The Monastic Network in the Urban Neapolitan Fabric (12th–16th centuries)

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Sommario

Il saggio indaga i cambiamenti urbanistici e spaziali che si verificarono nella città di Napoli tra il XII e il XV secolo dovuti principalmente agli enti religiosi. Attraverso lo studio delle fonti edite e l'approccio innovativo della georeferenziazione di ciascun monastero emerge l'immagine di una città in cui lo spazio vitale, all'interno delle mura, per la popolazione era veramente esiguo ed il peso degli ordini religiosi era assolutamente preponderante rispetto all'estendersi dell'abitato.

Parole chiave: Monasteri, tessuto urbano, Napoli, medioevo, GIS

Abstract

This paper explores the urban and spatial changes that occurred in the city of Naples between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, which were mainly due to religious institutions. The study of edited sources and the innovative georeferencing of each monastery reveals the image of a city where the living space within the walls was very limited in contrast to the absolute preponderance of religious orders.

Key Words: Monasteries, Urban Fabric, Naples, Middle Ages, GIS

Introduction

The present work is based on a multidisciplinary approach and aims at reconstructing the medieval monastic landscape of the city of Naples.[1] From the information provided by written sources, archaeological heritage, architectural studies and the analysis of urban topography, we can follow the process of expansion of medieval monasteries and their impact on urban morphology. The integrated analysis of this diversity of sources has been made possible through the use of Geographical Information System (GIS), which made it possible to georeference each of the monastic complexes in their urban and cultural-historical context from the 11th to the early 16th century. The maps produced by this research (Figures 1 to 4) are not mere illustrations, but elaborate resources through which it is easy to understand the evolution of the monastic phenomenon in medieval Naples.

1. Notes on urban transformations from the ducal period to the Norman-Swabian period

The vast historiography on the structure of the ancient centre of Naples is unanimous in claiming that for several centuries, starting from the foundation of *Neapolis*, the changes made until the 10th century were marginal. The ancient Greek and then Roman urban fabric, characterised by three *plateiai* –which became decumans in Roman times– in a framework of surprising continuity, it retained the inherited divisions in *regiones* [regions], which included streets (platee [region of the city]), alleys, warehouses and courtyards (DE SETA 1995c; FERRARO 2003).

The first important urban interventions took place during the ducal period around the 10th-11th centuries: extension and reinforcement of the walls in the west and south-west, and construction of several towers to defend the city on the sea side. The *pretorium civitatis*, located on the hill of Monterone, in addition to being the seat of power[2] and playing a strategic role in the layout of the city walls, was the most conspicuous feature of Naples for those arriving by sea,[3] the easiest way to reach the city (FENIELLO 1991, 2011). During the Norman-Swabian period, Naples was not yet capital, but retained its status as an archiepiscopal seat. It was also of great economic and cultural importance due to the activities of the port and the lay university established by Frederick II in 1224. But the real protagonists of the urban and architectural changes between the 12th and 13th centuries were the religious communities, both the male and female communities of the

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[1] This article was developed within the framework of the research project: "Paisajes espirituales. Modelos de aproximación espacial a las transformaciones de la religiosidad femenina medieval en los reinos peninsulares (siglos XII-XVI)" (HAR2014-52198-P) led by Blanca Garí and Núria Jornet (Universidad de Barcelona).
[2] FENIELLO 1995: 50.
[3] In the 14th century, the structure was visibly downsized when the nearby buildings of the monastery of Ss. Marcellino e Festo were completed (ACETO 1997: 6; DI MEGLIO 2005: 93-113).

old and new monasticism,[4] which we summarise in this article (Fig. 2). The old structures of the praetorium, for example, were incorporated into the new buildings of two important Benedictine monasteries: the female monastery of San Marcellino e Festo[5] and the male monastery of Santi Severino e Sossio, located in the *regio Portanovensis.*[6]

Other cloister complexes were built and enlarged in the southern urban area between the two gates (Porta Ventosa and Porta *Novensis*), contributing to a significant transformation of the urban layout on such a large scale that some of the more recent historiography has described this process as 'monastic colonisation' (FENIELLO 2011).

Some of the most significant alterations were carried out in the Basilian monasteries –often made up of small interconnected blocks with few shared elements– which, from the 10th century onwards embraced the Benedictine rule, which prescribed larger common areas. Thus the communities were encouraged to modify their premises, which acquired a greater typological unity: the open areas destined for vegetable gardens or even citrus groves became lager. The cloister –the central courtyard framed by porticoes– became one of the unifying elements of the religious complex.

Among the monasteries where it has been possible to follow these transformations are the Benedictine female monasteries of San Gregorio Armeno, Santa Patrizia and, among the male ones, San Salvatore in *Insula Maris*, *Sancti Angeli de illi Morfisa* and Santi Severino e Sossio.

In this process, even before the Angevin period, whole areas of the ancient Roman 'insulae' had been completely occupied by religious structures. One of these *insulae religiose*, the bishop's seat, formed a vast fortified area between the *platea* Capuana and the *Summae plateae*,[7] including the

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[4] A detailed analysis of the documents, chronicles and hagiographic texts relating to the early medieval female monasteries in Naples is in LUCHERINI 2019.

[5] The first source in which the monastery appears is from 763: the abbess and deacon Eufrosina, from the monastery of San Marcellino e Pietro, granted a house with an orchard in Portanova to Stefano II, bishop and duke of Naples, in emphyteusis. Another record from 1112 reports the entrusting, for 16 years, to a certain Landolfo, from the Lombard village of Pontelandolfo, located in the deepest part of Sannio, of «duas griptas pertinentes dicto monasterio subter solarium dicti monasterii a Portanova»; crypts for which «dicti coniuges expenderunt ad resarciendum auri solidos l2 de Amalfia». The community included many nuns from the Italo-Greek aristocracy who, in l04l, still «sciunt licteras grecas» (FENIELLO 2011). The area surrounding the monastery, controlled until the 12th century by a large Jewish community, came under the control of the monastic community led at that time by Abbess Mobilia. During the 12th and 13th centuries, the monastery served as the economic and social centre of gravity of the entire area, and the interventions promoted by the nuns, together with the residents, rationalised the hydro-morphological structure of the hillside.

[6] There is an extensive bibliography on this monastery, so here we will limit ourselves to a brief description: Ancient Benedictine monastery of Santi Severino e Sossio, in the heart of the old city centre. Its history is linked to the presence, since the 9th century, of Benedictines who had founded a monastery where, in 902, they transferred the body of San Severino and, after some time, the relics of San Sossio, found at Miseno.

[7] The division in insulas with the *Summa Plateae* is evident in the Capasso plan (Fig. 1).

cathedral,[8] granaries, gardens, a hospital, a library and several buildings. The female cenobium of Santi Marcellino e Festo,[9] located on the hill of Monterone –rich in water, at the top of a steep rocky slope– dominated the region below with its buildings, including vegetable gardens, warehouses and wells. During the 12th and 13th centuries, the monastery served as the economic and social centre of gravity of the entire area and the interventions promoted by the nuns, together with the residents, rationalised the hydro-morphological structure of the hill. The water control policy initiated by Abbess Mobilia continued under the rule of Abbess Aloara (CAPONE, FENIELLO 1996: 100-104).

Not far away was the male community of Santi Severino e Sossio, –Benedictine *studium*– located in *vico Missi*, surrounded by several properties including a *balneum*. During the Middle Ages, the structure extended over the entire *insula* [block]. Centrally located –in relation to the extension of the city[10]– stood the Benedictine female monastery of San Gregorio Armeno, which formed a large insula close to the *platea Nostriana* (FENIELLO 1995; CAPONE, FENIELLO 1996: 98), and from 1141 it provided not only the monastic community but also the inhabitants of the area with nursing services (COLESANTI, PALOMBA 2018).[11] The edited sources show that the monastery's patrimony expanded over the centuries. The welfare services that were provided outside the monastery, in a system that we might define as an 'economy of gifts', enabled the infirmary to receive a large number of donations of land and other real estate from numerous Neapolitan noble families such as: Capece, Caracciolo, Capecelatro. These bequests were located not only in the city of Naples but also in the hinterland: Pianura, Soccavo Casoria, Capodimonte, Afragola, San Pietro Paterno, Mugnano, Arzano, and Calvizzano (FENIELLO 2005). It becomes clear that the abbesses and nuns of San Gregorio Armeno were among the main economic operators in the city: together they operated with full awareness of acting in a land and urban property market in full transformation, organising and managing a business that we can define as an entirely female operation, at least in terms of *governance*, until the fifteenth century.

Between the alleys *Frigidum* and *Bulgaro*, in the *platea* of Somma Piazza, was the male monastery of San Martino *ad monacorum*, probably founded in the 11th century. The male monastery of San Gregorio *de regionario* was in the platea *Furcillensis*. Other male monasteries were peripheral: that of Santi Teodoro e Sebastiano *ad casa picta*, not far from the western city walls; San Demetrio

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[8] On the old cathedral cfr. EBANISTA 2009, LUCHERINI 2009.

[9] http://www.ub.edu/claustra/Monestirs/view/222 (accessed 7 June 2019).

[10] The earliest records, supported by documents, of buildings in the area are those concerning the foundation of the church of San Lorenzo (c. 550), of the church of San Gennaro a Diaconia (c. 685), of the monastery of San Gregorio Armeno (c. 727), of the monastery of San Pantaleone (c. 780) and of the church of San Paolo (801- 818) (PINTO 2009: 128).

[11] The origins of the large monastic insula date back to the very process of structuring the community. The first Oriental Basilian nuns who arrived in Naples found hospitality near the diaconate of San Gennaro all'Olmo and organised themselves into a first monastery dedicated to San Pantaleone and to the Santissimo Salvatore. This monastery was probably joined by two other communities of San Gregorio and San Sebastiano. In 1025, in fact, a decree issued by Sergius IV, Duke of Naples, ratified the unification of two other small communities of nuns into a single monastery of Basilian nuns dedicated in the following centuries just to San Gregorio Armeno. In 1340, the community passed to the Benedictine rule and Alessandra Caracciolo Ruxa was the first abbess of this order. http://www.ub.edu/claustra/Monestirs/view/219 (sito consultato il 7 giugno 2019).

de regione Albinense, located approximately in today's via dei Banchi Nuovi (Capasso 1882); Sant'Agata *ad populum* –which became Damianite in 1243. Outside the walls was the monastery of Sant'Arcangelo, located *subtus muro publico*, next to which was one of the city cemeteries.[12]

2. The metamorphosis of Naples as capital and 'monastic citadel' (13th-14th centuries)

With the arrival of the Angevins, Naples became the capital of the Kingdom of Sicily and underwent profound changes in its urban, social and institutional fabric. Charles I arrived in Naples in 1266 and the Angevin rule lasted until 1442 (Fig. 3). At that time, the population ranged between 31,000 and 34,000 people, with 25,000-28,000 inhabitants within the walls, and around 6,000 inhabitants outside the walls in the numerous hamlets, i.e. more than a quarter of the entire population (Capasso, 1882: 118; De Seta 1984). Gradually, the supreme organs of government and the main administrative offices of the Kingdom were concentrated in the city, which contributed, together with the new mendicant settlements - Franciscans, Dominicans, Celestines, Carmelites and Augustinians - to the reshaping of the entire urban space. The urban design of the early Angevins can be seen as an initial attempt to decentralise production and residential activities to make room for new religious buildings. The rulers wanted a profound urban renewal of their capital, which changed the organisation of the city. At the beginning of the 14th century, the renovation and modernisation of the ancient Pisan port, connected by a new coastal road that led to the new arsenal, was one of the most significant transformations. Castel Nuovo, the king's palace, was built in the area between the Pisan port, the western city walls and the promontory of Monte Echia, on the site until then occupied by the Franciscan convent of Santa Maria ad Palatium. The construction of the palace favoured the expansion of the city towards the west, an area that also witnessed the construction of the residences of the Orsini family and other noble families of the Kingdom,[13] as well as the court annexes, the buildings of the admiralty, the royal archives, the vicar's curia and the *camera Razionale*. The new dynasty, backed and supported by the Church, was also the protagonist of a precise political programme aimed at protecting the mendicant orders, which had arrived in Naples in the 1220s-1230s, to characterise the conquest of the Kingdom also as a mission of 'piety' requested by the Papacy. The foundation of new churches and convents contributed to a substantial change in the face of the city, not only from the point of view of urban space, but also by stimulating its artistic and cultural rebirth. The construction of these religious buildings was favoured on the one hand by the consolidation of economic activities in the city, and on the other by the privileges and subsidies that the French court granted to religious orders, particularly the mendicant orders. The monastic settlements of Sant'Eligio Maggiore, Santa Maria Donna Albina, Sant'Agostino alla

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[12] Information taken from the Naples entry by Francesco Aceto in http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/napoli_%28Enciclopedia-dell%27-Arte-Medievale%29/ (consulted on 10 June 2019).

[13] This is the context for the new archaeological site that, together with the Municipio and Porto metro stations on lines 1 and 6, is being developed in Piazza Municipio. In addition to other notable traces of the Prince del Balzo's palace have been found right against the Angevin walls. (Leone de Castris 2010).

Zecca, Santa Maria la Nova, San Pietro Martire, San Pietro a Maiella, San Domenico Maggiore, San Lorenzo Maggiore, Santa Chiara, Sant'Agrippino a Forcella, and the reconstruction of the Cathedral, San Pietro a Castello and Santa Maria Donnaregina date back to this period. A first structure consisting of a church, with an adjacent hospital and monastic community, was erected in *campo* Moricino and dedicated to Sant' Eligio. The church and convent of San Lorenzo were completely rebuilt at the time of Charles I, between 1270 and 1275, and entrusted to the Friars Minor, who had already been in charge of the premises since 1234 (BRUZELIUS 2005). To allow for the expansion of the latter Franciscan monastery and the Benedictine monastery of San Gregorio Armeno, parts of the neighbouring *insulae* were subsequently added to the initial double *insulae*. As a result, two *stenopoi* –narrower streets serving as a north-south link between the *plateai*, corresponding to the Roman *cardines*– were incorporated (sections of these streets have been found during archaeological excavations carried out over the last fifty years) (PINTO 2009: 127). An ancient structure of the baths, built by Bishop Nostriano, had been incorporated into the San Gregorio Armeno complex, while the ancient baths of sant'Aspreno had been lost (CAPONE, FENIELLO 1996: 97-105). Yet, from the limited but reliable evidence, the baths in Naples were important and contributed to the appearance of the urban landscape in a remarkable way until the Angevin period. They were a key element to the urban fabric, the morphology of the territory and the hydrology of the area and, as has already been pointed out, were managed by monasteries.

Inside the walls, in the south-western part near the port region, in the area occupied by the ruined Mastra tower, the Franciscan complex of Santa Maria la Nova was built (from 1279 onwards) to house the community of Friars Minor of Santa Maria *ad Palatium*. In fact, this first Franciscan foundation in Naples, which dated back to 1216, was dissolved to make way for the construction of Castel Nuovo. Using the area created by the demolition of the old wall, the male monastery of Sant'Agostino alla Zecca,[14] entrusted to hermit monks, was built on the site of the Falero Tower, in the southeastern part of the city (DI MEGLIO, 2007, doc. 9: 7, 1302). To emphasise the importance of the new eastern expansion area of the city, in 1283 work began on the Carmelite complex of Santa Maria del Carmine, located where fairs and markets had already been held for years, an area bounded to the east by Sant'Eligio that the crown redesigned. The Dominican Monastery of San Pietro Martire was founded in order to increase the value of the region of Calcaria on the western side of the coast, also from an environmental point of view. The foundation stone was laid in April 1294, with the participation of the highest officials of the kingdom. The church was still under construction in 1340 and was considerably damaged by the tidal wave of 25 November 1343, an episode that, nonetheless, allowed the work to be completed more quickly. The Dominicans established their headquarters in the city between 1231 and 1324 on the site of a former Basilian monastery, which later became a Benedictine place of worship,

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[14] So called because the town mint was located in the surrounding buildings. Completed in 1284, St Augustine's Convent enjoyed numerous donations, as from 1287 it became the General Study of the Augustinian Order (ACETO 1997:10).

the convent of Sancti Angeli de illi Morfisa, whose origins date back to 721. San Domenico Maggiore,[15] the seat of the *studium*, together with San Lorenzo and Sant'Agostino, to which the crown assigned large sums of money from the city's taxes, were ongoing construction sites for years, as Carolina Bruzelius has well pointed out (BRUZELIUS 2005). The church and convent of Santa Maria Donnaregina were sponsored by Mary of Hungary, wife of Charles II. The complex was constructed on an area occupied in the 7th century by a Basilian monastery dedicated to San Pietro del Monte which later passed to the Benedictine nuns, but with a female mendicant phase dating back to 1236. The building took a long time to complete –in 1298 the dormitory was still under construction– while the construction of the church, which began in 1307, was not finished until the 1320s. (BERTINI, DI CERBO E PAONE 2017: 11-69). The Celestine complex of San Pietro a Maiella was built on the ruins of the *Dominae Ursitatae* gate, and the construction of the church changed the appearance of the western area considerably: the orchards and gardens, numerous in the area until then, disappeared, and the churches of Sant'Agata *ad Ficariola* and of Sant'Eufemia were absorbed by the new structure. The church and convent of Santa Chiara were founded by Sancia of Majorca. The convent –first dedicated to the Holy Body of Christ– was so large that it was one of the largest in the Angevin period, and resembled a fortified structure –so much so that it was defined as 'half a city' (LEONE 1996: 168). The church, built between 1310 and 1328, was built on an area to the north of the monastery of Santa Maria Donnalbina and its surrounding wall was aligned to the east with the layout of the old city wall.

The same Majorcan sovereign was responsible for the foundations of two other monastic-welfare complexes and the new structure of the old Annunziata hospital, which led to the creation of an the urban area devoted to women's care, spaces for protection and sheltering that we could define in contemporary terms as "microcosms of otherness". In 1324 Sancia founded the Hospice of Santa Maddalena delle Penitenti a Forcella. In 1342 she founded the church and monastery of Santa Maria Egiziaca for prostitutes, and in 1343 she financed the new building of the Hospital of the SS. Annunziata (MARINO 2014). As was the case with the other monasteries founded by Sancia, these institutions were granted land properties and annuities, and she stipulated that they should follow the Augustinian rule. (GAGLIONE 2004: 34-35). It is possible that the construction of a series of social and religious institutions, closely linked to a particular orientation of Franciscan spirituality, was conceived not only as an attempt to give a new identity to the city of Naples, but also as an opportunity given to some institutions that were contributing to change the function of an entire district of the capital, in an attempt to improve the quality of life of many women, providing them with the means to change or to be able to marry and bring up their illegitimate children.

Three years later, the sovereign sponsored a fourth foundation outside the city walls: the monastery of Santa Croce di Palazzo, near the royal palace where the heir to the throne of her late husband, her niece Joanna I, lived. Between 1339 and 1343, this young queen was responsible for the first

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[15] An up-to-date analysis of the events surrounding San Domenico Maggiore can be found in FOGLIA, MAIETTA 2016.

nucleus of the church of S. Giovanni a Carbonara, in the north-eastern part of the city, close to the *carbonarius publicus*. During the same years, the buildings of the episcopal complex were affected by the construction of the new cathedral: the old structure was demolished, while Santa Restituta was reduced in length and turned into the cathedral chapel (Aceto 2014: 10-12).

From this period onwards, the use of the historical centre remained essentially in the hands of religious institutions that rented out their smaller buildings on a long-term basis, mainly to craftsmen. There were significant changes with regard to the presence of greenery and open areas in general within the old Greek city. The great "speculation" that took place during the Angevin period transformed a large part of the uncovered areas of orchards and gardens into civil and religious buildings, thus crowding many of the city's *insulae* with buildings and both locals and foreigners (Colletta 2009). The *insulae* of the original Hellenistic foundation plan, most of which are still recognisable, included plots with dwellings and open areas destined for orchards, which were completely lost between the Ducal and the Angevin period. A document dated 6 April 1302 states that a vegetable garden assigned by the fathers of San Lorenzo to the nuns of San Gregorio «confinava a est con altro orto dello stesso monastero, a ovest con case e chiesa di Santa Maria *ad balneum*, a sud con l'orto di Bartolomeo de Capua e a nord col convento di San Lorenzo» ["bordered to the east with another vegetable garden belonging to the same monastery, to the west with the houses and church of Santa Maria *ad balneum*, to the south with the orchard belonging to Bartolomeo de Capua, and to the north with the convent of San Lorenzo"] (Di Meglio 2003, doc. 9: 7, 1302). It is quite clear that the church of Santa Maria *ad balneum* must have stood in the central area of the double insula overlooking what is now Via San Gregorio Armeno, and was situated between the complex of San Lorenzo Maggiore and the ancient monastery of San Pantaleone, to the north, and the palace with garden and orchard of the protonotary Bartolomeo de Capua, to the south. We do not know for sure what Naples was like at the time of Renato d'Anjou (1435-1442), before the Aragonese conquest, but it retains much of its grandeur and charm. The "città di pietra" ['city of stone'] has some peculiarities that can be summarised as follows: the layout of a classical foundation that has been reused throughout the ages with its characteristic narrow, straight streets enclosed and swallowed up by a dense mass of buildings, especially religious ones, together with its amphitheatre-like shape overlooking the sea.

The Carthusian monastery of San Martino deserves a special mention. Its construction began in 1325, based on a project by Tino di Camaino, on the initiative of Charles, son of Robert of Anjou and Duke of Calabria. From the very beginning, the Carthusian Monastery attracted a great deal of attention in the city, but it was specially the sponsorship of Queen Joanna I of Anjou that finally got the work on the new foundation off the ground. Not only did the Queen grant it tax privileges and properties in and outside the city, but on 16 August 1373 she also entrusted it with the hospital annexed to the church of *Santa Maria Spinacorona*, later known as the *Incoronata*,

which she had just founded opposite Castel Nuovo, where she resided. The hospital, which entailed a great deal of organisational work, was not at all compatible with the contemplative lifestyle of the Carthusians, who first entrusted its management to secular priests and then sold it off, while keeping the state (Vitolo 2007). However, what is important to emphasise here is that from the very beginning the Neapolitan Carthusian monastery established a close relationship with the court –resident in the adjacent Castello di Belforte– and particularly with the social and territorial reality in which it was embedded, a relationship that was destined to last until its dissolution in the 19th century.

3. The monastic landscape from the Angevin to the Aragonese period

Even before the Aragonese conquest of the kingdom, three new monastic complexes were founded in the city: Sant'Anna dei Lombardi to the west, in what is now Piazza di Monteoliveto, the first Olivetan settlement in Naples, dating back to 1411; San Pietro and San Sebastiano, 1424, near the area where Piazza Dante now stands, where the Dominican nuns of San Pietro a Castello settled, despite the hostility of the bishop of Naples, and were granted exemption from the bishop's jurisdiction (Fig. 4). Finally, we have San Girolamo delle Monache, which was founded by four Neapolitan noblewomen belonging to the third Franciscan order: Luisa Lopizzano, Orsola Cacciottoli, Caterina di Calabria and Grazia Sorrentino. These women received some houses in the area now known as Via Mezzocannone as a gift from Canon Giovanni Domenico Manso, and decided to open an institute dedicated to San Girolamo and officially approved by the pope Eugene IV in 1434. With the arrival of Alfonso of Aragon in 1442, the court moved again from Castel Capuano to Castel Nuovo. The old heart of the city saw the return of the aristocracy, which gave rise to the construction of some of the most representative secular buildings, such as the Bisignano, Carafa, Maddaloni, Sanseverino, Corigliano and Marigliano palaces. However, the attempts of the Aragonese to reorganise the urban structure of the old town were rather timid. Santa Caterina a Formiello (*ad formis*, 1451) and Santa Maria della Consolazione a Villanova (1482), are the religious buildings constructed during this period: the first to the north east of the city, the second outside the walls, far away on the Posillipo ridge. Santa Caterina was initially entrusted to the Celestine monks and was built just outside the walls, which surrounded it on two sides, and near a well of the Acquedotto della Bolla (the city's oldest aqueduct, even dating back to Greek times), adjacent to Porta Capuana and Castel Capuano. In 1499 Federico of Aragon granted it to the Dominican fathers of the Reformed Congregation of Lombardy. Santa Maria della Consolazione, on the other hand, was a veritable hermitage on the slopes of the Posillipo hill, in an enviable scenic position, but completely secluded and estranged from city life (Feniello 1996). In the 15th century, the Kingdom's most important noble families bought houses in the old part of the city, scattered among the "vacui", orchards and gardens, and built their palaces, whose large size made them stand out in the new urban landscape.

The same urban image that King Alfonso and his faithful architect Sagrera contributed to. In fact, it was then when Castelnuovo acquired its current shape with a trapezoidal plan and characteristic circular towers. The city walls were extended to the east, incorporating suburbs that had previously been located outside the walls, and the defences were improved with the rebuilding of Castel dell'Ovo and the Torre di San Vincenzo on the coast, and Belforte, now the Castle of Sant'Elmo –which dominates the city– on the Vomero hill. Numerous roads connected Castel Nuovo with the other castles, with Castel dell'Ovo and with the village of Chiaja; the paving of the streets was extended, and reclamation work was resumed to drain the marshes, making the capital of the kingdom more liveable and attractive. Alfonso I did his utmost to embellish Naples, which in that period became one of the main capitals of Renaissance Italy. He protected the arts and industries, introducing silk processing into the kingdom and was one of the sovereigns most passionate about antiquity, and encouraged the study of ancient authors. Famous humanists such as Lorenzo Valla, the Panormite, Francesco Filelfo and Enea Silvio Piccolomini all came to his court. Ferdinand I (1458-1494) continued his father's work of building development and sponsorship. He was responsible for the extension of the city walls. The main monuments renovated under his reign include Porta Capuana, and among those built are Palazzo Como (between 1464 and 1490), Palazzo Diomede Carafa (built around 1470), the façade of the Palazzo dei principi di Salerno, now the façade of the Chiesa del Gesù Nuovo (around 1470).

By the end of the Aragonese reign in 1501, the number of inhabitants in the city had reached 48,000, while those outside the walls were around 12,000 for a total of 60,000. Capasso reports 8,000 fires in 1505 (Capasso 1882). The growth was not only due to the natural balance, but also to continuous immigration, first and foremost from Catalonia, but also a large colony of Jewish refugees from the Iberian peninsula and Sicily.

4. Conclusions

Since the publication of *Le origini di Napoli capitale* by Filena Patroni Griffi and Alfonso Leone (Leone, Patroni Griffi 1984) research into the city's history has finally been based on the homogeneous use of documentation of different origins to arrive at an interpretation based on topography, society and monastic bodies. These studies, later continued by Gabriele Capone and Amedeo Feniello, have particularly highlighted the role played in the city by the various families and the control of vast areas of the city by the large religious bodies, both male and female. Our research[16] and this article are based mainly on these studies, to which we have added the georeferencing of all the monastic institutions from the 12th century to 1500. The Neapolitan urban space was strongly characterised by monastic settlements of various sizes well before the arrival of the Mendicants, who sometimes replaced them in time, but sometimes worked

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[16] http://www.ub.edu/claustra/cat and www.ub.edu/proyectopaisajes/ (Research Line – The Nunnery and its environment, Spiritual Landscape of medieval Naples (accessed 3 July 2019)

alongside them. To the studies of Caroline Bruzelius and Rosalba Di Meglio, who argue that the Angevin dynasty, and in particular Charles II, exploited architecture, especially religious architecture, as an element of religious unity and identification, we believe that a further element can be added: the topographical dimension. According to an analysis of the extant layouts, which show the numerous large conventual religious complexes, and excluding the churches, the lay and religious confraternities –the latter of which, when considered as a whole, reached a substantial number and a considerable extent– the living space and residential area for the population was very small and the weight of the religious orders was absolutely preponderant with respect to the extension of the built-up area. As demonstrated and documented through excavations carried out in monastic areas (Pinto 2009: 41-45, 127-170), we find religious centres elevated over the streets, but in some cases we find them encompassing entire *stenopoi*, taking them over to ecclesiastical-religious ownership at the expense of public ownership (San Gregorio Armeno, San Domenico Maggiore, San Lorenzo Maggiore). Even the earliest and most complete representation of Naples in the second half of the 15th century, the tavola Strozzi (Pane 2009), does not do justice to the density of the convents with respect to the city, in which the religious complexes of the Angevin period are represented almost as a frame of the urban layout, leaving out most of the internal ones. The monastic colonisation that began in the Angevin period was completed in the Viceroyalty period immediately after the effects of the Council of Trent, when the areas owned by the religious complexes reached about 50% of the surface area of the entire city, forcing the population to create their living and existential space in height.[17]

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[17] A synthesis of the urban phenomena that occurred between the 14th and 15th centuries –much of which share the same features– is contained in Franchetti Pardo 1982: 123-140 and Russo 1970.

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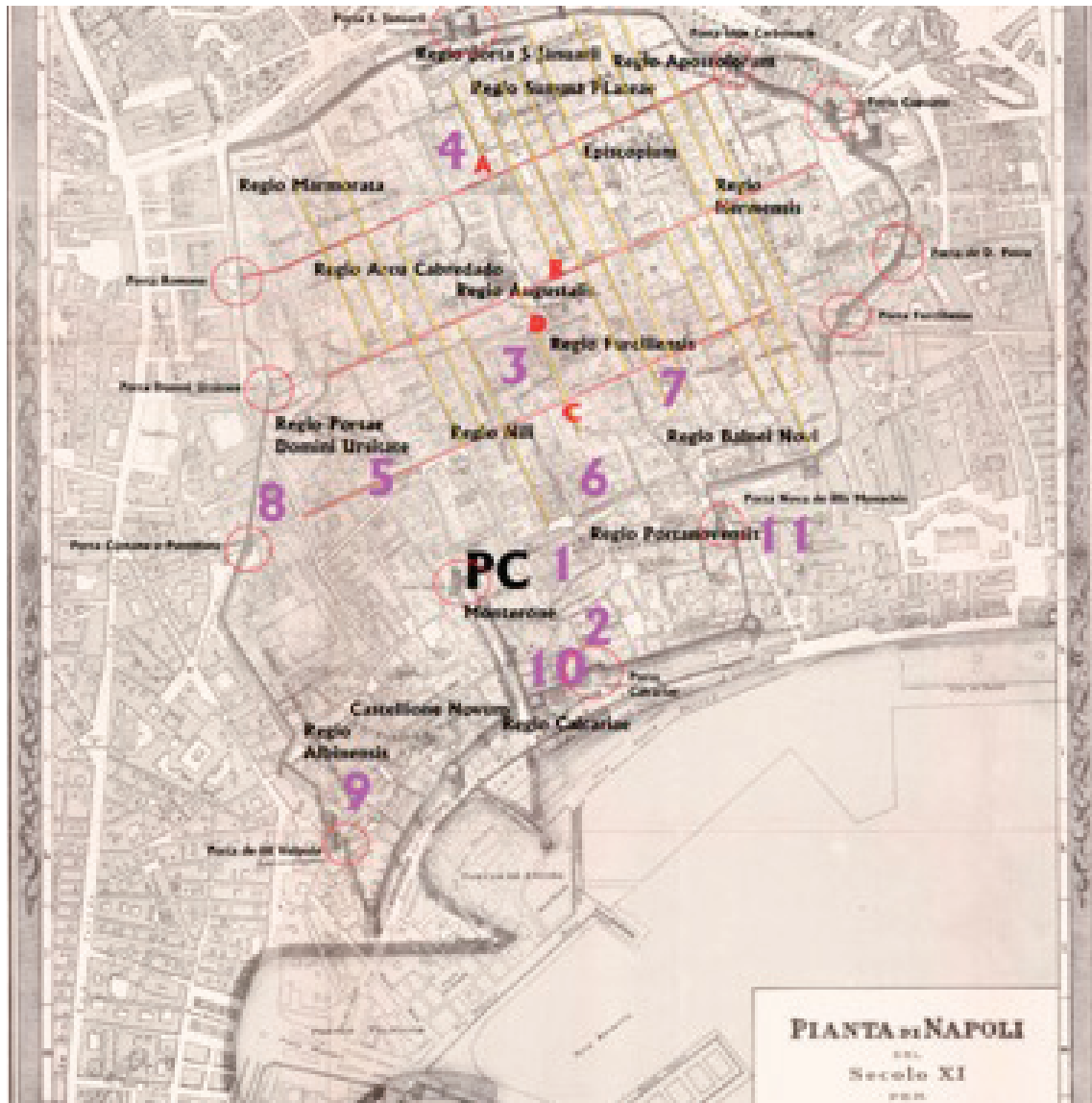Vitolo, Paola, 2007, *Arte e politica nella Napoli angioina: la chiesa-ospedale dell'Incoronata,* tesi di dottorato http://www.fedoa.unina.it/2690/ (sito consultato il 7 giugno 2019).

Fig. 1. 11th-century map of the city of Naples, by Bartolomeo Capasso

Monasteri femminili:
1. San Gaudioso; 2. Santa Patrizia; 3. San Potito; 4. Santa Maria di Donnaregina; 5. Santa Maria Agnone; 6. San Michele Arcangelo a Baiano; 7. San Gregorio Armeno; 8. Santa Maria de Donna Romita; 9. Santi Marcellino e Pietro; 10. San Festo e San Desiderio; 11. San Sepolcro; 12. Santa Agata; 13. Sant'Angelo al Cerriglio; 14. Donnalbina.

Monasteri maschili:
15. San Martino *ad monacorum*; 16. San Sebastiano; 17. *Sancti Angeli de illi Morfisa*; 18. Sant'Andrea *ad Irculum*; 19. San Vincenzo; 20. Santi Severino e Sossio; 21. Santi Demetrio e Benedetto; 22. Sant'Anastasio e Basilio; 23. Santi Sergio e Bacco; 24. Santi Teodoro e Sebastiano; 25. Santa Maria a Palazzo; 26. San Salvatore *in insula maris*.

Fig. 2. Early monasteries (11th-12th centuries)

monastero maschile
monastero femminile

mura (XI secolo)
mura angioine (1266-1442)

Monasteri femminili:
1. San Gaudioso; 2. Santa Patrizia; 3. San Potito; 4. Santa Maria di Donnaregina; 5. Santa Maria Agnone; 6. Santa Maria Maddalena; 7. Casa Santa dell'Annunziata; 8. Santa Maria Egiziaca; 9. San Michele Arcangelo a Baiano; 10. San Gregorio Armeno; 11. San Giovanni a Nido; 12. Santa Maria de Donna Romita; 13. Santi Marcellino e Pietro; 14. San Festo e San Desiderio; 15. Santa Caterina della Giudecca; 16. San Francesco delle Monache; 17. Santa Chiara; 18. San Sepolcro; 19. Santa Agata; 20. Sant'Angelo al Cerriglio; 21. Donnalbina; 22. Santa Croce di Palazzo; 23. San Pietro a Castello.

Monasteri maschili:
24. San Giovanni a Carbonara; 25. San Pietro ad Aram; 26. Santa Maria ad Monte Carmelo; 27. San Lorenzo Maggiore; 28. Sant'Agostino alla Zecca; 29. San Vicenzo; 30. San Sebastiano; 31. San Pietro a Maiella; 32. Santi Severino e Sossio; 33. San Domenico; 34. Santa Chiara; 35. Santi Teodoro e Sebastiano; 36. Santi Demetrio e Benedetto; 37. Santa Maria ad Palatium; 38. Santa Maria la Nova; 39. San Pietro Martire; 40. Santa Maria di Monteverginella; 41. San Martino; 42. Santo Spirito de Armenia; 43. San Salvatore in insula maris.

Fig. 3. Monasteries in the Angevin period (1266-1442)

monastero maschile

monastero femminile

mura (XI secolo)

mura angioine (1266-1442)

mura aragonese (1443-1502)

mura vicereale (1503-1704)

Monasteri femminili:
1. Santa Patrizia; 2. San Gaudioso; 3. San Potito; 4. Santa Maria di Donna-regina; 5. Santa Maria Agnone; 6. Sant'Onofrio alla Vicaria; 7. Santa Maria Magdalena; 8. Casa Santa dell'Annunziata; 9. Santa Maria Egiziaca a Forcella; 10. San Michele Arcangelo a Baiano; 11. San Gregorio Armeno; 12. San Giovanni a Nido; 13. Santa Maria de Donna Romita; 14. Santi Marcellino e Pietro; 15. San Festo e San Desiderio; 16. Santa Caterina della Giudecca; 17. San Pietro e San Sebastiano; 18. San Francesco delle Monache; 19. San Girolamo delle Monache; 20. Santa Chiara; 21. San Sepolcro; 22. Santa Agata; 23. Sant'Angelo al Cerriglio; 24. Donnalbina; 25. Santa Croce di Palazzo; 26. San Pietro a Castello.

Monasteri maschili:
27. San Giovanni a Carbonara; 28. Santa Caterina a Formello; 29. San Pietro ad Aram; 30. San Lorenzo Maggiore; 31. Sant'Agostino alla Zecca; 32. Santa Maria ad Monte Carmelo; 33. San Pietro a Maiella; 34. San Sebastiano; 35. San Domenico; 36. Santi Severino e Sossio; 37. Santa Maria di Monteverginella; 38. Santa Chiara; 39. Santi Demetrio e Benedetto; 40. San Pietro Martire; 41. Sant'Anna dei Lombardi; 42. Santi Teodoro e Sebastiano; 43. San Martino; 44. Santo Spirito de Armenia; 45. Santa Maria la Nova; 46. Santa Maria della Consolazione a Villanova (*fuori carta*).

Fig. 4. Monasteries in Aragonese times (1443-1502)