Architecture, power and the politics of the common good
Building reform under the Bourbons of Naples

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Abstract

The thesis investigates the relationship between architecture and political reform under the Bourbon kings of Naples, Charles of Bourbon (1716-1788) and Ferdinand IV (1751-1825) through the important works of royal architect Ferdinando Fuga (1699-1782). It analyses their commission, design, construction, and operation in order to shed light on the important role architecture played as an instrument of Bourbon rule. The dissertation bases discussion on three principal case studies. Each case study occupies a chapter and is examined within the context of a specific program of royal reform. Chapter 1 focuses on the Reale Albergo dei Poveri and on the reform of the capital city's charity and welfare mechanisms. Chapter 2 examines the Reali Granili by focusing on the restructuring of the Kingdom of Naples' grain supply and provision systems. Chapter 3 investigates the Cemetery of the Incurabili Hospital as part of the Crown's burial reform programs and public health initiatives. Each project is examined in a broad historical frame, tracing its impact on the Kingdom of Naples' balances of power as well as on the capital's government systems.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Introduction

A linear rank of troops marches steadily towards the city in an orderly stream (Fig. 0.1). To the sides, lines of soldiers prevent the crowd from irrupting the scene. In the foreground, the troops break formation, and a group of rollicking children is let in. Some of them wave tree branches. Others brandish white handkerchiefs. At the centre, a child hails the flag of the Two Sicilies. Behind, a royal family member on horse takes centre stage. His identity is unclear, but the pathos surrounding the event suggests the equestrian is the King. If this were so, the year might be 1815 and the painting commemorative of Ferdinand IV's return to Naples after an exile on the isle of Sicily during the French occupation (1806-15).[1] Dominating the scene is a gargantuan building. Commissioned by Ferdinand's father, Charles of Bourbon, it marked the entrance to the capital from the northeast and was the largest royal building enterprise to have been attempted in Naples since the Bourbon monarch's 1734 seizure of the Two Sicilies.[2] The son of Philip V (1683-1746) and Elisabeth Farnese of Spain (1692-1766),

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[1] The painting in question is by Pasquale Mattej (1813-1879) and is a small-scale copy of an earlier painting attributed to Salvatore Fergola (1796-1874). For a discussion about Fergola's painting and its attribution, see the exhibition catalogue Silvia Cassani, ed., *All'ombra del Vesuvio Napoli nella veduta europea dal Quattrocento all'Ottocento* (Napoli: Electa, 1990), 186, 385. For an in-depth analysis of Naples' occupation during the Napoleonic period and its successive restoration under the Bourbon regime, see John A. Davis, *Naples and Napoleon: Southern Italy and the European Revolutions (1780–1860)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[2] The Two Sicilies is an epithet used to describe the twin Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. The name originates in the late-medieval composition of the Kingdom of Sicily, which included both the island and the peninsular realm (encompassing most of southern Italy). The two kingdoms were split apart in 1285 due to the War of the Sicilian Vespers (1282-1302), only to be reunited in 1816. However, since Alfonso d'Aragona's conquest of the two kingdoms in 1443, throughout most of the early modern period, they were ruled by the same dynasty—hence the epithet. A good account of the political struggles characterising the two kingdoms in late medieval times is David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms, 1200— 1500: The Struggle for Dominion* (London: Longman, 1997). For an analysis of their re-unification under Ferdinand IV in the English language, see Harold Acton, *The Bourbons of Naples (1731-1825)* (London: Barnes and Noble Books, 1977), 617-663.



Figure 0.1. Pasquale Mattej, *Parata militare borbonica*, first half of the nineteenth century.

Charles was, in fact, a newcomer to Southern Italy.[3] He had belligerently snatched the throne from the Austrian Hapsburg emperor during the War of the Polish Succession (1733-35) and thence secured his lineage through strategic political alliances and reform activities.[4] Together with his heir, he was also at the head of one of the most ambitious and expensive building programs in early modern Italy, due to which the capital became transformed from a dense urban settlement, largely contained within its city walls, into a growing metropolis lording over the territory.[5] The scale of this endeavour was immense and had no precedent in Neapolitan history.[6] Within the short time span of just a few decades, new palaces were erected, the port restructured, a waterfront road built, two market squares remodelled, and new civic and religious architectures commissioned everywhere throughout the city. As this

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[3] Of Charles of Bourbons rise to power in Naples, I will speak in more detail later in the text. For reference, see Giuseppe Caridi**,** *Carlo di Borbone a Napoli e le attese deluse (1734–1738)* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2006). For a broader analysis of his kingship between Naples, Madrid and New Spain, see the recently edited volume Rosanna Cioffi, Luigi Mascilli Migliorini, Aurelio Musi, and Anna Maria Rao, eds., *Le vite di Carlo di Borbone. Napoli, Spagna e America* (Napoli: Arte'm, 2018). Charles' life has also dealt with extensively by the architectural historians George Hersey and Robin Thomas. See George L. Hersey, *Architecture, Poetry and Number in the Royal Palace at Caserta* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983), 63-97 and Robin L. Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 1-14.

[4] For a detailed analysis of Charles of Bourbons' conquest of and establishment in the Kingdom of Naples see Michelangelo Schipa, *Il Regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo di Borbone* (Salerno: Libreria antiquaria editrice, 1972), 155-194, 375-454; Acton, The *Bourbons of Naples (1734-1825)*, 49-68.

[5] Scholarship on Charles' and Ferdinand IV's architectural contributions to Naples is vast. For an extensive and mostly quantitative account, see Alfredo Buccaro and Gennaro Matacena. *Architettura e Urbanistica dell'età Borbonica. Le Opere dello Stato, i Luoghi dell'Industria* (Electa Napoli: Napoli, 2004). For an analysis of Bourbon building within the larger context of Naples' transformation throughout the early modern, see Cesare de Seta, *Napoli. Dalle origini all'Ottocento* (Napoli: Arte'm, 2016), 152-221. For studies focusing on Bourbon building under Charles of Bourbon see Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft* and Pablo Vázquez Gestal, "Los espacios de una nueva majestad. Carlos de Borbón y los Sitios Reales de la monarquía de la Dos Sicilias (1734-1759)," in *Una Corte para el Rey*, ed. José Luis Sancho Gaspar and Javier Ortega Vidal (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 2016): 52-63; George L. Hersey, "Carlo di Borbone a Napoli e a Caserta," *Storia dell'Arte Italiana . Momenti di Architettura*, p.III, vol .V (1983): 213-64.

[6] Prior to the Bourbons, the principal building programs for Naples were those hatched by Alfonso II of Aragon between 1485 and 1495 and by the Spanish viceroy Don Pedro de Toledo over his 20-year-long rule (1532-53). Neither, however, are comparable in scale and pace to those developed under the Bourbon kings. On Alfonso II's urban renovation program, see George L. Hersey, *Alfonso II and the Artistic Renewal of Naples, 1485–95* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969). For Naples' transformation under Don Pedro de Toledo see Giulio Pane, "Pietro di Toledo viceré urbanista," *Napoli nobilissima*, III serie, vol. XIV, 3 (1975):81-95 & f. 5 (1975): 161-182.

thesis aims to show, the bulk of these endeavours not only transformed Naples into a flourishing Europan capital. They also ensured the power and prosperity of the nascent dynasty.

More to the point, the dissertation investigates how power is constructed, expanded, and consolidated by architectural means. Focusing discussion on a select range of Bourbon buildings, it argues that architecture, under the two kings, was not just a vehicle of urban change or a mere carrier of Bourbon symbolism (as much scholarship has interpreted it) but an effective statecraft and government instrument.[7] Basing analysis on a diverse range of theoretical approaches, as well as on substantial bibliographic and archival inquiry, I investigate how architecture, in tandem with political and economic reform, was able to grant the Crown political authority and legitimacy. Relations of power, it will be shown, changed with each new structure as ever more segments of Neapolitan civic life began to be remodelled architecturally as well as administratively. By tracing this process, it is hoped, the research will contribute to an understanding of the material and immaterial processes through which architecture was implicated in the production of authority and discipline.

Power and Architecture

The relationship between power and architecture has been a steady topic in art and architectural history, and for good purpose. Across different times and within different regimes, the restructuring of the physical environment through planning and building activity has been a constant and enduring means for ruling elites to invest power, hierarchies and meaning within a given territory. From the funerary monuments of pharaonic Egypt to the temple-palace complexes of Greek and Roman antiquity, to the religious and civic architecture of renaissance and baroque Italy, down to the corporate headquarters of the contemporary neoliberal city, architecture has been essential to a political process which the philosopher Louis Marin's suggests is every authority's need to narrate a story about itself

[7] For an analysis of Bourbon architecture from a representational standpoint, see, for example, Hersey, *Architecture, Poetry and Number*, 63-97; Hersey, "Carlo di Borbone a Napoli e a Caserta," 213-64; Harold Acton, "The Bourbons of Naples as patrons of the arts 1734-1799," *The Connoisseur* 196 (1977): 78-91; Anthony Blunt, "Naples under The Bourbons 1734-1805," *Burlington Magazine* 121 (1979): 207-11.

and acquire recognition and social credibility.[8] Indeed, the very origins of western architectural history are inherently rooted in power relations, and it is largely vis-à-vis power that architecture developed as a discipline. It is not by chance, for instance, that Vitruvius' *libri decem*, oft-cited oldest and most influential book ever written on architecture, materialised at a time which saw with fall of the Roman Republic and the rise of imperialism.[9] In like manner, it is also unsurprising that the birth of the modern architect as an autonomous professional figure developed in the context of late medieval Italy, and most specifically in Florence—a guild-led republic whose democracy was being infringed by the despotic ambitions of a power-hungry mercantile and banking elite (that represented by the Strozzi, the Ruccellai and the Medici).[10] In either instance, architecture was mobilised as a means to introduce new patterns of spatial order and systems of belief, and to restructure power relations within society in the interest of a restricted few.

According to Michael Minkenberg, the relationship between power and architecture, like that of art and politics in a more general sense, has historically been construed in two principal ways.[11] A traditional approach, he argues, follows a functional and semiological logic: "buildings, urban design and in particular official architecture for governmental use find a form which reflects both the underlying purposes and the underlying ideology of the political regime."[12] In this sense, architecture tends to be explored in terms of how political

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[8] See especially Marin's studies around the notion of "representation" or how strength is conveyed and "in every sense of the word" constructed by visual and symbolic means, including through architecture. For e general study of the notion see Louis Marin, *On Representation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001). For an interpretation of it through an analysis of the rule and art and architectural production of Louis XIV, see Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King* (London: Macmillan Press. 1988).

[9] For an analysis of the political context in which Vitruvius' Ten Books were written see Ingrid D. Rowland and Thomas Noble Howe, "Introduction," in *Vitruvius, Ten Books on Architecture,* ed. Ingrid D. Rowland and Thomas Noble Howe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999), 1-18. For a material and historiographical study of the Vitruvian canon, see André Tavares, *Vitruvius Without Text. The Biography of a Book* (Zurich: gta Verlag, 2022).

[10] For a study of Renaissance architecture and the rise of the architect as a modern professional figure from the point of view of power relations, see Pier Vittorio Aureli. "Do You Remember Counterrevolution? The Politics of Filippo Brunelleschi's Syntactic Architecture," *AA Files*, no. 71 (2015): 147-165.

[11] Michael Minkenberg, "Introduction. Power and Architecture: The Construction of Capitals, the Politics of Space, and the Space of Politics," in *Power and Architecture. The Construction of Capitals and the Politics of Space*, ed. Michael Minkenberg (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014): 2.

[12] Ibid., 2.

authority is constructed by visual and symbolic means. Buildings, we are told, are able to convey multiple shades of strength, be that by their scale or urban or territorial presence as well as by the meanings which are attached to their ordering principles and symbolism. For example, axial palaces and city plans are treated as evocative of the illiberal and anti-democratic character of the regimes commissioning them, with examples ranging from the triumphal arteries of ancient Rome to the restructuring of European cities by early modern ecclesiastical and secular elites.[13] In a like manner, historians have focused on ornamentation in order to convey how "myths, histories of past events and representations of natural and artificial objects, from rustication to geometric figures, and from tree leaves to human tools and instruments" were able to create political hierarchies within the urban fabric through complex decorative and allegorical systems.[14] Either way, architecture serves to promote political power by making it visible and (culturally) legitimate.

A second approach counterpoints the above reading by positing that architecture not only provides visual and spatial means of legitimation but is also a "genuine act of constituting a political reality."[15] As Mark Crinson argues, the distinction is polemical and is mostly upheld by scholars "to whom the biopolitics of late Foucault or Latour's actor-network theory are better ways to understand power than an approach caricatured as only concerned with studies of buildings where power is mostly visibly materialised, where power

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[13] See for example Mary Beard's study on triumphal road building in ancient Rome: Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 42-106. Or Charles Burroughs' research on axial city planning in Baroque Rome: Charles Burroughs, "Absolutism and the Rhetoric of Topography," in *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, ed. Zeynep Celik, Diane Favro, and Richard Ingersoll (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994): 189-202. See also Louis Marin's work on baroque planning under Louis XIV: Louis Marin and Anna Lehman, "Classical, Baroque: Versailles, or the Architecture of the Prince," *Yale French Studies* 80 (1991): 167-182.

[14] Antoine Picon, "Architecture, Materiality, and Politics: Sensations, Symbols, Situations, and Decors," in *Political Theory and Architecture*, ed. Duncan Bell and Bernardo Zacka (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020): 280. For examples of this approach, see Richard Wittman, "Architecture, Space and Abstraction in Eighteenth-Century Public Sphere", *Representations* 102:1 (Spring 2008), 1-26; Matthew Critchley, "'Visible Power:' Religious Sovereignty and the Classical Language of Architecture," in *Rituals and Walls: The Architecture of Sacred Space*, ed. Pier Vittorio Aureli and Maria Shéhérazade Giudici (London: Architectural Association, 2016): 78-93; Marco Folin, "Princes, Towns, Palaces: A Renaissance 'Architecture of Power," in *A Renaissance Architecture of Power: Princely Palaces in the Italian Quattrocento*, ed. Silvia Beltramo, Flavia Cantatore, and Marco Folin (Leiden: Brill, 2016): 3–27.

[15] Minkenberg, "Introduction. Power and Architecture," 2-3.

simply resides."[16] Here, the problem of power is understood here "as how to manage desire, how to make docile bodies, how to produce normative behaviours, and how to do all this as part of an ultimately self-regulating and secure society."[17] This, we are told, is "not simply a matter of monumental symbolism and space, state power and authority, imposed control and surveillance" but rather of identifying the protocols, spaces and routines through which power regulates life and within which power, understood as a distributed and relational substance, is mobilised.[18]

Although diversified in scope, the scholarship emanating from this approach often develops from an engagement with the philosopher Michel Foucault and, most especially, with "governmentality."[19] Consisting of the contraction of 'governmental' and 'rationality,' Foucault developed the concept to describe the combination of protocols, rules, structures, and institutions through which authorities in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Europe began to control the actions and decisions of individuals, groups or organisations in relation to

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[16] Mark Crinson, "The Powers that be: Architectural potency and spatialized power," *ABE Journal. Architecture beyond Europe* 4 (2013):6, accessed 5 March 2022, https://journals.openedition.org/abe/3389. In Foucault's research, biopolitics is described as a mode of rule that governs populations via "biopower"—"a power that exerts a positive influence on life, that endeavours to administer, optimize, and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations" as opposed to an earlier 'juridico-discoursive' conceptualisation of power as repressive and negative. See Michel Foucault, "Right of Death and Power over Life," in *The Foucault Readers*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984): 260. Latour's actor-network theory posits that modern societies cannot be described without recognising them as having a" fibrous, thread-like, wiry, stringy, ropy, capillary character" that is never captured by global concepts like those of "institutions, organisations, states and nations." It is, in other words, a "resistance argument" positing that "it is utterly impossible to understand what holds society together without reinjecting in its fabric the facts manufactured by natural and social sciences and the artefacts designed by engineers" and that "the only way to achieve this reinjection…is through a network-like ontology and social theory." See Bruno Latour, "On Actor-Network Theory: A few clarifications plus more than a few complications," *Soziale Welt* 47 (1996): 370. Relevant to architecture Latour's actor-network theory posits that "a building is not a static object but a moving *project*, and that even once it has been built, it ages, it is transformed by its users, modified by all of what happens inside and outside, and that it will pass or be renovated, adulterated and transformed beyond recognition." See Bruno Latour and Albena Yaneva, "'Give Me a Gun and I Will Make All Buildings Move': An ANT's View of Architecture," *in Explorations in Architecture: Teaching, Design, Research*, ed. Reto Geiser (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2008): 80.

[17] Crinson, "The Powers that be," 6.

[18] See Aggregate, *Governing by Design: Architecture, Economy, and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), vii.

[19] Crinson, "The Powers that be," 6.

authoritative criteria.[20] Crucially, according to Nikolas Rose, in this administration of life, power is no longer exercised from on high but rather develops as "a complex assemblage of diverse forces (legal, architectural, professional, administrative, financial, judgemental), techniques (notation, computation, calculation, examination, evaluation), devices (surveys and charts, systems of training, building forms)" whose shifting assemblages were able to affect conduct without having to rely on violence.[21] Power, in this sense, is no longer regarded as a direct imposition of state or sovereign will but as a matter of networks and alliances encompassing "chains of actors, all with their own objectivity, who translate centre objectives down the chain."[22]

As Patrick Joyce suggests, "work in this particular conceptual frame has been strongly marked by an interest in how [government] rationales and technologies invariably take

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[20] Fouacult discusses the concept at length in his lectures at the Collège de France. In summary, he defines it so: "By this word "governmentality," I mean three things. First, by "governmentality," I understand the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument. Second, by "governmentality," I understand the tendency, the line of force, that for a long time, and throughout the West, has constantly led towards the preeminence over all other types of power— sovereignty, discipline, and so on— of the type of power that we can call "government" and which has led to the development of a series of specific governmental apparatuses (*appareils*) on the one hand, [and, on the other]‡ to the development of a series of knowledges (*savoirs*). Finally, by "governmentality," I think we should understand the process, or rather, the result of the process by which the state of justice of the Middle Ages became the administrative state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and was gradually "governmentalized." See Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977–78*, ed. by Michael Senellart (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008): 108-9; 115-134. For a detailed analysis of the concept, see Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller, "Political power beyond the state: problematics of government," *British Journal of Sociology* 43, no. 2 (Jun. 1992): 173-205. For an analysis of its use in scholarship, see Patrick Joyce, "History and Governmentality," *Análise Social* 49, no. 212 (2014): 752-6.

[21] Rose and Miller, "Political power beyond the state," 183.

[22] Dennis Gough, "Multi-agency working and the governance of crime control," in *Multi-agency Working in Criminal Justice: Theory, Policy and Practice*, ed. Aaron Pycroft and Dennis Gough (Bristol: Policy Press, 2019): 15.

material forms."[23] In his own research, for example, he examines how files and filing systems were able to reinforce the British Empire's political supremacy in nineteenth-century India and London through the emergence of a new logic of bureaucratic practice in which human agency and the material agencies involved in writing were combined.[24] In a different context, the work of Chandra Mukerji has expanded on this idea focusing on the "entanglement of things and persons, of human and non-human agency" at play in seventeenth-century France state territoriality.[25] Relevant to this research, in 2012, a whole volume was dedicated to the relation between architecture and governmentality.[26] Consisting of a collection of independent essays under the title *Governing by design*, the book explores such questions as how architecture regulates life through a diverse range of case studies, including but not limited to the dislocation of food markets from central Paris to early twentieth-century histories of American domestic design. As its editors advise, what links the contributions together "is the idea of architecture governing conduct—mediating power—through networks and norms, frames of action and possibility that flow through all scales from the body to the home to the city to the globe, at the hands of not just the state but also individuals and institutions."[27] Architectural power, in this sense, is no longer examined in the traditionally acknowledged realms of discourse and representation but in the more mundane practices and

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[23] Patrick Joyce and Tony Bennett, "Material Powers. Introduction," in *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn*, ed. Patrick Joyce and Tony Bennett (New York: Routledge, 2010): 3. The word material is used here in terms of 'materiality' or 'material culture.' For a discussion on the subject with reference to the 'material turn' in the social sciences more generally, see Joyce and Bennet, "Material Powers. Introduction," 1-17; see also Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry, "Introduction: Material culture studies: A reactionary view," in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, ed. Dan Hicks and Mary Beaudry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010): 1–24.

[24] See Patrick Joyce, "Filing the Raj: political technologies of the Imperial British state," in *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn*, ed. Patrick Joyce and Tony Bennett (New York: Routledge, 2010): 102-123. For a more general analysis of how political technologies worked in the British imperial state see. Patrick Joyce, *The state of freedom: a social history of the British state since 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[25] See especially Mukerji's research canal building, administrative stewardship, and absolutism under Louis XIV. Chandra Mukerji, *Impossible Engineering: Technology and Territoriality on the Canal Du Midi* (New York: Princeton University Press, 2015). Also relevant is her research on forest surveys as vehicle for empowering the state. Chandra Mukerji, "The Great Forest Survey of 1669–1671: The Use of Archives for Political Reform," *Social Studies of Science* 37, no. 2 (April 2007): 227–253.

[26] Aggregate, *Governing by Design.*

[27] Ibid., vii.

processes which regulate social life—food conservation, bodily ergonomics, housing norms, and the management of crises, amongst others.

This strand of scholarship has made a very significant contribution to the understanding of architecture's imbrication with power and politics. It has also allowed for appreciating in greater detail the extent to which architecture is implicated with other forms of knowledge. However, as Crinson argues, in the study of architecture, the supplanting by "spatialised power" of what has been called "visible politics" has also come with a number of salient problems.[28] Foremost, the tendency to carry out analysis according to a selective theory or monologic whereby determined modes of power are represented as (artificially) separate or superordinate to others.[29] According to Crinson, this tendency is problematic in that it avoids any acknowledgement, for example, of how visual or symbolic and spatialised or material forms of power operate in relation to each other.[30] Indeed, in Crinson's view, not only are unmitigated versions of governmentality or disciplinary power hard to find.[31] Impersonal forms of rule are intrinsically and intimately linked with sovereignty, including in its most profoundly symbolic and spectacular components of majesty, ritual and the quasi-religious.[32] This, one may add, is especially true of the early modern, whence the development of modern state apparatuses—standing armies; centralised bureaucracies; systematic and state-wide taxation regimes; formal diplomatic services; state policies to promote commerce and economic growth—materialised under the aegis of absolutist monarchs and ambitious

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[28] Crinson, "The Powers that be," 7.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Chandra Mukerji's work on territorial logistics in seventeenth-century France is a good example of an exception to this tendency. Writing of the Canal du Midi (a ca. 150-mile-long canal linking the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean), she explores the complex ways in which strategic and material forms of power were exercised relationally in order to extend the sovereignty of Louis XIV over the antagonistic feudal landowners of the provinces of the Languedoc. See territorial state Chandra Mukerji, "The Territorial State as a Figured World of Power: Strategics, Logistics, and Impersonal Rule," *Sociological Theory*, vol. 28, no..4 (December 2010): 402-424. See also impossible engineering Chandra Mukerji, *Impossible Engineering*, 15-35.

[31] Crinson, "The Powers that be," 11.

[32] On the contrary, according to Joyce and Mukerji, "the magic and majesty of state sovereignty are produced *by* logistical means in the form of art programs, political rituals, law courts and legal documents, of palaces and parliaments, and much more." Patrick Joyce and Chandra Mukerji, "The State of Things: State History and Theory Reconfigured," *Theory and Society*, 46, 1 (2017): 3.

aristocrats eager to assert their leadership over the power centres of the continent.[33] In this sense, to treat spatialised or symbolic forms of power as artificially separate or superordinate to one another is also to miss out on the complex and often contradictory play of forces thanks to which state power developed in the early modern European context.

Further, Crinson suggests, the will to look for power in one exclusive place often results in research in which arguments approach the hyperbolic and "where claims tend to overreach themselves in a way which is symptomatic of the all-encompassing net the Foucauldian method spreads over its subject."[34]

> No attempt is made either to account for co-existing regimes of power or to enquire into deficits or failures. To do either would be to lose the totalising beauty of the theory, which must mirror the supposed efficiency and effectiveness of its analysed objects.[35]

According to Crinson, Foucault's reading of the Panopticon is one of the most palpable, if not

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[33] For a general analysis of early modern state formation under absolutist regimes, see Christopher Pierson, *The Modern State*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 27-49. See also Gianfranco Poggi's influential study of the transition in Gianfranco Poggi, *The Development of the Modern State* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), 71-94.

[34] Crinson, "The Powers that be," 7. Patrick Joyce raises a similar issue when commenting on the often "formulaic" use of governmentality in political sociology. This he, argues, results in a "sort of crypto-functionalism, as if different governmentalities were not always in conflict, as if they were coherent, prescient and unified." This failing, Joyce suggests, "is also apparent in the original work of Foucault, as well as that of his critic De Certeau, governmental techniques being construed as having a built-in-essence expressing an inherent political coherence and logic." See Joyce, "History and Governmentality," 7-8.

[35] Crinson, "The Powers that be," 7.

the most palpable, examples of this tendency.[36] For despite all the promises of visibility and control, when enacted, he claims, the surplus produced by the panopticon equals any system of spectacular power: "it fails to induce total self-censorship, fails to enact complete visibility (why else would we need to keep filling prisons?), and creates a surfeit of knowledge without leverage."[37] Nor does Foucault's method account for the labour and material forms of power inherent to Bentham's work. Indeed, as Chandra Mukerji claims, "traditions of wall design do not enter into discussions of the panopticon, and the same is true for the skill of masons," for neither are regarded as relevant when measured against the 'all seeing' surveillance possibilities enabled by the scheme.[38]

In an attempt to establish a middle ground between multiple analytical extremes, this thesis examines the relationship between power and architecture through a deliberately diversified approach. It looks at architecture both from a representational standpoint as a form of "visible politics" as well as as coextensive with the complex assemblage of material and immaterial processes that is governmentality. It does so by leveraging on ideas issuing from a heterogenous range of politico-philosophical, sociological and architecture historical works—not for the mere sake of theoretical and intellectual variety, but in order to trace the mechanisms through which different forms of power collude, connect with one another and collide. It posits architecture as a site in which this interplay is uniquely visible and, by

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[36] The Panopticon was a model prison conceived in the mid 1780s by the English social reformer and founder of utilitarianism, Jeremy Bentham. It consisted of a circular building having inmate cells distributed around an outer ring and a guard's tower located at the centre such that inmates could be observed from a single point and without having the awareness of being seen. In time, the spatial diagram was applied to a broad range of institutional buildings including hospitals, schools, sanatoriums, and factories. According to Foucault, the state of conscious visibility promised by the Panopticon was paradigmatic of a wider set of transformations occurring over the course of the eighteenth century within penal domains (as well as in government practices more broadly). Chief amongst these was the transition from a model of society based on sovereign forms of power (the king's right to kill, the threat of corporal punishment) to one based on disciplinary forms of control (marginalization, surveillance, analysis, correction), as well as between early modern monarchical regimes and the late modern capitalist state. For Fouacult's reading of the Panopticon, see Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish. The birth of the prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 195-230. On Jeremy Bentham's life and works, see Philip Schofield, *Bentham: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: Continuum, 2009). For a critique of Foucault's engagement with Bentham's theory and work, see Anne Brunon-Ernst, ed., *Beyond Foucault: New Perspectives on Bentham's Panopticon* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2021).

[37] Crinson, "The Powers that be," 7.

[38] Mukerji, "The Territorial State," 403.

implication of this, that its analysis constitutes an exceptionally exhaustive frame for appreciating how political power is exercised.

Bourbon Naples. Context, method, and historiographical traditions

Eighteenth-century Naples provides an especially rich context for such an inquiry. In 1734, the city became the stage of one of the most remarkable dynastic turnovers in early modern history, witnessing the transition from being a province of Hapsburg Austria into becoming the seat of a resident ruler and capital of an independent reign. Its new king, Charles of Bourbon, was able to gain the throne thanks to a combined Hispano-Italian army and a crushing set of military victories.[39] But successes on the field of battle could not guarantee lasting political stability.[40] Since settling in Naples the new dynasty needed to confront several interrelated challenges. In military terms, despite the clear victory over the Austrian forces at the battle of Bitonto (1735) and the consequent retreat of the Neapolitan viceroy Guido Visconti, the threats of a Hapsburg retaliation endured well into the 1740s—at least until the two powers came to blows in the Battle of Velletri in 1744.[41] And such military tensions were exacerbated still further by the awareness that many of Naples' most powerful

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[39] Charles' conquest was both encouraged and subsidised by his parents Philip V and his second wife, Elizabeth Farnese. Both monarchs had strong interests in championing the endeavour. Philip V, the first Bourbon king of Spain after centuries of Hapsburg rule, lost the Kingdom of Naples to the Austrian Hapsburg emperor Charles VI during the Wars of Spanish Succession (1701-14) alongside Gibraltar, the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Sardinia, and Sicily. Elizabeth, on the other hand, was determined to ensure that her eldest (who was third in the line of succession to the Spanish throne) be more than just a cadet member of the Spanish royal court. Hence after having granted Charles the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, as well as making him hereditary Grand Duke of Tuscany, she personally encouraged Charles to descend further in the Italian peninsula in order to restore the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily under Spanish Bourbon control. Before then, the two Kingdoms had been governed in the form of Spanish and Austrian viceregencies. But, following Charles' *conquista,* Philip V conceded that his son rule over them as an independent, resident monarch. See Acton, *The Bourbons of Naples*, 11-26; Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 1-4.

[40] Robin L. Thomas, "Building the Monarchy: The Teatro di San Carlo in Naples, 1737," *Court Historian* 17, no. 1 (2012): 37-8.

[41] On the military conflicts characterising the first eight years of Bourbon rule (namely those leading to the battle of Velletri in 1744 in which Charles of Bourbon permanently secured his kingdom from Austrian attempts of re-conquest), see Schipa, *Il regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo di Borbone*, 155-194, 375-454; Acton, The *Bourbons of Naples (1734-1825)*, 49-68.

nobles were either associated with the Austrian crown or had given support to the Hapsburg Emperor during the 1730s wars.[42] Most crucially, the Bourbons needed to install a monarchy in a city which, for over two hundred years, had been governed as a viceregency, and consolidation of royal power would inevitably have to come to terms with an unusually influential base of noble and ecclesiastical elites. Indeed, as Chapter 1 will explore, religious and aristocratic entities had expanded their control over political affairs in the Two Sicilies while Spanish and Austrian viceroys presided over Naples.[43] To restructure local power relations without making dangerous enemies, the Crown needed to act strategically.

Adding to the troubles, the kingdom Charles had conquered was amongst the largest and most densely inhabited territories on early modern Italian soil. Indeed, by the early seventeen hundred Naples alone is said to have counted almost 300'000 souls, and this vast demographic base, coupled with its endemic political and economic instabilities, rendered the town an unusually challenging government seat.[44] Due to stark social inequality, much of the population was poor, and its subsistence was dependent on the delivery of exceptionally vast quantities of cheap flour and wheat. However, as Chapter 2 will examine, feeding a city of such vast proportions was no simple government feat. For reasons both economic and ecological, grain was often scarce, and its pricing was liable to a market characterised by extreme volatility. At the same time, whenever bread prices at the central market rose beyond regularly accepted tolerance levels the city would fall into a state of precarious political instability. Sometimes, tensions around food prices escalated to an unsettling extent, including to the point of threatening that the government be overthrown. Indeed, it was

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[42] See Maria A. Noto, "Il giglio borbonico e L'Aquila imperiale. Scontro politico, congiura e progetti autonomistici nel Regno di Napoli agli albori del Settecento," *Nuova Rivista storica* 102 (2018): 97-131. See also Elena Papagna, "Un filoaustriaco nella corte borbónica di Napoli: Antonio Pignatelli Aymerich, Marquese di San Vicente e príncipe di Belmonte (1722-1794)," *Librosdelacorte.Es,* 23 (2021): 299–301, accessed 24 March 2022, https://doi.org/10.15366/ldc2021.13.23.012.

[43] Thomas, "Building the Monarchy," 38.

[44] These aspects will be examined in detail throughout the chapters. For now, suffice it to say that until the end of the eighteenth-century Naples had more than double the populations of Rome, Venice and Milan. For an overiew of early modern Naples' urban structures and population, see Giovanni Muto, "Urban structures and population," in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. Tommaso Astarita (Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2013): 35-62. For an understanding of the government challenges Naples' population size involved, see Giulo Sodano, "Governing the City," in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. Tommaso Astarita (Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2013): 109-130.

taxation debates on food matters that inspired the infamous revolt of Masaniello in 1647, when the fisherman Tommaso Aniello led a riot at the central market due to which several major aristocratic figures were beheaded and the city was thrown into a state of unsettling social and political disorder.[45]

Faced with having to install a monarchy in such turbulent domestic and international settings, the Bourbons were able to defend their leadership by setting a diverse range of policies in motion. At a diplomatic level, marriages with princesses from neighbouring European courts were buttressed by political and economic treatises which could help secure the throne from foreign military assaults. To this end, in May 1738, Charles was granted the hand of Maria Amalia of Saxony, daughter of the newly elected Polish king Augustus III as well as the niece of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI, while his son Ferdinand IV married Maria Carolina of Austria, the thirteenth child of empress Maria Theresa (Charles VI's daughter) in April 1768.[46] In terms of local politics, the Crown pursued reform across multiple areas of city government, alternating broad-scale efforts for administrative centralisation with recognition of the capital city's pre-existing political and economic orders. This was done by following a conciliatory approach to rule whereby aggressions on the status quo would systematically be balanced out by distributing government positions, political privileges, or access to the royal court. Finally, in an effort to transform their territory into a legible symbol of Bourbon rule, the kings rebuilt the capital unlike anything which had gone before. In little under a century, old palaces were remodelled, market squares rebuilt, and a multitude of public buildings was erected at some of the city's most prominent urban and topographic spots. Vast in scale, these interventions not only projected the image of a confident new reign. They were also vehicles of political transformation, thanks to which significant segments of Neapolitan civic life were brought under the Crown's control.

The dissertation investigates this process by analysing the commission, design and operational results forged by three of eighteenth-century Naples' most prominent building

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[45] For a detailed analysis of the revolt of Masaniello and its significance for the Spanish viceregency's rule over the city see Peter Burke, "The Virgin of the Carmine and the Revolt of Masaniello," *Past and Present* 99 (May 1983): 3-21 and Roberto Villari, "Masaniello: Contemporary and Recent Interpretations," *Past and Present* 108 (1985): 117-35.

[46] On Charles' marriage with Maria Amalia of Saxony in see Acton, *The Bourbons of Naples,* 27-46. On Ferdinand IV's marriage with Maria Carolina of Austria see Acton, *The Bourbons of Naples*, 127-149.

efforts. In place of a master narrative on Bourbon architecture, therefore, it posits a limited number of case studies, each analysed in conjunction with a concomitant program of royal reform. The chosen case studies, furthermore, are pertinent to a specific category of royal works. They are civic architectures—buildings, therefore, which, despite having been built under the Crown's patronage, addressed matters of public interest and, ostensibly at least, aspired towards the "common good."

This element of the three projects, coupled with the existence of a long-standing pro-Bourbon strain in eighteenth-century Neapolitan research, makes them an especially problematic object of theoretical inquiry. Indeed, examining them without preconceived notions requires re-evaluating many entrenched narratives characterising the study of southern Italy in what may be regarded as one of its most celebrated and controversial moments. Chief amongst these is the idea, long ingrained in Italian and international historiographical traditions, that rise of the Neapolitan Bourbons marked a turning point in Southern Italian history from a prolonged period of decadence under Spanish and Austrian

rule to a successive golden age of cultural and political reform.[47] According to this point of view, whereas the period of Hapsburg government was characterised by a corrupt royal administration, an aristocratic class obsessed with privilege, and a depraved and all-pervasive church that held a city in a state of misery while its financial resources were plundered, misgovernment ran unchecked, taxation hit the poor, and the nobility enjoyed immunities without ever being held to account, under the Bourbons, a new ethics of government took hold.[48] This ethics, we are told, made leverage on the discourses of Enlightenment reform circulated in pamphlets and political treatises across eighteenth-century European states in

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[47] As Helen Hills suggests, this point of view is riddled with nationalist and ideological implications and serves to depict the kingdom's liberation from the hegemony of foreign rule as an almost automatic remedy to the (presumed) division, economic isolation and political weakness Naples had suffered from as a Spanish and Austrian province. According to Hills, Luigi Del Pozzo's 'Preface' to his *Cronaca civile e militare delle Due Sicilie sotto la dinastia Borbonica* is, for example, "paradigmatic in its justification of Bourbon rule by contrasting it to the 'humble and depressed condition' of the viceregency that it replaced." Paraphrasing Del Pozzo, she argues that the Bourbons were said to have inherited a "sterile and oppressed kingdom, in which vast *donativi* extracted by the viceroys were sent direct to Spain, the *gabelle* and other taxes hit the poor, while barons enjoyed all kinds of immunities and were not held to account, while the Consilio Collaterale struggled beneath an unwieldy accumulation of disparate Norman, Swabian, Angevin, and Aragonese law." This line of interpretation, Hills suggests, is primarily the outcome of a nationalistic tradition of which Benedetto Croce is to be regarded as one of the founding figures. Indeed, according to Hills, in his 1922 *Spagna nella vita italiana durante la Rinascenza*, Croce "excoriates the 'barbaric Spanish invasion' of Italy, the inferiority of Spanish literature, Iberian love of honorific titles, pomp and duels, and concludes with a chapter on 'Hispano-Italian Decadence.'" See Helen Hills, "Introduction: Directions to Baroque Naples," *Open Arts Journal* 6 (winter 2017/18): 10-11. For further research Benedetto Croce's influence on Neapolitan historiography, see Augustus Pallotta, "Reappraising Croce's influence on Hispanic Studies in Italy: The case of Guevara and Mexìa," in *Modern Language Studies*, vol.22, no.3 (1992): 44–52. Echoing Hills, Sabina De Cavi has also lamented that "Italian historians—from Pietro Giannone (1676-1748) through recent times—have usually read the Habsburg period as a negative phase in Neapolitan history, developing the political theme of 'resistance' to Spanish dominion" and that this reading has had a sweeping impact on how art and architectural history of early modern Naples has been viewed, primarily to a negative effect. Sabina De Cavi, *Architecture and Royal Presence: Domenico and Giulio Cesare Fontana in Spanish Naples (1592–1627)* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), 9-11. On the "Black Legend" of Spanish Naples see Vittorio Tocco, *Ideali d'indipendenza in Italia durante la preponderanza spagnuola 1559-1706* (Messina: Principato, 1927); Gabriele Pepe, *Il Mezzogiorno d'Italia sotto gli Spagnoli: La tradizione storiografica* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1952). A more recent contextualisation of the issue is Giuseppe Galasso, "Introduction," in *Nel sistema imperiale: L'Italia Spagnola*, ed. Aurelio Musi (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1994): 9-47. For a recent critique of anti-Spaniard historiographical traditions see Céline Dauverd, *Church and State in Spanish Italy: Rituals and Legitimacy in the Kingdom of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020): 1-30.

[48] Hills, "Introduction: Directions to Baroque Naples," 11.

order to restore the primacy of law over entrenched local interests, not for the mere sake of power—as had been the case in previous jurisdictions— in the pursuit of a more equitable and just political and economic system.[49] As Aurelio Musi has argued, this enlightened approach to rule was able to obtain results that fell along a wide spectrum of political achievements.[50] In less than a century, ecclesiastical immunities were revoked, the judiciary system reformed, the tribunals restructured, and taxation mechanisms revisited. And the reputation and international standing of the kingdom also improved as the Crown began to amass consensus amongst visitors and foreign citizens.[51]

Significantly to my research, this renaissance is also said to have been accompanied by

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[49] A number of local factors undoubtedly inspired historians to run in this direction. Foremost, the support which the new monarchy aroused amongst contemporary Neapolitan intellectuals. Indeed, as has been described by Brigitte Marin, in southern Italy, the return of the resident ruler was accompanied by a strong expectation of reform and contemporaries saw in the dynastical turnover a source of optimism for the future: "now that the kingdom was no longer administered as a dependent province," they hoped, "it could quickly embark on economic and social progress, guided by the political will of the new dynasty." See Brigitte Marin, "Naples: capital of the enlightenment," in *Capital Cities and their Hinterlands in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Clark and Bernard Lepetit (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), 143–44. In appearance, at least, their hopes seemed to have been confirmed and several exponents from the so-called Neapolitan enlightenment were actively involved in government matters, shaping the new monarchy's political programs and reform initiatives. For example, advised by the reformer Paolo Mattia Doria the Crown created a new tribunal for the promotion of commerce, the Supremo Magistrato di Commercio (formed in 1739). Church reform grew strong by leveraging the ideas of the enlightenment thinker Pietro Giannone. Antonio Genovesi, acknowledged by historians as one of the most progressive thinkers of his day, was given the first university chair in political economy in Europe at Naples' university. By the later 1770s, a new generation of men of letters began to exert an increasing influence on royal policy: Giuseppe Maria Galanti, Francesco Mario Pagano, and Giuseppe Palmieri, amongst others. However, as John Robertson argues, it is important to stress that the reform imperatives of these latter were "not the natural priority of the new monarchy." Under both kings, Charles of Bourbon and Ferdinand IV, reform was only ever pursued to the extent to which it was compatible with the Crown's wider dynastic priorities. See John Robertson, "Enlightenment and Revolution: Naples 1799," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 10 (2000): 24-33. For a critique of pro-Bourbon historiography, see also Anna Maria Rao, *Il riformismo borbonico a Napoli,* in *Storia della società italiana, vol. XII, Il secolo dei lumi e delle riforme* (Milano: Teti, 1989): 215-290; Anna Maria Rao, "Le riforme," in *Le vite di Carlo di Borbone,* 164-173. For a critique of the Neapolitan Enlightenment in the English language, see Keon Stapelbroek, *Love, Self-Deceit & Money. Commerce and Morality in the Early Neapolitan Enlightenment.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); Girolamo Imbruglia, ed., *Naples in the Eighteenth Century: The Birth and Death of a Nation State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[50] Aurelio Musi, "Political History." In *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. Tommaso Astarita (Leiden/ Boston, Brill, 2013): 145.

[51] Ibid.

a newfound commitment to the commissioning of public works.[52] Indeed, if under previous viceregal jurisdictions, state architecture was scant and tended to be restricted to engineering endeavours and military endeavours (including but not limited to the repeated reconstruction of Naples' fortification systems), with the restoration of the resident dynasty, attitudes shifted. Alongside a plethora of new projects catering to the requisites of the royal court (Palaces, theatres, triumphal roads), the Crown developed buildings with broad-scale civic and socio-economic aspirations.[53] Amongst their numerous enterprises, a new royal poorhouse promised to offer shelter to the entirety of the kingdom of Naples' poverty-stricken. Not far, a monumental public cemetery was built. This was meant to relieve the city from the entrenched and hazardous practice of interring dead bodies within the inner districts. Along the coast, a vast royal granary developed in replacement of Naples' decrepit seventeenth-century system of grain and flour deposits. And to each such endeavours were attached an ancillary series of building initiatives: from the improvement of roads to the creation of squares, land restoration projects to the renewal of water supply systems.

This new emphasis on public works is mostly regarded by scholars in propagandistic terms. According to Robin Thomas, for instance, their construction was meant to persuade the citizenry that the king was a valid ruler, able to combine majesty with utility, magnificence with the public interest.[54] This, he claims, was crucial to the nascent dynasty since over the course eighteenth-century discussions on the art of building grew to become increasingly dominated by politico-moral and ethical attitudes.[55] At this juncture, he writes, it was believed that public architecture could renew civic life and rulers throughout Europe began to be held increasingly accountable for the manner in which their projects contributed to the common good.[56] While this may be true, however, the legacy of the said projects

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[52] See especially Buccaro and Matacena, *Architettura e Urbanistica dell'età Borbonica. Le Opere dello Stato*, 9-91. See also Alfredo Buccaro, *Opere pubbliche e tipologie urbane nel Mezzogiorno preunitario* (Naples: Electa, 1992). For a contextualisation of this phenomenon within the context of eighteenth-century Italy and Europe see, Giorgio Simonicini, "L'edilizia pubblica in Italia fra tardo Seicento e fine Settecento," in *L'edilizia pubblica nell'età dell'illuminismo*, ed. Giorgio Simoncini, vol. 1. (Firenze: Olschki, 2000) 11-72.

[53] For a critique of the presumed period of stagnation in public architecture under the Spanish and Austrian rule, see De Cavi, *Architecture and Royal Presence*, 4-11; 246-262. de Seta, *Napoli*, 92-153.

[54] Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 9-10.

[55] Ibid., 9-10; 170.

[56] Ibid., 170.

suggests alternate dynastical and political significance. As this thesis aims to show, by turning to the public interest, the Crown was able to extend its power in domains of Neapolitan civic life hitherto administered outside the royal government's influence. And it could do so in ways which were, rhetorically at least, perceived of as legitimate.

Chapter 1 examines this dynamic through focusing on the commission of the Reale Albergo dei Poveri—the mammoth poorhouse ordered by Charles of Bourbon for Naples' north eastern peripheries. Begun in 1748, this was one of the largest and most controversial projects to have been commissioned by the new ruler since its 1734 ascension to the Neapolitan throne. In commissioning it, the king promised to supply a venue in which to provide care to indigent poor, and wherein the idle elements of the Neapolitan population could be re-educated and transformed into virtuous and productive citizens. But as the chapter aims to show, from the point of view of power relations, its construction had much broader symbolic and geopolitical significance. Docked along via Foria (Naples' principal entrance artery from Rome), and with its projected length of over 600 meters, the Albergo sought to invest the capital as a massive emblem of monarchical munificence. And its operation served to empower the Crown in an ongoing struggle to wrest political power from the Neapolitan Church, many of whose establishments were actively and intensively involved in the delivery of assistance. With these premises in mind, the chapter revisits the project as a vehicle of royal interest showing how its design, construction and management systems were able to draw the capital's diversified network of poor relief and charity organisations under the Crown's influence.

Chapter 2 shifts focus from the delivery of social welfare to the contests of power gathering around Naples' grain supply methods. Its focus are the Reali Granili—a monumental grain storage building formerly located in Naples' south-eastern districts. Commissioned by Charles' son Ferdinand IV, the building is no longer in existence and has, as such, suffered from relatively little scholarly attention. For the first time, my research investigates the project by situating it within the larger context of Naples' provision systems showing how its commission was meant to empower the Crown in an ongoing struggle against feudal power and nobiliary privilege. Conceived of and promoted as cheap and optimal storage for private merchants to deposit their grain and to offer the municipality larger and better grain storage facilities than those currently available in the city, the building,

I will show, was designed as a discreet measurement and surveillance instrument. Through it, it was hoped, the monarchy could benefit from the disposal of real-time information on the quantities and qualities of grain circulating in Naples without having to undermine the grain trade's pre-existing political and economic interests. Moreover, my analysis of the new granary will highlight, too, how these material forms of rule developed in correlation with an ambitious program of territorial and infrastructural transformation: the construction of new commercial thoroughfares, projects of land restoration, hydraulic works, as well as the creation of a new grain milling district along the banks of the River Sebeto (adjacent to the new granary). By examining the Granili in relation to these contemporaneous, infrastructural undertakings, the chapter situates architecture as part of a kingdom-wide effort for material and political domination.

Lastly, Chapter 3 examines the relationship between architecture and burial reform in eighteenth-century Naples by focusing on the commission of the Camposanto degli Incurabili —a new extramural cemetery situated in the northeastern periphery. Conceived in replacement of Naples' largest, most crowded, and most infamous communal grave, the project has mostly been interpreted by scholars in sanitary terms and as a rationalist response to eighteenth-century medical innovations. Contra to this narrative, my study aims to show that while the project may have developed to tackle the unsanitary health conditions of the Incurabili's grave, its ambitions were far greater and aimed to exert monarchical power over the entirety of the capital city's burial practices and locations. Basing discussion on Peter Conrad's theories of medicalisation, and after an in-depth analysis of the spiritual and financial interests gathering around Naples' funerary sector, I trace how notions of public hygiene were mobilised by the Crown's health deputation in order to wrest political and economic power from local religious and lay pious organisations. I argue, too, that the architecture of the new cemetery—its strict burial regimens and calendrical frameworks—were instrumental in providing the campaign with a legitimate epistemological base. Indeed, rather than a mere functional response to a public health crisis situation, the project, I claim, sought to provide a model of best practice which could inspire numerous successive applications.

Commissioned and built between 1748 and 1815, three buildings were designed by Ferdinando Fuga—a Tuscan architect who established his career in Rome under Pope

Clement XII and whose extensive experience in the domain of civic architecture enabled him to become appointed as one of the leading figures in the Bourbon monarchy's rebuilding efforts.[57] This pedigree notwithstanding, however, my dissertation deliberately abstains from offering an authorial interpretation of the three works. Contra to existing narratives, I challenge the idea of a cohesive architectural approach and that that approach is traceable to the architect's professional trajectory, belief systems and receptiveness towards debates occurring in eighteenth-century architectural circles.[58] Instead, in seeking to trace the ways architecture participates in government, I analyse the case studies according to a more nuanced understanding of the architect's agency, situating Fuga amidst a wider and more heterogeneous range of architectural players consisting not only of patrons and technicians but also many other figures, each with their own competencies and professional or political aims: ministers, political theorists, medical practitioners, government deputies, and more. To this enlarged frame of architectural agents, I also juxtapose a more complex notion of the architectural object. Indeed, while my research is firmly centred around buildings, and while each of the three case studies will be subjected to meticulous formal and architectural scrutiny, I also focus attention on their wider administrative, cultural and territorial outcomes. I study the regulatory systems they inspired and the management structures they provoked, their patronage politics and interrelated urbanistic and infrastructural frameworks. By situating architecture amidst these contemporaneous administrative and geo-urban undertakings, I contribute to a better appreciation of its political and cultural workings.

Finally, disaggregating architecture's subjects and objects as such will also serve to

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[57] Fuga's biography and career will be examined in detail in Chapter 1.

[58] Fuga's work under the Neapolitan Bourbons is often approached as an example of eighteenth-century architectural rationalism or functionalism and most especially in relation to ongoing debates occurring in Roman intellectual circles such as the Bilbioteca Corsiniana and the Accademia di San Luca. Paolo Giordano, for example, defines Fuga as a 'paleo-enlightenment' architect, and his work as exemplary of contemporary architectural theories of appropriateness and decorum similar to those espoused by Jacque Francois Blondel, the Abbé Laugier and Carlo Lodoli. See Paolo Giordano, *Ferdinando Fuga a Napoli: L'Albergo dei Poveri, il Cimitero delle 366 fosse, i Granili* (Lecce: Edizioni del Grifo, 1997), 21-44. See also Fuga's See also Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 57-58. For an analysis of Fuga's place in eighteenth-century Roman academic culture, see Vincenza Tempone, "Vanvitelli, Fuga le a cultura accademica a Roma nella prima metà del '700," in *Ferdinando Fuga*, ed. Alfonso Gambardella (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2001): 65-70; Kieven, Elisabeth. *Ferdinando Fuga e l'architettura romana del ' 700* (Rome: Multigrafica, 1988).

highlight architecture's inevitable and fundamental contingency.[59] To this end, "rather than affirming the continuity from architect's intention to realisation in the completed building, or confirming master narratives of progress or conflict," the study will focus on the degree to which "intention and outcome are separated by accidental confluences, redirected intentions, and unforeseen outcomes."[60] This reflects the notion, shared amongst numerous contemporary architectural scholars working within Foucauldian frames, that "plans, schemes, books, journals, objects, buildings, and technologies often emerge less from pure intentionality as out of a negotiation with the radical indeterminacy of a given situation."[61] According to this point of view, my analysis of the three case studies is intentionally and intensely process-driven. Inspired by Carlo Ginzburg's microhistorical approach, I investigate the buildings by offering a detailed analysis of their coming into the world, grappling with general problematics through discrete objects of focus—artefacts, documents, events, and persons.[62] Moreover, in line with the microhistorical tradition, I examine their gestation from "above" as well as "from below," tracing their significance to the elites by which they were commissioned as well as to the marginalised citizen groups which their construction targeted.[63] This is in contrast with the prevailing tendency in the existing literature to base interpretation on imperatives emanating exclusively from monarchical discourse.

In terms of structure, the exposé of the chapters follows a loosely chronological order. Each begins with an examination of how the activities under scrutiny (the administration of poor relief, the delivery of burial, the provision of grain supplies) developed under the

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[59] Aggregate. *Governing by Design*, x.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Having its origins in 1970s Italy, microhistory may be defined as a branch of social and cultural history in which broad-scale historiographic themes are tackled through the analysis "small-scale units." Its most representative work is Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms* focusing on blasphemy and heresy in late renaissance Italy through the a detailed analysis beliefs and cosmologies of Domenico Scandella, also known as Menocchio—a miller from Montreale Valcellina who was trialed by the Roman inquisition on account of his unorthodox religious views. See Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980). For a broader historiographical analysis of microhistory, see Peter Burke, "On Microhistory," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Giovanni Levi (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991). See also Richard M. Tristano, "Microhistory and Holy Family Parish: Some Methodological Considerations," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 14 (1996): 23-30.

[63] I use the term marginalised not quantitatively but in the sense of subordinate to a ruling minority. See Tristano, "Microhistory and Holy Family Parish," 26-27.

preceding (viceregal) governments to then investigate how the commission, design, construction and management of Fuga's works were able to extend monarchical authority in their administration over the "orders" of the old-regime. Notwithstanding, the sequence of the chapters themselves follows a more arbitrary sequence starting with the Albergo dei Poveri, and ending with the Camposanto degli Incurabili, with the Reali Granili in between. This reflects the desire to investigate their histories distinctly from one another rather than as episodes in a linear narrative of Bourbon architecture and political reform. In this sense, the decision has been to arrange them by following the order in which they have been researched.

1. Sovereign Ambitions. Patrimonial politics and the Reale Albergo dei Poveri

This chapter focuses on the Reale Albergo dei Poveri in Naples to investigate Bourbons' progressive encroachment on the Kingdom of Naples' poor relief systems. Central to the inquiry is the idea that the Albergo was far more than a mere functional response to the long-standing problem of the Neapolitan poor' —a persistent misconception in scholarship on the project.[1] Instead, I posit the endeavour as a crucial component in the Bourbon monarchy's broader effort for political domination.

Royal Authority in the restored Kingdom

Commissioned from Ferdinando Fuga in 1748, the Reale Albergo dei Poveri was one of the most ambitious building projects ever to have been spawned by Charles Bourbon following his triumphant conquest of the Kingdom in 1734 (Fig. 1.1). Devised to host the entire mendicant population of the Kingdom of Naples within a single, centrally administered structure, the building was planned to reach over 600 meters in length, circa 140 in width and

[1] With slight variations, examples of this interpretation can be found in: Giuseppe Moricola, *L'industria Della Carità* (Naples: Liguori Editore, 1994), 55-67; Andrea Guerra, "L'albergo dei poveri di Napoli," in *Il trionfo della miseria. Gli alberghi dei poveri di Genova, Palermo e Napoli*, Andrea Guerra, Elisabetta Molteni, Paolo Nicoloso (Milano: Electa, 1995), 163-164; Robin L. Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 53; Terry Kirk, *The Architecture of Modern Italy: The Challenge of Tradition, 1750-1900* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005), 41; Michelangelo Schipa, *Il Regno di Napoli al Tempo di Carlo di Borbone* (Salerno: Libreria antiquaria editrice, 1972), 676; Elena Manzo, *Architettura sociale. Estratto anticipato da L'architettura dei Borbone di Napoli e delle Due Sicilie* (Napoli: ESI, 2003), 63; Achille Lazzaro, *Le opere pie di Napoli: studi storico-critici e proposte di riforma* (Naples: Pansini, 1874), 265.



Fig. 1.1. The Reale Albergo dei Poveri as seen from Via Foria.

nearly 40 meters in height, ranking amongst the largest architectural endeavours of its day.[2] As a building operation, the scale and complexity of the Albergo bordered on the unthinkable, calling for *ad hoc* governance schemes as well as extraordinary architectural and managerial acumen. It was also a heroic act of social engineering which, through time, saw the governors of the institution register thousands of inmates, delineate their working, eating, and living schedules, and decide upon the crafts they were to learn, the clothes they were to wear, and more.

The project was nurtured in the first twenty years of Charles of Bourbon's rule, in what is generally considered Naples' golden age of political and administrative reform.[3] Throughout these two decades, having restored the Kingdom of Naples's independence after centuries of subordination to the Spanish and briefly the Austrian crowns, the monarchy set off to implement strategic political, economic and architectural projects to empower Royal Officials over a consolidated network of avaricious local powers. Indeed, as Charles' Secretary of State José Joaquín de Montealegre once voiced, the problem faced by the monarchy was that previous jurisdictions conceived of their sovereignty differently from the

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[2] Writing of the Albergo in 1781, Francesco Milizia described it as the "largest hospice of Europe." In 1856, Camillo Napoleone Sasso described the Albergo as being "so great in size, that there were likely no equals in Europe. In 1878, Neapolitan historian Teresa Filangieri Fieschi Ravaschieri described the Albergo as a building "the largest ever to have been seen." Later in the text she insisted that "for the size of the building, the richness of its patrimony and the number of beneficiaries" the Albergo was "greater than any other [hospice] in Italy." See Francesco Milizia, *Memoria degli Architetti Antichi e Moderni*, 4th ed., Vol. II (Bassano: Remondini di Venezia, 1785), 290, Google Books, accessed 18 January 2018, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=97AUAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=it&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false; Camillo Napoleone Sasso, *Storia de' monumenti di Napoli e degli architetti che gli edificavano* (Napoli: Federico Vitale, 1856), 21; Teresa Filangieri Ravaschieri Fieschi, *Storia Della Carità Napoletana*, Vol. III (Napoli: A. Morano, 1878), 190 and 312. For comparison, San Michele a Ripa in Rome, one of the largest hospices in Italy, measured only 334 meters and Soufflot's Hotel de Dieu in Lyon little under 330 meters.

[3] On political reform throughout the first decades of Bourbon rule, see Schipa, *Il Regno di Napoli al Tempo di Carlo di Borbone*. Elvira Chiosi, "ll Regno dal 1734 al 1799," *Storia del mezzogiorno*, vol. 4, part 2, *II Regno dagli Angioini ai Borboni* (Napoli: Edizioni del sole, 1986): 384-96; Raffaele Ajello, "Legislazione e crisi del diritto comune nel Regno di Napoli . Il tentativo di codificazione carolino," in *Arcana Juris: Diritto e politica nel Settecento italiano* (Napoli: Jovene, 1976): 29-108. For an extensive account in the English language, see Harold Acton, *Th Bourbons of Naples, 1734-1825* (London: Methuen, 1956).

new rulers.[4] To them, the Kingdom of Naples was a chiefly monetary and military resource rather than a prestigious seat of monarchical authority. In fact, Spanish and Austrian monarchs ruled through viceroys with short tenure (viceroys typically governed three years) who, "faced with the demands from the [royal] court for monies to swell the war chests," granted substantial authority and privileges to local ecclesiastics, noblemen and lawmen in exchange for fidelity, donations and military support.[5] As a result, by the early eighteenth century, members of Naples' aristocracy and judiciary elites controlled the Kingdom's chief administrative bodies (including its tribunals and its courts) while the Church came to acquire

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[4] "The government of the viceroys, languid, mean, timid, of sort tenure, has never given much thought to sovereignty…The viceroys, faced with demands from the court for monies to swell the war chests of Philip II, III, IV, of Charles II, Charles VI, have conceded many, extravagant privileges, which now form the chains to which government is bound." The passage is cited in Helena Hammond, "Landed Identity and the Bourbon Neapolitan State: Claude-Joseph Vernet and the Politics of the 'Siti reali'," in *New Approaches to Naples c.1500–c.1800: The Power of Place*, ed. by Melissa Calaresu and Helen Hills (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2013), 122-123. In the early eighteenth-century, Mattia Doria similarly described local elites as "the tyrants of the Kingdom" arguing that their privileges "nullified almost all the authority of royalty." Cited in Maria Grazia Maiorini, "The capital and the provinces," in *Naples in the Eighteenth Century: The Birth and Death of a Nation State,* ed. by Girolamo Imbruglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 5.

[5] Ibid. This mode of government has been characterised by Max Weber as a decentralised form of authority: "when in a system of patrimonial authority, particular powers and the corresponding economic advantages have become appropriated, this will be called 'decentralised' authority. As in all similar cases appropriation may take the following forms: appropriation may be carried out by an organised group or by a category of persons distinguished by particular characteristics. It may, on the other hand, be carried out by individuals, for life, on a hereditary basis, or as free property. Decentralised authority thus involves, on the one hand, limitations on the chief's power of free selection of his administrative staff because positions or governing powers have been appropriated. Thus they may be limited to the members of a corporate group or of a group occupying a particular social status." See Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: The Free Press, 1947), chap. 3, iBooks.

almost wholesale jurisdictional authority.[6]

In settling in Naples, Charles of Bourbon was resolved to reconfigure the capital's government situation. The nature of this urgency was both political and economic. It was political because the sovereign considered himself the *pastor populorum* of his Kingdom, having acquired full authority over its territory (and citizenry) by divine mandate.[7] In this sense, the administrative laissez-faireism characteristic of the viceregency was not only unappealing but detrimental even vis-à-vis the representational ambitions of the Bourbon dynast. It was economic because the property and wealth acquired by noblemen and the clergy during the viceregency were resources from which the monarchy could draw considerable funds. Funds to recover the high costs involved in military campaigns (especially those necessary for the conquest of the kingdom following the Wars of Polish Succession), to invigorate the kingdom's commerce and trade, to initiate grand representational architectural commissions (such as the Royal Palaces of Portici and Capodimonte, or the Theatre of San Carlo) and not least to support the sovereign's lavish

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[6] Neapolitan nobles controlled city government, administering food provision, public hygiene and more through their positions in the local *seggi*—the capital's administrative districts. Feudal lords had wholesale power over the Kingdom's provinces being at the head of its two thousand or so local administrations—the *università*. The *togati* (or 'robed' judiciary), had full authority over Naples' administrative and juridical apparatuses earning the capital the problematic label of 'the republic of judges.' And representatives of all the above elites held positions within the viceroys' *Consiglio Collaterale*—the Kingdom's "most important advisory body" as well as "supreme court of justice, competent to settle conflicts of jurisdiction." Of the Church's privileges, I shall speak of later in the text. On the seggi, see Sodano, "Governing the city," 109-114; Maiorini, "The capital and the provinces," 9. On the power of feudal lords in the *università*, see Maiorini, "The capital and the provinces," 4-9. See also Giovanni Pallante, *Memoria per la riforma del Regno, "Stanfone" (1735-1737)*, ed. Imma Ascione (Napoli: Alfredo Guida Editore, 1996): 176-9. On the power of Neapolitan lawmen, see See P. Luigi Rovito, *Respublica dei togati. Giuristi e società nella Napoli del Seicento* (Napoli: Jovene Editore, 1982), 123-167. See also Anna Maria Rao, "The Feudal question, judicial systems and the enlightenment," 96. On the Consiglio Collaterale, see Rao, "The Feudal question," 95-96.

[7] A typical formulation of such a prerogative exists in the prologue of the 1741 concordat between the Kingdom of Naples and the Holy See (which I will discuss in further detail later in the text): "L'oggetto principale delle nostre sollecitudini, sin da' primi momenti che dalla Divina Onnipotenza fummo chiamati al governo di questo Regno, egli si fu di preoccupare a tutto poter nostro la felicità de' nostri dilettissimi sudditi." See *Trattato di accomodamento tra la Santa Sede, e la corte di Napoli, conchiuso in Roma tra i plenipotenziarj della Santita di Nostro Signore pp. Benedetto 14., e della Maesta di Carlo, ... Approvato e ratificato dalla M. Sua sotto il di 8. di giugno 1741 e dalla Santita Sua a' 13. dello stesso mese, ed anno* (Domenico Lanciano impressore del palazzo regale: Rome, 1741), Google Books, accessed 18 March 2018, https://books.google.it/books?id=edrbrmrB6E0C&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false, I.

courtly life.

The ways in which the Bourbons encroached on local powers during this 'heroic' twenty-year-long period were manifold and, with more or less success, Charles' plenty and substantial reforms extended monarchical power within domains hitherto impermeable to royal officials. By founding the Royal Chamber of Santa Chiara, for instance, the Crown was able to reconfigure the Kingdom's central administration, ridding it of the hegemonic power formerly exercised by the Collateral Council—that stronghold of local aristocratic and judiciary power which had free reign under the viceroys.[8] In signing the 1741 Concordat—a treaty with the Holy See aimed at widening civil jurisdiction over the privileges of the church—the Crown formed mixed tribunals to challenge ecclesiastical immunities while rendering the church's financial and property assets subject to taxation.[9] With the Catasto Onciario—a land registry and tributary reform—it asserted state presence throughout the Kingdom's local administrations—administrations previously dominated by feudal nobility.[10] It pursued similar aims by building summer palaces and hunting grounds throughout the Kingdom, acting as bastions of royal authority in territories once presided over by feudal barons.[11]

In claiming authority over the Kingdom's poor, the Albergo was a tactical component in this broader political strategy. Through it, the monarchy could surge over the many ecclesiastical and lay charitable foundations that had jealously administered the kingdom's

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[8] On this particular reform, and for detail on the two councils, see Rao, "The Feudal question," 95-96.

[9] The treaty can be consulted here: *Trattato di accomodamento tra la Santa Sede, e la corte di Napoli*. For a history of the negotiations leading to the treaty, see: Ilaria Gabrieli, *Le fasi preparatorie del concordato del 1741 attraverso il manoscritto B/49 conservato nella Biblioteca De Leo*, Emeroteca provincia di Brindisi, accessed 12 January 2018, http://emeroteca.provincia.brindisi.it/Brundisii%20Res/2000/Articoli/fascicolo%2023/Le%20Fasi%20Preparatorie%20del%20Concordato%20del%201741%20Attraverso%20il%20Manoscritto%20B-49%20Conservato%20nella%20Bibliote.pdf.

[10] This interpretation of the Catasto Onciario is provided by Alessandra Bulgarelli Lukacs, "Genesis of the cadastre in the kingdom of Naples," *CT/ Catastro*, no. 49 (October 2003): 194-196. For a more general overview of the cadastre, see Pasquale Villani, *Mezzogiorno tra riforme e rivoluzione* (Bari: Universale Laterza, 1973): 105-154. For the cadastre's legislation, the prammatiche pertinent to the *Forma Censualis et Capitationis Sive de Catastis* can be found in Lorenzo Giustinani, *Nuova collezione delle prammatiche del Regno di Napoli*, Tomo VI (Napoli: Stamperia Simoniana, 1804), Google Books, accessed 23 March 2018, https://books.google.co.uk/books/about/Nuova_collezione_delle_prammatiche_del_R.html?id=R3eib4ImcpcC&redir_esc=y, 1-87.

[11] On the subject, see Hammond, "Landed Identity and the Bourbon Neapolitan State," 121; Giuseppe Cilento, *La metropoli agraria meridionale nel secolo XVIII* (Naples: La Scena Territoriale, 1983): 24-53.

welfare mechanisms over the centuries preceding Bourbon rule. Indeed, under Spanish and Austrian viceroys, Neapolitan poor relief was almost entirely removed from royal authority and lay almost exclusively in the hands of a rich and distributed network of art and craft guilds, lay congregations and religious institutions. This form of charity did not emanate from the Crown, nor was it subject to royal jurisdiction.[12] Instead, as Giovanni Muto argues, it sprang originally from different social strata to form a veritable system of "non-politically based welfare relief" whose distinct organisations received their juridical charter from notarial acts and only later obtained royal consent.[13]

The Spanish viceroyalty inherited this system from previous jurisdictions, and, for most of its rule, it continued to adopt a policy of non-involvement in it. Indeed, while in the sixteenth century, neighbouring European and Italian powers exerted increasing authority in the administration of urban welfare, in Naples, viceroys limited their interventions to matters of public order such as city policing or the containment of population growth.[14] This policy of non-involvement, however, was not simply due to the viceregency's weakness vis-à-vis pre-existing and emerging local forces (an argument having its roots in nineteenth-century

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[12] On this matter, nineteenth-century historian Enesto Cordella argued that "no government from this time ever attempted, whether directly or indirectly, to control private charity so to direct it along a more secure and determined trajectory, through which to achieve those goals at which an orderly society should aim." Ernesto Cordella, *Uno sguardo sulla storia della beneficenza nei dominii continentali del Regno* (Napoli: R. Ministero nell'Interno, 1858), 20, translated by the author. For an overview on the different types of charitable institutions operating in Naples see also Giovanni Muto, "The form and content of poor relief in early modern Naples," in *Good government in Spanish Naples*, ed. by A. Calabria and J. Marino (New York: Peter Lang, 1990); Achille Lazzaro, *Le opere pie di Napoli: studi storico-critici e proposte di riforma* (Naples: Pansini, 1874); Moricola, *L'industria della carità;* Brigitte Marin, "Poverty, Relief and Hospitals in Naples in the 18th and 19th Centuries," in *Health Care and Poor Relief in 18th and 19th Century Southern Europe*, ed. Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham and Bernd Roeck (New York: Routledge, 2017): 208-228.

[13] Muto, "The form and content of poor relief in early modern Naples," 215.

[14] As historian Maurizio Montone has argued: "le competenze del viceregno, infatti, in materia di regolamentazione della povertà riguardavano [principalmente] le questioni di polizia e di controllo dell'ordine pubblico e, più in generale, del libero svolgersi della vita civile ed economica secondo le regole stabilite dalle leggi e dalla morale pubblica." Maurizio Montone, *Pauperismo e Stato. Il real albergo dei poveri. Vita dell'opera (Napoli, 1751-1951),* (Napoli: La Scuola di Pitagora, 2010*),* 3-4. See also Alida Clemente, "Per 'particular volontaria oblatione'. Il Real Hospitio di S. Gennaro de' poveri e la centralizzazione dell'assistenza nella Napoli di Antico Regime," in *Assistenza e solidarietà in Europa, secc. XIII-XVIII. Atti della Quarantaquattresima Settimana di Studi*, ed. by Francesco Ammaniti (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2013), 151-152. Giuseppe Moricola, *L'industria Della Carità* (Naples: Liguori Editore, 1994), 1-35. Guerra, "L'albergo dei poveri di Napoli," 154.

apologies of Bourbon rule).[15] It was a deliberate political strategy for the administration of the city. Crucial to the foreign rulers was avoiding that alliances may be born, "even if only tactical and practical," between the *Popolo* and the elites.[16] And delegating poor relief to local congregations was instrumental in securing the support of both the more affluent and more destitute segments of the Neapolitan citizenry. Of the elites, through offering them the potential to carry out important social and religious deeds. Indeed, especially after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), charitable giving was regarded as an essential part of authentic Christian living, and Neapolitans prided themselves on being second to no other in terms of their charity.[17] Of the plebs, sparing them from the (repressive) measures practised in neighbouring Italian and European cities such as enclosure and forced labour. [18] Meanwhile, viceroys could oversee the system "almost completely from the outside," scrutinising its "movement and development with precision and discretion."[19] When local equilibria were at risk because of overpopulation, revolts, scarcity of food, natural calamities or epidemics (characteristic of the two hundred or so years of Spanish rule), they could activate ancillary measures to act on Naples' poor. For example, in times of social unrest, viceroys could prosecute vagabonds and so-called otiose poor prescribing that they abandon the Kingdom under penalty of incarceration—this was the purpose of the *De vagabundis seu erronibus*, a body of pragmatics distinguishing worthy from unworthy poor and ordering that subjects

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[15] This teleology results from a long-standing anti-Spanish strain in Italian historiographical traditions that interprets the period of viceregal rule as a negative phase in the history of Naples vis-à-vis a successive period of renewal under the resident Bourbon kings. It has been discussed in the Introduction. For reference, see: Helen Hills, 'Introduction: Directions to Baroque Naples,' 2-20; Sabina de Cavi, *Architecture and Royal Presence,* 5-11; Dauverd, *Church and State in Spanish Italy*, 1-30.

[16] Ibid., 207. See also Croce, *Storia del Regno*, 134-5.

[17] At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Giulio Cesare Capaccio, for example, boasted that Naples could count more hospitals "than any other Christian city" and made a virtue of the fact that a large number of Neapolitans lived solely on charity. In his own words "the great number of people, and with so many expenses they live on nothing but alms, which truly it looks like God himself is handing out on account of the special protection he is extending to this so-charitable city." Cited in Marin, "Poverty, Relief and Hospitals in Naples," 210. See also Nello Ronga, *Dai Luoghi pii alla pubblica assistenza in Terra di Lavoro Una ricerca sulle confraternite della diocesi di Aversa nel primo periodo borbonico e nel Decennio francese,* (Napoli: Myself 2013), 21.

[18] For scholarship on the hostility of the plebs towards internment, see Livio Pestilli, *Picturing the Lame in Italian Art from Antiquity to the Modern Era* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 67.

[19] Muto, "The form and content of poor relief in early modern Naples," 208.

physically able to work but which performed no art, office or enterprise (and who therefore represented a financial burden to the state) leave the capital within three days and the Kingdom within fifteen;[20] they could expel non-natives of the Kingdom by embittering regulations on foreigner presence—this, for example, was the function of the 1638 pragmatic *De Exteris*, which established that foreigners visiting Naples for non-business purposes could stay no longer than three days and that public inns, private hospices for pilgrims or taverns promptly report their presence to city officials under penalty of incarceration; and they could enforce either such measures without having to encroach on duties performed by Naples' religious and lay charitable organisations. [21]

As a result of the viceregency's policy of non-intervention, in Naples, over the course of the sixteenth century, "congregations, holy foundations and the like sprang up like mushrooms"—as one contemporary chronicler observed.[22] Not just in the form of large lay institutions like the Ospedale degli Incurabili or the Casa dell'Annunziata—a complex administered by the *Seggio del Popolo* offering public welfare and practising social control over the district's poor.[23] But also in smaller and more distributed forms. For example, Shoemakers, braziers, and turners all had their *cappelle delle arti* (corporation chapels)

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[20] *De vagabundis, seu erronibus* was the body of laws regulating the banishment and punishment of vagabondage in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The pragmatics can be consulted in Domenico Alfeno Vario, *Pragmaticae, edicta, decreta, interdicta, regiaeque sanctiones regni Neapolitani: quae olim viri consultissimi collegerunt*, Vol. 4 (Naples: Sumptibus Antonii Cervonii, 1772), 118-125, Google Books, accessed 18 March 2018, https://books.google.it/books?id=b7g-AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

[21] See Aurelio Musi, "Pauperismo e pensiero giuridico a Napoli nella prima metà del secolo XVII," in *Timore e carità. I poveri nell'Italia moderna,* ed. by Giorgio Politi, Mario Rosa and Franco Della Peruta (Cremona: Biblioteca statele, 1982): 260-1.

[22] Cited in Muto, "The form and content of poor relief in early modern Naples," 223.

[23] Ibid., 222-3; For a thorough introduction of the two complexes (their histories and charitable roles) in English language, see Marin, "Poverty, Relief and Hospitals in Naples," 208-228. The Seggio del Popolo was one of the six Seggi, or seats that constituted Naples' municipal government. With the exception of the Seggio del Popolo, which represented non-noble citizens, the remaining five Seggi were the result of processes of associations amongst city nobles. Each Seggio was represented in the Tribunal of San Lorenzo by an elected member—the Eletto. The origins of this system of municipal power are uncertain, but its workings and responsibilities (which included the provision of public grain supplies, the management and maintenance of public roads, aqueducts, and city walls) are discussed in detail in Giulio Sodano, "Governing the City," 110-123. For a more detailed analysis, see Bartolomeo Capasso, *Catalogo ragionato dei libri, registri e scritture esistenti nella sezione antica o prima serie dell'Archivio Municipale di Napoli,* parte I (Napoli: Giannini, 1876).

through which to assist members of their guilds (and their families) in the event of sickness, disability, old age or incarceration (amongst others).[24] A multitude of lay congregations and family funds (*Monti di Famiglia*) performed similar functions for their congregants while also engaging in more general charity works—e.g. assisting the families of convicts on death row (*S. Maria in succurre miseris*), defending needful paupers in tribunal courts (*S. Ivone*), providing them with vestments (*S. Giuseppe vestire i nudi*), endowing their daughters with dowries (*Monti di maritaggio*), caring for their burial (*S. Maria delle Anime del Purgatorio ad Arco*), etc.[25] Brother and sisterhoods of Neapolitan nobles gathered all such activities in powerful and artistically prestigious *Istituti Elemosinieri* (institutes collecting alms on the poor's behalf) such as the *Pio Monte della Misericordia*, the *Monte dei Poveri* or *Santa Maria Vertecoeli*.[26] And similar charitable endeavours were carried out by clergymen and women in Naples' overabundant stock of parishes, churches (secular and of the clergy), monasteries and convents.[27] Even the harshest critics of this proliferation, such as the nineteenth-century historian Ernesto Cordella admitted that "no corner of the Kingdom existed, where paupers would be unable to find assistance in fulfilling their whatsoever specific needs."[28]

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[24] Cordella, *Uno sguardo sulla storia della beneficenza*, 9-10.

[25] Ibid., 13-19.

[26] Ibid.

[27] By 1671, Naples alone hosted 103 monasteries and 32 convents, housing 5000 and more monks and friars and almost 3000 nuns. See Muto, "The form and content of poor relief," 229. On the subject of female aristocratic convents in early modern Naples, see also Helen Hills, *Invisible City: The Architecture of Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Neapolitan Convents* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[28] In italian, Cordella's statement runs like this: "non fu angolo del Regno, ove i poveri non trovassero soccorso, dirò quasi, ad ogni loro speciale bisogno." Cordella, *Uno sguardo sulla storia della beneficenza*, 15.

"An endeavour worthy of a great Prince"

Scholarship on the Albergo mainly interprets the project as evidence of the difficulties faced by Naples' time-honoured system of ecclesiastical and lay charitable organisations in catering for the sustenance of the urban poor. Historian Giuseppe Moricola, for example, argues that at the turn of the seventeenth century, a veritable army ("un vero esercito") of 25,000 vagabonds and beggars began travelling towards the city, attracted by its fiscal privileges, the abundance of food and by the assistance offered by the Luoghi Pii such that these latter, however plentiful and alive, could no longer cope with the increasing demand for relief. [29] According to this point of view, the Bourbons, frightened by the escalation of tumults and the growing sense of malaise spreading amongst the citizenry, resorted to taking matters into their own hands by ordering the construction of a state-of-the-art assistance and correction facility.

First circulated by nineteenth-century historians and cemented by later scholars through demographic figures and statistics, this line of reasoning has prompted two critical historiographical misconceptions: first, that Naples' poor relief system was in a state of crisis. Second, that the Albergo was meant to provide a remedy to that crisis. Both arguments, however, are problematic. For one thing, because they understate the project's wider symbolic and socio-political dimensions. Instead, as we shall, the extension of royal authority over the provision of the kingdom's poor had as much to do with poor relief than with the assertion of royal power in domains hitherto outside its grasp. Further, because they overplay the project's philanthropic and utilitarian intentions. Here, however, it is important to stress that by the mid-eighteenth century, it was well known that hospices were ineffective in

[29] Moricola, *L'industria della carità*, 26. Twenty-five years after the arrival of the Bourbons, the capital had grown from 260.000 to 350.000 inhabitants. See Eduardo Nappi and Claudio Francobandiera, *L'Albergo Dei Poveri* (Napoli: Arte tipografica, 2001), 15. See also Franco Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore*, Vol. I. *Da Muratori a Beccaria* (Turin: Einaudi, 1998), 29. Similarly to Moricola Robin Thomas interprets the Albergo as a utilitarian "answer" to the problem of urban mendicancy. Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 53, 170-71.

tackling poverty.[30] Erecting, maintaining, and administering buildings as vast as the Neapolitan Albergo was an enormous and expensive task, and contemporaries of Charles of Bourbon were well aware of the effort and expenditures the project entailed—in administrative, economic as well as logistical terms. Indeed, prior to commissioning the Albergo, the Crown itself had explored solutions of less costly and burdensome character. In 1740, for instance, the Secretary of State José Joaquín de Montealegre appointed the Giunta di Commercio—a commission of experts advising the sovereign on economic and trade matters—to "consider, seriously and without wasting time, a way to enclose in one or more locations all the mendicants of Naples" and that this plan be devised in the "least onerous manner possible, rather, with all those benefits that can be extracted from the labour, the

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[30] As the architect Francesco Milizia put it in his *Memoria degli Architetti Antichi e Moderni* "it has been a constant experience that such Hospices do not eradicate the poor." He also added that the sole building costs of the new poorhouse were high enough to eradicate poverty, not just in Naples but in the kingdom altogether. Milizia, *Memoria degli Architetti Antichi e Moderni*, 290. Others too criticised the endeavour. Already in 1754, for instance, economist Carlo Antonio Broggia deemed the decision to build an Albergo as ill-founded ("non ben fondata"), arguing that the form of assistance which it aimed at effecting, however worthy and pious in its intents, would be deficient, defective and challenging to implement. In his own words: "… non è ben fondata la Credenza di farsi una grande Carità coll'Istituzione della CASA DI CORREZZIONE, E DI RICETTO DE' POVERI, che quì con voce assai aspra strana ed oscura, che metterebbe spavento ad un Esercito anche di Latini, si vorrebbe chiamare RECLUSORIO; Posciachè questa Carità, quantunque per sé stessa sia al sommo meritatoria e Santa, ad ogni modo riesce manca e difettosa non meno, che di esecuzione difficile." See Carlo Antonio Broggia, *Memoria ad oggetto di varie politiche ed economiche ragioni e temi di utili raccordi che in causa del monetaggio di Napoli s'espongono e propongono Agli spettabili Signori, convocati di Real Ordine dall'Illustre Marchese di Vallesantoro, Segretario di Stato della Real Azienda…* (Naples: 1754), cxxiii-iv, Google Books, accessed 15 April 2018, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=WRiGrZTUMmMC&pg=PP5&lpg=PP5&dq=Memoria+ad+oggetto+di+varie+politiche+ed+economiche+ragioni&source=bl&ots=47oS1_9PKv&sig=WGj1wFVTdySPfnFBE-FoMFC1hhU&hl=it&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwil57eOg_PYAhVQasAKHd-nDvkQ6AEIJzAA#v=onepage&q=Memoria%20ad%20oggetto%20di%20varie%20politiche%20ed%20economiche%20ragioni&f=false. On Broggia, see Keon Stapelbroek, *Love, Self-Deceit & Money. Commerce and Morality in the Early Neapolitan Enlightenment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 172-77. Broggia's opinions on the Albergo and other economic matters concerning the State were presented to the King's own *Segretario di Azienda*, Leopoldo De Gregorio, marchese di Vallesantoro e di Squillace, as is specified on the cover page of his *Memoria*.

produces and works of every sort by those confined therein, as is practised in other States."[31] Then, the internment of the city's poor was part of a commerce-driven strategy for intensifying the kingdom's manufacturing capacity and trade activities and *did not* entail a purpose-built institution.[32] But the project, however well-spirited, failed to entice the king. Building a large, monumental poorhouse, on the other hand, had long interested the regime. As early as 1736, the king ordered that the Giunta di Commercio assess a proposal by the Canon of the Cathedral of Castellammare to build a 'Reale Ospizio' on the hilltop of the Argentario—a promontory in present-day Tuscany, which was formerly part of the Spanish-governed military outpost of the Stato dei Presidi.[33] Ultimately, the idea was judged to be unbefitting, but the Giunta's assessment is full of suggestion. Commenting on the proposed scheme, it wrote:

> It is indeed true that building a hospice, or a seminar, in which to enclose and employ all those idle persons and vagabonds, is an endeavour worthy of a great Prince and that such hospices have been built in other Italian cities, as may be seen in the Republic of Genova, or the City of Rome. But if His Majesty intends to undertake such an initiative, the new hospice, or Seminar, should not be far but instead located in the vicinity of the Metropolis, as has been the case elsewhere, such that, in the first place, His Majesty could see its advantages from near, and

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[31] The letter of Montealegre can be found in Giulio Petroni, *Del Reale Ospizio S. Pietro e Gennaro Extramoenia in Napoli* (Napoli: Stamperia Dell'Iride 1864), 66 no. 37, passages translated by the author. In Italian, it spells thus: "Ha ancora S.M. ordinato, che s'incarichi così a questo Magistrato in generale, come al predetto Consigliere Brancaccio in particolare di pensare seriamente e senza perdita di tempo al modo di rinchiudere in uno o più luoghi tutti li mendicanti di questa città di Napoli della maniera la meno onerosa, anzi con tutto quel utile che da persone così rinchiuse può ricavarsi, e si ricava in altri Stati, mediante le fatiche, fabbriche e lavori di ogni sorte, a cui possono impiegarsi."

[32] Andrea Guerra interprets the project as part of a broader economic strategy aimed at enhancing the Kingdom's productivity after centuries of economic stagnation. The confinement of paupers is, in this sense, framed as instrumental to towards increasing the Kingdom's capacity to export manufactured goods and is treated as an implementation in Naples of the economical and governmental principles of French *Colbertism*—hence Montealegre's label of *afrancesado*. See Guerra, "L'albergo dei poveri di Napoli," 157-160; Raffaele Ajello, "La vita politica napoletana sotto Carlo di Borbone," 587. On the use of the term *afrancesado*, see Raffaele Ajello, "Gli 'afrancesados' a Napoli nella prima metà del Settecento. Idee e progetti di sviluppo," in *I Borbone di Napoli e iBorbone di Spagna*, vol. I, a cura di M. Di Pinto (Naples: Guida, 1985): 115-192.

[33] The Giunta di Commercio's review of the proposal can be found at BSNSP, XXI D 30, .34-36.

> correct its disorders and promote its development; further, because those subjects that will be enclosed will be nearer to their homeland, where they were born, and in which they will benefit from the presence of their parents, which gave birth to them, and which they have naturally grown to become affectionate towards. Moreover, it will be easier to source the funds necessary to build the hospice, should the latter be located nearby the Metropolis, since the required funds to build a Hospice or Seminar are far less than those necessary to make a City; even more so, because the public benefits which would derive from having such a Hospice would be visible by the citizens of the Kingdom and, by consequence of this, it would much be easier, and more acceptable, to take those measures which are necessary for pursuing such a public benefit; finally because such Hospices, or Seminars, contribute to the Magnificence of cities, allowing them to raise their foreheads amongst the Kingdoms and the Provinces majestically.[34]

The Giunta's letter gives an eloquent account of the dynastical and political significance of the Albergo. Even though written more than twelve years in advance, it presents several political strategies later relevant to the initiative. For example, by arguing that the construction of a grand royal hospice in which to intern and put to work the Kingdom's vagabond and unemployed poor ("la gente disapplicata") was an endeavour "worthy of a great Prince," it gave the enterprise prestige, speaking to the new king's political

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[34] Ibid., 36, translated by the author. The Italian text spells thus: "E gli è vero, che l'avere un'ospizio, o seminario, in cui si possa unire la gente disapplicata e vagabonda, con applicarla a' lavori, è cosa degna di un gran Principe, ed è ben'anche cosa praticata da a*l*cune altre Città della nostra Italia, come vedesi nella Repubblica di Genova, e nella città di Roma. Ma quest'ospizio, o Seminario, che sia, non deve essere lungi, ma prossimo e vicino alla Metropoli ... perchè quando ciò si avesse a fare, e fosse di suo Real Compiacimento, può la M.S. da vicino vederne i vantaggi, ed emendarne i disordini, e promuoverne i progressi; inoltre perché la gente, che vi si racchiude, vive in quella Patria, dov'é nata, gode la presenza di quei Genitori, che l'a data alla luce, e spera di avanzarsi nelle arti, senza dipartirsi da quel Paese, a cui per naturale istinto si porta più affezione. Di più gli espedienti son più facili per ritrovar danaro, quando questi ospizi sono nella propria metropoli, essendo lungamente minore la spesa in formare Ospizi e Seminari, che costituire nuove Città; tanto più, che quel beneficio pubblico, che si gode di presente, ed avanti gli occhi propri de' regnicoli, rende pronte, e più gradite quelle risoluzioni, che si prendono per promuoverne ed effettuare i mezzi da conseguire un tal pubblico beneficio; e finalmente perche questi Ospizi, e Seminari, concorrono in gran parte a formare il decoro la Magnificenza delle metropoli, che innalzano fra le altre Città maestosa la fronte ne' Regni, e nelle Provincie."

and representational yearnings.[35] Indeed, as the founder of a new dynasty at only eighteen years of age, Charles had risen to the throne amidst a general climate of scepticism and public apprehension.[36] The king needed credibility, and following the example of rulers in neighbouring European states was instrumental in vesting the regime with consensus and political legitimacy. Genova and Rome both had public hospices.[37] By commissioning one for Naples, it was implied, Charles could rise to the ranks of some of the most established and respected rulers of his day.

"Hospices, or Seminars, contribute to the Magnificence of cities, allowing them to raise their foreheads amongst the Kingdoms and the Provinces majestically."[38] This claim, too, had tremendous dynastic and political resonance. A province of the Hapsburg empire for over two hundred years, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Naples was said to have experienced profound urban and architectural neglect. As Sabina De Cavi has argued, several contemporary chroniclers lamented the absence of monumental architecture and pointed to the lack of modern urban projects comparable to those initiated in neighbouring Italian centres such as Rome, Florence, Genoa and Palermo.[39] For example, in his 1630 *Il Forastiero*, Giulio Cesare Capaccio (1552-1634) warned a hypothetical tourist visiting Naples to expect little or nothing from his hometown's modern architectural output and "experienced travellers and foreign connoisseurs generally shared his opinion, as apart from the Roman *decumani*, via Toledo, via Chiaia, and the old forum, throughout the seventeenth century Spanish Naples had no grand urban axis or squares."[40] Upon settling in Naples, the new dynasty was eager to restore the capital's architectural and urbanistic image to its ancient

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[35] Ibid.

[36] On the expectations and tensions characterising Charles of Bourbons' rise to the Neapolitan throne see Domenico Cecere, "La corte e la città. Lo spazio urbano nelle cerimonie reali sotto Carlo di Borbone," in *Corte e cerimoniale di Carlo di Borbone a Napoli*, ed. Anna Maria Rao (Napoli: Fedoa Press, 2020): 141-144; Raffaele Ajello, "La vita politica napoletana sotto Carlo di Borbone, 'la fondazione ed il tempo eroico' della dinastia," in *Storia di Napoli*, VII, *Dal Viceregno alla Repubblica del '99* (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1972): 459-718; Mirella Mafrici, *Il re delle speranze. Carlo di Borbone da Madrid a Napoli* (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1998), 201; Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 5.

[37] The Albergo dei Poveri of Genova was begun in 1652. The Roman hospice of San Michele a Ripa in 1679. Both buildings will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

[38] BSNSP, XXI D 30, 36.

[39] De Cavi, *Architecture and Royal Presence*, 246-47.

[40] Ibid.

splendour. The Albergo, the Giunta suggested, could significantly contribute to this effort.

Lastly, alongside the project's political advantages, the Giunta also addressed its administrative and economic feasibility. For example, it argued that the poor would feel less threatened by the possibility of being interned should the hospice be located in the capital city.[41] This was in contrast to the Canon's proposal, according to which paupers would have to face deportation in a distant, foreign region—an instance, it was believed, which could generate unrest amongst the urban poor. Moreover, with the building occupying a central position in Naples, the Giunta suggested that the king would find it easier to enforce mechanisms necessary to endeavour's financing ("rende pronte, e più gradite quelle risoluzioni, che si prendono per promuoverne ed effettuare i mezzi").[42] Indeed, according to the Giunta, it was clear that such a vast building and management venture could not be funded by the monarchy alone, especially given the Crown's precarious financial circumstances after the military conquest of the kingdom in 1734 ("per ciò fare vi necessitano fondi grandi, che al presente non abbiamo").[43] According to the Canon, the Crown could overcome this obstacle by encouraging contributions from the Neapolitan Luoghi Pii, forcing them to send donations and to devolve their properties as subsidies for the new building. But while this strategy would prove successful during the commissioning of the Reale Albergo (as we shall see), in the mid-1730s, levying money from religious institutions was far beyond the Crown's bounds of possibility.

[41] BSNSP, XXI D 30, 36.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

The Kingdom and the Church

For both political and economic reasons, in Naples, the possibility of building an Albergo depended on the extent to which the Crown could co-opt the territorial, financial and political authority of the Holy See. Indeed, demanding funds from ecclesiastical and lay pious institutions meant challenging the Church's long-earned fiscal privileges and jurisdictional immunities in the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and, according to the Giunta, in the mid-1730s, the Crown was barely in the position to undertake such a sensitive political and diplomatic feat. Commenting on the Canon's financing strategy, it argued that the scheme was not only difficult to implement but deeply and menacingly controversial, risking to expose the king to dangerous criticism ("è un punto pieno di scogli e di imbarazzi").[44] In the delicate political climate ensuing from the dynastical turnover, the Crown needed to act strategically.

Part of the problem the Bourbons faced was that before their arrival in Naples in 1734, the Papacy considered Southern Italy to be a 'vassal state.'[45] Indeed, ever since the Treaty of Melfi (1059), the Kingdom of Naples was constituted as a Roman feud, subordinate to the Holy See through the tribute and interrelated ceremony of the Chinèa—the gift of a white horse, richly attired and carrying several thousand ducats in silver.[46] As Robin Thomas suggests, this subordination was given even further substance throughout the ca. two hundred years of Spanish rule. "Power in Rome," he writes, "and influence over the papacy became a cornerstone of Spanish Policy," so much so that while "Rome became Spanish," significant mutual benefits cemented the relationship between the two powers.[47] As Spain received "precedence in many aspects of papal policy," the monarchy gave Rome grain and military protection and rewarded Roman prelates and noble families with titles and revenues from the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.[48] It also recognised and expanded the clergy's immunities and its right to interfere within the Kingdom's social, political and cultural affairs.

The degree to which the clergy could overrun local jurisdictions in the centuries

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[44] Ibid., 35.

[45] Girolamo Imbruglia, "Enlightment in Eighteenth-Century Naples," in *Naples in the Eighteenth Century,* 72.

[46] On the Chinèa, see Colletta, *Storia del Reame di Napoli*, 99.

[47] Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 82.

[48] Ibid.

preceding Bourbon rule can barely be accounted for. By exercising their local, personal, and real immunities, ecclesiastics could, for example, become entirely impenetrable for the royal government in spatial, jurisdictional, and fiscal terms.[49] They could defend their territorial boundaries against government intervention, transcend lay legislation in almost "all fields, in all aspects of civic life," and profit from the church's tributary exemptions to amass extraordinary amounts of property and wealth.[50]

In the domain of poor relief, Rome's authority in the Two Sicilies became especially sizeable. Through numerous papal bulls issued in the aftermath of the Council of Trent, the Church took complete control of the Kingdom's welfare system by claiming spiritual authority over its religious and lay pious congregations, including those born under royal

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[49] The church's local immunities meant that members of the clergy had the right to defend their territorial strongholds in the kingdom against almost any form of governmental intervention. Particularly in Naples, sacred spaces were physically and jurisdictionally impenetrable to lay administrators forming hermetic and ever-growing spatial and political enclaves (as mentioned earlier in the text). These government-free zones included Churches, monasteries, convents, pious congregations, cemeteries and all those spaces "addetti ed aderenti" to these latter. Local immunity could be exercised in their interiors, outer porches, roofs, external walls, doors, and immediate surroundings up to a virtual perimeter of thirty to forty footsteps (depending on their importance). See Franco Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore*, 33-34; De Gennaro, *Ragioni per la fedelissima ed eccellentissima città di Napoli,* 86.

Personal immunity was available to all clergymen and women residing in the kingdom and rested on the assumption that since ecclesiastical subjects were to be "continuamente occupate al servigio della chiesa, degli altari, e dei sagrifizi che si offrono a Dio, così devono essere esenti da qualunque occupazione e peso che a quelli non abbia relazione." See *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri…*, 28. As Franco Venturi suggested, members of the clergy could form a body that governed itself almost entirely autonomously from the lay jurisdiction through personal immunities. By exercising it, clergy members could, for example, refuse to be subjected to laws governing the exportation of wine, oil, grain or other primary goods. Effectively, they could overrun state legislation in almost "tutti i campi, in tutti gli aspetti della vita." Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore*, 33-34.

Real immunity prescribed that "le cose della Chiesa debbono essere esenti dai dazi, gabelle ed imposizioni che si debbono alla potestà secolare." The problematic nature of such immunity was twofold. On the one hand, it meant that the properties and incomes of the church could not be taxed. Moreover, and more significantly with regards to the commissioning of the Reale Albergo, real immunity also meant that new sources of taxation could not be imposed upon the clergy before receiving papal consent. As a result, the kingdom's heavy fiscal burdens would have to be entirely absorbed by the lay population causing deprivation and public discontent. *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri…*, 28.

[50] Franco Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore*, 33-34.

protection.[51] Since the Counter-Reformation, members of the clergy could invigilate on the moral conduct of their members as well as on the administration of their economic resources. Not only, they could establish new pious congregations leveraging the importance of Christian charity as a duty to achieve redemption.[52]

Arriving in Naples in 1734, the Bourbons took no interest in ideologically challenging the Church. According to a century-old agreement between the papacy and Norman rulers, Charles' recognition as monarch of the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily depended on papal investiture.[53] Moreover, the new sovereign prided himself on being a good Christian.[54] His right to rule over the Kingdom was predicated on God's will and, in Naples, religion represented the foremost and perhaps the only element of social and moral cohesion between the city's otherwise conflicting social strata.[55] As the historian Pietro Colletta (perhaps over-emphatically) argued in his *Storia del Reame di Napoli* Charles used religion wisely and persuasively during the first years of his rule.[56] At this time, he argues, the king made continuous obeisance to the Church in his personal deeds as well as in his government

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[51] See Nello Ronga, *Dai Luoghi pii alla pubblica assistenza in Terra di Lavoro*, 15-16; Gabrieli, *Le fasi preparatorie del concordato*, 169; Mario Rosa, "La Chiesa meridionale nell'età della Controriforma," in *Storia d'Italia*, *Annali* vol. 9, *La Chiesa e il potere politico dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea*, edited by G. Chittolini and G. Miccoli (Turin: Einaudi, 1986): 296.

[52] On the significance of charity in post-Tridentine Neapolitan hospice building, see David Gentilcore, "'Cradle of Saints and Useful Institutions': Health Care and Poor Relief in the Kingdom of Naples," in *Health Care and Poor Relief in Counter-Reformation Europe*, ed. Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham, Jon Arrizabalaga (London: Routledge, 1999): 132-50. See also Marin, "Poverty, Relief and Hospitals in Naples," 208-228. For a more general analysis of the topic within the context of early modern Italy, see Brian Pullan, "'Support and Redeem': Charity and Poor Relief in Italian Cities from the 14th to the 17th Century," in *Poverty and Charity: Europe, Italy, Venice, 1400–1700*, ed. Brian Pullan (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1994): 177–208

[53] See d'Onofroi, *Elogio estemporaneo per la gloriosa memoria di Carlo III* ..., CCXI.

[54] Colletta, *Storia del Reame di Napoli*, 31.

[55] For an analysis of the social dimensions of religion in early modern Naples see Dauverd, *Church and State in Spanish Italy*, 1-63, 247-260. On how religious festivals were mobilised by power in order to acquire consensus and legitimacy amongst the Neapolitan population during the viceregal period, see John Marino, *Becoming Neapolitan: Citizen Culture in Baroque Naples,* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 64-117. For an analysis of City-Church relations in Neapolitan religious culture, see Helen Hills, "The Neapolitan seggi as patrons of religious architecture: Urban holiness and the Treasury Chapel of San Gennaro," in *Ordnungen des sozialen Raumes: Die Quartieri, Sestieri und Seggi in den frühneuzeitlichen Städten Italiens*, ed. Grit Heidemann and Tanja Michalsky (Berlin: Reimer, 2012), 159-87.

[56] Colletta, *Storia del Reame di Napoli*, 54.

strategies.

> Then, this king, pious in his consciousness and practices, inclined towards the Church as much for his disposition as in the art of government…He is *not* an unbelieving king, nor one whose consciousness represents a challenge to papal authority; but the infant Don Carlo, who in the Church of Bari, wearing canonical garments, officiates among canons in the choir; who washes the feet of the poor in the Church of the Pellegrini in humble sackcloth; who participates in mass in the collection of alms; who, every year, models figures for the nativity scenes, including the stable where Christ was born, with his own hands; who believes in the living sanctity of the Jesuit Father Pepe and the Dominican Father Rocco.[57]

Devout as the monarch might have been, however, diplomatic relations between the Kingdom and the Church soon suffered from Pope Clement XII's hesitation to take sides in the conflict between the Bourbons and the Austrians in the battle for the Two Sicilies. While Charles had successfully conquered the two Kingdoms as early as 1735, for a long time, the conflict was alive and uncertain ("La Guerra d'Italia era viva e dubbiosa," Colletta argued), causing the papacy to waver about the investiture.[58] Further controversies stemmed from the precarious financial situation in which the Kingdom of Naples lay. Indeed, by the late 1730s, the Bourbon officials realised that creating a credible monarchic state could not occur without impinging on ecclesiastical privileges and immunities.[59] In taxation debates, members of Naples' intellectual elites contested the church's real immunities arguing that lay citizens

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[57] Ibid., translated by the author. In Italian it spells thus: "Questo re, pio di coscienza e di pratiche, inclinava in quel tempo alla Chiesa così per suo talento, come per arte di governo... Non è già incredulo re, o re largo di coscienza che abbassi la pontificiale superbia; ma l'Infante don Carlo, che nella Chiesa di Bari, vestendo abito canonicale, offizia tra canonici nel coro; che vestito d'umile sacco, lava nella chiesa de' pellegrini i piedi al povero; che serve a messa per acquistare le indulgenze; che ogni anno modella e compone di sue mani le figure e la capanna del natale di Cristo; che crede alla santità vivente del P. Pepe gesuita e del P. Rocco domenicano, frati scaltri e ambiziosi." Ibid.

[58] Ibid., 54-55.

[59] See Franco Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore*, 32-33.

were unfairly carrying the entirety of the Kingdom's fiscal weight.[60] Further, the Church's right to interfere within the Kingdom's administrative matters (the so-called *ingerenza ecclesiastica*) hindered the monarchy in every serious attempt to reform.

The long-standing treaties and agreements between the Kingdom and the Church were no longer suited to the patrimonial ambitions of the new monarch. Still, the revocation of ecclesiastical privileges and immunities could not be motivated as an assertion of monarchical sovereignty. The Bourbons required convincing economic and political arguments as well as the consensus of the Pope in Rome to reconfigure the terms of the relations. Conveniently, arguments against religious privilege were already in existence. Especially in Naples, an increasingly influential group composed of jurists and literati had long placed the ethical and spiritual basis of the church's rule under moral scrutiny. As historian Girolamo Imbruglia has suggested, by the turn of the seventeenth century, "a sort of political representation was set up against the Papacy in the interests of the nation, aimed at creating a juridical autonomy which was indispensable to [its] political autonomy."[61] Spurred by the ideas of reformist historians such as Pietro Giannone, this veritable 'intellectual movement' (known as *giurisdizionalismo* or regalism) remarked on the cancerous proliferation of religious houses in Naples, lamenting that the clergy could swallow entire segments of the city by exercising its problematic right to Island.[62] It argued that clergy members had exercised local immunities to shelter criminals and outlaws. It contested the church's real immunities (those positing that the wealth and property of the church could not be taxed), arguing that they caused taxes on the kingdom's lay citizens to escalate.[63] It argued that through personal immunities, clergy members had become entirely *exleges,* overrunning

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[60] See for example De Gennaro, *Ragioni per la fedelissima ed eccellentissima città di Napoli*, 86.

[61] Imbruglia, "Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Naples," 72.

[62] The views of Pietro Giannone, Carlo Celano, Francesco Peccerillo and the politics of conventual urbanism in early modern Naples are discussed in detail in Hills, *Invisible City*, 3-44. Another example contemporar example of Neapolitan anticurialism is Giuseppe Aurelio De Gennaro, *Ragioni per la fedelissima ed eccellentissima città di Napoli, colle quali si dimostra la giustizia delle suppliche date a sua cesarea e cattolica Maestà affinchè s'impediscano gl'incessanti acquisti de' beni stabili che si fan dagli ecclesiastici ...* (Naples, 1733), Google Books, accessed 25 February 2018, https://books.google.it/books?id=lfeL2pAMJYQC&pg=PA1&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false.

[63] See De Gennaro, *Ragioni per la fedelissima ed eccellentissima città di Napoli,* 74.

legislation in almost all possible domains.[64] It accused the Church of avidity and moral dubiousness in administrating the kingdom's charitable activity.[65] And more.

The Bourbons never openly supported the so-called 'anticurialists.' However, their ideas did prove instrumental between 1740 and 1741, when Charles engaged Benedict XIV to reconsider the ecclesiastical privileges in the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. In this instance, the King argued that he could no longer pursue the happiness of his subjects without resolving the long-standing oppositions between the clergy and Naples' "Civil Potestà" on matters of ecclesiastical immunity. According to the Bourbons, a new treaty was necessary to solve their "reciprocal and disgraceful contentions."[66] Such prerogatives had already been put forward at an earlier moment encountering the resistance of then Pope Clement XII.[67] With the election of Benedict XIV, however, the Papacy became more open to mediation and concessions. Unlike his predecessor, Benedict aimed to restore peace with Catholic Governments, including the Bourbons, "knowing full well that any disturbance in this sphere would bring profit to the enemies of religion" such as the Neapolitan anticurialists.[68]

The result of the negotiations between the Kingdom and the Church was the renowned *Trattato di Accomodamento tra Santa Sede e Corte di Napoli…* commonly known as the 1741 Concordat. This was a treaty that (amongst other consequences) saw local, real, and personal ecclesiastical immunities reduced, the right of clergy members to ecclesiastical forum contested, and the Church's ever-problematic right of sanctuary restricted. Not only, through the Concordat, the Crown managed to halt the Church's spatial and demographic expansion by limiting the number of priesthoods annually granted in the Kingdom; by putting

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[64] Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore*, 34.

[65] Moricola, *L'industria della carità*, 27-31.

[66] "L'oggetto principale delle nostre sollecitudini, sin da primi momenti, che dalla Divina Onnipotenza fummo chiamati al governo di questo Regno, egli si fu di procurare a tutto poter nostro la felicità de' nostril dilettissimi sudditi. Non potendola noi certamente conseguire tra gli ostacoli de' contrari sentimenti, che nelle materie di Immunità, ed in altri articoli giurisdizionali divideano gli animi del Clero, e del Popolo, e cagionavano continue controversie tra' Ministri della Ecclesiastica, e Civil Potestà, con infinito pregiudizio della Giustizia, e del privao e publico riposo." *Trattato di accomodamento tra la Santa Sede, e la corte di Napoli…*, 1.

[67] Ludwig von Pastor and Frederick Ignatius Antrobus, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages. Drawn from the Secret Archives of the Vatican and Other Original Sources*. 40 vols. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949), 48-49.

[68] Ibid., 48.

a complete stop to the "establishment of new churches and religious foundations;" by suppressing entire monastic orders whose properties and wealth were handed over to the Crown; and by obtaining that all the church's lands be taxed and subjected to the civic legal proceedings.[69] The challenge to religious authority was especially substantial in the domain of poor relief. Even before the Concordat, the king banned so-called testaments *ad pias causas* in favour of ecclesiastical institutions and pious works, depriving them of one of their chief funding mechanisms.[70] This was in 1738. In 1740 he ordered that licences to beg should not be granted to any member of such institutions without a direct concession from the Kingdom's secretary of state, with the argument being that if "any pious work found itself truly in need of assistance, it had to resort to the monarchy's own piety and clemency."[71] And with the 1741 Concordat, the monarchy could reach even further in the domains of the Luoghi Pii, acquiring the right through a mixed tribunal of ecclesiastical and lay members to monitor their yearly incomes and expenditures and establish whether their administration was conducted accordingly to their original social mission—rights which since the Council of Trent had belonged exclusively to ecclesiastical deputies.

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[69] Thomas, *Architecture and* Statecraft, 83.

[70] Luigi Del Pozzo, *Cronaca civile e militare delle Due Sicilie sotto la dinastia Borbonica dall'anno 1734 in poi* (Napoli: Stamperia Reale, 1857), 37, Google Books, accessed 29 January 2018, https://books.google.co.uk/books/about/Cronaca_civile_e_militare_delle_Due_Sici.html?id=gpo3AAAAcAAJ&redir_esc=y. The "testamenti *ad pias causas*" prescribed that in cases of sudden death and where the deceased left no testamentary provisions, the Church could dispose of a portion of the deceased's assets *pro anima* (to fund suffrage masses, funerals and burials) or *ad pias causas* (for worship and charity purposes). Having its origins in medieval times, it was a practice that was put in place, at the diocesan and parish level, sometimes, in the presence of the corpse (supra corpus), with the consent of the heirs, or imposed with the threat of ex-communication and denial of the ecclesiastical burial. For a detailed analysis of the phenomenon in its religious, social and financial dimensions, see Francesco Gaudioso, "Una consuetudine «antica e immemorabile». I testamenti dell'anima nel Regno di Napoli in età moderna," *Itinerari di Ricerca Storica,* XXX, no. 2 (2016):107-116.

[71] Alessio De Sariis, *Codice delle Leggi del Regno di Napoli*, Vol. 1 (Naples: Presso Vincenzo Orsini, 1792–97), 127-8.

In public, the two powers presented the Concordat as the result of a 'collaboration.'[72] However, the monarchy got the upper hand on all essential points of the agreement. Moreover, in the following years, the treaty became a springboard thanks to which several Bourbon officials were able to exercise pressure on ecclesiastical matters.[73] As Ludwig von Pastor notes, in 1744, Benedict "had already had to complain of the erroneous interpretations of the concordat, and in June 1747, he found himself compelled to repeat his protests in an urgent letter, with especial reference to the extension of the *placet* to purely ecclesiastical matters"—an extension occasioning from one of the six secret articles included in the concordat which granted that the King "was responsible for seeing to the carrying-out of Papal Bulls, Briefs, and other ordinances."[74] Contentions escalated to the extent that in 1753, the Pope wrote to a Cardinal: "you cannot imagine what we continually have to endure at the hands of the Neapolitan Government. The ministers surrounding the King are as bad as they could be."[75]

One such minister was Gaetano Maria Brancone—a lawman and state official of "trite ambition" (as Antonio Genovesi described him) whose commitment to the Bourbons' cause led him to become appointed as one of the leading figures in the royal government's anticlerical efforts. Indeed, since being appointed as minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs (1737), Brancone promoted some of the most aggressive church reforms ever attempted in eighteenth-century European states. He played a significant role in delineating the 1741 Concordat and, soon after, contributed to the suppression of the Holy Inquisition—a powerful office within the Catholic Church to root out and punish heresy throughout Europe and the Americas. But of all Brancone's enterprises, it was his oversight on the Albergo dei Poveri that caused him to become regarded as one of the fiercest and most obdurate ministers of his day. For after the project's reappearance in the late summer of 1748, it was he who was able

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[72] In the prologue of the *Trattato* the two powers are described as joint forces, united by their common aim "to serve God, alleviate the communities of the kingdom, relief its subjects from burdensome taxation, reinstate ecclesiastical discipline, improve the economical and juridical administration of the kingdom's pious works, and root out the injustices stemming from the unfair exercising of the right to sanctity, of fiscal exemptions, of censorship and of the impunity of delinquents." *Trattato di accomodamento tra la Santa Sede, e la corte di Napoli…*, 2.

[73] von Pastor and Antrobus, *The History of the Popes*, 56.

[74] Ibid., 54.

[75] Ibid., 56.

to ensure those measures necessary to confront the project's gargantuan building and management expenditures. Indeed, through Brancone's aggressive diplomatic undertakings, the Crown was able to secure revenues from almost all major religious organisations in the city—from monasteries to parish churches, *monti* and pious congregations. Not only, his ferocious strategy of "confusion and threats" achieved to suppress entire monastic orders to help finance the endeavour—this, as we shall see, was the case of the Augustinian Colorites, whose 11 monasteries (valued 34,036 ducats) and overabundant treasures were aggressively entrusted to the Albergo in December 1751. As already intimated, these accomplishments proved essential since the regime knew well that such an ambitious and expensive enterprise could not be funded exclusively through royal bankroll—this much was made clear in the correspondences mentioned above between the king and the Giunta di Commercio. Yet, whereas in 1736, forcing donations from religious institutions was judged to be a tricky and highly problematic business, in the aftermath of the Concordat, the balances of power between the kingdom and the Church had been entirely revisited.

Rise of the Neapolitan albergo

In the literature on the Reale Albergo, the resurfacing of the project in 1748 is said to have derived from a number of converging instances. First amongst these was the laying of the first stone of the Albergo dei Poveri of Palermo in 1746.[76] Designed by Orazio Furetto, this project was due to the initiative of a council of Sicilian nobles who, already in 1733, had decided to erect a hospice offering shelter to the indigent poor and care to the ill and sick. It was initially located in a group of existing buildings outside Porta Termini, but in the early 1740s, discussions began to revolve around situating it in a new monumental building. In 1742, Charles of Bourbon contributed a hefty 8000 scudi to the cause. And soon after, it is argued, he settled on the commission of a similar one for Naples, where the problem of urban poverty had reached especially alarming levels.

In a second anecdote, the Queen Maria Amalia of Saxony spearheaded the proposal in

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[76] Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 54-55. On the Albergo dei Poveri of Palermo see Paola Nicoloso, "L'albergo dei poveri di Palermo," in *Il trionfo della miseria*, 79-151.

the late summer of 1748. According to Charles' biographer Pietro d'Onofri, her inspiration developed from a specific incident.[77] Amongst the Queen's many passions, he claims, was the adornment of figures within nativity scenes, for whom she was accustomed to creating elaborate necklaces composed of tiny crystal beads. The pursuit was fatiguing, but, on one good day, a damsel at the royal court instructed her on a technique practised in the Albergo dei Poveri in Genova—a method, he claims, so easy that even the blind were able to master it. The insight strongly delighted the Queen such that upon hearing of the Genoese Albergo and the many charitable deeds practised therein, she promptly suggested that the king inaugurate a similar one in Naples, "where there was an especially high need for one."[78]

The third and final instance posits the involvement of the Dominican preacher and confidante of the king Father Gregorio Maria Rocco. A Neapolitan by birth, Father Rocco was an advocate of the city's poor, championing their assistance and education within Neapolitan monarchical circles. Crucial to him was the idea that the city was a land of mission and that the paupers overcrowding Naples needed to be subjected to the same processes of catechisation as the savages of a remote colony.[79] He voiced these ideas in treatises (now lost) and public declamations and argued that the emancipation of the urban poor required the participation of both religious organisations and the State. He also advocated for the construction of public hospices where the poor could be taught a useful trade and receive a proper Christian education.[80]

That an ecclesiastic should play such an active role in vindicating the Crown's intervention in the capital city's charity systems might seem contradictory. After all, as Andrew Cunningham argues, in most early modern Southern European states, "the Catholic

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[77] Pietro d'Onofri, *Elogio estemporaneo per la gloriosa memoria di Carlo III ...* (Naples: Pietro Perger, 1789), Google Books, accessed 15 July 2018, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=0egbSKQ86WcC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=albergo&f=false., CVI.

[78] Ibid., translated by the author.

[79] See Annamaria Gaetana de Pinto*, Il Real Albergo dei poveri di Napoli: Dall'emarginazione all'assistenza (secc. XVIII–XIX)* (Bari: Cacucci Editore, 2013), 38; see also Guerra, "L'albergo dei poveri di Napoli," 165.

[80] Ibid.

Church jealously guarded charitable institutions from state takeover."[81] And yet, in the context of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century poor relief debates, Father Rocco's positions were far from unusual. Already in the early 1700s, the French Jesuit André Guevarre wrote numerous influential pamphlets advocating for greater state involvement in poor relief matters.[82] In one of his most influential treatises, *La mendicità sbandita col sovvenimento de' poveri*, published in 1717 and dedicated to Vittorio Amedeo II of Savoy, he argued that it was a duty of princes to provide for those "without any form of subsistence, as well as those lacking the energy, talent or skills to provide for themselves."[83] He also campaigned for greater collaboration between State and Church in pursuing a duty God had entrusted to the "king, the bishop and to ecclesiastics".[84] Like Father Rocco, he was an especially energetic supporter of hospices and was actively involved in their promotion across multiple European states. In Turin, he played an active role in shaping the *Albergo della Carità*.[85] In Rome, under Innocent XII, he participated in the gestation of the *Ospizio apostolico del San Michele a Ripa Grande*.[86] And his writings were also consulted in Naples once the idea of building the Albergo dei Poveri took hold.[87]

According to Guevarre, the objective of such undertakings was to "permanently eradicate mendicancy, as well as to provide spiritual and temporal support, with economy, order and method to all those paupers living within the town, who would otherwise be forced

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[81] Andrew Cunningham, "Chapter One. Some Closing and Opening Remarks," in *Health Care and Poor Relief in 18th and 19th Century Southern Europe (The History of Medicine in Context)*, ed. Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham and Bernd Roeck (Aldershot; Ashgate, 2005): 5.

[82] On Guevarre's activities, see Charles Joret, "Le Père Guevarre et les bureaux de charité," *Annales du Midi*, I (1889), 340–393. Laura Guardamegna, "La lotta al pauperismo: ospedali e ospizi," in *Ferdinando Fuga*, 83-93.

[83] André Guevarre, *La mendicità sbandita col sovvenimento de' poveri Tanto nelle Città, che ne' Borghi, Luoghi, e Terre de' Stati di quà, e di là da' Monti, e Colli Di Sua Maestà Vittorio Amedeo, Re' Di Sicilia, Di Gerusalemme, E Cipro &c. Come altresì lo stabilimento degli Ospizii Generali, e delle Congregazioni di Caritá d'ordine della Maestá Sua* (Torino: G. Mairesse & G. Radix, 1717), IV.

[84] Cited in de Pinto, *Il Real Albergo dei poveri di Napoli*, 23.

[85] See Luciano Allegra, "Becoming Poor in Eighteenth-Century," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XLVI:2 (Autumn, 2015), 153–183; Sandra Cavallo *Charity and Power in Early Modern Italy: Benefactors and Their Motives in Turin, 1541-1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 184, 194-96.

[86] de Pinto, *Il Real Albergo dei poveri di Napoli*, 23.

[87] Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 53.

into begging."[88] These impulses, he wrote, "abided by the commandments delivered by God in the book of Deuteronomy" prescribing that the poor be assisted in all their necessities.[89] Building hospices, however, was not just beneficial to the poor. In Guevarre's view, their construction was a matter of public utility. For building hospices could help relieve cities from the overabundant and annoying presence of so many poor while also ensuring that charity is delivered with "discretion and wisdom" and only to those in need.[90] As such, hospices could help, too, in distinguishing between worthy and unworthy poor, ensuring that the former be adequately assisted, and the latter 'corrected' through spiritual and manual work.[91]

The extent to which these ideas became assimilated into the Bourbon court is traceable to how the Albergo was promoted in its 1751 foundation edict.[92] Indeed, in announcing it before the general public, the monarchy, too, insisted on the "disorders" deriving the exorbitant amount of paupers that "inundated" the already "vastly overpopulated city."[93] For although many of those were old, disabled, blind and unable to work and therefore worthy of the Crown's commiseration, they argued, the vast majority was mendicant by choice to lead an otiose and libertine life at the expense of the State.[94] This was a powerful narrative which reached deep into the collective consciousness. The connection between poverty, idleness and

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[88] Guevarre, *La mendicità sbandita*, IX-X, translated by the author.

[89] Ibid., translated by the author.

[90] Ibid., XVI., translated by the author.

[91] Ibid.

[92] The edict may be consulted in Vario, *Pragmaticae*, Vol. 4, 307. The first paragraph is especially relevant to this section and spells thus: "That zeal for the greater happiness of the State which animates our Royal mind, can no longer ignore the many disorders deriving from the great quantity of poor which inundate this populated Capital. For if many such poor are old, crippled, blind, and unable to work and therefore worthy of our commiseration, the vast majority is mendicant by choice to lead an otiose and libertine life...becoming useless and most dangerous to the State. Thus, in order to better commiserate the former, and to correct the latter, we have decided to build a Generale Albergo dei Poveri in this capital for all sexes and ages, and to introduce there the proper and necessary arts such that this work may be pleasing to God, as well as beneficial to the State," translated by the author.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

vice was a common topos in eighteenth-century literature, and especially so in Naples.[95] For example, writing about Naples' pauperism situation, Antonio Muratori warned that vagabonds, in particular, being unemployed ("quali gente disapplicata"), had no scruples about how to make a living ("per il vivere tutto si fan lecito") and that to procure their needs they committed many homicides and thefts ("per lo più commettono degli omicidi per causa di furto").[96] He also argued that, in their pursuit of the common good, Princes were to carry out yearly "purges" of such paupers "just like a good farmer…from time to time purges his land of rye-grasses and other such harmful weeds."[97] Moreover, in Naples, the mischievousness of the poor was a truth inscribed in law. *De vagabundis, seu erronibus*—the aforementioned edicts regulating the banishment and punishment of vagabondage—demonstrate how already under Spanish viceroys, legislators enforced stark punishments onto this segment by blaming it for murders, homicides, thefts; for threatening the city's civic, economic and spiritual well-being; and for setting a bad example onto its more righteous subjects. In terms which became customary in the Neapolitan context, legislators of the *De vagabundis* recited that:

> It has been long known that the more significant part of the dangerous crimes, and the gravest ones, as are homicides, murders, and other felonies, which are committed in the City of Naples and in all other Cities, Lands, and Keeps of the Kingdom, are a result of the great number of otiose persons, and vagabonds, which floods them and from the wrong precepts, and examples of depravation, and corruption which derive

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[95] See: Lucia Valenzi, "Immagini della plebe napoletana tra XVIII e XIV secolo," in *Storie e Paure. Immaginario collettivo, riti e rappresentazioni della paura in età moderna*, eds. L. Guidi, M.R. Pelizzari, L. Valenzi (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1992), 340-351.

[96] Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Raccolta delle vite, e famiglie degli uomini illustri del Regno di Napoli per il governo politico compilato da Ludovico Antonio Muratore, bibliotecario del serenissimo signor duca di Modena*, (Milano: Marco Sessa, 1755), Google Books, accessed 7 March 2018, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=fjbfMh_82f8C&printsec=frontcover&hl=it&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false, 10.

[97] Ibid., translated by the author. In Italian the whole passage spells: "E siccome il buon Contadino vuol fare ottimo frutto del suo seminato da tempo in tempo l'espurga con toglierne il loglio, e le zizanie; Così il Principe per mantenersi bene i Vassalli ogn'anno dovrebbe fare una spurga di detta gente vagabonda, e viziosa."

from their presence.[98]

During the viceregency, such prejudices served to enact a legal distinction between unworthy and worthy poor—between the pauper as the symbol of sin and vice and the pauper as the image of Christ.[99] Based on this distinction, the government could prosecute subjects belonging to the former of the two categories—by demanding their expulsion from the Kingdom under penalty of incarceration—while delegating care over the Kingdom's deserving poor to ecclesiastical and lay charitable organisations (as discussed earlier in the chapter).[100] However, as the Albergo's foundation edict makes clear, the Bourbons hinged upon pre-existing anti-pauper sentiments to make an even bolder move. On their basis, they argued that enclosure was necessary for the entirety of Naples' poor, regardless of whether or not worthy of the Crown's commiseration. For in the Albergo, they claimed, the worthy poor could be more appropriately assisted, while those unworthy could be morally and socially 'corrected' by Christian indoctrination and forced labour.[101]

Of course, the Bourbons were not virtuous protectors of the poor and sick. Nor were their 'correction' plans for the idle poor rooted in catechismal or eschatological questions. As historian John A. Davis has argued, the Albergo was "part of a discourse of power" more than

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[98] Vario, *Pragmaticae*, Vol. 4, 119, translated by the author. In Italian it spells thus: "si è conosciuto per lunga esperienza, che la maggior parte de' delitti gravi, ed enormi, come sono omicidi, assassini, ed altri malefici che succedono nella Città di Napoli, in tutte l'altre Città, Terre, e Castella del Regno, si causa per la moltitudine, e copia delle persone oziose, e vagabonde, che di continuo confluiscono, e si ricettano in quelle. Dalle quali non solo procedono mali precetti, e mali esempi con depravazione, e corruttele di buoni costume, ma ancora se ne nascono ogni giorno occasioni a' sudditi di S.M. e comodità di commettere i detti delitti, e malefici, in grandissimo disservizio di N.S. Dio, Sua Maestà, e dispregio della giustizia." The prejudice would find confirmation almost two hundred years later, when in a pragmatic from 1724, in terms which had become customary by then, it was argued that "la maggior parte de' disordini addivenga dal tollerarsi le persone oziose, disutili e vagabonde, quali si commette volentieri ogni specie di delitti." See Vario, *Pragmaticae*, Vol. 4., 122.

[99] See Valenzi, "Immagini della plebe napoletana," 340-1.

[100] The edicts were meant to expel under penalty of incarceration Neapolitans and foreigners residing in the Kingdom for over a period of three days having no office or enterprise through which to earn their means of subsistence. See Vario, *Pragmaticae,* Vol. 4, 119. See also Paola Avallone, "Il controllo dei 'forestieri' a Napoli tra XVI e XVIII secolo. Prime note," in *Mediterranea*, a. III, n. 6 (2006): 169-171.

[101] According to the Bourbons, the Albergo was conceived "per giusta commiserazione dei primi, e per dovuta prevvidenza ed emenda degli altri." See Vario, *Pragmaticae*, Vol. 4, 307.

a "functional response" to Naples' poverty situation.[102] At its heart "lay the attempt to assert the authority of the monarchy over ecclesiastical and papal jurisdictions. This," Davis argues, "was expressed in the [ongoing] struggles against the pretension of papal sovereignty, in the extension of the spheres of secular and civil administration" and found its highest common point in the aforementioned negotiations of the 1741 Concordat.[103] Given the political and ideological climate of the day, "it was only natural," he claims, "that the monarchy should seek to take on responsibility for functions previously performed mainly or even exclusively by the clergy and by ecclesiastical institutions."[104] This was the case in the delivery of burial (as will be discussed in Chapter 3) as it was the case in the administration of the Kingdom's poor.

The perils of a "glorious work"

Before the Albergo could become a political achievement, however, it first had to become an architectural accomplishment. Prior to the physicality of digging and building, its form was ephemeral; its existence was an act and object of political imagination and desire. To the extent to which the king spoke of the idea, his voice made the project real.[105] But given the challenges involved in the operation, and despite the confidence expressed by ministers in dispatches and edicts, many at the Neapolitan court doubted its feasibility, including the king. For as a progeny of royal power, the Albergo opened for as many opportunities as it posed risks. If completed, the building could indeed contribute to the monarch's image as a powerful and competent prince (as the Giunta del Commercio had suggested in its 1736 report). But by the same token, failures in seeing the project through could risk jeopardising Charles' credibility causing his authority to be put in question and weakening his legitimacy.

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[102] John A. Davis, "Health Care and Poor Relief in Southern Europe in the 18th and 19th Centuries," in *Health Care and Poor Relief in 18th and 19th Century Southern Europe,* ed. Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham and Bernd Roeck (New York: Routledge, 2017): 15.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid.

[105] My analysis here indebted is indebted to Chandra Mukerji's study of the Canal du Midi. See Mukerji, *Impossible engineering*, 36.

Because the stakes in the endeavour were so high, from the outset, the commission required substantial epistemological as well as technical work. It required ways of examining the land and ways of appraising Naples' haphazard hydrological and infrastructural systems. It also required knowledge of how poorhouses worked. All such obligations tested the intellectual and technical competencies of Bourbon officials. Indeed, since it was first envisioned, the Albergo was meant to reach massive proportions meaning that its construction would require special ease of access for transporting materials and labourers as well as an enormous quantity of freshwater supplies (to wash stones and nourish the myriads of labourers and animals working on site). And yet, Naples' road conditions were wanting, and the Bourbons had few if any reliable means to assure that the city's faltering aqueducts could cope with the construction site's high water demands.[106] The problem of resources was exacerbated by the indefinite notion of what an Albergo was. Indeed, in the middle of the eighteenth century, no predetermined idea existed about how to design or manage such an institution, let alone at the ambitious scale at which the Bourbons were planning. There were examples from which to draw—inspiration and even information—but, in terms of size, none matched the Neapolitan Albergo.

Throughout the project's long and strenuous planning process, determining the site was an especially exacting task. [107] Indeed, before construction successfully began in Borgo di Sant'Antonio Abate—the Albergo's final and current location—it took roughly three years, inquiries into at least four potential sites, the opinions of tens of experts and consultants, as well as a failed attempt to lay the building's foundations elsewhere in the city. Only then were Charles' ministers able to find a plot having the required infrastructural, representational, hydrological and soil features (Fig. 1.7).

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[106] In the mid-1740s the city was still running on a medieval plan meaning that most of its streets were narrow, dark and poorly paved (if paved at all). Even Via Toledo, one of the few monumental roads to have been built for Naples during the viceregal period was regarded as having become "almost impracticable" by the early 1700s, due to its poor maintenance and cluttering by street vendors and shop owners. See Gaia Bruno, "Case e botteghe: cultura materiale e vita quotidiana a Napoli nel Settecento," PhD diss. (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, 2016), 29. See also Giovanni Brancaccio, *Il governo del territorio nel Mezzogiorno moderno* (Lanciano: Itinerari, 1996), 1-50.

[107] In October 1749 a letter of the Papal Nuncio reported that the monarch dithered about the project doubting that there were "sufficient funds for such a building enterprise, and that site initially chosen might be unsuited for it." Cited in Guerra, "L'albergo dei poveri di Napoli," 185 and 220 no. 115.

Part of the problem of selecting a site was that, at the end of the 1740s, Naples still lacked a topographically exact cartographic description.[108] Hence, potential sites had to be chosen empirically and only later validated through burdensome, *ad hoc* topographical and hydrological surveys. Adding to the difficulties, the ministers, experts, and officials carrying out these processes, often had opposite and conflicting opinions and their (diverging) accounts exposed the operation to high levels of uncertainty. The process was extenuating to the extent that, in 1750, the cartographer Giovanni Carafa Duca di Noja used the case in arguing for the "utility and glory which would derive from having a new topographic map of

[108] In the 1704s, the only existing maps of Naples were bird's eye views or perspectival plans. Though many of these were large and depicted the city in meticulous detail (see, for example, Alessandro Baratta's *Fidelissima urbis neapolitanae cum omnibus viis accurata et nova delineatio*, 1627/1670), none was was drawn to scale and could be used for planning purposes. For an understanding of the evolution of cartography in the city of Naples between the sixteen and the seventeen hundreds, see Barbara Ann Naddeo, "Topographies of Difference: Cartography of the City of Naples, 1627–1775," *Imago Mundi* 56 (2004), 23–47. For a more general examination of Naples' representation throughout the early modern see Vladimiro Valerio, "Representation and Self-Perception: Plans and Views of Naples in the Early Modern Period," in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, 63-88.

Naples and its suburbs."[109] Commenting on the instance, he claimed:

> The Ospedale de' poveri, which is currently being planned amongst us… is one of those glorious works which will demonstrate to posterity the paternal care, Christian piety and magnificence of our Sovereign. And yet, it is well known how much an exact plan of Naples could be helpful to select a site for it better and more swiftly—a matter which, more than any other, is causing uncertainties and delays.[110]

Throughout this extended and unstable planning process, speculating what form the building might take was no less burdensome. By the will of the King, the building had to

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[109] The letter was relevant to Carafa's proposed topographic map of Naples and its surrounding environs. Work on it began in 1751, and the final project was published in 1775 under the title *Mappa topografica di Napoli e de' suoi contorni*. The map is one of the most celebrated and studied artefacts in the history of Neapolitan mapmaking. A vast ichnographic plan with a landscape veduta in the lower central portion, it was the largest and most technically advanced map ever made for Naples and the first to represent the city in planimetric format. Begun in 1750 by the Duke of Noja—a university professor in mathematics and polyhistor belonging to the Seggio di Nido—its production extended over almost 25 years, featuring the involvement of squadrons of draughtsmen and geographers, including the land-surveyor Antonio Francesco Vandi and the architect Niccolò Carletti. The outcome was a plan of unprecedented proportions, measuring an impressive 502 x 238 centimetres and comprised of thirty-five independent folios—almost double the size of Giambattista Nolli's celebrated *Pianta Grande di Roma* (published in 1748). The letter is discussed at length in Franco Strazzullo, *La lettera del Duca di Noja sulla Mappa Topografica di Napoli* (Napoli: Giannini, 1980). For a transcription, see: Giovanni Carafa, *Lettera ad un amico, contenente alcune considerazioni sull'utilità e gloria che si trarrebbe da una esatta carta topografica della città di Napoli e del suo contado* (Naples: 1750), PDF, accessed 14 December 2017, http://www.memofonte.it/home/files/pdf/CARAFA_CARLETTI.pdf. For a general overview of Carafa's project, see: Aldo Blessich, "La Carta Topografica di Napoli di Giovanni Carafa Duca di Noja," *Napoli Nobilissima*, I serie, IV (1895): 183-5; Aldo Blessich, "La Pianta del Duca di Noja. Storia della Pianta," *Napoli Nobilissima*, I serie, V (1896): 74-77; Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 156-169. For a comparative analysis between the *Mappa topografica* and the Nolli plan, see Robin Thomas, "Propagandizing Nolli in Naples," in *Giambattista Nolli and Rome. Mapping the City before and after the* Pianta Grande, ed. Ian Verstegen and Allan Ceen (Rome: Studium Urbis, 2013): 147-160. Carafa's relation with Roman cartographers and intellectuals is explored more broadly by Mario Bevilacqua. See Mario Bevilacqua, "Napoli capitale nell'Europa dei lumi: la formazione di Giovanni Carafa di Noja e la nascita della *Mappa Topografica della città di Napoli e de' suoi contorni,*" in *Ferdinando Fuga*, ed. Alfonso Gambardella (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2001): 343-354.

[110] Giovanni Carafa, *Lettera ad un amico,* translated by the author. In Italian it spells thus: "tutti confessano quanto avrebbe una esatta pianta di Napoli giovato a poter presto e bene scegliere il sito della di lui situazione, ch'è quella cosa che più ora apporta dubbiezza e trattenimento." Giovanni Carafa, *Lettera ad un amico*.

attend to the entirety of the Kingdom's poor, meaning that an unquantifiable mass of male and female indigents had to be sheltered there, and their lives organised according to stringent spatial and living routines. Determining these, however, was hard work for Bourbon officials. It required inventiveness but also expertise. Subordinates of the King had to be able to evaluate design proposals arriving at court as well as define the project's regulatory and organisational regimens. Given the scale at which they were planning, neither such duties could be taken for granted.

To facilitate the process, the Crown reached out to neighbouring Italian states asking that they send drawings of their poorhouses to the Neapolitan court. Between August 1748 and January 1749, they gathered information about the Hospital of San Michele a Ripa in Rome (Fig. 1.2), the Albergo dei Poveri in Genova (Fig. 1.3, 1.4), the Albergo dei Poveri in Palermo (Figs. 1.5, 1.6) and the Savoyard hospice in Turin.[111] And they asked that the drawings be made in meticulous detail such that it would be possible "to have a precise understanding" of the working of each scheme:

> By royal command, I inform your excellence to instruct those sending the drawings of the Alberghi dei Poveri in Rome, Turin and Palermo that they explain in the said drawings the inmate capacity of their albergo, that they draw all the workshops and the quarters of the officials, and that they send separate plans of the sleeping quarters so that it is possible to have a precise understanding of each scheme.[112]

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[111] See ASN, *Affari Ecclesiastici*, f. 109, 120r. For more information on the process, see Guerra, "L'albergo dei poveri di Napoli," 70, 218 no. 61.

[112] ASN, *Affari Ecclesiastici*, 109, 120r-v, translated by the author. The dispatch was sent on the 16th of September 1748 by Charles' Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs Gaetano Maria Brancone to Bourbon Secretary of State Fogliani. In Italian it spells thus: "Di reale ordine partecipo a Vostra Eccellenza di prevenire coloro che dovran rimettere i disegni degli alberghi dei poveri esistenti in roma, torino e palermo che in tali disegni si spieghino la quantita della gente di cui e capace quell'albergo, disegnino tutte le officine e le abitazioni degli ufficiali, e mandino le piante separate di tutti gli appartamenti di esso affinche si possa qui formare un idea compiuta del disegno…" ASN, *Affari Ecclesiastici*, 109, 120r-v. The dispatch was sent on the 16th of September 1748 by Charles' Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs Gaetano Maria Brancone to Bourbon Secretary of State Fogliani.



Figure 1.2. The Hospice of San Michele a Ripa in Rome.

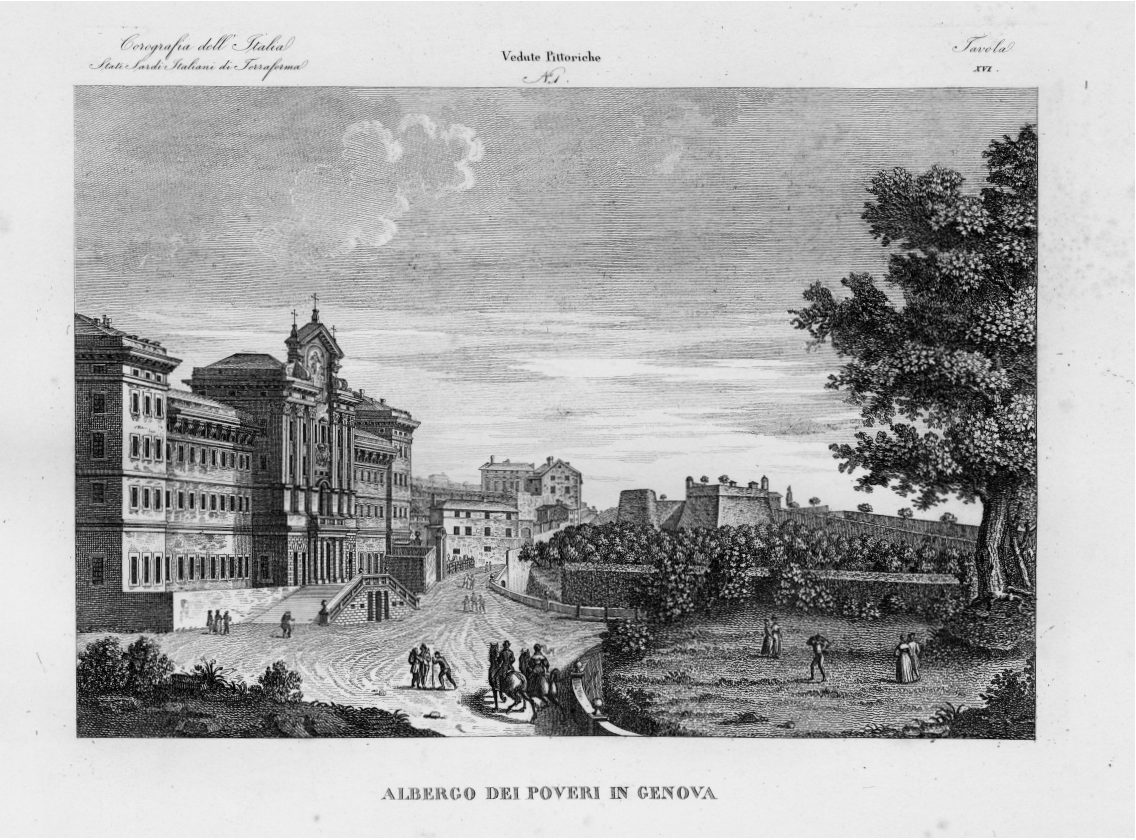

Figure 1.3. The Albergo dei Poveri in Genova.

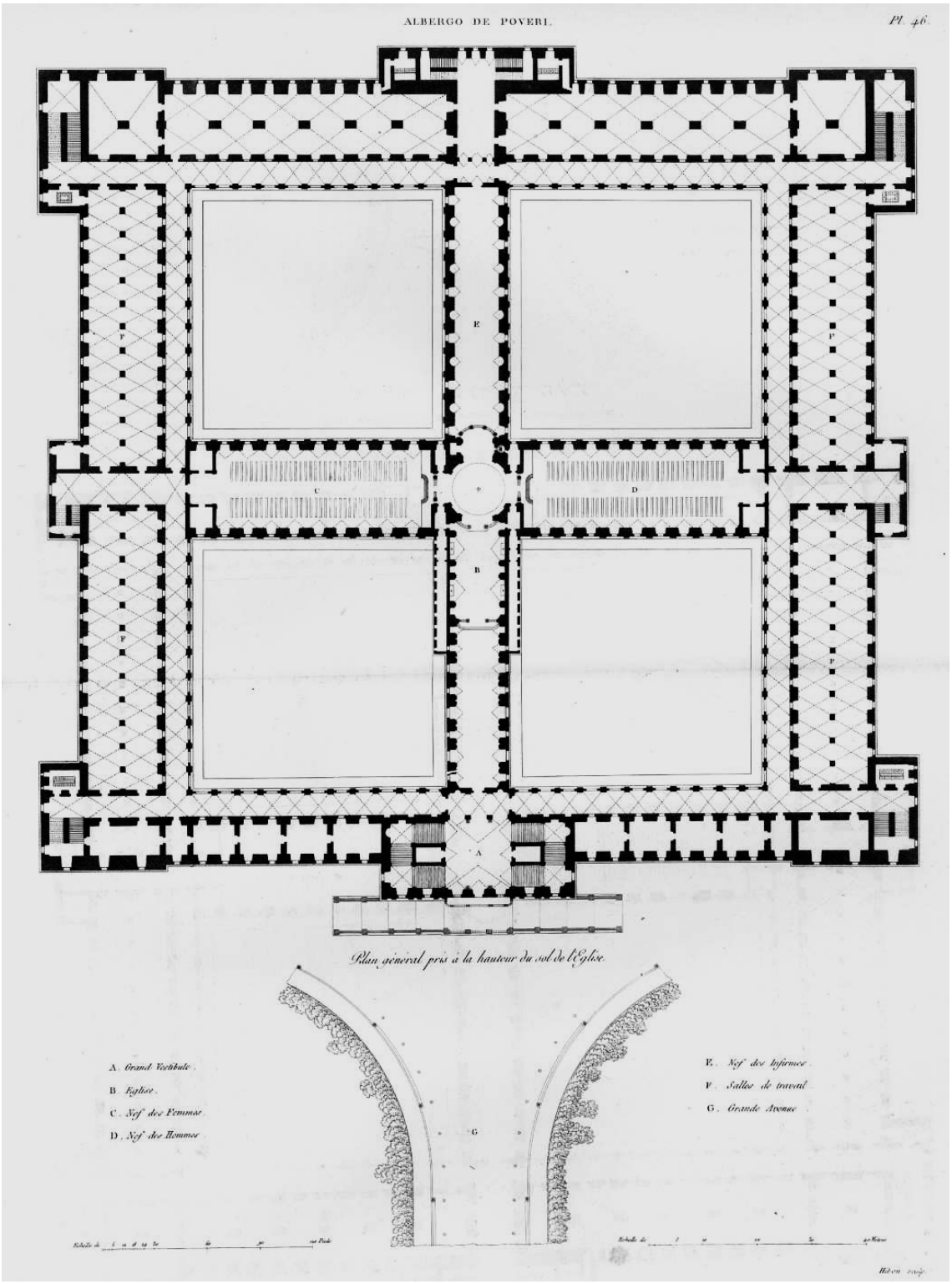

Figure 1.4. Plan of the Albergo dei Poveri in Genoa.

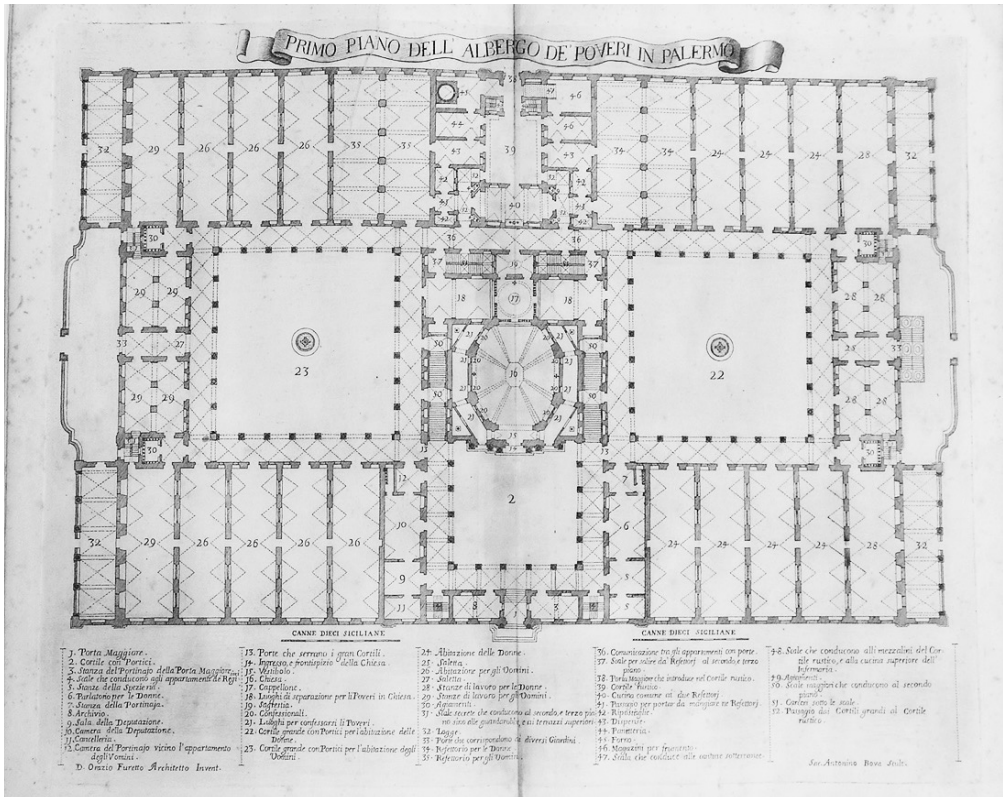

Figure 1.5. Antonio Bova, Plan of the Albergo dei Poveri in Palermo, 1746-60.

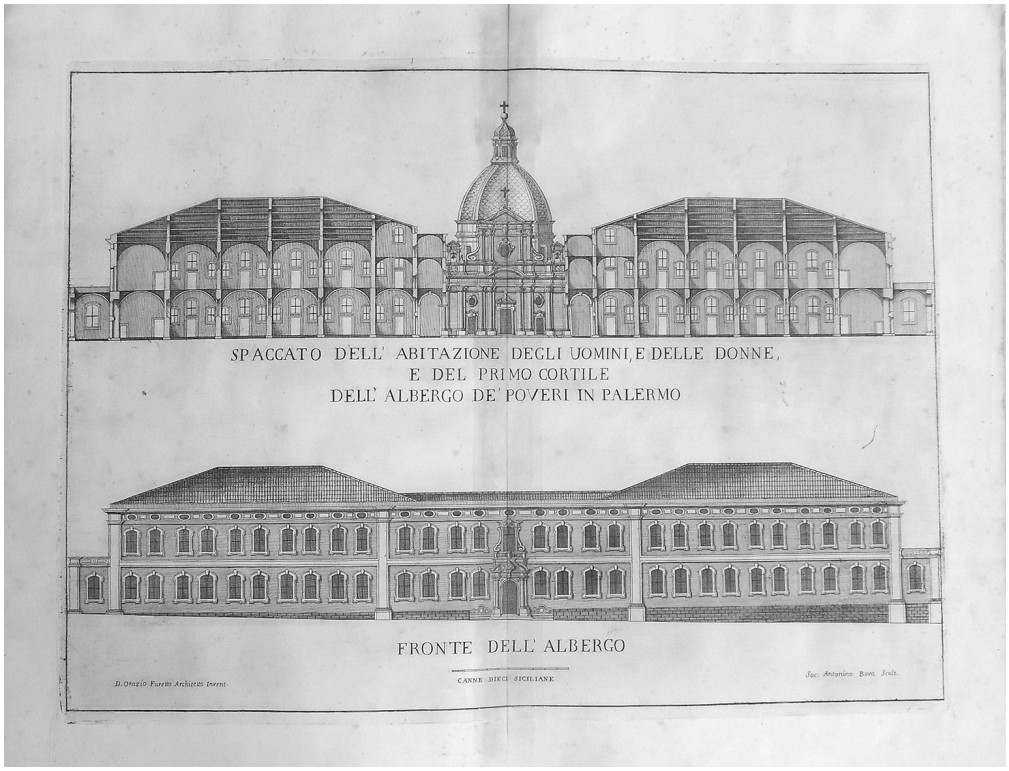

Figure 1.6. Antonio Bova, Elevation of the Albergo dei Poveri in Palermo, 1746-60.

The poorhouses examined by the Bourbons differed significantly from one another—they were designed for different sites, depended on different patronage schemes, responded to different financial circumstances, and had a different social mission. However, they also had shared principles. Significantly, most such principles were drawn from monastic architecture. This was a convention which, by the middle of the eighteenth century, became customary in the design of poorhouses—in Italy as well as in numerous other Roman Catholic European states, and regardless of whether they were commissioned by the Church (as in the case of Rome), a monarchic ruler (as in the case of Turin) or a city council of laymen (as in the cases of Genova and Palermo, albeit with significant differences). After all, as Giorgio Agamben has argued, monasticism represented the most extreme "model of [a] total communitarian life," and the temporal scansions, distributions of duties and religious ordinances typical of coenobitic institutions were regarded as central in the spiritual and moral rehabilitation of the poor.[113] Confession and psalmody, for example, promoted discipline by encouraging righteous conduct and obedience.[114] Schedules of prayer equipped governors with temporal frameworks to structure the daily working and living routines of those enclosed.[115] They also allowed for enforcing those "regimes of enclosure" and that "obsession for chastity", which, as historian Michele Fatica has argued, were essential to the effective administration of so many coexisting inmates.[116]

Amongst the buildings examined by the Bourbons, the alberghi of Genoa and Palermo evoked monastic architecture in especially relevant terms (Figs. 1.4, 1.5, 1.6). Like monasteries, both were articulated around two or more central cloisters to facilitate inmate distribution and emphasise enclosure. In both, large prominent chapels featured at the centre of the plan, signalling the disciplinary and redemptive function of the daily prayer. For the required visual and spatial separation to be enforced between different gender categories (a practice common to both monastic and hospital architecture), both complexes were almost

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[113] Giorgio Agamben, *The Highest Poverty: Monastic Rules and Form-of-Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 9.

[114] The role of confession as a mechanism of social control will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

[115] The instrumentality of these is discussed in detail by Foucault in analysing the organisation of early modern and modern disciplinary institutions. I will return to this subject later in the chapter. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 149.

[116] Michele Fatica, *Il problema della mendicità nell'Europa moderna (secc. XVI-XVIII)* (Napoli: Liguori, 1992), 205.

surgically divided along their central axis in two symmetric halves, each assigned to a gender category such that the two can never cross (including in the central church). Following the cellular model of monasticism, in both, wards were arranged around cloisters in varying configurations, while their administrative quarters were clustered around the entrances to ensure that exchanges between inside and outside be meticulously monitored by those on duty—whether priests, nuns, or royal guards. In both alberghi, workshops and teaching spaces acted as counterpoints to spaces of prayer, such that in their "total hourly scansion of existence," the inmates could engage in sermons and homilies as well as in learning and manual labour.[117] Like in monastic rule, here, too, "the work of the hands" was considered to be much more than a source of productivity (as most contemporary historiography on the Neapolitan albergo suggests) but rather in terms characterised by Giorgio Agamben as "an indiscernible part of the *opus dei*."[118]

Designing a credible albergo

The drawings of the poorhouses of Rome, Genoa, Turin, and Palermo equipped the regime with the necessary evaluative criteria for judging the Albergo's numerous architectural proposals. Their authors included Ferdinando Fuga but also a number of other practitioners, striving to associate their names with such an ambitious and estimable work. For example, Andrea Guerra mentions Nicola Salvi's involvement in what was actually an architectural competition.[119] The architect of the Fountain of Trevi, by the end of the 1740s, Salvi had few independent architectural works in his name, but his commission for the roman fountain had significantly elevated his fame.[120] Beyond Salvi, archival documents uncovered by Thomas

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[117] Agamben, *The Highest Poverty,* 21.

[118] Ibid., 23.

[119] Guerra, "L'albergo dei poveri di Napoli," 170.

[120] On Salvi, see, Armando Schiavo, *La fontana di Trevi e le altre opere di Nicola Salvi* (Roma:: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, 1956); Elisabeth Kieven "Rome in 1732: Alessandro Galilei, Nicola Salvi, Ferdinando Fuga," in *Light on the Eternal City. Observations and discoveries in the art and architecture of Rome (Papers in Art History, vol. II),* ed. Hellmut Hager, and Susan Scott Munshower (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University: 1987): 255-275.

signal the involvement of the Sicilian architect Giovanni Battista Vaccarini.[121] Allegedly, Vaccarini went as far as shipping a model to the Neapolitan court, possibly illustrating a project based on an earlier (rejected) scheme of his for the Albergo in Palermo.[122] But ultimately, it was Fuga who earned the appointment.

Fuga may have earned the commission due to the high quality of his proposal, as Robin Thomas suggests.[123] But his nomination as the Albergo's architect may also have been rooted in political motives. A Tuscan architect who established his career in Rome under Pope Clement XII, in the mid-1740s, Fuga had strong political and professional currency.[124] As Architetto dei Palazzi Apostolici (from 1732), he had the chance to work on some of the most prestigious Roman architectural commissions of his day, including the design of the Palazzo della Consulta (1732-37), the façade of Santa Maria Maggiore (1741-43) as well as a vast assortment of palaces and chapels.[125] Other than adding to his reputation, these experiences earned him the support of important Roman cardinals.[126] Still more, in bidding for the Albergo, Fuga could make capital out of an ongoing professional relationship with the Bourbon crown. Indeed, since 1736, he covered the position of Architetto Regio in Rome, meaning that he had oversight of the entirety of the Bourbon monarchy's patrimony in the

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[121] Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 57.

[122] Ibid. While his efforts were compensated by the crown, in 1750 Bourbon officials ordered that the model be returned to Palermo.

[123] Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 57-9.

[124] For a contemporary account of Fuga's life and work, see Milizia, *Memorie*, II, 287-90. For an analysis of Fuga's patronage relations with Clement XII, see Vanessa Palmer, "Ferdinando Fuga , architetto del Palazzo della Consulta," in *Il Palazzo della Consulta e l'architettura romana di Ferdinando Fuga*, ed. Francesco Nevola and Vanessa Palmer (Rome: Ugo Bozzi, 2004): 3-145; Oronzo Brunetti, "Fuga e i Corsini," in *Ferdinando Fuga*, ed. Alfonso Gambardella, 127-134.

[125] For an analysis of Fuga's professional development and work in Rome, see Guglielmo Matthiae, *Ferdinando Fuga e la sua opera Romana* (Roma: Palombi, 1952); Kieven *Ferdinando Fuga e l'architettura romana del '700*; Pane*, Ferdinando Fuga*, 27-121. See also the edited volume, Gambardella, ed. *Ferdinando Fuga*.

[126] In this sense, Luigi Vanvitelli (architect of Charles of Bourbon's Royal Palace in Caserta) went as far as to suggest that the appointment of Fuga as chief architect of the Albergo was determined not by talent but by the "strong advocacy of Roman cardinals" including Cardinal Girolamo Colonna, vice chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, Troiano di Acquaviva D'Aragona and Francisco Joaquín Fernández de Portocarrero y Mendoza, both Spanish Ambassadors in Rome. See Guerra, "L'albergo dei poveri di Napoli," 170, 218 no. 64; Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 57-59.

Pontifical State, including Palazzo Farnese and Villa Farnesina.[127] As Royal Architect, he also had the chance to design numerous ephemeral structures for the Spanish Crown, including a *macchina da festa* for Charles' wedding with Maria Amalia of Saxony in 1738 and that for the wedding of his brother Filippo Infante of Spain in 1739.[128] Beyond these important political and dynastic affiliations, in Rome, Fuga also developed a profound expertise in the domain of hospital and prison architecture. In the mid-1730s, he designed a women's prison in the hospice of San Michele a Ripa.[129] Between 1742 and 1744, he extended the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia.[130] Later, he designed a cemetery for the said hospital outside Porta di Santo Spirito.[131] The sum of these experiences meant that the Albergo could boast an architect with exceptional status and professional credibility.

Fuga's multiple surviving drawings for the Neapolitan Albergo are a testimony to his professional record. Given the project's prolonged planning and construction processes, these may be divided into two corpuses: the first concerns the scheme developed for the site of Borgo di Santa Maria di Loreto (Fig. 1.7). This was an area that, since the arrival of Charles of Bourbon, had undergone major transformations, implicated in a large restructuring programme which stretched between the important Molo Grande (in the vicinity of Castel Nuovo) and the old Porta del Carmine to the east.[132] There, the Albergo was meant to be fastened to one of the Kingdom's main circulation arteries while simultaneously functioning as a powerful landmark of Bourbon charity in one of the principal entryways to the city. The second corpus concerns the project for the definitive site Borgo di Sant'Antonio Abate (Fig.

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[127] On Fuga's activity as architetto regio in Rome, see Paola D'Antonio, "Ferdinando Fuga architetto della corte borbonica," in *Ferdinando Fuga*, ed. Gambardella, 305-6; in *Ferdinando Fuga*, ed. Alfonso Gambardella, 305-6; Giosi Amirante, "Fuga soprintendente alla politica urbana di Ferdinando," in*Ferdinando Fuga*, ed. Gambardella, 199-200.

[128] These are discussed at length in Pane, *Ferdinando Fuga*, 68-72.

[129] Ibid., 100-3.

[130] On this particular scheme, see Colonna, "L'opera di Ferdinando Fuga nell'ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia di Roma," 293-303.

[131] Ibid.

[132] This programme was spearheaded by engineers Michele Reggio and Giovanni Bompiede—both involved in the Albergo's operation—and included the intensification of the harbour, the partial dismantling of the old defensive walls and the construction of a new, important road along the city's coastline through which both people and goods could circulate to and from the harbour avoiding crossing the dense and chaotic fabric of the old town. Giuseppe Pignatelli, *Napoli: tra il disfar delle mura e l'innalzamento del muro finanziere* (Florence: Alinea Editrice, 2006), 39, 75.

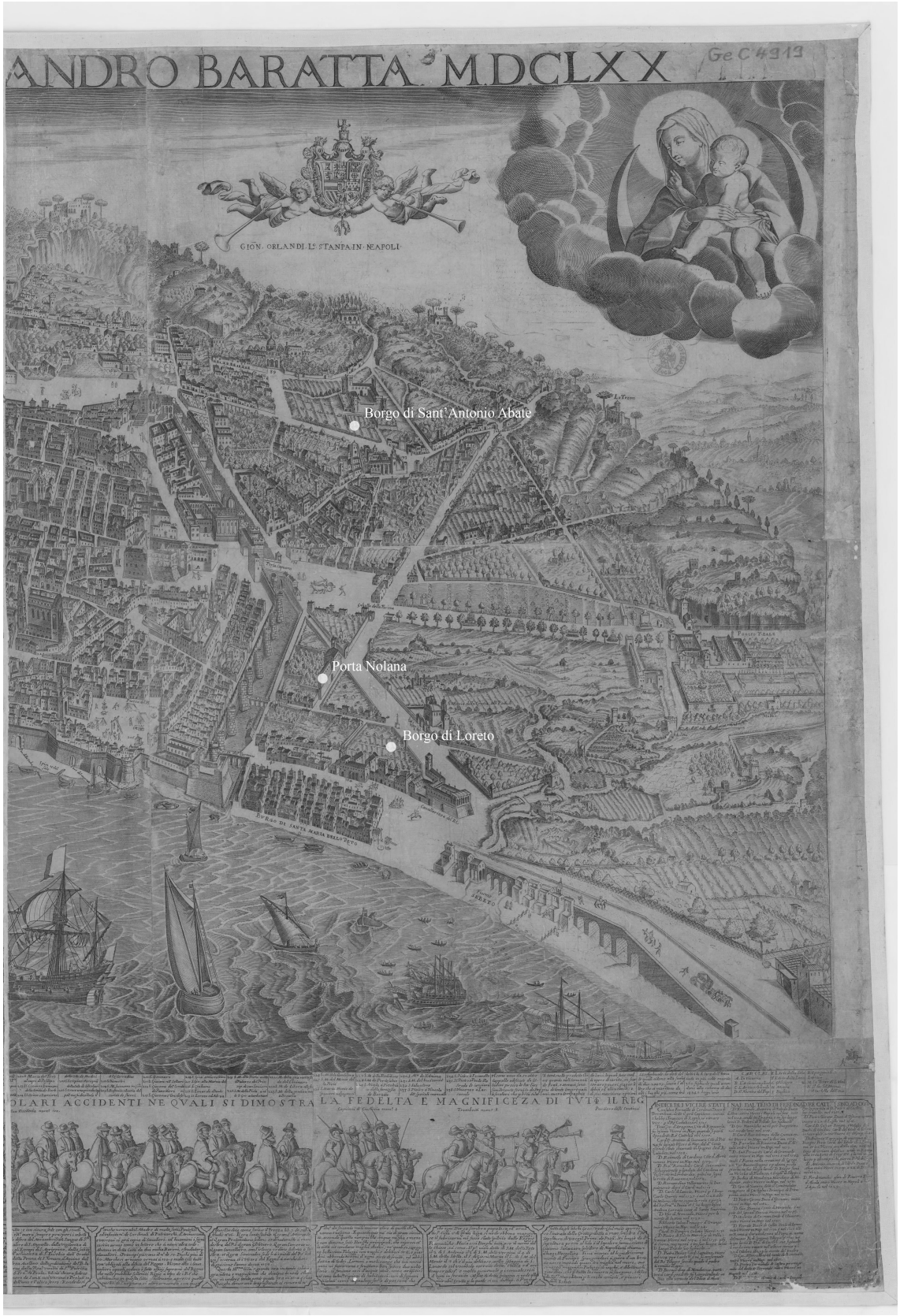

Figure 1.7. Alessandro Baratta's *Fidelissimae urbis Neapolitanae cum omnibus viis accurata et nova delineatio*…, cropped and annotated by the author, indicating the different sites involved in the Albergo's planning process.

1.7). Despite having been designed by the same author, they are substantially different projects. Beneath, I discuss them separately, taking into account their broader historical circumstances and their specific planning motives.

Early in the design process, Fuga's appointment as the Albergo's architect depended on the extent to which the Bourbons could comprehend and recognise his project as a credible institution for sheltering the poor. Looking at the architect's first surviving drawings of April 1749, one can identify the mechanisms leading to the project's validation.[133] In plan, Fuga resorted to a cross-in-square layout structuring the building around four identical cloisters (Fig. 1.8). Despite being reminiscent of the Albergo dei Poveri in Genova (which Fuga surely studied), this was an archetype long-used in the design of monastic, hospital and palatial architecture.[134] It characterised the layout of the Hôpital des Invalides in Paris, the Escorial in Toledo, the hospitals of Enrique de Egas in Southern Spain, Martinelli's Invalidenhaus in Budapest (Fig. 1.12) as well as Filippo Juvarra's celebrated 1725 proposal for a Palazzo del Conclave (Fig. 1.11).[135] As this latter scheme suggests, by the early eighteenth century, the archetype had grown popular in Roman academic circles, so much so that when Luigi Vanvitelli was asked to design a new palace for Charles of Bourbon nearby the city of Caserta, his proposed plan was almost a textbook application of the cross-in-square figure (Fig.1.13).[136] In this sense, by using it for the Neapolitan Albergo, Fuga could anchor his proposal in an established and widely recognised tradition.

The archetype, too, enabled Fuga to produce an exceptionally clear and rigorous

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[133] These included plans, sections and elevations and were first presented to the monarchy on the 2 April 1749 (currently at Rome's Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica). The two drawings are: GNS, F. N. 13907 and 13909.

[134] For a history of the motif and a detailed analysis of its use across different architectural domains, see Marten Kuilman, *Quadralectic Architecture: A Panoramic Review*, August 2013, https:// quadralectics.wordpress.com. For an analysis of it within the context of hospital architecture in Portugal and Italy, see Danielle Abdon, "A Plan for the King and the Sick: Portuguese Hospital Architecture during the Age of Exploration," in *Health and Architecture: The History of Spaces of Healing and Care in the Pre-Modern Era*, ed. Mohammed Gharipour (New York: Bloomsbury Press: 2021): 35-56.

[135] On the Invalides, see René Baillargeat, ed., *Les Invalides, trois siècles d'histoire* (Paris: le Musée de l'Armée 1974). On the architecture of Enrique de Egas, see Kuilman, *Quadralectic Architecture*, 3.5 Hospitals. On Juvarra's plans for the 1725 conclave, see Vittorio Viale, "I disegni di Filippo Juvarra per il Palazzo del Conclave," *Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 103 (1968-1969): 1-19.

[136] For a contextualisation of Vanvitelli's project within eighteenth-century architectural traditions, see Hersey, *Architecture, Poetry and Number,* 31-63, 141-73.

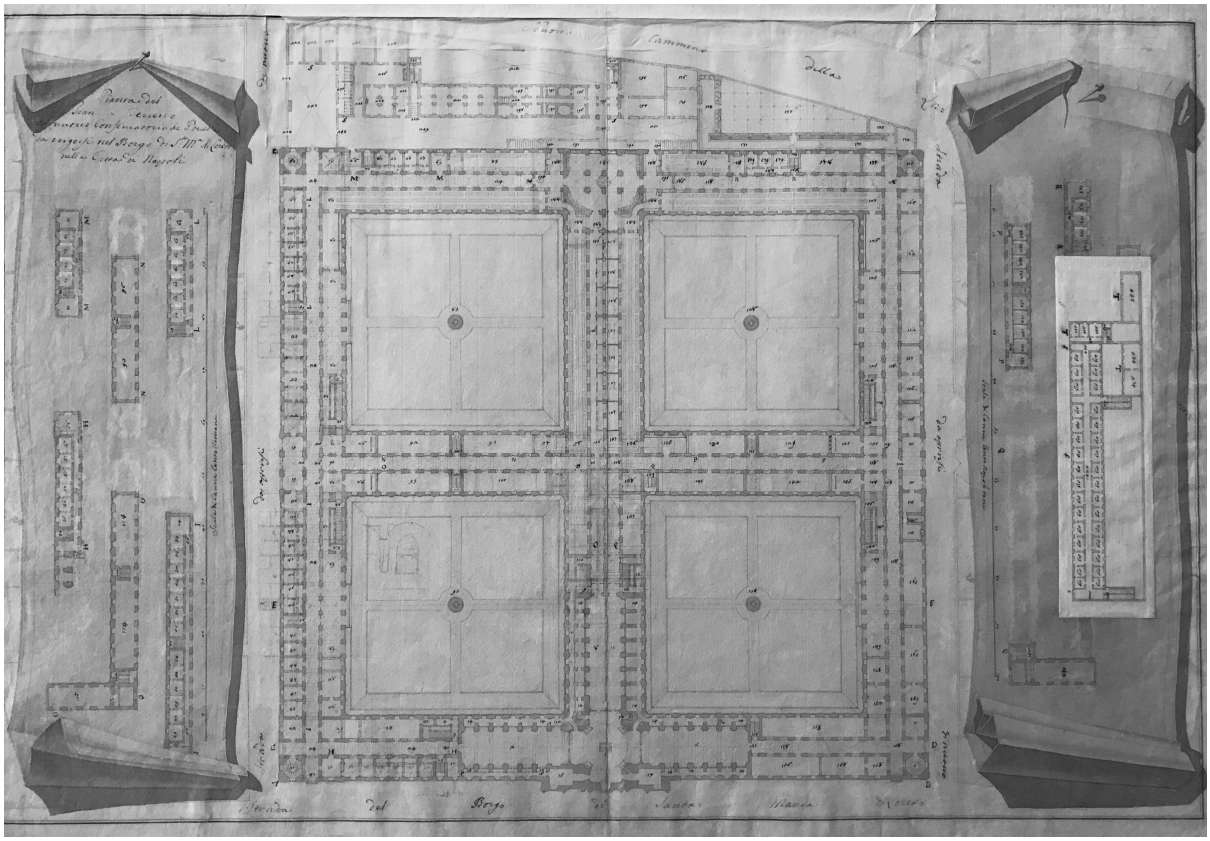

Figure 1.8. Ferdinando Fuga, plan of the Reale Albergo dei Poveri in Naples, 1749.

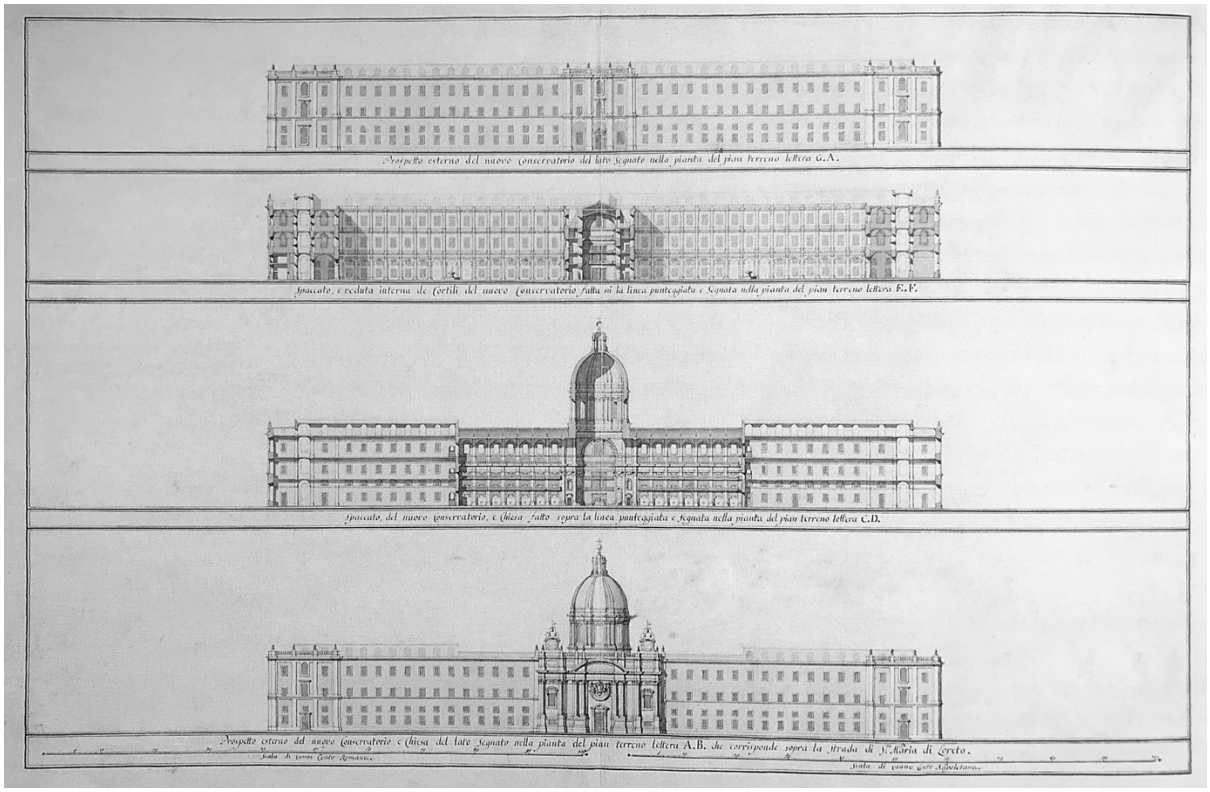

Figure 1.9. Ferdinando Fuga, elevations and sections for the Reale Albergo dei Poveri in Naples, 1749.

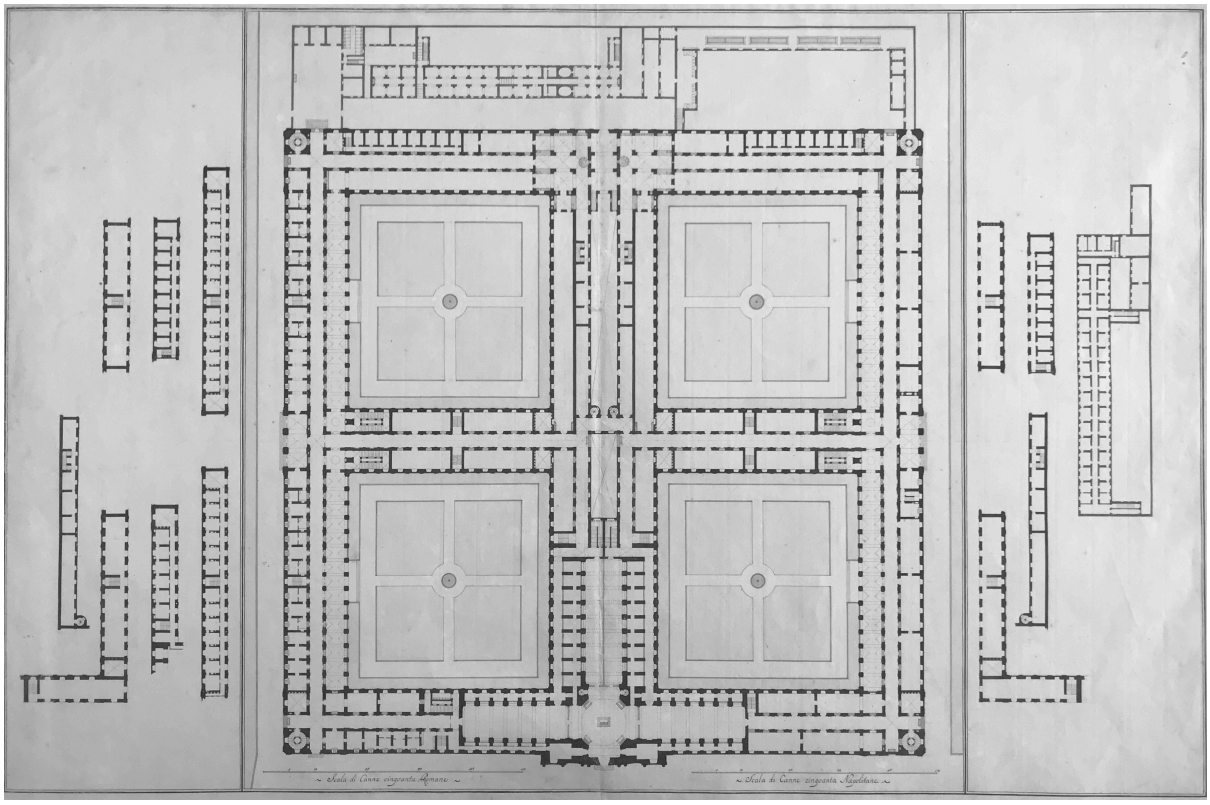

Figure 1.10. Ferdinando Fuga, plan of the Reale Albergo dei Poveri in Naples, 1749.

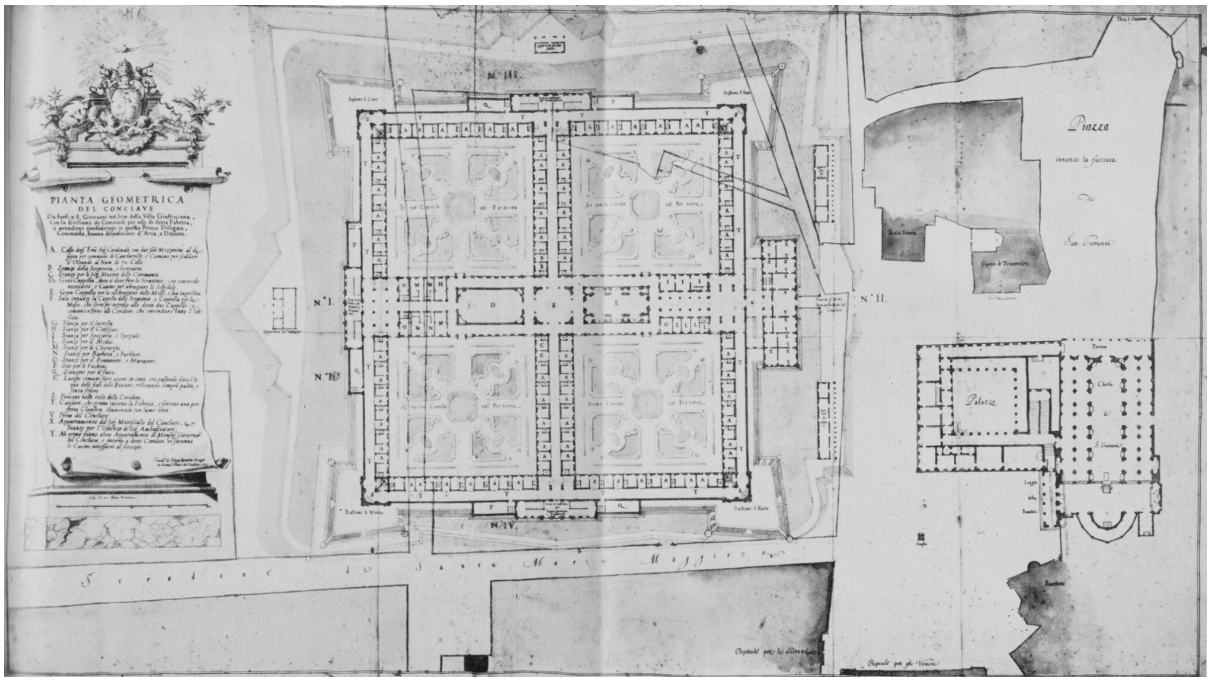

Figure 1.11. Filippo Juvarra, plan for the Palazzo del Conclave, 1724-25.

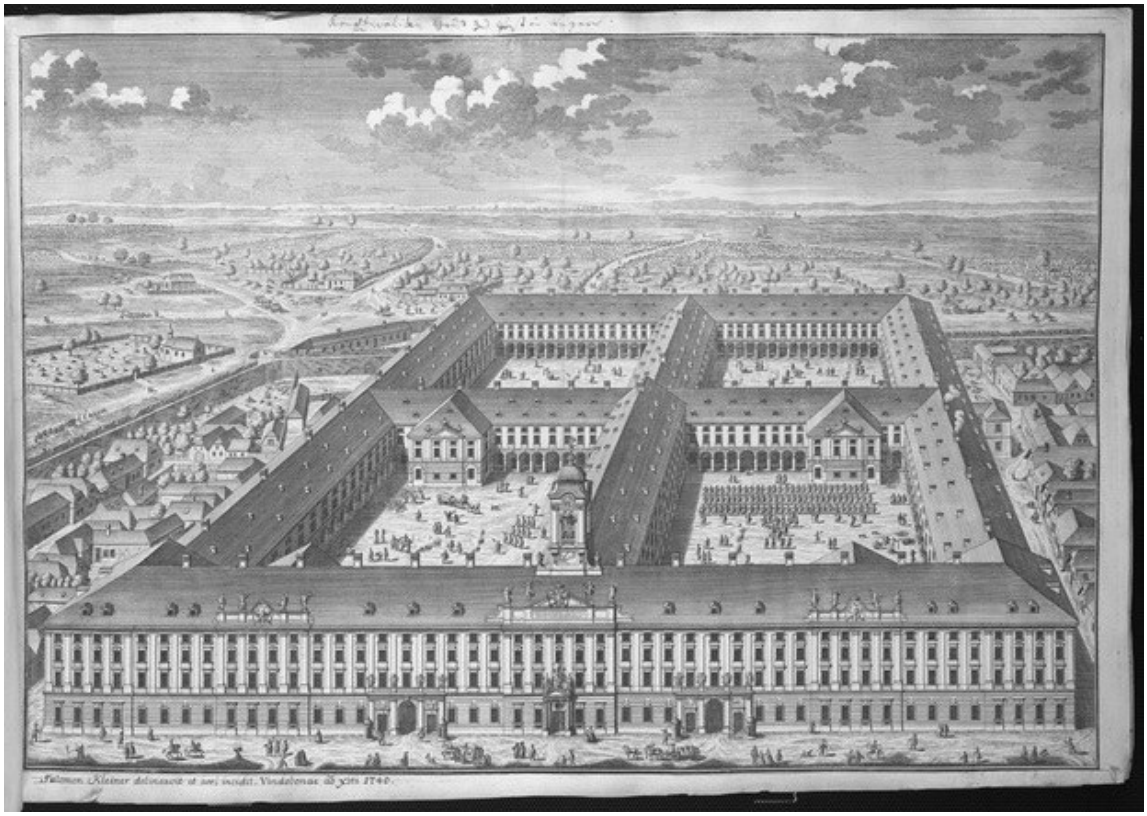

Figure 1.12. A view of Antonio Erardo Martinelli's Invalidenhaus in Budapest, 1735.

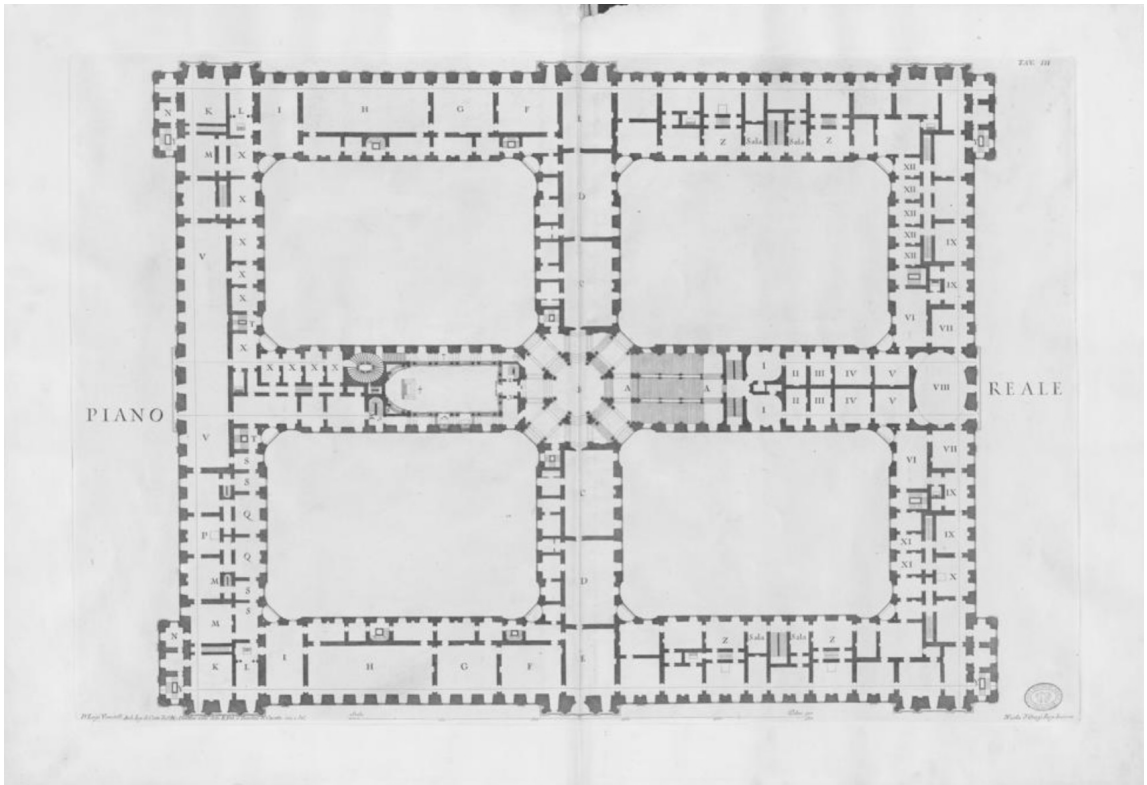

Figure 1.13. Luigi Vanvitelli, the Piano Reale of the Royal Palace in Caserta, 1752.

scheme (Fig. 1.8).[137] Indeed, by drawing on its organisational logic, he could distribute activities in such a way that the plan would be immediately and clearly legible by an external viewer. Even now that the key to the drawing is lost, it is still possible to make assumptions about how the institution might have worked. The foremost element in the plan is the distinctive, three-nave church. Differently from the albergo of Genova (Fig. 1.4), where the chapel occupies the plan's central crossing, distributing male and female inmates left and right, Fuga chose to locate the church at the southernmost crossing having the altar at the intersection point and three naves branching out to the west, north and east. According to this scheme, male and female inmates could occupy the lateral naves, while the nave rising along the building's symmetry access could host minors (themselves separated by gender via a thin, central partition wall—a clumsy solution which Fuga would circumvent in a later scheme). Along the western-facing wing, the rows of smaller rooms would have been occupied by the administration. At its centre, a spacious three-bay loggia would provide access to the building —possibly the principal access given its proximity to the administrative quarters (and, therefore, the most heavily guarded area of the building). The larger rooms lining the building's eastern wing suggest that that segment may have been dedicated to working and learning activities. It too could be accessed externally through a symmetrically placed three-bay loggia, perhaps dedicated to Naples' 'arti e mestieri.' For water supply reasons, the northern front might have been devoted to housekeeping and communal eating. Its centre was occupied by a giant *lavamano* (a communal washbasin) distributing inmates left and right in 4 refectories where they would be divided by gender and age, as in the church. [138] Nearby the entrance loggias, two symmetric pairs of stairs (probably allocated to the different gender and age groups dwelling in the institutions) provided access to the dormitories in the upper two levels.

While no drawings of these exist, their general organisation was suggested in the cross-

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[137] In commenting on the drawings, the sovereign judged the mas "well adapted, distinct, and clear." See Tomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 59.

[138] At this point, there is no regolamento yet describing how age would've been determined. In S. Gennaro, for example, the collegio de' figliuoli would host inmates aged between 8 and 18. That of the donzelle from 10 to 14. Later, in the Albergo's 1795 regulations, it was puberty that would define the threshold between junior and senior inmates. See *Saggio di regole per la buona economia del Regal Albergo de' poveri di Napoli* (Napoli: Orsino, 1795), Google Books, accessed 4 February 2018, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=uVBNAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false, 16.

section (Fig. 1.9). There, similarly to the ground floor plan, the dormitories were distributed laterally by a linear corridor running across each wing's centre. This organisation was not only due to the considerable width of the building, demanding that rooms be arranged at the perimeter to receive light and fresh air. It was also the result of government and surveillance questions. Indeed, by having corridors in the centre, the different inmate groups and guards could travel autonomously throughout the building allowing for better control and lessening the chance of unwanted encounters between the Albergo's purportedly malicious population members.[139] Moreover, since the corridors had no visual relation to the outdoor (as opposed to the open air porticoes of the alberghi of Genova and Palermo), they also prevented inmates from orienting themselves while circulating through the building—a powerful deterrent to insubordination and insurrections. Still further, Fuga equipped the corridors with high openings toward the dormitories such that the guards could overhear the detainees without being seen.[140] Similar to Foucault's panopticon, this asymmetry enabled the design to operate as an effective vehicle of discipline, discouraging inmates from having conversations or hatching up rebellions.[141]

This significance of the project was also traceable to the chapel design. Indeed, each of its three naves was lined with heaps of confessional booths from which priests could

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[139] For the performance of the corridor as disciplinary mechanisms, see Robin Evans, "Figures, Doors and Passages," in Robin Evans, *Translations from Drawing to Building and Other Essays* (London: Architectural Association Publications, 2011), 70-78.

[140] According to Fuga's design the windows were positioned at circa 2.2 meters from the ground.

[141] Later in the Albergo's history, regulations would prescribe that once the inmates would be returned to their 'camerate,' Sergeants would have to make sure that, after the rosary was recited "in ginocchio," conversations would take place "colla maggior decenza fino al segno del silenzio; badando principalmente, che l'una compagnia non conversi con l'altra." See *Saggio di regole per la buona economia del Regal Albergo,* 27-28.

interrogate the poor about their activities and intentions.[142] Moreover, the naves were provided with balconies such that, on special occasions, the citizenry could be let in, and the inmates relegated to the upper levels. This was an especially important aspect since almsgiving by the public was regarded as one of the central mechanisms for subsidising the endeavour. Such a vocation also explains the chapel's prominence in the Albergo's façade, which Fuga chose to develop by following examples from monastic traditions (e.g. Carlo Fontana's renowned 1689 design for the Jesuit Sanctuary at Loyola).[143] However, just as the church façade helped to convey the complex's charitable and pious mission, its ornamentation also stressed royal jurisdiction. Indeed, under a monumental broken pediment supported by paired columns on pedestals, a lofty coat of arms framing the Bourbon monarchy's family escutcheon remind the visitor that the building was a monarchical, rather than ecclesiastical, commission (Fig. 1.9).

Overcoming doubt

On paper, Fuga's drawings made the Albergo a tangible object. They gave the monarchy a stable architectural vision while at the same time granting the scheme financial and operational accountability. They also offered the potential to rework the organisational and technical requisites of the new building. Indeed, between 1748 and 1749, Bourbon ministers and consultants gathered extensively around Fuga's drawings identifying problems and suggesting alterations according to their particular area of expertise. Evidence of these

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[142] According to Tomáš Malý "within the post-Tridentine reform the question of repentance and confession played a crucial role. It is clear that confession as a central part of repentance not only directed the relationship of man to God, but also directly or indirectly shaped people's behaviour and social relations, and thus served as a means of 'social control'." See Tomáš Malý, "Early Modern Purgatory: Reformation Debates and Post-Tridentine Change," in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, vol. 106 (2015): 242-272. About confession and social control in post-Tridentine Europe, see also Jeremy Tambling, *Confession: Sexuality, Sin, the Subject*, (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1990); William David Myers, *'Poor, Sinning Folk:' Confession and Conscience in Counter-Reformation Germany*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); Wietse De Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden : Brill, 2001).

[143] For an analysis of Fontana's sanctuary within the context of early modern monastical traditions, see Hellmut Hager, "Carlo Fontana and the Jesuit Sanctuary at Loyola," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 280-289.

discussions exists in the form of faint graphite revisions over the original ink and wash scheme (especially in conjunction with the guard's quarters and the central crossing (Fig. 1.8).[144]

However, as Fuga's design gained cogency from one iteration to the next, the grounds of the Neapolitan albergo became progressively more uncertain. Already in October 1749, a letter from the papal nuncio highlighted the financial and planning obstacles being faced by Charles of Bourbon.[145] According to his report, the king dithered about the project, doubting that there were "sufficient funds for such a building enterprise and that the chosen site might be unsuited for it."[146] Indeed, Fuga had indicated that the building would cost a staggering 500'000 ducats throwing its commissioners into panic ("Fuga spaventa richiedendo un mezzo milione," the nuncio wrote in one of his correspondences).[147] And the uncertainties concerning the site were even more alarming. The soil was swampy, and following a detailed hydrological survey of the site, the King's surveyors reported that it would be difficult to source enough fresh water from the faltering Acqua Bolla—a seventeenth-century aqueduct serving existing buildings on site.[148]

Financial concerns found swift reassurance in the oaths of Bourbon minister for ecclesiastical affairs Gaetano Maria Brancone. Indeed, as Charles of Bourbon lost his nerve about the project, it was Brancone who rose to become the Albergo's prime mover coordinating its nascent administration and the funding strategy to support it.[149] A shrewd opportunist (as rival ministers described him), Brancone knew that the Albergo was an opportunity to strengthen his position at court while also leaving behind an important legacy

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[144] Because Fuga was in Naples in November 1749, Guerra argues that the revisions might have been carried out then. See Guerra, "L'albergo dei poveri di Napoli," 170. For a detailed analysis of these revisions see Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 64-65.

[145] Cited in Guerra, "L'albergo dei poveri di Napoli," 185 and 220 no. 115.

[146] Ibid.

[147] Cited in Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 184 no. 77.

[148] Ibid., 64 and 184 no. 89. The surveyor in question was Luca Vecchione, architect and *regio tavolario* (the professional figure in charge of surveying and mapping elements of the territory such as streets, buildings, and landowners) who worked in Portici and Capodimonte. See Salvatore Costanzo, *La Scuola del Vanvitelli. Dai primi collaboratori del Maestro all'opera dei suoi seguaci*, (Clean edizioni: Napoli, 2006).

[149] See Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 59.

of his ministry.[150] So much so that when the Charles of Bourbon vacillated about Fuga's estimate, Brancone brazenly insisted that the building could be executed for almost half the price (300'000 ducats) and reminded that the money could be sourced by levying taxes on Naples' pious congregations.[151]

While costs and funding strategies could be speculated upon, however, erecting the building in Borgo di Santa Maria di Loreto entailed gambles that not even a confident high-ranking minister like Brancone could dismiss. Beginning construction on inadequate land meant risking that state money be wasted, that funds detracted from charitable institutions be scorched and that the monarchy lose its face with the whole city watching. In overcoming this uncertainty, it was Fuga who played the leading role. Aided by royal engineer Michele Reggio, he undertook new survey campaigns and estimations, scouting for a potential plot. In one of the many submitted reports, he suggested that the project be relocated to an area outside Porta Nolana, arguing that, in that location, his earlier designs would need only minor alterations and that the more recent seventeenth-century aqueduct of Acqua Carmignano could serve plenty of fresh water to the animals and labourers working on the building site.[152] To prove his point, he reworked the scheme based on the new site and carried out several alterations concerning the internal organisation of the building (Fig. 1.10).[153] He added a new service court along its vertical spine (to increase ventilation within the service spaces of the refectories), reconfigured the *lavamano* (reducing the likeliness that the different genders could meet), and enlarged the four main staircases along the horizontal segment of the cross (to streamline the inmates' circulation). Seeing his project increasingly at risk, he also proposed to build a model, arguing that its construction would facilitate construction and costing procedures.[154]

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[150] For opinions on Brancone from his contemporaries (especially those of Tanucci), see Giuseppe Caridi, *Essere re e non essere re: Carlo di Borbone a Napoli e le attese deluse (1734-1738)* (Rubettino: Saverio Mannelli 2006), 86.

[151] See Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 184 no. 77.

[152] Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 64-65; Guerra, "L'albergo dei poveri di Napoli," 181.

[153] The new plan is at GNS, F.N. 13908.

[154] See Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 66-67.

Constellations of rule or the politics of public office

If the reports invested the Crown with newfound confidence about the operation, as the beginning of the Albergo's construction approached, that same confidence had to be instilled among nobles and city administrators. Indeed, as a colossal building and management endeavour catering to the lives of thousands of indigent poor, the Albergo was a project that only a King could authorise but could only be accomplished through collaboration.[155] Collaboration in overcoming the scheme's ever-expanding logistical and financial obstacles. And collaboration in grappling with the enterprise's gargantuan bureaucratic and organisational demands. More than anything else, the enterprise required an administration: it needed accountants that could document expenditures; clerks keeping records of construction and management processes; officials overseeing operations; lawmen capable of defining the poorhouse's statutory regulations. Having to assign these posts, the Crown turned to public office as an alternate political means for expanding the powers of the royal administration.

In considering this strategy, it is important to stress that with the restoration of the independent dynasty public office in eighteenth-century Naples grew to become "as prestigious as noble blood or nobility bestowed by the sovereign."[156] Even more than during the viceregency period, service to the State came to represent "a new basis on which to achieve status," and offices were contended by both the city's rising bourgeoisie as well as the traditional nobility.[157] A nomination to one of the crown's countless offices was, in fact,

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[155] This line of interpretation is borrowed from Mukerji, *Impossible Engineering*, 36.

[156] Cavallo, *Charity and Power in Early Modern Italy*, 187; in relation to Naples, see Giuseppe Cirillo, "Between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons. The Integration of Nobility and the Self-Consciousness of Aristocrats in the Kingdom of Naples," in *The Transition in Europe between XVII and XVIII centuries: Perspectives and case studies*, ed. Antonio Alvarez-Ossorio, Cinzia Cremonini, Elena Riva (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2016): 196.

[157] See Ajello, *Arcana Juris*, 261. See Giovanni Montroni, "The Court: Power Relations and Social Life," in *Naples in the Eighteenth Century: The Birth and Death of a Nation State*, ed. Girolamo Imbruglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 23; see Angelantonio Spagnoletti, "The Naples Elites between City and Kingdom," in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, 210. The title of Marquis, for example, was highly sought after amongst members of the central or peripheral judiciary, and the Bourbons used it widely "either by grace or as a reward for some offices (be they in the Army or in the judiciary or in the Secretaries of State)." Matteo de Sarno, President of the House of the Sommaria as well as governor of the Albergo was, for example, granted the title in 1751. See Giuseppe Cirillo, *Emblems of Power in the Europe of the Bourbons. Semantic Research Paths on Historical Archives* (Roma: Ministro dei Beni Culturali), 219.

not only a way to have a direct influence upon the Kingdom's government—it also meant proximity to the King, the potential for social advancement and, in the best of scenarios, the opportunity of attaining a much-sought access point to the sovereign's prestigious Royal Court.[158]

For the monarchy, on the other hand, the involvement of influential Neapolitans in a particular Royal enterprise served to constitute bonds between itself and local powers. As Chandra Mukerji has argued in a different context, appointments were an especially effective "means of negotiating alliances among quasi-equals," securing loyalty and "reducing the incentives for becoming the king's enemies."[159] As Charles of Bourbon grappled against the dangers of pro-Hapsburg insurgences, the "distribution of offices, pensions and favours" were vital tools for the monarch to build ties with leading aristocratic families and city administrators, who in turn could pride themselves on operating as servicemen of the new monarchy.[160] This strategy created both physical and political spaces "where groups different from each other [such as the robed judiciary, the nobility of sword, and the nobility of 'Seggio'] and hitherto rigidly opposed to each other became linked" as loyal subordinates to the King.[161]

In the Albergo's administration, the most important post Neapolitans could aspire to was that of the Governor. The appeal of this position was twofold: first, Governors entered into direct contact with the King, having opportunities to earn his consideration and to exchange information and favours with him (or with his ministers such as Brancone). Second, they were directly responsible for the Albergo's finances and management, compiling its

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[158] On patronage politics under the Bourbons, see Montroni, "The Court: Power Relations and Social Life," 22-43; Cirillo, "Between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons," 192-223.

[159] Mukerji, *Impossible Engineering,* 20-21.

[160] Ibid.

[161] Montroni, "The Court: Power Relations and Social Life," 23. The 'choreographies of power' involved in official gatherings such as public audiences, assemblies of public offices, the plenty ceremonials of the orders of knighthood Charles established, and the Royal Court were all highly palpable attestations of such dynamics. For an analysis of Bourbon ceremonial, see the two edited volumes Attilio Antonelli, ed., *Cerimoniale dei Borbone di Napoli 1734–1801* (Napoli: Art'em, 2008); Anna Maria Rao, ed., *Corte e cerimoniale di Carlo di Borbone a Napoli* (Naples: Federico II University Press, 2020).

body of norms and overseeing all aspects of the institution's administration.[162]

Because of the significance of the post, the monarchy conceived the appointment process, strategically setting up a system where the King could be perceived as being at once removed from and omnipresent in the selection system.[163] To ensure that a wide enough segment of influential Neapolitans supported the project, it first founded a vast lay congregation of various orders from which the eleven potential candidates for the post would be drawn.[164] In accordance with the Albergo's foundation edict, the congregation was formed by men and women and included almost three hundred members bringing together important Neapolitan nobles, clergy members, and the principal secretaries of the royal court.[165] To name but a few, these included the alchemist, anatomist and mason Raimondo di Sangro Prince of S. Severo, best known for having commissioned the homonymous chapel;[166] the Duke of Noja, whose aforementioned map ranked amongst the most ambitious cartographical endeavours of its day; the ministers Fogliani and Tanucci, respectively the Secretary of State after the dismissal of Montealegre and the Secretary of Justice; the prior of San Martino, who concurrently agreed to donate 1,000 ducats from his Certosa to the Albergo's cause;[167] the Abbot of Monteoliveto as well as other important clergy members drawn from the city's most affluent religious institutions;[168] and not least, 78 amongst princesses, duchesses and baronesses who have received less scholarly attention.

In order not to arouse contentions amongst the congregants in the election of the said Governors, the monarchy set up a Daedalian voting system alternating both democratic and

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[162] The duties of the governors are described both in the edict in Vario, *Pragmaticae,* Vol. 4, 309-310, as well as in the Albergo's 1755 regulations. See *Istruzioni formate per lo regolamento del Real Governo pro tempore del generale Albergo de Poveri, secondo lo stato attuale dell'opera, ed approvate da S.M. con dispaccio del dì primo di luglio 1755*, IV, Google Books, accessed 5 February 2018, https://books.google.co.uk/books/about/Istruzioni_formate_per_lo_regolamento_de.html?id=xGGT3TGwqRcC&redir_esc=y.

[163] The process is described in the 1751 foundation edict. See Vario, *Pragmaticae,* Vol. 4, 308-309.

[164] Ibid.

[165] See Ibid. for the full list.

[166] For a biography on Raimondo di Sangro see Antonio Emanuele Piedimonte, *Raimondo di Sangro principe di Sansevero. La vita, le invenzioni, le opere, i libri, le leggende, i misteri, la Cappella* (Napoli: Edizioni Intra Moenia, 2010). On the Sansevero Chapel see Rosanna Cioffi Martinelli, La cappella Sansevero. Arte barocca e ideologia massonica (Salerno: Edizioni 10/17, 1987).

[167] The payment is recorded in ASN, *Affari Ecclesiastici*, 136, 106r; 140.

[168] See Nappi and Francobandiera, *L'Albergo Dei Poveri*, 18.

authoritarian components. The system had two aims: first, achieving the generalised consensus of those voting about the potential candidates for the post; second, ensuring that the King had the final word in the designation process. According to the Albergo's 1751 foundation edict, the process was set up as follows: having gathered the congregation of men at the end of each biennium (the congregation of women was not entitled to vote) and prepared a folder including the name of each of the congregants present, four members were drawn randomly from the bunch.[169] These four had to then "di comun consenso" (in mutual agreement) prepare shortlists of three potential candidates for each of the eleven posts.[170] Subsequently, all male congregants had to approve the shortlists by reaching a majority through votes.[171] If a majority was not reached, the four randomly drawn congregants had to prepare further and further shortlists until consensus was reached. Only in the aftermath of this process the King appointed the governors by selecting them from the said shortlists.[172] In this way, the monarch could flatten hierarchies amongst congregants creating empathy between the different groups, invest them with an ennobled sense of civic duty about the election's outcome, and simultaneously preserve his right to make the final decision.

In order to kick-start the operation with determination and dispatch, the governors nominated for the institution's first biennium were appointed directly by the King. As such, their identity is doubly important. These included as second governor, the King's loyal lieutenant general Michele Reggio who, as mentioned earlier in the text, oversaw the Albergo's construction site and carried out other significant building projects in the capital;[173] as the third governor, the Reign's Cappellano Maggiore, Celestino Galiani who negotiated the 1741 Concordat and was the president of the Kingdom's Mixed Tribunal—that tribunal whose function (amongst others) was to invigilate on the administration and revenues of the

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[169] See Vario, *Pragmaticae,* Vol. 4, 308-309.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Amongst others, Reggio led the renovation of the Arsenal, the reconstruction of the Molo Piccolo and the construction of the Strada Nuova (a new waterfront road running between the port and Porta del Carmine). On the life, works and tiles of Michele Reggio, see Flavia Luise, *Reggio e Branciforte, Michele*, Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, vol. 86 (2016), Treccani, accessed 19 August 2020, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/reggio-e-branciforte-michele_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

Kingdom's ecclesiastical and lay pious congregations.[174] And while not much is known of the remaining nine governors, archival documents suggest that they either belonged to nobility (as is the case of Paolo Francone Marchese di Salcito, fourth governor of the Albergo and later to become eletto of the important Seggio di Montagna) and/or they held important posts in Naples' core administrative, financial and judicial institutions such as the chancery and tribunal of the *Real Camera di Santa Chiara* (represented through the fifth governor of the Albergo, Ferdinando Porcinari, nobleman and caporuota of the said camera), the reign's core fiscal organ or *Real Camera della Sommaria* (as was the case fiscal lawyer and later president of the Camera, Matteo de Sarno and of one its current presidents Giovanni Celentano, respectively the sixth and ninth governors), the *Gran Corte della Vicaria* or tribunal for civic and penal causes (a judge of which was the Albergo's seventh governor, Agnello Majone), and the *Seggio del Popolo* (represented by Giovanni Celentano whom in 1751, other than being a president at the Vicaria was also the *Seggio del Popolo*'s 'eletto').[175] Far from merely symbolic, this network of appointments was operative in several different ways. It was so in that it consolidated precious bonds between the monarchy and the city's chief governing bodies—bodies whose power had for centuries been determined in

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[174] The functions of the mixed tribunal are described succinctly on the Archivio di Stato's website. "Following the Concordat between the Holy See and the Neapolitan Court, signed in Rome on 8 June 1741, the Mixed Tribunal was created. This body was composed of an ecclesiastical president, chosen by the Pope from a set of three proposed by the King, by four councillors, two of whom were ecclesiastics selected from by the Pontiff and two lay citizens or clergy members chosen by the King, and by a secretary. All the members of the Mixed Tribunal had to be natives of the Kingdom of Naples and held office for only three years. The mixed court had to oversee and supervise the correct administration of religious and lay pious congregations, deliberating on accounting matters and disputes around immunities and exemptions. The attributions of this organ, after its abolition in 1806, passed to the Consiglio Generale degli Ospizi.." See http://patrimonio.archiviodistatonapoli.it/asna-web/scheda/anagrafe/IT-ASNA-00029714/Tribunale-Misto-1741-1806-.html#n. On Celestino Galiani, see Stapelbroek, *Love, Self-Deceit & Money*, 56-87.

[175] On Porcinari, see Giovanni Giuseppe Origlia Paolino, *Istoria dello studio di Napoli*, Volume 2 (Naples: Giovanni di Simone, 1754), 186-7. On de Sarno, see Cirillo, *Emblems of Power*, 251. On Celentano, see Nicola Fortunato, *Riflessioni di Nicola Fortunato giureconsulto napoletano intorno al commercio antico e moderno del Regno di Napoli, sue finanze maritarne ed antica loro polizia navigazione mercantile, e da guerra*, (Naples: Stamperia Simoniana, 1760), 88 no. I; Placido Troyli, *Istoria generale del Reame di Napoli, ovvero Stato antico e moderno delle regioni e luoghi che 'l Reame di Napoli compongono, una colle loro prime popolazioni, costumi, leggi, polizia, uomini illustri, e monarchi. Opera del p. abate d. Placido Troyli dell'ordine cisterciense*, vol. IV, part IV (Naples: 1752), Google Books, accessed 12 September 2019, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=O_0_AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=it&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false, 435. On Majone, see Paolino, *Istoria dello studio di Napoli*, vol. 2, 392-393.

contraposition to monarchic rule (that of the viceroys). But even more so, it equipped the monarchy with the political know-how of experienced Neapolitan bureaucrats to facilitate the rise of the Albergo's gargantuan administration. In this sense, the substantial involvement of the judiciary in the project's early days can be interpreted as an attempt by the monarchy to draw on their particular legislative and bureaucratic expertise to draft the institution's norms, articulate tasks and oversee the hundreds of officials, contractors and workers involved in the construction of the building through meticulous bookkeeping and archiving protocols (as will be discussed later in the Chapter).

Building against time

Planning for the Albergo had taken almost three years by the time the building was announced to the general public, and as the year 1751 dawned, the monarchy was determined to set the operation in motion. In January, its administration was put in place, Brancone was given the go-ahead to purchase land, and the monarchy stiffened its demands for contributions from pious institutions.[176] Half a year earlier, Naples' Banco di Pietà had already offered 10,000 ducats, 5,000 of which arrived at the Albergo's treasury on January the 30th, 1751.[177] On the 26th of the same month, through Brancone, the monarchy reached the chests of the Certosa di San Martino receiving 1,000 ducats for the Albergo's cause.[178] Early in February, the Albergo's governmental structure was put in place, involving high-standing members of Naples political milieu.[179] And on Friday the 19th of the same month, six days before the Albergo's foundational edict was published, Fuga was instructed to direct works on site.[180] Construction began on the following day, myriads of animals and workers swarming towards the capital city's eastern front. However, as foundations were being dug at

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[176] See Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 67 and 185 no. 103. For a more detailed account including payments see also Nappi and Francobandiera, *L'Albergo Dei Poveri*, 17 and 59-60.

[177] Nappi and Francobandiera, *L'Albergo Dei Poveri*, 59.

[178] Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 187 no. 148.

[179] ASN, *Affari Ecclesiastici*, 22r-v.

[180] The confirmation that work could begin was given from Brancone to Reggio. See ASN, *Affari Ecclesastici*, 17v.

the new site of Porta Nolana, troubles began to appear that not even the finest of Bourbon engineers could confront. By March 18, the workers on site had excavated 29 palms deep into the soil (roughly 7.5 meters) without finding a stable enough stratum to support the Albergo's massive piers.[181] Pressed for results, they dug another 11 palms (approximately 3 meters), still with no success.[182] In a letter to Brancone, royal engineer Giovanni Bompiede reported that more than a hundred labourers had endeavoured in the task for over two days and two nights. He warned that the effort had produced vast expenditures ("grave spesa") and that, because the excavations had reached below sea level, the construction site was flooding with water, drying out an entire network of wells in the surrounding neighbourhoods.[183] Following consultations with Fuga, Reggio and the most qualified royal surveyors, the King ordered that all works be interrupted with utmost urgency and that all damages to the area be compensated for.[184] But the embarrassment was indelible. Not only had money been wasted, and inconveniences been caused. The land purchased for the project had to be resold to its original owners at the same price it was bought for—a matter which the monarch instructed to carry out with all possible caution ("con las necessarias cautelas").[185]

As the fiasco in Porta Nolana materialised, building the Albergo became a matter of Royal pride. Urgency about the project escalated in royal correspondences, and obstacles began to be confronted with ever bolder demonstrations of monarchic force. In attempting to bounce back from the debacle, the operation was set up as a race against time, seeing all parties involved jumping through hoops to keep the project on track. On March 20th, following a swift consultation with further engineers, surveyors, builders, doctors and other experts, Brancone suggested a new site.[186] Eight days later, Fuga received the order to form a first outline of the project, considering the water provision and terrain issues faced earlier.[187] And in the same dispatch, Reggio was entrusted with assessing the new plot's land ownership

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[181] The report by engineer Giovanni Bompiede is transcribed in Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 185 no. 107.

[182] Ibid.

[183] Ibid.

[184] ASN, *Affari Ecclesiastici*, 138, 112v-113v.

[185] Ibid.

[186] His report is transcribed in Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 185 no. 108.

[187] ASN, *Affari Ecclesiastici*, 138, 112v-113v.

situation and assisting Fuga in calculating the costs of the new building as its design took shape in the following three months.[188]

In selecting the new site, Brancone opted for the last remaining option amongst those assed by Reggio and Fuga in late 1749.[189] This was a long and narrow plot further north of Porta Nolana located in the Venetian quarter of Borgo di Sant'Antonio Abate—the Albergo's final destination (Fig. 1.7). The decision was the result of a compromise, but the attributes of the new site were not entirely unattractive. Other than being well ventilated ("la perfezione dell'area"), well positioned within the city fabric ("che tal bel sito sarebbe dentro l'abitato"), and supplied by plenty of fresh water from the more recent Acqua Carmignano, the site faced the important Via Foria—Naples' primary way of access from the North.[190] In that position, the Albergo would be the first building to be encountered when travelling to the capital from Rome, serving as a grand representational emblem of monarchical piety (Fig. 1.14).[191]

As for the building, Brancone reassured the sovereign that in designing for the new site, Fuga could elongate the earlier cross-in-square scheme with no big effort and in little time.[192] But as Fuga's drawings make visible, his project for Borgo di Sant'Antonio Abate was in no way a mere 'adaptation' of the pre-existing scheme. With its five laterally juxtaposed courtyards, it exceeded the Porta Nolana project by nearly 10,000 square meters in surface, 320 meters in length and 10 meters in height. If completed (which it never was), its façade would have measured over 600 meters making the Albergo one of the longest buildings of its time.[193]

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[188] Ibid.

[189] See Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 185 no. 108.

[190] Ibid.

[191] According to historian Teresa Filangieri Ravaschieri, the King acclaimed that "Allorquando verranno da Roma i forestieri e vedranno un bel palazzo, il primo della città, è bene che sappiano essere cotesto un'opera di pietà." See Teresa Filangieri Ravaschieri Fieschi, *Storia Della Carità Napoletana*, Vol. III (Napoli: A. Morano, 1878), 160.

[192] See Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 186 no. 108.

[193] The earliest surviving drawings of this proposal date 1753. The two plans I will describe can be found at ASN, *Piante e Disegni*, cartella XII, 2-3. From 1751 only partial drawings of the building exist, namely two plans of the Albergo's chapel. See GNS, F. N., 13910-11. A later set of drawings exists from 1756, but since the alterations are not major and do not concern my argumentation, I will avoid discussing them. The plans are kept at BNN, *carta geografica*, B, 28/67.



Figure 1.14. Giovanni Carafa Duca di Noja, *Mappa topografica della citta di Napoli e de' suoi contorni*, 1775, detail.

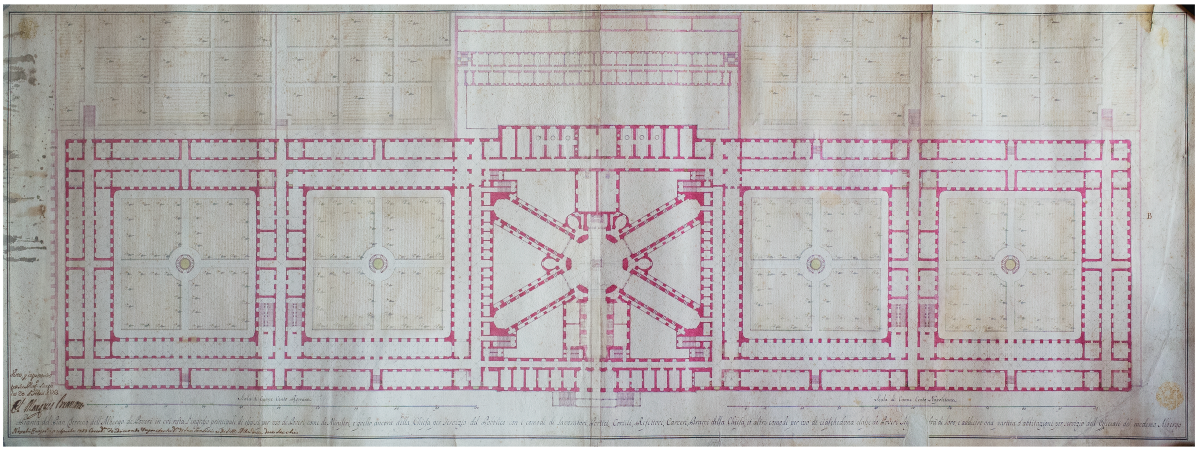

Figure 1.15. Ferdinando Fuga, plan of the ground floor of the Reale Albergo dei Poveri, 1753.

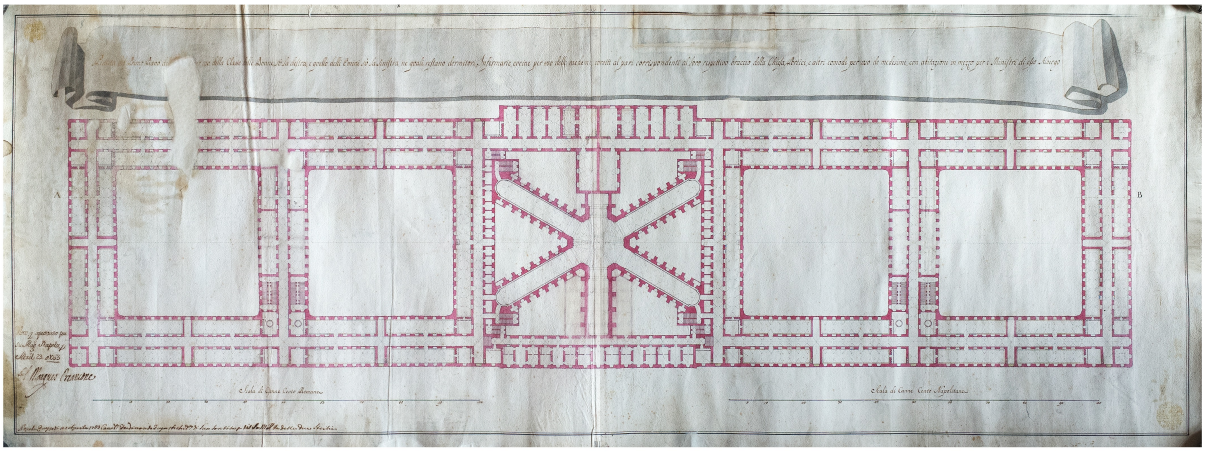

Figure 1.16. Ferdinando Fuga, plan of the first floor of the Reale Albergo dei Poveri, 1753.

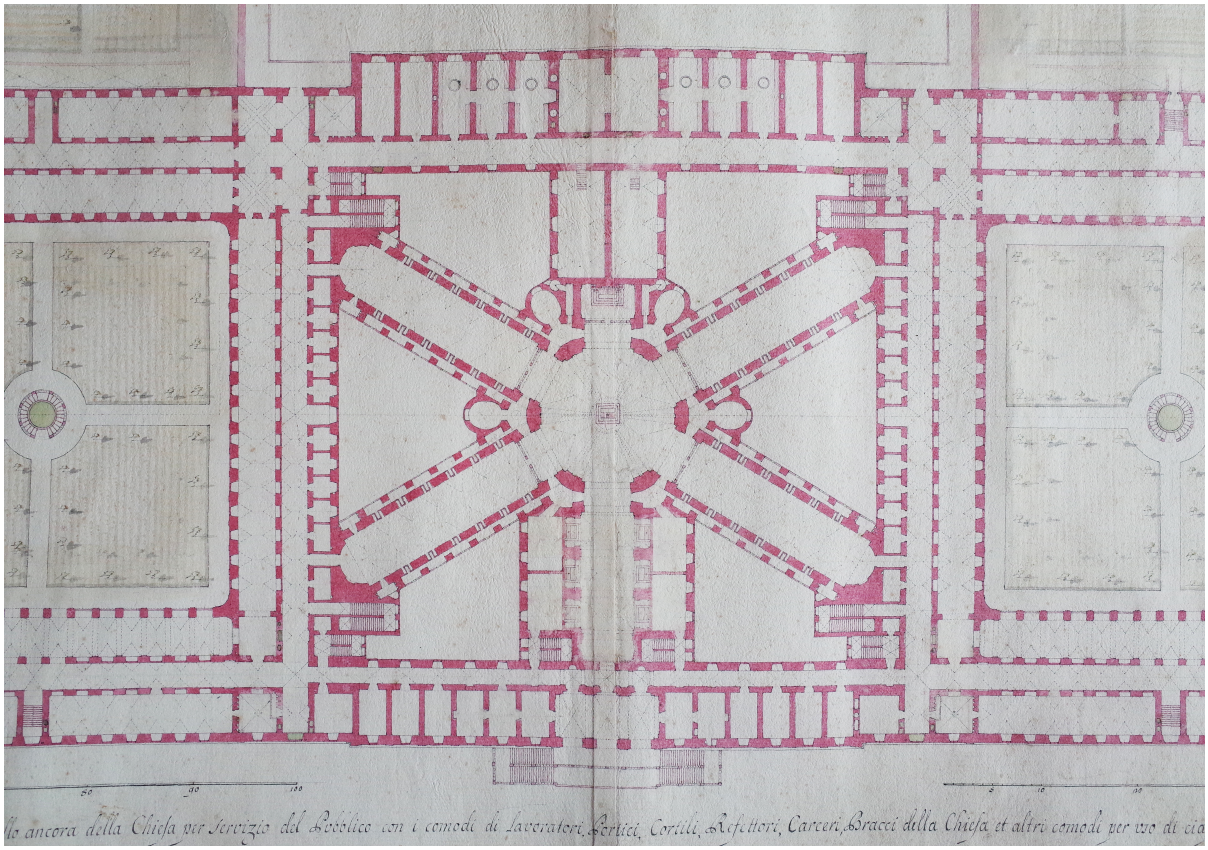

Figure 1.17. Ferdinando Fuga, plan of the ground floor of the Reale Albergo dei Poveri, 1753, detail showing the central quadrant.

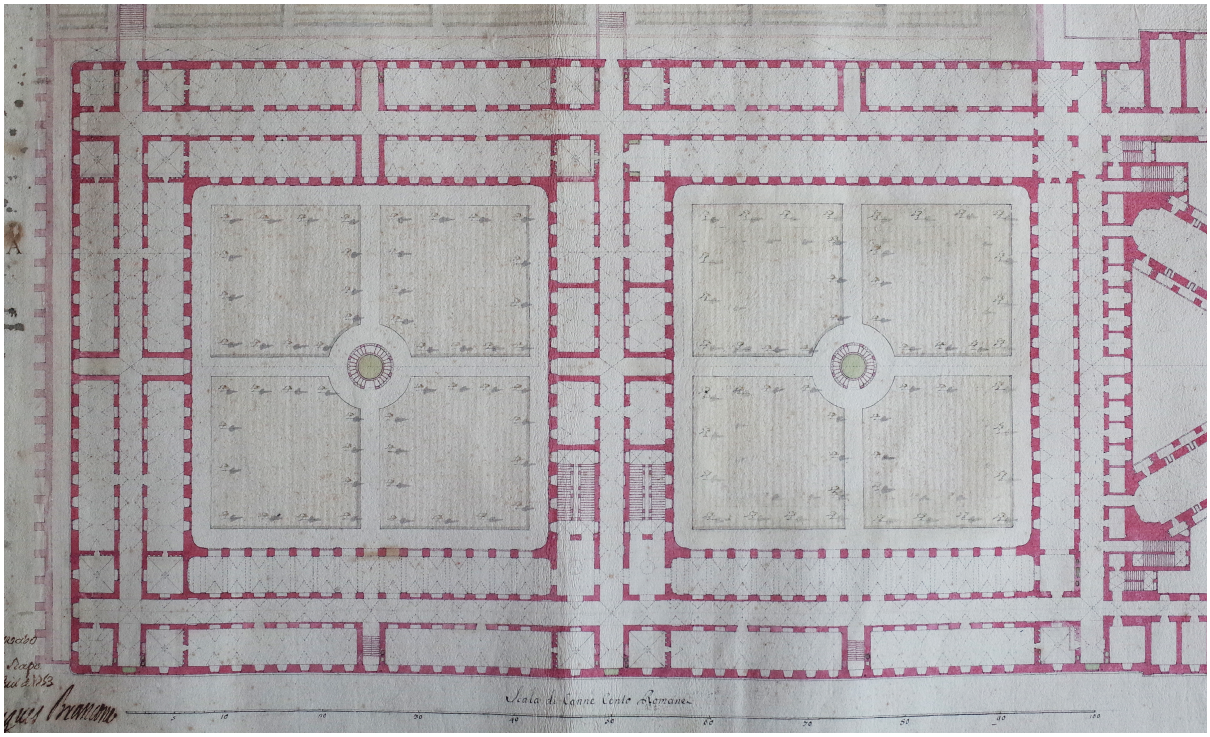

Figure 1.18. Ferdinando Fuga, plan of the first floor of the Reale Albergo dei Poveri, 1753, detail showing the two western quadrants.

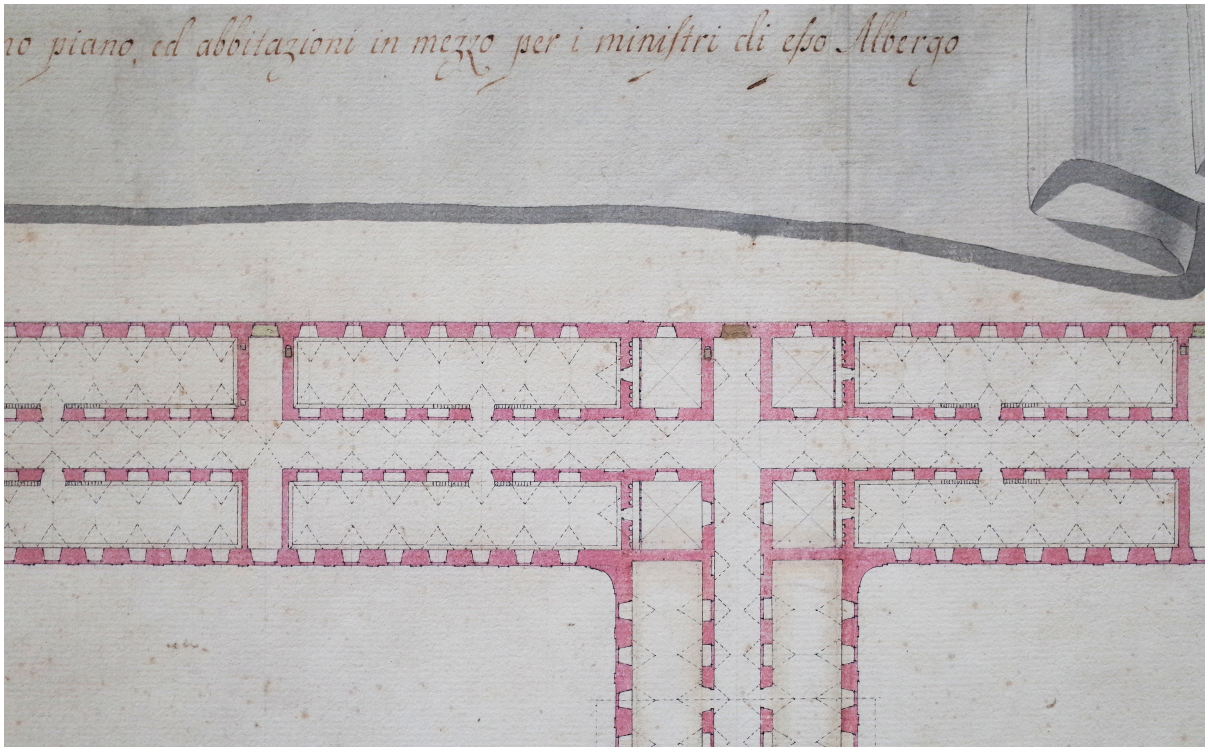

Figure 1.19. Ferdinando Fuga, plan of the first floor of the Reale Albergo dei Poveri, 1753, detail showing the dorms.

Because uncertainties surrounding the project were at their peak, in redesigning the structure, Fuga took particular care to address two aspects of the original brief: first, that the compound be secured against potential internal and external breaches. Second, that its construction process be rapid and efficient. In pursuing either of these two ends, Fuga resorted to different strategies of spatial design. To enhance the building's security, he clustered the chapel, the guards' quarters and the service areas around the central quadrant to form a dense and highly monitored buffer zone between female and male inmate quarters located east and west of it (Figs. 1.15, 1.17). He slotted the church in the middle of the quadrant, placed kitchen and laundry spaces north of it (facing an external service court) and lined its southern segment with rooms for ministers and guards facing the main street. In this way, he could also unite the previously discrete entrances for inmates and chapel goers under a single, central three-bay loggia, allowing the guards on duty to scrutinise all inward and outward movement from a single point. Under the loggia, guards could, for example, distribute new-coming inmates left and right of the space leading them to the respective quadrants through a series of reception rooms (Fig. 1.17). And they could allow churchgoers to proceed straight into the central nave when mass was offered.

In designing the new chapel, Fuga improved on the previous T-shaped configuration by profiting from the broader space available(Fig. 1.17). Specifically, he resorted to a hexagonal parti by designing a space where all parties participating in the liturgy could sit separately. This would reduce the likeliness of unwanted encounters between the four different inmate segments and between inmates and the churchgoers while mass was offered. In plan, the mechanism was designed thus: at the centre of the quadrant, Fuga inserted a monumental hexagonal cupola with six massive piers at each of its vertexes. In the exact middle of the top-lit space, he positioned an altar from which a priest could deliver sermons at 360 degrees. From the southernmost facet of the hexagon, he extended a nave down to the building's entrance lining it with three chapels on either of its sides. This is where the general public was meant to sit. Opposite, Fuga extended an arm to reach the service area at the back, hosting a second, recessed altar as well as ancillary spaces intended for ecclesiastics. To host the different inmate groups, Fuga extended four naves from the remaining diagonal segments of the hexagon according to a *crux decussata* (an Andrew's cross). He buttressed each nave with heaps of confession booths left and right and added stairs at their extremities to lead

inmates from each nave to their respective quarters without ever intersecting.

Having clustered those functions needing specific spatial requirements within the central quadrant, Fuga could design the inmate quarters with an extreme economy of means (Figs. 1.16, 1.17). To do so, he laid out a regular corridor grid coinciding with the building's inter-axis and distributed rooms left and right. Besides serving as circulation and surveillance spaces (Fig. 1.23), the corridors equipped the architect with a rigorous and highly versatile compositional scheme. Together with perimeter walls, they formed lines that Fuga could extend and intersect to form spaces of various kinds: long vaulted spaces lining the main segments of the corridor grid and clusters of four smaller, square spaces located at the grid's intersection points. Following this logic, he could also split the longer spaces by introducing a smaller sub-grid to form intersections midway through each segment (Fig. 1.24).

In imagining how the inmates would inhabit the scheme, Fuga followed a fractal model based on multiple progressive divisions. First, he divided inmates by gender, distributing them in hermetic compartments left and right of the central hub (Figs. 1.16). Second, he split them by age, locating their dormitories on the building's first and second floors, assigning each an independent stair so that the two age groups (Viris et Pueris; Feminis et Puellis, Figs. 1.21, 1.22) would never cross (Fig. 1.18). Third, he broke up the age groups into smaller sub-groups depending on the capacity of a single dorm (Fig. 1.19). And lastly, he devised rooms for solitary confinement lining the corridors east and west of the central quadrant (and thus near the guards' quarters. Fig. 1.18). On the ground floor, where different age groups would meet to engage in learning or learning activities or to have meals, Fuga traced the modular layout of the dormitory levels removing partitions between units wherever larger spaces were required (Fig. 1.15). For example, he devised 4 long and ample refectories (again, one for each group) in rooms meeting perpendicularly towards the service area north of the central quadrant (so that they be accessible from the kitchens at the back). He also defined continuous porticoes along the southern aspect of the four courtyards, each dedicated to a specific inmate segment and connected to its respective staircase. Work and learning spaces were otherwise based on the same module of the wards, possibly so as to divide the inmates according to the same formations in which they would sleep. And because of their generic character, the rooms could be continuously repurposed depending on need.

The key to the whole system was that the different groups and subgroups be kept in





Figure 1.21. Albergo dei Poveri. The entrance for male inmates in the ground floor Loggia.

Figure 1.22. Albergo dei Poveri. The entrance for female inmates in the ground floor Loggia.





Figure 1.23. Albergo dei Poveri. A view into the corridor on the Second Floor.

Figure 1.24. Albergo dei Poveri. A view into a vaulted hall.

dedicated compartments, cut off from the rest. The reasons for this were manifold. For example, Genders were divided to avoid sinfulness or pregnancies.[194] Age groups to prevent the elder from corrupting the younger by encouraging disobedience and slack.[195] And smaller subgroups (the division by wards) for surveillance, security and sanitary purposes. In this sense, the dorms were developed serially as independent units consisting of vaulted spaces of 48 x 8.5 meters having an ancillary room with toilets (occupying a portion of the square modules generated at the building's intersection points) and a perimeter balcony (Fig. 1.19) such that in the event of an epidemic the guards could oversee the inmates without entering in contact (a system borrowed directly from lazar houses and which, today, can still be appreciated at Naples' hospital of Santa Maria della Pace in the *Sala del Lazzaretto*).

The serial development of the inmate quarters generated what Foucault might have termed an 'analytical space of discipline.'[196] One that allowed for the Albergo's governors to establish presences and absences, "to know where and how" individuals were located, "to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able to act at each moment to supervise the conduct" of each group, to assess such conduct, "to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits."[197] Because no 'regolamento' for the Albergo existed at this point, the functioning of Fuga's scheme as a disciplinary mechanism may only be appreciated by looking at its later, 1795 *Saggio di regole.*[198] Here, after reminding that "where a multitude of individuals exists, order cannot be kept if not by dividing everything into parts, and these latter in even smaller parts", governors instructed that inmates be divided according to gender and age.[199] Furthermore, female inmates (for brevity's sake, I will only explain one of the two genders) had to be divided into 'fanciulle' and 'vecchie.'[200] The fanciulle, or younger female inmates,

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[194] Jonathan White, *Italian Cultural Lineages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), Kindle Edition, Kindle Location 2661.

[195] Ibid.

[196] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 143.

[197] Ibid.

[198] This was the first definitive body of regulations for the Albergo and can be consulted here: S*aggio di regole per la buona economia del Regal Albergo de' poveri di Napoli* (Napoli: Orsino, 1795), Google Books, accessed 4 February 2018, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=uVBNAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

[199] Ibid., 15, translated by the author.

[200] Ibid., 16-17.

were divided again into 'camerate' (dorms) of forty units, each responding to a specific oblate nun.[201] The nun had to, in turn, report to an abbess who, with her 'libro in foglio' of roughly four hundred leaves (with an index at the back), would register the inmates by name, including all relevant information on their person and conduct.[202] In this way, the governors of the institution could have a detailed overview of the quantity and quality of all paupers residing in the building, prescribing the necessary disciplinary measures when needed.[203]

In distributing subjects by location and rank, Fuga's drawings delineated a compound whose spaces were simultaneously "architectural, functional and hierarchical."[204] In terms borrowed by Foucault, the plans and sections drafted by Fuga gave form to "mixed spaces"—spaces whose character was real "because they governed the disposition of buildings, rooms, furniture" but also ideal because they underlined interrelated "characterisations, assessments, hierarchies."[205] The tabular nature of Fuga's drawings brings to mind what Foucault characterised as "one of the great problems of the scientific, political and economic technology of the eighteenth century"—namely:

> …how one was to arrange botanical and zoological gardens, and construct at the same time rational classifications of living beings; how one was to observe, supervise, regularise the circulation of commodities and money and thus build up an economic table that might serve as the principle of the increase of wealth; how one was to inspect men, observe their presence and absence and constitute a general and permanent register of the armed forces; how one was to distribute patients, separate them from one another, divide up the hospital space and make a systematic classification of diseases.[206]

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[201] Ibid.

[202] Ibid., 38-9.

[203] Ibid.

[204] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 148.

[205] Ibid.

[206] Ibid.

Fuga's tabular layout for Borgo di Sant'Antonio Abate is at home in this tradition. In ways not dissimilar from Bentham's Panopticon, it too "was a technique of power and a procedure of knowledge;" it too tackled the "question of organising the multiple, of providing oneself with an instrument to cover it and master it."[207]

Throughout the Albergo's construction, however, the serial nature of Fuga's project also entailed logistical benefits. For example, the sheer repetitiveness of the new scheme, its strict symmetry, and the clarity of the overall diagram meant that Fuga could rework drawings at a pace much faster than when designing for Borgo di Loreto. He could draw a plan at a single level with almost mechanical efficiency by working through module after module altering little or nothing from one module to the next. He could also streamline construction processes so that in the monarchy's desperate race against time to render the building operative, Fuga's subordinates could more efficiently and rapidly measure and administer the number of materials to be sourced, the labourers to be deployed, and the financial sums required to the employment of labourers and master artisans working on-site at any given moment. Moreover, because of the new functional distribution, land purchasing, building works, and inhabitation could proceed piecemeal depending on the finances available. Following this logic, the building was conceived of as an organic entity whose growth was unending, open to endless extension, and self-sustaining. Accordingly, works were carried forth in stages beginning from the institution's central quadrant to progressively branching outwards in the two quadrants left and right of it.[208] In this way, the Albergo's administrative quarters and services would be the first areas to be built, meaning that a portion of the institution could be fully operative even though the remainder of the complex was still under construction.

The building's progressive growth followed onto the linear, modular logic of Fuga's scheme. The different segments of the Albergo's five laterally juxtaposed courtyards quadrants were indeed constituted as parallel arrays of walls, each wall representing a 'building line' according to which workers were meant to proceed. Throughout most of the

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[207] Ibid.

[208] Both Fuga and Brancone were well aware of this potential—even prior to the beginning of works. Evidence of this exists in a letter of July 3, 1751 where the minister ordered that construction begin from the frontal segment of the Albergo's central quadrant (where the guards' quarters and the entrance were located, the institution's *sine qua non*) to continue for the stretch of one courtyard left and right. ASN, *Affari Ecclesiastici*, 142, 63r-v.

Albergo's lifespan, construction was carried out line by line, South to North and left to right of the building until the limit of the land purchased or of the funds available was reached.[209] Every time two 'building lines' were completed, workers would go on to vault their interstitial space with arches, starting (again) from the left side of the building and continuing towards the right side.[210] Meanwhile, because of the scheme's modularity, Fuga and his subordinates could calculate and measure the progress of works efficiently, ensuring that deadlines were met, that funds would not go wasted and that the quality of the construction remained sufficiently high.

Logistics as a mode of rule

As the Albergo's construction site took form, the monarchy became empowered with a legitimate ideological basis for intensifying its claims on Naples' charity situation. Indeed, under the pretext of having to fund the endeavour's escalating building costs, it could appropriate assets, redirect welfare channels, and exercise sway over the activities and administration of Naples' religious congregations. This it did by setting a diverse range of policies in motion. For example, following the publication of the Albergo's 1751 foundation edict, the Crown centralised alms-giving, positing that each of Naples' *ottine* deliver their charity to one of the Albergo's administrators. This worked in conjunction with the aforementioned 1740 restriction of begging on religious and lay pious congregations.[211] Further, in order to secure funding from lay Neapolitan citizens, the King demanded that notaries "propose and encourage" testators to make the Albergo the sole beneficiary of their wills—a measure aimed at diverting money towards the Albergo from existing religious and lay charitable institutions working in conjunction with the aforementioned banning of testaments *ad pias causas*.[212] And only eight months from the beginning of construction, the Bourbons managed to suppress entire monastic orders such that their patrimony may be

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[209] *Istruzioni*, LIII-IV.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Vario, *Pragmaticae*, Vol. 4, 310; De Sariis, *Codice delle Leggi*, 127-8.

[212] Del Pozzo, *Cronaca civile*, 37.

redirected towards funding the institution.[213] This was the case with the Augustinian Colorites, whose 11 monasteries (valued at 34'036 ducats) were handed over by Benedict XIV as early as December 15th 1751.[214]

The poor, too, were struck by the endeavour from the very early days. Indeed, already in May 1751, and thus only three months after the foundation edict was published, the Crown issued an order positing that all abled paupers dwelling within the city be promptly "incarcerated" on the building site in order to join the project's growing squadron of masons, carpenters, metal workers and slaved labourers.[215] Not only, the edict ordered too, that the poor be treated differently from common labourers and that their work be regarded as operative within a more encompassing program of spiritual, moral and social rehabilitation. Less than a year later, the same program was imposed on female inmates who, for the duration of the Albergo's construction, were ordered to be enclosed in the nearby monastery of Santa Maria della Fede—one of the 11 monasteries formerly belonging to the Augustinian Colorites. Their capture began as early as January the 30th, 1752, ca. a month from when the monarchy took control over the said monastery.[216]

The rehabilitation of the poor followed a specific set of instructions delineated by the Albergo's Governors. In Foucault's terms, these may be described as "tableaux vivants" aimed at transforming "the confused, useless and dangerous multitudes into ordered multiplicities."[217] When not at work, for instance, male paupers were supervised by a priest (the "Maestro di Casa"), ensuring that they lived parsimoniously and according to Christian doctrines. Among the priest's duties, for example, was to ensure that paupers were prevented from gambling or engaging in other immoral games.[218] Each day, the priest would have to

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[213] According to historian Teresa Filangieri Ravaschieri, it was governor Francesco Porcinari which proposed the suppressions in a meeting held on August 5th 1751. See Filangieri Ravaschieri Fieschi, *Storia Della Carità Napoletana*, Vol. III, 191-2.

[214] Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 187 no. 154.

[215] The ordered spelled thus: "…quando sea puesta la primera piedra en el General Albergue…absolutamente quiere S.M. fundar entonzes sean recogidos todos los Pobres Vagabundos se entienda solamiente los robustos, y adaptos ala dicha fabrica, y recluidos en la Casa llamada de Veneziani en S. Maria delli Angioli a le Cruci." *Istruzioni*, LXXVIII.

[216] *Istruzioni*, LXXIX.

[217] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 148.

[218] *Istruzioni*, LXXIX.

recite a rosary to them, receive confessions, make them engage in charity and listen to mass.[219] When a pauper disobeyed or misbehaved, the priest would be entrusted to punish that pauper with confinements, periods of fasting or torture.[220] And once a week, he would make sure that all paupers change their shirts so that their habitus reflected the tidiness of their persons.[221] If possible, the lives of female inmates were governed with even greater rigour. When entering the Ritiro, they would be registered, uniformly dressed and kept in a strict regime of enclosure, dictated by labour and prayer. A mother superior would arouse penitence in them by leading them in psalms and orations at different moments of the day. A Maestra de' Lavori would train them in spinning and sewing so as to instil discipline and obedience in them and render them useful to the community in producing garments and cloths. Their communications with the outdoor would be strictly monitored (if not forbidden) by the Ritiro's Portinaia so that their decency be preserved in view of their later marrying off. And all such activities of male and female inmates would be meticulously recorded in a series of registers so that Albergo's Governors could at any moment control the quantity and quality of the paupers enclosed.[222]

The duties entrusted to the Governors were a likewise effective medium of political subordination. They were so in that they operated "below the level of conscious awareness, in the *habitus*, and the shared practices of life" created by the Albergo's logistical organisation.[223] This strategy is not only evident in the elaborate choreographies of power through which the sovereign more or less blatantly asserted his authority in election

[219] Ibid.

[220] Ibid.

[221] Ibid., XLVIII.

[222] Ibid., LXIII-V, LXIX-XX, and LXVI-VII.

[223] The citation is from Joyce and Mukerji, "The State of Things," 3.

ceremonies or meetings.[224] It was also at play at a more fundamental level in the byzantine bureaucratic modalities of the Bourbon state. Indeed, as cogs in the Albergo's administrative apparatus, members of Naples' judiciary, aristocratic, administrative and ecclesiastical elites were made to abide by Crown's stringent registering protocols (writing and numbering), its exacting work schedules (timetables and calendars) as well as by its regimented organisational hierarchies and ranks. Evidence of this exists in the Albergo's 1755 *Istruzioni* —a pro-tempore document compiled jointly by Fuga and the Albergo's Governors to organise the entirety of human presence in Borgo di Sant'Antonio Abate, including the presence of the Governors.[225] According to the *Istruzioni*, Governors were, for example, obliged to meet on the 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, take note of all that was agreed upon at each meeting, and read out the notes taken at the preceding meeting before any deliberation was made.[226] When acting as treasury officials or *Mensari* (each Governor covered this duty at least twice in his two-year tenure), they were required to visit both the building site and the 'Ritiro' Santa Maria della Fede at least twice a week, controlling that standing officials carry out their duties, analysing their balance sheets (incomes and outcomes), noting events, making inventories of goods, and providing written justifications when unable to attend.[227] Collectively, governors had to compile and collect myriads of registers reporting on the Albergo's credits, its debits, the bequests left for it, the monthly expenditures of all its teams (material costs, labour force, provisions, and so forth), the number of inmates present on its sites, their qualities, the progressing of the building site, and more.[228] And they had to neatly organise all this material in the Albergo's archives, leaving no action, expenditure or

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[224] The meetings were staged within a dedicated space according to a highly choreographed ceremonial, itself no less architecturally significant than Fuga's design for the Albergo. Upon the day of the meeting, a Mensario (who was monthly appointed amongst the governors in rotation) was responsible of preparing a table "con tante sedie nel giro della medesima, quanti sono I Governatori." Because the Governors were to be all equal in front of the King, their seating was arranged without "ordine di precedenza…nommeno pe'l sedere, che pe'l firmare, sull'oggetto che trattasi di luogo di pietà." The King, for his part, as first governor and patron of the institution participated in the form of an absent presence having "la prima sedia sempre vacua a sua disposizione, per quando mai degnar si volesse d'intervenire." Participation of the governors was, instead, essential in that the junta could only take place if at least half the governors was present. See *Istruzioni*, IV.

[225] Ibid., IV-XV.

[226] Ibid., IV.

[227] Ibid., VII.

[228] Ibid., VIII-X.

whatsoever deed unaccountable by the Crown.[229]

This material form of governance functioned as what Chandra Mukerji and Patrick Joyce termed an impersonal power technique. One not only aimed at making the state more 'efficient' by way of painstaking registering and bookkeeping processes but also at creating the 'forms of life' of those participating in it— just like the Albergo (and especially through the Governors' *Istruzioni*) created the *forma vitae* of the poor which it interned.[230] In terms borrowed from Max Weber's *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*, the system of duties articulated through the Albergo, their stereotypical performance by sheer habituation, provided the Bourbons with a rational and inconspicuous means to exert discipline on whoever crossed paths with the endeavour—whether as inmate, mason, contractor, official or as one of the Albergo's 11 elected Governors.[231] The patrimonial state that took form eighteenth-century Naples was importantly also (and mostly) a product of such bureaucratic undertakings. Of course, art, architecture, as well as the choreographies of power enacted in ceremonies and at court were effective means of asserting the King's sovereignty. However, when considering the Kingdom's many and conflicting political actors and administrations, it was the mute work of inspecting, bookkeeping and archiving that produced the state's institutional authority. Bureaucratic power was, for the Bourbons, an impersonal mechanism for carrying out imperative control across multiple social strata. It empowered the state with a growing "system of distributed cognition" governed by the unquestionable moral principles of transparency and diligence—the transparency of information and the diligence of those delivering and gathering it.[232] As one of the largest architectural and administrative endeavours of its time, the Albergo allowed the Bourbons to propagate this cognitive system across multiple domains: it was a means to acquire knowledge of Naples' infrastructure and its land; it was a vehicle for setting up relations with local professional and experts in fields as various as legislation, public hygiene, hydraulics, construction, and more; it was an agent of administrative expansion bringing within the

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[229] Ibid., XI.

[230] Patrick Joyce, "History and Governmentality," in *Análise Social* 49, no. 212 (2014): 755-6.

[231] On the notion of habituation and its effects on social behaviour, see Weber, *Economy and Society*, 24-25.

[232] See Chandra Mukerji's analysis of public documents as modes of logistical power in seventeenth-century French state formation. Chandra Mukerji, "Jurisdiction, inscription, and state formation: administrative modernism and knowledge regimes," *Theory and Society* 40, no. 3 (May 2011): 223-245.

monarchy's reach city authorities, ecclesiastics and nobles previously hostile to central government; and not least, it was an instrument to acquire knowledge on the least accountable and insubordinate segments of Naples' vast population. In this light, the Albergo's continued state of incompleteness ceases to be relevant when evaluating its successes or failure—as some modern and contemporary historians and art historians imply. Looking at the Albergo from the point of view of patrimonial politics allows for appreciating its place as part of a much broader and more encompassing strategy of political domination.

2. Rule by logistics. Fuga's Reali Granili and the politics of grain provision in eighteenth-century Naples

> The pleb is like Cerberus: to prevent it from barking, one must fill its jaws with bread…In a city as crowded as Naples, one must keep the multitude friendly [and therefore] make sure that foodstuffs are abundant, especially bread.[1]

This is how the seventeenth-century nobleman Fabio Frezza, Duke of Castro and knight of the order of Calatrava, described one of the most significant and vexing problems faced by government administrations in Early Modern Naples: the problem of food provision.[2] Central in Frezza's *Discorsi* was the idea that the provision of food, and especially of bread, given its significance in the diet of the poor, was the most important duty for those in power to secure the stability of their rule against the danger of insurrections or against public discontent. To Frezza, this duty was especially important in Naples, given that there, a large and mostly indigent population existed whose hostility to the ruling bodies was a persistently problematic topos in the capital's history—a hostility which grew or shrunk proportionally to the availability and price of bread. Hence Frezza's evocation of the monstrous, three-headed watchdog, which in Dante's *Divine Comedy* guarded the entrance of Hades, whose taming required Virgil to fill the creature's "rapacious gullets" with handfuls of soil. In citing Dante, Frezza recommended his superiors that "Such as that dog is who by barking craves, and quiet grows soon as his food he gnaws for to devour it he but thinks and struggles, the like became

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[1] Fabio Frezza, *Discorsi intorno ai rimedi di alcuni mali ai quali soggiace la Città e il Regno di Napoli* (Napoli: 1623), 3, translated by the author.

[2] On Frezza, see Gaetano Sabatini, "Il pane di Cerbero. Aspetti di politica annonaria e demografica a Napoli nell'età di Filippo II." In *Europa y la monarquía católico Congreso Internacional "Felipe II (1598-1998), Europa dividida, la monarquía católica de Felipe II (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 20-23 abril 1998)*, ed. José Martinez Millán, Vol.1 (Madrid: Parteluz, 1998): 767-776; Enrica Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria a Napoli nel Settecento* (Napoli: ESI, 1996), 21-29.

those muzzles filth-begrimed" of the Neapolitan people.[3]

Carlo Tapia, a contemporary of Frezza and member of Naples' Consiglio Collaterale, conceived of abundance in similar terms in his 1638 *Trattato dell'Abbondanza*.[4] In the prologue of the text, he argues that the provision and abundance of foodstuffs rank highest amongst those virtues "that can make a prince glorious, and loveable to his subjects" and warns that it is primarily when abundance lacks, i.e. when the availability of foodstuffs is scarce, that governments risk being undermined, that crimes are mostly committed and that the subjects of a prince are mainly prompted to rebel against their lord.[5] Indeed, to Tapia, the correlation of abundance to questions of governmental stability has profound roots in humankind's history. In his *Trattato*, he refers to Augustus, Nero, Vespasian and other important rulers outlining how each capitalised on abundance as a basis to legitimise rule.[6]

Both Frezza and Tapia had strong ties with the monarchical and aristocratic elites who ruled Naples in the early 1600s, and their ideas were consistent with how these conceived abundance in disciplinarian and propagandistic terms.[7] Indeed, the viceroys, city nobles and administrators who governed the capital during the vicegerency capitalised greatly on the politicised status of food in Neapolitan society. And so did the Bourbons from the outset of their rule. The most extreme visual markers of this political instrumentalisation were, of

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[3] Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy: Longfellow Edition* (Ontario: Devoted Publishing, 2016), Google Books, accessed 13 November 2018, https://books.google.it/books?id=kDFfDwAAQBAJ&pg=PA1&dq=Such+as+that+dog+is+who+by+barking+craves,+And+quiet+grows+soon+as+his+food+he+gnaws+For+to+devour+it+he+but+thinks+and+struggles,+The+like+became+those+muzzles+filth-begrimed&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=2#v=onepage&q=Such%20as%20that%20dog%20is%20who%20by%20barking%20craves%2C%20And%20quiet%20grows%20soon%20as%20his%20food%20he%20gnaws%20For%20to%20devour%20it%20he%20but%20thinks%20and%20struggles%2C%20The%20like%20became%20those%20muzzles%20filth-begrimed&f=false, 20.

[4] Carlo Tapia, *Trattato dell'abbondanza* (Napoli: 1638). On Tapia, see Sabatini, "Il Pane di Cerbero," 767-776; Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 21-29; John A. Marino, "The rural world in Italy under Spanish rule," in *Spain in Italy. Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700*, eds. T.J. Dandelet and J. Marino (Leiden: Brill, 2007): 405-429.

[5] Tapia, *Trattato*, 2.

[6] Ibid., 2-19.

[7] See Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 21-28; Sabatini, "Il pane di Cerbero," 767-8.

course, Naples' renowned Cuccagna 'macchine' or mounds.[8] Erected regularly on the four Sundays of the Carnival season as well as on other official occasions, these were elaborate and *edible* constructions of foodstuffs which replicated the topographical features and lushness of the Land of Cockaigne (in Italian, il Paese della Cuccagna—a mythical country of slack, leisure and abundance where it was imagined that rivers overflew with wine, that houses were made of sausages, and that all the world's riches were available to all).[9] A painting by Antonio Joli of one of the many cuccagne erected in Largo di Palazzo (Fig. 2.1) shows well how these temporary structures rose several meters in height, involved rich landscape and water features (if not wine), architectural follies, and live animals and carcasses which the people could pillage (note the crowd of beggars at the bottom of the canvas) after the delivery of a Royal signal (typically three cannon balls).[10] These monuments and rituals, by explicitly linking Naples to the imagined state of Cuccagna, "created and sustained a fiction, a *mask* of royal magnanimity" through which the monarchs ruling Naples could present themselves as both the "idyllic source and epitome" of their Kingdom's

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[8] On the tradition of the cuccagna, see Gabriel Guarino, "Taming transgression and violence in the carnivals of Early Modern Naples," in *The Historical Journal, 60,* 1 (2017): 1-20; Luisa Del Giudice, "Mountains of Cheese and Rivers of Wine: *Paesi di Cuccagna* and other Gastronomic Utopias," in *Imagined States: National Identity, Utopia, and Longing in Oral Cultures*, ed. by Luisa Del Giudice and Gerald Porter (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2001): 11-63; Alden Murray, "The Court and the Cuccagna," in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 18, no. 5 (1960): 157–6.

[9] The features of Cuccagna are best described by a Neapolitan broadside sung by street performer Giovanni il Tranese, itself a re-iteration of many other earlier versions: "Once you have entered, and as you walk the streets, you will see some curious sights: rivers flow with wine, houses have walls of sausage and cheese, roast chickens fall from the sky, fish jump out of the pond and into your arms. From the trees hang shoes, stockings, and hats. There are caves of gold coins, and you can gather all you want. If you insist on speaking of work, the guards will immediately seize you and take you to prison, which, by the way, is made of cheese. There is a large palace of pleasure with beautiful women and perfumed beds. And right in the centre of this land is a huge mountain of cheese. A cauldron sits on top, and maccheroni and tortellini spew forth all day long, roll down the Parmesan mountain and land in a pool of rich capon broth. Every fruit you can imagine grows in this place in all seasons. Hens lay 200 eggs a day, sheep eliminate ricotta cheese, ovens continually produce bread, cakes and pizza, and you can find marzipan trees and cookies of every kind. There is no sickness or poverty, everyone has the title of baron or duke, and there are no tariffs. Therefore, if you are hungry and tired, my friend, forget your salads and vegetables, and come with me to il Paese di Cuccagna [the Land of Cockaigne]." Giovanni il Tranese, *La piacevole historia di Cuccagna* cited in De Giudice, "Mountains of Cheese and Rivers of Wine," 11.

[10] Murray, "The Court and the Cuccagna," 165-6.



Figure 2.1. Antonio Joli, Cuccagna in Largo di Palazzo, 18th Century.



Figure 2.2. Antonio Joli, *Procession of Gondolas in the Bacino di San Marco, Venice*, 1742, detail showing the municipal granaries.

richness and abundance.[11]

But cuccagne—however popular and well-liked—were only a ritual demonstration of abundance.[12] Their offerings were boundless, the pleasures deriving from them inebriating and within easy reach, but their effects were also ephemeral and short-term. Moreover, the metaphor they enacted was one of prodigal 'gifting' rather than of sustenance. This is to say that, in building their cuccagne, monarchs claimed no authority or responsibility over the state to provide for Naples' poor. Their contributions were given spontaneously, willingly, and through personal fortune rather than the public Treasury. For this reason, cuccagne cannot be interpreted as an instance of 'patrimonialism'—i.e. they did not consist in "treating the state as private property."[13] On the contrary, they sprung from patronage and patronising impulses. For rulers, erecting cuccagne was a means to assert their privilege, superiority and benevolence vis-a-vis the plebs by creating sporadic (not structural) states of exception in which the poor were not only free to but even encouraged to cultivate their destructive impulses and greed. Impulses which in 'normal' situations, were met with repression and brute force.

On a structural basis, on the other hand, abundance politics (their appeal as a basis to legitimate rule) depended rather on the availability and low pricing of flour and of other important grain products such as pasta and bread. In Naples, the provision and regulation of these essential foods–a duty known as the *annona*—was a prerogative of the Seggi and represented the antithesis of monarchical *largesse*. Much more than the occasional gifts monarchs dispensed, by the early sixteen hundreds, citizens of Naples thought of the annona as a responsibility inherent to the social contract and vast political and financial interests gathered around the city's food provisioning system, especially around the provision of grain.[14] Indeed, because grain was a commodity more durable than other staple foods (it could be stored for public use in times of want, released to lower market prices when the value of grain was high, or hoarded by merchants until profitable selling prices were reached)

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[11] Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 199.

[12] Del Giudice, "Mountains of Cheese and Rivers of Wine," 43.

[13] On the difference between patrimonial and patronage politics, see Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*, 255-260.

[14] Ibid.

reached) the grain trade was made to become one of the largest and most lucrative markets of Early Modern Italy and both city administrators and merchants engaged actively and avidly in public grain storage and commerce activities.[15]

The large public granaries which were in major Italian towns give a clear idea of the centrality that grain provision came to acquire in civic power relations and the production of the 'city.'[16] Often located at strategic points, they gave provision and 'abundance' physical substance, their administrators political credibility and prestige.[17] In Venice, for example, the mammoth public granaries of Terra Nova stood just West of Piazzetta San Marco (in the current empty plot of the Giardini Reali) and faced proudly the Grand Canal alongside the Biblioteca Marciana, Palazzo Ducale and the adjacent Prigioni Nuove (Fig. 2.2).[18] In Rome, the Papacy built its granaries within and along the ruins of Diocletian's baths, just like Michelangelo's Santa Maria degli Angeli—a powerful statement of ecclesiastical rule.[19] And in Naples, public granaries existed both along the triumphal road artery of the Strada di Toledo (currently Via Toledo) as well as at the harbour (more on these buildings later in the text).

Much more than static containers, these structures were veritable urban hotspots which interwove multiple political and commercial interests. In Naples, the representatives of the city administration in charge of replenishing and monitoring the capital's granaries persistently capitalised on their duties for personal gain. As will be later explored in more detail, they set up intricate power relations with the grain producers and merchants supplying Naples' grain stock; they overbought or undersold their reserves against the public interest and caused the municipal government to run into dangerous amounts of debt in almost each and every harvest season. Because the amount and price of grain available in Naples were

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[15] Ibid.

[16] For a general analysis of the form and politics of grain storage facilities from antiquity to the modern period, see Brigitte Marin and C. Virlouvet (eds.), *Entrepôts et trafics annonaires en Méditerranée. Antiquité–Temps modernes* (Rome, École française de Rome, 2016). See also: Dominik Collett, "'Storage and starvation: public granaries as agents of food security in early modern Europe," in *Historical Social Research*, 35, 4 (2010): 249.

[17] Ibid.

[18] For scholarship on the granaries at Terra Nova, see Giulia Vertecchi, *Il "masser ai formenti in Terra Nova". Il ruolo delle scorte granarie a Venezia nel XVIII secolo* (Rome: Croma-Università Roma Tre, 2009).

[19] See Enrico Da Gai, "Struttura e tipo edilizio dei 'granari' dell'Annona di Roma (1575-1705)," in *Mélanges de l' École française de Rome (Italie et Méditerranée)*, 120, 2 (2008): 595-606.

contingent on these practices, the duty of the Annona was also a risky business. It was so for the administrators in charge of Naples' provisioning system, which on more than one occasion were prosecuted (at times even cannibalised) by the crowds when grain was scarce.[20] And it was so for the monarchical powers ruling Naples, which were persistently held accountable for the capital's food security while having little or no authority over provision matters.[21]

With these premises in mind, this chapter investigates the politics of grain storage and provision in early modern Naples through the important architectural and administrative interventions of the Bourbon king Ferdinand IV. In particular, it focuses on the commissioning, design, and operational results forged by Ferdinando Fuga's Reali Granili—a monumental royal granary built in the southeast districts designed to bring the capital's provision systems under strict monarchical control (Figs. 2.3, 2.4). To date, scholarship on Fuga's Granili is scarce and consists of either formal/typological readings of the building or evaluations of its architecture in terms of style or representation.[22] Instead, this chapter investigates the project as a crucial component in the Bourbon monarchy's efforts for political reform. It begins by offering an analysis of Naples' grain supply frameworks, focusing especially on the controversies surrounding the Tribunal of San Lorenzo—the municipal magistrature which had for centuries presided over the provision of the city's public corn. It looks at its gestation and organisation, as well as the political and economic

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[20] Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 99-101. See John A. Marino, "The rural world in Italy under Spanish rule," in *Spain in Italy. Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700*, eds. T.J. Dandelet and J. Marino (Leiden: Brill, 2007): 408-409.

[21] In 1741, for instance, the people revolted against food price increases (especially concerning the price of grain) and threw stones at the King upon his visit to the central market. See Schipa, *Il Regno di Napoli al Tempo di Carlo di Borbone*, 676. On food security in general, see Dominik Collett, "'Storage and starvation: public granaries as agents of food security in early modern Europe," in *Historical Social Research*, 35, 4 (2010): 234-252.

[22] Scholarship on Fuga's Granili is surprisingly scarce. The most extensive piece of research on the building is included in Paolo Giordano, *Ferdinando Fuga a Napoli: l'Albergo dei Poveri, il Cimitero delle 366 fosse, i Granili*, 102-115. However, the text mostly consists in a formal description of the building. Otherwise, the Granili are mentioned in Pane, *Ferdinando Fuga,* 166-68; José Ubaldo Bernardos and Catherine Viroulet, "Formes et fonctions: essai de typologie," in *Entrepôts et trafics annonaires en Méditerranée. Antiquité-Temps modernes*, eds. Brigitte Marin and Catherine Virlouvet (Rome, École française de Rome, 2016), 70-72; Marco di Mauro, "La Fabbrica dei Granili e la Casina Cinese," in *Napoli Nobilissima*, V serie, vol. III, V (2002): 215-222.



Figure 2.3. Map of eighteenth-century Naples indicating the locations of Largo Mercatello, the Molo Piccolo, Piazza Mercato, the Ponte della Maddalena and the Reali Granili.



Figure 2.4. The Reali Granili in a postcard from the 1930s.

interests invested therein. It then argues that Fuga's granary was able to extend monarchical oversight over the grain trade not by appropriating the Annona's duties but rather by subjecting it to indirect forms of logistical control. This, it argues, was made possible by both the organisational logic of the building as well as by the infrastructural and territorial transformations its construction involved. Alongside architecture, therefore, the chapter investigates interrelated road-building campaigns, mapping enterprises, land restoration projects, and trade reforms, examining each in terms of their relevance as vehicles of impersonal rule. By situating the Granili amidst these contemporaneous territorial undertakings, its role in consolidating royal power will be brought into sharper focus.

Naples' Annona, "the root of all evil"

"Do you know what seems to me most troublesome in Naples' government? The business of the Annona, provisions, bread, foodstuffs—it seems they think of nothing else," remarked the seventeenth-century jurist Giulio Cesare Capaccio in his compendium of dialogues Il Forastiero.[23] Indeed, by 1634, the year his dialogues were published, the 'business' of the Annona—the city magistrate in charge of Naples' grain provisions and of fixing the price of flour and bread—was amongst the most debated administrative matters in political discourse. The escalating demographic growth and rising public debt which struck Naples in the first half of the seventeenth century unnerved local authorities and concentrated their attention on the organisational/administrative system of the Annona and its capacity to supply grain.[24] Eminent statesmen and intellectuals, including Capaccio, Frezza and Tapia, penned lengthy studies on the matter, suggesting varied juridical and political measures to improve the Annona's functioning and prevent social unrest.

Concerns about the Annona's were even stronger in the following century. Towards the end of the 1760s, the abbot and economist Ferdinando Galiani condemned the magistrate for being the root of all evil ("Dunque tutto il male é l'annona"), arguing that only by completely liberalising Naples' grain industry and therefore by eliminating the Annona's duties, could the

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[23] Cited in Sodano, *Governing the City*, 118.

[24] Ibid., 119.

King save his people from the insatiable greed affecting the Kingdom's current system of provision.[25] Some 15 years later, Domenico di Gennaro Duke of Cantalupo put forward an "economic plan for public subsistence" to restructure the Annona against its crumbling condition ("il decadimento in cui si trova").[26] He, too, lamented that while previous governments and administrators had undergone all efforts to correct the Annona's malfunctioning, their initiatives were ineffective and failed to address its problems at the core.[27]

In his *Dialogues*, Galiani described well the reasons for which the Annona anguished eighteenth-century political commentators. He compared the institution to a "monopolist merchant, which distributes duties to two or three other great merchants, and these to others, to form a pyramid of otiose and predatory interests."[28] His aversion to this system sometimes caused him to become reckless: "Cursed be all annone, all magistrates and rules," he once wrote in a letter addressing the Bourbon minister Bernardo Tanucci.[29] But his analyses were to the point. Ever since King Ladislao granted the right in 1401 to the city's Seggi to fix the price and weight at which bread was sold within the capital, their Eletti—i.e. the representatives of the Seggi which administered Naples' annona—gained increasing control over the Kingdom's grain industry turning it into a veritable business venture from which greedy administrators and grain merchants could profit.[30] By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Eletti could, in fact, determine who had the right to store grain, export it, mill it

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[25] Cited in Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 207.

[26] Domenico di Gennaro, "Annona o sia piano di pubblica sussistenza" in *Scrittori classici italiani di economia politica*, Parte Moderna, Tomo XL (Milano: Destefanis, 1805), Google Books, accessed 16 March 2019, https://books.google.it/books?id=SbIvAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false., 10.

[27] "nelle calamità e nei guai passati sempre alla corteccia si è badato, non mai alla radice del male." Ibid., 83.

[28] Cited in Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 207, translated by the author.

[29] "maledette tutte le annone, tutti i magistrate e tutte le regole!", Ibid. In criticising the Annona, Galiani advocated for completely liberalising the grain trade. Whether this agenda was motivated by personal economic interests is uncertain to me. Certainly worth mentioning is that Galiani lived in Paris throughout the 1760s and, there, initial steps had already been taken towards liberalising the corn market. On Galiani see Luigi Einaudi, *Saggi bibliografici e storici intorno alle dottrine economiche* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1953), 248-249; Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore*, 490; Imbruglia, *Enlightenment in Eighteenth-century Naples*, 70-94.

[30] An overview of this complex history can be found in Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 21-58; Sodano, 'Governing the city,' 117-9; Di Gennaro, "Annona," 43-48.

for flour, sell flour in markets, produce and sell bread commercially, and determine the price at which grain was to be sold in the Kingdom (i.e. in the provinces, where most grain production took place).[31] In short, they had authority over the entire commercial cycle of grain, from raw material to prepared produce.[32]

The duties of the Annona were predicated on the generalised belief that controlling the price of grain, flour, and bread was synonymous with good stewardship.[33] The philosophical and moral precept supporting this belief was that scarcity—understood as an effect of both bad fortune ("bad weather, drought, ice, excessive humidity, or anyway everything outside of one's control") and of men's evil nature ("their need to earn, their desire to earn even more, their egoism")—was a condition which could and *had* to be prevented by way of a juridical and disciplinary system and that it was a duty of the governing powers to articulate this system.[34] As Paul Veyne has explained in a different context, Early Modern people recognised "that corn was not a commodity like others and that it was the state's task to act so that the market was supplied with corn."[35] Price controls, control over the right to store, the prohibition of hoarding, the limits on export—all such measures belonged to an accepted 'schema of political behaviour' whose validity and virtuousness was practically indisputable.[36]

In principle, these juridical and political mechanisms were meant to pursue a noble aim: i.e. that of assuring that, in the event of a grain shortage, the amount and quality of grain arriving at the capital be affordable and abundant while at the same time ensuring that peasants in the provinces be able to make enough profit to sow for the next harvest. However, while they served well the political and economic interests of grain merchants and the Eletti, their effects on the public treasury as well as on the quantity of flour and bread were

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] "That corn was not a commodity like others and that it was the state's task to act so that the market was supplied with corn" was an orthodoxy whose existence dated back since at least Roman antiquity. See Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*, 237

[34] Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 52-53.

[35] Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*, 238.

[36] See Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 52.

primarily negative.[37] For example, lowering grain prices in the provinces enriched merchants (who could buy corn below the market) but systematically resulted in ruin for peasants, even and especially when grain was abundant. [38] With profits tending to zero and earnings falling even below the cost of production, farmers were encumbered from making long-term investments sowing less and less. As a result, the slightest fluctuation in weather, "a bit too dry, a bit too cold, a bit too humid" (as Foucault would say), caused the quantity of wheat produced to swiftly fall below requirement levels leading to scarcities and grain price increases which the Annona had to compensate for.[39] Indeed, because the price of the flour and bread being sold at the central market was capped, it was the Annona who had to ensure that bakers and flour vendors in Naples continued to make a profit when grain prices were high by selling the cheap flour and grain.[40] And to do so, it ran into increasing debt with the city's public banks (themselves managed by nobles).[41]

The practice of stockpiling grain on the city's behalf was, reportedly, even more deleterious. Since the early sixteenth century, the Annona held vast grain reserves in order to buy grain when it was cheap and sell when it was expensive. But, as historian Gunnar Persson has explained, "grain is a perishable product and the risks of fermentation, insects, rot, rats, etc., were always present."[42] Consequently, the Annona was often forced to sell

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[37] Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 53.

[38] This was a persistent problem for governments across most of Early Modern Europe. Writing of seventeenth-century France, for example, Foucault painted a particularly compelling portrait of the perils resulting from measures against grain scarcity. Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 30-33. For a similar discussion on Venice, see Giulia Vertecchi, "L''Eccessiva Abbondanza si Converte in Miserabil Penuria': i Provvedimenti del Governo Veneziano nel XVIII Secolo," in *Quando Manca il Pane. Origini e Cause della Scarsità delle Risorse Alimentari in Età Moderna e Contemporanea*, ed. Luca Mocarelli (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2013): 237-52.

[39] Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 33. See also Imbruglia "Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Naples," 65-66. On the consequences farmers payed when grain prices soared, see Paolo Macry, *Mercato e società nel regno di Napoli: commercio del grano e politica económica del settecento* (Naples: Guida, 1974), 320.

[40] See Sodano, "Governing the City," 118.

[41] See Sodano, "Governing the City," 118-19. For a wider analysis of communal debt in relation to annona matters, see Francesco Balletta, "Le finanze del comune di Napoli durante il regno di Carlo di Borbone," in *La Storia Economica come Impegno. Saggi in onore di Angelo* Moioli, eds. Pietro Cafaro, Giuseppe De Luca, Andrea Leonardi, Luca Mocarelli and Mario Taccolini (Milano: Frano Angeli, 1988): 118-127.

[42] Karl Gunnar Persson, *Grain Markets in Europe 1500-1900. Integration and Deregulation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 81-4.

prematurely, sometimes without even covering the purchasing price.[43] Moreover, when grain was plenty, bakers and consumers often could find grain of better quality and at market prices than that offered by the Annona, leading the institution to make even more significant losses and debts.[44] Meanwhile, merchants made enormous profits from the system. Indeed, in order to replenish Naples' granaries, the Annona formed contracts—the *partiti*—with a restricted number of merchants who could buy grain throughout the Kingdom at (convenient) fixed market prices.[45] As such, merchants were empowered with prestigious market monopolies and commercial privileges, which they persistently capitalised on to pursue their own businesses and needs, even and especially when grain was scarce. Evidence of these wrongdoings abounds in Early Modern Neapolitan history. During the grain storage and resulting famine of 1764, for instance, a councillor of the King lamented that corn supplies being "bought at fair prices…had become the object of speculation" and that a vast quantity of these supplies was being hoarded or smuggled on foreign ships against the government's orders (a claim which scholarship on European grain commerce has supported).[46] Similarly, the Annona's records show how on the occasion of that same dearth, merchants often provided the city with a grain of bad quality or sent cargos where grain was missing or was already deteriorating.[47]

The Eletti were by no means victims of the grain merchants' speculative activities. The problem was the reverse. As Giulio Sodano has explained, representatives of Naples' Seggi

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[43] Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 58-50; Domenico di Gennaro Cantalupo (duca di), "Annona," 55.

[44] This problem is explained well by Giulio Sodano: "the city often bought grain when prices were high but sold flour when the market was low. At times, the city also purchased too much grain, and some of it remained unused. To make matters worse, the grain bought by the city had difficulty competing with contraband grains that were often of better quality; the contraband easily entered the city thanks to the exemptions enjoyed by ecclesiastic institutions, which brought in larger amounts than they need and then sold the surplus…Therefore, the Annona kept social quiet but increased municipal debt, to the great harm of the city's finances, as contemporaries fully realised." See Sodano, "Governing the City," 118.

[45] These prices were conventionally called *Voci* and were the price of grain which the central government and local administrators in each province agreed on following the yearly harvest. See Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 56.

[46] Cited in Macry, *Mercato e società*, 415, translated by the author.

[47] Bartolomeo Capasso, *Catalogo ragionato dei libri, registri e scritture esistenti nella sezione antica o prima serie dell'Archivio Municipale di Napoli*, parte I (Napoli: Giannini, 1876), 128.

were usually tied by family alliances to both grain merchants and feudal lords (the largest producers of grains) and took good care that both be able to make profits when selling grain to the Annona.[48] For example, the Eletti often bought grain in a much larger quantity than that agreed in the partiti or bought grains of a different quality or weight than what they paid for.[49] And that they did so conscientiously.[50] Moreover, according to Enrica Alifano, the complicity between the Eletti and merchants was most of the time already at play in the formation of the partiti.[51] Indeed, when merchants and producers debated over the value of a *voce* (the price of grain which the central government and local administrators in each province agreed on following the yearly harvest), the Eletti almost always took sides with the merchants achieving to lower the price of the merchandise at the expense of the agricultural industry.[52] And they took no shame in using legal and rhetorical subterfuges to do so.[53]

The City and the Crown

By the late eighteenth century, it was well known that the Annona's stock-based provision system was grossly ineffective. Several Neapolitan authors (e.g. Antonio Genovesi, Ferdinando Galiani, and Di Gennaro) wrote about the Annona's poor functioning, arguing that the duties traditionally performed by the government (such as the regulation of public markets and the stabilisation of grain and bread prices) were better managed by markets. Moreover, their ideas belonged to a broader, Pan-European political and economic movement which saw restrictions on grain commerce and the construction of public granaries in

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[48] Sodano, *Governing the City*, 118. Concerning the profit of grain merchants trading with the Annona, in the second half of the eighteenth century this ranged from 3.5 carlini per tomolo of grain in good harvest seasons to 6 carlini per tomolo in times of scarcity. On average, a powerful merchant like Gaetano de Sinno sold between 40'000 and 90'000 tomoli to the Annona yearly. See Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 239-241.

[49] Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 97-8. On the business of the *partiti* see Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 45-58. For a definition, see Capasso, *Catalogo ragionato*, 120.

[50] Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 127 no. 2.

[51] Ibid., 97.

[52] Ibid., 56.

[53] Ibid., 95-6.

increasingly severe terms.[54] France, for example, was an "intellectual centre of the anti-regulation debate and a major arena of reform" since the early 1760s.[55] As Swedish scholar Gunnar Persson has explained, "the Habsburg monarchy, Scandinavia, Spain and Tuscany also entered a phase of reform at about the same time."[56] In Naples, however, monarchical powers resisted liberalising the grain trade until at least 1794.[57]

The reasons behind this delay were entirely political. The annona had been a duty of the Seggi since Angevin rule, and appropriating it meant threatening the very foundations on which the legitimacy of Naples' monarchs rested—namely, the concession of several administrative rights and privileges to the capital's most potent noblemen and city representatives.[58] Moreover, the annona was a powerful instrument to earn the political consensus of the Neapolitan people, who, for the larger part, looked favourably at the municipal governments' provision and storage duties. Thus, contrary to what some scholars have suggested, the monarchs ruling Naples (including Ferdinand IV) had no interest in overruling the Annona, despite the risks it involved in terms of food security. The problem for them instead consisted in finding ways of keeping the system just above the cut-off below which the population could no longer be fed, such that all parties involved be able to profit without offending the Kingdom's commercial and social welfare (which was precisely what grain scarcities risked threatening). As Capaccio once explained, monarchical deputies needed to "run with the hare and hunt with the hounds."[59] They needed to "keep the citizens quiet" and find ways to invigilate over the administrators so that the Annona's damages would not reach a critical point.[60]

Throughout the centuries, this urge for security produced the Neapolitan Annona as a magistrate characterised by institutional and jurisdictional pluralism. Indeed, while annona matters were almost entirely carried out by the Eletti, Spanish viceroys and later Bourbon rulers attempted multiple political stratagems to exert monarchical oversight on Naples'

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[54] A compelling analysis of this is Persson, *Grain Markets in Europe 1500-1900*.

[55] Ibid., 131.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Capasso, *Catalogo Ragionato*, 128-30.

[58] On the origins of Naples' annona system, see Di Gennaro, "Annona," 43-88.

[59] Capaccio, *Il Forastiero*, 420, translation by the author.

[60] Ibid.

provision system. Since 1560, for instance, the Annona operated under the direct supervision of a Regio Grassiero—a prefect nominated directly by Viceroys (and later by the Bourbon Kings) in charge of overseeing the delineation of the 'partiti' (the commissions granted to merchants to buy a predetermined amount of grain on the city's behalf) as well as other essential annona duties.[61] Moreover, viceroys had authority over the election and confirmation of the Eletto del Popolo—the representative of Naples' non-noble citizens whose duties included fixing the price of the flour which could be sold at Naples' central market and who could veto against the Eletti's decisions on annona matters.[62] And under the Bourbons, monarchical interference became even more substantial. For example, in 1739, the central Government attempted to counter the Annona's licit activities by abolishing the practice of the partiti.[63] They did so by freeing the renters of public ovens from having to buy fixed quantities of flour from the City, meaning that the Annona had only to provide grain for its own 'posti di farina'—i.e. the various points at which the City's flours were sold.[64] As historian Enrica Alifano has explained, this measure was significant in that, for the first time in Neapolitan history, the monarchy challenged the Annona's authority over the provision of the City.[65]

This strategic form of power—a form of power based on favours and threats, on the moral authority of rank and the overt application of practices of political dominion (e.g. surveillance)—bound administrators and nobles to the monarchy (or to the viceroyalty) but

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[61] Ventura, *La capitale dei privilegi*, 126 no. 163. On the business of the *partiti* see Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 45-58.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid., 134-5.

[64] Marin, "Organisation annonaire," 394.

[65] Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 134-5.

also had limits.[66] Appointing middlemen to exercise the authority of the King meant engaging in murky patronage politics, which often ended up serving the autonomy of appointees rather than the interests of the Crown.[67] In Naples, governmental posts were predominantly granted to influential players in the political field in exchange for loyalty and favours. Consequently, conflicts of interest abounded in the monarchy's purported 'fight' against administrative fraud. For instance, the office of the Regio Grassiero was regularly granted to noblemen belonging to the Seggio nobility—noblemen who therefore had strong family ties with the Eletti.[68] Likewise, while Naples' monarchical rulers had authority over the appointment of the Eletto del Popolo, this post was often held by grain merchants who supplied the Annona's grain storage facilities.[69] This, for example, was the case of the Eletto del Popolo Giuseppe Brunasso, who in 1734 provided the Annona with more than 80'000 tomoli of grain at significant personal gain.[70] As for the abolition of the partiti in 1739, crop failures taking place between the early 1740s and the mid-1760s caused authorities to order that the Annona return to the traditional system promptly.[71] Not only, following the momentous consequences of the grain shortage and resulting famine in 1764, the central government prescribed that the Annona even strengthen its grain storage activities so as to provide for 300'000 tomoli of grain rather than for 120'000 tomoli as had been practised previously—a measure which kept

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[66] On strategic power, see Chandra Mukerji, "The Territorial State," 402-424. Strategic power, Mukerji explains, is a practice of social domination, in which favours and threats are used "to control social outcomes in order to gain or maintain rank in a social hierarchy" or to win contests of power over political opponents. Ibid, 404. This is the form of power which is routinely associated with monarchies where "flattery, perfidy, violation of engagements, contempt of civil duties, fear of the prince's virtue" as well as honour to aspire to preferments and titles are characteristic of the political behaviour of courtiers—as was argued by eighteenth-century political philosopher Montesquieu. Charles de Secondat baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*, vol.1 (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co, 1873), Google Books, accessed 26 June 2019, https://books.google.it/books?id=yNMtAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Baron+De+Montesquieu,+The+Spirit+of+Laws&hl=it&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj6sYKZs_PgAhXzAhAIHb57D3AQ6AEISTAE#v=onepage&q=flattery&f=false, 26-28.

[67] Capaccio, *Il Forastiero*, 408.

[68] See Pietro Ventura, "La capitale e le élites urbane nel Regno di Napoli tra XVI e XVIII secolo," in *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, tome 121, n°1 (2009): 284.

[69] Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 97-8.

[70] This was against the 70'000 which were requested by the Eletti, and at a considerably high market price. See Ibid.

[71] Ibid., 164-5.

social quiet but which, according to eighteenth-century political commentators, even further enslaved the Annona to the grain merchants' speculative interests.[72]

The problem of monarchical oversight over the Eletti's activities was exacerbated by the Annona's dispersed spatial disposition and logistics. Indeed, by the middle of the eighteenth century, Naples' provision system was stretched across the urban fabric and even beyond the capital. For a start, the Annona's grain and flour reserves were stored in two separate facilities located respectively northwest of the Old Town at Largo Mercatello's *Fosse del Grano* and in proximity to the Molo Piccolo in the *Palazzo della Conservazione delle Farine* (Fig. 2.3).[73] Instead, the production of flour mostly took place in mills located in the eastern outskirts of the city (Fig. 2.3) if not even further way in the villages of Torre Annunziata, Castellammare and Vietri.[74] Further, the Annona's flour was sold at seven separate locations in the city, including at the central Market (Mercato grande. Fig. 2.3), which was located in direct proximity to Porta del Carmine, and thus at a considerable distance from the Annona's core grain and flour storage facilities.[75] And the Annona also produced bread in 18 distinct public ovens or forni, although their locations remain unknown.[76] Looking at the footprint of this system, it is not difficult to imagine how, as grain and flour travelled from one edge of the city to the opposite and within spaces and vessels which escaped the totalising unity of the sovereign gaze, administrators and merchants, bakers and flour vendors were incentivised in carrying out their illicit commercial activities.

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[72] Ibid.; Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 209.

[73] On the Fosse del Grano, see Nunzio Federico Faraglia, "Le Fosse del Grano," in *Napoli Nobilissima*, I serie, I (1892): 39-43; Brigitte Marin, "La 'Conservazione de' grani. Strutture di Stoccaggio cerealicolo a Napoli in età moderna," in *Città portuali del Mediterraneo. Luoghi dello scambio commerciale e colonie di mercanti stranieri tra Medioevo ed età moderna,* ed. Teresa Colletta (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2012), 179-192. On the Palazzo della Conservazione delle Farine, see Domenico Antonio Parrino, *Nuova guida de' forastieri per osservare ... Napoli, città antica, e nobilissima...* (Napoli : A spese di G. Buono, 1751), Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, accessed 6 July 2019, https://dlc.mpdl.mpg.de/dlc/view/escidoc:70443:6/recto-verso, 123; Faraglia, "Le Fosse del Grano," 42; Teresa Colletta, *Napoli città portuale e mercantile: la città bassa, il porto e il mercato dall'VIII al XVII secolo* (Roma: Kappa Edizioni, 2006), 367. For a broader enquiry on the work of Domenico Fontana in Naples, see Paola Carla Verde, *Domenico Fontana a Napoli: 1592-1607* (Napoli: Electa Napoli, 2008). On both structures see Fabrizio Ballabio, "L'Architettura dell'«Abbondanza». Nuove fonti per i magazzini dell'annona a Napoli," in *Napoli Nobilissima*, VI serie, vol. VI, I (January-April 2020): 32-44.

[74] See Capasso, *Catalogo ragionato*, 121.

[75] di Gennaro, "Annona," 65-82.

[76] Ibid.

Adding to the difficulties, Naples' grain storage facilities varied significantly in spatial layout and in the storage they offered, rendering it complicated for monarchical deputies to have oversight of the Eletti's trades. Indeed, in the *Fosse del Grano*, grain was stored in underground fossi or pits and on the floor of vast timber-roofed halls.[77] Instead, in the *Palazzo della Conservazione delle Farine,* grain and flour were stored in much smaller and differently sized stone-vaulted spaces distributed along two courtyards and on two floors. By law, the Eletti were meant to keep detailed registers of their supplies and carry out weekly visits to Naples' granaries (they did so in turns) to verify the quantities available and report back to the Tribunal of San Lorenzo—which the Grassiere presided over.[78] But the heterogeneity of the two buildings (See Figs. 2.5, 2.6), coupled with their uneven spatial organisation, made it difficult for royal deputies to verify the accuracy of the Eletti's reports.

Because the Fosse at Largo Mercatello and the Palazzo della Conservazione delle Farine were the hotspots of the Eletti's hoarding and smuggling activities since settling in Naples, the Bourbons made bold efforts to enforce monarchical presence in their immediate proximity. Architect Antonio Vaccaro's 1740s new headquarters for the *Tribunale della Sanità*—a Guard Corps located at the head of a newly built system of moles which separated an inner harbour for small ships from larger Molo Grande to the west (Fig. 2.3)—literally branched out to Fontana's Palazzo della Conservazione delle Farine and "signalled the growing involvement of the government in regulating trade" (Fig. 2.7).[79] Similarly, Luigi Vanvitelli's 1760s *Foro Carolino*—the monumental hemicycle of shops and residences intended to give permanent order to the ritual marketplace at Largo Mercatello—made

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[77] Storing grain in fossi or pits was an ancient system that by the sixteenth century became widely popular in the Kingdom of Naples for both public and private use. See Giovanni Geraci and Brigitte Marin, "Stockage et techniques de conservation des grains," in *Entrepôts et trafics annonaires en Méditerranée. Antiquité-Temps modernes*, eds. Brigitte Marin and Catherine Virlouvet (Rome, École française de Rome, 2016), 83-136. Storing grain directly on the floor was a more effective system common in several public grain storage buildings. Still, it required that grain be regularly agitated and ventilated to avoid rot and deter rodents and insects. Ibid. The regular tossing and ventilation of grain were commonly referred to as *paliatura*. See Faraglia, "Le fosse del grano," 42.

[78] The process is well explained by historian Capasso, *Catalogo* Ragionato, 47.

[79] Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 129-130. For a more detailed study of Vaccaro's Immacolatella, see Jörg Garms and Giulia Cantabene, "Il palazzo abbaziale di Loreto a Mercogliano e l'Immacolatella nel porto di Napoli," in *Domenico Antonio Vaccaro: Sintesi delle arti*, eds. Benedetto Gravagnuolo and Fiammetta Adriani (Napoli: Guida, 2005): 124-135.

Figure 2.5. Plan of the Fosse del Grano at Largo Mercatello.

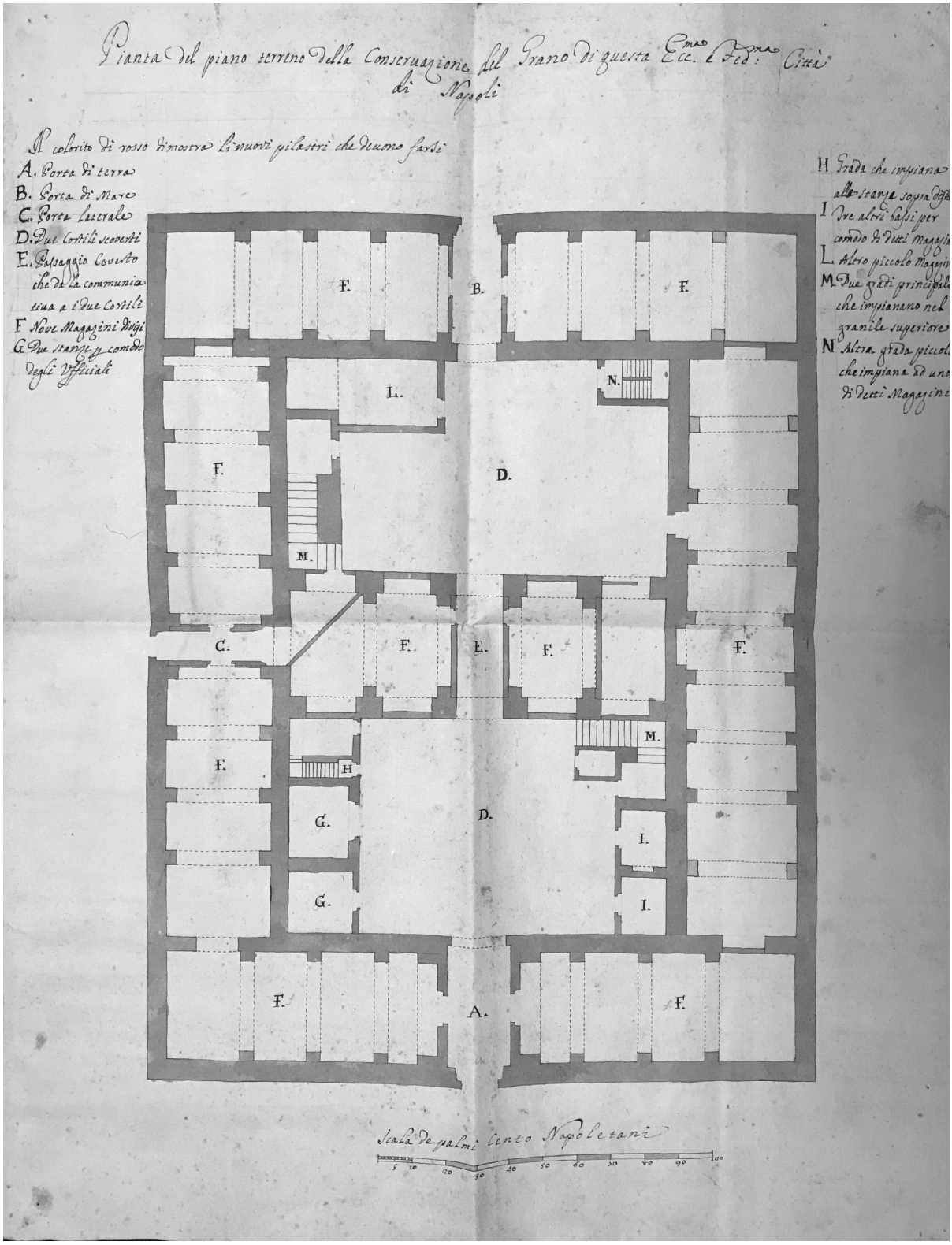

Figure 2.6. Ground floor plan of Domenico Fontana's Palazzo della Conservazione delle Farine.



Figure 2.7. Antonio Joli, *Naples from the Southeast*, 1764-1768, detail showing the Molo Piccolo with the new headquarters of the Tribunale della salute and its system of converging bridges connecting to the Dogana delle Farine.



Figure 2.8. Pietro Fabris, *View of the Foro Carolino*, second half of the eighteenth century.

explicit visual and spatial claims of Royal Authority in the immediate outdoors of the adjacent Fosse—as can be seen in Pietro Fabris' view of the Foro Carolino (Fig. 2.8).[80] Following the famine of 1764, Fuga himself was asked to design two granaries buttressing the Conservazione delle Farine.[81] But the project was unsuccessful due to the uncertain circumstances following Ferdinand IV's 1759 succession. Indeed, as Charles of Bourbon sailed to Madrid to become King of Spain, his heir was only nine of age —too young to participate in government.[82] Operations were entrusted to Tanucci, State Secretary under Charles, president of the regency council and one of the most loyal and ambitious ministers of his day.[83] But for all the Tanucci's charisma, deliberating on annona matters was a prerogative that not even a powerful royal official such as Brancone could take on without triggering an animated political debate. Solutions would have to wait.

Dawn of the Reali Granili

An engraving in Saint-Non's *Voyage pittoresque* describes well the unnerved political climate due to which monarchical initiative on provision matters grew to become increasingly assertive at the turn of the 1770s (Fig. 2.9).[84] Drawn by French painter and architect Louis Jean Desprez, it depicts the pillage of the cuccagna of 1778, whence a group of famished Neapolitans had forced itself through troupe formations in order to reach the temporary stage. Commenting on the scene, Saint-Non informs us that three of that year's four cuccagne had been assaulted before the delivery of the royal signal: "the first just a few instances too early,

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[80] On Vanvitelli's Foro Carolino see Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 123-55.

[81] The drawings are in ASN, *Piante e Disegni*, Cartella XII, 31-35. They are mentioned in Pessolano, "Il porto di Napoli," 113.

[82] On the regency period, see Maria Grazia Maiorini, *La Reggenza borbonica (1759-1767)* (Napoli: Giannini Editore, 1991).

[83] On Tanucci, see Rosa Mincuzzi, *Bernardo Tanucci ministro di Ferdinando di Borbone, 1759–1776* (Bari: Dedalo, 1967).

[84] Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non, *Voyage pittoresque ou description des Royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, Vol. I (Paris: Clousier, 1781-6), pl. 102, e-rara, accessed 3 August 2020, https://www.e-rara.ch/zut/wihibe/content/titleinfo/4859300?lang=it.

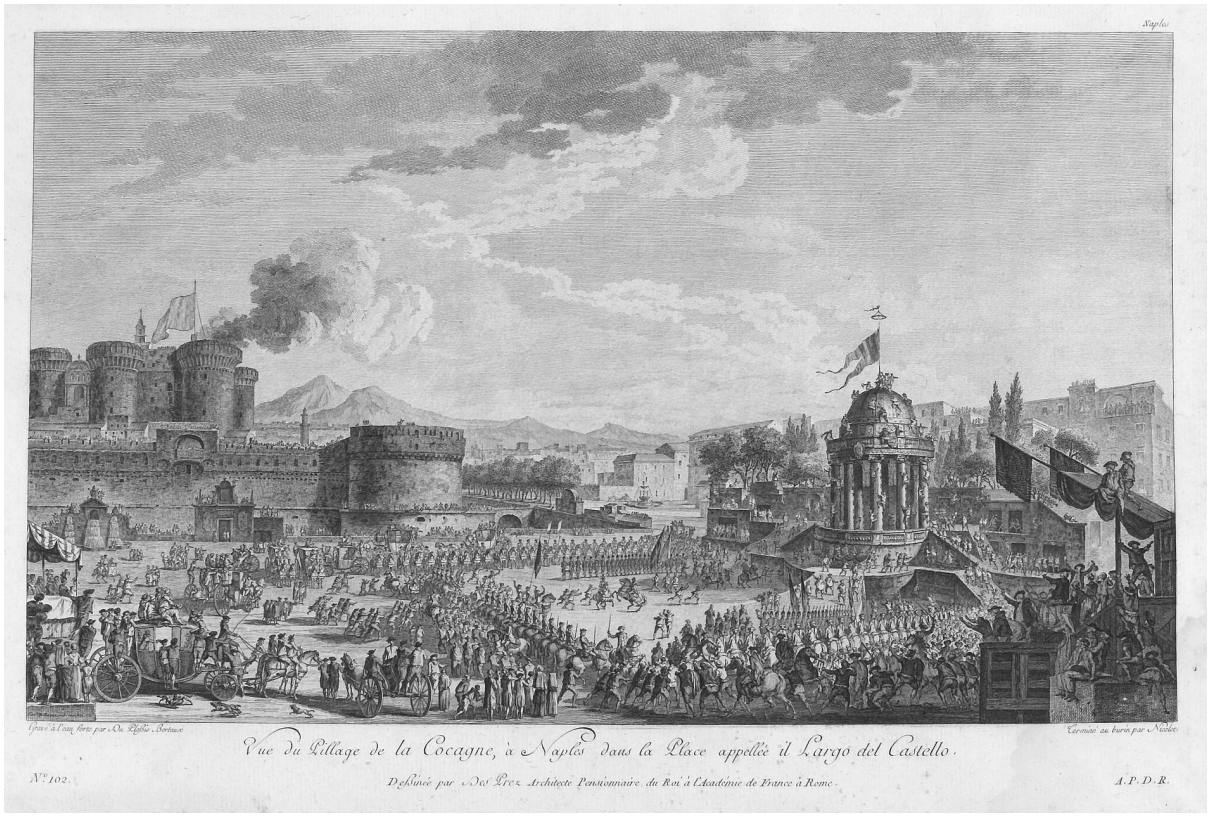

Figure 2.9. Louis Jean Desprez, *View of the Pillage of the Cuccagna, in Naples at Largo di Castello,* 1778.

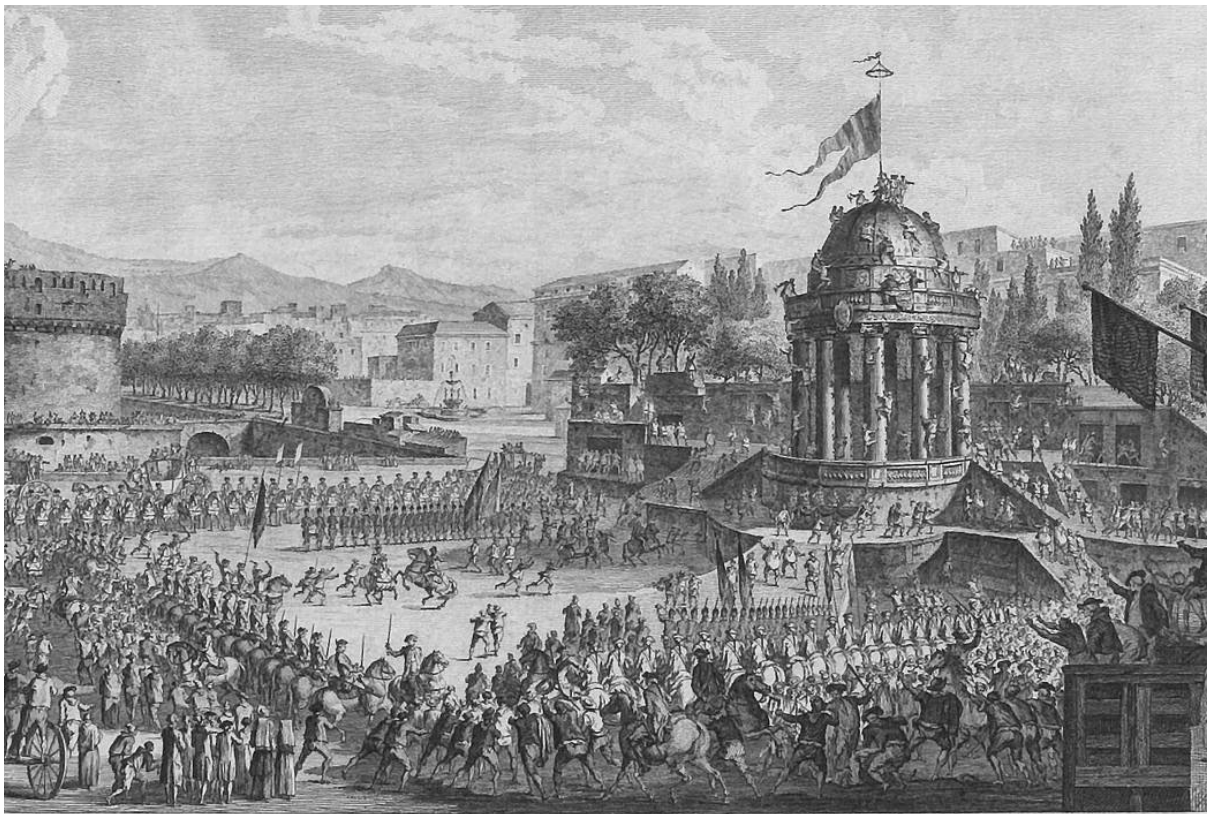

Figure 2.10. Louis Jean Desprez, *View of the Pillage of the Cuccagna, in Naples at Largo di Castello,* 1778, detail.

the second sacked two hours in advance, and the third on the eve of the due date."[85] Incidents of this sort were not uncommon in Neapolitan carnivals. During the famine of 1764, for instance, the cuccagna was pillaged a whole day before the due date encouraging the guards to shoot salvoes to disperse the crowds.[86] But during the carnival of 1778, the turmoil reached such vast and worrying proportions that the monarchy decided to no longer erect cuccagne from the following year.[87]

The event is emblematic, especially if considered against the Annona's ongoing struggles in grappling with Naples' escalating food demands. Indeed, between 1765 and 1780, the population had risen by a staggering 40'000, that of the Kingdom by almost 700'000, and the increasing demand for bread caused the market price of grain to peak.[88] As historian Enrica Alifano has explained, 1778 was an especially critical year given the commodity's steep price rise.[89] So much so that, in its effort to secure provisions, the Annona was forced to get into debt not only with public banks (as was customary in such circumstances) but directly with the king (from which it obtained the remarkable sum of 100'000 ducats).[90]

For the Bourbons, the difficulties of the Annona were both a threat and an opportunity. They were a threat because Neapolitans held the monarchy directly "accountable for providing secure food access."[91] Indeed, historically, variations in the quantity, quality and price of the flour and bread sold at Naples' central market often brought the population into hostility toward rulers—the reason why the monarchs ruling Naples persistently caved into the Annona's requests, granting it extensive credits and donations for the public to be fed. But they were also opportunities because the Eletti's lack of success in securing food previsions represented a solid basis for the Crown to expand its jurisdiction in provision matters. Indeed,

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[85] Gabriel Guarino, "Taming transgression and violence in the carnivals of Early Modern Naples," in *The Historical Journal, 60,* 1 (2017): 18.

[86] Ibid., 17.

[87] Ibid., 18.

[88] Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 245-6.

[89] Ibid., 248.

[90] The king decided to lend the remarkable sum of 100'000 ducats. Ibid. To grasp the Annona's difficulties one need only to consider that after two years, the Annona still owed 83.333 ducats from the initial 100'000. Ibid., 249.

[91] On sovereignty and food security, see Collett, "'Storage and starvation," 234–252.

at the turn of the 1770s, the insolvency of the Annona against the Royal treasury and the public banks, coupled with the deficiency and highly precarious condition of Naples' grain storage facilities, provided the pretext for an unprecedentedly harsh range of government initiatives.[92] In July of 1778, for instance, the royal policy could go as far as to order that every town of the Kingdom institute a system of public provision analogous to that of the capital—a measure which received sharp criticism by the Eletti given that it challenged their authority (and thus that of the powerful merchants supplying Naples' provisions) over the Kingdom's industry of grain.[93] Later in the year, it could form an *ad hoc* deputation to inspect and act upon the financial situation of the City body so that the "abundance of foodstuffs necessary to the comfortable subsistence of the citizens" be guaranteed.[94] And at the same time, it could commission a vast public granary to relocate part of the Annona's grain provisions, whose construction would be financed by the King and whose management and supervision would be directly entrusted to the royal military. Designed by Ferdinando Fuga in the late summer of 1778, built between 1779 and 1791, and dismantled in the early 1950s after being heavily damaged by air bombings, the new granary stood right beyond the Ponte della Maddalena—Naples' core entryway from the south-east (Fig. 2.3). [95] Constructed solely out of stone and bricks, it measured a staggering 560 meters in length, 40 meters in width and ca. 30 meters in height, ranking among the largest and most ambitious building enterprises of its day.[96] On encountering it during his 1845 *Viaggio da Napoli a Castellammare*, for instance, the architect Francesco Alvini remarked: "I don't have to tell you what the name of

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[92] See Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria,* 245-250. On the Annona's need to expand its facilities see engineer Vincenzo di Bisogno's commissioned report to explore the possibility of adding a floor to the Palazzo della Conservazione delle Farine. The document dates 1773 and can be consulted at ASMN, *Annona*, f. 208. The report also bears evidence of the Conservazione delle Farine's poor maintenance state. For a detailed analysis of it, see Ballabio, "L'Architettura dell''Abbondanza." The Fosse del Grano at Largo Mercatello were arguably in even worst condition. In 1784, the Annona invested over 12'500 ducats to repair the building which otherwise risked being shut down. See ASMN, *Cinque e Sei*, f. 124-5, foll. 205r-206r cited in Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 259 no. 50.

[93] Ibid. 246.

[94] Ibid., 250.

[95] A recent (albeit meagre) reconstruction of the building's chronology including detailed information on its demolition is provided in Di Mauro, Iuliano, Visone, "La costruzione del 'fronte mare'," 134-7.

[96] The measurements are drawn from a series of plans and sections currently at Naples' Biblioteca Nazionale (BNN). See BNN, *Manoscritti e Rari*, 27b, 33 and 35.

the next building is. You will recognise it by its length."[97] And the economist Ferdinando Galiani allegedly described the granary as the longest building ever to have been erected in Europe over the course of the eighteenth century.[98]

Rule by Logistics

In programmatic terms, the commissioning of the Reali Granili marked a shift in strategy vis-à-vis the monarchy's involvement in the grain trade. Through it, it was hoped, the Crown could 'side-step' the deceitfulness of administrators and merchants, not by restricting their activities through strategic forms of rule (threats, favours) but rather by subjecting them to indirect conditions of logistical control.[99] As argued by Chandra Mukerji, logistical activity shapes social life differently [from strategic power], affecting the environment (context, situation, location) in which human action and cognition take place" rather than asserting a social hierarchy.[100] Logistical power "governs impersonally through an order of things" rather than (only) of people.[101] The outcome of this form of rule is what Mukerji calls a "material regime" able to condition human action "both practically and through symbolism" embedded in material formations.[102] "Keys, trains, lab instruments, specimens, windmills, paperwork, and databases" but also "stores, streets, libraries and grain elevators"—these are artefacts which, according to Mukerji, invariably shape built environments but which do so 'silently' by acting on shared practices, political relations and routines which are experienced

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[97] Francesco Alvini, *Viaggio da Napoli a Castellammare* (Napoli: Stamperia dell'iride, 1845), 10.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Joyce and Mukerji, "The state of things," 2.

[100] Mukerji, "The Territorial State," 402.

[101] Ibid., 404.

[102] Ibid. 404. On the Foucauldian notion of apparatus or *dispositif* within the context of his studies in governmentality, see Giorgio Agamben, *What is an apparatus? and other essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 1-24

"below the level of conscious awareness."[103] To Mukerji, logistical power is characterised by an illusion of freedom and patterns of governmentality that seem free from "overt political regulation."[104]

In building the Granili, the Bourbons sought to counter the financial and security problems inherent to Naples' extant grain provision system, not by appropriating the Annona's duties but rather by subjecting them to indirect forms of logistical subordination. In this sense, it would be wrong to interpret the project as a downright instance of monarchical appropriation. Indeed, while its representational goals followed this model (the building was massive, more than 550 meters in length, and—in ways which will be explored later in the text—visualised claims of monarchical stewardship), in practice, the political processes through which the monarchy sought to gain power were far more ingenious. The project was designed to turn the state—its surveillance, registering protocols, and tedious bureaucracy—into an inevitable 'passage point' for grain merchants and city administrators—one through which to control their activities without having to revoke the privileges of the extant political dispensation.[105]

This strategy emerges clearly in the Bourbon monarchy's 1778 *Riflessioni sopra la formazione de Magazzini di grani da costruirsi nella Marina vicino al Ponte della Maddalen*a—a report by the Ministry of Finance discussing the scheme's objectives and political possibilities.[106] Here the enterprise is discussed according to two parallel aims: first, to host up to 3000 tomoli of public grain for bread and pasta. In this way, the monarchy hoped to provide a remedy against the problematic dissemination of the City's grain

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[103] Mukerji, "The Territorial State," 405; Joyce and Mukerji, "The state of things," 4. Because of its depersonalised nature and dispersiveness, Mukerji argues that logistical power is characteristic, even distinctive of modern statecraft, where states are understood as complex "assemblages of the agencies of often conflicting people and objects in a myriad of sites from prisons to schools, military bases and highways." However, in focusing on logistics in the formation of the French state under Louis XIV, she also acknowledges that "the rise of logistical power and the emergence of modern sovereignty" were coeval and strongly intertwined. To Mukerji sovereignty "including its profoundly important components of majesty, magic, and the quasi-religious" were, in fact, mostly produced "*by* logistical means, in the form of art programs, political rituals, law courts and legal documents, of palaces and parliaments, and much more." Joyce and Mukerji, "The state of things," 1-3.

[104] Ibid., 404.

[105] The notion of 'passage-point' is drawn from Joyce and Mukerji, "The state of things," 2.

[106] See ASN, *Ministero delle Finanze*, fs. 2885 bis, fs.lo 4, inc. 3-6, *Riflessioni sopra la formazione de Magazzini di grani da costruirsi nella Marina vicino al Ponte della Maddalena*, a. 1778.

provisions across multiple, scattered and poorly maintained locations (including those administered by the Annona at Largo Mercatello and the Molo piccolo)—an instance which was identified as having been the principal cause of the illicit smuggling and hoarding activities city administrators and grain vendors.

> The said work provides for the annona and eliminates all those abuses resulting from the excessive amounts of grains which the Eletti purchase when making their yearly provisions, grains which moreover are purchased at an inflated price, and which are subject to rotting given that the city does not own storages which are suited to their conservation, and as a consequence, between the malignancy of Merchants who hoard grain and the lack of storage facilities, one can see this languishing population buying bread of poor quality which is a danger to its health.[107]

Second, the remainder of the building (and the vast majority of it, given that the structure was intended to host a staggering 350'000 tomoli of grain) would provide optimal and cheap storage space to "whoever intended to deposit grains," whether for commercial or private use.[108] Through this, it was hoped, the economic and technological advantages of the new granary would induce merchants to store their grain under the king's patronage, not by submitting to coercion but by acceding to a (more mundane) commercial argument. As an incentive, the Bourbons proposed that merchants renting storage space at the Granili be given

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[107] "l'opera cennata si assicura l'annona, e si tolgono tutti quelli abusi finora introdotti per la eccessiva quantita de' grani, che si partiva per l'annual provvista dagli eletti di questa citta, e per loppiu a prezzi eccessivi, quali grani sono soggetti a marcirsi per non avere gli immittenti di tal genere magazzini proporzionati a custodirlo, e da cio ne avviene, che tra la malvagita de Negozianti nell'incettare il grano, e tra la mancanza de' conservatoj si vede languire questa popolazione nel doversi provvedere di cattivo pane in pregiudizio della salute." In ASN, *Ministero delle Finanze*, fs. 2885 bis, fs.lo 4, inc. 1-2, *Memoria per i magazzini del Ponte della Maddalena*, a. 1778, translated by the author. I believe the verb 'partiva' towards the beginning of the text refers to the practice of the 'partiti'—i.e. the appointment of merchants to buy fixed quantities of grain—and does not refers to grains 'which have escaped' the city's supplies.

[108] ASN, *Ministero delle Finanze*, fs. 2885 bis, fs.lo 4, inc. 3-6, *Riflessioni sopra la formazione de Magazzini di grani da costruirsi nella Marina vicino al Ponte della Maddalena*, a. 1778, translated by the author.

priority over competitors for export permits.[109] This was aimed at containing the problem of smuggling corn on foreign ships—a scourge for the government's treasury both for taxation purposes and for the increase of grain prices. Meanwhile, the central government could make vast earnings from occupants' hire charges while having complete oversight over the merchants' activities in impersonal and unobtrusive ways.[110] It could, for example, assess the quantity and quality of the grain available in the building at any given moment and regulate the grain market when the commodity was scarce. As the king's ministers promised in a different 1778 assessment, the grain stored in the Granili "would be for all to see, and his Majesty could send delegates to visit them whenever he pleases".[111]

Thus, the Bourbons conceived the Granili as a colossal property enterprise, a surveillance mechanism, and an instrument of measurement for registering and bookkeeping. Fuga's drawings for the building, currently at Naples' Biblioteca Nazionale, allow for appreciating how the architect responded to the brief's requirements (Figs. 2.11, 2.13).[112] In plan, he modulated the structure according to a strict cellular layout distributing rooms left and right off a central corridor (Figs. 2.11, 2.12, 2.13). The rooms functioned as discrete storage units which could be rented out to private citizens or allocated to the Annona to house its grain. Each cell measured circa 5 x 10 x 5 meters (with slight variations, as the wall thickness tapered towards the building's upper level), was composed of the lateral juxtaposition of two sail vaults—a dome trimmed by four supporting arches to define a square module—and featured a window for lighting and ventilation. Each was accessed by a doorway facing the building's central corridor.

In Fuga's design for the Albergo dei Poveri, the corridors operated in a grid network to ensure optimal inmate distribution routes and surveillance. Here too, the corridors enabled the building's cellular disposition allowing, on the one hand, for officials of the king to invigilate and synoptically survey the grain held in each cell (or multiples of), and on the

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[109] "E siccome S.M. vuole nelle case di abbondanza, e quando le piaccia concedere la tratta di questo genere, cosi quando sia assicurata la pubblica annona, e trovansi grani soprabondanti, e che coprono tal bisogno, cosi nel concedere le tratte, avra mira particolare nel concederle a Padroni di questi generi immessi." Ibid.

[110] Ibid.

[111] In ASN, *Ministero delle Finanze*, fs. 2885 bis, fs.lo 4, inc. 1-2, *Memoria per i magazzini del Ponte della Maddalena*, a. 1778, translated by the author.

[112] The drawings include plans and sections and their location is BNN, *Manoscritti e Rari*, 27b, 33, 35.

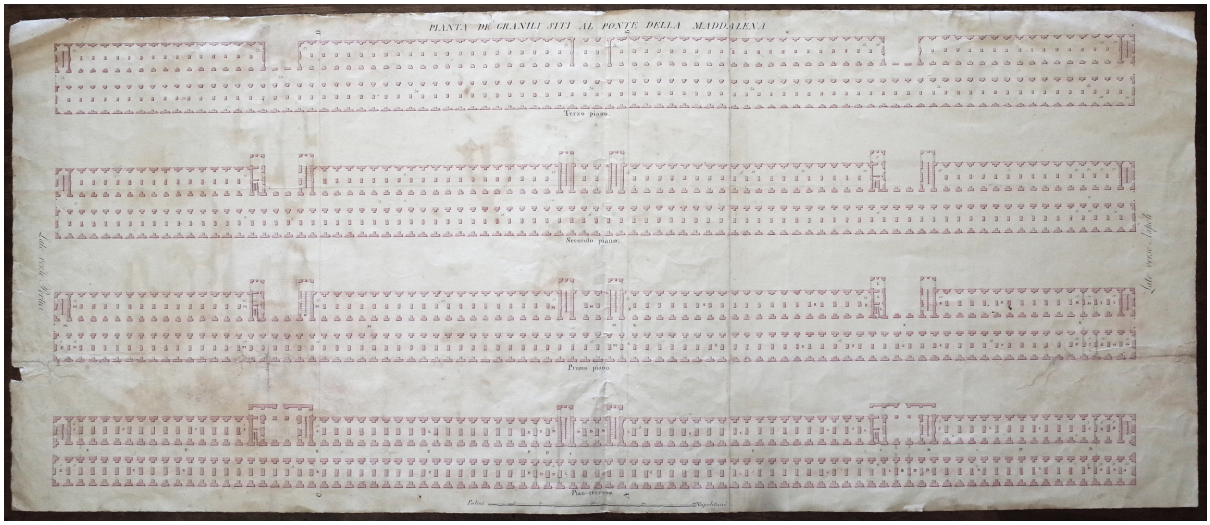

Figure 2.11. Ferdinando Fuga, *Pianta de' Granili siti al Ponte della Maddalena*, 1778.

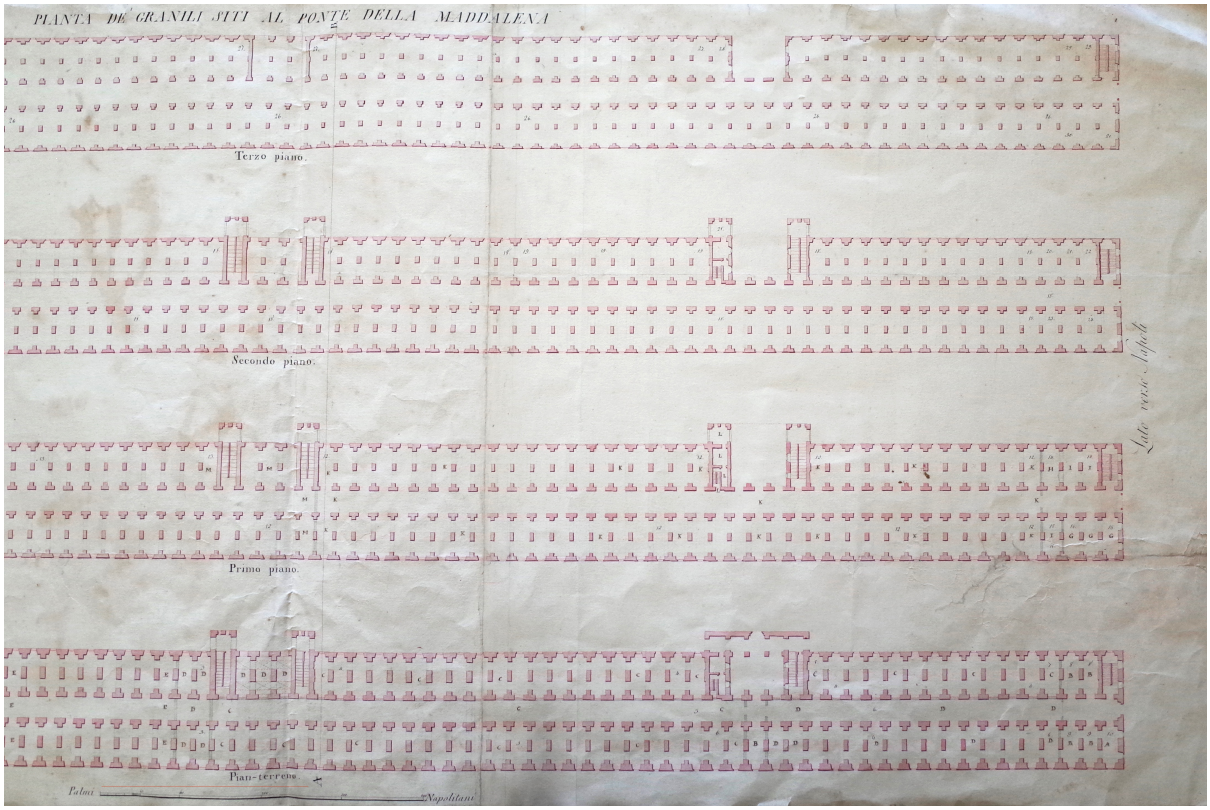

Figure 2.12. Ferdinando Fuga, *Pianta de' Granili siti al Ponte della Maddalena*, 1778, detail.

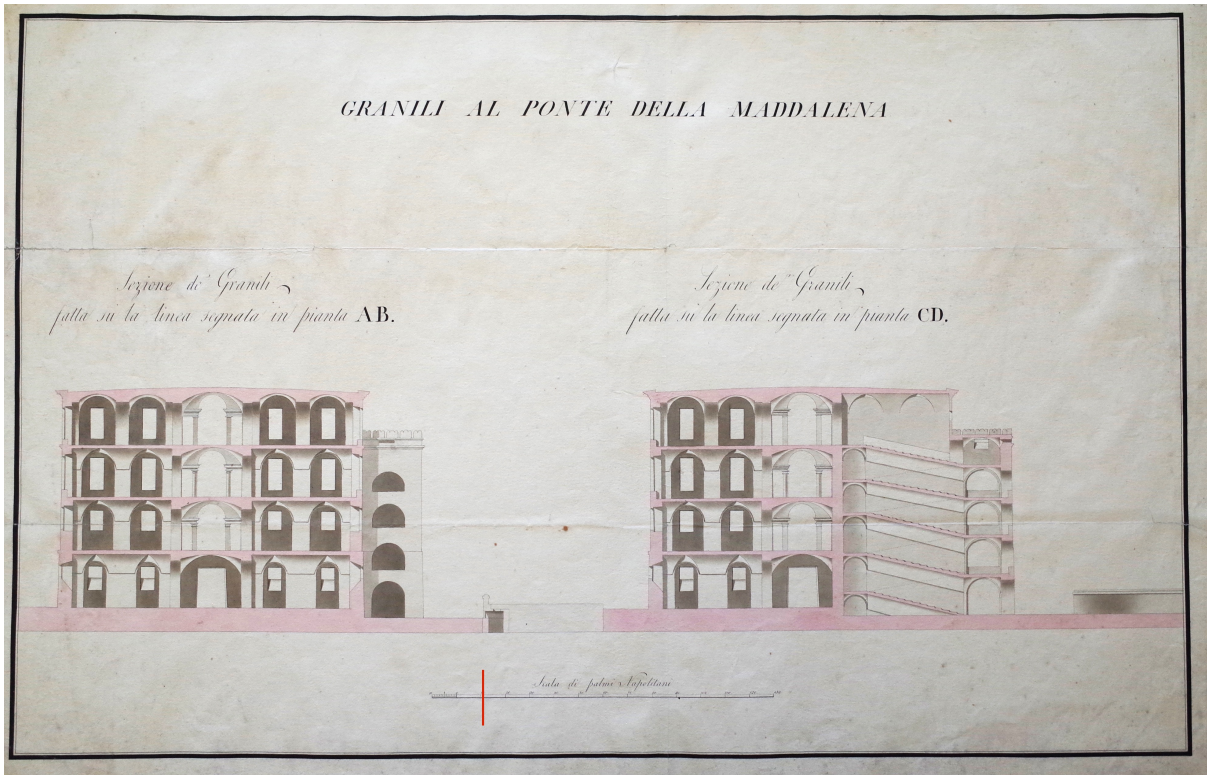

Figure 2.13. Ferdinando Fuga, G*ranili al Ponte della Maddalena* (sections AB & CD), 1778.



Figure 2.14. Gustav Soderberg, *Il Vesuvio visto dal Ponte della Maddalena*, 1820.

other, for people and grain to travel throughout the structure with minimum friction. Thus, the corridors functioned as veritable central alleyways, which Fuga stacked vertically so as to divide the building into two (almost) symmetric halves (Figs. 2.11, 2.12, 2.13). Each of the central alleys measured 7 to 8 meters depending on the level, travelled throughout the entire building from west to East and were capped at either ends with elegant 'serlianas' framing the views of Naples' waterfront and of the Vesuvius (as can be seen in Fuga's sections of the building as a well as in a painting of the Vesuvius by Gustaf Soderberg—Figs. 2.13, 2.14). Access to these spaces occurred via three laterally placed cores, including stairs for pedestrian access, gentler ramps for animals and an outdoor atrium to carry out unloading and registering activities. The cores were positioned along the building's Southern front so that the cargo arriving from the sea could be delivered to the facility with maximum ease (Fig. 2.12).[113]

In management terms, the seriality of Fuga's layout promised several interrelated advantages. For one thing, it enabled streamlined construction processes and building logistics. Building the Granili was a colossal enterprise. It involved organising the routines of myriads of labourers, coordinating the arrival and disposal of vast quantities of building material, drafting budgets, plans and schedules and handing out accurate time and cost estimates. However, because the building consisted of the linear repetition of a single structural unit, Royal engineers could orchestrate construction processes efficiently. For example, they could plan building activities by calculating the time, men and material required to build the smallest geometrical figure of the building: the storage unit. Moreover, they could divide labour amongst workers according to distinct, elementary, and repetitive tasks. Finally, because of the building's linear disposition, construction could be phased so that parts of it were operational while others were still under construction—a procedure which can be evinced in a painting by Alessandro D'Anna from 1787 (Fig. 2.15) where the two segments of the structure closer to the city are already fully completed while the third section of the building is only beginning to take shape.

Still more importantly, the modularity of Fuga's design empowered the monarchy with a potent instrument of measurement and bookkeeping. Indeed, differently from the Fosse at

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[113] Giordano, *Ferdinando Fuga a Napoli*, 106.



Figure 2.15. Alessandro D'Anna, *Veduta del Monte Vesuvio e parte dellla Città di Napoli*, second half of the eighteenth century.

Mercatello and Palazzo della Conservazione delle Farine whose layouts were irregular and uneven, in the Granili royal officials could draw precise information about the occupancy of the building, including the names and locations of its renters as much as the quantity and quality of grain they held in stock. The modular nature of the project—its quasi-tabular arrangement, its classificatory and sub-classificatory boxing out of people and 'things'—facilitated registering protocols as well as enumeration and calculation processes resembling a vast, spatialised spreadsheet. When the building was in use, each cell would be noted on a register and indexed according to a corresponding number. [114] The number was then associated with the merchant or merchants to which the storage unit belonged.[115] The amount of grain in each cell, the provenance of the grain and its quality were then noted on a "libro maestro" (an overall register), which also included information on when the grain was deposited and extracted.[116] In short, Fuga's architecture allowed officials to have a complete overview of all subjects and activities involved in the building, ensuring that each movement of grain was accounted for thoroughly. This faculty was essential, not only in the prevention of smuggling and hoarding—a predominant problem in the Annona's and the merchants' extant storage buildings. It was also a security measure such that, in the event of a grain dearth, the government could make accurate and swift assessments of the product's availability and modulate its importation, retention, distribution and pricing based on reliable,

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[114] A body of laws promulgated in 1827 demonstrates the exact note-taking processes and security protocols that officials working at the Granili enforced. By then, the provision of Naples' market was entirely liberalised, but a portion of the structure hosted an *officina* or station to determine customs duties on grain imports. The laws also describe the security protocols enforced: "the receiver will keep a register of the storage units where cereals will be stored, indicating their corresponding number and the merchant or merchants to whom those storage units belong…Each storage unit will be locked with three keys, of which one will be given to the merchant, the second to the receiver, and the third to the commanding chief." *Collezione Delle Leggi e De' Decreti Reali Del Regno Delle Due Sicilie. Anno 1827...*, N. 55, Titolo VIII, "Del deposito de' cereali ne' Granili del ponte della Maddalena" (Napoli: Stamperia Reale, 1827), Google Books, accessed 12 April 2019, https://books.google.it/books?id=1O7mfS5ZoEoC&pg=PA23&lpg=PA23&dq="Del+deposito+de'+cereali+ne'+Granili+del+ponte+della+Maddalena&source=bl&ots=K4p5BM3xzH&sig=ACfU3U3hWSkh6TUv10IziSp_zcfap8dixA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjbxPfO5vffAhVRUxUIHZcwDYcQ6AEwBXoECAgQAQ#v=onepage&q="Del%20deposito%20de'%20cereali%20ne'%20Granili%20del%20ponte%20della%20Maddalena&f=false, 23-24.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid.

quantitative figures.[117]

By way of this capacity, the Granili facilitated trade regulation by empowering the monarchy with a map of Naples' grain market in the form of a "splendid bureaucratic trompe l'oeil."[118] As Benedict Anderson has argued:

> No one has found a better metaphor for this frame of mind than the great Indonesian novelist Pramoedya Ananta Toer, who entitled the final volume of his tetralogy on the colonial period Rumah Kaca - the Glass House.[119]

To Anderson, the Glass House is an image "as powerful as Bentham's Panopticon" in that it conveys the concept of a reality characterised by "total surveyability."[120] One where everyone and everything is denominated by a "serial number," just like those which monarchical deputies assigned to the modules or cells of the Granili (and to their occupants and grain reserves in turn).[121]

For the monarchy, this style of imagining was not only operative in opening up the grain trade to analytical thinking and strategic government control. It also acted at a lower level in shaping the *habitus* and life forms of the administrators and merchants utilising the building.[122] As Patrick Joyce has suggested writing in a different context, the "standards, systems, routines" at play in the new granary gave rise to new experiences of the state" eventuated in the idea of a "seamless, stable, and secure as well as rational and efficient

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[117] "Sarebbe finalemente vantagio a Regali interessi, mentre SM sarebbe sicura, nel permettere la tratta de' grani, che sotto gli occhi ti ufficiali, conservatori, e del publico non se ne altererebbe la estrazione col caricarsene quantita maggiore di quella permessa, ed il governo sarebbe sicuro nell'accordare la tratta col vedere quale sia la quantita de grani esistenti nei Regi Magazini a fine di disporre la quantita, per la quale la tratta potrebbesi accordare." ASN, *Ministero delle Finanze*, fs. 2885 bis, fs.lo 4, inc. 1-2, *Memoria per i magazzini del Ponte della Maddalena*, a. 1778.

[118] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 184.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid., 184-5.

[121] Ibid., 185.

[122] Joyce and Mukerji, "The state of things," 4.

social system."[123] What was implied in the Granili was thus a "new political order in which the pursuit of power assumed new forms" whose radical implications were both contingent to and at odds with the Granili's ostentatious affirmation of the Bourbons' patrimonial impulses.[124] For this reason, the enterprise facilitated what Steven Lukes described elsewhere as a "three-dimensional" form of power which didn't exclude "conflict and decision-making from view" but which ultimately "extended the concept of power from the immediate political process to include 'socially structured and culturally patterned behaviour of groups and practices of institutions.'"[125] As an agent of logistical rule, the Granili may be regarded as a forbearer of the impersonal (and thus unquestionable) powers later characterising modern state apparatuses able to govern people through protocols and routines whose status is seemingly beyond politics.

Territorial logistics and the reconfiguration of Naples' grain industry

As a political and commercial enterprise, the Granili implied a notion of territory in which the capital existed "as the seat of sovereignty and the central point of political and commercial circulation."[126] Indeed, for the structure to fulfil its mission (i.e. to guarantee the annona and bring the activities of merchants under monarchical control), the grain previously stored by merchants in private depots scattered throughout the Kingdom needed to be channelled toward Naples. This required that the Bourbons be able to master the geography of grain as a transportable and transformable good. It required ways of mastering the distance (or travel distance) between the grain industry's distinct productive, administrative, and commercial components—the distance between the regions in which grain was harvested, the towns and settlements in which it was milled to produce flour, the places in which grains and flour were stored, where bread was baked, and the key centres in which flour and bread were sold for commercial and personal use. And it required ways of reconfiguring the hierarchical relationship between these sites so that the grain trade's overall spatial and political

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[123] Ibid.

[124] See Mukerji, "The Territorial State,", 408.

[125] See Gunn, "From Hegemony to Governmentality," 706.

[126] Foucault, *Security, territory, population*, 30.

disposition be subjugated to the Crown's control. As such, from the outset, the commissioning of Fuga's granary was interlinked with vast infrastructural projects aimed at intensifying the Kingdom of Naples' trade routes. Indeed, since the grain dearth of the early 60s, monarchical deputies and economists were convinced that the poor state of the Kingdom's road networks greatly impacted Naples' food supply. The problem was longstanding but was addressed only towards the end of the 1770s.[127] Significantly, at the same time as the Granili were commissioned, the monarchy planned a road between Naples and the Abruzzi to transport foodstuffs to the capital (Fig. 2.16).[128] Further, in 1778, the Sovereign nominated a deputation to budget ambitious road renovation projects in Principato Ulteriore, Capitanata, Terra di Bari and Terra d'Otranto (current Apulia)—the Kingdom's core grain production regions—aimed at encouraging the transportation of Apulian grains towards the capital via land (rather than by sea, as was most usual hitherto) (Fig. 2.16).[129] And in 1791 (the year in which the Granili were completed), the Central Government abolished all tolls and duties along the Kingdom's road network to facilitate the capital's importing of grain.

The Bourbons' decision to site the Granili in the southeastern peripheries of Naples must be understood as part of this broader strategy of infrastructural renovation (Fig. 2.16). Indeed, the structure stood right beyond the East embankment of Ponte della Maddalena and acted as the terminal point of the important Strada Regia—the road connecting Naples with the Villa Reale di Portici as well as with the Kingdom's core grain production regions (Fig. 2.16, 2.17). In that position, the Granili not only functioned as a monumental outpost of sovereign generosity and abundance to whoever arrived in Naples from East and the Sea—a spectacle which was evocatively recorded by Francesco Alvini in his *Viaggio da Napoli a Castellammare* (Fig. 2.18) as well as in the myriad of depictions of Naples and its gulf (e.g. Rudolph Von Alt's painting of the Vesuvius from the Palazzo dell'Immacolatella. Fig. 2.19). It also operated as the pinnacle, bottleneck and nerve centre of the grain trade's expanded circulatory system. Since its completion, the grain arriving in Naples could be comfortably unloaded in the building by sea and land without crossing the city. This contrasted with the

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[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid., 51 no. 35.

[129] Ibid.



Figure 2.16. Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, *Carta del' itinerarj militari da Bologna a tutto il Regno di Napoli*, 1808, detail.

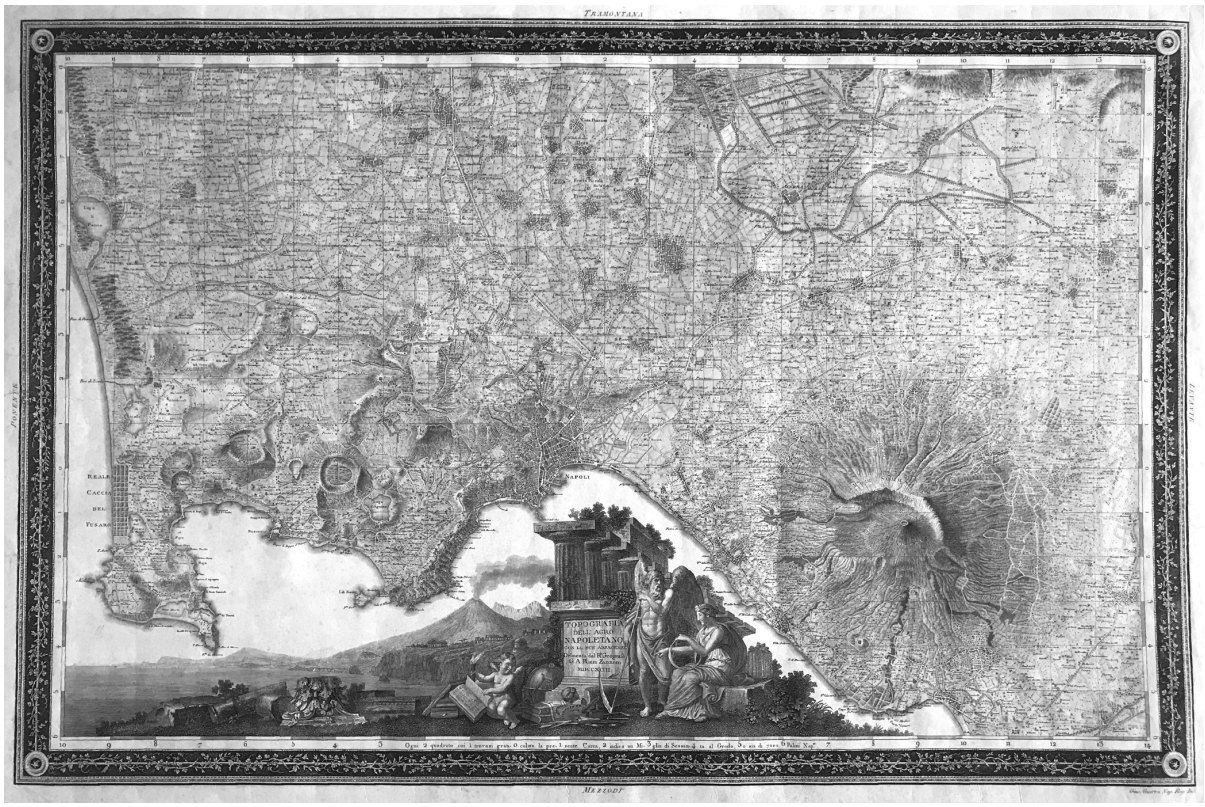

Figure 2.17. Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, *Topografia Dell' Agro Napoletano con les sue adjacenze . . . Anno MDCCXCIII,* 1793.



Figure 2.18. Francesco Alvini, *Il Borgo della Maddalena e i Granili*, 1845.



Figure 2.19. Rudolph Von Alt, *Der Hafen von Neapel mit Vesuv*, 1836.

Annona's pre-extant storage facilities, located west of the ancient city walls, which necessitated transportation in town. Meanwhile, merchants travelling to Naples from the southeast would have to push heavy carts in the shadow of the new building for over 550 meters, thereby paying obeisance to the paternalist prerogatives of the King.

On a regional scale, the monarchy also planned to deploy the granary as part of a territorial reconfiguration of Naples' grain industry. Indeed, because the building was positioned at the delta of the River Sebeto (Fig. 2.20)—an ancient stream springing from the shoulders of Monte Somma—as early as 1778, the king's councillors suggested that the project could instigate a vast redevelopment of the river area, to create an expanded district for grain storing, milling and bread production.[130] To do so, they proposed building an interconnected network of water mills along the riverbanks of the ancient watercourse, providing it with an ambitious system of ditches and damns.[131] This, they argued, would entail multiple logistical and economic advantages. First, the monarchy could rent out the newly built mills to private renters generating a "considerable yearly income for the Royal Treasury."[132] This income would add up to the hire charges levied at the Granili. Second, it could induce merchants to bring their grains towards the capital by leveraging on the proximity of the mills to the new grain storage facility—a "highly advantageous circumstance for the flour vendors of the central market, for bakers and for the Assentisti" (the merchants in charge of making provisions for the army, the navy and Naples' prisons) given the reduced transportation costs for flour and grains.[133] But most importantly, the

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[130] Ibid.

[131] "Veniamo alla Pratica. Si fanno le chiuse del Fiume fino all'Altezza delle Torri, nelle quali si vuole imboccar l'acqua; e lungo le sponde in varie distanze varie chiuse costruendosi, vari molini si formano. L'acqua trattenuta si solleva fino all'altezza della sorgente. Il Sebeto scorre per tre in 4 miglia dalla sorgente fino al mare per quanto sia poco elevata la sorgente, 4 miglia, o 3 di distanza formano l'altezza sicuramente di una ben alta. Il General Pignatelli, che non conosce ostacoli nelle sue intraprese, che sta fabbricando attualmente i magazzini, che ha Ingegneri, e capi mastri, e materiali, e Genio attivissimo per segnarli, con un dispaccio che gli si comandi, col quale si attizzi il suo fervido entusiasmo, egli, senza che io più vi secchi o signore, può realizzar questa idea." Ibid.

[132] ASN, *Ministero delle Finanze*, fs. 2885 bis, fs.lo 4, inc. 1-2, *Memoria per i magazzini del Ponte della Maddalena*, a. 1778, translated by the author.

[133] The distance [of the milling facilities] from the capital increases expenses for merchants and encourages smuggling practices." ASN, *Ministero delle Finanze*, fs. 2885 bis, fs.lo 4, inc. 1-2, *Memoria per i magazzini del Ponte della Maddalena*, a. 1778, translated by the author. For an explanation of the duties of the Assentisti, see Macry, *Mercato e società*, 87.

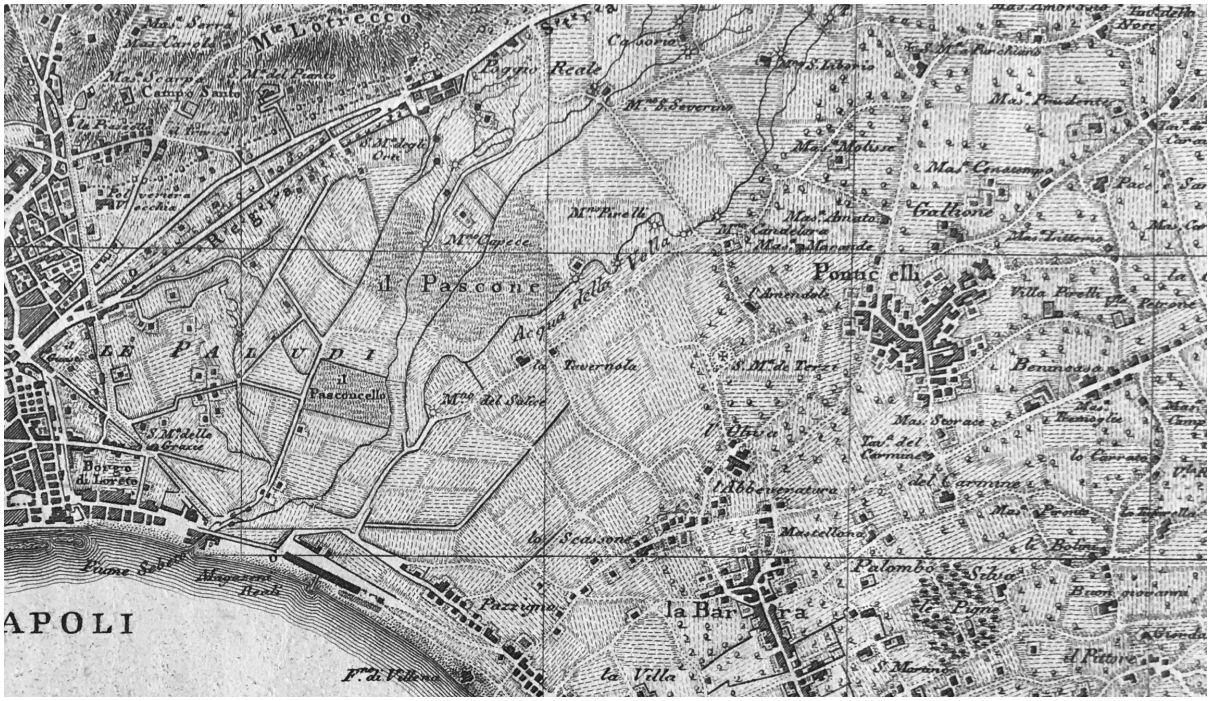

Figure 2.20. Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, *Topografia Dell' Agro Napoletano con les sue adjacenze . . . Anno MDCCXCIII*, 1793, detail. In the map, M.no stands for Mulino or mill, while Mas.a stands for Masseria or farm.

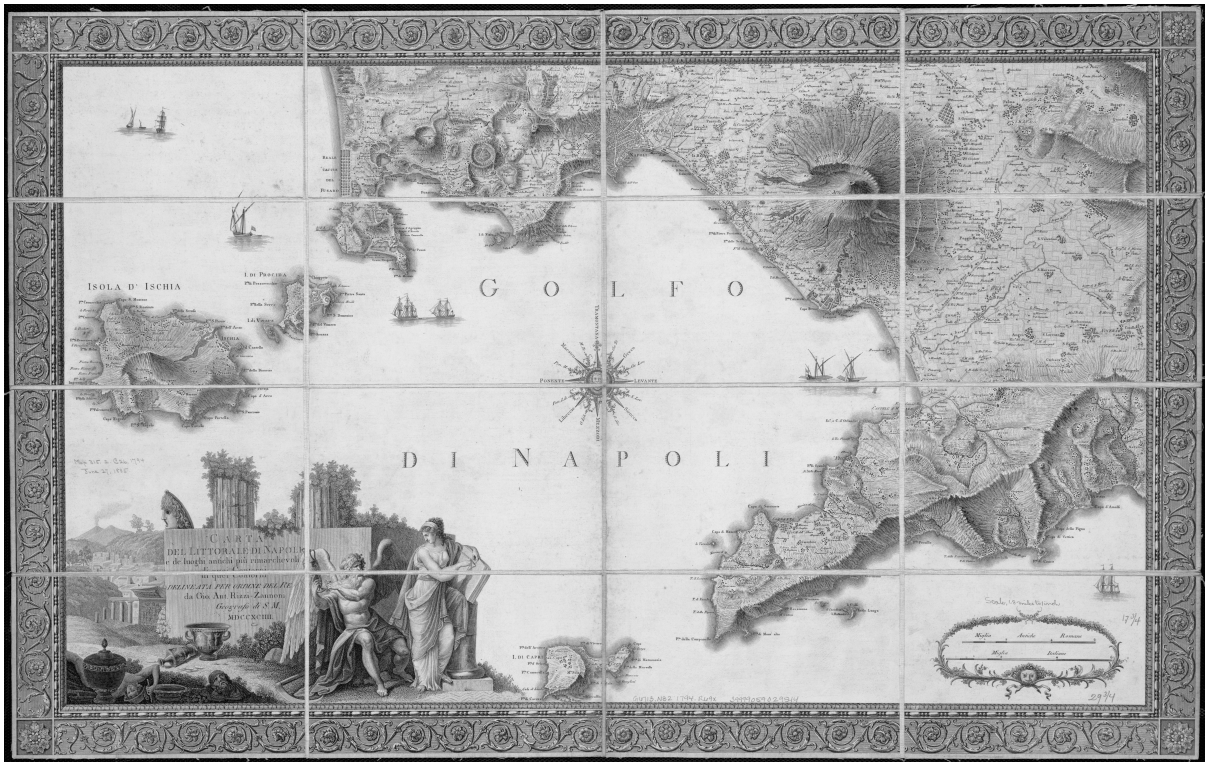

Figure 2.21. Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, *Carta Del Littorale Di Napoli e de luoghi antichi più rimarchevoli di quei Contorni*, 1794.

intensification of milling and storage activities near Naples, it was argued, would help challenge the longstanding pre-eminence of the flour milling and grain storage pole of Torre Annunziata—a town South-East of Bourbon capital which legislators considered to be the epicentre of the Kingdom's illicit grain hoarding activities and contraband (Fig. 2.21).[134] In relocating most of these activities to the capital's Eastern outskirts (and thus close to the seat of power), the monarchy, it was hoped, could have much more significant oversight over the Kingdom of Naples' internal and external grain traffic.

From the start, the practices of survey and cartographical representation were inseparable from the territorial transformation the councillors suggested.[135] Envisioning the territory surrounding Naples as a vast spatial construct that could be managed and transformed (rather than as an opaque object of legislation) required having a "panoptic-like overview" of its spatial, geographical and infrastructural articulation.[136] Monarchical deputies needed knowledge of the area's topographical features, the quality of its soil, its hydrography, its road conditions, and its property situation (amongst others). Hence, Royal mapping campaigns outside Naples proliferated between the 1770s and 1780s, especially after the Padua-born geographer Giovanni Antonio Bartolomeo Rizzi Zannoni was recruited by the Bourbon court.[137] Formerly based in Paris, Rizzi Zannoni arrived in Naples in 1781 to work on a monumental atlas of the Kingdom based on objective measurements.[138] However, in a short time, his commissions grew to include numerous and diverse cartographic descriptions, including the *Pianta della Città di Napoli*—an ichnographic plan of the capital completed in 1790 (Fig. 2.3)—and the *Carta del Littorale di Napoli*—a map of Naples' coastline describing its present and ancient wonders completed in 1794 (Fig. 2.21).[139]

More than static representations or scientific and artistic virtuosos, these documents

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[134] ASN, *Ministero delle Finanze*, fs. 2885 bis, fs.lo 4, inc. 1-2, *Memoria per i magazzini del Ponte della Maddalena*, a. 1778, translated by the author.

[135] Antoine Picon, "What Has Happened to Territory?," *Territory: Architecture Beyond Environment, Architectural Design* 80, no. 3, ed. David Gissen (2010): 97.

[136] Ibid.

[137] On the work of Rizzi Zannoni under Ferdinand IV see Giovanni Brancaccio, *Geografia, Cartografia e Storia del Mezzogiorno* (Napoli: Guida, 1991), 197-218.

[138] Ibid., 197.

[139] Ibid., 203. On the two maps, see also *L'Italia del Cavaliere Rizzi Zannoni* (Giussano: Grafiche Bossi, 2014), 54-55; 62-63

were "functional means" for implementing the Bourbons' Kingdom-wide strategies of subjugation.[140] The maps captured spaces and knowledge domains previously uncharted by Royal administrators, opening the territory to political inspection as well as territorial transformation.[141] Rizzi Zannoni's 1793 *Topografia dell'Agro Napoletano con le sue adjacenze* (Fig. 2.20) demonstrates well how mapping worked in conjunction with architecture and reform as part of the Granili's broader territorial reconfiguration. Stretching from the Reali Cacce del Fusaro towards the west (one of the several hunting grounds seized by the Bourbons) until the grain district and flour milling hub of Torre Annunziata towards the east, the map not only provided the first-ever survey of Naples' territory based on geodetic measurement instruments. [142] It also offered a minute description of Naples' agricultural hinterland, mapping its topographical, hydrogeological and geological features as well as information relevant to its human occupation, such as the exact location and ownership of its grain farms and mills (Fig. 2.20). Thus the map paved the way for the monarchy's vast project of landscape restoration while at the same time accurately describing the grain industry's current spatial articulation and critical players—information which the Bourbons could, in turn, capitalise on in carrying out their broader ambitions for state territorialisation.

The Kingdom as frontier

Considered more broadly as part of the capital-provinces relation, the territorial politics that Fuga's Granili instigated reveal the profoundly exploitative nature of the Bourbon monarchy's centralisation efforts. Indeed, while the road building and land restoration necessary to the project's success were promoted as acts of paternal care ('good stewardship' and the production of social equity by encouraging agriculture and trade); and while, in monarchical rhetoric, the concentration of storage and processing facilities nearby Naples

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[140] Brancaccio, *Geografia, Cartografia e Storia del Mezzogiorno*, 211.

[141] On the political aims and effects of surveys and cartography see Mukerji, "The Great Forestry Survey of 1669-1671," 227-253

[142] The *Topografia dell'Agro Napoletano* was the first map of Naples' agricultural hinterland based on geodetical measurements and measured surveys. See, *L'Italia del Cavaliere Rizzi Zannoni*, 60-61.

would prevent grain smuggling and hoarding; in practice, all such measures reinforced the structural imbalances of a provisioning system that served the interests of a restricted mercantile elite (primarily based in Naples) at the expense of entire underclasses of peasants and agricultural producers.[143] The best metaphor for this system was coined by the late eighteenth-century economist Giuseppe Maria Galanti who in his 1792 *Breve descrizione della città di Napoli e del suo contorno* compared Naples to a creature whose "monstrous head…exploited and consumed all the resources of its frail body (the provinces)."[144] While being a firm monarchical supporter, he persuaded the King that the capital opulence was "sustained by the hands of the miserable and sad cultivator" and that if, from the realm of Charles V, Naples had grown to become a great metropolitan centre, this was only through the persistent impairment and oppression of the inhabitants of the provinces.[145]

The colonial character of Naples' relation to its provinces—a character which Fuga's Granili were meant to accentuate even—can be appreciated by looking at the asymmetric nature of their material exchanges. Historian Paolo Macry, for example, has shown how, in 1768, of the 121 cargo ships departing from Naples to gather grain or oil in the provinces, one carried wood stock to be sold in Vietri, another two carried pozzolana cement and "bagatelle" to Barletta, while the remaining 118 were shipped empty.[146] Throughout that whole year, the amount of empty cargo which left the capital totalled a striking 400'000 tomoli—roughly a third of Naples' yearly grain and flour needs.[147] Similarly, in 1774, of the 85 ships departing from Naples, one was a war vessel, three carried "mercanzie" to Taranto,

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[143] Macry, *Mercato e società*, 284.

[144] See the eighteenth-century re-edition, Giuseppe M. Galanti, *Napoli e Contorni* (Napoli: Borel e Comp., 1838), 19-20, translated by the author.

[145] Ibid. translated by the author. Contemporary authors have supported this view. In his comparative study of American slaveholders and southern Italian landowners, Enrico Dal Lago has for example argued that the profits "southern Italian landowners made with the production and sale of agricultural products for the world market and also…for the internal market often allowed them to adopt luxurious lifestyles, lifestyles that relied on the exploitation of…agricultural labourers." Moreover, Dal Lago has argued that "elites rationalised their exploitative practices and their consequent hegemonic social position, seeing them and describing them… through the lens of…patriarchal-paternal-worldviews." See Enrico Dal Lago, *Agrarian Elites: American Slaveholders and Southern Italian Landowners, 1815-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 2005), 23.

[146] Macry, *Mercato e società*, 77.

[147] Ibid.

Gallipoli, and Pizzo, and the remaining were vacant and brought back a staggering cargo of over 280'000 tomoli of grain.[148] Macry argues that the empty cargos demonstrate the subjugation of the southern Italian countryside to the interests of the capital. And it highlights, too, that the provinces were so poor that they failed to constitute even a small-scale market for selling manufactured goods.[149]

The layout of the Kingdom's road network was also part of Naples's exploitation of its provinces. Consisting of four principal roads radially connecting the capital with the Papal State, the northern regions, northern Apulia, and Calabria, it served well the political and commercial interests of grain merchants and the Annona. But by the same token, it also caused entire regions to be cut off from food supply chains.[150] This was the case in the provinces of Abruzzo around Teramo, Chieti and Vasto, as well as in most parts of Molise, Calabria, the basins of Biferno and Fortore and the Apennine region of Basilicata (Fig. 2.16),[151] where only wealthy merchants could cope with the high transport costs and poor roads.[152] As a result of this, their populations were intensely and persistently underfed.[153]

But perhaps the most problematic aspect of Bourbons' centralising policies consisted of emerging agro-monocultures.[154] Especially in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the demands for corn and oil increased at a pace unprecedented in Neapolitan history, the rural populations of the Kingdom's most fertile production regions (especially Apulia) became "entrapped in a vicious [economic] cycle" which obliterated civic customs, polarised social relations and rendered the precariousness of the peasant structural.[155] Indeed, while high foodstuff demands meant that there was more money in the system and that, therefore, more wealth could be distributed amongst the subjects participating in it, it also meant that

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[148] Ibid.

[149] Ibid., 78.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Ibid., 48.

[152] Ibid. 48, 55-6.

[153] Ibid.

[154] See Biagio Salvemini, "The arrogance of the market. The Kingdom of Naples in the XVIIIth century: an economy between the Mediterranean and Europe," in *Naples in the Eighteenth Century. The Birth and Death of a Nation State*, ed. Girolamo Imbruglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 44-69.

[155] Salvemini, "The arrogance of the market," 66.

the system became "more rigid and less responsive to the vagaries of the market [and of the climate]."[156] Socio-ecologically, the consequences were drastic. As historian Biagio Salvemini argues, the rise of agro-monocultures caused entire woods to be cut down, for fallow land to be brought into cultivation, and for the land previously cultivated by peasants for private food consumption to be seized by larger agricultural producers.[157] Further, "commercial cereal growing spread rapidly from its traditional [production] areas up the stony hillsides, stretching the endemic tension between arable land and pasture to a breaking point."[158] In essence, the marginal cultivation and food production practices which had for centuries compensated for the corn and oil market's variations in short-term demand decreased rapidly, producing an "endemic social malaise" characterised by rising death rates and brigandage.[159]

Architecture of counter-revolution

As a gambit to centralise the provision of corn, the Granili was part and parcel of these broader socio-economic (and ecological) processes. Indeed, while the building visualised claims of monarchical stewardship and paternal care vis-à-vis the coarse inequalities of the Kingdom's grain trade, its objectives were far from revolutionary. The project was meant not to undermine but to support the market and power structures which for centuries subordinated peasants to the consumption and commercial demands of the capital's elites. For this reason, it would be apt to interpret the Granili not as part of a "revolutionary cultural project" (as the scholar Paolo Giordano has suggested) destined to fail because of the monarchy's weakness vis-à-vis the Kingdom's mercantile elites and nobles, but rather as a deliberate monarchical attempt at counterrevolution.[160] As contemporary architect Pier Vittorio Aureli has explained, drawing from the work of Paolo Virno:

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[156] Ibid.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Ibid.

[159] Ibid.

[160] The citation is from Giordano, *Ferdinando Fuga*, 102.

> A counterrevolution is a 'revolution in reverse,' enjoying the same cultural, social and economic presuppositions that a revolution would typically engage, yet one that looks at the establishment, not of an emancipatory power, but the consolidation of a conservative authority.[161]

In the case of Naples, the repressed revolution consisted of the political campaigns of a generation of intellectuals and a growing middle class of producers advocating for the liberalisation of Naples' grain trade. [162] Eventually, the Annona's poor financial situation and the increasing social tensions deriving from the kingdom's imbalances in the corn distribution system *did* force the monarchy to make significant concessions. In 1788, for instance, the crown liberalised coastal trade (cabotage).[163] Six years later, it ordered the "total liberalisation of bread making and the importation of flour and pasta in the City."[164] These concessions escalated to go beyond annona matters with the restoration of Bourbon rule after the revolution of 1799.[165] Then, Ferdinand IV confirmed the suppression of Naples' Seggi

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[161] Pier Vittorio Aureli, "Do You Remember Counterrevolution?: The Politics of Filippo Brunelleschi's Syntactic Architecture," *AA Files*, No. 71 (2015): 147.

[162] Relevant texts are cited in Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 266 no. 72.

[163] Alifano, *Il grano, il pane e la politica annonaria*, 275-277; Macry, *Mercato e società*, 475-476.

[164] Macry, *Mercato e società*, 476.

[165] The Neapolitan revolution of 1799 resulted from the military conflicts between Naples and France following the outbreak of the French Revolution. Indeed, after the beheading of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette (sister of Maria Carolina, Queen of Naples) in 1793, the Neapolitan monarchy joined a coalition against France, whose troops had, in the meanwhile, occupied large segments of central and northern Italy. In an attempt to restore Papal authority in Rome, Ferdinand's army marched north but were swiftly forced into retreat after a French counter-attack. Fearing that the French could encroach on Naples, the king fled hastily to Palermo, leaving the capital in a state of turmoil. Aided by the French, a group of Neapolitan aristocrats seized the opportunity to install a Republican Government (21 January - 13 June 1799). But after less than five months, and due to the initiative of Cardinal Ruff's counter-revolutionary forces, the monarchy was restored. For a contemporaneous account of the event, see Vincenzo Cuoco, *Saggio storico sulla rivoluzione napoletana del 1799* (Acireale: Infilaindiana Edizioni, 2013). For a recent re-assessment of the revolution and its interpretation in Italian and foreign historiographical traditions, see John A. Davis, "The Neapolitan Revolution 179-1999: between History and Myth," and Anna Maria Rao, "Popular Societies in the Neapolitan Republic of 1799," both in *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 4, 3 (1999): 350-69.

and abolished the Tribunal of San Lorenzo, transferring its functions to the crown.[166] Shortly after, mainly because of the state's poor financial situation, the Annona was abolished, sanctioning the free commerce of oil and grain products. This was ordered by royal decree on 5 July 1804.[167]

Most scholars writing of Fuga's Granili argue that the reforms of the 1790s resulted in the building becoming obsolete immediately after completion.[168] Indeed, by the 1840s, the Granili were almost entirely occupied by Bourbon military quarters.[169] Others maintain that the project was, from the start, inadequate for grain storage given the proximity to the water and the resulting high humidity rates.[170] Nineteenth-century authors such as Giovan Battista Chiarini argued that its lack of success depended instead on the feebleness of Naples' grain market and the resulting low demand for storage.[171] Either way, Francesco Milizia's *Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni* indicates that already in 1781, and thus only two years from the beginning of construction works, a considerable part of the building was used as an artillery arsenal and a rope factory for the Royal army.[172]

To historian Brigitte Marin, this change in function is symptomatic of the royal government's failure to grapple with Naples' food provision frameworks.[173] The inadequacy of Fuga's grain storage, the final straw.[174] But the argument is problematic, first, because it fails to give due justice to the broader political and territorial processes involved in the enterprise. Which is to say that while the purpose of the granary may have been to secure

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[166] Capasso, *Catalogo ragionato*, 129. The business of provisions was, first, taken over by a royal deputation composed of representatives from three groups: nobles, doctors and merchants. This was on the 25th of June 1799. Then, on 23 April 1800, by the newly formed Royal Senate. On 23 September 1800, it was again handed over to a deputation known as the *Deputazione annonaria*.

[167] Ibid., 129-130.

[168] See Marin, "La 'Conservazione de' grani," 189-190; Bernardos and Viroulet, "Formes et fonctions: essai de typologie," 70-72.

[169] See Alvini, *Viaggio da Napoli a Castellammare*, 10.

[170] Pane, *Ferdinando Fuga*, 167-168. This second argument derives from nineteenth-century authors such as the architect Camillo Napoleone Sasso to whom the project, however well intended, was planned poorly and in the wrong place and therefore had to be repurposed.

[171] Celano, *Notizie*, 673.

[172] Milizia, *Memorie*, 291.

[173] Marin, "La 'Conservazione de' grani," 189-190.

[174] Ibid.

food provisions, on a territorial level, its political effects (as we have seen) exceeded the mere matter of grain supply. Second, because it limits analysis to an idealised notion of the building's function. In this sense, it may be argued that while the Granili may have been inadequate for grain storage purposes, their orderly internal layout, surveillance mechanisms and regularity were undoubtedly well suited for a military garrison. Indeed, by 1847 the Granili was entirely administered by the Royal Army and formed as part of an elaborate network of barracks and caserns gravitating around Naples' *Quartiere Mercato*—one of the twelve policing districts in which the capital was divided.[175] The cells lining the Granili's ground level were used as stables for the cavalry.[176] Three cavalry regiments lived on the first floor alongside an artillery arsenal, stores for caparisons, and rooms for officials.[177] The second floor hosted 13 battalions of infantry, each of several hundred soldiers.[178] And the most interesting activity of all took place on the upper of the three levels. There, the over 150 former grain storage units were turned into a vast detention centre hosting ca. 700 inmates employed in producing garments and ropes.[179] In this way, the Granili also joined the Albergo in a family of monarchical buildings intended for the correction and exploitation of the Neapolitan poor.

Seen in this light, the perceived failure of Fuga's granary ceases to be relevant as part of a narrative of Bourbon weakness vis-à-vis the City or the Kingdom of Naples' mercantile elites. Shifting outside from the functional point of view allows for envisioning the project as part of a more "general economy of power"—one that, as Foucault might have suggested—even found support in the royal granary's presumed "functional defects."[180]

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[175] See Mariano D'Ayala, *Napoli Militare* (Napoli: Stamperia dell'Iride, 1847), 366.

[176] Alvini, *Viaggio da Napoli a Castellammare*, 11.

[177] Ibid.

[178] Ibid.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 117.

3. Power on death's borders. Fuga's Camposanto for the Hospital of the Incurabili and the politics of burial reform in eighteenth-century Naples

This chapter investigates the interrelation of architecture and burial reform in eighteenth-century Naples through Ferdinando Fuga's 'Camposanto' or cemetery of the Incurabili hospital. Commissioned by order of the monarchy in 1762, the Camposanto was an ingenious burial apparatus outside Naples' city walls. It consisted of an open square courtyard composed of a grid of 366 pits (Figs. 3.1, 3.2). These pits orchestrated the internment of thousands of hospital patients according to the chronological scansion of the yearly calendar —a unique instance in funerary architecture.[1] To date, Fuga's Camposanto has mostly been treated as an example of state-sponsored burial architecture and according to hygiene policies and doctrines formulated by so-called 'Enlightenment' physicians.[2] Instead, this chapter argues that while the commission of the new cemetery and relocation of the Incurabili's burials beyond Naples' city walls may have been aimed at improving health conditions at the hospital, its effects exceeded matters of public hygiene. The Camposanto became an

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[1] The existing literature on Fuga's Camposanto consists mainly of two approaches. Paolo Giordano and Roberto Pane have analysed the building in formal and typological terms and according to debates taking place in eighteenth-century architectural circles concerning funerary architecture. See: Paolo Giordano, *Il Disegno dell'Architettura Funebre. Napoli-Poggio Reale, Il cimitero delle 366 Fosse e il Sepolcreto dei Colerici* (Firenze: Alinea, 2006), 89-180; Giordano, *Ferdinando Fuga a Napoli*, 91-101; Pane, *Ferdinando Fuga*, 154-5. Francesco Pezzini and Diego Carnevale, instead, have investigated the project as part of a wider analysis on burial reform in early modern Southern Italy. See Francesco Pezzini, "Disciplina della Sepoltura nella Napoli del Settecento. Note di ricerca," in *Studi Storici*, 51, n. 1 (Jan-March 2010): 162-175; Diego Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti. Mercato funerario, politica e gestione della sepoltura a Napoli (secoli XVII-XIX)* (Rome: l'École Française de Rome, 2014), 302-313. See also Diego Carnevale and Brigitte Marin. "Naples, une réforme difficile," in *Aux origines des cimetières contemporains. Les réformes funéraires de l'Europe occidentale*, ed. Régis Bertrand and Anne Carol (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2016): 323-324.

[2] To date, the two most extensive studies of Fuga's cemetery are Francesco Pezzini's "Disciplina della Sepoltura" and Diego Carnevale's *L'affare dei morti*. While they are different in scope—Pezzini's research focuses on burial reform from the point of view of medical culture, while Diego Carnevale inscribes the issue in a broader, cultural, and socio-economic study of burial practices in Naples—both authors interpret the cemetery in terms of the rhetoric through which public health officers promoted it. See Pezzini, "Disciplina della Sepoltura nella Napoli del Settecento," 162-175; Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 302-13.



Figure 3.1. Camposanto degli Incurabili. View of burial court towards the southeast.



Figure 3.2. Camposanto degli Incurabili. View of burial court towards the entrance vestibule.

instrument to extend the monarchy's authority in domains of life hitherto outside the royal government's control. Through the Camposanto, I argue, royal power over the living was established even on death's borders.

This chapter, therefore, approaches burial reform in socio-political terms rather than from the naturalising and depoliticising standpoint of hygienist discourse. I study Fuga's Camposanto and the ensuing reforms, not in terms of their sanitary function or from an institutional-centric approach but as technologies of rule.[3] I thus focus on Camposanto's place in the imposition of new public health conventions, where the very notion of *health* is understood, not as a given object (or condition) but as a field of truth (or of capacity), constructed historically, and reconfigured through and in support of power. Thus, the chapter interprets the Camposanto, not as an illustration of or response to new medical theories but as a tactical component in the production and legitimisation of sovereign health power.

The 'Cemetery of the Three Hundred and Sixty-Six Pits'

Although small in scale compared to the Albergo or the Granili, Fuga's design for the Incurabili cemetery was, without doubt, the most idiosyncratic of the Tuscan architect's monarchical commissions for Naples. Sited on top of a naturally formed platform issuing from the hill of Capo di Chino (Fig. 3.3), its distance from Naples' city centre was a radical departure from the established tradition of burying dead bodies in church precincts and at close quarters with the living—a practice which, as I discuss below in more detail, was

[3] My approach resonates with Michel Foucault's analysis of disciplinary institutions according to which a "triple displacement" is necessary in order to understand the "indefinite tangled skein" of power relations. First, to move off-centre in relation to the problematic of the institution in order to trace its role as part of a more general and global project. Second, to shift outside from the point of view of function in order to insert the institution within strategies and tactics concerning a more general "economy of power." Third, to shift outside from the point of view of the object in order to grasp "the movement by which a field of truth with objects of knowledge" is constituted through technologies of power. In his own words: "to free relations of power from the institution, in order to analyse them from the point of view of technologies; to distinguish them also from the function, so as to take them up within a strategic analysis; and to detach them from the privilege of the object, so as to resituate them within the perspective of the constitution of fields, domains, and objects of knowledge." Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 116-18.

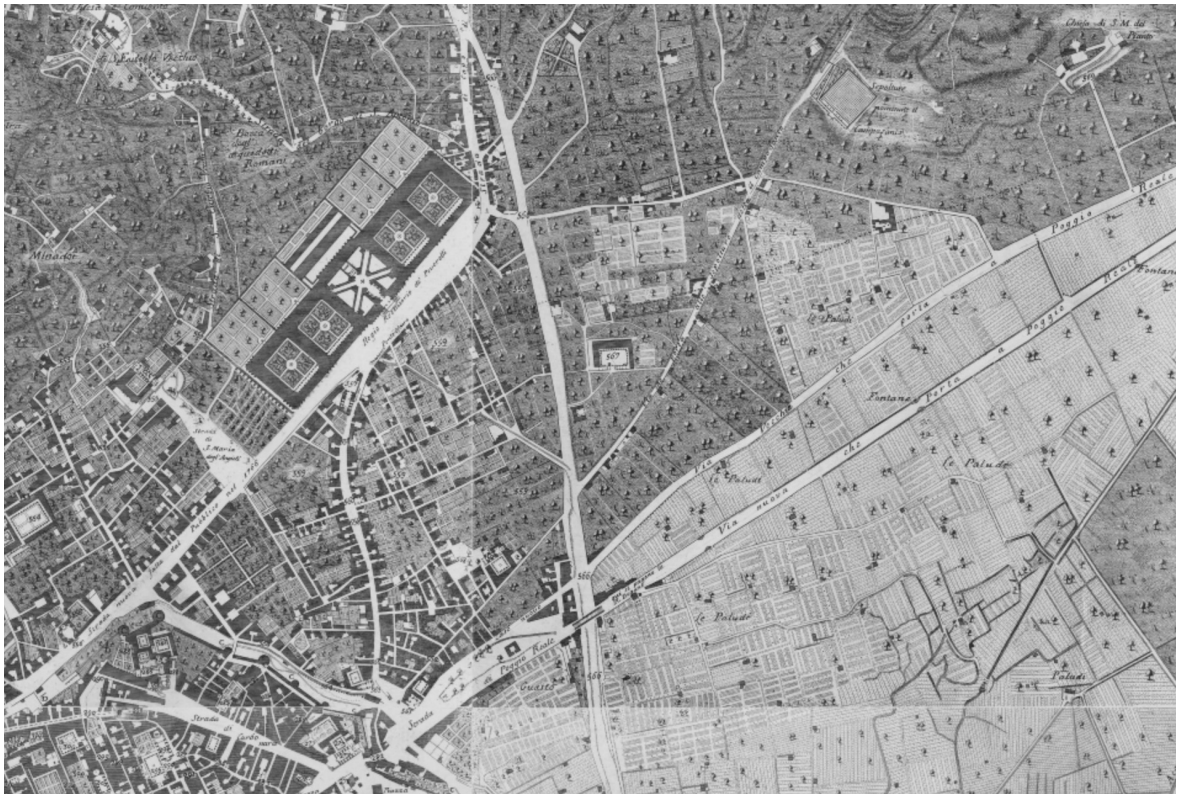

Figure 3.3. Giovanni Carafa Duca di Noja, *Mappa topografica della citta di Napoli e de' suoi contorni*, 1775, detail showing the Albergo dei Poveri in the upper left and the Camposanto degli Incurabili in the upper right.



Figure 3.4. Giovanni Carafa Duca di Noja, *Mappa topografica della citta di Napoli e de' suoi contorni*, 1775, detail showing the Camposanto degli Incurabili.

regarded as crucial for the ascending to heaven. Moreover, the Cemetery's vast square burial yard punctuated by 366 communal graves (Fig. 3.4) set it apart from existing mass graves, most of which were characterised by a single pit and lid where bodies were piled up for centuries on end. The commission was also one of the boldest monarchical encroachments on the domain of public health—a domain of government formerly administered by the City's Health Deputation (whose members met weekly at the Tribunal of San Lorenzo). Yet, for all the projects' disruptiveness and its unique architectural and thanatotic regimens, existing scholarship on the Incurabili cemetery is exiguous and, with few exceptions, is mainly produced by medical history scholars rather than art or architectural historians.[4] Indeed, despite the fame of its author—whose work in southern and central Italy has been investigated in minute detail—and the building's unique typological features, to most architectural researchers, the cemetery's rich and complex history remains largely unknown.

This is due to various reasons, the first of which, perhaps, is the building's poor state of conservation. Indeed, although still used as a municipal cemetery), in recent times, the compound has fallen into complete disrepair: As represented in current photographs, its outdoor burial yard is largely overgrown by vegetation and the plaster once coating its ceilings and walls no longer covers the coarse tufa stone masonry (Figs. 3.3, 3.4). Adding to the misfortunes, over the past two centuries, its once idyllic surroundings have also degraded. Indeed, whereas the building used to be sited amidst lush orchards and marshlands, dominating an agricultural landscape that stretched from Capo di Chino to the sea (Fig. 3.5), today, one of the bleakest and most haphazardly urbanised areas of Naples' northeastern suburbs encroaches on it; its high perimeter walls are concealed within a dense a tangle of high-speed road infrastructure and speculative architecture (Fig. 3.6).

The lack of scholarship on Fuga's cemetery may also be due to early modern architectural history conventions. Research on cemetery architecture tends to be centred on the monumental or 'high architecture' of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century academic funerary projects, focusing primarily on the new 'styles' and 'architectural

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[4] Apart from the studies mentioned above by Pezzini and Carnevale, scholarship on Fuga's cemetery is scant, and the only architectural historian to have taken an interest in the cemetery is Paolo Giordano. Giordano's research has made a significant contribution but mostly approaches the cemetery in formal/typological terms and as an early incarnation of nineteenth-century public cemetery architecture. See Giordano, *Ferdinando Fuga a Napoli*, 91-101; Giordano, *Il Disegno dell'Architettura Funebre*, 89-180.



Figure 3.5. Anonymous, *Napoli dal Campo*, first half of the nineteenth century.



Figure 3.6. Camposanto degli Incurabili. Aerial view.

languages' adopted for the new spaces of the dead.[5] But Fuga's cemetery can hardly be appreciated in these terms. A hospital cemetery catering for the entombment of Naples' most abject poor, the building stands out for its austerity and muteness rather than for its stylistic eloquence. In its main elevation—arguably, the building's most expressive feature—decoration is kept to a bare minimum: a spare alternation of paired pilaster strips and windows centred around a plain pedimented archway with inscriptions in the lateral bays (Figs. 3.7, 3.8). Across the entire front, the only markedly ornamental feature is a small skull and crossbones bas relief inserted in the entrance tympanum—a chilling image although relatively aloof when set against the rich sculptural legacy of early modern *memento mori*.[6] Nor is the interior of Fuga's cemetery any more palatable in appearance—not in conventional art historical terms at least. Its burial yard—the cemetery's principal space—consists of a barren walled enclosure of 6400 meters square. Square in plan, the space is paved by coarse lava stone tiles of different measures and proportions. At the perimeter, four wall segments rise at about 6 meters in height. The walls are almost identical (Figs. 3.10). Each is structured

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[5] This approach is exemplified in Hannah Malone's *Architecture, Death and nationhood,* in which she claims that "cemeteries are particularly well suited to the transmission of meanings, many of which are embedded in [their] style" and that the "signals carried by funerary architecture are accentuated, partly because of the pronounced nature of the symbolic functions of cemeteries." Like most architectural scholars writing about burial reform, Malone takes an interest in how the monumental architecture of early nineteenth-century Italian cemeteries was "invested with socio-political significance, and meanings associated with the aggrandisement of the middle classes, the establishment of the nation-state, the construction of an Italian identity." See Hannah Malone, *Architecture, Death and Nationhood. Monumental Cemeteries of Nineteenth-Century Italy* (New York: Routledge, 2017). Examples of this approach focusing on the history of Italian cemeteries include Laura Bertolaccini, *Città e cimiteri: Dall'eredità medievale alla codificazione ottocentesca* (Rome: Edizioni Kappa, 2004); Maria Giuffrè, Fabio Mangone, Sergio Pace, and Ornella Selvafolta, eds, *L'architettura della memoria in Italia. Cimiteri, monumenti e città 1750–1939* (Milan: Skira, 2007). For a similar reading relative to the French context, see Richard Etlin, *The Architecture of Death: The Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth-century Paris* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983). An exception to this tendency is Grazia Tomasi, *Per salvare i viventi. Le origini settecentesche del cimitero extra-urbano* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2001).

[6] I am especially referring to the Catholic religious baroque cult of memento mori ("remember that you shall die") as represented in devotional images, sculpture and architectural ornamentation and their iconography of crossed bones, saints contemplating skulls, sand dials, candles, and other symbols of transience in human life. In Naples, a particularly eloquent repository of such imagery is the Church of Santa Maria del Purgatorio ad Arco, of which I will speak in more detail later in the chapter. For an analysis of memento mori iconography within the art and architecture of post-Tridentine Rome see Corinna Ricasoli, "'Memento Mori' in Baroque Rome," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, vol. 104, no. 416 (Winter 2015/2015): 456- 467. No plenary analysis of the phenomenon exists for Naples, but I will refer to scholarship relevant to singular interrelated works later in the chapter.





Figure 3.7. Camposanto degli Incurabili. View of the entrance front.

Figure 3.8. Camposanto degli Incurabili. View of the entrance.



Figure 3.9. Camposanto degli Incurabili. Pit n. 29.

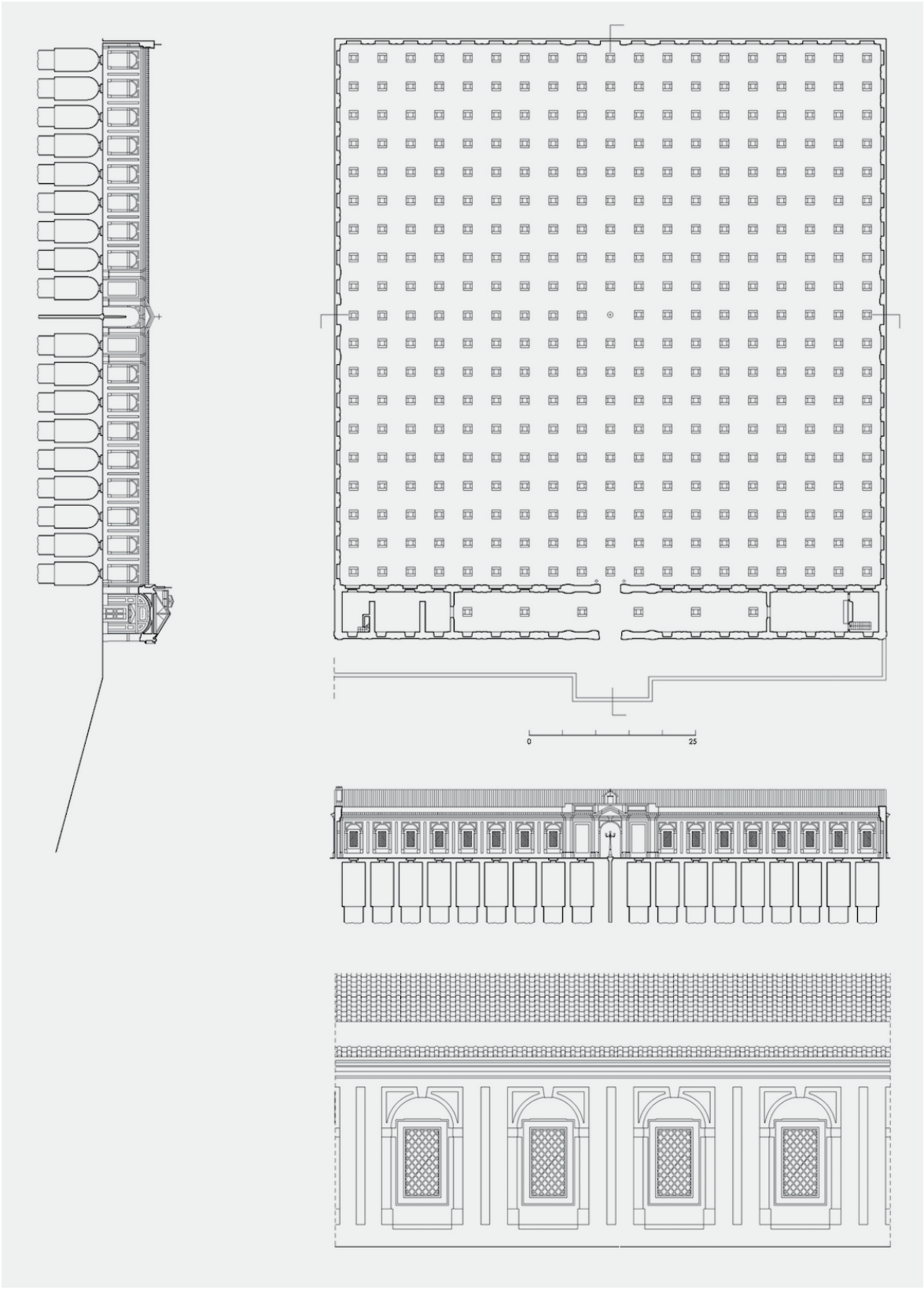

Figure 3.10. Ferdinando Fuga, Camposanto degli Incurabili, Naples, begun 1762. Floor plan, sections and elevation detail.

according to a 19-bay parti of paired pilaster strips and arched niches, and all feature a pedimented arch in the middle of the wall—a faint echo of the Camposanto's principal front.[7] Spare in appearance, the building makes little or no claims to architectural sumptuousness.

As if by a paradox, the most remarkable aspect of Fuga's project, and that from which its moniker "il Cimitero delle Trecento Sessanta Sei fosse" or "the Cemetery of the Three Hundred and Sixty-Six Pits" derives, can barely be seen. Indeed, beneath the Camposanto's coarse lava stone paving lies a perfect grid of 366 communal graves, each measuring 4 x 4 x 6 meters, and the grid neatly aligned to the structure's 19-bay parti (Fig 3.10). The cavities are no longer in use, but their position is still recognisable by the location of their lids which form a regular point grid spreading throughout the entirety of the space. Each lid consists of a single slate of lava stone of 70 by 70 centimetres and is marked by an inscription in Arab numerals proceeding from 1 until 366 (Figs. 3.9, 3.10). The numbers correspond to the days of the calendar year since the graves were used on a rotating basis. On any given day, the dead of that day were hauled down into a pit. That pit was then sealed off for a year—including in leap years (hence the 366th pit).[8] Furthermore, for the heavy stone lids to be removed, the process was assisted by a wood and metal tripod crane which, throughout the course of 366 days, travelled around the whole court, pit by pit, following a boustrophedon sequence—left to right and right to left in alternate lines (a sequence which ensured that the bulky tripod crane would move no more than was essential).[9] When the pits reached total capacity, their de-fleshed skeletal content was stacked up within the cemetery's 360 arched niches—not unlike in French *charniers*—and later moved to one of Naples' peripheral ossuaries (e.g. the present Cimitero delle Fontanelle, or the grottos of Santa Maria del Pianto

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[7] As may be seen in recent photographs of the building, at present, the arched niches lining the Camposanto's perimeter walls are heterogeneously filled up with funerary plaques, and family chapels and individual tombs. However, as the dates of their inscriptions suggest, these burials are only a recent addition to the cemetery complex.

[8] The burial method adopted at the Camposanto is described in detail in Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 302-310; Pezzini, *Disciplina della sepoltura*, 162-168.

[9] The tripod crane is described in Edoardo Nappi, "Incurabili. Nuovi documenti e precisazioni," *Quaderni dell'Archivio storico. Istituto Banco di Napoli - Fondazione. Napoli 2009-2010* (2011): 275. From 1875, the wooden crane was replaced by a moveable metal winch. The winch featured a coffin which could be lowered in the pits. As the historian Hannah Malone describes, "when the coffin came into contact with remains already in the vault, a hinged section opened on impact and the corpse was released." See Malone, *Architecture, Death and Nationhood*, 14.

and the Sportiglioni).[10] This process ensured that the cemetery was operative for decades on end and with minimal maintenance.

As the historian Hannah Malone points out, this working method was decidedly "mechanistic" and markedly different from existing burials.[11] Indeed, hospital burials characterised by the juxtaposition of multiple graves were not uncommon in early modern Italian states—the Foppone della Ca' Grande, built between 1695 and 1732 for the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan, featured 86 pits under its lobate heptagonal portico. In the mid-1740s, Fuga himself designed a burial of this sort for the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Rome, whose cemetery featured as many as 103 graves arranged in a square court (Figs. 3.11, 3.12). But never before were burials subjected to such a rigid and unrelenting system of spatial and chronological organisation.[12]

The deadly dead (or the rhetoric of public health)

Faced with the Camposanto's draconian burial method and aesthetics, scholars have primarily interpreted the project in functional terms. Thus, Fuga's cemetery is overwhelmingly addressed by scholars as having been designed to confront the insalubrious and haphazard conditions of the Incurabili hospital's pre-existing communal burial. Known to early modern Neapolitans by the acronym 'Piscina,' not much is known of this construction except that it was located somewhere in the hospital precincts and that it was the largest and most widely

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[10] The three sites are located in Naples' northern and northeastern districts. They were originally tufa stone quarries and began to be used as ossuaries during the 1656 plague. From then on, they began to be used regularly by Neapolitan congregations whenever their ossuaries were full. Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 76. For burial practices during the 1656 plague, see Pasquale Lopez, *Napoli e la peste 1464-1530. Politica, istituzioni, problemi sanitari* (Napoli: Jovene, 1989), 33.

[11] Malone, *Architecture, Death and Nationhood*, 14.

[12] Scholarship on the Foppone della Ca' Grande is very scarce. The most extensive source by far is Cesare Staurenghi, *L'Ospedale Maggiore di Milano e i suoi antichi sepolcri, particolarmente il Foppone ora detto la Rotonda, cronistoria milanese dei secoli XV-XX...* (Milano: U. Hoepli, 1916). See also Mazzotta Buratti, ed., *Milano nel Settecento*, 66-7. On the cemetery of Santo Spirito see Flavia Colonna, "L'opera di Ferdinando Fuga nell'ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia di Roma," in *Ferdinando Fuga,* ed. Alfonso Gambardella (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2001): 293-303. Here too, scholarship is surprisingly scarce.

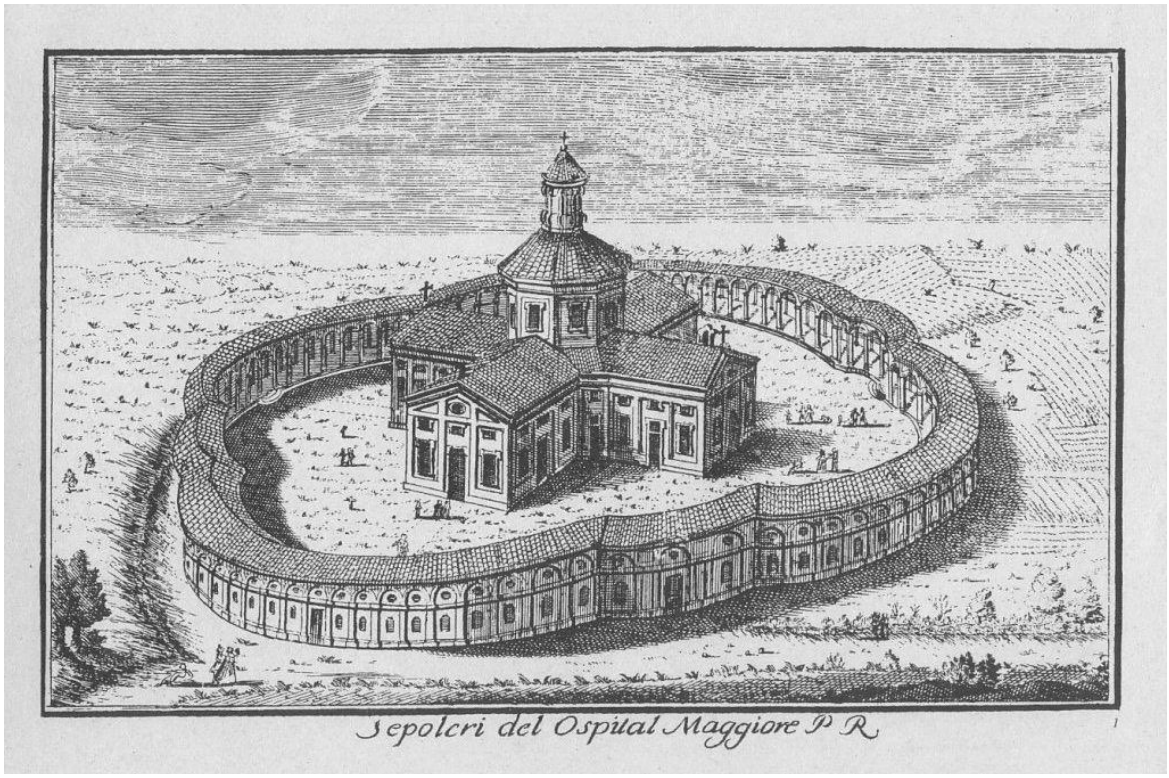

Figure 3.11. The cemetery of the Ospedale Maggiore, Milan, begun 1695.

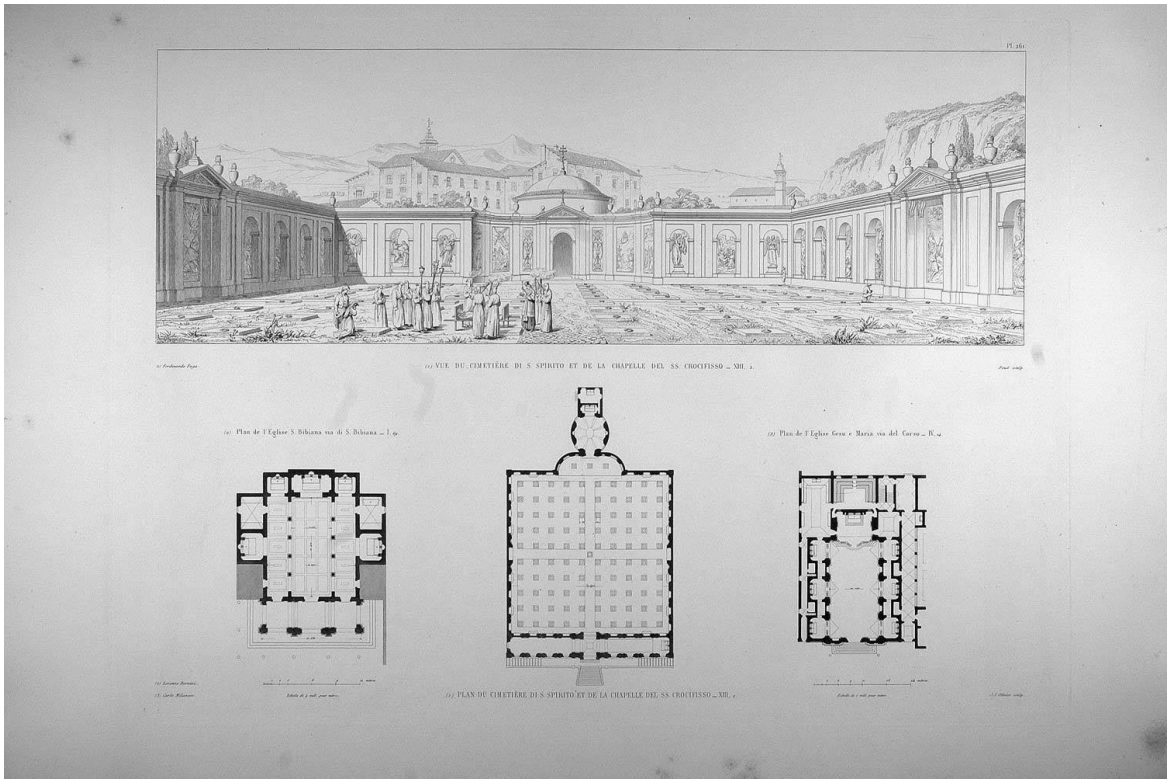

Figure 3.12. Ferdinando Fuga, The cemetery of S. Spirito, Rome, 1745.

used burial vault of its day (at least in Naples).[13] There were deposited the dead of the deadliest and most crowded of Neapolitan hospitals—an institution sheltering men and women suffering the most malignant illnesses, including syphilis and tuberculosis.[14] Furthermore, in times of hardship, the Piscina was also used by other Neapolitan hospitals such as the Annunziata and the Ospedale di Sant'Eligio, developing into a sizeable reservoir of decomposing cadavers.[15]

In the mid-1750s Bourbon health authorities insisted that the public health dangers of the Piscina's ever-growing pile of rotting human flesh threatened the health of Naples in ways which were impossible to ignore.[16] Specifically, they argued that Piscina's central position, as well as its necessarily frequent opening, were causing the "most wicked and truly harmful emissions" to contaminate the air, threatening the health of hospital patients, doctors and nearby residents with the most harmful fevers—even "pestilential."[17] Spearheaded by a group of progressive Neapolitan physicians operating at the Neapolitan court, this argument made leverage on acknowledged early modern humoral theories to set forth new empirical claims over the dangers of the decomposing dead. Indeed, that stinking vapours carried diseases was almost commonplace in eighteenth-century medical literature, and so was the assumption that

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[13] On the Piscina, see Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 304-305; Pezzini, "Disciplina della Sepoltura nella Napoli del Settecento," 163-165. Early modern sources on the Piscina include Vincenzo Magnati, *Teatro della carità istorico,legale,politico, in cui si dimostrano le opere tutte della Real Santa Casa dell'Incurabili, che si eservitano sotto il titolo di Santa Maria del Popolo nella città di Napoli in benefizio del prossimo* (Venezia: Tivani, 1727), 98, 304-305; Celano, *Notizie*, vol. V, 478; Sigismondo, *Descrizione della città di Napoli*, vol. I, 144-151; Galante, *Guida sacra della città di Napoli*, 295.

[14] On the Ospedale degli Incurabili, see: Giuliana Boccadamo, "Maria Longo, l' Ospedale degli Incurabili e la sua Insula," in *Campania sacra*, 30 (2000): 37- 170; Gabriele Botti, "Da ospedale-ricovero a ospedale clinico: il collegio medico-cerusico degli Incurabili di Napoli," in *Povertà e beneficienza tra Rivoluzione e Restaurazione*, ed. G. Botti, L. Guidi, L. Valenzi (Naples: Morano, 1990): 239-57; Ciro Fiorillo, *Gli incurabili: l'Ospedale, La Farmacia, il Museo* (Udine: Campanotto, 1991); Adriana Valerio, *L'ospedale del Reame. Gli Incurabili a Napoli. Storia e arte* (Naples: Il Torchio della Regina Editore, 2010).

[15] Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 76.

[16] ASN, *Ministero degli Affari Ecclesiastici*, espedienti di consiglio, b.734, inc. dated 3 April 1756, letter to the secretary Gaetano Maria Brancone by the governors of the Incurabili Hospital dated 25 January 1756

[17] Ibid.

hospital inmates suffering from chronic illnesses could emit foul air.[18] Thus Bourbon health deputies found it only reasonable to suggest that the mephitic exhalations ensuing from *dead* hospital patients were to be regarded as dangerous as those emitted by *living* patients.[19] The Piscina had to be closed.

Uncritically following the Bourbon monarchy's archival sources, historians and architectural historians writing about Fuga's Camposanto have mostly tended to confirm this narrative.[20] Citing the royal decrees and a prodigious repertoire of eighteenth-century medical literature on the risks of the decomposing dead, scholars have argued that the identification of foul odours as carriers of infection prompted officials and public health deputies at the service of the Bourbon sovereign to identify the stench of death emanating from Piscina as an

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[18] For example, in a 1744 pamphlet focusing on the need for air and open space when building large hospitals, the Neapolitan physician Felice Roseti pointed to how hospital patients were to be regarded as one of the primary sources of air pollution "because these people are not healthy, but sick, and because their bodies are so strongly oppressed by illnesses that the airs they give off are necessarily morbid, most fetid, and putrid...and it is clear therefore that the corruptness of the air is proportional to that of the ill people who breathe it, and to the momentous stench which their bodies emit." See Felice Roseti, *Memorie ragionate in confermazione e spiegamento del parere dato intorno alla necessita che anno i grandi ospedali ...* (Naples, 1744), XII-XIII, translated by the author, Google Books, accessed 11 February 2019, https://books.google.it/books?id=mcvNQp7VAwUC&dq=felice+roseti+memorie+ragionate&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

[19] ASN, *Ministero degli Affari Ecclesiastici*, espedienti di consiglio, b.734, inc. dated 3 April 1756, letter to the secretary Gaetano Maria Brancone by the governors of the Incurabili Hospital dated 25 January 1756.

[20] "By the middle of the 1750s, the notorious 'piscina' of the hospital of the Incurabili reached levels of saturation which had become intolerable" writes the Naples-based historian Diego Carnevale in his 2014 volume *L'affare dei morti* before presenting the multiple ways in which Fuga's design was meant to perform as a solution to that problem. Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 304-305. Similarly, in his essay "Disciplina della sepoltura nella Napoli del Settecento. Note di Ricerca" the historian Francesco Pezzini described the Camposanto as a courageous albeit precocious effort to "liberate Naples from the contaminating presence of the dead." Pezzini, "Disciplina della sepoltura nella Napoli del Settecento," 159, 162.

imminent hazard to anyone living within or around the hospital precincts.[21] This argument has, furthermore, found resonance with an even broader teleological interpretation: that the Camposanto was the first amongst several monarchical efforts to "rid Naples of the contaminating presence of the dead" and that the Bourbons' later campaigns for the closure of urban graveyards, for ending burials in churches and for the construction of public cemeteries successfully turned Naples into a privileged laboratory for the promotion of modern public health conventions.[22]

Although there are resonant aspects to this narrative, its champions also tend to oversimplify matters avoiding any acknowledgement, for example, that in Naples—like elsewhere in Europe and New Spain—the miasmic theories upheld by health authorities were widely contested, including among government members. In the early 1780s, for instance, a member of the Bourbon monarchy's health deputation (Deputazione della Salute) Nicolò Mormile lamented that:

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[21] The narrative has found resonance in vast body of eighteenth-century medical literature. Most notably, in 1781 the Kingdom's health official Giovanni Vivenzio translated a French treatise on the "bad effects on public health deriving from the burial of cadavers in cities and inhabited places." See *Parere della Società regale di medicina di Parigi sopra il male che portano alla pubblica salute i cadaveri sepolti dentro le città e luoghi abitato* (Naples: 1781) cited in Pezzini, "Disciplina della sepoltura," 188, no. 82. In 1782 the Sicilian doctor Carlo Palermo dealt with inhumation as part of his treatise tackling "the origins of epidemics and of contagious diseases." See Carlo Palermo, *Dissertazione avvantaggiosa, ed importante all'umanità per lo buon regolamento fisico-economico della società, e pubblica sanità sopra l'origine delle malattie epidemi-che, e contagiose* (Napoli: 1782). In 1783, the health deputy of the Piazza del Popolo Domenico Cerulli argued for "the abolition of sepulchres from the temples of this Capital" in his *Per l'abolizione de' sepolcri da' tempj di questa Capitale, riflessioni*. See Domenico Cerulli, *Per l'abolizione de' sepolcri da' tempj di questa Capitale, riflessioni* (Napoli: 1783). And in 1787, the Royal doctor Filippo Baldini inscribed the debate in a much broader investigation focusing on the physical and medical attributes of Naples' climate. See Filippo Baldini, *Ricerche fisico-mediche sulla costituzione del clima della città di Napoli* (Napoli: Fratelli Raimondi, 1787). For an analysis of comparable attitudes in eighteenth-century France see, Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 68-76. Thomas W. Laquer, "Spaces of the Dead in Modernity," *Cultural Matters*, 1 (Fall 2001), accessed 15 August 2019, http://www.probeinternational.org/old_drupal/UrbanNewSite/spacesofthedead.pdf.

[22] Ibid. The citation is drawn from Pezzini, "Disciplina della sepoltura nella Napoli del Settecento," 159

> For centuries we have lived, as we do and there has never been a case in History where this way of living has given rise to a contagion...Why then should we now worry for the bad odours emanating from the dead?[23]

Later in the century, the Neapolitan health deputy Luigi Pasquale Mea poured scorn on his contemporaries, suggesting that the correlation between urban burial practices with diseases and epidemic threats was entirely fantastical. "Those who plan to purify the air of this City by moving its ... burial pits outside make me laugh," he cried in his 1799 confutation of the theories of Scottish physician John Brown.[24]

Still more problematic, the rhetoric of public health fails to give due emphasis to the politically more intricate role burial reforms played in establishing new spatial and governmental paradigms for dealing with the dead. To be sure, it was not writ in heaven that burials should be relocated from within urban church spaces towards state-led, extra-urban cemeteries. Nor was it writ in heaven that those cemeteries should be designed under the exclusive authority of medical experts—as happened across most European states between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Behind these tendencies lay much broader political and professional imperatives, often having only marginally to do with the perceived hazards of corrupting human flesh.

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[23] ASN, *Supremo Magistrato e Soprintendenza generale di Salute, b.286, Appunti e scritture originali*, cc. 74r, cited in Pezzini, "Disciplina della sepoltura," 205, translated by the author.

[24] Luigi Pasquale Mea, *Confutazione del sistema medico di Giovanni Brown. Con una dissertazione in seguito sul modo di prevenire la morte repentina; appoggiata sovra un novello medico sistema* (Napoli: Vincenzo Manfredi, 1799), 160, translated by the author.

The medicalising of sovereignty

In order to gauge the Camposanto's cultural and political relevance, it is useful to interpret its gestation in terms of what philosophers and medical sociologists describe as "medicalisation." As the American medical sociologist Peter Conrad has argued, medicalisation "describes a process by which non-medical problems become defined and treated as medical problems, usually in terms of illness and disorders."[25] Key to Conrad's thinking is that "the definition of medical norms is in itself a cultural form of social control" able to create "new expectations for bodies, behaviour and health," often independently of whether those norms actually derive from *real* medical problems.[26] To Conrad, the medical social control "is manifested in how medical expectations set the boundaries for behaviour and well-being as well as how medical norms guide behaviour," including on the basis of prevention and risk. Through the exercise of "medical excuse", thus, medical jurisdiction is able to cut a side swath through society and regulate forms of behaviour hitherto depending on individuals or on competing forms of social control.[27]

As a theoretical notion, medicalisation has mostly been used since the late 1960s in the social sciences with reference to the impact medicine and medical concepts have had in framing new notions of deviancy and healthiness in Western history, including in the present West.[28] Elizabeth Porter's 2005 volume *Health, Civilization and the State*, for instance, draws on medicalisation to probe "the role played by public health reforms in facilitating the development of authoritarian bureaucratic governments" in early modern and modern Europe and North America.[29] Before Porter, medicalisation was also relevant to Foucault, whose writings and lectures have brought into sharp focus the different ways in which eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century public health policies were mobilised to enforce politico-

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[25] Peter Conrad, *The Medicalization of Society: On the Transformation of Human Conditions into Treatable Disorders* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 4.

[26] Ibid., 151.

[27] Ibid., 152.

[28] Ibid., 1-14.

[29] In her 1999 volume, Porter questions the "relationship between the changing power structures of the body politic and the health of the subjects under its domain" revealing how medical knowledge was mobilised alongside political and economic thought to enforce centralised modes of government. See Dorothy Porter, *Health, Civilization and the State. A history of public health from ancient to modern times* (London: Routledge, 1999)

scientific forms of control on the populations of France, Germany, and of the UK.[30] This scholarship has "fundamentally undermined the [commonplace] heroisation of public health as a great achievement of Enlightenment rationalism" to foreground the broader professional interests and power dynamics at play in the development of modern health conventions, including in the domain of burial reform.[31]

Foucault's 1974 lecture at the University of Rio de Janeiro, "The Birth of Social Medicine," investigates the politics of medicalisation in terms which are especially relevant to burial reform research.[32] Throughout the lecture, the philosopher offers insight into several historical precedents, each representative of why and by what means medical authority came to be instituted within a specific political and social configuration. For example, Foucault shows how the development of "state medicine" in eighteenth-century Germany may be explained by the fact that "Germany was converted to a unitary state only in the nineteenth century, after having been a mere juxtaposition of quasi-states, pseudo-states, small entities that fell short of 'statehood'."[33] To Foucault, it was the very smallness of German states, "their close proximity, their perpetual conflicts and confrontations, the always-unbalanced and changeable relation of force," which ultimately brought about the "discursive consciousness of the state-directed functioning of society" from which German state medicine derived.[34] In France, he argues, it was instead the "politico-sanitary anxiety" ensuing from the country's rapid urbanisation that prompted state authorities to focus on public health matters.[35] Across French towns, medical jurisdiction came to be exercised to curb escalating social tensions between coexisting citizen groups ("rich and poor, commoners and bourgeoisie") and focused on matters as diverse as the congestion of city centres, the propagations of epidemics, the pollution of water streams and of the air, etc.[36] In this context, Foucault argues, public health policies came to be envisioned as 'politico-scientific'

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[30] See Michel Foucault, "The Birth of Social Medicine," in *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954- 1984*, ed. James D. Faubion (New York: The New Press, 2015), 134-156.

[31] Porter, *Health, Civilization and the State*,

[32] Foucault, "The Birth of Social Medicine."

[33] Ibid., 138.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., 142-143.

[36] Ibid., 142.

techniques for controlling and modifying elements of the environment which were perceived as threatening the Kingdom's political and social stability.[37] Thus, to Foucault, what was at stake in the medicalisation of France was not just health but the stability and extension of its political regime—the rule of Louis XV and Louis XVI.

Following Foucault's approach, in Naples, the development of public health policies under the rule of the Neapolitan Bourbons may be interpreted as having resulted from two contingent political processes. Significantly, both processes concerned power and the specific ways in which health came to be embroiled in contests for power over the city's administration. The first process consisted of the Bourbon monarchy's broader pursuit of political and administrative centralisation. Centralisation is here understood as the sum of different practices through which the newly established dynasty of Spanish Bourbon monarchs endeavoured to appropriate domains of life and city administration hitherto exceeding the central government's control. Throughout the course of the eighteenth century, this pursuit carried tremendous political weight. Before the Bourbons' establishment in Naples in 1734, Naples' former viceregal rulers conceived of their government as a "decentralised" rule delegating important administrative duties (as well as their corresponding political and economic advantages) to powerful local groups, including aristocratic families, civic associations and religious or lay charitable organisations—an aspect which I have explored in detail at the beginning of Chapter 1. While this policy worked well in viceregal times, to the Bourbons, administrative decentralisation represented a massive challenge to the monarchy's absolutist purposes. Thus, public health policies provided the Bourbons with a theory of government which legitimated their encroachment against nobles and the clergy without making dangerous enemies.

The second process was more particular and had to do with the growing involvement of Naples' medical authorities in local government affairs. In this regard, it is important to stress how, up until the mid-eighteenth century, Neapolitan doctors had relatively low social status compared to other professions (e.g. the legal sector or the Church), and their

[37] Ibid., 144-146.

participation in city administration was highly limited.[38] While, in fact, a deputation for public health had steadily been part of Naples' municipal (not monarchical) government since the 1656 plague, this magistrature was mostly comprised of nobles and lawmen rather than of representatives of Naples' medical profession.[39] 'Real' doctors were only ever involved as consultants or to carry out inspections wherever a health hazard was identified.[40] From the mid-eighteenth century, however, this situation underwent a radical change.[41] By leveraging on the expansionist efforts of the newly settled Bourbon monarchs, an ambitious group of Neapolitan physicians achieved to gain increasing influence over the health deputation's work, promoting its intervention in domains as varied as the regulation of manufacturing activities and commerce, the control of food and water supplies, the disposal of waste, amongst others.[42] The extension of the deputation's powers was carried out based on a single yet strongly disruptive politico-medical argument: that the promotion and safeguarding of 'public health' was a monarchical prerogative and duty and that physicians and scientists had to be committed to helping the King perform that duty. Few authors have expressed this

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[38] As the historian David Gentilcore has shown, in early modern Naples the social status of physicians was relatively low when compared, for example, to that of lawyers or other professions. He writes: "in a guide to the city and kingdom of Naples which listed the various royal tribunals...the tribunal of the Protomedicato [Naples' chief physician responsible for supervising the practice of all forms of healing] came a mere twenty-first, preceding only the tribunal of the Postmaster General which had jurisdiction over letter carriers." Sounds quite socially significant though to me David Gentilcore, *Healers and healing in early modern Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 44-45, 88. Similarly, at the end of the eighteenth century, Giuseppe Maria Galiani wrote: "the reputation of doctors is inferior to that of lawyers, nor are the profits issuing from the medical profession comparable to those deriving from the Court." Cited in Marin, "Milieu professionnel et réseaux d'échanges intellectuels," 123. On the medical profession in Naples see also Aurelio Musi, "La professione medica nel Mezzogiorno moderno," in *Avvocati, medici, ingegneri: alle origini delle professioni moderne*, ed. Maria Luisa Betri and Alessandro Pastore (Bologna: CLUEB, 1997), 83-92.

[39] The only substantial study I have found on the work of the Deputazione di salute pubblica is Brigitte Marin, "Magistrature de santé, médecins et politiques sanitaires à Naples au XVIIIe siècle: de la lutte contre les épidémies aux mesures d'hygiène publique," in *Siècles*, 14 (2001), accessed 23 December 2019, http://journals.openedition.org/siecles/3194. The argument is also treated in Marin, "Milieu professionnel et réseaux d'échanges intellectuels," 134-135.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Marin, "Magistrature de santé, médecins et politiques sanitaires à Naples au XVIIIe siècle," 5-6.

[42] Marin, "Milieu professionnel et réseaux d'échanges intellectuels," 134-135; for a broad overview of this process including a detailed description of the areas of Neapolitan government brought under the Deputation's broadening jurisdiction, see Marin, "Magistrature de santé, médecins et politiques sanitaires à Naples au XVIIIe siècle."

principle as clearly as the physician Carlo Palermo who, in his *Dissertazione avvantaggiosa*, argued that medicine was the noblest of sciences and it was the duty of "government chiefs, good patriots and people of talent to invigilate with the greatest possible effort that this latter be cultivated, and its progresses promoted as much as possible, so to be able to preserve the health of humankind."[43]

Power on death's borders

As the rhetoric of public health gained saliency amongst royal officers, Naples' burial locations were amongst the first urban establishments to be targeted. Indeed, ever since the 1750s, Bourbon reformers such as Bernardo Tanucci and Gaetano Maria Brancone joined forces with exponents of Naples' medical profession to burst into a vigorous campaign against the traditional practice of burying bodies *intra moenia* (within the city walls).[44] Pointing to the example of ancient Romans and a flurry of eighteenth-century literature on the hazards of cadaverous vapours, they called for redirecting burials in new public cemeteries removed from Naples' city centre, arguing that through these, the city could be finally liberated from the "overabundant" and "extremely noisome" presence of the putrefying dead.[45] Ostensibly, their arguments depended on a growing preoccupation of eighteenth-century European health authorities with the miasmas or with the noxious airs escaping from church burials and communal graves (where most citizens used to be buried in early modern Catholic Europe and in New Spain). However, alongside reasons of hygiene, in Naples, the campaign against urban burials entailed much broader socio-political implications.

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[43] To Palermo, the role of doctors consisted in "opening the eyes of Governments, and to insinuate, and make known with great exactitude the great threats, and disorders" issuing from illnesses and their threats." See Palermo, *Dissertazione avvantaggiosa*, 1-4, 10-12, translated by the author.

[44] A detailed overview of this process is described in Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 237-399. A more succinct account is provided in Diego Carnevale and Brigitte Marin, "Naples, une réforme difficile," in *Aux origines des cimetières contemporains. Les réformes funéraires de l'Europe occidentale*, ed. Régis Bertrand and Anne Carol (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2016): 323-324.

[45] See footnote 21

As was the case in most (Roman) Catholic countries, death in early-modern Naples was inscribed in an economy with vast spiritual, social, and financial ramifications. Then, religious services such as the burial of the dead in churches, the performance of funeral rites and the collection of alms and prayers for the dead, including those buried in hospital mass graves, grew to become central components in the religious and social lives of Neapolitans and the Church kept a jealous watch over its mediator role between the living and the deceased. Moreover, like elsewhere in Europe and New Spain, in Naples, the care for the dead became even more significant over the seventeenth century when almost three-quarters of the city's population died from plague outbreaks and epidemics.[46] Such tragic cataclysms aroused feelings of piety and dread, which forged strong and lasting relations between religious adherents and the thousands of poor souls who perished under the blows of pestilence.[47]

The strength of these relations was, to a great extent, contingent on how death and the process of dying were signified through Roman Catholic purgatorial cults. Officially recognised by the Church in the thirteenth century, Purgatory was an intermediary place where the souls of the dead were subjected to trial by fire before ascending to heaven.[48] According to Church doctrines, the duration of one's stay in purgatory depended on various factors, including but not limited to the nature and intensity of the sins committed or the extent to which those sins had been atoned for through penitence before one's death. Crucially though, by ecclesiastical decree, the purgatorial punishments of the soul could be alleviated (or at least shortened in duration) through "the Sacrifice of the Mass, prayers and almsgiving and other works of piety" performed by the living on earth.[49] Thus, religious

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[46] Pierroberto Scaramella, *Le Madonne del Purgatorio: iconografia e religione in Campania tra rinascimento e controriforma* (Genoa: Marietti, 1991), 280-281.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Add.

[49] The citation is drawn from the "Decretum pro Graecis" of the 1439 Bull 'Laetentur Caeli.' The whole sentence recites: "If those truly penitent have departed in the love of God before they have made satisfaction by the worthy fruits of penance for sins of commission and omission, the souls of these are cleansed after death by purgatorial punishments; and so that they may be released from punishments of this kind, the suffrages of the living faithful are of advantage to them, namely, the sacrifices of Masses, prayers, and almsgiving, and other works of piety, which are customarily performed by the faithful for other faithful according to the institutions of the Church." Cited Heinrich Denzinger, *The Sources of Catholic Dogma* (Fitzwilliam; Loreto, 1954), 219.

devotees were granted immense powers (and responsibilities) over the destiny of their dead. And from such powers, significant spiritual and economic responsibilities derived.[50]

Malý argues that "the system of exchanging merits and rewards between the living and the dead, who provided mutual help in difficult situations, and thus remained in close, constant contact" emphasised the role of Purgatory as a space of intensive communication.[51] Importantly, though, the power of purgatorial cults depended not only on spiritual relations between the living and the dead but also on their continued physical proximity within and around the city's sacred spaces.[52] Much like the cult of saints with its focus on the saintly body and on relics, intercessory prayers to the souls of Purgatory pivoted around the dead body's corporeal remains—skulls and bones as well as the dead body's flesh in decay.[53] This practice adhered to the belief that the purgation of the soul in purgatory was mirrored on earth by the cadaver's physical decomposition and that both processes could be accelerated, and therefore the soul of the deceased rescued from purgatorial ordeals through the combined effects of intercessional prayers and the care of the dead body in burials.[54] In Naples, this belief found resonance with the much popular tradition of the double burial—a method which was practised in the city's *Terresante* by which the dead bodies of congregants used to be first buried under small heaps of loose soil, secondly exhumed to complete their decomposition in walled niches, and finally their skeletal remains deposited in a family chapel or an ossuary (Figs. 3.13, 3.14). [55] More than a biological passage, in the terresante, the exhumation of the remains, their cleansing and definitive arrangement in the ossuary stood in metaphorical connection with the soul's ascension from Purgatory into Heaven.[56]

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[50] To lay citizens in Naples, however, the focus on death gained especial significance by virtue of the extraordinary powers which came to be attributed to the dead. It is not my aim to expand on this matter but, in Naples, like elsewhere in Europe Catholic baroque literature "developed a system of exchanging merits and rewards between the living and the dead" who could provide "mutual help in difficult situations, and thus remained in close, constant contact." See Malý, "Early Modern Purgatory," 265.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Scaramella, *Le Madonne del Purgatorio*, 294-299.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid. See also Niola, *Il Purgatorio a Napoli*, 34-35.

[55] The terresante were funerary hypogea reserved to members of Confraternities located beneath Churches or Hospitals. They are described in detail in Fornaciari, Giuffra and Pezzini, "Secondary burial," 227-231.

[56] Ibid., 226.



Figure 3.13. Chiesa della Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini at the Ospedale dei Pellegrini, Naples, founded 1578. View of the terrasanta.



Figure 3.14. Chiesa della Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini at the Ospedale dei Pellegrini, Naples, founded 1578. The lid providing access to the terrasanta's ossuary.

Because family members and congregants engaged actively in burying the dead, church burials in Naples were much more than just passive repositories for the dead. They were vibrant spaces within which numerous communal activities took place. On feast days, for example, Neapolitan ecclesiastics gave mass within their burials, gathering flocks of congregation members and lay citizens to offer suffrages for the deceased—this, for example, was the case at the centrally located Santa Maria del Purgatorio ad Arco (Figs. 3.15, 3.16), where congregants reportedly recited up to sixty masses daily to earn indulgences for the dead.[57] Moreover, on the day of the dead, citizens themselves engaged in the inhumation rituals stripping the dead of their vestments, de-fleshing their bones or cleaning up burial vaults and ossuaries.[58]

The historian Elizabeth Harper argues that, by allowing the living to "earn indulgences for the suffering souls in purgatory as they had previously earned indulgences for themselves," ecclesiastical authorities effectively managed to "extend the authority of the pope (who granted those indulgences) from the earthly realm into the afterlife."[59] However, as the historian Jacques Le Goff has maintained, "concern was shown for the dead, rather, because it was through death and through the dead that the living increased their power here below."[60] "The extension of communal ties in the other world," he argues, "enhanced the solidarity of families, religious organisations and confraternities."[61] It also bound religious devotees more powerfully to the Church, given that its ministers were recognised as having the power to intervene on behalf of the dead. To Le Goff, purgatorial cults might explain why throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the business of indulgences for the souls of purgatory was quickly embraced by numerous elite clergy members eager to expand papal power, including in southern Italy. In Naples, for example, the strength of purgatorial cults is demonstrated by the high number and high social status of confraternities devoted to caring and praying for the dead such as the Congrega di Purgatorio ad Arco

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[57] The number of masses is reported in Parrino, *Nuova guida de'forastieri*..., 330.

[58] Scaramella, *Le Madonne del Purgatorio*, 293-4.

[59] Harper, "Cult of the Dead (Naples)," accessed 8 August 2019, https://wrldrels.org/2016/10/08/cult-of-the-dead/.

[60] Le Goff, *The birth of Purgatory*, 233.

[61] Ibid. 12.



Figure 3.15. Santa Maria del Purgatorio ad Arco, Naples, consecrated 1638. The underground church hall.



Figure 3.16. Santa Maria del Purgatorio ad Arco, Naples, consecrated 1638. Burials in the 'ipogeo.'

(established 1605) or the Arciconfraternita dei Bianchi della Giustizia at the Incurabili (established 1519).[62]

Yet Purgatory brought to the Church not only new spiritual power but also vast profits.[63] Inasmuch as church burials "could help by securing the aid of the saint in whose proximity the body was buried," religious and lay ecclesiastics demanded hefty compensations for their burial services.[64] In order to be buried in their parishes, parishioners had to sustain obsequies costs of up to 35 carlini (in the eighteenth century the average price of 3 barrels of wine) for mandatory services and charges, including a fee for the parish priest and for the *fratanzari* (lay confraternity members charged with handling the cadaver), transport costs, fees for torch carriers, charges for candles, for the coffin and for the coffin

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[62] Harper, "Cult of the Dead (Naples)."

[63] Diego Carnevale's *L'affare dei morti* deals with the matter extensively in its second chapter "Un affare per la Chiesa: il mercato funerario tra 'pubblico bene' e interessi particolari." See Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 87-176.

[64] Accordingly, several early modern religious institutions "welcomed and even solicited the tombs of laymen (especially powerful and wealthy laymen) in their churches and cemeteries, and laymen were increasingly eager to obtain the benefit of church burial, previously limited to monks and clerks." Le Goff, *The birth of Purgatory*, 276. As Pamela Voekel has argued writing of related burial doctrines in Peruvian New Spain, "this practice stemmed from the belief that the church as a consecrated space was holier than other locations, that its altar served as a reflection of God's holiness, and that saints represented in churches acted as intercessors on behalf of the dead. To be buried in such a space near the altar or saints' images served not only as a symbolic reflection of one's piety for mere mortals to observe but also an enhancement of one's holiness and virtue in the eyes of God." Cited from Adam Warren, *Medicine and Politics in Colonial Peru*, 159. See Voekel, *Alone before God*, 36. For the relevance of church burials in medieval and early modern Europe, see Ariès, *Western attitudes towards death*.

blanket.[65] Far from mundane, these services were part of an elaborate and highly planned system of protocols and rituals—the so-called *ars moriendi*—following which the soul, it was believed, could pass through purgatory as quickly as possible to reach heaven.[66]

According to the philosopher Jean Baudrillard, the "monopoly over death and exclusive control over relations with the dead" was the principle and most effective instrument of early modern sacerdotal power.[67] As Bourbon health authorities began to express their sentiments against the unsanitary health conditions of traditional church burials, it was precisely that power that came to be contested. As Chapter 1 indicates, it was not the only instance in which the Crown sought to encroach on duties hitherto administered by the church. But it was the most disruptive attempt of this sort. For by dispossessing the Church of its dead, the Crown forced church authorities (and worshippers) rethink the passage to the afterlife and, thus, the relation of the living and the divine; it contrasted the role of priests, undermining their authority over the organisation of funeral services, of burials and of how mourning was performed; and most importantly, it challenged the role of churches as a mandatory threshold through which to access the afterlife—in spiritual, institutional and spatial terms. [68]

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[65] A detailed breakdown of the costs of burial in Naples can be found in Ibid., 110-113. On the role of the fratanzari, see Ibid. 102. For a general idea of the cost of living in eighteenth-century Naples, see Johann J. Volkmann, Napoli e i suoi dintorni (Napoli: La scuola di Pitagora, 2010), 139-146.
By canon law, citizens in possession of a "fede di povertà" (a certificate of indigence from parishes or city administrators) were entitled to a free burial. But even in such instances, the fratanzari contrived all sorts of illegal expedients in order to make profit. For example, they often delegated the duty to unauthorized citizens or pressured neighbours and parish members of the deceased to cover the burial costs. Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 167-171.
Sometimes, the greed of the fratanzari bordered on the macabre. In his denunciation of ecclesiastical abuses over the burial of the dead, Francesco Solombrini in 1712 complained that too often in Naples one is confronted by the sight of a corpse lying in the streets with a candle next to it and a small plate to gather donations. "And the fratanzari won't collect it until a suitable amount of alms has been gathered." Francesco Solombrini, *Ragioni a pro del Comune della Fedelissima Città di Napolie, e de' suoi Casali. Intorno al seppelire i morti* (Napoli: Raillard, 1712), 7-8, translated by the author.

[66] On the *ars moriendi* see Mary Catherine O'Connor, *The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars Moriendi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942). For a concise introduction to the concept, see Carlos M. N. Eire, "Ars Moriendi," in *Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*, ed. Gordon S. Wakefield (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983), 21-22.

[67] Baudrillard, *Symbolic Exchange and Death*, 151.

[68] Scaramella, *Le Madonne del Purgatorio*, 264

Segregating the 'ill corpse'

Because of their disruptiveness, attempts at burial reform in Naples aroused sharp contentions amongst the local population, including amongst government members. Indeed, advisors to the Crown often discouraged from carrying out reforms, fearing that the "popolaccio" (one of the derogatory terms with which government members and elites referred to the poor in Naples) would revolt if the dead were exiled from the city centre.[69] The fear of popular discontent was complemented by the awareness that ecclesiastics would hold out against having the dead withdrawn from their care. As the Bourbon State Secretary Bernardo Tanucci once claimed, religious institutions were "covetous of their cadavers, given the great profits they draw from them." [70] Removing this privilege was likely to open up a Pandora's box of conflicts and tensions.

Faced with these circumstances, in commissioning Fuga's cemetery, the Bourbons chose to direct their burial reform efforts on the most marginalised segment of the city's industry of death: the dead of the urban hospitals. This occurrence was neither accidental nor unmeant but rather formed part of an oblique stratagem to circumvent the necessarily harsh altercations which might have arisen had the reforms been, from the start, directed at a much broader population segment. Hospital inmates, on the other hand, were an easy target. Unlike most Neapolitan citizens, they were de facto *already* excluded from common funerary networks. They were outcasts in life as well as in their passage to the afterlife—cut off from the cadavers and bones of 'healthy' Neapolitans. Indeed, the contaminated bodies of the tubercular, the syphilitic, the leper, the fevered but even the mad found no place in urban churchyards or in Naples' myriads of underground sepulchres. Hospital deputies disposed of

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[69] The worries of city administrators were aptly phrased by Nicolò Mormile, a member of the Bourbon monarchy's health deputation (Deputazione della Salute), to whom the Neapolitan "nation" was by disposition "so strongly attached to this superficial form of devotion, if so it may be termed," that the plebeians [the 'popolaccio'] would be "strongly disappointed not to be able to attend to the terresante, where they believe their ancestors lie," thinking that the dead, without their suffrages, would find no temporary relief ['refrigerio'] from the fires of purgatory. ASN, *Supremo Magistrato e Soprintendenza generale di Salute*, b.286, Appunti e scritture originali, cc. 73v-4r, cited in Pezzini, "Disciplina della sepoltura," 204, no. 118, translated by the author. The term terresante refers to the underground burials of churches. More on these latter later in the text.

[70] See Pezzini, "Disciplina della sepoltura," 202-208; Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 332-364.

their bodies in private mass graves located within (or in the immediate proximity of) their institutions' precincts. [71]

The largest of Naples' hospital mass graves, the Incurabili's Piscina provided the monarchy with a perfect pretence to spark a broader debate over the 'proper' and 'improper' burial of the dead. The pit offered a first-hand sight of hideous piles of human carcasses whose volumes grew daily and whose 'stench' could (reportedly) be smelled from long distances away.[72] Moreover, in advocating for the Piscina's closure, Bourbon health authorities could rely on the complicity of the Incurabili's government members, whose allegiance to the Crown was secured via a dense network of patronage relations. [73] Indeed, while the hospital was in all respects a private organisation (it had been founded in 1521 by Spanish Roman Catholic professed religious Maria Lorenza Longo) it was also under Royal Patronage, meaning that the election of its governing body was almost entirely dependent on the discretion of the Neapolitan sovereign (or viceroy, depending on the period).[74] As David Gentilcore has shown, such patronage politics ensured that hospital governors were chosen from nobles, tribunal members and city representatives eager to prove their loyalty to the Neapolitan Crown.[75]

The closure of the Piscina was initiated in August 1755 when Bourbon minister Gaetano Maria Brancone submitted an order to the Incurabili's government demanding that they recognise the gravity of the situation and promptly take measures to establish a new

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[71] For an overview of how burials were performed in eighteenth-century Naples, including at hospitals, see Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 61-76.

[72] Remonstrations against the foul odours of the Piscina will be discussed later in the chapter.

[73] On this subject, see Piero Ventura, *La capitale dei privilegi. Governo spagnolo, burocrazia e cittadinanza a Napoli nel Cinquecento* (Napoli: FedOA Press, 2018), 149-151. For further scholarship on the government of Naples' hosptials, including the Incurabili, see Gentilcore, *Healers and healing in early modern Italy*, 125-150.

[74] Ventura, *La capitale dei privilegi,* 150

[75] Gentilcore, *Healers and healing in early modern Italy*, 127-28.

burial compound.[76] However, for uncertain reasons, it took nearly seven more years before the project took off. In part the hold-up may have been determined by financial considerations. Indeed, a new cemetery would bring the Incurabili considerable building and maintenance costs. These costs, it was feared, would weigh too heavily on the hospital's already precarious means.[77] Another factor may have been Charles of Bourbon's 1759 departure from Naples to become King of Spain. Indeed, as already intimated in Chapter 2, upon rising to the Neapolitan throne, the new King Ferdinand IV was only eight years of age, and the regency council ruling in his name lacked the political currency to carry out a project of such profound symbolic and political weight. Either way, when discussions around the Piscina resumed in late 1761, it was neither the resoluteness of the Bourbon monarchy nor the endorsement of the Incurabili's governors which revitalised the debate. Instead, the project's renaissance seems to have been determined by a group of local residents who, extenuated by the Piscina's "intolerable smell," initiated a vehement campaign against the

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[76] Strong of his successes in spearheading the commission of the Albergo dei Poveri (begun 1751), at that time, Brancone was at the height of his political career. Formerly a member of Naples' health deputation, the minister had steadily risen the ranks of Naples' royal administration to become minister of the Kingdom's ecclesiastical affairs (since 1737) as well as one of the closest political advisors to the Crown. Although the dispatch ordering the Piscina's closure no longer exists, its content may be reckoned by analysing the governors' 1756 response. This is what they wrote: "Sir, For the punctual and respectful execution of His Majesty's Royal order...in which we were entrusted to establish and build, at some great distance from inhabited quarters of the town a capacious Cemetery able to provide burial to the cadavers of those dying in our great Hospital of the Incurabili, in order to prevent that the air of the said hospital, and that of its densely inhabited surroundings, be corrupted or spoiled by the ongoing practice of burying bodies in great numbers…in the hospital's precincts; we [governors], have been persuaded by the convenience of and pertinence of His Majesty's wisest command, and especially so given the attributes of our Hospital, which is to be considered as second to no other in Europe for attendance and for the number of patients it hosts; and where, moreover, patients suffering from the most chronic illnesses are received, including phthisis, and venereal diseases, with no exceptions; which is to say that their exhalations, in life as in death, are to be considered of the most vicious sorts, given the remarkably potent putridness which is enclosed in their bodies." ASN, *Ministero degli Affari Ecclesiastici*, espedienti di consiglio, b. 734, 25 January 1756, translated by the author.

[77] Ibid. In their response to the royal order, the Incurabili governors voiced concerns about the project given its high building and maintenance costs and asked that the king assist them financially in the undertaking: "Ma poiché l'immense spese di questa santa Casa sgomentano chiunque piu coraggioso: e la sola divina provvidenza è quella che ci rende pieni di fiducia in tutti i nostri bisogni; cosi al presentarsi a noi questa nuova rilevantissima spesa ci facciamo animo di umiliare à piedi di V.M. le nostre suppliche, e colle nostre quelle di tanti miserabili infermi, al cui servizio ed ajuto stanno impiegato tutto le nostre cure a volersi degnare di soccorrere colla clemenza, e benignità sua veramente Regia e Cristiana la nostra debolezza."

hospital's time-honoured burial place. [78] Indeed, as represented in the Bourbon monarchy's archival records, between 1755 and 1761, several Neapolitan citizens, including heads of monasteries, reached out to Naples' health deputation clamouring that "it was longer possible for them to stay in their own houses due to the exorbitant exhalations" emanating from the Incurabili's grave ("querelansi di non poter sussistere nelle proprie Case per sì esorbitante esalazione").[79] Ostensibly, these claims were rooted in health preoccupations—the dead bodies buried in the Piscina, it was remarked, produced foul airs and those airs threatened to carry illnesses of the most dangerous sort, even "pestilential."[80] However, what made the dead bodies at the Piscina particularly susceptible such allegations, their smell so intolerable compared to that issuing from 'regular' Neapolitan graves, was also and importantly their low

[78] The complaints were not lone voices but rather formed part of a much broader process of perceptual transformation—what the historian Alain Corbin has described as "the lowering of the threshold of olfactory tolerance" experienced across several early modern European states. As part of this process, Corbin maintains, "the stench of corpses seems to have been the first to arouse nearly universal intolerance," and especially so by residents living nearby vast, open-air burial spaces. "It was a series of complaints from the masses orchestrated by the stallholders in the rue de la lingerie," Corbin shows, "that finally brought about the closing of the cemetery of the Innocents." See Corbin, *The Foul and Flagrant*, 57-61. For the complaints against the Piscina, see ASN, *Supremo Magistrato e Soprintendenza generale di Salute*, f. 497, 168r, 20 November 1761. The complaints were given both "a voce" (orally) and in the form of signed petitions although, thus far, I haven't been able to find any of these the Health Deputations' archival records.

[79] ASN, *Supremo Magistrato e Soprintendenza generale di Salute*, f. 497, 168r, 20 November 1761.

[80] Ibid.

social status.[81] Indeed, by their very constitution, hospitals such as the Incurabili sheltered thousands of mendicants and destitute poor. And as discussed in more detail in Chapter 1, in eighteenth-century Naples, the smell and presence of destitute bodies and of the poor were becoming steadily intolerable to the city's more well-to-do population.

The socio-sanitary tensions gathering around the Piscina provided the monarchy with a strong enough justification to clamp down on the debate. However, before an order could be emitted requiring that the Piscina be closed, the matter had to appeal to many more than just an angry group of citizens living around the hospital's precincts. Nor was it sufficient to have the imprimatur of the Incurabili's government members. Those highborn gentlemen may have had the political authority to oversee the project—as indeed they would do between 1762 and 1763. But they were hardly in a position to vouch for its necessity. Indeed, as was the case with Naples' health deputation, none of the said governors had the required scientific expertness to determine whether the stench emanating from the Piscina risked threatening the

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[81] As the historian John Henderson suggests, the close association of poverty and illness was an established formula in early modern health debates Abiding by the Galenic belief that the humoral imbalances of an individual's body could corrupt the quality of the air, several seventeenth-century medical theorists had recognised the poor as dangerous repositories for pestilential infections. For example, authors of the likes of Francesco Rondinelli, Antonio Righi or Stefano Roderico de Castro linked the poor's proneness for disease with their bad diets, their poor housing and economic conditions, their wilful ignorance or predisposition to sin. Righi went as far as to provide a bodily analogy to prove how "it was in the very nature of the poor to attract disease." In his *Historia contagiosi morbi ...* he compared the upper levels of society to "noble and robust organs, such as the heart" while likening the poor to veins, arteries, the skin or glands. According to Righi's schema, the rich had the ability "to expel unnecessary dangerous substances towards the outside and the lower organs" while the poor failed to expel their illnesses becoming dangerous deposits of poisons. Thus, Righi explains, "if the disease is in the city, they [the poor] receive it and retain it, as if they are the glands of society."
These discriminatory attitudes reached especially significant levels in times of plague when across multiple Italian states, and on the basis of suspicion alone, flocks of destitute poor were stigmatised as plague carriers (rather than as victims). In Rome, for instance, during the plague of 1656, "the Jesuit Sforza Pallavicino recorded that when plague had begun to spread through Trastevere the decision was made to place the poor sick into a Lazaretto in order to 'cut off, according to the rules o surgery, all that part that was weak and ignoble from the best parts of the body.'" See John Henderson, *Florence Under Siege: Surviving Plague in an Early Modern City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 51-56. As Helen Hills has shown, in Naples too "the notion of miasmas was combined with that individual disposition." During the 1656 plague, Neapolitan physicians such as Geronimo Gatta argued that the illness "gripped individuals according to a principle of 'either similitude or sympathy' of their blood with disease." As such "the weakest and most marginal social groups were associated with its transmission." See Hills, "Dislocating holiness," 54-58. On the association of poverty and illness during the plague, see also Samuel K. Cohn, *Cultures of Plague: Medical thinking at the end of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 208-237.

public health. At the time of the Camposanto's commission, of the Incurabili's seven government members, five were judicial authorities, one was a merchant and the seventh was a diplomat and military man. Deliberating on health matters was entirely beyond their expertise.

The key to vindicating the operation consisted in the involvement of two of the most zealous and well respected members of Naples' medical profession: Francesco Serao and Carmine Ventapane. Of Ventapane little is known, but Serao was certainly not new to such operations. A professor of medical institutions at Naples' Università de Regi Studi, he had already "given wise counsel to the king about the salubrious positioning of the Royal Palace in Portici" and had recently served on a commission to counsel on the positioning and design of the Reale Albergo dei Poveri.[82] Moreover, Serao was in close contact with the physician Felice Roseti—the author of a 1744 pamphlet focusing on the need for open space and good ventilation when building large hospitals.[83] This expertise, alongside Serao's long-running affiliations to the Neapolitan monarchy, made him the perfect candidate to evaluate the situation.

Charged with forming an opinion over the residents' complaints, Serao and Ventapane added fuel to the flames. Eager to make their voice heard, they not only remarked that the stench emanating from the Piscina was altering the constituency of Naples' air, promising to propagate epidemic fevers and illnesses of the most pernicious sort.[84] To make matters worse, they increased the sense of urgency by referring to the case as an 'emergency' situation which could no longer be ignored or patched over by mending the Incurabili's existing communal grave.[85] Indeed, between 1756 and the beginning of 1762 (when the complaints of the local

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[82] Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 56. Serao was born in S. Cipriano near Aversa in 1702. He studied and taught anatomy (from 1732), theoretical medicine (from 1733), and practical medicine (1746) at the university of Naples where he became appointed first professor of medicine in 1755. In 1778 he was nominated protomedico of the Kingdom of Naples and became personal doctor of Ferdinand IV. For a biographical account of Serao's life and words, see Domenico Martuscelli, *Biografia degli uomini illustri del regno di Napoli*, vol. 3 (Napoli: Nicola Gervasi, 1864), Francesco Serao, Google Books, Accessed 4 February 2022, Google Books, https://books.google.it/books?redir_esc=y&id=usgfUV7FVRkC&q=Serao#v=onepage&q&f=false.

[83] Ibid.

[84] The reports are cited in the Health Deputation's *Deliberazioni*. See ASN, *Supremo Magistrato e Soprintendenza generale di Salute*, f. 497, 173v-174v.

[85] Ibid., 174r.

residents soared), less drastic solutions to the (supposed) problem of the Piscina had been explored. A new mass grave was dug out beneath the hospital and the old one definitely closed. [86] However, according to the physicians, the cadaverous gases emitted from the new burial were even stronger and more harmful than before.[87]

The doctors' depiction of the Piscina as an incubator of epidemic fevers is full of suggestion and deserves consideration. As the historian Joao Rangel de Almeida has argued, in early modern, modern as well as contemporary history, including in the present day, "epidemics—and the panic that commonly accompanies them—may be thought of as 'social disruptors' that create opportune conditions for social reform, technological development or career advancements."[88] To Rangel de Almeida, "the distraction and anxiety caused by the 'shock' of catastrophic events [or the threat thereof]" is almost always "exploited politically to push through legislation, wage wars, or curtail freedoms."[89] This circumstance is observable in the history of cholera outbreaks in nineteenth-century Europe and colonial Asia, in Ebola outbreaks across West Africa in the 2010s or, more significantly to this Chapter, in early modern plague outbreaks during which governments throughout Europe, advised by physicians, managed to impose pandemic forms of dictatorship on entire populations, often with effects which outlived the very pandemics they were mobilised against.[90]

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[86] On the opening of the new mass grave, see Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 307-308. The opening of the new grave is also mentioned in ASN, *Supremo Magistrato e Soprintendenza generale di Salute*, f. 497, 168r-169v, 173v-174v.

[87] ASN, *Supremo Magistrato e Soprintendenza generale di Salute*, f. 497, 173v-174v.

[88] Almeida, João Rangel de. "Epidemic Opportunities: Panic, Quarantines, and the 1851 International Sanitary Conference." In *Empires of Panic: Epidemics and Colonial Anxieties*, ed. Robert Peckham, 1st ed. (Hong Kong University Press, 2015): 57.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Writing about plague containment measures, Foucault went as for as to define plague ("envisaged as a possibility at least") as "the trial in the course of which" all early modern forms of disciplinary power could be tested. In *Discipline and Punish* he wrote: "In order to make rights and laws function according to pure theory, the jurists placed themselves in imagination in the state of nature; in order to see perfect disciplines functioning, rulers dreamt of the state of plague. Underlying disciplinary projects the image of the plague stands for all forms of confusion and disorder; just as the image of the leper, cut off from all human contact, underlies projects of exclusion." Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 198-99.

As part of the Camposanto operation, Serao and Ventapane conjured up images of past contagions to frame the matter of the Piscina as one requiring immediate monarchical care. As a consequence, more drastic measures to the Piscina's purported sanitary problems were not long in coming. On 11 January 1762, the Bourbons' health deputies suggested that the patients dying at the Incurabili be temporarily buried in underground cavities nearby the church of Santa Maria del Pianto—a grotto used to bury plague victims in 1656.[91] Meanwhile, the deputies directed their efforts toward identifying a suitable site for building the new building campaign. To this accomplishment, a further range of experts was involved. By the end of February, Serao and Ventapane were joined respectively by: two representatives of Naples' Seggi; the physicians Cinque and Taglialatela; the Inucrabili's house engineer and tavolario Giuseppe Vecchione; and by the architect Ferdinando Fuga whom, strong of the monarchy's support, had recently been appointed as the chief architect of the endeavour.[92] The council's choice was taken for a plot northeast of Naples' city walls, situated on a naturally formed platform issuing from the hill of Capo di Chino (Figs. 3.3, 3.4).[93] That site, they argued, was far enough from the town, easily reachable by cart, well ventilated, unencumbered by surrounding buildings, and therefore perfectly suited to accommodate the burial compound.[94]

Financing the project remained problematic. By Fuga's quotations, costs for purchasing the land and carrying out construction works were estimated at roughly 25'000 ducats—a small sum when compared to the 500'000 he budgeted for the Reale Albergo dei Poveri, but one that was large enough to frighten the future proprietors of the building: i.e. the Incurabili's governors.[95] However, differently than in 1755, at this juncture, the central

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[91] ASN, *Supremo Magistrato e Soprintendenza generale di Salute*, f. 497, 173v-174r.

[92] The document is cited in Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 308.

[93] ASN, *Supremo Magistrato e Soprintendenza generale di Salute*, f. 497, 3v-4v, 3 April 1762.

[94] Ibid.

[95] See Alfredo Buccaro and Fausto de Mattia, eds, *Scienziati-artisti. Formazione e ruolo degli ingegneri nelle fonti dell'Archivio di Stato e della Facoltà di ingegneria di Napoli* (Napoli: Electa, 2003), 170. To meet the costs, early in 1762, the governor Giovanni Pignone del Carretto proposed utilising the yearly revenue of 1200 ducats bequeathed by the recently deceased Antonio Maggiocco—a Neapolitan lawman who made the hospital the principal beneficiary of his will. However, the proposal was quickly rejected. With that income, the government argued, it would've taken over 17 years to fulfil the project. This much time, the Bourbons did not have. Ibid.

government did not vacillate. Rather, faced with the Incurabili's financial shortcomings, royal officers seized the opportunity to increase the Bourbon monarchy's investment in the endeavour. On May 1st 1762, a dispatch was emitted announcing that King, moved by the Incurabili's difficulties as well as by his unremitting "zeal for the universal health of his people," had decided to contribute with as many as 4'500 ducats to the cause.[96] This gift, to put it in Maussian terms, bound the cemetery project ever more powerfully to the Neapolitan monarch, now officially recognised as its prime mover as well as principal patron. Moreover, seeing that the new cemetery was "most useful and extremely necessary for the conservation of the Public Health," the monarchy also determined that Naples' administrative and financial organisations make donations.[97] By order of the King, requests for contributions were swiftly passed on to the Eletti, to the Banchi of Santo Spirito, San Giacomo, Pietà, Santissimo Salvatore, Sant'Eligio and Popolo, some of which contributed with up to 1000 ducats.[98] In the following weeks, similar such demands were taken to the capital's ecclesiastical and lay charitable organisations—the so-called luoghi pii.[99] These offerings, it was proclaimed, would enable the hospital governors to carry out the purchase of the soil and swiftly execute the project before the high summer temperatures set in.[100]

As the backers of the project multiplied, so did the endeavour's political resonance. Once a relatively marginal effort to replace a hospital burial, now, the cemetery operation was framed as regarding the "the Public and the City as a whole"—as was emphatically proclaimed in the Bourbons' requests for donations.[101] This aggrandised status raised the stakes of the endeavour still further. As one of the first extra urban cemeteries to be realised in southern Italy, and one that moreover had been ordered by monarchical command, the

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[96] ASN, *Ministero degli Affari Ecclesiastici*, f. 293, 3r-9v.

[97] ASN, *Segreteria di Stato e Azienda,* f. 223, 225, translated by the author.

[98] Ibid. Archival records demonstrate that on 9 May 1762, the Banco del Santissimo Salvatore donated 1000 ducats. On 25 June, Banco dello Spirito Santo followed with another 1000 ducats. Five days later the Banco dei Poveri donated the same sum. No records have been found concerning the donations of the Banchi di San Giacomo and of the Popolo e of the Monte di Pietà.

[99] This duty was entrusted to the Bourbons' minister of finances Juan Asensio de Goyzueta and to Niccolò Fraggianni, minister for ecclesiastical affairs after the 1758 death of Gaetano Maria Brancone. ASN, *Segreteria di Stato e Azienda,* f. 223.

[100] ASN, *Ministero degli Affari Ecclesiastici*, f. 293, 3r-9v

[101] ASN, *Segreteria di Stato e Azienda,* f. 223.

project was to stand as a bold testament to the Bourbons' future sanitary policies and the public health benefits deriving from it were to be displayed with utmost clarity and force. This much was made clear from the Bourbon Sopraintendente Generale della Salute, Giuseppe Romano, when on 22 April 1762, in addressing the Incurabili's financial apprehensions, he argued that the plans Fuga had submitted earlier that month were "too proper and accomplished to be downscaled or modified, even if only in small part."[102] If through the commission of Fuga's Camposanto the correct disposal of dead bodies was to be established as a politico-sanitary problem, then, the cemetery itself had to provide a model solution to that problem. This means that the new cemetery had to function as a paradigm.

Death met by order

The philosopher Giorgio Agamben argues that a paradigm is not simply an example or a model—as may be read in English dictionaries.[103] Writing of Foucault's analytical method, and especially of Foucault's writings on Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon prison, Agamben defines a paradigm as a "singular object that, standing equally for all others of the same class, defines the intelligibility of the group [or of the 'problematic context'] of which it is a part and which, at the same time it constitutes."[104] Key to Agamben's thinking is that a paradigm is both a "concrete, singular, historical phenomenon" as well as a "model of functioning which can be generalised."[105] To work as such, paradigms, Agamben argues, "may and must be detached" from their "specific use."[106] Their significance is first and foremost epistemological and ontological (rather than strictly functional).

Fuga's design for the Incurabili's cemetery may be interpreted precisely in these terms —as both a "concrete, singular, historical phenomenon" as well as a "generalisable model

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[102] The letter is cited in Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 309, translated by the author.

[103] Giorgio Agamben, 'What is a Paradigm?', in *The Signature of All Things* (New York: Zone Books, 2009), 16-17. For Foucault's reading of the Panopticon, see Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 200-209.

[104] Agamben, 'What is a Paradigm?', 17

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid.

functioning: a way of defining power relations in terms of the everyday life of men."[107] Undoubtedly, the building was conceived for a particular institution and with particular aims. However, as a figure of political technology, its significance exceeded the design's narrow functional aspirations. Much like Bentham's Panopticon, Fuga's project for Camposanto defined "a diagram of a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form"—its functioning "abstracted from any obstacle, resistance or friction," was meant to perform as a pure architectural and government system.[108]

The attributes of this system were accurately described by Fuga in a handwritten letter accompanying his 1762 proposal. [109] According to Fuga, in plan, the new cemetery was to be configured as a vast square burial yard measuring 32 palms per side (Fig. 3.10).[110] There, Fuga explained, "366 burials are laid, each measuring 14 by 14 palms in plan and 20 palms in depth, because that is the number of days by which the year is made and therefore by burying the cadavers of each day in a new pit, a whole year may go by before that pit has to be opened again."[111] At its perimeter, the burial yard was to be "encircled by a 20-palm-high perimeter wall," such that "nobody will be able to climb over it, and perform sorceries or other such excesses" (Fig. 3.10).[112] That wall was moreover to be lined with a series of rectangular niches so to be able to host the "bones of the deceased once dried and perfectly de-fleshed, in the event that, after a long time, the cemetery's burials need to be purged and cleansed."[113] Along one of its four segments, the perimeter wall was to be backed by a linear vaulted hall, and that hall provided with an entrance vestibule offering "shelter against the rain to funerary charts, to the priest dispensing the dead with absolution, to those entrusted to perform the burial services, and to those devotees whom, on the day of the dead, will visit this pious place" (Fig. 3.10).[114] Right and left of the said vestibule, the vaulted hall was also

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[107] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 205.

[108] The citations are drawn from Ibid.

[109] The report is cited in Buccaro and De Mattia, *Scienziati-artisti*, 169-170.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Ibid.

to include a chapel-cum-sacristy, a mortuary, burials for priests and for hospital congregants (below ground), as well as a living quarter for the sexton (Fig. 3.10).[115]

The building described by Fuga bore some family resemblance with the quarantine and burial methods adopted by early modern health authorities in their campaigns against plague. Like lazarettos—the most common quarantine facilities built across southern European states—the Camposanto too was planned to be far out from the city centre and surrounded by tall perimeter walls to contain the ill bodies of the sick (in this case the dead bodies) and keep the public out.[116] In fact, Fuga's cemetery proposal recalls the 370-meter-wide square courtyard of the lazaretto of Milan—the largest purpose-built plague containment structure in Italy and one which later generations regarded as a model (Fig. 3.17).[117] Moreover, as the very denomination 'Camposanto' suggests, the project made direct reference to plague burials—known to early modern Italians as *campisanti*.[118] Not unlike Fuga's own cemetery, earlier campisanti too consisted of batteries of communal graves surrounded by a fence.[119]

Yet, in at least two aspects, the cemetery proposed by Fuga was also significantly different from earlier plague measures. First, whereas the use of plague burials and lazarettos was temporary, the burial imperatives enabled by Fuga's project were meant to endure. In this sense, it may be regarded as exemplary of how exceptional techniques of government drawn up at times of plague were institutionalised to play more enduring roles.[120] Furthermore, while in plague burials and lazarettos, the undesired bodies of mendicants and beggars were left to their doom in barrack-like places of horror and death where inmates died en masse and where "it was useless to differentiate" amongst them—as Foucault has suggested—at the

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[115] Ibid.

[116] High walls were meant to prevent the epidemic to spread, to convey security as well as to prevent thieves from stealing the cargo and goods being stored in Lazzaretti. See Jane L. Stevens Crawshaw, *Plague Hospitals: Public Health for the City in Early Modern Venice. The History of Medicine in Context* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), Kindle edition, Kindle Locations 762, 1699, 1917.

[117] On the Lazaretto of Milan, see Luciano Patetta, "I temi nuovi dell' architettura milanese del Quattrocento e il Lazzaretto", *Arte Lombarda* 79 (1986): 75-84.

[118] See Henderson, *Florence Under Siege*, 40, 127-130

[119] Ibid., 128.

[120] See Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 195-209. See also Foucault, *Abnormal*, 44-55. See also Silvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation* (New York: Autonomedia, 2004), 46, 57.

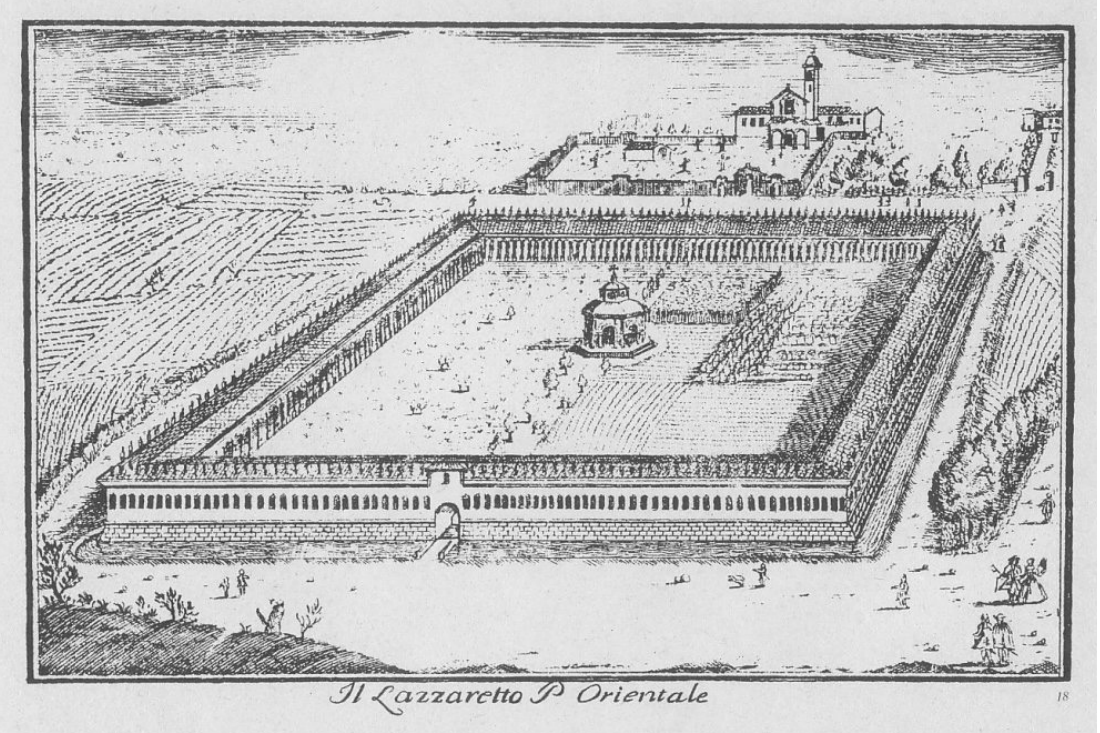

Figure 3.17. The Lazzaretto of Porta Orientale, Milan, begun 1489

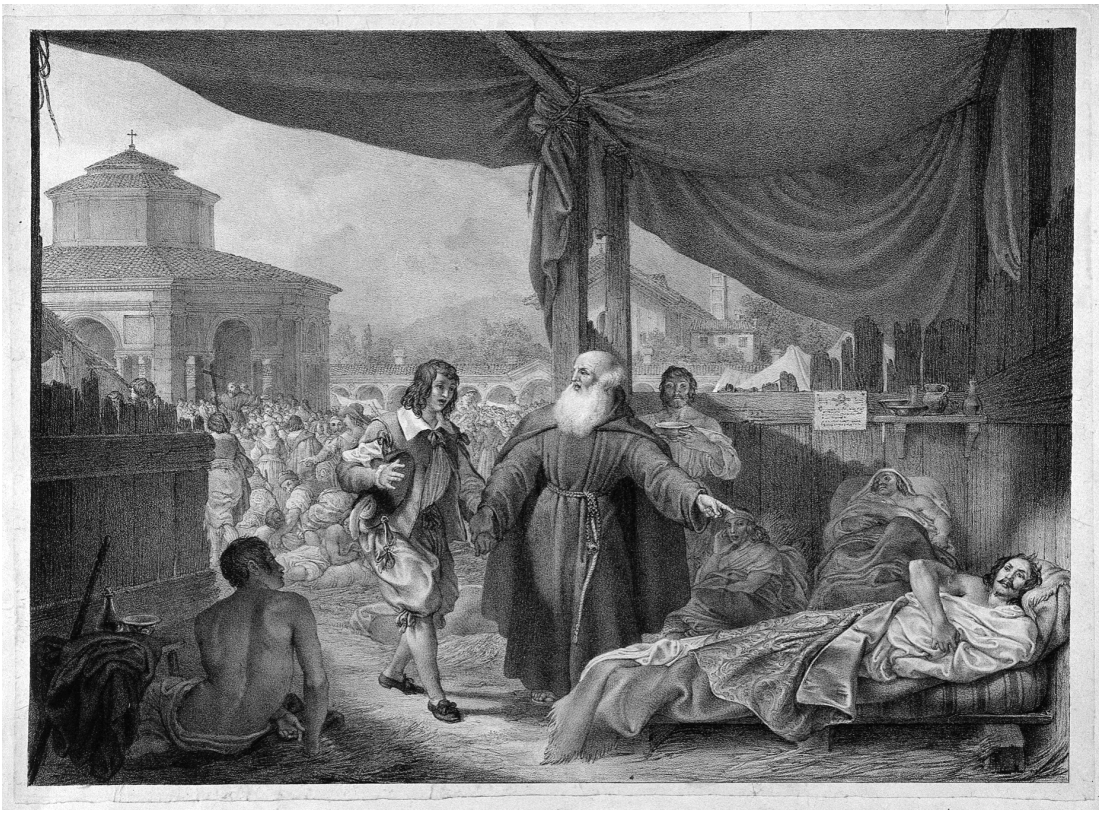

Figure 3.18. Gallo Gallina, *A monk visiting the victims of the great plague of Milan in 1630. An episode in Manzoni's 'I promessi sposi,'* 1828-1830.

Camposanto, the disposal of hospital patients was governed by spatial and temporal regimens which left little or no room for the confusion and disorder commonly associated with plague enclosures (Fig. 3.18).[121]

Though in his 1762 report Fuga does not mention whether his design for the Incurabili cemetery was based on pre-existing cemetery proposals, archival documents suggest that the idea to use calendrical references to regulate the layout and usage of the cemetery predated Fuga's appointment as the chief architect of the endeavour. Indeed, already in 1755, the monarchy's council of health deputies, hospital governors and doctors suggested that the new cemetery be realised by digging out:

> a reasonable number of pits, capacious, and perfectly sealed with stone lids and marble frames, in which the cadavers of each week, or each month may be buried; and to then leave the said pit closed, and quiet undisturbed, and use the following pit; and so forth; and to reopen the first pit by the end of the year; so to prevent, as much as it is possible, sudden exhalations issuing from corrupt corpses being released each time a recently used pit is opened.[122]

When the project was re-launched in January 1762, the Bourbons' health authorities clearly referred to the 1755 proposal, adding that the pits should now be orchestrated "to be able to host the cadavers of each day" rather than of each week or month.[123]

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[121] Foucault's description of lazzaretti and leper enclosures is in Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 198.

[122] ASN, *Ministero degli affari ecclesiastici*, 734, 25 January 1756.

[123] ASN, *Supremo Magistrato e Soprintendenza generale di Salute*, f. 497, 173v-174r.

Calendrical architecture

Having been debated amongst members of the central government's Health Deputation, the principal impulse in scholarship has been to interpret the cemetery's calendrical burial regimens in sanitary terms—i.e. in terms of the (purported) aim of Bourbon deputies to offset the health risks involved each time a decomposing corpse was exposed by increasing the number of burials and using them sequentially.[124] Yet, while this functional narrative may account for the Camposanto's juxtaposition of multiple communal graves, more than 'rationalism' or purported new medical knowledge is needed to explain why the layout and usage of those graves had to be regulated by calendrical references. In this regard, it is important to stress that calendrical time has little or nothing to do with how dead bodies decompose. Calendar time implies temporal regularity, neat intervals, and predictable rhythms. But as a biological process, the decomposition of a dead body is neither stable nor easily controlled. As nearly all recent forensics studies declare, a dead body's decay depends on infinite variables, including geographical location, burial method, temperature, humidity, pressure and so forth. And no two bodies decay at the same pace, even if buried by the same method. [125] The point here is to understand calendar cycles not as neutral, metrical frameworks around which life naturally unfurls but rather as normative mechanisms. As the sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel has maintained, calendrical time is "probably one of the fundamental parameters of any social order" precisely because of its power to "rigidify" life ("social situations, activities and events") by casting it into a commensurable, highly regularised and yet practically incontestable socio-temporal mould.[126] Indeed, prima facie, calendar units appear to be neutral, governed as they are by solar, or lunar, rotation.[127] Like clock-time, calendar-time is presumed to be a natural reflection of the larger "physiotemporal relations between the earth and the sun, or in the case of lunar calendars, between the earth and the moon"—as the scholar Victoria Browne has voiced.[128] However, to Browne, it is important to stress that temporal measures "are not natural measures that simply exist; rather,

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[124] See Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 305-306; Pezzini, "Disciplina della sepoltura," 167.

[125] For a concise overview of the subject, see Christine Quigley, *The corpse: a history* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 1996).

[126] Zerubavel, *Hidden Rhythms*, 2

[127] Victoria Browne, *Feminism, Time, and Nonlinear History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 100

[128] Ibid.

they are *constructed* measures that are decided upon and utilised within specific socio-cultural situations and arrangements."[129] Calendar measurements, in other words, are not found but forged.

Given the range of different calendar systems which have been institutionalised through history, historians focusing on calendars mostly tend to draw attention to their social, cultural and functional diversity. [130] Such studies typically foreground how certain societies and cultural communities adopt different calendars (often simultaneously) to pursue different social, economic, agricultural, cultural or religious goals, including, in our own case, the regulation of burial processes. However, to treat calendars in strictly functional terms is to miss an important point: namely, that calendrical frameworks have cognitive implications that outweigh any calendar's narrow, deterministic goals. As the philosopher Pierre Bourdieu has argued, the significance of time-regulating mechanisms such as calendars and timetables has less to do with the specific activities they orchestrate (hence their omnipresence in the most disparate social domains) than with the forms of life resulting from their very processes of orchestration. [131] Which is to say that calendars, like most common temporal references, do not just structure time—they also "structure minds." [132] This is why Bourdieu argues that "the calendar is the very symbol of the constitution of a social order that is simultaneously a temporal and a cognitive order."[133] To Bourdieu, calendars have the power to create "incorporated cognitive structures" which, through endless reproduction, become

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[129] Ibid.

[130] See for example E. G. Graham's monumental survey of calendar history *Mapping Time*. Edward Graham Richards, *Mapping Time: The Calendar and Its History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), Kindle Edition. Or Denis Feenay's renowned study of the Julian Calendar. Denis Feeney, *Caesar's Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History. Sather Classical Lectures, 65* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

[131] Bourdieu's views on the cognitive impact of calendars and timetables are the subject of two lectures Bourdieu gave at the Collège de France. See Pierre Bourdieu, *On the State. Lectures at the Collège de France, 1989-1992* (Cambridge: Polity, 2014), 3-23, 162-175.

[132] Ibid., 169.

[133] Ibid. As the historian Francesco Maiello has argued, it is not by coincidence that, in European history, three of the most radical calendar reforms—i.e., Julius Caesar's creation of the Julian Calendar, Gregory VIII's calendar reform after the Council of Trent, and the creation of the French Republican Calendar during the French Revolution—coincided with the establishment of new powers or political regimes. See Francesco Maiello, "Il Tempo dei Calendari in Francia (1484–1805)," *Studi Storici 31*, no. 2 (1990): 414.

"completely unconscious."[134] Through calendars (amongst other such normative mechanisms), power is able to produce "a socially ordered world without necessarily giving orders, without exerting constant coercion."[135]

At the Camposanto, the recourse to calendar time may be interpreted in similar authoritarian terms—as a means to subject death, the dead body and everyone involved in its disposal to surveillance and control ("without necessarily giving orders, without exerting constant coercion").[136] In this sense, it bears pointing out that at the Incurabili, as elsewhere in Naples, religious authorities administered burial practices. [137] It was ecclesiastics that operated the Piscina, dictating its opening and access protocols. And clergy members continued to deliver burial services well after the Piscina's closure.[138] At the new cemetery, however, the clerics were made to perform their duties as part of an entirely new thanatotic order—one which, moreover, was based on the most tangible and thus least disputable of calendrical reference points: the day. Indeed, as the "period of rotation of the earth about its axis, or from our human viewpoint, the time taken by the sun to complete its journey and return to the same point in heavens," the day is an interval of time so deeply rooted in biological rhythms that its legitimacy as a unit for regulating social life is practically unquestionable.[139] Here lies what may be described as the mythic power of Fuga's design: its ability "to make us think that we are dealing with materialism"—the coordination of burial processes— "while at the same time providing us with a release into belief"—the illusion or fiction of a universally valid ordering system.[140]

Yet in designing the Camposanto, Fuga did still more than simply synchronise how burials were performed to the so-called 'ticks of the celestial clock.'[141] By the most classical

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[134] Ibid.

[135] Ibid., 166.

[136] Ibid., 166.

[137] For an account of how burials were performed at the Incurabili prior to the Piscina's closure, see Magnati, *Teatro della*, 97-98, 304-305.

[138] As will be explored further later in the text, the Camposanto was from the very start meant to be administered by priest—as it later was. See ASN, *Ministero degli affari ecclesiastici*, 734, 25 January 1756.

[139] The citation is drawn from the Richards, *Mapping Time*, Location 239.

[140] These passages area drawn from Rosalind Krauss' 1979 essay on the 'grid' in twentieth-century western art. Rosalind Krauss, "Grids," *October*, Vol. 9 (Summer, 1979): 50-64.

[141] The expression is drawn from Richards, *Mapping Time*, Location 239.

of architectural means—geometry, eurhythmy, symmetry—Fuga was able to transliterate the calendrical burial system prefigured by Neapolitan ministers in what may be described as a total mise-en-scène of spatial harmony, order, and proportion. From part to whole, Fuga's design presented itself to view as a veritable architectural counterpart to the stable, eternal, and unchanging rhythmicity of calendar time (understood as a measure rooted in cosmological time), thereby enacting a causal link between the natural order of the cosmos above and the spatio-temporal partitioning of the polity beneath with the Crown linking the two.[142] However, the sustenance of this link was neither spontaneous nor easily achieved. Indeed, inasmuch as the acknowledged objectivity of calendar time may have granted the design epistemic authority and credibility, as an ordering system, calendar time is laden with inconsistencies. Firstly the fact that astronomical events and seasons do not repeat in a whole number of day, meaning that any calendar featuring the day as a fundamental unit it will

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[142] In this capacity, the cemetery may be regarded as an instance of what anthropologists and historians of political theory describe as "Political Platonism." Having its origins in Hellenistic and Classical thought, Political Platonism was a cosmic-political doctrine positing that the organisation of the state and of civic life should be deliberately arranged to conform to the mathematical and astrological principles regulating the movement of planets and stars. First theorised by Plato in his fourth-century-BC *Timaeus* and *Laws*, the doctrine was founded on the assumption that since the cosmos was governed by mathematical and geometrical harmony and that since humans were "composed of the same stuff of the cosmos, including in the way they moved," terrestrial politics "should be applied to the the goal of aligning human society with celestial laws"—as has been highlighted by the anthropologist Nicholas Campion. While Political Platonism is usually associated with pre-modern or even prehistoric societies, to Campion "there appears to be a long-term continuity in the tendency of political thinkers to apply cosmological and astronomical theory to models of the state." In the early modern, for instance, examples of Political Platonism may be traced in the work of Thomas Hobbes, whose political thought has been interpreted as a direct transliteration of Galilean cosmogony; in John Theophilus Desagulier's *The Newtonian System of the World: the Best Model of Government, an Allegorical Poem* (1728) whose Newtonian-inspired political theory applied new astronomical thinking to state management; or in the writings of Auguste Comte, whose *System of Positive Polity* was rooted in the belief that "the rules which governed human behaviour must be exactly the same as those which govern the heavens." Relevant to my argument Campion writes that throughout history, "the consequences of astronomical thought for politics tended to be authoritarian, either because it was designed to support royal power"—as was for example the case with the heliocentric, cosmic-political doctrines of Thomas Hobbes—"or on account of the presumed subordination of human action to celestial law"—since the cosmos envisioned by political theorists and philosophers was almost always one which "emphasized political obedience and respect for an established order." See Nicholas Campion, "Astronomy and Political Theory," in *The Role of Astronomy in Society and Culture*, David Valls-Gabaud & Alec Boksenberg eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 597-601. See also Nicholas Campion, "Astronomy and culture in the Eighteenth Century: Isaac Newton's influence on the Enlightenment and politics," in *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry,* Vol. 16, No 4 (2016), 497-502.

necessarily have to make adjustments in order not to fall behind astronomical time (or beyond it)—hence the invention of leap years where the number of days is 366 rather than 365. Adding to the difficulties, 365 and 366 are numbers which are not easily dividable into convenient factors—neither number can be divided by 12 or by 7 (the number of months/ lunar cycles in a year and the number of days in a week), for instance—hence the uneven number of days featured in each month.[143] As mundane as they may seem, these inconsistencies constituted a veritable challenge to calendar designers since at least classical antiquity, given that the geometrical inconsistencies of the calendar threatened the very authority of the cosmos as an ordering system.[144]

In designing the Camposanto, Fuga, too, had to engage with the inherent challenges of ordering calendar time. Yet, unlike most calendar designers, the architect dealt with such challenges not by resolving them but rather by camouflaging them as part of a much bolder and seemingly less compromising ordering system. Having defined the form and measurements of his calendar unit—an underground burial pit measuring 4 x 4 x 8 meters—in plan, Fuga chose to distribute 360 such units across a vast square court measuring 80 by 80 meters (Fig. 3.10).[145] This he did by utilising a square grid of 19 rows by 19 columns and by inserting a rainwater drain surmounted by a lamppost (rather than a burial pit) in the central module (Fig. 3.10). As for the remaining 6 pits, Fuga chose to position them within the long and narrow gallery space lining the south-western aspect of the Camposanto's burial court where the cemetery's service quarters and chapel were located (Fig. 3.10). By way of this exception, Fuga was able to ensure that the Camposanto's principal space—the burial court—be structured according to the same square figure which characterised the cemetery's compositional module—the single burial—while at the same time including all 366 communal pits.

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[143] For a detailed analysis of the history of calendar time and its design in different cultures and historical periods, see Richards, *Mapping time*.

[144] A good example of how calendar time challenged calendar designer throughout history is August Comte's 1849 proposal for a *Calendrier Positiviste* where the solar year was divided in 13 months, each containing 28 days (four seven-day weeks) and where the remaining 365th and 366th days were unassumingly placed at the end of the calendar year. On Comte's calendar see Richards, *Mapping Time*, Location 1541.

[145] Since no drawings by Fuga exist, all measurements are drawn from Paolo Giordano's painstaking survey of the building included in Giordano, *Il disegno dell'architettura funebre.*

In Fuga's cemetery design, the binding relationship of part to whole defining the planimetric layout of the pits was, importantly, also mirrored by the building's ornamentation, where every element in view was designed to echo the order of the proposed burial system beneath. For example, the court's perimeter walls were structured by a 19 bay parti of paired pilaster strips and arched niches, which was entirely consistent with the building's underground grid of communal pits. In this sense, Fuga's use of paired pilaster strips is telling in that it allowed him to keep the height of the above level considerably lower than that of the plinth while at the same time ensuring that the arched niches inserted in each bay be characterised by the same exact profile of the vaulted chambers below ground—a solution which Fuga had already shown a preference for in his earlier design for the Roman cemetery of Santo Spirito (Figs. 3.10, 3.12). Moreover, the efficacy of Fuga's ornamental scheme derived also from its possibility to host exceptions, such as the array of rectangular windows lining the southwestern elevation of the court, behind which the perimeter wall was buttressed by the service wing. In the design, these openings were neatly recessed within the order of arched niches resulting in just a slight variation of the overall ornamental scheme (Figs. 3.2, 3.10). Even more, telling is, perhaps, Fuga's solution for integrating the entrance module. Indeed, though the Camposanto's burial yard could be accessed from just a single point—i.e. the central module of the southwestern front—Fuga achieved to balance out the exceptional puncturing of the Camposanto's perimeter wall by featuring the same pedimented arch with lateral panels characterising the entrance module on all three of the remaining wall segments (Figs. 3.1, 3.2, 3.10). As a result, the burial yard came to be defined by a cross-in-square composition emphasising lack of orientation and enclosure.

Such means of composition produced the cemetery as a complex space where cognitive, operational, and architectural regimens were intricately overlaid.[146] It was a mixed space—as Foucault might have defined it: real because it governed the disposition of bodies and materials, but also ideal because it engendered "characterisations, assessments, hierarchies."[147] Indeed, the calendrical disposition of the Camposanto's 366 communal graves fixed dead bodies in places permitting analysis and registration (hence the Arab numerals marking the 366 graves); it carved out spatial segments for individuals and

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[146] See Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 148.

[147] Ibid.

established "operational links;" it also guaranteed obedience as well as a "better economy of time and gesture."[148] While there are no eighteenth-century depictions of the cemetery, it is not hard to imagine the quasi-pendular movement of the Camposanto's caretakers transitioning from burial to burial, day by day, row by row, calendar year after calendar year, in boustrophedon sequence.[149]

As a new distant space for burying the dead, the Camposanto, too, may be related to Foucault's descriptions of heterotopian emplacements—places outside all places, where the "real sites that can be found within culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted."[150] For example, as a heterotopia both 'in place' and 'out of place,' it relegated the dead into a space other from the city, a space that was "as perfect, as meticulous, and as well arranged" as the reality it counterpoised was "ill-constructed and jumbled"—a characteristic Foucault attributes to so-called "heterotopias of compensation." Further, as an emplacement aimed to contain the cadavers of ill hospital patients, it performed similarly "heterotopias of deviation"—"those in which individuals whose behaviour is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed."[151] Moreover, like heterotopias, the cemetery, too, presupposed "a system of opening and closing" that both isolated it and made it penetrable—by the dead daily, according to the institution's burial method, and by the public occasionally and on the basis of a strict system of spatial and behavioural norms.[152] And yet, the most heterotopian aspect of Fuga's cemetery—and in fact of all modern cemeteries for that matter—lies in its disruption of traditional temporal experiences of death. If, in fact, according to Foucault a heterotopia "begins to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time," then, Fuga's Camposanto may be regarded as a highly heterotopic place since its calendrical burial method stood in radical contravention

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[148] Ibid.

[149] The machine-like character of this routine was, furthermore, exacerbated by its dependence on the mechanical winch (described in the first section of this chapter). More than a mere utensil, the winch formed part of a body-building, body-machine complex whose articulation encouraged order and discipline.

[150] See Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias," 3.

[151] Ibid., 4-5. From this point of view, the Camposanto may be regarded as the necrological correlative of Fuga's near contemporary Reale Albergo dei Poveri (the subject of Chapter 1) where the abject bodies of Naples' destitute poor were emplaced.

[152] Ibid., 7.

with how traditional, religious burials related to time.[153] Whereas, in fact, in church burials, the time of burial was seen to be related to eschatological and soteriological questions,[154] at the Camposanto, the time and duration of burial processes were dealt with in logistical and sanitary terms. If in church burials, the decay of the dead body was regarded as an earthly correlative of the purification of the soul in Purgatory, [155] at the Camposanto, the passage to the afterlife was stripped of metaphysical considerations.

Seen in this light, it is tempting to look at Fuga's cemetery as evidence of the wider process of cultural and political secularisation societies across Europe experienced around the turn of the eighteenth century.[156] But such an analysis would be misleading. As its very denomination *Camposanto* (lit. 'holy field') suggests, the new burial site was a hybrid space where new attitudes towards death and the dead body took form alongside century-old

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[153] Foucault, "Of other spaces," 6.

[154] See Scaramella, *Le Madonne del Purgatorio*, 294-297; Italo Pardo, "Life, Death and Ambiguity in the Social Dynamics of Inner Naples," *Man*, New Series, Vol. 24, 1 (1989): 109-113; Antonio Fornaciari, Valentina Giuffra and Francesco Pezzini, "Secondary burial and mummification practices in the Kingdom of the two Sicilies," *Mortality* 15, 3 (2010): 226-227.

[155] Scaramella, *Le Madonne del Purgatorio*, 294-296.

[156] For an example of this interpretation, see Giordano, *Il disegno dell'architettura funebre*; Malone, *Architecture, Death and Nationhood*, 200; Hannah Malone, "Secularisation, Anticlericalism and Cremation within Italian Cemeteries of the Nineteenth Century," *Modern Italy*, 19, no. 4 (2014): 397-398. For a critique of secularisation narratives relative to the reform of burial practices, see Christoph De Spiegeleer, "Secularization and the Modern History of Funerary Culture in Europe: Conflict and Market Competition Around Death, Burial and Cremation," *Trajecta* 28, 2 (2019): 169-201.

religious conventions.[157] As already intimated, burials were administered by priests. Each day masses for the dead were delivered in the cemetery's chapel (right of the entrance vestibule, Fig. 3.10). At the altarpiece stood a painting of Antonio Pellegrino depicting the Virgin and the Souls of Purgatory—an iconography which was entirely consistent to extant thanatological traditions.[158] And the burial yard, too, was decorated with religious imagery. Indeed, the central niches lining the Camposanto's north-western, north-eastern and south-eastern perimeter walls were frescoed with scenes from the Passion of Christ (specifically, Christ carrying the Cross, the Crucifixion and the Deposition)—a subject often associated with burial sites and which, according to Scaramella, alluded to the power of mass and of the Eucharist as a form of suffrage for the dead.[159] In short, more than of the triumph over religion by the imperatives of the secular, the project marked a threshold moment between death understood as a spiritual passage and modern thanatotic directions.

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[157] According to the nineteenth-century author Gioacchino Di Marzo, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century burial sites were defined as campisanti with reference to the Camposanto Monumentale of Pisa, whose burial court is said to have consisted of around 53 shiploads of sacred soil from Mount Calvary, brought back to Pisa from the Holy Land during the 12th-century crusades—hence the name "holy field." That soil, sanctified by the blood of Christ, was said to have been characterised by the phenomenal property of "consuming the flesh of the deceased in just three days and secure eternal life for the penitent." Later, similar miraculous powers were attributed to the Camposanto of Rome (known as the Teutonic Cemetery), founded around earth from the Akeldama—the Aramaic name of the Potter's Field cited in the Gospel of Matthew which later became the burial location for foreigners dying at the Jerusalem Hospital. See Gioacchino Di Marzo, *Opere storiche inedite sulla citta di Palermo pubblicate su' manoscritti della Biblioteca comunale precedute da prefazioni e corredate di note per cura di Gioacchino Di Marzo*, Vol. 5 (L. Pedone Lauriel, 1874), 102, Google Books, accessed 5 September 2019, https://books.google.it/books?id=Bdb3_X6fQOMC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false. For an analysis of the campisanti of Pisa and Rome see Neta Bodner, "Earth from Jerusalem in the Pisan Camposanto," in *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel*, eds. Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (Leiden: Brill, 2015): 74-93.

[158] The painting is described in Celano, *Notizie*, vol. V, 480.

[159] The frescos no longer exist but are described in Celano, *Notizie*, vol. V, 478. On christocentrism in burial practices and purgatorial cults, see Scaramella, *Le Madonne del Purgatorio*, 210.

From necessity to norm

At a more pragmatic level, Fuga's design also appealed for its logistical benefits. Indeed, its modular layout and sequential use enabled construction to proceed at an unusually fast pace. Whereas, in fact, in other monarchical enterprises such as the Albergo or the Granili, building activities endured for decades on end, the Camposanto was completed in little over a year—a remarkable achievement considering the Incurabili's poor financial situation and the impervious location of the building site (the Camposanto was sited on a hilltop and could only be reached by climbing up a steep winding road. Figs. 3.3, 3.4). The first stone was laid on May 22nd 1762, and by early January 1764, payments were made to finalise the stucco work and the paving of the chapel.[160]

The pace at which the building was completed is telling and must also be understood in terms of the project's broader socio-political—rather than strictly sanitary—implications. Conceived to provide burial for the ill bodies of hospital patients, the Camposanto was commissioned to cope with an exceptional circumstance. In its realisation, the monarchy exercised pressure in unconventional ways on the grounds that the Piscina's sanitary situation was out of the ordinary and risked threatening the public health. Throughout the commission process, Bourbon health authorities extended their power well beyond their possibilities because the problems resulting from the Piscina were reportedly unprecedented in nature and scale. This narrative was exemplified in the recurrent use of terms like "emergency," "corrupting" or "pestilential."[161]

Throughout the project's gestation, necessity became the principle of action. The new cemetery was a measure of so-called *last resort*. Its commission was "demanded by the situation rather than the outcome of choice and volition"—or so it was promoted by the Bourbon health authorities.[162] That this emergency measure should be implemented with exceptional urgency was an argument which followed quite naturally from the project's

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[160] Nappi, "Incurabili. Nuovi documenti e precisazioni," 274-275. The frescos no longer exist but they are cited in Celano, *Notizie*, vol. V, 480.

[161] This interpretation is inspired by Jonathan White's writings on contemporary political exceptionalism. See Jonathan White, *Politics of Last Resort: Governing by Emergency in the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 22-26.

[162] The citation is drawn from ibid., 22.

exceptionalist rhetorics. As the political historian Jonathan White has argued, "if action is guided by necessity, there are no contending options to be weighed, and delay must be construed as loss of time."[163] Granted that the Camposanto was "not just a pious and useful work, but one which was truly necessary"—as the Bourbon health authorities described it—its haste realisation was described as being an utmost priority.[164]

The emphasis on speed was important in that it provided the Bourbons with a rhetorical weapon powerful enough to undermine all forms of opposition, whether that be through political persuasion or by simply accelerating the project's pace. Through speed in action, Bourbon health authorities were able to exercise pressure on the Incurabili's government members; on Naples' Banchi and on pious organisations, including ecclesiastical organisations, all of which were encouraged to make hefty donations in order to support the endeavour. Wherever this process involved challenging extant political boundaries, it was always in the name of a swift resolution and of a common cause. Once more, the cemetery operation, as the Bourbons remarked recurrently, was framed as concerning "the Public and the City as a whole."[165]

As an exceptional measure intended for an exceptional circumstance, the Camposanto was instituted under the (false) impression that its consequences would be circumscribed to a specific population segment: i.e., the ill bodies of the Incurabili's hospital patients. However, as the operation gained political momentum, physicians and health authorities operating within the Bourbons' circles seized the opportunity to make even bolder and more encompassing proposals for reform. In doing so, they championed the persuasion that the health policies enabled by the Camposanto should no longer be conceived of in strictly negative terms—i.e., as mere means of restoring normality wherever a health crisis occurred. As the project came into fruition, the efforts proposed by burial reformers shifted from a logic of exceptionalism, with its related modes of remedial intervention, to what may be described as strategies of crisis prevention.

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[163] White, *Politics of Last Resort*, 23.

[164] The citation is drawn from ASN, *Segreteria di Stato e Azienda*, f. 223, 37, "Per contribuirsi un competente sussidio per ajiuto alal compra del suolo, e fabbrica del cimitero, o Camposanto, per seppellirvisi i Cadaveri di quei che muojono nell'Ospedale dell'Incurabili," 1 May 1762.

[165] Ibid.

Evidence of this shift exists fairly early in the Camposanto's gestation when the Neapolitan physicians Serao, Ventapane, Francesco Taglialatela and Cesare Cinque solicited the members of the government's health deputation to not limit the scope of their intervention to the matter of the Piscina but to also "carefully consider the great damages to the public health" resulting from the different forms of communal burial existing in nearly all Naples' religious and lay pious congregations.[166] In making their point, the doctors summoned up the same humoral theories and medical commonplaces through which they previously determined the hazardousness of the Piscina sanitary situation. If it is true, they argued, that most epidemic illnesses are caused by a corruption of the air and that this corruption "cannot be born but from malevolent exhalations;"[167] and if it is also true that in hospitals and prisons, the sheer number of ill persons is alone able to contaminate the air and propagate the most pernicious fevers;[168] then, "who might contend the exhalations emanating from cadavers are not even more potent than those already mentioned, given that they have sometimes even instantly killed those have stumbled upon them?"[169]

Government interventions were quick to come. On 18 March 1763, months before Fuga's cemetery was completed, a dispatch was emitted prescribing that in all burials in Naples, the dead be buried under at least 8 palms of soil (circa 2.2 meters) "in order to ensure, as much as it is possible that Naples' air remains salubrious."[170] Should a parish and congregation not be able to reach the required depth, undertakers were prohibited from using that burial under penalty of three months of incarceration. Whenever disputes arose, the matter was to be subjected to the opinion of a royal officer who had full authority to evaluate the situation and prescribe penalties if necessary. Significantly, in prescribing these measures, government authorities made direct reference to the appeals of the Neapolitan physicians.

The efforts of burial reformers grew even stronger in the following months as a consequence of the famine-cum-epidemic, which struck Naples from the end of 1763 and

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[166] ASN, *Supremo Magistrato e Soprintendenza generale di Salute*, f. 497, 17r-17v, translated by the author.

[167] Ibid., 17r.

[168] Ibid., 17v.

[169] Ibid.

[170] ASN, *Supremo Magistrato e Soprintendenza generale di Salute*, f. 286, translated by the authore.

throughout 1764.[171] With death rates rising at a pace which was unprecedented for that century, providing burial for the dead became one of the most demanding challenges. Reporting on the situation in May 1764, the Bourbon state secretary Tanucci revealed how government authorities in the provinces, seeing that their burials were no longer able to receive the dead, began forming temporary cemeteries outside villages as had been customary in times of plague.[172] In some towns such as Isernia or Trivento, local bishops went as far as to request permission to implement cremation.[173] Yet though Tanucci had initially given his consent, the permission was swiftly withdrawn after the suggestion of the Neapolitan health deputies on account that the people would revolt in seeing their relatives turned into ashes and that neighbouring states might suspect of a plague outbreak and thereby interrupt all commercial relations with the Kingdom of Naples.[174] The solution which was ordered was to dig out pits in the countryside and to make sure that the bodies buried in the pits were covered with lime.[175]

Similar challenges were faced in the Capital. Indeed, as parishes and congregations began catering their burial services exclusively to congregation members and to nobles, the vast majority of civilian burials were unattended for.[176] Under the counsel of Neapolitan medics, Naples' government authorities erected a temporary cemetery along the shoreline of Bagnoli, circa two kilometres from Naples' city centre.[177] The Bagnoli cemetery consisted of two large pits and catered for the hospital patients of the Ospedale di Chiaia and for the Muslim slaves working at the harbour.[178] Yet the remainder of the city's civilians, and as a matter of fact the vast majority of Neapolitans dying under the epidemics' blows, was transported to and buried within the recently completed Camposanto of the Incurabili— as was reported by the papal nuncio Tommaso Battiloro.[179]

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[171] On how the debate on burial reform developed after the 1764 famine see Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 314-24.

[172] Ibid. 316-17.

[173] Ibid., 17.

[174] Ibid.

[175] Ibid.

[176] Ibid. 318-21.

[177] Ibid.

[178] Ibid. 320-21

[179] Ibid. 320.

The 1764 crisis represented a moment of great expectations for Neapolitan burial reform supporters. The famine and resulting epidemic outbreak laid bare the precarious state as well as the structural imbalances of the capital's funerary sector, opening up an animated debate over the possibility of change. Moreover, the exceptionally high number of casualties authorised government authorities to implement measures which would've been impossible in times of normalcy, such as the banning of urban burials and the construction of new extra-urban cemeteries. Though such measures were clearly understood as temporary, they also set important precedents. Once the crisis was over, several Neapolitan physicians proposed building on them or normalising them on the basis of prevention.[180] This subterfuge was evocatively described by the Neapolitan physician and doctor of the Bourbon army Don Francesco Merli in a 1764 letter to Lorenzo Zona:

> How many varied opinions, and disputes, my friend, over these Campi-Santi! There are those who raise them to the stars, and those who feel an extreme horror for them. I have heard from a person of authority and talent that, maybe, this beautiful and useful custom will endure...and that cadavers will continue to be buried outside the city even after the end of the current epidemic.[181]

In reality, though in the aftermath of the 1764 crisis, the Bourbons *did* exercise more pressure on Naples' burial locations, the workings and topography of Naples' funerary sector remained relatively unchanged for the remainder of the century.[182] Indeed, differently from other Italian and northern European states where burial reformers found more fertile terrain, in the Kingdom of Naples, the banning of urban burials and the construction of a municipal cemetery catering to the entirety of Naples' population only took place after the cholera outbreak of the early nineteenth century, and largely as a result of the disruptive policies of

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[180] Ibid. 325-328.

[181] Francesco Merli, *Lettere concernenti l'epidemia sofferta in Napoli* (Napoli: Vincenzo Flauto, 1764), XXXXII-III, translated by the author.

[182] See Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 342-59; Pezzini, "Disciplina della sepoltura," 206-8.

Gioacchino Murat during the French occupation.[183] Previous reform efforts—for example, a proposal from 1779 to erect 4 cemeteries outside Naples and to close all burials in the centre—were persistently unsuccessful due to the antagonism of religious authorities, of nobles and of conservative government members.[184] As such, throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, the Camposanto stood alone as an ambiguous and exceptional presence vis-à-vis Naples' traditional landscape of intramural burials: the glimpse of an effort whose disruptive effects could only ever be exerted on the exceptional bodies of the Neapolitan poor. Yet this exceptionalism should not undermine the significance of Fuga's cemetery. For to dismiss it on such grounds—as some scholars have—would be to perpetuate the same problematic class prejudices according to which burial reform developed, in Naples as elsewhere in Europe over the course of the eighteenth century.

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[183] For scholarship on burial reform during the French occupation see Carnevale and Marin, "Naples, une réforme difficile."

[184] The proposal is examined in detail in Carnevale, *L'affare dei morti*, 338-349; Pezzini, "Disciplina della sepoltura," 201-6.

Conclusion

This dissertation has offered an analysis of three individual buildings and their gestation to investigate how architecture, under the Neapolitan Bourbons, was implicated in the expansion of royal authority in three core segments of Naples' city administration: the control of poor relief, the provision of foodstuffs, and the delivery of burials. In each chapter, it examined a specific work by Ferdinando Fuga (1699-1782) by concentrating on the power dynamics it excited; the reform processes it enabled; its design, construction, and financing frameworks. Common to all chapters was an attempt to discuss architecture in terms of a capillary analysis of rule—to analyse buildings in terms of the convergence of diverse practices of social domination, including but not limited to political discourse, theories of knowledge, material logistics and governmentalisation. In so doing, the goal has been to position architecture as a practice thoroughly and inherently enmeshed in power relations and, through this, to identify its workings as an agent of political change.

These research interests were explored in the specific context of eighteenth-century Naples—a time when the city experienced unprecedented urban and political renewal. Basing discussion around the reigns of the first two Bourbon kings of Naples, Charles of Bourbon and Ferdinand IV, the dissertation has set out to explore how through a succession of independently planned buildings, executed over multiple decades, the Crown was able to amass power in a kingdom of new foundation and in which religious, civic, and aristocratic entities held substantial sway. This process, it has emerged, was not just a matter of downright political subjugation. Under both kings, the affirmation of royal power against competing social players was as much a result of the overt exercise of sovereign will (based on the monarch's rank in the social hierarchy) as it was contingent on consensus-building and methods of legitimation. In different ways, the three buildings analysed were central to enabling this mission. Built in the name of the common good, their commission served to promote the Crown as a righteous advocate of the needs of the Neapolitan population while at the same time empowering the regime with an admissible basis for expanding the powers of the royal administration.

This significance of Fuga's works has not been sufficiently emphasised in existing literature, much of which still tends to sustain a romanticised image of the Bourbon rulers as characterised by reform and progressivism and their kingships as an example of how monarchs of the eighteenth century were able to reconcile the pursuit of the public interest with the desire of political centralism. There exists, indeed, still a substantial amount of research offering a teleological view of history that interprets the Bourbons' political ascent in Southern Italy as having inaugurated a golden age of political, cultural, and economic renewal, often in contraposition to an assumed, previous period of decadence under Spanish and Austrian rule. The pervasiveness of this interpretation has had a significant impact on how eighteenth-century Neapolitan history has been viewed. Indeed, when examining the Bourbon monarchy's various reforms and political efforts, their limited scope and grossly titular character often falls in the background of a narrative that treats the city's restoration as the seat of a resident ruler as an indubitable upgrade on its earlier viceregal condition. What this research demonstrates, however, is that the Bourbons instituted reform only insofar as it matched their ambitions for political dominion. For while it is, indeed, impossible to measure the extent to which Charles and Ferdinand IV were animated by a commitment to the common good, what is sure is that that commitment was neatly compatible with their narrower dynastic ambitions, including but not limited to challenging the power of the Neapolitan clergy or to the subjection of Naples' aristocratic authorities. In this sense, one must also use great caution when using the term reform in relation to the Bourbon monarchy's opportunistic political and administrative policies.

Even greater caution must be exercised when measuring the actual political and historical significance of Charles of Bourbon and Ferdinand's reforms. What a cursory analysis of Fuga's buildings suggests is that both the reform of poor relief and the reform of burial practices, as well as the reform of grain provisions, were short-lived in their original form. Indeed, in the face of an expected 8000 inmates, the Albergo dei Poveri operation was drastically reduced in scale, the original plan of Fuga's poorhouse having been rescaled from 5 to 3 courtyards; the Camposanto remained an isolated incident despite having been conceived of as part of much a broader burial reform program; and the Granili had little or no consequence on Naples' grain supply frameworks. Indeed, even after their inauguration in 1791, the business of public grain continued to be a privilege pertaining to Naples' municipal

government and persisted in being so until the revolution of 1799, after which the City administration was suppressed altogether on account of its participation in the establishment of the Neapolitan Republic (21 January-13 June 1799). For a short while, grain provision duties were administered by the Crown through the newly formed *Deputazione Annonari*a. But in 1804, all grain provision functions were liberalised.

These circumstances notwithstanding, however, it would be to miss the critical political significance of the Fuga's projects if one were to present their history strictly in failure-centric terms. For even though neither was conducive to the reforms the monarchy had anticipated for them, from the point of view of power relations, their construction had significant administrative and socio-political ramifications. Both the Albergo and the Camposanto, for instance, were relevant to the Crown's broader diplomatic struggle against the privileges of the Neapolitan Church, many of whose foundations were forced (through intimidation) to make onerous contributions towards financing their building and some of which even faced suppression in order to fund the projects' momentous, construction and management expenditures. This, as we have seen, was the case of the Augustian Colorites, whose wealth and patrimony were incorporated into the Albergo. Similar dynamics characterised the Camposanto. Promoted by the Crown "such that the vast and very populous city would no longer be damaged by the cadavers amassed there, and therefore by their toxic exhalations," and conceived of by the royal government's health deputation, its construction paved the way for an aggressive process of medicalisation the outcomes of which exceed the mere matter of regulating burial practices.[1] At its heart, it has been shown, lay the attempt to assert the authority of the state over domains of civic life previously controlled mainly or even exclusively by the clergy and by religious centres. This was true of burial practices, but it was also true of the provision of welfare—as the case of the Albergo makes clear.

As for the Granili, future research will hopefully shed light on how the building became repurposed in the aftermath of the Bourbon monarchy's liberalisation measures. For while it is, indeed, known that a large portion of Fuga's structure was inherited by the army, how the building fitted within the context of Ferdinand IV's late eighteenth-century military reforms remains uncertain. Much clearer, instead, were the endeavour's urbanistic and

[1] The citation is drawn from the cemetery's commemorative plaque. The plaque may be found on the Camposanto's main facade and its content is transcribed in Giordano, *Il disegno dell'architettura funebre*, 103-4. The translation of it is my own.

representational outcomes. Docked along the Strada di Portici, it formed a pendant with the Albergo dei Poveri in the north as one of two monumental structures dominating the city's entrance arteries. In this capacity, as well as for their scale, the two buildings had a massive visual and symbolic impact for, following their construction, anyone approaching Naples from the north or the southeast would have a tangible demonstration of the Bourbon monarchy's political primacy. What's more, in their respective locations, both structures served direct the capital's ongoing expansion towards the east in an area formerly characterised by marshes but which, in time, and primarily due to the regime's building and land restoration programs, underwent intense occupation.[2] Naples, already one of the largest cities in eighteenth-century Europe, was growing, and both the Albergo and the Granili were instrumental in ensuring that the Crown lay in the driver's seat of the metropolis' ongoing urban transformation.

Today, this significance of Fuga's architectures would remain largely inappreciable were it not for the overabundant amount of imagery their construction stimulated amongst map makers and landscape painters. In this sense, amongst the many visual documents analysed throughout the dissertation, Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni's *Pianta della Città di Napoli Come Esiste nel Presente Anno MDCCXC* occupies a special place (Fig. 4.1).[3] Commissioned by the Crown in 1787, and thus just as the Granili were being completed, the *Pianta* was both a manifesto of modern cartography as well as an encomium to the architectural and urban renovation the city had sustained since its 1734 restoration as the seat of a resident ruler and capital of an independent reign. In it were commemorated the effects of over 50 years of Bourbon rebuilding ranging from Charles of Bourbons' celebrated inauguration of the Teatro San Carlo, the Palace of Capodimonte or the new cavalry barracks in Borgo Santa Maria di Loreto (amongst others) as well as the more recent contributions of his heir, Ferdinand IV. Idiosyncratic of Naples' representation in Rizzi Zannoni's plan was its unusual contextualisation in a vast geographical setting. Indeed, differently from earlier bird's eye views of Naples, in the *Pianta*, the actual plan of the city occupied a mere third of the

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[2] For an analysis of this development see Valeria Pezza, *La costa orientale di Napoli. Il progetto e la costruzione del disegno urbano* (Napoli: Electa Napoli, 2002). See also Roberto Parisi, *Lo spazio della produzionea Napoli: la periferia orientale* (Napoli: Edizioni Athena, 1998).

[3] On Rizzi Zannoni's *Pianta della Città di Napoli…* see *L'Italia del Cavaliere Rizzi Zannoni*: 20-24; 54-55. See also, Brancaccio, *Geografia, Cartografia e Storia del Mezzogiorno*, 203.

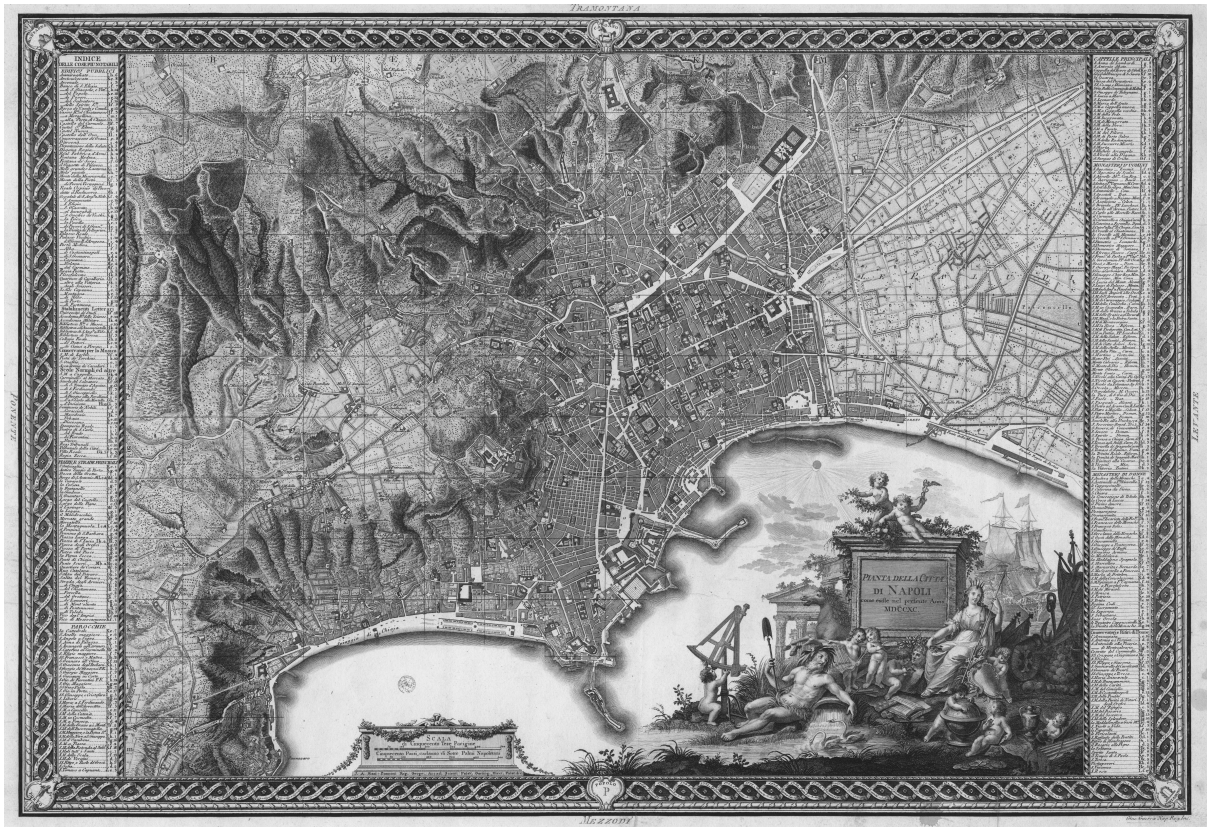

Figure 4.1. Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, *Pianta della Città di Napoli Come Esiste nel Presente Anno MDCCXC*, 1791.

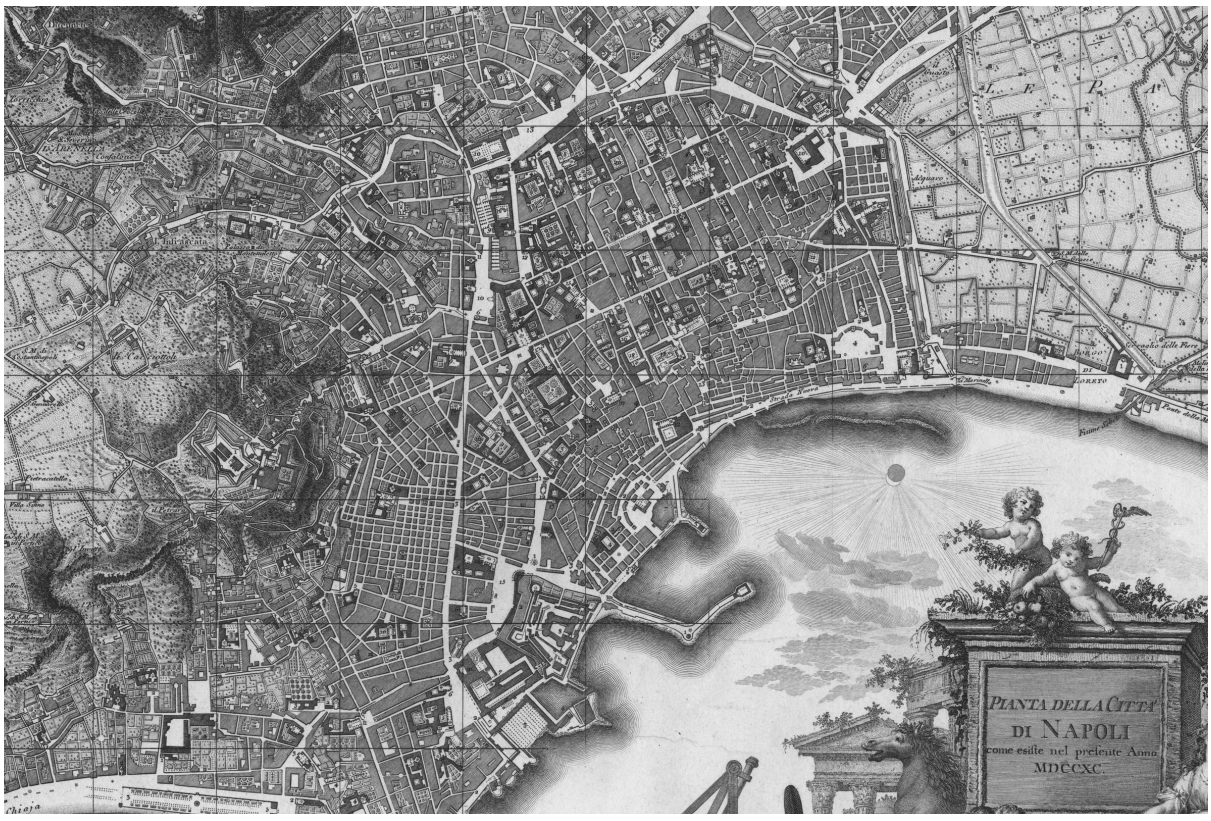

Figure 4.2. Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, *Pianta della Città di Napoli Come Esiste nel Presente Anno MDCCXC*, 1791, detail showing the inner city.

engraving, most of which portrayed its hinterland environs. This wide and distant frame sublated conventional distinctions between town and country, picturing the relation between Naples and the surrounding territory as one of extension rather than demarcation.[4] In this sense, situated as they were at the peripheral head of the major entrance arteries to the city, the Granili and the Albergo were represented in the *Pianta* less as urban outposts than as references for the capital city's ongoing urban growth.

If the broad framing of Rizzi Zannoni's plan served to portray Naples in terms of a prosperous and dynamic future, its planimetric rendering of the inner city also permitted appreciation of how the Crown accomplished to mark its presence within the dense fabric of the town (Fig. 4.2). There, however, what emerges is not so much a general urban strategy or an attempt to redesign the city according to a wholistic masterplan as a punctual accumulation of building initiatives, each developing in response to Naples' shifting political climate and to the evolving government and representational demands of the Bourbon Crown. Taken singularly, the new royal buildings had a profound symbolic and topographical impact. And yet, for all that was built, the structure of the city remained relatively intact. This limited scope of Bourbon building was not lost upon contemporary chroniclers, many of whom lamented the narrowly titular character of the royal government's rebuilding effort. This, for example, was the opinion of the architect and pamphleteer Vincenzo Ruffo who in his *Saggio sull'abbellimento di cui è capace la città di Napoli*, pointed to how Naples, despite having been embellished unlike ever before, and with the exception of a minimal number of neighbourhoods and roads, could still widely be considered as one of the most disorderly, filthy and irregular cities in the world, and much to the detriment of its inhabitants whose dwelling and living circumstances were far below contemporary standards of hygiene and

[4] This interpretation is inspired by Barbara Ann Naddeo's reading of the Duca di Noja map. See Naddeo, "Topographies of Difference," 40.

comfort.[5] In the light of these positions, one must, therefore, not overstate the aims of Bourbon building. For history reveals not so much a visionary urban campaign as a piecemeal concatenation of building initiatives, each operative within an effort to exalt the power and prerogatives of the Bourbon dynasts.

In a similar manner, one must also not overstate the aims of Bourbon reform. For while it is, indeed, true that eighteenth-century Naples experienced unprecedented social and political change and that the nature of that change was mainly attributable to the kingdom's 1734 restoration as an independent reign, it would be misleading, as some historians have done, to interpret the Crown's political activity in Naples in terms of a wholistic program of social, political and economic overhaul. As an analysis of the three case studies has shown, the nature of the reforms, the objectives they embodied as well as the means which were employed to implement them varied according to circumstance and the specific historical juncture in which they developed. Common to all were, of course, a number of recurrent features: increasing royal control over the competing jurisdictions; ensuring the public order; challenging the political and economic privileges of the Church and of Feudal lords; ensuring the (new) monarchy's recognition amongst neighbouring European courts. But as the historian Anna Maria Rao has argued, "there was nothing particularly 'heroic' in all this, as has been repeated far too often."[6] Ultimately, it may be said, reform in eighteenth-century Naples, was only ever pursued to the extent to which it was compatible with the more narrow dynastic prerogatives of the Bourbon court. It shouldn't surprise, therefore, if the majority of royal reforms ended up restating and reinforcing the status quo, thereby entering into a contradiction with the same progressivist rhetoric which characterised their promotion. In Bourbon Naples, such phrases as the common good, utility, public happiness and public health served merely as legitimising mechanisms for solidifying state control.

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[5] "Il centro però di quella Capitale noti è affatto cambiato; vi fi vede lo stesso numero di piccole strade, strette e tortuose nelle quali non fi respire che lordura, e malproprietà, ed in più l'incontro delle vetture, e la gran folla del popolo cagiona in ogn'istante imbarazzi senza numero. I Borghi, o sieno l'estremità della Città, fono un poco meno mal fabbricati, sia fi può dire, senza timore d'offendere il vero, che eccettuatine alcuni pezzi, ed alcune Strade, sparse quà e là, Napoli nel totale offre la più disordinata ed irregolare delle Città. Superiore a tutte le altre per la sua situazione, uguale alle prime dell'Europa, per numero, e per la ricchezza dei suoi abitanti, ella è inferiore a molte altre per tutti quei vantaggi, che rendono una Città comoda, bella e magnifica." Vincenzo Ruffo, *Saggio sull'abbellimento di cui è capace la città di Napoli* (Napoli: Michele Morelli, 1789), 20-22.

[6] Rao, "Le riforme," in *Le vite di Carlo di Borbone,* 173.

In terms of the case studies analysed, however, what remains important to note is the extraordinary degree of ingenuity with which the Crown mobilised architecture as part of its expansionist goals. Relationships with urban, feudal, and ecclesiastical elites changed with each new structure. New partnerships were forged. Political adversaries were subjugated. Administrative duties were reshuffled. And all this without having to resort to the direct exercise of royal force. Indeed, part of what made Fuga's architectures, so ingenious (and to a certain extent even innovative) is that, through them, the monarchy was able to exercise power in indirect and impersonal forms. Their strict spatial and temporal regimens allowed for imposing new cultural and behavioural norms while at the same time permitting the enforcement of draconian registering and surveillance protocols. For this and many other reasons, the structures have been regarded as evocative of what the philosopher Michel Foucault considered to be a shift in the history of power from a classical idea of sovereignty (understood as a monarch's right to kill) to disciplinary forms of control—forms of control, that is, which rely on spatial organisations, the regulation of time, and the establishment of usage codes in order to obtain compliance rather than on violence or acts of war.

According to Foucault, the rise of disciplinary technologies is itself to be understood as part of an even broader transition: that between the monarchical and the modern state or from a model of a society structured around the authority of the king to one in which the exercise of government is dispersed and depersonalised. Indeed, looking at Fuga's architecture also allows for appreciating how the administrative state in Naples gradually became invested by new government and bureaucratic protocols. This is perhaps one of the least obvious and yet most cunning outcomes of Fuga's designs. That as large-scale institutions in the making, their construction and management processes empowered the regime with a discreet mechanism of impersonal rule, mainly operating at the level of material processes and the organisation of labour. Hundreds were involved within their building sites. More still in their administrations. And in either domain, as we have seen, activities and behaviours were made to conform to a despotic system of instructions and regulations. This modality of state power was as impersonal as the paperwork it left behind,

reshaping subjects through *Lebensfuhrungen* or "ethical styles of life," such as those examined by Max Weber.[7]

While it is possible, however, to interpret the three buildings by referencing models for investigating power relevant to the gestation of the modern state, it is equally important to stress the deeply conservative and monarchical context in which their commission took place. Indeed, differently from *lebensfuhrungen* analysed by Weber, the "ethical styles of life" enabled by Fuga's buildings embodied principles of political organisation which were intensely rooted in the anciene régime. To the extent to which their rhetorics invoked principles of just rule similar to those espoused within enlightenment discourses, their politics, as we have seen, were fare more reactionary in character. Ultimately, as Vincenzo Cuoco put it in his 1799 *Saggio storico sulla rivoluzione napoletana del 1799*, each of the three buildings, and Bourbon reform more generally, exemplify the fact that reform in eighteenth-century Naples tended towards a single and fundamental aim: "that the king be truly king."[8]

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[7] The citation is drawn from Joyce and Mukerji, "The State of Things," 16. For Weber's interpretation of bureaucratic files as impersonal forms of power, see Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, 956-999.

[8] "With even the slightest reforms great benefits can be reached, and all state reforms should converge towards a single aim: that the king be truly king." Vincenzo Cuoco, *Saggio storico sulla rivoluzione napoletana del 1799* (Acireale: Infilaindiana Edizioni, 2013), chap. 8, iBooks, translated by the author.

Abbreviations

ASN	Archivio di Stato di Napoli
BSNSP	Biblioteca della Società Napoletana Storia Patria
BNN	Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli
ASMN	Archivio Storico Municipale di Napoli
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano

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