UNIVERSITY *of* York

This is a repository copy of *Dislocating Holiness:City, saint and the production of flesh*.

Article:

DISLOCATING HOLINESS: CITY, SAINT AND THE PRODUCTION OF FLESH
Helen Hills

Abstract

Just as the making of a patron saint was an important event in baroque devotional and urban history, so the city itself was an event in holiness and sanctity. This article investigates the figuring of saint and city while resisting the tendency in historical scholarship to treat city and saint in terms of representation. Instead I examine the co-implication of saint and city in terms of event in baroque Naples, seeking to treat neither as discrete and thus their relation as more than merely sequential, in order to consider the re-imagining of the city that was implicated in the re-imaging of sanctity. I argue that reconfiguring this relation amounts to a dislocation. That dislocation also entails the question of the subject of the city and indeed of subjectivity, with which city and saint were intimately enfolded.

Biographical note

Helen Hills is Professor of History of Art at the University of York. She has also taught at the University of Manchester and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Her research probes ways in which architecture and place might be investigated and considered as productive and discontinuous, even disjunctive. She has published on baroque theory, southern Italian baroque art and architecture; religious devotion and social divisions; miracles and materiality; architecture, gender and social class; academic art history's marginalisation of certain places, groups and interests through discourses of style, taste and place. Major publications include: *The Matter of Miracles: Neapolitan Baroque Architecture & Sanctity* (Manchester University Press, 2016), which investigates the relationship between matter and miracle in baroque Naples; *Rethinking the Baroque* (Ashgate, 2011); *Invisible City: The Architecture of Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Neapolitan Convents* (Oxford University Press, 2004). Recent publications include: 'Taking place: Architecture and holiness in seventeenth-century Italy', chapter for *Renaissance and Baroque Architecture: The Companion to the History of Architecture*, (ed.) A. Payne, vol.1, (Wiley Blackwell, 2017).

DISLOCATING HOLINESS: CITY, SAINT AND THE PRODUCTION OF FLESH

Helen Hills, University of York

Every sacred space implies a hierophany, an irruption of the sacred that results in detaching a territory from the surrounding cosmic milieu and making it qualitatively different.

> Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, p.26

The eternal life to which Christians lay claim ultimately lies in the paradigm of the *oikos*, not in that of the *polis*

> Giorgio Agamben, *The Kingdom and the Glory,* p.3

By what right (*ius*) were the barbarians subjected to Spanish rule?

> Francisco de Vitoria, *De Indis* (1532)

In what way does the urban enter a relation with the divine? How does baroque art reimagine the city of Naples through the relation with the divine via its protector saints?[1] And, in what ways do the politics of colonialism enter into this relation? How is that relation altered when the city's inhabitants are also figured? Depictions of saint and city are modes of imagining that set locality in motion and posit locality

Figure 2.1: Jusepe de Ribera, *San Gennaro in Glory*, before 1636. Oil on canvas, 276 x199cm. Church of the convent of the Agustinas Recoletas of Monterrey, Salamanca. (Image credit: © 2018. Album/Scala, Florence)

Figure 2.2: Domenico Gargiulo, *Largo Mercatello in the Plague of 1656*. Oil on canvas, 126 x 177cm, signed 'DG', inv. Salazar 84336. Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Polo Museale della Campania)

as question. Artworks as diverse as Jusepe de Ribera's *San Gennaro in Glory* (Fig. 2.1) and Domenico Gargiulo's *Largo Mercatello during the Plague* (Fig. 2.2) demand of the viewer/worshipper a reconsideration of 'where' they are and consequently a reconsideration of the sense of being that they draw from where they are in relation to their subjectivity, their condition as subjects and their relation to the divine. They bring the city into focus as location – topographical and geographical – and as transformative and transforming, eviscerated and eviscerating, part of a ruthless economy of sovereignty, secular and divine. A relation with the divine challenges an interpretation of the city as simply extensive location. Place emerges as potential opening away from an historicist affirmation of continuity with the past. This is not simply a dislocation, as it were, but a reconfiguration. That awareness of 'whereness' in the imagining of the city, in terms of saints, reconfigures it. It is to think the city *in their regard*.[2]

This article resists the tendency to approach city and saint in terms of representation, to treat saint and city instead as non-discrete and their relation as more than merely sequential, and the city as more than simply location. Baroque saint and city are involved in a folding that prevents the saint-city relation from following a Hegelian iteration. Thus sanctity is interrogated in relation to place by departing, from both a blanket notion of 'the Counter-Reformation' and from a conception of the saint as located in the city and holiness as located *within* the divine or in the saint, to conceive instead of place, particularly the city, as part of a relationship with or event in holiness.[3] Indeed, that event is better understood in terms of dislocation of place and time (a dislocation in which historicist continuity has no place). That dislocation also entails the question of the subject of the city and indeed of subjectivity, with which city and saint were intimately enfolded.[4] The ways in which the city as an *event* in holiness and sanctity emerges pictorially is examined here.

Place and saint

Both sanctity and the city were subject to renewed attention in baroque Italy. Hence their inter-relationship is doubly significant. While the development and mapping of early modern cities have received considerable attention, and while saints and sanctity have been energetically pursued, the baroque refiguration of cities in relation to saints has not received the attention it deserves.[5]

In exploring relationships amongst city, holiness and sanctity, art historians have tended to focus on individual ecclesiastical buildings or patrons. While the ways in which the sacred seeped out of 'hot spots' into street shrines, and apparently secular buildings have been examined, the question of how the city *as a whole* was conceived and visualised through its saints has dropped out of focus.[6] Scholarship on protector saints has largely focused on individual artworks and the socio-political aspects of their cults. But how sanctity, including patronal sanctity, affected the visual imagining of a city – and hence shifted 'visual identity' from the Ideal City of the Renaissance of *Tavola Strozzi* (Fig. 2.3) to the holy city of the baroque (Fig. 2.8) while retaining its principal topographical features – has not been examined.

The brilliant scholarship on antique and medieval sanctity has not been matched for the baroque.[7] Historians of the so-called 'early modern' have been concerned more with cults of saints in socio-political terms than with either the heaven-earth or the saint-city relation. Studies of baroque sanctity have been plagued by its habitual inscription into the 'Counter-Reformation' that treats sanctity in terms of
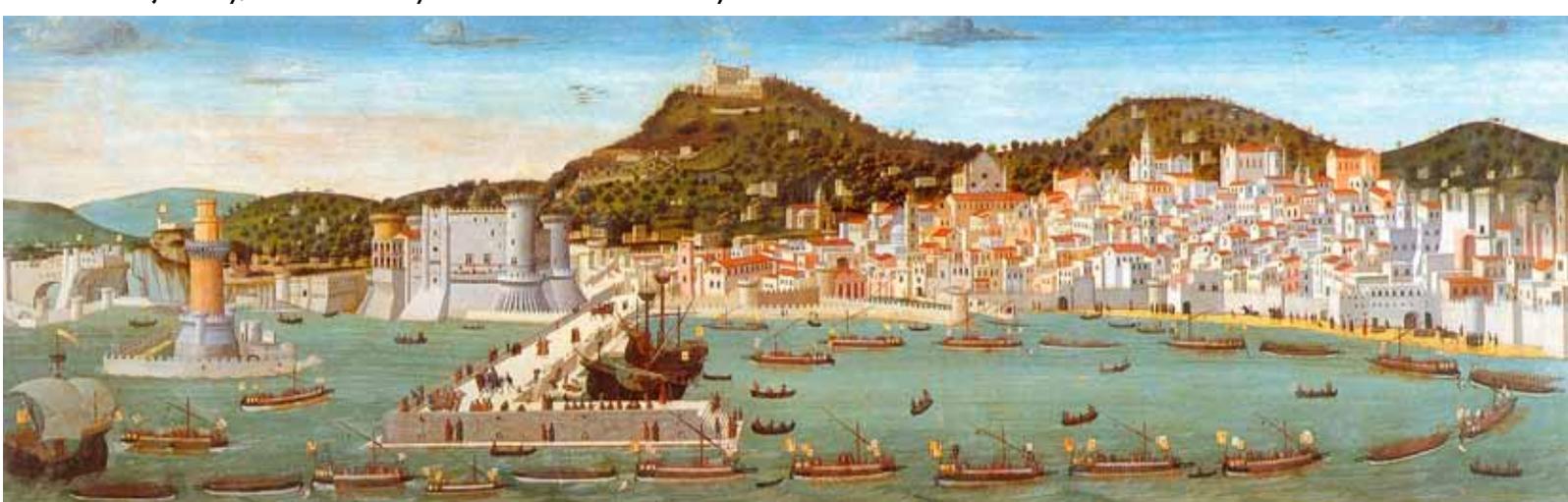

Figure 2.3: Francesco Roselli or Francesco Pagano, *Tavola Strozzi: the triumphal return of the Aragonese fleet from the battle of Ischia*, 1472–3. Tempera on wood, 245 x 82cm, inv.11982. Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Polo Museale della Campania)

representation and as if determined by the Decrees of the Council of Trent, which are, in turn, interpreted in terms of an anti-Protestant impulse.[8] The presence of the sacred in 'localised space' was, indeed, a major issue in theological disagreement between Catholics and Protestants: Catholics insisted on the divine presence in the Eucharist, while Protestants did not. Arrestingly, it was in terms of *place* that Martin Luther criticised the veneration of relics which he associated with indulgences and pilgrimages in the 1537 Schmalkaldic Articles. To Luther, the cult of relics led people to place their faith 'elsewhere' than in God (Joblin, 1999).[9] Nevertheless, an assumption persists that God, to whom the faithful prayed in post-Tridentine culture, was in heaven and that the locus of divine power was supraterrestial and unified. Yet, in the 1970s Richard Trexler challenged modern assumptions about the *place* of religion in Trecento and Quattrocento Italy, rendering obsolete any simple assumption that the numinous was supraterrestrial, that the source of power was one (the Godhead) and that the Quattrocento Italian was 'Newtonian in his religion', with 'no *confusion* as to the locus of power' (1972, pp.7–41, esp.8, my italics).[10]

Even with regard to patronal sanctity, the inter-relationship between cities and saints has received little attention.[11] Indeed, that relationship, as figured in a remarkable number of artworks of the period, has been largely unquestioned by historians and art historians alike.[12] When city-saint relation has come into view, it has mostly been seen in Hegelian terms, extrapolating directly from reading from earthly matter to a spiritual realm.

Hubert Damisch (2002) draws a distinction, visual and discursive, in depictions of saints between an earthly register where the laws of weight obtain and a celestial register in which attraction seems to operate in contradiction to such norms, *da sotto in su*. His insights have been little taken up by historians of baroque art. They have investigated a dazzling variety of images of saints, deciphered iconographies, examined patronage and imaginatively conceived particular audiences for altarpieces.[13] Their explorations of paintings of saints, which focus overwhelmingly on the soteriological economy of the individual, have left exposed the ways in which a saint might interfere with place. While place has been recognised as decisively affected by the event of martyrdom or the presence of a holy body, the way in which a saint's intercession in heaven might alter place on earth, beyond merely conserving it, has not been critically considered. The degree to which redemption was sought in the name, not of individuals or specific social groups, but of a *city*

– and thus the extent to which a city was reimagined in terms of its intercessors – demands attention, especially for Naples, a city unsurpassedly promiscuous in its acquisition of protectors.

Saints did not simply make places sacred; in the visualisation of sanctity, place – whether a particular locale or a major city – was reformulated, made *ganz anders*.[14] Thus, if holiness operated through relics to displace place, it is necessary to ask what this meant for the place of holiness and of the city.

Naples: city of miracles

The relation between the city of Naples and saints was unusually lively. More protector saints were generated to safeguard Naples than any other city.[15] Protector saints were advocates (*avvocati*), charged with pleading the case of their supplicants before the heavenly court, and chosen for their capacity to make their voices heard, along with that of their protected people, to bend to their ends the designs of Providence (Galasso, 1982, pp.213–49). Gifts given to saints, like those to powerful men, were part of an economy of indebtedness, constraining patrons to deliver graces and benefits, while manifesting devotees' support.[16] More than that, they represented the strongest of all religious impulses: to exchange powers with God, in a triangle of *virtù*: devotee, image, protector. That relationship is seen most starkly in *ex-voti* images (Fig. 2.4). The paintings explored below diffuse this relationship of *virtù* onto a city, to take the city hostage, in order, ostensibly, to save it.

While Rome's relationship with sanctity was set in place through soil stained by the shed blood of martyrs, and thus localised and literalised, as in Stefano Maderno's iconic *St Cecilia* (1600) in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (Fig. 2.5), in Naples, by contrast, the place of a saint's death was less significant than the miraculous working of their relics on behalf of the city (see:

Figure 2.4: Ex-voto, 1624. Oil on wood. Madonna dell'Arco, Sant'Anastasia. (Image credit: Santuario Madonna dell'Arco)

Figure 2.5: Stefano Maderno, *Saint Cecilia*, 1600. White marble. Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome. (Image credit: Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo - Soprintendenza speciale per il Colosseo e area archeologica centrale di Roma)

Figure 2.6: Treasury Chapel of San Gennaro, Naples. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Eccellentissima Deputazione della Reale Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro)

Caraffa & Massone, 1996; Kämpf, 2001). Through the relic a saint could be present in heaven and on earth simultaneously, thus in the relic both the non-localisable quality of sanctity and the quality of place as intensive rather than extensive, are at their closest. In Naples, particularly under Spanish rule, sanctity was urbanised through miracles undertaken on behalf of the city *as a whole*. Thus, although San Gennaro was neither bishop of Naples and nor did he live or die there, his relationship with the city of Naples was forged posthumously and miraculously.[17] Indeed, the miracle testified that his relics were in their correct place, that place was correctly in place (Hills, 2016, pp.71–7). His relics – skull and blood – were eventually brought together and celebrated at the Treasury Chapel in the Cathedral (Fig. 2.6), but they were not restricted to that chapel. Through processions across the city, they wove together interior and exterior, secular and ecclesiastical, street, *seggio* and church. Indeed, in his relation with Vesuvius, Gennaro's presence pervaded the entire city and beyond.

Freed from the encumbrance of a specific place of burial, the whole city could be claimed as Gennaro's tomb and altar. Or rather, the 'city' became indelibly meshed in the votive bond, as suffering was displaced from inhabitants to city. The city becomes the site of suffering and what is to be transformed, soothed and healed. It is the city that in these paintings, themselves embedded in ex-voto form, is imagined as ex-voto and offered up.

Naples' relationship with its saints was riven by Spanish rule. This complex and profound rivenness deserves further study and can be no more than traced here.[18] Until the late eighteenth century, the Spanish empire was conducted largely as a Church-State venture within a logic of Christian eschatology. Within the lands of the Hapsburg monarchs, the conception and imaginary of empire became 'a constituent of the political cultures of Spain and much of Italy' (Pagden, 1995, pp.31, 40). Even after the abdication of Charles V and the separation of the Imperium from the Monarchia, Spain remained the leading candidate for universal empire. But as Anthony Pagden has argued, since the American possessions were legally a part of the Kingdom of Castile, it was the European states within the Spanish monarchy, which were, and would remain until the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14), the crucial factor in all considerations of what kind of political entity that monarchy was or should be (1995, p.46). Tommaso Campanella claimed that it was the Spanish Hapsburgs, as heirs of Augustus, whom God had chosen to be the agents of the final unification of the world (1633, pp.86–93). Naples thus became part of

a wider Spanish project for the creation of an European imperium which would provide defence against the Ottoman empire and against Muslims and Protestants alike.[19] While Spanish monarchy was justified in terms of providing security for its members, its failure to do so became the failure of its subjects to be good Catholics.[20] While the Spanish government skilfully deployed its court in Naples to stage its power on a wider European stage, the effects on the city were local, specific and profound.[21]

Viceregal Naples was part of a knight's move in which the relation between protector saint and city was analogous to that between viceroy and court, and may be seen to work metonymically for it. Thus, the relation protector saint-city was overshadowed by and underscored that of viceroy-viceregal Kingdom. The question, posed by Dominican theologian Francisco de Vitoria in *De Indis*, '[b]y what right (*ius*) were the barbarians subjected to Spanish rule?' had clear resonance for the 'otra Indias', the other Indies, even if it remained hinted at rather than uttered ([1532] 1991, p.233).[22] The city of Naples squints out from the inter-relation between the political economy of rulership inflected through viceroyalty and the divine economy of the protector saint. I examine that squint below.

Heaven-saint-city and Heaven-sent city

Jusepe de Ribera's *San Gennaro in Glory* (Fig. 2.1), painted for Viceroy Count of Monterrey (before 1636), depicts San Gennaro protecting Naples from Vesuvius after the near devastation of the 1631 eruption.[23] The saint is borne aloft by hierophanic clouds and angels between a delicately intimated heaven and earth fleetingly glimpsed far below. The terrestrial occupies a thin strip of the painting's foreground, almost out of sight, diaphanous and insubstantial. In the gauzy distance Vesuvius erupts. To right the wrongs between God and city, the protector saint comes to the fore. His amber garment, radiant with glory, outgleams the volcano. At once substantial and yet light as shifting cloud, earthly yet glorified, his pyramidal solidity sets him apart from his ethereal surroundings and the evanescent city. Kneeling towards the city, he raises his hand in blessing over it, but tilts his head sharply upwards in the glory of God. Twisting and turning, he is in touch at once with God and city, and more solid and dependable than either.

At the bottom of the painting, far below both saint and viewer, the Gulf of Naples extends, illuminated in the hazy beauty of a place seen from somewhere else entirely. Beyond Castel Sant'Elmo in the high foreground, the land drops abruptly to the sweep of the bay where the city is picked out in silver flecks

through a misty haze. It is a place to which one looks back, an irenic place of longing. The saint addresses an elsewhere, more distant than even the lovely unearthly place below. His intercession is a bodily being between, a sort of doubling of the divine, even a heavenly surrogate for the viceroy, who is, in turn, an analogous doubling of the king whose territory this is. The viewer is positioned, not alongside the denizens of Naples, but alongside the saint, in an assumed identification with protector saint-viceroy and Spanish rule.

San Gennaro's relationship with Naples, redefined by Vesuvius in Ribera's painting, is rendered less heavenly, more terrestrial in an engraving in Nicolò Carminio Falcone's *L'Intera Istoria di San Gennaro* (Fig. 2.7). Here, as in Ribera's oil painting, San Gennaro intercedes to defend Naples from Vesuvius in 1631, but now the city's features are readily legible: Castel Sant'Elmo, the Carmine, monastic and conventual complexes, church domes and palaces. San Gennaro almost turns his back to the viewer in his urgent address to the volcano, which towers over the city of Naples and dominates the bay. God and heaven are obliterated by volcanic ashes and smoke: there is only San Gennaro to save the

city. His heaven-directed engagement falls away and the drama is triangulated amongst saint, volcano and city.

When an altarpiece includes saint, divinity and city, the relation between saint and Godhead can be disconcerting. Onofrio Palumbo's *The Intercession of San Gennaro on behalf of Naples* (c.1650) (Fig. 2.8), painted in collaboration with Didier Barra, for the Archiconfraternity of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini in Naples, depicts an agitated Trinity, with Christ – a sort of baroque Throne of Mercy – threatening the city below with a thunderbolt in which San Gennaro assumes pride of place and seems to deputise for God the Father. Poignantly caught between heaven and earth, San Gennaro, at once vulnerable and strangely ill-equipped for his task as protector, perched on his intermediate cloud, plaintively stays divine wrath. God the Father, marginalised in this heavenly drama, gestures ambiguously in blessing and to stay his son.

Here heaven is the place rent with turmoil, while the city below is Edenic, a place unscathed, outside of history. Naples, delicately delineated between sea and

Figure 2.7: 'San Gennaro Halts the Eruption of Vesuvius', engraving from Nicolò Carminio Falcone's *L'Intera Istoria di San Gennaro* (Naples: Felice Mosca, 1713), facing p.64. Private collection. (Photo credit: massimo velo – napoli)

Figure 2.8: Onofrio Palumbo and Didier Barra, *San Gennaro protects the city of Naples*, 1652. Oil on canvas, 331 x 220cm. Santissima Trinità, Naples. (Image credit: Complesso Museale dell'Augustissima Arciconfraternita della Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, www.museodeipellegrini.it / Photo credit: Marco Casciello)

distant hills, rests below evanescent clouds, blessed and at peace. Gennaro's hierophanic cloud occupies an intermediate space pictorially, well below the Trinity, close to the viewer at the front of the picture plane. Overlapping with, while distinct from, the gleaming city below, it permits communication between terrestrial and celestial registers that could not be sanctioned by the order of nature or supernatural vision alone. The relational is played out on the level of the representational that shows itself as such. Yet, saint and city are cut from the same cloth. The play of silver on amber of Gennaro's brocade chasuble rhymes with the silver threaded through gold of streets and buildings in the folded city below. He is embroidered into the city; he wears its saintly robe. The city is less glorified through the saint than the other way about. It is the city that provides the saint with purpose and justifies his glory. Here the role of the urban, the presence of the built fabric – more than setting – emerges as participant in the relation with the saint. Yet, the foregrounding of the Pizzofalcone ramparts emphasises Spanish military defences, a fortification akin to that of the protector saint. Thus, the role of the saint as deputy and go-between closely identified with the city works analogously for the figure of viceroy, in place of the monarch, protecting Naples. Indeed, the viewer, invited into the painting level with the saint, sees things from a viceregal point of view. Veneration of the saint becomes at once a civic duty and part of a Spanish ordering.

In contrast, Didier Barra's *Napoli* (signed and dated 1647) dispenses entirely with heavenly figures and stages the city as its own heaven (Fig. 2.9). Unlike baroque domes where light is diverted from illuminating the present toward the summons of the Infinite (Fig. 2.10) and unlike the employment of shadow to confound as in Caravaggio, here light blesses the earth in an anteriority and alterity of an other-than-itself. The painting becomes an instrument of communion. The bird's-eye view seems to constitute a revelation of the nature of the city in the world and to provide access to its sacred truth. This paradisical city has no earthly inhabitants. It dreams in a splendour that inhabitants can neither hope for nor bear, a splendour that only love makes it possible to endure (Romans 5:5). This is a vision of Naples as if imagined by the city itself and offered to its ruler like a lover. The city, thronged by bustling ships, seen from aloft, is the gleam in the eye of the Spanish Crown. Embraced by mountains and the sea, the city is sprinkled with domes, churches and monasteries in a naturally prosperous harmony. But it is also militarised and markedly Spanish. Fortifications at Castel Sant'Elmo, Pizzofalcone and the Quartieri Spagnoli – cogs in the system of Spanish occupation – are at once carefully delineated to

Figure 2.9: Didier Barra, *Napoli* (inscribed on reverse 'Desiderius Barra / Ex civitate Metesi in Lotharingia F. 1647'). Oil on canvas, 69 x 129cm. Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Polo Museale della Campania)

Figure 2.10: Giovanni Lanfranco, *The Glory of San Gennaro*. Treasury Chapel of San Gennaro, Naples. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Eccellentissima Deputazione della Reale Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro).

imply objective fidelity and also exaggerated to invite awe. Naples is made visible by splitting viewer from inhabitant – indeed, by treating the city as its own inhabitation. Amnesty, deliverance and pardon are brought into the present. And Spanish rule here takes place in terms of grace.

These paintings depict the city of Naples through buildings and location that make it appear to be a geographical unity, with social unity following from that, implied through the architectural and topographical beauty orchestrated by the divine. The city lies beyond a political, social or historical economy, subject only to a spiritual economy. And yet, that economy is infused by Spanish rule. This is an eschatological vision – to read the allegory is to live in the future, beyond the closure of narrative.

Domenico Gargiulo and the marginalised city

What takes place when Naples' inhabitants enter the picture? Unlike the paintings discussed above, which keep the city at a distance and whose points of view lose human scale, Domenico Gargiulo's *Eruption of Vesuvius* (Fig. 2.11), *The Revolt of Masaniello* (Fig. 2.12) and *Largo Mercatello during the Plague* (Fig. 2.2) are

remarkable in their focus on marginal spaces within and without the city, and in including the city's poorer inhabitants.

Art historians have considered these works principally in terms of art patronage, historical events, and the topography and architecture of seventeenth-century Naples. Of interest here, is their delving into urban fault lines to explore the unstable boundary between the human and the divine. The focus on the poor and on non-canonical buildings is unusual in Neapolitan art at this date, and registers concern for their fate, even advocacy of their interests. But the people become fractions of constellations in which individuals are stripped of meaning, such that the viewpoint of the painting does not emerge from within the conditions as lived by the people, but rather appears above them, detachedly. The tumultuous multitude is part of Naples' cityscape, the viewer suspended above it.

Gargiulo's paintings shrink from presenting either a clearly legible 'cartographic' city, blessed by Spanish order, or an unequivocal narrative of saintly deliverance. The city's features are blemished by malady, whether plague, revolt or volcanic eruption (Figs. 2.2, 2.11 and 2.12). Unlike Barra's blissful vision, Naples is depicted,

Figure 2.11: Domenico Gargiulo, *The Eruption of Vesuvius*. Oil on canvas, 127 x 177cm, signed 'DG'. Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Polo Museale della Campania)

Figure 2.12: Domenico Gargiulo (Micco Spadaro), *Revolt of Masaniello*. Oil on canvas, 126 ×177cm, inv.Salazar 84333. Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Polo Museale della Campania)

not in terms of monumental buildings, viceregal palace, cathedral or main streets, but as margin and marginalised, the outskirts where the city slips into groves and opens up to the foothills of Vesuvius (Fig. 2.11), close to the locus of horror, the gallows outside town where the rotting bodies of executed criminals were exposed: the Largo Mercatello just outside the walls (Fig. 2.2). It is at its limits that the city is redefined, demographically and soteriologically. Here is the chance of a new order, even while the chaos and defects of the present dominate the scene. These margins disturb the circumscribed city that contains and comforts, to let in what cannot be contained: revolt, plague, Vesuvius, death. And in those liminal places ordinary citizens emerge. The *popolo*, invisibilised in Ribera's great drama and Barra's fanfare, is here brought into sight, and its fate and that of the city are enmeshed.

Ambiguities crowd in. Christopher Marshall has pointed out the problems of reading Gargiulo's paintings in simple terms. *The Revolt of Masaniello* (Fig. 2.12) is not simply sympathetic to Masaniello's anti-Spanish revolt of 1647–8 (Marshall, 1998). Indeed, people and square are stained grey, squalid in contrast to the sunlit walls of the buildings around. How can one contain the other? And yet there they are, occupants and denizens, to be recognised as part of the city – even as they go on trading and squabbling, indifferent to the magnitude of events taking place around them. The curious admixture of everyday matters, and matters of life and death allows haphazard contingency to come into view.

The Eruption of Vesuvius focuses on the edge of the city, where the procession of 17 December 1631 has just reached Ponte Maddalena, outside Porta Capuana and is turning back to return the relics to the Cathedral (Pane, 1984).[24] San Gennaro's intervention during the eruption is recounted by many chroniclers (Capecelatro, 1849, pp.4–6; Braccini, 1632, pp.43–5; Ceraso, 1632, pp.B3r–B3v; De Martino, 1632, pp.14–17; Giuliani, 1632, pp.62–94).[25] The painting's everyday details and its accord with such accounts have tempted some scholars to mistake it for 'a faithful visual documentation of that particular natural and historical phenomenon' (Daprà, 1994a, p.37).[26] But the apparent detachment of Gargiulo's style is a powerful pictorial device and should not be confused with objectivity.

Brigitte Daprà claims that interest is focused on the procession which unwinds beyond Porta Capuana (1994a, p.37). But this is to overstate the case. The painting condenses the spiritual economy, the eruption and processing of relics in a frame that is frankly architectural and secular. The city is exposed at the edge of itself and at its end. 'And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places' (Revelation 6:14) 'and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea: and the third part of the sea became blood' (Revelation 8:8). It lies at the edge of the world, at its end point and annihilation. What was Vesuvius? Was it landscape, territory, instrument of divine punishment or something else? The matter is still open. It engorges, bursts out of itself, threatens to swallow up all that lies before it. It is excess that exceeding itself threatens the teeming excess of Naples.

The procession is hierarchical and fractured, but it is not simply about affirming rank. It is a last-ditch attempt to save the city. Community emerges in the massing in common and sharing a common fate. It is visibilised in relation to crisis and lack, insofar as the intervention with the divine depends on a premise of divine punishment and thus a recognition of sin, penance, remorse – and a seeking to make amends. Community exacts. Associated with the threat of violence, community stands for a reciprocal obligation imposed on individual members to stand to each one in a relation of debt, duty and obligation. The relics are activated by their procession through the city to its very limits, outside the walls, to the reckless edges. It is a turning the inside out. While death is the obliteration of difference in the smothering dark cloud and dust, life is a matter of opening communication between opposites. Here is a glimpse of a seeking of immunity in which things are placed in common and in the opening of communication between opposites. It is at the edges where things are at stake.

The centre of auratic gravity is not in a ruling personage but in the ruled collective: 'Naples' and 'Neapolitans', city and people as one. The people do not so much join in the procession, as animate the square, energise the terraces and rooftops, and mill about (Fig. 2.13). They are not the poorest from the hovels and overcrowded tenements, but of the middling sort. They perch on roofs and ledges, scamper up and down ladders, and peer down on the passing relics. Their homes, an architectural admixture, an improvisation of balconies, jetties, screens and add-ons, are as impromptu as their actions (Fig. 2.14). Architecture and popolo inhabit each other while the procession squeezes through. People burgeon from buildings, sprout from their crevices like vines. Yet along the way, what is endangered is glimpsed: fragments of beauty, everyday pleasures, scintillas of light: a vine-covered canopy offering dappled shade; a balcony to take air, enjoy the view, gossip with a neighbour; a rooftop

Figure 2.13: Domenico Gargiulo, detail of *The Eruption of Vesuvius*, showing people milling about. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Polo Museale della Campania)

Figure 2.14: Domenico Gargiulo, detail of *The Eruption of Vesuvius*, showing architecture and people. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Polo Museale della Campania)

that opens to refreshing air; a potted plant beneath a window sill; loggias where vines creep over timbers, blurring building, nature and humanity in the beautiful complexity of the simple everyday.

Meanwhile volcano, saint and saint's relics are triangulated in a higher-level drama that occupies half the canvas. What is the relationship between that drama and the one unfolding below? The painting leaves open whether the patron saint spontaneously (or by God's will) draws nature, the supernatural and city into salvific relation, or whether it is the veneration of the saint's relics that triggers his intervention, catapulting him across the sky to staunch the ashes and lava. Although the correlation between the movement of relics in the square and that of the interceding saint above implies efficacious causality, the circling procession lacks direction and most people – including grandees – are oblivious to the saint. There is a going through the motions, without insight or awareness. 'Every sacred space implies a hierophany', argued Mircea Eliade, an 'irruption of the sacred that results in detaching a territory from the surrounding cosmic milieu and making it qualitatively different' (1961, p.26). These distinctions inform Ribera's and Palumbo's pictures (Figs 2.1 and 2.8), but Gargiulo's work leaves open the question of what is detached from and what touched by the divine.

The prominence of the archbishop, close to the relics and hence the saint, seeks to scotch memories of his controversial dash to safety at a critical point in the eruption. Thus, it seems to announce, that the *popolo*

should indeed trust and follow their wise rulers. While divine and earthly orders intersect in the patron saint, the Viceroy and the archbishop command by addressing the viewer directly. In looking out of the picture, they are brought into command. The viewer becomes complicit, a nod of recognition.

Catalan writer Sebastián de Cortiada claimed that the viceroy possessed power as the king's living image:

> The viceroy is Alter Nos […] since he represents the royal person of H.M. and is another representation of the king […] For that reason he has the same place as H.M. […] he sits on the same canopied throne as H.M. customarily does when he is in the province [...] enjoys all the honours , graces, prerogatives and privileges belonging to His Majesty and […] he is due the same reverence as the king, whose image he is.
>
> (Cited in Cañeque, 2010, p.30)[27]

Indeed, the doubling of saint and relics, and relic head and relic blood, with archbishop and viceroy who was himself a double for the king, establishes the peculiar double matrix of Neapolitan viceregency and the crucial axes within the painting in which the secular, imperial, ecclesiastical and heavenly concord. The viceroy's relation to the king is analogous to that between saint and relic.

But an alternative reading is available. Micco Spadaro's paintings are cinematic: cut, coup, montage, everyone doing their own thing. What is alarming is that no-one knows what is going on. Even viceroy and

Figure 2.15: Domenico Gargiulo, detail of *The Eruption of Vesuvius*, showing woman who spots San Gennaro. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Polo Museale della Campania)

Figure 2.16: Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinita, Florence.

cardinal miss San Gennaro's release like a bolt from a catapult over their heads towards the volcano to sort everything out. Instead they directly address the crowd and viewer in expectation of recognition of their own virtue and authority. It is an otherwise unremarkable woman in the middle of the swirling crowd who spots the saint (Fig. 2.15), while a father and child nearby apprehend something of the miraculous intervention over their heads. These insignificant people are easily overlooked in the throng. It is this that is opened up for reconsideration. Their pointing out the saint indicates that things are about to change. While the sovereignty of God is seen in his brutal justice, the saint opens up the chance to stay that punishment and give the people a chance. But between the line of hope opened by the saint and the processing, milling about, flagellating, confessing, and pomp and circumstance no simple equation is drawn. The overhead view is one that purports to make sense of the event, yet this painting subverts its own pictorial means to ricochet meanings like the shouts of panic across the square.

The patron saint is an immanent transcendence situated outside the control of those that also produced it as the expression of their own will. This is the contradictory structure that Hobbes assigns to the concept of representation: 'the one representing, that is, the sovereign, is simultaneously identical to and different from those that he represents. He is identical because he takes their place, yet different from them because that "place" remains outside their

range' (Esposito, 2008, p.60). Thus, while Viceroy and Archbishop are inserted into the divine economy of the protector saint and pictorially secure the triangulation of viewer-veneration-salvation, they engage not with the saint, but with the viewer in what also belongs to an economy of social recognition. In the viceroy-saint-viewer relation a slippage takes place from one economy to another. In that slippage, Naples under Spanish rule takes place.

Aby Warburg argued that in Ghirlandaio's fresco (Fig. 2.16) in the Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinità, Florence, 'the contemporary background emerges as a participant force with great immediacy and in entirely personal terms', observing that Ghirlandaio 'takes the spiritual context as a welcome pretext for reflecting the beauty and splendor of temporal life' (1999, pp.187–8). Elements of the sacred scene are concentrated in the foreground, while the city unfolds behind. That story, he argues, is now that of the city of Florence where the saint's appearance emerges almost as fable. In baroque Naples, the saint and the divine shift to the background, the forceful renaissance protagonist-patrons have no counterpart, while the contemporary city becomes participant force, convulsive and at odds. It is at issue; what will become of it, is at stake. While Ghirlandaio sets his scene at street level, Gargiulo's viewer is raised aloft, detaching viewer from participants. Just above the rooftops, the viewer looks the volcano in the eye, so to speak. Gargiulo's viceroy would almost step into the viewer's shoes. Freed from the relationship with donor, a new register emerges between heaven and the city, one that is more urgent than either. The saint's apparition is loosed, off-centre, a

brilliant flash of hope, engaged elsewhere; San Gennaro turns away from the viewer. Naples is held in place by doubling and mimicry, displacement and deputising. The city is both less and more than participant; it becomes event.

Micco Spadaro depicts not the moment of resolution and safety, but that of crisis, when most hangs in the balance. The eruption is a chronic state of emergency in which order and survival are brought into sharp relation. 'For the great day of his wrath is come' (Revelation 6:17). The vulnerability of the city hangs in the air. Thick smoke threatens to blot it all out. The city does not protect; the delightful houses do not shelter. The world is turned inside out. Inhabitants are in exile on the roofs of their own homes. People without compass, they implore the volcano, beseech the nobles to save them. They are characterised by this: they do not know how to save themselves. Their lack of direction is laid bare. Here is a huge crowd without laurels, whose lives amount to mere anecdote. And yet Gargiulo makes these people appear in a passionate longing for a world in which they, too, can be seen and heard, to permit a memory of those whose disappearance is part of the accepted order of what must appear in future.

Yet it is also a history that remembers the few in the name of the many: the faces that turn to the viewer, the people with names, in an otherwise anonymous throng. The painting's conservatism and its disruptive capacity, are held in close tension, like a spring or a trap.

Gargiulo's *Largo Mercatello in the Time of Plague* (Fig. 2.2) presses harder than *The Eruption of Vesuvius* (Fig. 2.11) at the edge of the city and goes further in undercutting its own apparent claims. Spadaro's last history painting, it is distinct from the thread of many works of art that engaged with the plague of 1656, including *St Gennaro intercedes to save the city of Naples* by Palumbo and Barra (Fig. 2.8), and the cycle of canvases realised by Luca Giordano for the churches of Santa Maria del Pianto (Fig. 2.17) and Santa Maria degli Angeli a Pizzofalcone (see Porzio, 1984). Less a sacred image reinforcing a divine economy, more a testimony to continuing anxiety about the city's merits and fate. The viewer is kept out of the city. Whether indeed something is being defended is no longer clear. Carnage and confusion bear their own incomprehensible logic and what surfaces is the being ill at ease with one's place in the world.

Indecipherability is at the heart of this apparently most decipherable of paintings. Its shiftiness emerges nicely from a comparison with Mattia Preti's studies for the *Ex-voto for the Liberation of Naples from Plague* frescoes, executed between 1656 and 1659 on the

Figure 2.17: Luca Giordano, *San Gennaro intercedes with the Virgin, Christ and Eternal Father*, 1660–61. Oil on canvas. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples. (Image credit: Arcidiocesi di Napoli, Ufficio Diocesano Beni Culturali)

city gates (Figs. 2.18 and 2.19). Preti's sketches offer a clearly stratified vision of heavenly figures above, interceding saints in the middle and the horror of plague below – quite appropriate for their location on city gates. On high, the glorious Immaculate Conception, soaked in rich warm colours, is flanked by saints Gennaro, Rosalia, and Francis Xavier.[28] A dazzling angel unsheathes his sword above abandoned bodies lying lifeless on the shore, recognisably near the Molo, Vesuvius is visible across the sea (Fig. 2.18).[29] A dead woman, picked out in icy light, half naked, one arm swung backwards towards the viewer, is the ruthless abandonment of death. A portly fellow shuffles away, abandoning the body again. A confusion of bodies lies entangled on steps, limbs flung wide, while, moving amongst them, people of little substance bring in yet more dead.[30] This is a place of abandonment, on the edge of being the abandonment of place, what Foucault called 'a segmented, immobile, frozen space' in which the individual moves 'at the risk of his life, contagion, or punishment' (1997, p.195). The abjection of Naples is laid bare: 'With the deaths of eight to ten thousand people a day, Naples was reduced to a miserable leper colony, to a horrible cemetery' (Parrino, 1770,

Figure 2.18: Mattia Preti, sketch for votive frescoes for the 1656 plague. Oil on canvas, 127 x 75cm, inv.Q262. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples. (Image credit: Museo di Capodimonte)
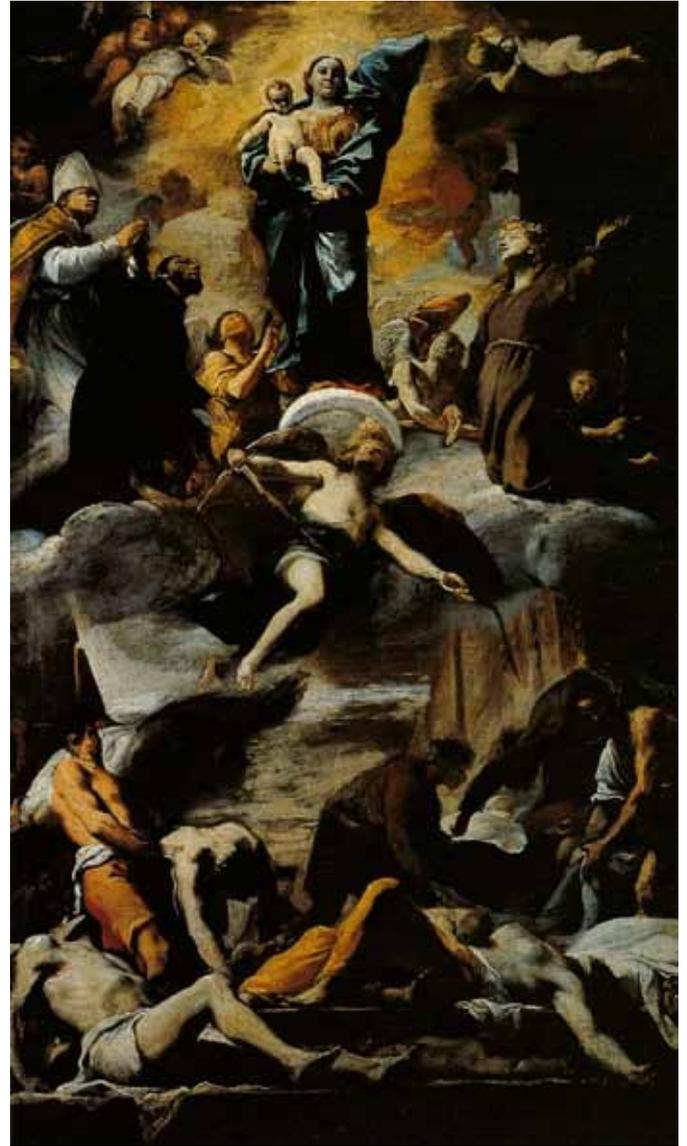

Figure 2.19: Mattia Preti, sketch for votive fresco for the 1656 plague. Oil on canvas, 127 x 75cm, inv.Q265. Museo di Capodimonte, Naples. (Image credit: Museo di Capodimonte)

p.197).[31] Strobic lighting flashes harsh accents across impenetrable dark, slicing through bodies and sense. Yet the vertical engagement between heaven and earth carries conviction. Even while 'relentless death [...] closely examines everything' (Tassoni, 2013, p.83), an unassailable eschatological order endures.

Unlike Mattia Preti's protectors, Gargiulo's heavenly figures have shrunk and withdrawn far from the sprawling city square, which gapes vast, spewing problems. Civil society is in chaos, and the only intimation of salvation comes wanly from the protector saint, tiny and remote (Fig. 2.20). That figure, akin to the role of donor portraits in altarpieces, is out of context, scale and order, a trespasser from another vision of the world. It is not the divine alone that has withdrawn, the pictorial viewpoint detaches from the Neapolitan populace. It foregrounds no spiritual drama or individual dilemma, but opens a dizzying scape of people-square-and-buildings in which action,

Figure 2.20: Domenico Gargiulo, detail of *Largo Mercatello in the Plague of 1656*, showing interceding saint. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Polo Museale della Campania)

meaning and sense are confounded and discarded. Place becomes the measure of the fracture between divinity and humanity.

But what 'humanity' is this? Carlo Celano claims the 1656 plague killed 450,000 people in Naples ([1858] 2000, vol.1, pp.85–6). More recent estimates suggest 240,000–270,000 deaths in a population of up to 450,000 (Galasso, 1970, pp.46–7). Certainly, it devastated the city. And it divided it. Overwhelmingly its victims were poor, as much by design as default. And as it played out its deadly course, ideas about what had caused it and how it was spread split the city further along old fault lines.

'It was axiomatic for many observers', writes Brian Pullan, 'that plague was a lethal sickness that flourished chiefly among the poor', a consequence of malnutrition, overcrowding, polluted water and carelessness (1992, p.107).[32] It cut the swelling numbers of poor in a logic that Carlo Cipolla has described as 'Malthusian before Malthus' (1977, p.278). Plague struck the poor harder than the rich who, better nourished and able to flee, had more resources to resist it (Biraben, 1974, pp.505, 518; Pullan, 1992). More than this, poor people were regarded as incubators and spreaders of the disease, the gateway through which it entered and whereby it could destroy everything (Pullan, 1992, p.106–7).

There were two principal medical theories of the plague. First, drawing on Galen, it was conceived as miasmatic, produced by corrupt exhalations emanating from rotting corpses and transmitted through the air. The second theory, informed by Fracastoro and others, held that it spread by simple contact (as with scabies or leprosy) or 'per fomites', that is through carriers of 'semi' of contagion, invisible particles produced in putrescence and given to multiplying, propagation and movement (Calvi, 1981, p.414).[33] Plague was regarded as an urban phenomenon, as if the 'fomites' could only lodge in urban populations.

In Naples, the Galenic notion of miasmas was combined with that of individual disposition. Geronimo Gatta argued that the 1656 plague gripped individuals according to a principle of 'either similitude or sympathy' of their blood with the disease. Predisposition was either a visible predisposition ('a body full of bad humours'), or invisible ('a likeness in blood or temperament') (1659, vol.1, p.23). For this reason, he claims, plague spread within groups which shared blood or temperament. Impurity fomented impurity. Illness and revolt were part of contamination and disorder of the physical and the social body. The analogy establishes relations of equivalence between matter and ideas, and across nature and society. The weakest and most marginal social groups were associated with its transmission, including women, whose bodies were regarded as contaminatory by nature, because of their capacity for menstruation,

pregnancy and giving birth.[34] Thus in Naples a *bando* published on 6 June forbad sleeping with prostitutes.[35] Spadaro's dead woman with a living child at her breast hybridises the figure of Charity with the excessive, multiplying and adulterating female body.[36]

About 150,000 people are thought to have fled from Naples, leaving behind an overwhelmingly poor population (Calvi, 1981, p.430). Physicians insisted on separating those left behind – the dead from the living, but also men from women, rich from poor – to stop the disease from spreading by contact with likeness, proximity and hidden sympathies. Here in the ruined world of Piazza Mercatello, where most markers of social distinction have already been erased, what we see are the poor.

And the poor, yet drained of life, threaten the whole city. For Domenico Parrino, ardent supporter of Spanish rule, plague, closely associated with the lower orders, was further contaminated with sedition:

> [A] certain Masone, who, during the riots of 1647, was the Popolo's representative, returned to the Kingdom [of Naples] on that ship [from Sardinia]; and, falling immediately ill, was taken to the Hospital at the Santissima Annunziata, where after three days, he died from the buboes. Nothing more was required for the contagion to seize Naples; since, assailed by dizziness, Carlo di Fazio, who worked in the hospital, expired twenty four hours later at home, which was in the vicolo del Pero.
>
> (1770, pp.191–2).[37]

Parrino's precision is not casual: that very alley had housed Masaniello. Contagion – revolutionary or pestilential – found lodging in the same dubious bodies and alleys of Naples. Indeed, 'contagio' was the term most used in seventeenth-century Naples, thereby shifting focus from cause to contamination, infecting medical with political discourses.

While the pro-Spanish and rich blamed the seditious poor for the plague, the poor blamed the Spanish administration. Word went around that disinfection programmes were not fit for purpose and that, in order to divert blame from those responsible, royal ministers were spreading rumour that poisoned dust had been deliberately scattered through the city. Animosity towards the Spanish boiled over. A group of Spanish soldiers who went to the lazaretto di San Gennaro were all found dead from suffocation the next day (Calvi, 1981, p.429). Counter-rumour spread as fast as the plague. Stories about disease and dust were part of the deception of subversion, claimed Domenico Parrino. According to him, a few men, key players in

the 1647 revolt, had returned to Naples 'pregnant with their old perfidy to arouse a new sedition amongst the people' by blaming the government for spreading poisonous dust to exterminate them wholesale in revenge for the revolt of Masaniello (Parrino, 1770, vol.2, p.194).[38] Accusations assumed ominously freighted terms.

Yet the crucial distinction was less 'Spanish' / 'Neapolitan' than rich and poor. In 1656, the poor were the first victims of the epidemic and foremost vehicle of the contagion. Plague was generally only recognised as such when it affected the higher echelons of society: 'Up until now there is no indication that those dead from such a blight are only quite ordinary persons' (Calvi, 1981, p.413).[39] The fundamental preoccupation of the well-to-do was that it should be prevented from reaching the 'palaces' (Nunzio Giulio Spinola cited in Calvi, 1981, p.413).

Why Largo Mercatello?

Gargiulo's choice of Largo Mercatello (today's Piazza Dante) for his depiction of the plague is full of suggestion. In setting his *Scene of the Plague of 1656*

(Fig. 2.21) in Piazza del Mercato, Carlo Coppola unabashedly associated sedition and contagion, implying that the horrors of the plague were divine punishment for the Revolt.[40] Gargiulo ducks such an easy contrivance.

Figure 2.22 Domenico Gargiulo, detail of *Largo Mercatello in the Plague of 1656*, showing open wound. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Polo Museale della Campania)

Figure 2.21: Carlo Coppola, *Scene of the Plague of 1656*. Oil on canvas, 130 x 180cm, signed 'CCA'. Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Polo Museale della Campania)

Ordinarily, Largo Mercatello was a place 'where every day the [practice] of horsemanship is constantly undertaken by noble and famous masters, and in which many *cavalieri* gather to learn the art of riding' (Celano, 2000, vol.3, t.1, p.42).[41] Here, too, each Wednesday a vegetable market, known as the 'Mercatello il mercordì' was held (Parrino, 1770, vol.1, p.434). The square thus housed both the artifice of aristocratic life and the run of the mill of the everyday. In the painting, it has become an open wound, a running sore, like a bubo (Fig. 2.22). Bodies of all sorts pile up indifferently, amidst the crumbling walls and smoking fires. The piazza lies exposed, an infected outgrowth of the city, a new locality that is produced by contagion. The city is no longer a place of inhabitation, but of disinhabitation. It is at once history and a dream, a vision of madness and a prophecy.

During the 1656 plague Largo Mercatello was designated a collecting point for plague victims (Daprà, 1994c, p.294).[42] It formed part of a strategy of expulsion of contaminating bodies, advocated by physicians as a means to prevent the spread of the disease. The piazza piled high with corpses can be glimpsed through the arcade from the Certosa in Gargiulo's *Thanksgiving after the Plague* (Museo di San Martino) (Fig. 2.23). Corpses and the dying were taken to the Grotta degli Sportiglioni and the church of S. Maria del Pianto, the cemetery of San Gennaro fuori le Mura, many caves in the hills whence building stone had been extracted, the Piano delle Pigne outside the Porta di San Gennaro and the square in front of the church of San Domenico Soriano outside Porta Reale, 'in addition to an immense number of corpses that were burned and thrown into the sea' (Parrino, 1770, p.199).

This new urban space on the threshold of the city seethes with labour, confusion, decontaminatory and squalid activities on an industrial scale, an admixture of civic and private initiatives fuelled by desperation. It is a place of degradation and the stink of starvation and death, of fetid air, a dumping ground for the bodies that threaten the city. Those bodies are overwhelmingly of the poor, attended by the ghoulish figures of the also poor, the undertakers, *fumigatori*, cleaners, porters, *monatti*, *nettezini* and *picigamorti*. The dead, piled up with two-pronged hoes, were carried away by Turkish slaves and convicts released from the galleys (Parrino, 1770, p.198). A whole industry of death has arisen. Bristling poles, ready for stretchers, announce a brisk logistics (Fig. 2.24), but the enmeshing of bodies and corpses, clothed and naked, unmasked and undifferentiated, that litter the square, undermines the purposeful parade (Fig. 2.22). The Viceroy established a *Deputazione* to organise plague and medical care. Thus, medics were not allowed to leave Naples and each *Ottina* had to elect a Noble or Citizen Deputy, to whom all the sick of the quarter were to be made known (Parrino, 1770, pp.196–7). The gentleman on horseback in the foreground may be Gerosolimitano Carlo Pagano, and the other, on foot, the Eletto of the people, Felice Basile (Daprà, 1994c, p.294). In any case, they represent forms of control imposed by a discipline of segregation. Emblematising civil order, they are also reminders that this hell-hole was managed as a strategy to save the city and protect rich denizens. What was occasion for engagement with the divine for Mattia Preti here becomes exposure to a shaming yet shameless humiliation, a parade of pettiness. In its pale colours and debased forms, in its remorseless banalisation of these lives, in the absence of the inventive horrors usually accorded to hell, this is a particularly hellish vision. Here

Figure 2.23: Domenico Gargiulo, detail of *Thanksgiving after the Plague*, showing Largo Mercatello. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Polo Museale della Campania)

Figure 2.24: Domenico Gargiulo, detail of *Largo Mercatello in the Plague of 1656*, showing poles. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Polo Museale della Campania)

even acts of mercy are without beauty. This is a city exposed to the loss of divine love, where the expulsion from Eden occurs without shame or remorse.

Largo Mercatello, defined by the city gates, clinging to its walls, is a marker – literal and symbolic – of the limits of Spanish rule. The closing of a city by plague spelled economic jeopardy and risked civil unrest. The city continues to shrivel behind its walls, imperilled by what it has expelled, cut off from trade and labour. Those walls were built by Viceroy Toledo (Buccaro, 2014, p.64). On the left is Port'Alba, commissioned by the Duke of Alba, Antonio Alvarez di Toledo; on the right, the gate of the Spirito Santo, also known as Porta Reale, built by Viceroy Pietro di Toledo, which boasts the arms of Charles V. Hence bodies dumped in the square exceed Spanish rule. They mark and are marked by its limits. The small structure next to the gate is the early stages of the erection of San Michele Arcangelo (Nicolini, 1905). Behind the walls can be seen the dome of San Sebastiano, the bell tower of the Gesù and the little church of Santa Maria della Providenza - and in the far distance Vesuvius. Once there were many houses here, but they were swept away 'during the disturbances' (*tumulti*) (Parrino, vol.1, p.434). This is an edgy place of subversion and repression.[43] Even the Porta Regale, demolished in 1775, was the site of trouble. Its narrowness obstructed the passage of carriages, carts and pack-horses to the prominent via Toledo, prompting 'scandalous disturbances due to the narrowness of the passageway and the unrestrained licence of the *plebe*' (Celano, 2000, vol.3 t.1, p.40). Gargiulo's choice of site does not simply equate contagion, plague and the poor, but suggests that for all its might and pomp, Spanish power cannot shut out the most insidious problems. Indeed, what the Spanish Crown excludes, as excess, comes to define Naples from without.

Bodies and citizens spew out over the wall and through the gates. The city cannot protect them and does not want them, and indeed must be protected from them, expelling them like a sort of defecation. These are contaminatory citizens who threaten the city. What is lost here is order – social, political and divine – though its traces remain. Rotting, stinking corpses are shown in stages of differentiation, undifferentiation and de-differentiation. A child follows a sedan chair; a man bears a child's coffin; a semi-naked man lugs a woman gripped with rigor mortis across his shoulders. It is impossible to tell who is helping whom, who has been brought here to die, who was already dead, whether people are lifting or looting.

Like the putrefying bodies, the architecture also greys and cadaverises (Fig. 2.25). Dark liquids ooze from the city walls, trickle down and stain its surfaces. Corpses

lie naked, clothed, bound in shrouds. A pregnant woman, arms thrown above her head, lies where she was dropped, legs haphazardly raised on the body of a stranger, genitals exposed in a cruel mockery of birthing as death. Spadaro opens a vision of a new

Figure 2.25: Domenico Gargiulo, detail of *Largo Mercatello in the Plague of 1656*, showing city walls. (Image credit: By kind permission of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Polo Museale della Campania)

Figure 2.26: Josse Lieferinxe, *St Sebastian Intervenes on Behalf of Plague Victims*, 1497. Oil on wood, 82 x 56cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. (Image credit: The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)

urban economy distinct from earlier approaches to the theme, such as Lieferinxe's *St Sebastian intervenes on behalf of Plague Victims,* commissioned in 1497 (Fig. 2.26), which also focuses on the disposal of plague victims outside the city gates.[44] While Lieferinxe emphasises the unpredictability and speed of the disease – a gravedigger keels over, dropping the body he was about to bury – the presence of chapel, mourners and clergy, albeit overtaken by events, accord dignity to the burial. St Sebastian's earnestness and the tussle between the demon and the angel indicate unequivocally where good and bad lie. Lieferinxe's city, from which white shrouded bodies emerge, is a beautiful place, filled with noble buildings, but it is no longer clear in Spadaro's canvas for what exactly the saint might intercede, what is worth defending. The focus slips from the immediacy of human drama and the loveliness of the city to a place that is punished, where even hope is hard to hope for. And the divine seems to have slipped from its moorings and retreated.

Gargiulo's city is prey to the contagions of plague, rebellion, criminality, living and dying in disorder. Divine judgement is the *undoing* of the urban. Another expulsion, another fall from grace. But a more chilling expulsion in the horrifying absence of shame. A few scratched moments of grief and imploration interrupt the relentless obliteration of death amongst strangers. The dying and the dead are handled impersonally, briskly, as so many problems of contagious flesh, rather than deaths to be grieved. This is the humiliation of a degrading death, inflicted by God, a sort of sacrifice to the wrath of God and an act of propitiation on the part of the city. For the plague was both a natural phenomenon and divine punishment. And only timely intercession might persuade an angry God to be merciful to this people.

The plague thus had what Pullan terms 'a corrective function' (1992, p.104). The horror of what unfolds shows the only source of salvation to be God via intercession. As such, plague is a call for religious and moral improvement, a renewal of devotion. Here, in another Fall, the punishment of plague might have the force of penance and thus act as means of redemption. At the mercy of unpredictable heaven, the citizens are castigated for their sins. Yet, as Daprà has remarked, 'the presence of Virgin and Eternal Father on the cloud does not suffice to confer on the painting the character of a religious painting' (1994a, p.41).

At the upper edge of the painting 'our furious Lord with castigating sword in hand' wields his sword to smite the city (de Dominici, 1742, p.196) (Fig. 2.20). Beside him, a saint (a male saint; possibly an overpainted Virgin) kneels begging for mercy, but

receives no response.[45] Even the heavens are at odds over what the city deserves.

Separating contagious bodies from those they threaten was entangled with the practice of punishing again the afflicted. The political economy of the body operating here was the production of bodies as *in excess* of the economy of the city, their expulsion essential to its survival. That expulsion from the city is a form of excommunication. The instruments of the city – churches, walls, gates, houses turn their back. It is the city that is at risk and that must be saved. And this place, in which those who are punished for their sins are dumped and exposed, emerges as a hellish place where dying is at once organised and a matter of abandonment, over which divine figures hover without conviction. And yet they are there. The intercessionary figure offers the only hope there is; the rest is punishment, division and dissolution.

While Carlo Coppola's *Scene of the Plague of 1656* (Fig. 2.21) shows Piazza Mercato like an afflicted body in an ex-voto, complete with banderole, Gargiulo's city has lost its centre of gravity and is cock-eyed and off its axis. Indeed, this is less city than what is expelled to save it. Compared to the carnal immediacy of popular ex-voti, Gargulo's painting steps back to view events with disconcerting dispassion. The relation with God is forged neither through the body of one who is wounded, personal and fleshly, nor through the body of the city as beautiful and fulfilled, but the city as body that replaces the body and that requires its expulsion. This place is disastrous. It is dislocation. And the inhabitants become no longer subjects of direct affliction (my suffering organ, my daughter's lame mule, my father's miraculously restored sight), but those afflicted as a sort of 'collateral damage', the city as carnage. They are responsible for the city's fate through their relation with the divine (civic duty as divine duty); it is their failings for which the city is punished. While on the face of it, the relation with God assumes a collective dimension, the collaborative potential of this dimension is simultaneously dashed by social, political and governmental hierarchical division.

Conclusion

With all respect the results have shown, and continue to show, that the system works badly and is unprofitable to the state. [Explaining that thereby 400,000 citizens of Naples were deprived of all political rights] *I dwell on this no longer as I know that truth breeds hatred.*

G.D. Tassone, *Observationes jurisdictionales, politicae ad Regiam Pragmaticam Sanctionem editam de anno 1617 quae dicitur De Antefato,* pp.102–4

These paintings encompass what may be called the 'holy or saintly dimension of the political' of baroque Naples. That is, the aspect in which politics touches on the intelligibility of the social world, on inhabitants' sense of coherence, continuity, vibrancy in the world, part of what makes people consent to given regimes and determines their manner of being in society. Thus, rather than treat these artworks as if they represent an *already existing* political contract of 'Viceregency' or monarchical rule, they may be seen as intimately bound up with the ultimate question of the legitimacy of that which exists. The presence of the saint above the city conveys an exposure that distinguishes human beings: not exposure simply to the elements or to the fragility and precariousness of mortal finite lives, but to the risk of perdition. The saint may stand in for that missing piece of the world that seems to secure the chance of redemption. The vulnerability of the city and its inhabitants is exposed at a slant: contingent, fragile and susceptible to breakdown.

Baroque Naples is produced through its relations with viceroy and patron saints. Those intermediaries defined Naples' fate in relation to the prodigies of politics, nature and the divine. Vesuvius' eruption was not simply a 'natural' disaster, since the very intercession of San Gennaro indicates that it was a form of divine punishment for a city gone astray. Even nature was not simply natural. The miracle marks a distinction between the natural and supernatural while simultaneously obliterating that distinction. Gargiulo's *Plague* shifts from a reassuring promise of salvation in the protector saint's closeness to the viewer and Spain's military and economic strength, offered by Ribera, to a world in which Spanish efforts are exposed as limits and the presence of the divine is distant and detached. In this divine economy, the city is a means by which the people are punished and, indeed, the city, as much as the people, is punished. The saint's presence announces the chance of amnesty, opens hope for mercy and the painting asks the viewer to believe that this happened and that therefore it could happen again.

Holiness or sanctity, then, is discerned in terms of dislocation; the discovery that holiness is marked in place only shows more clearly that it eludes place. The baroque saint is, then, a form of fold. The saint is veiled and folded in the city. Hence the idea of the *Zweifalt*, a fold that differentiates and is differentiated. When Heidegger calls upon the *Zweifalt* to be the differentiator of difference, he means above all that differentiation does not refer to a pregiven undifferentiated, but to a difference that endlessly unfolds and folds over from each of its two sides, and that unfolds one only while refolding the other, in coextensive movements. Every god entails withdrawal, concealment or absence as its properly divine trait. The sacred in person is the god, but the god by its nature is concealed; it withdraws from the world, whether within the world, in its folding, or outside, in its unfolding: 'It is thus that gods are made: not fabricated by projection, as is often said, but feigned, fictionalized as figures of what has neither figure nor appearance of its own but which emanates, which propagates and communicates itself in singular effects of a particular given, circumstance or encounter' (Nancy, 2005, p.156).

The point is not that the realisation of the world of political theology was organised by fictions and therefore not real or grounded in anything substantial. But rather that in such fictions was made visible or discernible a truth about inner lives, fantasies, moral commitment, political passions and the sense of something more that sustained vital existence. Community emerges in the recognition of its fault, lack and delinquence. Communal fear generates common servitude, which is the opposite of community in which freedom brings separate individuals together (Esposito, 2012, p.16). Gargiulo's paintings show one and open the way to the other. Thus, the community is bound together by the 'task' of addressing its own destruction and setting things aright.[46] A simple appeal to tradition and things as they are was rendered deadly by the eruption. Order had to be re-established; but what sort of order? Remaking the eruption of 1631 into a narrative, not of failed divinity, but of the presence of sanctity concretises that new beginning. The catastrophes of plague, Vesuvius, even revolt deterritorialise the city, open it anew. The city has been touched by a sovereign event, the suffering of revolt, plague, volcanic eruption, a miraculous salvation.

Ribera and Solimena's altarpieces offer the saint as embodiment of a common horizon in which disparate groups may – indeed, must – find accord. Salvation is located elsewhere than in political justice. Gargiulo's work offers instead a split horizon in which the divine keeps its distance and community is held in tension with mere power over flesh. Its political potential lies in its capacity to disrupt an established order, to bring

silenced people and experiences into visibility that has a claim on others (even if it is ignored), a capacity to depict what thitherto was assumed to be undepictable (and perhaps the least welcome of truths), to trouble an established sense of what is and is not allowed to appear. And it offers, too, a sort of poetic presence that is at variance with the attempt to reduce history to the actions and deeds of celebrated men. The paintings deploy the authority of the long Neapolitan tradition of city-as-view, but depart from the view from out to sea, the divine point of view, to hover closer to buildings and people, to try to bring them into the same frame as God, in a device that simultaneously narrows and widens the visible field, and seeks to extend and limit what can be uttered. This is the culmination and destruction of the city-saint salvific economy in which the city becomes votive offering.

Giorgio Agamben, in theorising relations between sovereignty and the vital sphere, the bodies and lives caught up in the political sets articulated by the operations of sovereign power in its multiple forms and guises, remarks that in relation to the nation-state, the 'people', rather than a unitary subject, amounts to 'a dialectical oscillation' between two opposite poles: on the one hand, the set of the People as a whole political body, and on the other, the subset of the people as a 'fragmentary multiplicity of needy and excluded bodies' (1998, p.1). What is fascinating about Gargiulo's painting is that the powerless people of Naples emerge. These are the people who are erased from Barra's map and from Ribera's golden vision of San Gennaro. At once, they are the people who constitute the political body of Naples and a subset of the people – Agamben's 'fragmentary multiplicity of needy and excluded bodies'. In the concept of 'people' categorical pairs 'define the original political structure: bare life (people) and political existence (People), exclusion and inclusion, *zoē* and *bios*. The "people" thus always already carries the fundamental biopolitical fracture within itself. It is what cannot be included in the whole of which it is a part and what cannot belong to the set in which it is already included' (Agamben, 1998, pp.177–8).[47] In this sense the 'popolo' might be seen to be part of the 'fabric' of the city, yet it is simultaneously set outside it.

Sanctity's orientation towards a spatially rooted public or community allows the reformation of that 'public-place' in the name of the saint. Ribera, Palumbo and Gargiulo seem to memorialise the event, the critical intervention, preserving the deeds and salvaging threads from which triumphalist political narratives can be woven. Spadaro brings death into play in the field of sovereignty and opens anew the question of what the city of Naples – beyond territory – might be. Threat

of death gave power access to the populace beyond taxation and suppression of revolt. At the edges and *in extremis* territory becomes a productive site of flesh. What is at play is the capacity of political power to appropriate a surplus of flesh to shore up its legitimacy, to transform mere power into sovereign power. It is this fundamentally ambivalent materiality that is, in starkly contrasting ways, invested in the body of the sovereign and his deputy the viceroy and in the patron saint.

But Gargiulo's work also disrupts the established order, bringing silenced people and experiences into a provisional and tentative visibility. One can see in the shattered old ways, the emergence of new and common forms of life, being and city. Here that porosity emerges in relation to danger, crisis and the threat of extinction. It is threat that produces the city: 'Naples' is an effect of threat and a state of exception. These paintings drive to unveil a constitutive tension that is set in motion in their embrace of a relationship to the political sphere. These new artefacts show Naples as imperilled, blessed, protected and led, but cobbled together. Something is started anew in a story without heroes in a place that is never one, neither homogeneous, nor totalisable, but divisible and catastrophic.[48]

Notes

[1] The term 'baroque' here designates an emphatic Catholic emotive visual aesthetic. For discussion, see Hills (2011, pp.11–36).

[2] For notions of the 'rhizome' and of space as intensive rather than extensive, see Deleuze and Guattari (1988, esp. pp.3–25, 232–309).

[3] I approach these matters fractally. Rather than reading 'inwards' from 'whole' to part, assuming that the smaller is a 'part' that necessarily fits into a (pre-conceived) whole, rather than assuming that an altarpiece or building is *necessarily* 'part' of 'the Counter-Reformation', I seek to read the whole in the miniature and to resist the fundamentally historicist presumption that the larger picture is already known.

[4] For a discussion of objects and subjects in terms of becoming and as enfolded, and thus as events, see Deleuze (1993, p.22) and Bal (2003, pp.27–43).

[5] The literature on these topics is too vast to summarise here. For mapping early modern cities, see Schulz (1978, pp.425–75), Woodward (1987) and Hills (1996, pp.145–70). For investigations of the city as locus of sanctity in predominantly socio-political terms, see Golinelli (1980) and Bilinkoff (1989).

[6] Important studies of individual buildings include Herz (1988, pp.590–620), for the religious beyond the ecclesiastical, see Camille (2003, pp.250–1). Muir compares

urban dynamics and images of saints in the streets of Venice, Florence and Naples (1989, pp.25–42). For the argument that Catholic urban space had 'hot points and cold points', while Protestants dissolved the link between the sacred and place, see Zemon Davies (1981, pp.40–70).

[7] Brown (1981) remains essential reading. See also Vauchez (1981), Weinstein & Bell (1982) and Gajano (1982, pp.119–36).

[8] A tendency amongst early modernists to analyse sanctity in terms of the 'Counter-Reformation' is a powerful current, almost obligatory these days in studies of seventeenth-century Italy. It is over-inflected in relation to Rome, to Protestantism, to visitors from the north (such as Gregory Martin, an English Catholic recusant) and is overwhelmingly historicist.

[9] Calvin's attack was differently concerned with *locus*. He wanted not the correction of relic practice, but its abolition, firmly rejecting a religion of 'display which grants *an important place* to bodies' (1543, p.24, my italics: 'l'ostentation qui donne *une grande place* aux corps').

[10] One might take issue with the assumption that holiness has a single 'location' and that to think otherwise is a sign of early modern 'confusion'.

[11] Useful scholarship on patronal sanctity, although it does not do justice to the visual, includes: Peyer (1955); Webb (1996), Orselli (1985), Norman (1999) and Fiume (2000). For patronal sanctity as instrumentalism, see Kaplan (1979-80, pp.142–68). For Naples' patron saints in particular, see Sallmann (1994). Engagement with the visual has been invigorated by Kennedy (2014).

[12] The significance of gender in patronal sanctity and its consequences for visualisation of the city have also been overlooked, with few exceptions, see Sluhovsky (1998, pp.9, 58–63, 213–14) and Hills (2010, pp.207–30). For the Virgin Mary as patron of Florence, see Holmes (2013).

[13] For depictions of saints in terms of Trent, see Treffers (2001, pp.338–72). For issues of reception, see Jones (1999, pp.28–48).

[14] See Eliade (1961). Relics and reliquaries were special objects of devotion in terms of place, embodiments of non-homogeneous holy space, especially so in baroque art with regard to the fold (Deleuze, 1993, pp.6–9, 12–18).

[15] By the end of the sixteenth century the city vaunted seven patron saints. By point of comparison, Siena, another city unusually well-endowed with saintly protection, had four 'advocate saints' (*santi Avvocati*). Naples remarkably multiplied its saints: by 1626, there were twelve; by 1680, nineteen; and by 1707, there were no fewer than thirty-one (Sallmann, 1994, pp.104–6).

[16] Jean-Michel Sallmann suggests that the relationship between community and saint symbolised the hierarchical image of aristocratic society of the *ancien regime* and expressed the clientage relationship which bound powerful and lowly reciprocally (1999, esp. p.102). On this relation, see also Trexler (1972) and Sodano (1987).

[17] Gennaro's bones were supposedly taken to the catacombs in Capodimonte in 420 before a series of movements

resulting in their return to Naples in 1497. Meanwhile, his skull bone remained in Naples in the reliquary commissioned by Charles II of Anjou in 1305. Gennaro's relics were, like viceregal rule, doubled. When bone and blood were brought together, the miraculous liquefaction might occur.

[18] Political and cultural economies have long been tightly interwoven with the divine. The founding mythology of *pietas* of the Roman empire was readily swept into the Christian empire. Pietas involved the display of *virtus*, a willingness to die for one's belief and community, and the valuing of the *utilitas publica* over one's personal good. Christian emperors had a duty to uphold and protect Christendom and to extend the empire to those who, because of ignorance, had been denied historical access to the 'congregation of the faithful': 'The Christian world order, like the empire itself, had always been thought as identical *de iure* with the world and thus potentially as a culturally moral and finally political order with no natural frontiers' (Pagden, 1995, pp.30–1).

[19] Continuity between ancient and modern *imperia* was guaranteed and legitimated as much by the translation of power from Augustus to Constantine to Charles V, via Charlemagne, as it was by their shared aims (Pagden, 1998, p.41).

[20] The jurist Fernando Vázquez de Menchaca writes in *Controversium illustrium aliarumque usu frequentium* (1563) of the Spanish monarchy's 'cives et subditi' ('citizens and subjects') (cited in Pagden, 1998, p.45).

[21] Devotional matters were far from immune. The Viceroys' growing involvement in the feasts of San Gennaro, Corpus Domini and of San Giovanni a Mare in Naples formed part of a strategy of legitimation of Spanish power in Italy (Carrió-Invernizzi, 2007, pp.392–3).

[22] Neo-Thomist theologians and civil lawyers (not the canonists) were hostile to the claim that the Pope had dominium over non-Christians, because they were unbelievers. Wycliff, Huss, Luther and Calvin held that power (*potestas*) derived from God's grace and not, as Aquinas argued, from God's Law. Their view led to the claim that the ungodly, which had no share in God's grace, could not exercise dominium. Opponents to these views were acutely aware that such political theory used to legitimate the conquest of territories of non-Christian rulers and subjects could equally be used against Christian rulers and subjects.

[23] For the date of Ribera's painting, see Prota-Giurleo (1957, p.148) and Spinosa (2003, p.242, n.119). For this painting as a model for successive works, see Peréz Sánchez & Spinosa (1992, p.285).

[24] It has been suggested that the work was executed in the late 1640s to early 1650s (Ceci, 1920, p.195; Causa, 1956, pp.2–4) and was executed at the same time as *The Revolt of Masaniello* (Daprà, 1994b, p.287). Christopher Marshall (1998) has suggested a later date for both paintings, between 1656 and 1660, a view repeated in Giordano (2002).

[25] Most of these descriptions place the apparition of Gennaro at the outset of the procession from the cathedral, and they attribute the quelling of the mountain to the archbishop's raising of the relics towards it at the outskirts of the city.

[26] 'una fedele documentazione visiva di quel particolare fenomeno naturale e storico'.

[27] 'To represent is to contain within oneself the person of another as if he were the same person, in order to follow him in all his actions and rights, as the son "represents" the person of his father'. Michael Schreffler suggests the relationship between king and viceroy was 'intersubjective fusion' rather than a relationship between 'independent entities' (2007, p.73).

[28] The protection of the Madonna of the Immaculate Conception and of St Francis Xavier were particularly sought. On the eve of the Assumption, a torrential rainstorm swept away rubbish and debris, and marked the beginning of the end of the pestilence, which finally ended on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (Parrino, 1770, p.200).

[29] Causa proposed that this was a *bozzetto* for the Porta del Carmine (1972, p.993, n.147).

[30] This *bozzetto* was for the fresco painted by 1 Sep 1657 on Porta Reale (Clifton & Spike, 1989; Rullo, 2013).

[31] 'con morte d'otto, e diecimila persone il giorno, si vide Napoli in un momento ridotta in un miserabile Lazzareto, in un'orribile cimiterio'.

[32] For Alessandro Righi, Florentine physician in the 1630s, the city poor were like glands or ignoble peripheral organs of the body, far from heart and brain, a depository for noxious substances expelled by the nobler parts and which retained the poison (Pullan, 1992, p.110).

[33] For Giuseppe Balestra, head physician of the Lazaretto on the island in the Tiber in Rome, plague 'is a malignant contagious fever, amongst all fevers, the cruellest, which, spreading from one to another, infects with its poisonous quality […] it being communicated through the air' (1657, pp.5–6).

[34] Prohibition of sexual intercourse with a woman 'with leprosy or menstruating' formed part of the *Regimen sanitatis* of Salerno which informed Neapolitan medicine (Calvi, 1981, pp.415–16).

[35] It prohibited prostitutes from sleeping with anyone ('che le donne di mala vita […] possano dormire accompagnate') on pain of whipping. The men were not punished (Calvi, 1981, p.417).

[36] The figure of the dead woman with living baby occurs in Raphael's *Plague in Frigia* and Nicolas Poussin's *The Plague of Azoth*, as well as in Mattia Preti's *bozzetto*.

[37] 'Comunque sia, egli è certo che un certo Masone, che ne' tumulti dell'anno 1647 era stato officiale del Popolo, tornò in Regno con questa Nave; e ch'essendosi immantinente ammalato, fu condotto nello Spedale della Santissima Annunziata, dove dopo tre giorni se ne morì di Petecchie. Non vi voll'altro per attaccare in Napoli la contagione; poichè assalito da un Capogiro Carlo di Fazio, che serviva nello Spedale, dopo ventiquattr'ore spirò l'anima nella sua casa, ch'era nel vicolo del Pero'.

[38] '[V]i furono dieci, o dodici già colpevoli de' popolari tumulti dell'anno 1647 li quali essendo tornati in Napoli gravidi dell'antica perfidia, presero l'occasione de' primi susurri di pestilenza, per eccitare una nuova sedizione nel Popolo'. The districts of Conciaria, Lavinaria and Mercato offered both Masaniello's revolt and the plague most fertile ground.

[39] 'Fin hora non si è sentito che siano morti di tal male solo persone assai ordinarie' wrote the nunzio Giulio Spinola to Rome on 29 April 1656.

[40] The church and convent of Carmine were at the heart of the people's resistance in 1647.

[41] Micco Spadaro's *Riding Lesson* (oil on canvas, 64 x 75cm, private collection, Naples) depicts riding lessons near the grain stores just outside Port 'Alba and attests to a fascination with Piazza Mercatello. On horsemanship in viceregal Naples, see Hernando Sánchez (1998).

[42] The places ear-marked for plague victims were: 'San Gennaro fuori le mura, the Conservatorio degli Orfanelli of Santa Maria di Loreto, Real Cavallerizza (royal horseground) nearby, and the other outside the Porta di Chiaia' (Parrino, 1770, p.197).

[43] Piazza Mercatello is associated with the rebellion in Gargiulo's *Punishment of Thieves at the time of Masaniello* (Museo di San Martino), in which the thieves pass in front of Porta Reale.

[44] Josse Lieferinxe's altarpiece was commissioned for the church of Notre Dame des Accoules in Marseilles by the Confrérie de Luminaire de St Sébastien in 1497 (Katz, 2006).

[45] One might have expected San Gaetano da Thiene, Francesco Saverio or even suor Orsola Benincasa as intercessor. The latter was much venerated during the plague but, suspected of heresy, was effectively obliterated from the record (Calvi, 1981, p.452).

[46] Esposito observes that the term 'community' probably derives from 'cum' 'munus' (or munia). Members of a community are not bound by just any relationship, but precisely by a *munus*, a 'task', 'duty' or 'law'. They are bound by a 'gift' that is to be given (Esposito, 2012, p.14).

[47] For Agamben declarations of rights marks the place in which the passage from divinely authorized royal sovereignty to national sovereignty is accomplished. This transforms the 'subject' into a 'citizen' (1998, p.128).

[48] I do not mean by 'divisible' to refer, as has been suggested, to the 'multiplicity of points of view of an early modern civic population'. This would be to refer to something in terms not of the 'divisible', but of the 'multiple' and thus different points – and a different point of view entirely.

Bibliography

1   Agamben, G. (1998) *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (trans. D. Heller-Roazen), Stanford, Stanford University Press.

2   Bal, M. (2003), *Quoting Caravaggio: Contemporary Art, Preposterous History*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

3   Balestra, G. (1657) *Gli accidenti più gravi del mal contagioso osservati nel lazaretto all'isola,* Rome, F. Moneta.

4   Bilinkoff, J. (1989) *The Avila of Saint Teresa,* Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

5   Biraben, J.-N. (1974) 'Les pauvres et la peste' in M. Mollat (ed.) *Études sur l'Histoire de la Pauvreté,* Paris, La Sorbonne, pp.505–24.

6   Braccini, G.C. (1632) *Dell'Incendio fattosi nel Vesuvio a XVI di dicembre M.DC.XXXI E delle sue cause ed effetti. Con la narrazione di quanto è seguito in esso per tutto Marzo 1632. E con la Storia di tutti gli altri Incendij nel medesimo Monte avvenuti*, Naples, Secondino Roncagliolo .

7   Brown, P. (1981) *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity,* Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

8   Buccaro, A. (2014) 'Architetture e dinamiche fondiarie a Napoli tra Sei e Settecento: I casi di Palazzo Ruffo di Bagnara e del Foro Carolino nella formazione del Largo dello Spirito Santo', *Palladio*, no.54, pp.63–84.

9   Calvi, G. (1981) 'L'oro, il fuoco, le forche: la peste napoletana del 1656', *Archivio storico italiano*, no.139, pp.405–58.

10   Calvin, J. (1543) *Traité des reliques ou advertissement très utile du grand profit qui reviendrait à la chrestienté s'il se faisoit inventaire de tous les corps saints et reliques qui sont tant en Italie qu'en France*, Geneva.

11   Camille, M. (2003) 'At the sign of the "Spinning Sow"' in A. Bolvig and P. Lindley (eds), *History and Images: Towards a New Iconology,* Turnhout, Brepols, pp.250–1.

12   Campanella, T. (1633), *Monarchia Messiae*, Iesi.

13   Cañeque, A. (2010) 'Imaging the Spanish empire: The visual construction of imperial authority in Habsburg New Spain', *Colonial Latin American Review*, vol.19, no.1, pp.29–68.

14   Capecelatro, F. (1849) *Degli Annali della città di Napoli, 1631-1640*, Naples, Tipografia Reale.

15   Caraffa, F. and Massone, A. (1996) *Santa Cecilia Martire Romana: passione e culto,* Rome, Fratelli Palombi.

16   Carrió-Invernizzi, D. (2007) *El gobierno da las imàgenes, ceremonial y mecenazgo en la Italia española de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII Madrid*, Frankfurt am Main, Vervuet.

17   Causa, R. (1956) *L'eruzione del Vesuvio nel 1631. Un dipinto di Micco Spadaro ed un poemetto di G. B. Bergazzano*, Naples.

18   Causa, R. (1972) 'La pittura del Seicento a Napoli dal naturalismo al barocco' in *Storia di Napoli*, Naples, Cava dei Tirreni, pp.915-94.

19   Ceci, G. (1920) 'Gargiulo Domenico', *Thieme Becker Künstlerlexicon,* Leipzig, vol.13, pp.194–6.

20   Celano, C. ([1858] 2000) *Notizie del Bello dell'Antico e del Curioso della Città di Napoli*, ed. by Giovanni Battista Chiarini, 5 vols, Naples, Edizioni dell'Anticaglia.

21   Ceraso, F. (1632), *L'Opre Stupende e Maravigliosi Eccessi dalla natura Prodottti nel Monte Vesuvio della Città di Napoli liberata per intercessione della Beatissima Vergine, e de' Gloriosi Santi Gennaro, Tomaso, & altri Protettori*, Naples, Secondino Roncagliolo.

22   Cipolla, C.M. (1977) 'The plague and the pre-Malthus Malthusians', *Journal of European Economic History,* vol.3, pp.277–84.

23   Clifton, J.D. and Spike, J.T. (1989) 'Mattia Preti's passage to Naples: A documented chronology, 1650–1660', *Storia dell'arte,* vol.65, pp.45–68.

24   Damisch, H. (2002) *A Theory of Cloud: Toward a History of Painting,* Stanford, Stanford University Press.

25   Daprà, B. (1994a) 'I quadri di storia' in G. Sestieri and B. Daprà (eds) *Domenico Gargiulo detto Micco Spadaro. Paesaggista e 'cronista' napoletano*, Milan, Jandi Sapi Editori, pp.36–43.

26   Daprà, B. (1994b) 'Eruzione del Vesuvio' in G. Sestieri & B. Daprà (eds) *Domenico Gargiulo detto Micco Spadaro. Paesaggista e 'cronista' napoletano*, Milan, Jandi Sapi Editori, pp.286–7.

27   Daprà, B. (1994c) 'Piazza Mercatello durante la peste del 1656' in G. Sestieri & B. Daprà (eds) *Domenico Gargiulo detto Micco Spadaro. Paesaggista e 'cronista' napoletano*, Milan, Jandi Sapi Editori, pp.294-5.

28   Deleuze, G. (1993) *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque* (trans. T. Conley), Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

29   Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (1998) *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (trans. B. Massumi), London, Athlone Press.

30   De Martino, C. (1632) *Osservationi Giornali del Successo nel Vesuvio Dalli XVI di Decembre M DC XXXI fino alli X di Aprile M DC XXXII D'Ordine dell'Illustrissimo Sig. Marchese di Bel Monte Regente Carlo di Tapia di Cesare De Martino Filosofo, & uno delli Medici della Sanità*

di questa fedelissima Città di Napoli, Naples, Ottavio Beltrano.

31   De Vitoria, F. (1991) *Francisco de Vitoria: Political Writings*, ed. by Anthony Pagden and Jeremy Lawrance, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

32   Eliade, M. (1961) *The Sacred and the Profane*, New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

33   Espoito, R. (2008), *Bios: Biopolitics and Philosophy* (trans. and intro. T. Campbell), Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

34   Esposito, R. (2012), *Commonalities Term of the Political: Community, Immunity, Biopolitics*, New York, Fordham University Press.

35   Falcone, N.C. (1713) *L'Intera Istoria di San Gennaro della Famiglia, Vita, Miracoli Traslazioni, e Culto del Glorioso Martire S. Gannaro Vescovo di Benevento Cittadino, e Principal Protettore di Napoli,* Naples, Felice Mosca.

36   Fiume, G. (ed.) (2000) *Il santo patrono e la città: San Benedetto il Moro: culti, devozioni, strategie di età moderna*, Venice, Saggi Marsilio.

37   Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (trans. A. Sheridan), New York, Vintage Books.

38   Foucault, M. (2006) *History of Madness* (trans. J. Murphy and J. Khalfa), London and New York, Routledge.

39   Gajano, S. (1982) 'Il culto dei santi: filologia, antropologia, e storia', *Studi Storici,* vol.23, no.1, pp.119–36.

40   Galasso, G. (1970) 'La peste' in *Storia di Napoli,* vol.6, Naples.

41   Galasso, G. (1982) 'Ideologia e sociologia del patronato di san Tommaso d'Aquino su Napoli (1605)', in G. Galasso and C. Russo (eds) *Per una storia sociale e religiosa del Mezzogiorno*, vol.2, Naples, Guida, pp.213–49.

42   Gatta, G. (1659) *Di una gravissima peste che nella passata primavera e estate dell'anno 1656 depopolò la città di Napoli, suoi borghi e casali, e molte altre città e terre del suo Regno,* vol.1, Naples, Luc'Antonio di Fusco.

43   Giordano, M. (2002) 'Eruzione del Vesuvio' in B. Daprà (ed.) *Micco Spadaro. Napoli ai Tempi di Masaniello,* Naples, Electa, p.126.

44   Giuliani, G. (1632) *Trattato del Monte Vesuvio e de' suoi Incendi*, Naples, Egidio Longo.

45   Golinelli, P. (1980) *Culto dei santi e vita cittadina a Reggio Emilia,* Modena, Aedes Muratoriana.

46   Hernando Sánchez, C. (1998) 'La gloria del cavallo: saber ecuestre y cultura caballeresca en el reino de Nápoles durante el siglo XVI' in C. Hernando Sánchez (ed.) *Felipe II: Europa dividida, la monarquía católica de Felipe II,* vol.4, Madrid, Parteluz, pp.277–310.

47   Herz, A. (1988) 'Cardinal Cesare Baronio's restoration of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo and S. Cesareo de' Appia', *Art Bulletin*, vol.70, no.4, pp.590-620.

48   Hills, H. (1996) 'Mapping the early modern city', *Urban History*, vol.23, no.2. pp.145–70.

49   Hills, H. (2010) 'How to look like a Counter-Reformation saint' in M. Calaresu, F. De Vivo and J.-P. Rubies (eds) *Exploring Cultural Histories: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke,* Farnham, Ashgate, pp.207-30.

50   Hills, H. (2011) 'The Baroque: The grit in the oyster of art history' in H. Hills (ed.) *Rethinking the Baroque*, Aldershot, Ashgate, pp.11–36.

51   Holmes, M. (2013) The *Miraculous Image* in *Renaissance Florence*, New Haven, Yale University Press.

52   Joblin, A (1999) 'L'attitude des protestants face aux reliques' in E. Bozóky and A.-M. Helvétius (eds) *Les reliques: objets, cultes, symboles,* Turnhout, Brepols, pp.123–41.

53   Jones, P (1999) 'The power of images: Paintings and viewers in Caravaggio's Italy' in F. Mormando (ed.) *Saints and Sinners: Caravaggio and the Baroque Image,* Chestnut Hill, McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, pp.28–48.

54   Kämpf, T. (2001) 'Framing Cecilia's sacred body: Paolo Camillo Sfrondati and the language of revelation', *The Sculpture Journal,* vol.6, pp.10–20.

55   Kaplan, S. (1979-80) 'Religion, subsistence, and social control: The uses of Saint Genevieve', *Eighteenth Century Studies,* vol.13, no.1, pp.142–68.

56   Katz, M.R. (200607) 'Preventative medicine: Josse Lieferinxe's "Retable Altar of St Sebastian" as a defense against plague in fifteenth-century Provence', *Interfaces*, no.26, *Maladie: Representation dans la litterature et dans les Arts Visuels,* College of the Holy Cross, Université Paris 7, pp.59–82.

57   Kennedy, T. (ed) (2014) *Sanctity Pictured: The Art of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders in Renaissance Italy,* Nashville Tennessee, Philip Wilson.

58   Marshall, C. (1998) '"Causa di stravaganze": Order and anarchy in Domenico Gargiulo's *Revolt of Masaniello', Art Bulletin*, vol.80, n.3, pp.478–97.

59   Muir, E. (1989) 'The Virgin on the street corner: The place of the sacred in Italian cities' in S. Ozment (ed.) *Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation,* Kirskville, Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, pp.25–42.

60   Nancy, J.-L. (2005) *The Ground of the Image* (trans. J. Fort), New York, Fordham University Press.

61   Nicolini, F. (1905) 'Dalla Porta Reale al Palazzo degli Studi', *Napoli Nobilissima*, pp.168–70.

62   Norman, D. (ed) (1999) *Siena and the Virgin: Art and Politics in a late Medieval City State*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press.

63   Orselli, A.M. (1985) *L'immaginario religioso della città medievale*, Ravenna, M. Lapucci: Edizioni del girasole.

64   Pagden, A. (1993) *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism,* New Haven and London, Yale University Press

65   Pagden, A. (1995) *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c1500–1800,* New Haven and London, Yale University Press.

66   Pane, R. (1984) 'La Processione del 1631 per l'Eruzione del Vesuvio, in un Quadro di Micco Spadaro' in R. Pane (ed.) *Seicento Napoletano. Arte, Costume e Ambiente*, Milan, Edizioni di Comunità, pp.515-6.

67   Parrino, D.A. (1770) *Teatro Eroico e Politico de' Governi de'Vicere del Regno di Napoli dal tempo del Re Ferdinando il Cattolico fino al presente,* 2 vols, Naples, Giovanni Gravier.

68   Peréz Sánchez, E. and Spinosa, N. (1992) *Jusepe de Ribera 1591–1652,* [ex. cat. Napoli Castel Sant'Elmo-Certosa di San Martino-Cappella del Tesoro di San Gennaro], Naples, Electa.

69   Peyer, H.C. (1955) *Stadt und Stadtpatron im mittelalterlichen Italien,* Zurich, Europa Verlag.

70   Porzio, A. (1984) 'Immagini della Peste del 1656' in *Civiltà del Seicento a Napoli*, vol.2, Naples, pp.51–2.

71   Prota-Giurleo, U. (1957), 'Fanzago ignorato', *Il Fuidoro,* vol.4, pp.146–50.

72   Pullan, B. (1992) 'Plague and perceptions of the poor in early modern Italy' in T. Ranger and P. Slack (eds) *Epidemics and Ideas. Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.102–23.

73   Rullo, A. (2013), cat. entry no.40, in S. Debono and G. Valentino (eds) *Mattia Preti: Faith and Humanity,* Valletta, Midsea Books**,** p.263.

74   Sallmann, J.-M. (1994) *Naples et ses saints à l'âge baroque (1540-1750),* Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.

75   Schreffler, M. (2007) *The Art of Allegiance: Visual Culture and Imperial power in Baroque New Spain,* University Park, Penn State University Press.

76   Schulz, J. (1978) 'Jacopo de' Barberi's View of Venice: Map making, city views, and moralized geography before the year 1500', *Art Bulletin,* vol.60, no.3, pp.425–75.

77   Sluhovsky, M. (1998) *Patroness of Paris Rituals of Devotion in Early Modern France,* Leiden-Cologne, Brill.

78   Sodano, Giulio (1987) 'Miracoli e ordini religiosi nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia (XVI–XVIII secolo)', *Archivio Storico per le province Napoletane,* vol.115, pp.293–414.

79   Spinosa, N. (2003) *Ribera: L'opera completa*, Naples, Electa.

80   Tassoni, L. (2013) 'The space revisited' in S. Debono and G. Valentino (eds) *Mattia Preti: Faith and Humanity,* [exhib. cat. 'Mattia Preti: Faith and Humanity, 1613–2013' Museo Civico, Taverna], Valletta, MideseaBooks, p.83.

81   Treffers, B. (2001) 'The Arts and Craft of Sainthood' in B. Brown (ed.) *The Genius of Rome 1592-1623,* London, Royal Academy of Arts, pp.338–72.

82   Trexler, R. (1972) 'Florentine religious experience: The sacred image' *Studies in the Renaissance,* vol.19, pp.7–41.

83   Vauchez, A. (1981) *La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge d'après les process de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques,* Rome.

84   Warburg, A. (1999) 'Art of portraiture and the Florentine bourgeoisie' in A. Warburg *Renewal of Pagan Antiquity* (trans. D. Britt), Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute Publications Programs, pp.185–222, 435–51.

85   Webb, D. (1996) *Patrons and Defenders: The Saints in the Italian City States*, London, Tauris Academic Studies.

86   Weinstein, D. and Bell, R. (1982), *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700,* Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press.

87   Woodward, D. (ed.) (1987) *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays,* Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press.

88   Zemon Davies, N. (1981), 'The sacred and the body social in sixteenth-century Lyons', *Past and Present,* vol.90, no.1, pp.40–70.