 1799 Republic and the French decade. Five other topics are structurally or institutionally focused: the monarchy, the feudal question, Italian economic dualism, the relationship between city and the countryside, and the problem of the church and popular religion. The historiography for each of these ten topics is extensive.

Marino's article approaches the problem of the French invasions and the conquest of Naples in a Machiavellian mode to argue the absence of solidarity behind a clear leader, rebut the stereotype of an unstable kingdom in constant decline with a chronicle of continuing conquests and revolutions, and review the debate over modernity in Naples. Guarino addresses cultural issues: the role of Spain in Naples in terms of national or civic identity, social status, the distribution of political power, and

²⁹ Marino, "Myths." See also Guarino, "Reception," 93–110; Rao, "Lost occasion."

morality within the family. Rao takes up the refrain of “what might have been,” the “lost opportunities” that compare Naples negatively for “not having succeeded” or for “retarded development.” Whether the topic is Masaniello and the 17th-century crisis, the Enlightenment, the Republic of 1799, the feudal question, or the French decade, Rao argues from the words and deeds of the actors themselves in the 18th century that Naples was not an exception to the general pattern of the times.

The chronological topics are connected by discussions of the causes and effects of war and peace, reform and revolt, and the establishment of good government and politics in general. New research into the French invasions of 1494, the Italian Wars and the Habsburg-Valois Wars, and early Spanish government in Naples has been led by a new generation of Spanish historians (with Carlos José Hernando Sánchez specializing in Naples) who place Italy in the context of the larger Spanish empire.³⁰ Good government in Naples is a theme taken up by political scientists such as Vittor Ivo Comparato, economic historians such as Gaetano Sabatini, and legal historians such as Raffaele Ajello and Pier Luigi Rovito.³¹ The question of Neapolitan loyalty has been a subject of debate in the context of the prehistory of the 1647 revolt.³² Musi has followed Galasso in arguing for a Neapolitan path to the modern state.³³ Vittorio Conti has published the constitutional declarations during the revolt, and Villari’s long engagement with the revolt has resulted in a magisterial final work.³⁴ Vincenzo Ferrone has become a leading scholar of Enlightenment Italy, and Girolamo Imbruglia has edited a collection of essays situating Enlightenment Naples in context.³⁵ Rao’s work on Enlightenment Naples and the revolution of 1799 remains fundamental, while John Davis traces the long-term effect of the French Revolution and Napoleonic period in Naples on later decades up to Italian Unification.³⁶

Galasso’s work is essential reading for both the chronological and structural topics because he has greatly shaped the study of Naples in his own and through his students’ writings. Galasso’s works have exerted a

³⁰ Hernando Sánchez, *Castilla and El reino*; Galasso and Hernando Sánchez, *El reino*. See also the work of Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño, José Martínez Millán, and Luis Antonio Ribot García for Spanish Italy. See also, Dandeleet and Marino, *Spain*.

³¹ Comparato, *Uffici*; Tapia, *Trattato*; Ajello, *Arcana*; Rovito, *Repubblica and Il Viceregno*.

³² Guarino, “Reception.” (Note 10 references Villari, Musi, and Muto.)

³³ Musi, *Mezzogiorno* applies the German Sonderweg argument to Naples.

³⁴ Conti, *Le leggi*; Villari, *Un sogno*.

³⁵ Ferrone, *Intellectual Roots and Politics*; Imbruglia, *Naples*.

³⁶ Rao, *Napoli 1799*; Davis, *Naples*.

strong influence on the five chronological topics if we consider his early essays on Charles V and his considerations on southern Italian history or his books on Naples after Masaniello and Neapolitan culture in the 18th century. The five structural topics find his prolific pen and acute mind at work in a collection of essays on the Spanish imperial system, a book on the province of Calabria, an article on the financial reforms of Viceroy Lemos in the early 17th century, a collection of essays on political and citizen identity, an essay on the declaration of Saint Thomas Aquinas as a patron of the city, and articles on popular religion and superstitions.³⁷ Galasso's *L'altra Europa* [The other Europe], now in its third edition (2009), deserves special mention for its precocious engagement with historical anthropology that opened up the possibility for books on such topics as the culture of the Baroque, popular religion, and popular violence.³⁸

The main point of the recent historiography on Naples underlines the need to avoid anachronistic teleologies and overdetermined models as the basis for making false comparisons. Thus, Rao follows Marta Petrusiewicz in rejecting a hegemonic center-periphery distinction that would make the English model an objective norm and emphasizes instead the creative chances, rather than the lost opportunities, presented by Neapolitan history.³⁹ Like Del Treppo, Rao wants us not only to avoid a Neapolitan historiography that is too united with and determined by other historiographies but also to embrace an active Neapolitan past in its contemporary context.

Conclusion

In 1831 Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886) published in Berlin “the clearest example of [his] new approach to history”, *Ueber die Verschwörung gegen Venedig, im Jahre 1618* [On the Conspiracy against Venice in the Year 1618], which analyzes the sources of our knowledge about the conspiracy and its links to the Spanish ambassador in Venice and the Spanish viceroy in Naples. Ranke's path-breaking little book “marked an important turning point in modern historiography,” as its purpose was to prove that “the archive was the only proper site for the production of historical

³⁷ On Galasso's work see Musi and Mascilli Migliorini, *L'Europa*.

³⁸ Galasso, *L'altra Europa*; Rak, *Napoli*; Sallmann, *Naples*; Panico, *Il carnefice*.

³⁹ Rao, “‘Lost occasion,’” n. 71; Petrusiewicz, “La modernizzazione che venne dal Sud,” in her *I Sud*, 105–28.

knowledge.”⁴⁰ Not all historians, even in Germany, were convinced by Ranke’s “archival turn” to documentary sources. In 1837, “the liberal Berlin historian Johann Gustav Droysen (1808–84), who had studied under Hegel and remained inspired by his philosophy of history, complained that the new ‘Rankean school of sources’ regarded ‘the accuracy of the facts as the only purpose of historical studies; this [accuracy] they think they achieve, when they examine the primary sources.’”⁴¹ Likewise, Neapolitan historical studies in Italy (like those on Venice and the other early modern Italian states) already had a long and rich historiographical tradition from medieval chroniclers, the Renaissance Humanists, and the earliest days of the printed book in the 15th and 16th centuries. This quarrel over historical method in the mid-19th century provides a revealing vantage point that allows us to look both backward and forward in time to the historical sources and traditions of Neapolitan history, since the then soon to be extinct Kingdom of the Two Sicilies would be joined to a new Italian national state in 1860, and the generation of Naples’s greatest modern scholar, Benedetto Croce, would subsequently try to square the circle between philosophy and history by taking up Droysen’s challenge that history required a dual task of archival exploration and idealist history.

As late as the mid-1970s, the first text assigned at the Croce Institute in Naples (the Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici) was Droysen’s *Grundriss der Historik* [Outline of the Principles of History] (1858). It is to the end of that tradition which Del Treppo referred when he identified the late 1960s paradigm shift in Neapolitan historiography. In the past fifty years, the tension between philosophy and history, the incorporation of the shifting fortunes of the new social history, *microstoria*, the return to narrative, political history, historical anthropology, and cultural history have all been in the mix in what remains Del Treppo’s vision of a history of the long-term, premodern city and kingdom on its own terms in the context of its times.

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⁴⁰ Eskildsen, “Leopold Ranke,” 427, 433, and 437. On the Spanish conspiracy, see Mackenney, “‘A Plot Discover’d.’”

⁴¹ Eskildsen, “Leopold Ranke,” 433.

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