

Art in the Economic History of the Kingdom of Naples, from the Eighteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*

Michela Mantovani

University of Rome - La Sapienza

1. Changes in the buying power of money

In political and economic literature, the Kingdom of Naples has now a well-established stylized image: that is, of an obscurantist kingdom with backward institutions that reflect a poorly developed economy and a badly educated society. Part of this stylized image concerns the nobility who were generally more instructed in using arms than in humanistic activities and the current emerging technologies. The important figures of the Neapolitan Enlightenment were often dismissed as marginal figures. The aim of this study is to examine to what extent this stylized image is reliable or instead the fruit of a dominating culture resulting after the unification of Italy and quite distant from Neapolitan reality.

Comparing, for the purposes of my study on the artistic and cultural activities of the Kingdom of Naples, the purchasing power of money with the present value of the lira, I became aware that there were large discrepancies that often rendered the values expressed in ducats almost insignificant. Therefore, I undertook research that enabled me to work out a homogeneous series of the purchasing power of Neapolitan money concerning the years 1647-1861 (Mantovani M. 2000b) with reference to the current value of the lira (table n. 1). In this table I made reference to the values shown to explain in current lire the multiple values cited in my study. The choice of the initial date of the research, 1647, stems from the

* This essay has been written before the introduction of € (euro). The rate for conversion lire in € is 1936.27.

TABLE 1. Ducato purchasing power in ITL and USD

<i>(exchange rate L./\$2,000)</i>											
	ITL	USD		ITL	USD		ITL	USD		ITL	USD
1647	45,700	22.85	1701	56,500	28.25	1755	45,700	22.85	1809	26,000	13.00
1648	49,000	24.5	1702	53,900	26.95	1756	48,000	24	1810	24,500	12.25
1649	49,000	24.5	1703	54,500	27.25	1757	47,500	23.75	1811	28,600	14.30
1650	52,200	26.1	1704	47,500	23.75	1758	47,100	23.55	1812	29,300	14.65
1651	52,200	26.1	1705	49,500	24.75	1759	47,100	23.55	1813	34,600	17.30
1652	54,500	27.25	1706	52,700	26.35	1760	46,600	23.3	1814	29,700	14.85
1653	54,500	27.25	1707	50,500	25.25	1761	47,100	23.55	1815	23,600	11.80
1654	54,500	27.25	1708	43,200	21.6	1762	47,500	23.75	1816	23,600	11.80
1655	48,500	24.25	1709	48,000	24	1763	45,300	22.65	1817	28,600	13.30
1657	47,500	23.75	1711	53,300	26.65	1765	43,200	21.6	1819	31,000	15.50
1658	53,900	26.95	1712	49,500	24.75	1766	44,900	22.45	1820	30,000	15.00
1659	53,300	26.65	1713	49,000	24.5	1767	44,400	22.2	1821	31,000	15.50
1660	53,300	26.65	1714	46,600	23.3	1768	43,600	21.8	1822	30,900	15.45
1661	53,300	26.65	1715	53,300	26.65	1769	43,800	21.8	1823	34,800	17.40
1662	60,000	30	1716	50,500	25.25	1770	42,900	21.45	1824	37,600	18.80
1663	56,500	28.25	1717	46,200	23.1	1771	42,100	21.05	1825	40,500	20.25
1664	60,000	30	1718	50,500	25.25	1772	42,100	21.05	1826	39,500	19.75
1665	57,800	28.9	1719	40,700	20.35	1773	40,700	20.35	1827	35,500	17.75
1666	57,800	28.9	1720	46,600	23.3	1774	40,600	20.35	1828	34,000	17.00
1667	55,200	27.6	1721	47,500	23.75	1775	40,300	20.15	1829	32,600	16.30
1668	52,200	26.1	1722	51,600	25.8	1776	40,300	20.15	1830	34,900	17.45
1669	52,200	26.1	1723	52,200	26.1	1777	40,300	20.15	1831	34,900	17.45
1670	53,300	26.65	1724	54,500	27.25	1778	39,300	19.65	1832	34,100	17.05
1671	48,000	24	1725	52,200	26.1	1779	37,500	18.75	1833	43,000	21.50
1672	55,800	27.9	1726	55,200	27.6	1780	35,300	17.65	1834	45,800	22.90
1673	57,100	28.55	1727	57,100	28.55	1781	37,500	18.75	1835	46,200	23.10
1674	58,500	26.25	1728	49,500	24.75	1782	36,600	18.3	1836	51,400	25.70
1675	53,300	26.65	1729	54,500	27.25	1783	37,500	18.75	1837	45,200	22.60
1676	53,300	26.65	1730	51,600	25.8	1784	37,500	18.75	1838	36,800	18.40
1677	55,200	27.6	1731	57,800	28.9	1785	36,100	18.05	1839	36,600	18.30
1678	55,200	27.6	1732	57,100	28.55	1786	34,000	17	1840	36,600	18.30
1679	57,000	28.5	1733	55,200	27.6	1787	34,000	17	1841	36,600	18.30
1680	56,500	28.25	1734	51,100	25.55	1788	32,000	16	1842	36,600	18.30
1681	55,800	27.9	1735	50,500	25.25	1789	32,900	16.45	1843	36,600	18.30
1682	55,200	27.6	1736	50,000	25	1790	32,400	16.2	1844	37,200	18.60
1683	50,500	25.25	1737	51,600	25.8	1791	32,700	16.35	1845	36,100	18.05
1684	52,700	26.35	1738	49,000	24.5	1792	31,400	15.7	1846	36,600	18.30
1685	53,900	26.95	1739	49,500	24.75	1793	28,200	14.1	1847	33,800	16.90
1686	51,600	25.8	1740	49,500	24.75	1794	28,100	14.05	1848	36,000	18.00
1687	51,600	25.8	1741	50,000	25	1795	30,000	15	1849	37,200	18.60
1688	55,200	27.6	1742	48,000	24	1796	29,400	14.7	1850	34,300	17.15
1689	65,800	32.9	1743	49,000	24.5	1797	27,000	13.5	1851	35,100	17.55
1690	60,800	30.4	1744	50,500	25.25	1798	26,400	13.2	1852	35,100	17.55
1691	60,000	30	1745	48,500	24.25	1799	24,500	12.25	1853	30,600	15.30
1692	55,800	27.9	1746	49,000	24.5	1800	24,400	12.2	1854	31,800	15.90
1693	55,800	27.9	1747	48,000	24	1801	23,200	11.6	1855	30,000	15.00
1694	57,100	28.55	1748	47,100	23.55	1802	22,700	11.35	1856	28,400	14.20
1695	52,700	26.35	1749	48,500	24.25	1803	22,400	11.2	1857	27,100	13.55
1696	53,300	26.65	1750	48,000	24	1804	24,400	12.2	1858	29,800	14.90
1697	51,600	25.8	1751	48,500	24.25	1805	23,800	11.9	1859	30,800	15.40
1698	53,900	26.95	1752	48,500	24.25	1806	23,400	11.7	1860	29,300	14.65
1699	53,300	26.65	1753	47,100	23.55	1807	24,200	12.1			
1700	54,500	27.25	1754	45,700	22.85	1808	24,200	12.1			

fact that from that year on there exists accurate information on the annual dynamics of prices. The final year, 1860, is the year in which the currencies of the various preunified states were united and the lira was introduced in the Kingdom of Italy at the same official value as the currencies of the states before unification. For the period from the beginning of the 1500s to 1647 the facts on the dynamics of the purchasing power of available money are less reliable. While awaiting more details I think it is possible to refer to the ten-year averages taken from a study by Coniglio from 1961, regarding a narrow group of foodstuffs and non-foodstuffs.

I have set out here a summary of the results in table n. 2.

2. Political Events

With the marriage in 1469 between Isabella, heir to the throne of Castille, and the Catholic Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Aragon, the two kingdoms were united; with the birth of the new Spanish state in 1503 the long period of the vice-royalty began in Naples which lasted more than two centuries.

The city and the southern Italian states became little more than a suburb of the immense Spanish Empire.

Years	ITL
1510-19	88,600
1530-39	61,200
1540-49	59,700
1550-59	68,600
1560-69	50,800
1570-79	43,500
1580-89	42,100
1590-99	39,300
1600-09	34,300
1610-19	39,300
1620-29	40,000
1630-39	45,700
1640-49	45,700

Source: Elaboration based upon "Coniglio G, 1951".

TABLE 3

Year	Ruler
1503-1707	Spanish Viceroy
1707-1734	Austrian rule
1734-1759	Charles III Bourbon
1760-1806	Ferdinand IV Bourbon
1806-1808	Joseph Bonaparte
1808-1815	Gioacchino Murat
1815-1825	Ferdinand IV Bourbon
1825-1830	Frances I Bourbon
1830-1858	Ferdinand II Bourbon
1858-1860	Frances II Bourbon

After a period of Austrian rule (1707-1737) Naples became a kingdom of the Bourbon family of Spain.

From 1806 to 1815 the Kingdom of Naples became part of the Napoleonic Empire. The restoration of Bourbon rule lasted until 1861 when Garibaldi conquered the kingdom annexing it to the Kingdom of Italy (*Table 3*).

3. Demographic Picture

Naples from the first half of the 1500s to the end of the 1700s grew incessantly to become a large and populous city. In 1734 it numbered 270,000 inhabitants, in 1742 it had 315,000, equal to more than 10% of the population of the kingdom¹; in 1766 it reached 337,000 notwithstanding the 30,000 dead as a result of the plague of 1764. At the end of the century (1798) it numbered 441,000 inhabitants (Venditti 1961 p. 53). In the 1600s the Viceroys undertook to develop culture in Naples, which flourished as a city of festivals, theatre, music, painting, and art in general with painters such as Caravaggio, Luca Giordano, Jusepe de Ribera, Salvator Rosa, Mattia Preti but also great thinkers and intellectuals such as Giambattista Vico and Pietro Giannone². In the 1700s Naples was

¹ D. Demarco in AA.VV *Civiltà del '700 a Napoli*, 1980, p. 23.

² C. De Frede 1996, p. 68.

one of the capitals of the European Enlightenment with economists and social scientists such as Gaetano Filangieri, Ferdinando Galliani and Antonio Genovesi, architects like the Vanvitellis, Fuga, Sanfelice, and painters such as Francesco Solimena, Maratta. Already at the end of the 1600s archaeological excavations had begun in Pompei and Herculaneum and in the middle of the 1700s the Archaeological Museum of Naples was set up to exhibit the findings. In this study I will explore some economic aspects of the cultural and artistic production.

4. Costs and expenditure for land and private construction

4.1 Examples of palaces of noble families: the Orsini Palace by Gravina. In 1513 the Duke of Gravina, Don Ferdinando Orsini, procured land with a contract for 100 years for 123 ducats annually (L. 10,897,000). In 1547 he was able to extend it by acquiring a smaller piece of land from the Monastery of Saint Clare, with another contract for one hundred years for 72 ducats annually (L. 4,298,400). He therefore built his family palace which is agreed by all past and present observers to be one of the most beautiful noble palaces in Italy and certainly the best private Neapolitan construction of the first half of the sixteenth century.

In 1837 the palace, having been expropriated by creditors from the Orsini family, was acquired by Duke Ricciardi for 308,000 ducats (L. 13.9 billion), a truly high price according to historians. Renovations were undertaken, among which busts were taken from the façade which constituted one of the building's main attractions and this operation was judged to be unacceptable by the government which after a complicated dispute got the municipality to expropriate it for "public use" upon an agreed payment of compensation of 54,000 ducats (about L. 2 billion) to Ricciardi, as well as an annual income for life of 328 ducats³ (L. 12,004,800) (only 12% of the acquisition price).

4.2 Property Investments by artists. In the Kingdom of Naples in this period painters and successful artists in general had high earnings due

³ L. Terzi 1996, p. 45.

to the recognition conferred upon them in society. They made conspicuous property investments.

In March 1669 the celebrated painter Luca Giordano bought a farm producing 26 and 2 quarter bushels with a vineyard, a house, a palm grove, and a cistern at San Giorgio a Cremano for 3,400 ducats⁴ (L. 177,500,000).

Luca Giordano provided his private chapel with 50 ducats annually (L. 2,610,000) the earnings from rent of the 26 bushels and from the tavern "del Cantarone"⁵. Over the years, however, the income from Giordano's estate shrank and in 1861 was worth only 14 ducats annually instead of 50 (equal to L. 410,000), as Giordano had established, because although the tavern continued to yield income, the farm of 26 bushels was replaced by a garden belonging to the same property⁶. As a result of the construction of the Vesuvian Villa Marulli, former Villa Giordano⁷, and presently the Villa Russo nursing home, the surface area is now 1120 square metres, the used area is 2,352 square metres and the park area is 11,360 square metres⁸.

This demonstrates that the artist earned a considerable fortune from the proceeds of his artistic activity bearing in mind that the monthly income of a construction worker was 384,000 lire a month⁹. In fact, critics at the time cited him as a fast painter and paid less than Solimena who at his death in 1747 had a capital of 200,000¹⁰ scudi equal to 9.4 billion lire.

4.3 Rent. House rentals were high. In 1640 a "quartino" with two rooms and a kitchen in via Toledo, (in the centre of Naples), was rented for 45 ducats a year – (L. 2 million lire). A labourer earned 24 ducats a year (1.2 million lire), while a hovel (*basso*) in the working class areas was rented for 11 ducats a year¹¹ (L. 507 thousand).

⁴ R. Pane 1959, p. 124.

⁵ Palomba 1881, p. 62.

⁶ Pane R. 1959, p. 124.

⁷ cfr. Mantovani M. (2000a) and (2000b).

⁸ U. Cardarelli, P. Romano, A. Venditti 1985.

⁹ cfr. Mantovani M. (2000 b), p. 52.

¹⁰ De Dominicis, p. 635.

¹¹ N. Leone 1994, p. 140.

From an 1832 certificate of credit (*fede di credito*) belonging to the celebrated painter Antonio Pitloo, "one of the main figures of landscape painting in Italy during the 19th century"¹², a founder, together with G. Gigante of the school of Posillipo, it can be deduced that the monthly rent of a quartino on the top floor of the Salita Stella (an average neighbourhood) was 16.6 ducats¹³ (L. 568,000).

4.4 Royal Sites: the Royal Palace at Caserta. The greatest expenditure for artistic construction was obviously that spent on royal sites such as the Royal Palace at Caserta.

In 1752, Charles III paid 489,348 ducats (L. 23,7 billion) for the land (a small village with a tower) on which the construction was built. If the land had been, as it is currently, 120 hectares¹⁴, the Sovereign would have paid about 198 million per hectare, a modest figure. In the same year Charles III allocated 5 million ducats (L. 242.5 billion) for the building that soon revealed itself to be an insufficient sum¹⁵. The construction was brought to an end after 22 years in 1774 at a cost of more than 6 million ducats¹⁶ (L. 273.5 billion at a cost of about L. 1,243,000 per square metre), a sum which can be valued, bearing in mind that in 1748, the year in which the general situation was by now sufficiently stabilized, the revenue from the estates of the Kingdom of Naples was a total of about 3.5 million ducats, (137.2 billion) which was reduced to 2,900,000 (113.68 billion) after deducting the expenses from the takings¹⁷.

The project and the actual construction were entrusted to Luigi Vanvitelli in 1752. The architectural complex, designed to a rectangular plan with its longer side of 247 m., its shorter side of 190 m. (equal to 44,000 square metres) and with a height of 41 m. is subdivided into 5 orders. Its surface area is about 220,000 square metres and its volume is 2,000,000 cubic metres .

¹² *La nuova enciclopedia dell' arte Garzanti* 1989.

¹³ Historical Archives of the Banco di Napoli.

¹⁴ www.casertaweb.it.

¹⁵ Pane R. 1959, p. 204.

¹⁶ 6.133.507 average 1 ducat = L. 44,600.

¹⁷ Schipa 1922 vol. II pp 111-113.

At the beginning of construction 300 building foremen and 2,381 workers were employed, of which 166 were convicts, 246 Turkish slaves, 160 "Christians" who were serving a sentence for minor crimes; these were controlled by 438 guards, 14 administrators and 3 managers. Forced labour therefore was made up of 582 persons. Calculating labour costs at an average of 305,000 lire per month¹⁸, that is at 3,660,000 per annum, the total was about L. 2,130,120,000 per annum, that is L. 46.9 billion for the 22 years of construction. If the prisoners had been paid (on the basis of the remuneration then given for labour) the palace would therefore have cost L. 320,400 billion or L. 1,456,000 per sq. m.. A further 600,000 ducats¹⁹ (L. 19.2 billion) were spent on the palace from 1806 to 1835. In total, its historical cost, in current lire, was L. 1,310,000 per square metre. The "grandness" of its size was certainly not unique but is to be compared to other European courts: Versailles (Paris 1661), Nymphenburg (Munich 1664), Shoenbrunn (Vienna 1692) and Charlottenburg (Berlin 1965) which, however, lack the context of such a wide landscape.

5. Capodimonte Porcelain

In 1743 Charles III established the Royal Factory at Capodimonte for the quality production of ceramics and porcelain. The architect of the Court, Sanfelice, was given the responsibility to restore an already existing building in the forest of Capodimonte for the purposes of setting up the factory. The estimated expenditure was 2,000 ducats of gold²⁰ (L. 98 million). In 1745 a master turner Gian Giacomo Bacclere was given the task of preparing the wooden models for the chocolate cups, the coffee cups, all the small and large plates, the jugs, the decanters, the salt-cellars and he was paid a lump sum of 17.6 ducats²¹. (L. 853,600).

In 1745 the King opened a shop in order to sell the above-mentioned porcelain (cups, sugar bowls, walking sticks - table n. 4) in a room at the San Carlo Theatre, while the objects of impeccable workmanship were

¹⁸ M. Mantovani, (2000 b).

¹⁹ L. Bianchini 1996, p.199 average 1 ducat = L. 32.000.

²⁰ Eisner Eisenhof 1925, p. 19.

²¹ Eisner Eisenhof 1925, p. 19.

reserved for the King. Subsequently, the room at the San Carlo Theatre became too small to exhibit all the objects produced at the factory. Therefore, a shop with two rooms was rented in an adjacent building. In the same year, during the the fair, Charles III had a stall fitted out for the sale of such products. During the 21-day fair porcelain was sold at the cost of 4,487 ducats (L. 217.6 million). In the following years the proceeds of the sale fluctuated from 3-5,000 ducats.

Antonio De Laurentiis, the Court goldsmith, was given the responsibility to set in fine gold the objects that were produced at the factory in the form of snuff-boxes and vases. In 1750 he received 300 ducats (L. 14.4 million) from the Queen to dress four porcelain vases in gold. In 1746 a celebrated gold-plater Pietro Striebel from Dresden was given a 3-year contract with a salary of 200 ducats annually (L. 9.7 million)

TABLE 4. Prices for Capodimonte porcelain (1745)

Painted prices	from ducats	to ducats	ITL
white coffee service		31.8	1,542,300
deep blue and gold coffee service		31.8	1,542,300
deep blue coffee service		26.5	1,285,000
painted coffee service		350	17,000,000
white coffee service for fire-place		26.5	1,285,000
coffee service painted with flowers for fire-place		53	2,570,000
coffee service painted with flowers with box		265	12,850,000
coffee service painted with battle scenes		450	21,825,000
coffee service painted with little flowers		225	10,912,000
walking -sticks with mask head		35	1,700,000
walking -sticks bound in gold with puppet		60	2,910,000
walking -sticks bound in gold with snake		35	1,700,000
walking -sticks bound in gold		40	1,940,000
cups	30 grana	5	242,500
cup with handle, cover and plate		3	145,500
snuff-boxes	20	100	4,850,000
big snuff-boxes painted		60	2,910,000
snuff-boxes painted inside and outside	60	2,910,000	
square snuff-boxes		15.9	771,000

1 Ducat = 48.500 ITL

Source: Angelo de Eisner Eisenhof, *Le porcellane di Capodimonte* (Milan, 1925).

and his objects would have been sold at a similar price to that established for the best artisans.

The price for porcelain was very high, for example, the “giochi” (table services) for serving coffee were highly sought after and were also bought by ambassadors who dispatched them to their homelands. The standard price for these coffee services in 1745 was 26.5 ducats (L. 1.3 million) for a basic deep blue coffee service; 31.8 ducats (L. 1.5 million) for a basic white or deep blue and gold service; up to 450 ducats (about L. 22 million) for a service painted with battle scenes. The snuff-boxes cost from 20 to 60 ducats (from L. 970,000 to 2.9 million); the walking sticks bound in gold cost 35-60 ducats (from 1.7 million to 2.9 million).

These ceramics have maintained their value up to the present time and sometimes at auctions you can come across a price, for example, for a small 14.5 cm. statue of 1750 by Giuseppe Gricci symbolizing a standing woman leaning against the trunk of a tree, that has reached 136 million lire²². More recently a copy of a 40 cm. Neapolitan vase from the beginning of the nineteenth century by Giustiniani was purchased for 113 million lire²³. As has been pointed out, the increase in value is relatively modest.

Charles III put Livio and Gaetano Schepers in charge of the factory. Father and son, they were of Belgian origin but resided in Italy and worked at the Naples Mint. The monthly salary for the father was more than 70 ducats (L. 3.430 million, about L. 41 million per annum) including unlimited expenses for the costly experiments aimed at improving the quality of the porcelain. Therefore, for example in 1759, the monthly expenditure for such experiments reached above 7,000 ducats²⁴ (L. 329.7 million). After innumerable experiments Gaetano Schepers invented Capodimonte porcelain which subsequently acquired European fame for its fineness and transparency and which could be compared favourably even to Chinese porcelain. This event eloquently testifies to the innovative approach that Charles brought to this form of artistic production. He went beyond traditional patronage and with intelligent

²² Christie's London 27 April 1998 (est. L.54 million- 72 million).

²³ Semenzato, Ercolano, 16 June 2000 (est. 75-90 million). The vases have a rounded body set with a square clock.

²⁴ Eisner Eisenhof 1925, p. 30.

insight sought new products which were the result of artistic genius assisted by research and planning.

Charles III's son was not as enlightened as regards research. As far as the monthly expenditure for research is concerned, the amount of 7,000 ducats (L. 329.7 million) was drastically reduced to only 400 ducats (L. 16.8 million).

Inevitably the high standard of previous production was quite difficult to maintain. This is clearly borne out by Charles III's glaring disapproval of the "trionfo" that Ferdinand IV had made as a gift at the new factory. The centre-piece was composed of various groups in *bisquit* and depicted Charles III urging his son to continue the excavations at Herculaneum; it cost 4,073 ducats (L. 149 million). Charles III was left so profoundly disappointed and angered by the quality of the new production that he did not hesitate to destroy the gift under Ferdinand's disbelieving eyes.

In 1759, after the death of his brother, Charles left Naples to be crowned King of Spain and since he looked on the factory as his own private enterprise, he took with him the artists, the workers, the moulds, the material and all the finished porcelain and, what is more, he had the furnaces demolished. The only thing that he could not transport was the "royal lavatory" made in 1757, entirely of porcelain with high-reliefs commissioned for the Royal Palace of Portici. It was modelled by the brothers Giuseppe and Stefan Gricci (or Gricc) and painted largely by the Saxon Giò Sigismund Fisher, helped by 10 other painters. In 1758 Fisher died and was replaced by Luigi Restile, the leading factory painter who finished the work in May 1759 for a cost of about 70,000 ducats²⁵ (L. 3.3 billion), more than the price paid for the construction of one of the most important Vesuvian villas of the 1700s: Villa Campolieto²⁶, designed by Luigi Vanvitelli and costing 66,000 ducats (L. 2.9 billion)²⁷. In 1760 the lavatory was moved to where it is still to be found today: at the Museum of Capodimonte.

After Charles III's departure ceramics are not heard of again until 1771

²⁵ Ludovico de la Ville sur-Yllon.

²⁶ begun in 1757 and finished in 1773.

²⁷ cfr. M. Mantovani (2000 b, p.61 e 2001 b).

when the ruler, Ferdinand IV, Charles III's son, ordered that the factory be reconstructed at the royal palace at Portici. The works lasted a year and were directed by the Court architect Ferdinand Fuga at a cost of 13,500 ducats²⁸ (L. 568,3 million). In 1781 Marquis Domenico Venuti of Cortona was appointed Superintendent (Director) of the factory, whose monthly salary was 100 ducats (L. 3,75 million and L. 45 million per annum) including house and carriage. He was a keen archaeologist and presided over the Herculaneum excavations; thanks to him the porcelain once more took on its classical form, such as the "Etruscan" table service given by Ferdinand IV to George III of England in 1782. The table service, consisting of 180 pieces and kept at Windsor Castle cost only 22,012 ducats (L. 805.6 million). The shape and the style were copied from Etruscan vases held at the Archaeological Museum of Naples. The table service includes as a centre-piece a "trionfo" – consisting of more than 300 figures – that depicts Tarconte, King of Etruria, in the act of presiding over the Olympic Games, surrounded by spectators, musicians and gladiators.

The superintendent was anxious for new artists to arrive from Vienna or Paris to give new impulse to the production in so far as the Neapolitan workers were excellent imitators without being inventive.

With the government of Gioacchino Murat the factory closed in 1806. The following year it was handed over to the French governor Poulard Prad for a monthly lease of 1,000 ducats (L. 24.2 million). The artistic production during this period worsened since in the contract stipulated between the governor and the manufacturer, there was a clause that obliged the factory to improve the paste and to increase productivity. As a consequence, the prices of porcelain fell (table n. 5). *Bisquit* porcelain statuettes sold from 2 to 50 ducats (from L. 49,000 to L. 1,225 million). These prices fluctuated if the sculptures were half busts which sold at 8 ducats (L. 196,000); groups of animals varied from 3 to 10 ducats (L. 49,000 and 245,000); the prices of vases varied from 1.2 to 3 ducats (from L. 29,400 to L. 73,500).

Government inspectors asked for Prad's concession to be taken away

²⁸ Eisner Eisenhof 1925, p. 36.

TABLE 5. Prices for Capodimonte porcelain (1799)

Painted porcelain	from ducats	to ducats	ITL
sugar bowls	60 grana	4.5	100,250
cups	15 grana	1.75	42,875
small plates	60 grana	1.2	29,400
big cup with plate		1	24,500
vases	4	50	1,225,000
ice-box	8	9	220,500
watch-stand		10	245,000
coffee-pot	2	7	171,500
oil lamp		1.5	36,750
saucers	2	3	73,500
jugs	1.5	2.5	61,250
spittoon		1.5	36,750
stoups		1.2	29,400
candlesticks		2	49,000
serviette with tray		2.5	61,250
salt cellar	50 grana	1.2	29,400
figures with bases		4	98,000
wash-hand-basin with jugs	4.5	8	196,000
wash-hand basin without jugs	3	8	196,000
perfumer's box		5	122,500
soups-tureen	3.5	18	441,000
pot de chambre		1.8	44,100
vases		8	196,000
insalatiera		3.6	88,200
square plates	2.5	4	98,000
triangular plates	3.5	7	171,500
flemish plates		7	171,500
small baskets		1.5	36,750
flemish trays		1.5	36,750
imperial trays		10	245,000
royal trays		4	98,000
royal plates	4	7	171,500
royal half plates		3	73,500
Bisquit porcelain	from ducats	to ducats	ITL
statuettes	2	50	1,225,000
groups of Osiris		15	367,500
figures with bases	1.2	15	367,500
half bust	grana 50	8	196,000
trophy	4	10	245,000
groups of animals	3	10	245,000
animals	2	3	73,500
small vases	grana 50	2	49,000
half bust with wood trivets		3.5	85,750
small baskets	1	3	73,500
trivets		3	73,500
natural size half bust		10	245,000
perfumer's box		12	294,000
vases with bases	1.2	3	73,500
vases	1.2	3	73,500

1 Ducat = 24.500 ITL
 Source. Angelo de Eisner Eisenhof *Le porcellane di Capodimonte*. (Milan 1925).

because of the industry's decline and because the manufacturer had not improved the paste. Therefore, it was not because Poulard had spent 30,000 ducats (L. 726 million) to construct a factory at Santa Maria Della Vita.²⁹ Production continued until 1816, the year in which Ferdiand IV returned and stipulated a contract with Prad in which all the acquisitions for 1807 were confirmed; he was also granted the full rights to the Santa Maria della Vita factory and adjoining buildings, freeing him from the obligation to pay the annual fee of 50 ducats (L. 1,180,000). This agreement was drawn up to silence the producers for all the credit they claimed against the kingdom.

After two years Prad sold the factory. Prad knew neither how to manufacture porcelain nor how to market it and it became commercially unproductive. He sold half of the factory, all the workmen, the moulds and the tools to Claudia Guillard and to Giovanni Tourné for 5,000 ducats (L. 133 million) and 1,238 ducats (L. 32.9 million) for half of the untilled land and for the half-finished production. In 1819 Poulard sold the rest of the factory left to him for 6,300 ducats (L. 167.6 million) to Francesco Paolo del Re. In the meantime, this other half had increased in value with an increase in value of 31.5% in a year.

There were a few but excellent objects produced after 1808 such as the Aurora by Tagliolini and the life-size *bisquit* busts for Gioacchino and Carolina Murat and their children, because they were modelled by the celebrated Antonio Canova and because the objects were made with a paste that Prad had found in the old Bourbon factory. In 1834 Claudia Guillard and Jean Tourné sold their share of the industrial company for 14,150 ducats (L. 648 million) almost tripling in the space of 15 years the nominal value of their investment which was actually still more advantageous (+ 487%) taking into account the increase in the ducat's buying power.

When the company disclosed that it was preparing to reorganise the factory and to begin production again, the government expropriated the factory in order to convert it into a hospital for cholera sufferers. And so ended the celebrated and renowned Neapolitan industry.

²⁹ Eisner Eisenhof 1925, p. 45.

6. Museum of Capodimonte

With the accession to the throne of the Two Sicilies, in 1734, of Charles III Bourbon, son of Philip V of Spain and of Catherine Farnese, the city of Naples acquired one of the most important existing holdings of art and antiquities: the Farnesian collections. Of the two large collections, the Parmense consists of paintings and rarities and the Roman collection of antiquities. These two collections gave rise to two large Neapolitan museums: Capodimonte and the National Archaeological Museum. In order to arrange the important collections, Charles III entrusted the museum project, first of all, to the military engineer Medrano and then to Antonio Canevari.

Planning began in 1738 but construction carried on for more than 20 years with an estimated expenditure of about 388,000 ducats³⁰ for only the building (L. 19,012 billion). For the purchase of the land Charles III spent 24,498 ducats³¹ (L. 1.2 billion).

Charles III had wanted to house in one single building a museum which would preserve the works of art, a library and an archive, a multifunctional cultural centre decidedly ahead of its time.

In 1759 some halls were arranged which were not, however, opened to the public.

The Capodimonte collection had, in fact, the private character of an internal exhibition at a royal residence and was consequently not open to the public but only reserved for the King, the Court and scholars.

With Ferdinand IV a part of the collection of paintings, the archaeological collection and two libraries - Farnesina and Palatina- were transferred to *Palazzo degli Studi* (the current National Archaeological Museum) – re-designed by Ferdinand Fuga - destined for public use and with the founding of another Museum of Natural History, a chemistry laboratory and a botanical garden³². To these collections were added the so-called Ercolanense from the excavations at Pompei and Stabia giving rise to the most important archaeological museum in the world.

³⁰ G. Coniglio 1999, p. 112.

³¹ G. Coniglio 1999, p. 113.

³² N. Barrella 1996, p. 11.

7. Farnese Collection

Among the most important names in the collection³³ (table n. 6), of the Bolognese-Roman school³⁴ are: Albani, Correggio, Guercino, Lanfranco, Reni, Parmigianino, A. Gentileschi; regarding artists from the south,³⁵ we can find Solimena, Giordano, Falcone, Rosa, Cavallino. In the collection there are also important foreign artists such as Van Dyck, Rubens, Lorraine³⁶.

For an Annunciation from 1630 by Artemisia Gentileschi, in 1815, 100 ducats (L. 2,360 million) were paid. The artist's paintings used dramatic, strongly chiaroscuro contexts, in the style of a Neapolitan Caravaggio, whose development she herself contributed to in a decisive way³⁷ so much so that on several occasions her paintings were attributed to Caravaggio. This was the case, for example, of *The Death of Holofernes*³⁸, presently kept at the Museum of Capodimonte, bought by the same institution in 1827 for the high figure of 800 ducats, equal to L. 28.4 million (L. 6,620 per square cm.) and subsequently fetching considerably high figures even in its day because the work had been attributed to Caravaggio.

A Caravaggio of large dimensions can be valued today at 20 billion lire or more. But the record price achieved for a Caravaggio at an auction was L. 155 million³⁹ in 1997. In this case, the value had increased about 182 times in 170 years. An oil on canvas⁴⁰, at the time attributed to Palma

³³ The historical cost of many of the artworks in the collection can be found in the secret Archive of the Farnese family.

³⁴ Francesco Albani (Bologna 1578-1660), Correggio (Antonio Allegri 1489-1543), Guercino (Giovan Francesco Barbieri, Cento Ferrara 1591-Bologna 1666), Giovanni Lanfranco (Terenzo, Parma 1582-Rome 1647), Guido Reni (Bologna 1575-1642), Parmigianino (Francesco Mazzola, Parma 1503-Casalmaggiore, Cremona 1540), Artemisia Gentileschi (Rome 1597-1652).

³⁵ Francesco Solimena (Canale di Serino 1657-Barra, Naples 1747), Luca Giordano (Naples 1634-1705), Aniello Falcone (Naples 1600-56), Salavator Rosa (Naples 1615-Rome 1673), Bernardo Cavallino (Naples 1615-1654).

³⁶ Antoine Van Dyck (Anversa 1599-London 1641), Pieter Paul Rubens (Siegen 1577-Anversa 1640), Claude Lorraine (Chamagne 1600-Rome 1682).

³⁷ *Nuova enciclopedia dell' arte Garzanti*, (1989).

³⁸ 165 x 126 cm.

³⁹ Sotheby's New York 3 Jan. 1997 *Musician* 106 x 141 cm \$75,000, currently \$77,850.

⁴⁰ 134 x 200 cm depicting *the Virgin and the Saints*.

TABLE 6. Historical prices in present ITL and USD of art works by Farnese collection

years	author	art work	origin	technique	dimension	square centimetre	price in currencies other than the ducato	price in ducati	price in ITL	price in USD	price in ITL x cm2	price in USD x cm2
1710	Ribera		Convent of the servants Parma				L. 2008 and 16 coin					
1711	Carracci	Holy Virgin, Baby, St. Joseph and landscape		small painting			279 talleri					
1711	Lanfranco	Raphael Angel	Saints Nazario and Celso				50 double					
1712	Correggio	Saviour	S. Maria of Viadana, Parma	oil on board			14 double of Spain					
1713	Scarsellino	Circumcision at the Temple with many figures					24 double of Italy					
1713	Guido Reni	Writing St. John the evangelist					lit 1620					
1713	Guido Reni	Madeleine					lit 1620					
1713	Lanfranco	Madonna with baby, St. Jerome and St. Apollonia	Fathers of Saint Laurence at Piacenza Chapel Malvezzi church S. Laurence (Copy)				80 double of France					
1713	Parmigianino	Annunciation	S. Maria of Viadana, Parma				522 Philip and 30 coin of Parma					
1714	Shedoni	Holy family with angels	Congregation of the Immacolate Conception (copy)		200 double of Spain							
1714	Lanfranco	Old men					100 lit					
1714	Parmigianino	Copy from Correggio		oil on board			20 double of Spain					
1715	Van Dyck						450 lit					
1729	Bunone di Ferrara		St. Catherine's martyrdom and 11 figures and horses		oil on wood	18 x 12 ounces		80 Luigi				
1729	B.da Garofolo	Apostles washing of the feet				18 x 12 ounces		70 Luigi				
1802	Albani	half figure of Madeleine					160 shields					
1815	A. Gentileschi	Annunciation 1630						100	L. 2,360,000	1,180		
1818	C. Louren	Sunset						1.300	L. 34,580,000	17,290		
1818	Vernet	Sea storm						600	L. 15,960,000	7,980		
1818	Parini	Coliseum						560	L. 13,300,000	6,650		
1821	Marco da Siena	The fall of Saint Paul 1574			238 x 317 L	75.684		1.200	L. 37,300,000	18,650	L. 493	0.25
1825	Muziano	St. Francis adoring a crucifix			100 x 73 M	7.300		120	L. 4,860,000	2,430	L. 666	0.33
1827	Caravaggio (attribution)	Holopherne's death			165 x 126 L	20.790		800	L. 28,400,000	14,200	L. 1,366	0.68
1827	Salvator Rosa	The dispute			182 x 130 L	23.660		1750	L. 62,125,000	31,063	L. 2,625	1.31
1827	Salvator Rosa	Parable of the gospel			182 x 130 L	23.660		1.750	L. 62,125,000	31,063	L. 2,625	1.31
1827	D. A. Vaccaro	Madonna with baby in glory and saints			211 x 95 L	20.045		18	L. 639,000	320	L. 31	0.02

continues

TABLE 6. Historical prices in present ITL and USD of art works by Farnese collection

continued

years	author	art work	origin	technique	dimension	square centimetre	price in currencies other than the ducato	price in ducati	price in ITL	price in USD	price in ITL x cm ²	price in USD x cm ²
1841	Palma the older (attribution)	Holy Virgin and baby, St. John child, St. Jerome			120 x 158 L	18.960		800	L. 29.280.000	14.640	L. 1.544	0.77
1841	B. Cavallino (attribution)	St. Cecilia crowned by an Angel			46,4 x 59,4 M	2.756		50	L. 1.830.000	915	L. 664	0.33
1841	A. Falcone	Battle			92 X 105,6 M	9.715		250	L. 9.150.000	4.575	L. 942	0.47
1841	Lanfranco (attribution)	St. Peter walking on water		outline	79 x 73 M	5.767		150	L. 5.490.000	2.745	L. 952	0.48
1841	Guercino	Holy Virgin in glory with saints and bishops and other figures		outline	26 x 66 S	1.716		150	L. 5.490.000	2.745	L. 3.199	1.60
1843	Van Dyck (attribution)	Dying Christ on the cross			185 x 132 L	24.420		1.500	L. 54.900.000	27.450	L. 2.248	1.12
1843	Guercino (attribution)	Rinakius and Armida- half figures			108 x 145 L	15.680		250	L. 9.150.000	4.575	L. 584	0.29
1846	Guido Reni	John the Baptist sitting	The price is low because the painting is spoiled		90 x 116 L	10.440		200	L. 7.320.000	3.660	L. 701	0.35
1846	Att. Andrea Del Sarto	half bust portrait		oil on wood	40 x 31,7 S	1.268		200	L. 7.320.000	3.660	L. 5.773	2.89
1848	Sassoterrato	Nativity			137 x 103 M	14.111		2.000	L. 72.000.000	36.000	L. 5.102	2.55
1850	Solimena	Escape to Egypt			221 x 153 L	33.813		100	L. 3.420.000	1.710	L. 101	0.05
1854	Giordano	Deposition from the cross			330 x 198 L	65.340		250	L. 7.950.000	3.975	L. 122	0.06
1855	Guido Reni	Our Lady of Sorrows			63 x 77 M	4.851		400	L. 12.000.000	6.000	L. 2.473	1.24
1855	Ribera (attribution)	Medelaine -half figure- undressing			elliptic 63			180	L. 6.400.000	2.700		
1857	Rubens (attribution)	Pieta with dead Christ, the Holy Virgin, Madeleine and Nicodemus			148 x 103 L	15.224		2.200	L. 59.620.000	29.810	L. 3.916	1.96
1858	Barocci	Rich composition of 14 figures			79 x 123 L	9.717		900	L. 26.820.000	13.410	L. 2.760	1.38

— 1 \$ = 2000 Lit. —
Sources: Archivio segreto Farnese, Galleria del quadri e medaglie Filangeri

the Elder, was bought in 1841 for 800 ducats, corresponding to about L. 29 million. The work is now kept at the Museum of Capodimonte but attributed correctly. Currently, the record painting for the artist is only L. 28 billion⁴¹. Another painting of large dimensions, a Christ on the Cross⁴², bought in 1843 for 1,500 ducats (equal to L. 54.9 million – L. 2,248 per square cm) had been attributed to Van Dyck and now has been confirmed to be his. From that, one can deduce that even if the work was only “attributed” to an artist, its price however was always high. A Pietà⁴³ “attributed” to Rubens and bought in 1857 for 2,200 ducats (L. 59.6 million – L. 3,916 per square cm), is valuable in confirming the hypothesis that at that time it was enough to “attribute” the painting to someone, and not necessarily “authenticate” it in order to make the price rise. The most recent highest quoted price for the artist was L. 12 million⁴⁴.

Salvator Rosa was a particularly valued artist in Neapolitan circles. Two of his larger paintings⁴⁵ were bought in 1827 for 1,750 ducats each (L. 62,125 million – L. 2,625 per square cm). Currently the record for the artist⁴⁶ is L. 1,652,000,000.

The renowned Guido Reni received lesser quotations. A seated John the Baptist⁴⁷ was sold in 1846 for only 200 ducats (L. 7,320 million or L. 701 per square cm.), the painting was however ruined. In 1855 another of his paintings was bought by the Museum of Capodimonte for 400 ducats (L. 12 million or L. 2,473 square cm.). Currently the maximum quotation⁴⁸ is L. 1.6 billion (and L. 42,600 square cm).

The Florentine Andrea del Sarto was among one of the best-paid artists of his time. A small oil on wood, attributed to him⁴⁹, was bought in 1846

⁴¹ Record price for the artist 20,000,000 (\$15,941) (currently \$20,300) , achieved for a *Magdalen among Saints Laurence and L. Gonzaga* , oil on canvas, 135 x 168cm, 27 Mar. 1990 at Finarte , Milan.

⁴² 155 x 111 cm.

⁴³ 148 x 103 cm.

⁴⁴ Joel, Australia, 16 Aug.1994, oil on canvas, about \$5,526 currently \$6,200, 85 x 68 cm, *The Three Graces*.

⁴⁵ *Debate and Parable of the Gospels*, 182 x 130cm.

⁴⁶ 15/4/92 London, Christie's, \$696.000, currently \$826,000, 115 x 94 cm, *Portrait of artist wearing doublet, cap, torn gloves and sword*.

⁴⁷ 90 x 116 cm.

⁴⁸ 5 July 91 \$797,000 Christie's, London, oil on canvas, 164 x 131 cm *Fortune with a crown*.

for 200 ducats (L. 7.3 million – L. 5,773 per square cm.). Currently its maximum quotation is L. 746,000,000⁵⁰ (380,000 square cm). This artist has been revalued 106 times in 155 years. Sassoferrato⁵¹ had quotations at the time of L. 5,102 per square cm; a specific case is a Nativity⁵² bought by the Museum in 1848 for 2,000 ducats (L. 7.32 million). Currently its record⁵³ is about L. 218 million (L. 70,000 square cm). Del Sarto and Sassoferrato, as can be noted, had high valuations, exceeded only by Caravaggio.

An extraordinarily valued artist by the Farnese was Guercino; one of his smaller sketches⁵⁴ was bought in 1841 for 150 ducats (L. 5.5 million – L. 3,199 per square cm), a high price if one considers that the work is on paper. The current record for the artist⁵⁵ stands at L. 601,140,000 for an oil on canvas and L. 20,000,000 for works on paper⁵⁶ (L. 492,000 square cm).

Less valued than Guercino was Federico Barocci⁵⁷, appraised by the critics and whose *Ricca composizione di 14 figure*⁵⁸ was bought by the Gallery of Capodimonte in 1858. The price for the composition was 900 ducats (L. 26,820 million – L. 2,760 per square cm). Even the current quotations for Barocci are high if one considers that the record for a work on paper is L. 8.5 million⁵⁹ (L. 212,000 square cm).

⁵⁰ *A Half Portrait* (40 x 31.7 cm).

⁵¹ 31 Jan. 97 New York Christie's, oil on canvas, 64 x 77cm, \$360,000 currently \$373,000 *Adoration of the magi*.

⁵² Giovanni Battista Salvi (Ancona 1605-Rome 1685) for his softly classical taste, with a tendency to an elected purism, followed the school of Domenichino, Guido Reni and Raffello and further his chiaroscuro and naturalistic truth was taken up by Orazio Gentileschi (*La nuova enciclopedia dell' arte Garzanti*, 1986).

⁵³ 137 x 103cm.

⁵⁴ 31 Jan. 97 New York Christie's, oil on canvas 65 x 48cm, \$105,000 currently \$109,000 *The Madonna at prayer, landscape beyond*.

⁵⁵ 26 x 66cm *Virgin in glory with Saints, Bishops and other figures*

⁵⁶ 1995 London Sotheby's, oil on canvas, 76 x 64 cm \$275,000 (equal to \$300,570) *Jacob cries above the shroud of Joseph*.

⁵⁷ 3 June 94 Galerie Bassenge, Berlin, 30 x 21cm, work on paper \$9,000 equal to \$10,000, *Study of a Saint and an Angel*.

⁵⁸ Urbino 1528/35-1612.

⁵⁹ 79 x 123cm. Filangeri *Secret Archive Farnese*.

⁶⁰ London Christie's in 1987 for \$2,900,000 currently \$4,248,000 white, red and black chalk and brown and watered-down ink, grey and white lead, 55 x 38cm, *Madonna del Popolo*. A study for the altar of the Church of Santa Maria della Pieve in Arezzo (Mayer CD ROM 87-96).

In addition it is very important to take into account the fact that the records reached at auctions for these artists are not very high; before being negotiated the major works of art are bought by large public institutions through private negotiations. As a consequence, the pieces that pass onto auction are often "lemons"; works of art which are only attributed to artists or whose authenticity is dubious.

8. Conclusions

The various events referred to in this text, of course, cannot be considered an exhaustive history of a long and complex age but certainly they are highly representative.

From the point of view of artistic and cultural activity – painting, sculpture, architecture, archaeology, music, interior design, etc - the archaeology picture that emerges is quite different from the one that is traditionally conveyed and which is very severe in its appraisal of south Italian history in this period.

Obviously, I do not claim to see more than that which emerges, which is a picture of a vibrant cultural life and the spread of artistic and cultural interests among the reigning house, the nobility and the well-off middle classes. However, in this context, the important and universally well-known figures of the Neapolitan Enlightenment are by no means isolated cases, as conventional opinion would have us believe, but appear to be quite strongly rooted in the period and in the society in which they lived.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AA.VV., *Nuova enciclopedia dell' arte Garzanti*, (1989).

AA.VV., *Civiltà del '700 a Napoli 1734-1799*. Primo volume (mostra), (Napoli 1980).

AA.VV., *Jusepe de Ribera detto lo Spagnoletto 1591-1652* (mostra), (Napoli, 1992).

AA.VV., *L'archivio storico del Banco di Napoli*, (Napoli 1998).

ARRIVA F., *Il teatro di San Carlo*, (Napoli, Electa 1998).

ART SALES, *Index International Art Auction Prices 1990-1998*, cd rom.

- BARONE ANGELO DE EISNER EISENHOF, *Le porcellane di Capodimonte*, (Milano 1925).
- BARRELLA N., *I grandi musei napoletani*, (Roma, Tascabili economici Newton 1996).
- BIANCHINI L., *Storia delle Finanze delle due Sicilie*, (Napoli 1971).
- BIANCHINI L., *L'Amministrazione finanziaria nel regno delle due Sicilie*, (Padova, Cedam 1995).
- BOLOGNA F., *Francesco Solimena*, (Napoli 1957).
- BORELLI G., in AA.VV. *Napoli città d'arte* (Napoli, Electa 1986).
- CARDARELLI U., ROMANELLO P. and VENDITTI A., *Le ville vesuviane. Progetto per un patrimonio settecentesco di urbanistica e di architettura*. (Napoli, Electa 1985).
- CAUSA R., *La pittura del Seicento a Napoli*, in AA.VV. *Storia di Napoli*, vol. V.
- CELANO C., *Notizie del bello, dell' antico e del curioso che contengono le reali ville di Portici, Resina, lo scavamento di Pompejano, Capodimonte, Cardito e Caserta, e San Leucio a spese di Salvatore Palermo*, (Napoli 1792).
- COLOMBO A., *La strada di Toledo*, in *Nap. Nob.*; 1895 IV.
- CONIGLIO G., *Il regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo V*, (Napoli, ESI, 1951).
- CONIGLIO G., *I Borboni di Napoli*, (Milano 1999).
- DE SETA C., *Architettura ambiente e società a Napoli nel '700*, (Torino 1981).
- DE DOMINICI B., *Vite dei pittori scultori e architetti napoletani*, tomo III, (Napoli 1745).
- DELLA MONICA N., *Le statue di Napoli*, Tascabili economici (Roma, Newton 1996).
- DE LUCA F., *Società reale borbonica. Cenni necrologici dei più chiari uomini che ne furono componenti* in *Annali civili del Regno delle due Sicilie*, vol. LI, 1854.
- DE LA VILLE SUR-YLLON L., *La real fabbrica di porcellana in Capodimonte durante il regno di Carlo III*.
- FARAGLIA N.F., *Notizie di alcuni artisti che lavorarono nella chiesa di San Martino e nel Tesoro di San Gennaro* "Archivio storico per le province napoletane", X 1885.
- JORI V., *Portici e la sua storia*, (Napoli 1882).
- LEONE N., *La vita quotidiana a Napoli ai tempi di Masaniello*, (Rizzoli 1994).
- MACRY P., *Mercato e società nel regno di Napoli. Commercio del grano e politica economica del '700*, storia ricerche Guida editori, (Napoli 1974).
- MAYER INTERNATIONAL AUCTION, records on CD ROM 87-97.
- MANCINI F., *Il teatro San Carlo 1737-1987, la storia, la struttura*. (Napoli, Electa).
- MANTOVANI M. (2000 a), "Le ville vesuviane del '700 napoletano come "bene pubblico" dell' economia privata" *Economia della cultura* n.1/ 2.000.

- MANTOVANI M. (2000 b), "Studi per una rivalutazione economica e culturale del Mezzogiorno. Moneta ed economia pubblica nel Regno di Napoli e politiche dei beni culturali nell'area napoletana" n.69/2000 della collana "Contributi per la discussione", *Politeia* (Ottobre 2000).
- MANTOVANI M. (2000 c), "Art goods as public goods and merit goods in the Kingdom of Naples, XVII-XIX Century" in *Notizie di Politeia, rivista di etica e scelte pubbliche*, anno XVI- n. 59/2000.
- MANTOVANI M. (2001 a), Potere d'acquisto del ducato 1647/1861 in lire attuali ed economia pubblica nel Regno di Napoli, in *Rivista Italiana di Economia Demografica e Statistica*, no. 1, 2001.
- MANTOVANI M. (2001 b), Un itinerario turistico culturale: le ville Vesuviane del '700, in *Annali del dipartimento di studi Geoeconomici, linguistici, statistici, storici, per l'analisi regionale della facoltà di Economia*, Università "La Sapienza" Roma.
- LÓPEZ NAVIO J., *La gran colección de pinturas del Marqués de Leganés*, (Madrid 1962).
- NOVELL RADICE M., *La vita di Goethe*, (Napoli 1989).
- NICOLÒ PIO, *Vita di Francesco Solimena ed architetti*, in compendio in n° di 225 inedito della biblioteca apostolica Vaticana codice n. 257, fondo Capponi 1729.
- PALOMBA D., *Memorie storiche di San Giorgio a Cremano*, (Napoli 1881).
- PANE R., *Ville Vesuviane del Settecento*, (Napoli 1959).
- PROTA GIURLEO U., *Pittori napoletani del Seicento*, (Napoli 1953).
- RICH E.E. and WILSON C.H. (eds.), *Storia economica Cambridge. L'espansione economica dell'Europa nel cinque e seicento*. Volume 4° (Torino Einaudi).
- TRUPIANO G. (a cura di), *Assetto istituzionale, disciplina fiscale e finanziamento della cultura*, (Milano, Franco Angeli, 1999).
- SCHIPA M., *Reali delizie borboniche*, in Napoli. Nob., n.s II 1922.
- SCHIPA M., *Il regno di Napoli ai tempi di Carlo Borbone*, ed. Albrighi e Segati (1923).
- SPINOSA N., *Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte*, (Napoli, Electa 1994).
- STRAZZULLO F., Tutela del Patrimonio artistico nel regno di Napoli sotto i Borboni, in *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, n.s; vol. XXI (1972).
- STRAZZULLO F., *Lettere di Luigi Vanvitelli della biblioteca Palatina di Caserta* - (Lecce 1976).
- STRAZZULLO F., *Settecento napoletano*, (documenti Napoli 1982).
- VENDITTI A., *Architettura neoclassica a Napoli*, (Napoli 1961).

