

# ENLIGHTENMENT AND REVOLUTION:

NAPLES 1799

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TWO hundred years ago today, on 22 January 1799, French troops forced their way into the city of Naples. In doing so, they confirmed the authority of the Neapolitan Republic which had been proclaimed, one and indivisible, the day before by a group of patriots who had taken control of the Castel Sant'Elmo, the fortress on the hill immediately above the centre of the city. Thus began the last of the revolutions which can be regarded as the offspring of the great French Revolution of 1789. There is no denying that the Neapolitan Revolution, like its predecessors in northern Italy and elsewhere, depended on French military intervention. The patriots were not in control of the city before 22 January, and needed the French to quell the popular violence and disorder which had swept the city for the previous week. And when, after three months, the French withdrew their forces, the republicans' hold on the city was too precarious to last more than a few weeks.

But the Neapolitan Republic of 1799 was not simply the puppet of French military occupation. There was a revolution in Naples. It was a revolution precipitated, not by the French, but by the actions, at once rash and feeble, of the Bourbon King of Naples, Ferdinando IV. Although the Directory had sanctioned military support for the revolution in Rome in 1798, it was most reluctant to commit the over-extended French forces still further south to attempt the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. Egged on by the British envoy Sir William Hamilton, however, the king had joined the alliance of Austria and Britain in May 1798, and in November had sent his troops into Roman territory, entering the city himself on 29 November. It quickly became clear that the Neapolitan advance was unsustainable; and on 23 December, as his forces retreated, Ferdinando, his queen Maria Carolina, and assorted ministers, along with Hamilton and his wife, Emma, all took flight on Nelson's warships for Palermo, carrying with them the gold held by the Neapolitan banks. The king had appointed the marchese Francesco Pignatelli as Vicar to exercise royal authority; it was he who distributed arms to the people, but also, on 12 January 1799, negotiated terms with General Championnet, agreeing to an

indemnity of two-and-a-half million ducats. Four days later he too fled to Palermo. The crown thus left ‘the people’ in arms but under no legitimate authority; it virtually obliged the French to occupy the city; and it burdened whatever regime succeeded it with a heavy financial obligation.

The Neapolitan patriots were fortunate in the French commander, who was more republican than his masters in the Directory. Championnet had befriended Neapolitan exiles in Rome, and several were attached to his army. Once in control of the city he endorsed the immediate establishment of a ‘Provisional Government’ and facilitated its actions; the difference he made was underlined by the obstructiveness of his successor, General MacDonald. But the institution of the republic and the content of its programme were the work of the Neapolitan patriots themselves. The speed and vigour of their initiatives was remarkable. By the end of January the Provisional Government had reconstituted the administration of the city, issued ‘General instructions’ for a new structure of government in the provinces, and decreed the first specific reforms, including the abolition of primogeniture and *fedecommissa* (a form of entail). Further reforms to the judicial system, including the introduction of public trials and the abolition of the magistracies regulating commerce, followed in mid-February. Reform of the feudal system, probably the single most important objective of the revolution, was slower to be agreed, in part because MacDonald made difficulties; proposals were ready by 7 March, but a decree was not issued until 25 April, with provisions which had become more aggressively anti-baronial. A final group of reforms, including the abolition of torture, was announced early in May.<sup>1</sup>

The republicans worked fast; they well knew that they did so under adverse pressures. On 2 April a small squadron of English warships appeared in the Bay of Naples, encouraging an abortive anti-republican conspiracy within the city, and capturing the islands of Capri, Ischia and Procida. But the greatest threat was on land. In late February Cardinal Ruffo crossed from Sicily to Calabria to raise the banner of the *Santa Fede* on the Bourbons’ behalf. By the end of March he was in control of Calabria, and in April conflicts broke out across the kingdom, from Basilicata to the Abruzzo. When the French left Naples at the end of April (apart from a small garrison in Sant’Elmo), the Provisional Government took the initiative in organising its own defence. But once the army of the *Santa Fede* reached the city, on 13 June,

<sup>1</sup> An authoritative account of the revolution is one by Anna Maria Rao, in Part I of Anna Maria Rao and Pasquale Villani, *Napoli 1799–1815. Dalla Repubblica alla monarchia amministrativa* (Naples, [1995]); on the feudal law, see also Giuseppe Gallasso, ‘La legge feudale napoletana del 1799’ in idem., *La filosofia in soccorso de’ governi. La cultura napoletana del settecento* (Naples, 1989), 633–60.

resistance could be sustained for no more than two days, before the republicans retired to Sant'Elmo. By 21 June they had agreed with Ruffo the terms of their capitulation.

It is not difficult for those of liberal inclinations to take a positive view of the Neapolitan revolution. It has several points in its favour. The quality of its leadership was high. At its head were the intellectual elite of the kingdom: among them the chemist and President of the Provisional Government Carlo Lauberg, the philosopher and active member of the legislative commission Francesco Mario Pagano, the botanist Domenico Cirillo, and the agronomist and historian Melchiorre Delfico. These were joined by the brightest of the younger generation, including Annibale Giordano, Vincenzo Russo and Francesco Saverio Salfi. The ablest bishops, Andrea Serrao and Domenico Forges Davanzati, identified with the Republic; and so did many younger members of the great noble families: Caracciolo, Serra di Cassano, Carafa, Pignatelli. Most appealing of all has been the Portugese-descended Eleonora di Fonseca Pimentel, subsequently portrayed as the heroine of a stream of novels and dramas. The revolutionaries' intentions, moreover, may be thought of as genuinely reformist: though certainly radical in relation to the burdens of feudalism, their measures were based on a commitment to the rule of law from which they did not depart. Even when the revolution was radicalised in April and May, there was no deliberate terror. But what is most in their favour is the contrast between their behaviour and the revenge wreaked upon them once the Bourbons were restored. Within a week the capitulation was dishonoured, Nelson setting a wretched example by summarily hanging the republican admiral Caracciolo from the fore yard-arm.<sup>2</sup> Ruffo's conciliatory policy was abandoned, and patriots were rounded up. By September 8,000 trials were in process in the kingdom. More than a thousand were exiled; and several thousand more imprisoned. But it was the executions, some 120 in Naples, which made the revolution's reputation. The nobles, like Serra di Cassano, were beheaded; but the others, including Cirillo, Pagano and Fonseca Pimentel, were hung in the great, bleak Piazza del Mercato, pushed from ladders while little urchins, the *tirapiedi*, clung to their feet.

With so many admirable qualities, the Neapolitan revolution is easily portrayed as a heroic tragedy. The classic account of its significance was that fashioned on its centenary in 1889 by a group of young Neapolitan liberals, headed by Benedetto Croce. For Croce 1799 was

<sup>2</sup>Nelson's role in these events has recently been reassessed by Carlo Knight, 'Sir William Hamilton e il mancato rispetto, da parte di Lord Nelson, della "Capitolazione" del 1799', *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana*, new series, XLVII (1999), 373–97, where it is suggested that it was Hamilton, rather than Nelson, who deceived the patriots into thinking that the capitulation would be honoured.

the moment when the southern reformers vindicated their claim to the moral and political leadership not only of Naples, but of Italy as a whole. The suppression of the republic had meant the loss of the reformers' best opportunity, and condemned the south anew to backwardness.<sup>3</sup> This view of the revolution was to take a firm hold of the Italian liberal imagination, and was quickly picked up by foreign sympathisers, including several English women historians in the early twentieth century.<sup>4</sup> Not surprisingly, modern historical scholarship, much of it by Neapolitans, has questioned and qualified this judgement. I do not want simply to repeat this re-assessment. Instead, I shall focus on a question which is at least implicit in the liberal view of 1799, and which has a more general historical resonance: the question of the relation between Enlightenment and Revolution.

The historiography of this question is marked by its origins in the accusation laid against the French Revolution by its contemporary opponents, notably the abbé Barruel, that it was the direct outcome of an anti-Christian conspiracy by the *philosophes*.<sup>5</sup> Polemic was subsequently transformed into serious historical analysis by Tocqueville, who found that while there had been no *philosophe* conspiracy, it was the case that the *gens de lettres*, finding themselves excluded from the practical politics of reform, had devoted their energies to abstractions. As a result, 'liberty' had come to mean very different things to the men of letters and to those who still thought in the terms of the *ancien régime*.<sup>6</sup> Tocqueville's argument was confined to France, but since 1945 there have been at least two major accounts of the relation between Enlightenment and Revolution which have advanced a comparable thesis, applied to Europe more generally. To Reinhard Koselleck, the Enlightenment was the creation of thinkers excluded from the absolutist state,

<sup>3</sup>The centenary publication, edited by Benedetto Croce, Giuseppe Ceci, Michelangelo D'Ayala and Salvatore Di Giacomo, was entitled *La Rivoluzione Napoletana del 1799 illustrata con ritratti, vedute, autografi ed altri documenti figurativi e grafici del tempo* or, more briefly, *Albo illustrativo della rivoluzione napoletana del 1799* (Naples 1899, facsimile reprint 1998); on the initiative behind it: Thomas Willette, '1799/1899: heroic memory in the centennial of the *Repubblica Napoletana*', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 4, 3 (1999), 369–79. Croce's own writings on the revolution were published in Benedetto Croce, *La rivoluzione napoletana del 1799* (first edition, 1887, revised editions, 1896, 1911, 1926, 1948, reprinted from the last in Naples, 1998).

<sup>4</sup>Constance H.D.iglioli (née Stocker), *Naples in 1799. An Account of the Revolution of 1799 and of the Rise and Fall of the Parthenopean Republic* (London, 1903) (who suggests the detail of the *tirapiedi* on pages 350–1); and Lacy Collison-Morley, *Naples through the Centuries* (London, 1925), 141–52 – the author acknowledging her debts to Croce in the Preface, vii.

<sup>5</sup>On the early historiography of the Enlightenment, see Vincenzo Ferrone and Daniel Roche (eds), *L'Illuminismo. Dizionario Storico* (Rome and Bari, 1997), 'Postfazione', 521–31.

<sup>6</sup>Alexis de Tocqueville, *L'ancien régime et la révolution*, (1856, Paris, 1964), esp. part II ch. xi and part III.

who took refuge in masonic lodges and cultivated a utopian politics which left them fatally ill-equipped to direct a revolution.<sup>7</sup> Less disenchanted, Franco Venturi suggested that utopianism partnered reform throughout the Enlightenment, though he preferred to talk of its contribution to 'the crisis of the ancien régime' rather than to revolution.<sup>8</sup>

Framed in this way, nevertheless, the question of the relation of Enlightenment to revolution has all too easily been identified with that of the 'intellectual' or 'cultural' origins of the (French) Revolution.<sup>9</sup> The critical question has become that of whether, as Darnton has put it, books do cause revolutions; and study of the Enlightenment is liable to be reduced to investigation of the diffusion of ideas.<sup>10</sup> As even social and cultural historians of the Enlightenment have begun to realise, this does no justice to their subject. There was more to the Enlightenment, both within and beyond France, than a small group of men of letters preoccupied with abstractions about reason and liberty. Two tendencies within recent Enlightenment scholarship suggest that the question of its relation to revolution needs to be reconsidered. One is the new interest in the Enlightenment's understanding and practice of sociability: the ways in which it responded to the forms of association offered by the towns and cities of the eighteenth century: academies, salons, debating societies, masonic lodges, libraries and *musées*.<sup>11</sup> There is also a fresh interest in the later 1770s and 1780s as forming a distinct 'late' phase of the Enlightenment, in which the intellectual agenda was set by Rousseau and by the new themes of sensibility and naturalism.<sup>12</sup> If the question of the relation between Enlightenment and Revolution is

<sup>7</sup> Reinhard Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis. Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society* (Oxford, 1988; originally published in German in 1959).

<sup>8</sup> Franco Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge University Press, 1971).

<sup>9</sup> The classic discussions are Daniel Mornet, *Les origines intellectuelles de la révolution française 1715–1787* (Paris, 1933) and Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Durham and London, 1991).

<sup>10</sup> Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Bestsellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York and London, 1995), Part III; See also his earlier 'The high Enlightenment and the low life of literature', *Past and Present*, 51 (1971), 81–115. To the surprise of some of his readers, Darnton still adheres to a very traditional understanding of what he termed the 'high Enlightenment': 'George Washington's false teeth', *New York Review of Books*, XLIV, 5 (27 March 1997), 34–8.

<sup>11</sup> Exemplary of this approach: Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters. A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca and London, 1994).

<sup>12</sup> See especially Vincenzo Ferrone, *I profeti dell'illuminismo. Le metamorfosi della ragione nel tardo settecento italiano* (Rome and Bari, 1989); though already preoccupied with the imminence of revolution, an early and fundamental contribution to the study of this 'late' period of the Enlightenment was Robert Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

worth studying, it is the implication of such work that the complex character of the Enlightenment itself must first be appreciated. It is not a question reducible to the formula: 'do books cause revolutions?'

The question tends not to be asked so directly of Naples. This is probably because there exists a Neapolitan alternative to the Barruel or Tocqueville thesis, to which modern historians have felt obliged to respond along different lines. The author of the equivalent Neapolitan thesis was Vincenzo Cuoco, whose *Saggio storico sulla rivoluzione napoletana del 1799* was written in disillusioned exile immediately after the events, and first published in 1801.<sup>13</sup> The revolution had failed, Cuoco believed, because it was a 'passive revolution', in which a small band of republicans had tried to impose abstract French ideas on a people ignorant of their meaning and unprepared to receive them. This dependence on foreign models was already, as Cuoco began by pointing out, a feature of the Bourbon court of Ferdinando and Maria Carolina; their culpability for the events of 1799 was beyond extenuation. But the republicans' infatuation with the French Revolution, with its grand ideas and conspiratorial 'clubs', meant that they neglected to involve *il popolo*, 'the people', in their programme, and thus failed to make the revolution 'active'.<sup>14</sup> The end of the revolution was certainly a tragedy,<sup>15</sup> but it was also a catastrophe, as damaging in the long term as any natural disaster. The weakness of the kingdom was confirmed and increased, while all prospect of reform seemed to have been lost, probably for many years.<sup>16</sup>

Modern historians have mounted a powerful, if not unqualified, defence of the Neapolitan revolutionaries from Cuoco's strictures. The southern Italian 'Jacobins', it is pointed out, were by no means simply clones of the French. In exile in France and northern Italy in the later 1790s, following the first Bourbon crackdown of 1794–95, they had formulated a new, 'Italian' democratic republicanism. They were also well aware that if revolution was to be extended to the entire peninsula, it would have to be 'active', engaging the support of the people.<sup>17</sup> A

<sup>13</sup>Vincenzo Cuoco, *Saggio storico sulla rivoluzione di Napoli* (first published Milan, 1801, and revised by the author for a second edition, also published in Milan, in 1806). I have used the second edition, reprinted with an introduction by Pasquale Villani (Naples 1999). In his introduction, and again in the Preface to the second edition, Cuoco disavowed the intention to write the history of the revolution: the events, he admitted, were still too recent. But he hoped to anticipate and influence the judgement which posterity would pass on those (including Cuoco himself) who participated in it.

<sup>14</sup>Cuoco, *Saggio storico*, esp. chs xvi–xxi.

<sup>15</sup>Cuoco's enumeration of the martyred patriots was the starting-point for subsequent liberal mythology: *Saggio storico*, ch 1: 'Taluni patrioti'.

<sup>16</sup>Cuoco, *Saggio storico*, Introduzione, Conclusione.

<sup>17</sup>Giuseppe Galasso, 'I giacobini meridionali', in his *La filosofia in soccorso de' governi*, 509–48; Galasso points out that 'Italy' meant, literally, the peninsula, and excluded the islands.

commitment to 'active' revolution was evident in Naples in 1799, in practice as well as in theory, as the patriots anticipated Cuoco's criticism in their efforts to overcome popular passivity.<sup>18</sup> While the terminology of the republic's constitution, and of the proposals for provincial administration, was derived from north Italian and ultimately French models, a conscious attempt was made to adapt it to Neapolitan circumstances. From the outset, considerable effort was also put into winning popular support. The assistance of religion was not disdained: the blood of San Gennaro was duly observed to liquefy, while liberty trees were planted with a priestly or episcopal benediction. The newspaper of the republic, the *Monitore Napolitano*, edited by Fonseca Pimentel, made a point of printing material in the dialect. The extent to which the revolution was made 'active' in the provinces was more variable, but even there republicans made more effort than Cuoco gave them credit for.<sup>19</sup> Most misleading of all, however, was his depiction of 'the people' as a single homogenous bloc, counterposed to the revolutionaries. Study of the counter-revolutionary *Sanfedisti* suggests that far from being a movement of pure reaction, the counter-revolutionaries' coherence was dependent on Ruffo's ability to mediate the acute divisions within provincial society, divisions which had been aggravated by the actions of the monarchy itself earlier in the 1790s. Ruffo's achievement in containing peasant hostility to feudal exactions, while not alienating the local elites on whom stability depended, was ill-appreciated by the king and queen. But it ensured that the conflicts which erupted throughout the south as the *Sanfedisti* advanced were in the nature of a civil war, and did not escalate into all-out social war.<sup>20</sup>

Acquitting the revolutionaries of the charge of imposing abstract French ideas on the populace may have helped to clear away some of the obstacles to study of the question I have in mind, the relation

The fundamental study of the revolutionaries' experience of exile is Anna Maria Rao, *Esuli. L'emigrazione politica italiana in Francia 1792-1802* (Naples 1992).

<sup>18</sup>Maria Antonietta Visceglia, 'Genesi e fortuna di una interpretazione storiografica: la rivoluzione napoletana del 1799 come "rivoluzione passiva"', *Annali della Facoltà di Magistero, Università di Lecce*, I (1970-71), 172-88.

<sup>19</sup>Rao and Villani, *Napoli 1799-1815*, Part I chs. iv-v. For recent critical reflections in English on the supposed 'passivity' of the revolution, see John A. Davis, 'The Neapolitan Revolution 1799-1999: 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.

<sup>20</sup>Rao and Villani, *Napoli 1799-1815*, Part I, ch vi; and John A. Davis, 'The *Santafede* and the crisis of the ancien regime in southern Italy', in *Society and Politics in the Age of the Risorgimento. Essays in Honour of Denis Mack Smith*, ed. John A. Davis and Paul Ginsborg, (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1-25, an analysis which Davis has since developed further in 'Rivolte popolari e controrivoluzione nel mezzogiorno continentale', *Studi storici*, 39 (1998), 603-22.

between Enlightenment and revolution in Naples; but it has not encouraged attention to the question itself. There remain good reasons why the question should nevertheless be asked. Above all there is the prominent part taken in the revolution by men of letters who had previously been distinguished exponents of the Enlightenment – men such as Cirillo, Delfico and, most notably, Pagano. At the same time, there are the apparent continuities between the reforms introduced by the republic and those advocated earlier, by the same men and others, under the monarchy. On the face of it, these connections in personnel and reforming objectives are evidence that some relation between Enlightenment, reform and revolution is likely to have existed. There is at least a potential opportunity, therefore, to assess the extent to which the revolution was consistent with the aspirations of the Enlightenment, and even, perhaps, to gauge the ‘success’ or ‘failure’ of its prescriptions for the betterment of Neapolitan society.

In the remainder of this paper, I outline an analysis of the relation between Enlightenment and reform and revolution in Naples from the restoration of the monarchy in 1734 to the revolution of 1799. At this stage it is no more than an outline, or framework, of an analysis, several of whose themes I hope to develop elsewhere. But I intend to argue, against the reductionist tendency of so much social or ‘cultural’ history of ideas, that if the relation is to be better understood it will be on the basis of acknowledging the structural differences between the Enlightenment as an intellectual movement and the political processes of reform and revolution. We need to respect the distances separating thought, politics and social development before we seek to connect them.

In eighteenth-century Naples reform had become an issue before the advent of the Enlightenment. A strong expectation of reform accompanied the restoration of the kingdom’s independence in 1734, when Carlo Borbone, son of Philip V of Spain and his second wife Elizabeth Farnese, led an army into Naples and ejected the Austrian viceroy. Even if the Neapolitans themselves were passive observers of the change, the opportunity was one for which the Neapolitan elite had been mentally preparing for almost fifty years. Under the Spanish monarchy before 1707 (and, by implication, under the Austrian monarchy since), they had come to believe, Naples had been *un regno governato in provincia* – a kingdom governed as a province. In that condition it had been in the interest of the Spanish to divide and rule, and in particular to appease the Neapolitan baronage by repeated extensions of their feudal authority in the provinces. Elaborated in a tract of 1710 by Paolo Mattia Doria, ‘Massime del governo spagnolo’, which circulated in manuscript, this critique was given a much broader base



by the publication in 1723 of Pietro Giannone's *Storia civile del regno di Napoli*. With commanding intellectual authority, Giannone set out the historical foundations for the kingdom's independence, demonstrating the cumulative coherence of its laws and, above all, the invalidity of the papacy's pretensions to exercise civil and ecclesiastical authority over it. By 1734, there was thus a powerful sense that independence was the kingdom's due, and that it would, almost automatically, make possible the solution to the social division, economic isolation and political weakness it had long suffered as a 'province'.<sup>21</sup>

It is important to recognise, even so, that reform was not the natural priority of the new monarchy. Carlo Borbone owed his throne to the dynastic ambition and diplomatic intelligence of his mother, exploiting the temporary weakness of the Emperor; and to keep it he had to fulfil his dynastic and diplomatic obligations to Spain, to France and to Britain. An Austrian attempt to regain the kingdom had to be defeated in 1744, war being followed in due course by diplomatic *rapprochement*, sealed by the marriage of Carlo's son, Ferdinando, to the Austrian Maria Carolina. At the same time, the new dynasty needed to re-create a court, refurbishing the old palaces in Naples and building modern ones, as at Caserta, and embellishing them with the great Farnese art collection. Such 'dynastic' priorities were a necessary consequence of the manner in which Carlo Borbone acquired the kingdom, and need to be respected by historians: 'reform' would be pursued on terms compatible with them.

In the event, the new monarchy responded promptly to the expectations of its subjects. Headed by the purposeful Joachim de Montealegre, Marchese de Salas, who had previous experience of Philip V's French-inspired reform programme in Spain, and guided by the wily Tuscan jurist Bernardo Tanucci, the government of Carlo VII took initiatives on several fronts. Easiest to contemplate, because they reinforced the political priorities of the monarchy, were measures against the Church. The refusal to accept papal demands for the investiture of the new king was followed by an attempt to restrict clerical immunity and assert (at least in principle) the royal right to tax clerical goods. Here the legacy of Giannone was a useful resource; for although Giannone

<sup>21</sup> Paolo Mattia Doria, *Massime del governo spagnolo a Napoli (1709–10)*, edited by G. Galasso and V. Conti (Naples, 1973). Pietro Giannone, *Storia civile del Regno di Napoli*, four vols. (Naples, 1723). For comment on the 'provincial' theme, Giuseppe Giarrizzo, 'Un "regno governato in provincia": Napoli tra Austria e Spagna 1690–1740', in *P.M. Doria fra rinnovamento e tradizione*, ed. G. Papuli (Galatina, 1985), 311–25; and on Neapolitan political culture under the Austrian Habsburgs, Giuseppe Ricuperati, 'Napoli e i vicere' austriaci 1707–1734', in *AA.VV., Storia di Napoli*, vol. VII (Cava de' Tirreni, 1972), 347–457. But for the sense of expectation which greeted the new monarchy, see above all Franco Venturi, *Settecento riformatore, I: Da Muratori a Beccaria, 1730–1764* (Turin, 1969), 28–46.

himself had been in exile since 1723, and was by now in prison in Savoy, his friends and disciples actively promoted these and subsequent anti-curial initiatives. Other reforms were directed at the organisation of the law courts and the codification of the laws of the kingdom; these would have begun to curb the independent jurisdictions of the nobility as well as the privileges of the lawyers. Institutionally and technically, however, such reforms represented an enormous challenge, and Tanucci shrank from following them through.<sup>22</sup>

Perhaps the greatest hopes were attached to the third of the new monarchy's initiatives, the promotion of commerce. Advised by Doria and others, the government created a new tribunal specifically for the purpose in 1739, the Supremo Magistrato del Commercio. In proposing the new magistracy to a meeting of nobles and ministers in June, Montealegre held out the prospect that the natural advantages of the kingdom would at last be harnessed by protection of native products such as silk, while commerce would be encouraged by the introduction of a standard system of regulation in the ports.<sup>23</sup>

Alas, the proceedings of the Supremo Magistrato del Commercio did not match these expectations. It first convened on 5 November 1739, with a membership of nobles, 'togati' or ministers of the robe, and 'ministri negozianti' or merchant counsellors. It was immediately agreed to meet twice a week in the early evening, 'from 23 hours until 2 at night in winter, with the possibility of bringing forward the hours in summer, if appropriate'. Priority was to be given to the establishment of consuls in the ports, and to the determination of their jurisdictions.<sup>24</sup> It quickly became clear that this would not be straightforward. The noble members objected that the consuls would usurp the jurisdiction of the barons. The *togati* responded that a new set of laws would be needed, since consuls from a merchant background would not have the requisite knowledge of the existing laws. By 20 November, the

<sup>22</sup> On the reform initiatives of the 1730s, Elvira Chiosi, 'Il Regno dal 1734 al 1799', in *Storia del mezzogiorno*, vol. iv, part ii, *Il Regno dagli Angioini ai Borboni* (Naples, 1986), 384–96; and Raffaele Ajello, 'Legislazione e crisi del diritto comune nel Regno di Napoli. Il tentativo di codificazione Carlino', in *Studi e ricerche sul settecento*, ed. E. Sestan (Naples, Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1968), 172–223.

<sup>23</sup> Archivio di Stato di Napoli (hereafter ASN), manuscripts of the Tribunali antichi, Fasc. 1728: 'Supremo Magistrato del Commercio', ff. 3–12: 'Registro delle deliberazioni prese nelle conferenze, ordinate da S[ua] M[ajesta] tenersi nella Secr[eter]ia di Stato, Guerra e Marina, circa il commercio, 10 Giugno 1739'.

<sup>24</sup> ASN, Tribunali antichi 1728, (new foliation) ff. 1–2: 'Relazione succinto di quanto è stato agitato, deliberato, ed oprato nella prima sessione del supremo magistrato del commercio tenuta il 5 di Novembre 1739.' The decision on the hours of meeting is on f. iv: the hours of the day were calculated, in Naples as in much of Italy, as beginning at or just before sunset. See Roberto Colzi, 'Che ora era? Raffronto tra le ore all'italiana e alla francese a Roma', *Studi Romani*, XLIII (1995), 93–102.

magistrates were clearly divided into three interests.<sup>25</sup> On 23 November they became embroiled in a new argument, when two nobles disputed precedence, and the *togati* claimed that they alone should vote to resolve the dispute, since it was a matter of law; it was late in the evening before this meeting ended.<sup>26</sup> Summoned to a conference by Montealegre on 25 November, the magistrates humbly agreed to try again. A compromise was reached over the consuls, and discussion began on measures to encourage silk manufacture.<sup>27</sup> But even before the end of 1739 it had become clear that no radical change in the regulatory framework of Neapolitan commerce would be achieved. For all the hopes attached to it, the new magistracy was still locked into modes of procedure inherited from the sixteenth century, and hostage to the entrenched rivalry of nobility and *togati*.<sup>28</sup> Its minutes are striking evidence of the obstacles to reform within the structure of government which the new monarchy had taken over.

The advent of the Enlightenment in Naples can be dated almost as precisely as the restoration on the monarchy, to 1753–4. It was effectively the initiative of one man, the abbé and university professor Antonio Genovesi. His *Discorso sopra il vero fine delle lettere e delle scienze* (1753) was its manifesto, and his chair in ‘Commerce and mechanics’, created for him in 1754 by Bartolomeo Intieri, was its platform.<sup>29</sup> For Intieri, a Tuscan agronomist who had come to Naples more than twenty years earlier, the chair was the culmination of a series of initiatives he had taken to encourage interest in Newtonian science and in the study of commerce; he had been an early and enthusiastic reader of Jean-François Melon’s *Essai politique sur le commerce* (1734).<sup>30</sup> For Genovesi, the chair represented the opportunity for a new beginning, in both his own and the kingdom’s intellectual life. He himself had previously taught

<sup>25</sup> ASN, Tribunali antichi 1728 (new foliation), ff. 41–2, 39–40, 37–8, 35–6, 33–4; 9, 13, 16, 17, 20 gbre [Novembre] 1739.

<sup>26</sup> ASN, Tribunal antichi 1728 ff. 31–2; 23 gbre 1739; emphasising the ‘indecenty’ (*indecenza*) of such discord, the president finally persuaded the *togati* to desist, and since it was ‘più delle tre ore di notte’, to agree to postpone a decision on the issue.

<sup>27</sup> ASN, Tribunali antichi 1728 ff. 25–30: ‘Conferenza coll’intervento del Magistrato Supremo di Commercio a 25 gbre 1739’; ff. 23, 21–2, 17–18, 19–20, 15–16, 13–14; 26 gbre 1739, primo Dicembre, 3 Xbre, 7 Xbre, 10 Xbre, and 14 Xbre 1739.

<sup>28</sup> On the sixteenth century, Raffaele Ajello, ‘Alle origini del problema meridionale nell’età moderna’, the introduction to his *Una società anomala. Il programma e la sconfitta della nobiltà napoletana in due memoriali cinquecenteschi* (Naples, 1996), 9–260.

<sup>29</sup> On the creation of the chair ‘di commercio e di meccanica’: Venturi, *Da Muratori a Beccaria*, 562–5; it was effectively the first university chair in political economy in Europe.

<sup>30</sup> Franco Venturi, ‘Alle origini dell’Illuminismo napoletano: dal carteggio di Bartolomeo Intieri’, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, LXXI (1959), 416–56; and *Da Muratori a Beccaria*, pp. 552–62. Vincenzo Ferrone, *Scienza, natura, religione: mondo newtoniano e cultura Italiana nel primo settecento* (Naples, 1982), 546–60.

philosophy, and had aspired to be a professor of theology. His transformation into a professor of commerce, however, was far more than a personal conversion. Genovesi believed that his countrymen had fallen behind the leading nations of Europe in their thinking, and specifically in their thinking about the material and moral welfare of society in the age of commerce. It was a sensitivity shared by other Italian observers: what was once the richest and intellectually most advanced country in Europe was now well behind the northern European nations in both respects, and apparently in danger of falling still further back. But Genovesi's apprehension of the point was unusually sharp, and it led him to seek – with a purposefulness matched only by Beccaria and Verri in Milan – the participation of Naples in the European movement of the Enlightenment. Genovesi's initiative, in other words, was not simply a response to the frustration of the restored monarchy's first efforts at reform; and it should not be thought of as marking another phase of reform. His objectives were intellectual and educational, not immediately political.

To fulfil them, he began a programme of translation and commentary on French and British economic writing. The most substantial undertaking was the *Storia del commercio della Gran Bretagna* (1757–8), an Italian version of John Cary's 1695 *Essay on the State of England*, which Genovesi and his brother translated from the more recent, expanded, French edition by Vincent de Gournay and Georges-Marie Butel-Dumont, and to which he added extensive notes. Genovesi shared Intieri's admiration for Melon, praising his demonstration that commerce could be studied as a science; but he was also quick to read and engage with the work of Melon's critic, David Hume (in a French edition of the *Discours politiques*). He likewise responded promptly to Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois*, the first Italian translation of which was published in Naples in 1751. In commenting on these and other works Genovesi was keen to apply their lessons to the circumstances of the kingdom; but he also sought to engage with their arguments in general terms, treating political economy as a science the understanding of whose principles must precede their application. His own synthetic economic writing, the *Lezioni di Commercio o sia d'economia civile* (1765–7), was a critical response to a Europe-wide discussion, written on the assumption that political economy was a common Enlightenment discourse.<sup>31</sup>

A second dimension to Genovesi's activity was equally characteristic

<sup>31</sup> Antonio Genovesi, *Storia del commercio della Gran Bretagna* etc., in *Scritti economici*, ed. M.L. Perna, 2 vols. (Naples, 1984); *Delle lezioni di commercio o sia d'economia civile* (Naples, 1765, 1767, with a second edition in 1768 and 1770); the first edition was reprinted in the series *Scrittori classici italiani di economia politica*, ed. P. Custodi, vols. vii–x, (Milan 1803–4).

of the Enlightenment. At the heart of the *Discorso delle lettere e delle scienze* was an appeal to the *studiosa gioventù* of the kingdom to take up the study of letters and sciences, to enlighten the nation and to animate its industry. Genovesi called for an Academy of the Learned to be instituted in the capital, to which all the learned, and especially *gli illuminati giovani* (the enlightened youth) in the provinces could communicate their discoveries to the improvement of agriculture, commerce and the manufacturing arts. Though he also appealed to ‘the great’ and to the clergy to encourage these interests, it was to the young, the third or middle rank, that Genovesi looked for the leadership now required to harness the natural advantages of the kingdom and restore its greatness.<sup>32</sup> In effect, the *Discorso* was a call to educate a new elite which would be free of the stifling prejudices of the nobility and *togati*, and committed to the *bene commune* of the country.

Genovesi would later underline the importance of education in the chapter of the *Lezioni* devoted specifically to ‘the condition and natural strengths of the kingdom in respect to arts and commerce’. Believing that command of the people’s ‘opinions’ was the key to government, he advocated both the encouragement and the public inspection of schools and the university. Teaching in these should be from published books, not private manuscripts; the secretive methods of the freemasons, Genovesi agreed, were contrary to good laws. There was no serious danger of a people being over-educated, as Mandeville and others had suggested; on the contrary, the education of both peasants and women would be positively beneficial. For without a much more extensive education, there was no prospect of remedying the kingdom’s backwardness in the sciences and the arts: the arts of agriculture as much as those of luxury.<sup>33</sup>

The clarity of Genovesi’s strategy for public education is as striking as his persistence in advocating it. His was no longer the traditional humanist ideal of the good counsellor, who advised ministers directly by means of manuscript memoranda. Instead Genovesi had chosen to appeal to men of good will outside the ranks of government, using his lectures and his programme of publications to create, for the first time in Naples, a genuinely informed, independent body of public opinion. In the terms of recent Enlightenment scholarship, he sought to establish a ‘public sphere’, separate and at a distance from the ‘private sphere’

<sup>32</sup> Antonio Genovesi, *Discorso sopra il vero fine delle lettere e delle scienze* (Naples, 1753), in *Scritti economici*, 9–57, esp. 47–50.

<sup>33</sup> Genovesi, *Lezioni di commercio*, Parte Prima, cap. xxii ‘Dello stato e delle naturali forze del Regno di Napoli per rispetto all’arti e al commercio’, ss. iv (& note), ix–xxi. Revisions which Genovesi made to these passages in the second edition of the work are noted by Franco Venturi, *Illuministi italiani V Riformatori napoletani*, (Milan & Naples, 1962), 224–35.

of the court and the royal administration.<sup>34</sup> Only if there emerged a public with the knowledge to form and the freedom to express its opinions, his initiatives implied, would the kingdom's intellectual life be opened to the great issues of human welfare now being discussed elsewhere in Europe, and its rulers be enabled to benefit from the new ideas.

The strategy of pursuing Enlightenment before reform was also well suited to its time, the last two decades of Tanucci's long ministry. The old jurist distrusted the new man of letters, and particularly the political economist. The gulf between the two was acutely evident in 1764, when famine struck several parts of Italy, Tuscany and Naples hardest of all.<sup>35</sup> Genovesi responded by publishing the works of an earlier Tuscan agronomist and a member of the Gournay circle in favour of freeing the grain trade from controls, adding his own forceful commentaries on the urgency of doing so in the present straits of the kingdom.<sup>36</sup> Tanucci preferred to intensify controls, attempting to force the declaration of stocks of grain and compel its sale at a fixed price; once the immediate crisis was over he strengthened the monopoly of the *Annona* which procured the capital's grain supply on terms weighted against the provincial producers.<sup>37</sup>

Tanucci was much more willing to take on the Church, and was happy to call upon Genovesi's assistance for this purpose. In 1767 he committed the monarchy, in alliance with the other Bourbon powers, to the expulsion of the Jesuits and the expropriation of their property; as an affirmation of intellectual allegiance, Tanucci subsequently sanctioned the publication of a new edition of Giannone's *Storia civile* (1770). But this was consistent with the anti-clerical traditions of the Neapolitan jurists: though Genovesi willingly devoted his final years (and failing health) to the cause, the campaign against the Church did not mark the minister's conversion to the Enlightenment. Not until Tanucci was finally removed from power at the instigation of Maria Carolina, in 1776, was the monarchy willing to respond to the climate of Enlight-

<sup>34</sup> On this point, Maria Luisa Perna, 'L'universo comunicativo di Antonio Genovesi', in *Editoria e cultura a Napoli nel XVIII secolo*, ed. Anna Maria Rao (Naples, 1998), 391–404; and on Genovesi's educational objectives, Elvira Chiosi, *Lo spirito del secolo. Politica e religione a Napoli nell'età dell'illuminismo* (Naples, 1992), ch. 3: 'Intelletuali e plebe', 79–85.

<sup>35</sup> On the impact of the famines, Franco Venturi, *Settecento riformatore, V: L'Italia dei lumi 1764–1790* (Turin, 1987), 221–423.

<sup>36</sup> *L'agricoltore sperimentato di Cosimo Trinci con alcune giunte dell'abate Genovesi* (Naples, 1764; originally published in Lucca, 1726); and *Riflessioni sull'economia generale dei grani, tradotte dal Francese, con un discorso preliminare del Signor Abbate Genovesi* (Naples, 1765), a translation of Claude Herbert, *Essai sur la police générale des grains* (1754), both reprinted in *Scritti economici*, II, 869–1130, 1131–235.

<sup>37</sup> Paolo Macry, *Mercato e società nel Regno di Napoli. Commercio del grano e politica economica del '700* (Naples, 1974), 413–37.

enment opinion which Genovesi (who died in 1769) had worked so hard to create.

By the later 1770s a new generation of men of letters had emerged to succeed Genovesi: Giuseppe Maria Galanti, Francesco Longano, Gaetano Filangieri, Francesco Mario Pagano, Giuseppe Palmieri, the brothers Domenico and Franciscantonio Grimaldi, Domenico Cirillo and Melchiorre Delfico. Directly or indirectly they were all Genovesi's pupils; and they were confident that they lived in an age, in Filangieri's phrase, in which 'la filosofia è venuta in soccorso de' governi' – philosophy has come to the aid of rulers. Moreover the government's willingness to accept philosophy's offer of assistance meant that from the late 1770s until the early 1790s Enlightenment and reform did intersect: expectations were as high as in the 1730s, and this time the achievements were by no means negligible.

As before, but with a new confidence, the crown made its priority the limiting of the independence of the Church. First in 1776, and again, definitively, in the later 1780s, it challenged Rome's entitlement to the *Chinea*, the ceremonial presentation of a white horse to the Pope as a symbol of feudal homage. Disputes with more substantial implications occurred over the crown's rights of appointment, culminating in the contested nomination of Andrea Serrao as Bishop of Potenza in 1782, and over the decision to appropriate and sell monastic property in Calabria after the disastrous earthquake of 1784.<sup>38</sup> Again the legacy of Giannone was invoked: Giuseppe Cestari was encouraged to prepare another edition of the *Storia civile* (1792–3), and Eleonora Fonseca Pimentel translated a treatise of 1707 by Niccolò Caravita denying the Papacy any right over the kingdom.<sup>39</sup> But the monarchy was now also willing to pursue reform in the sphere to which Genovesi had sought to redirect attention: the economy, and the feudal system which was regarded as such an obstacle to its development.

In 1782 the government created a new Supremo Consiglio delle Finanze, and gave it a status and authority significantly greater than those of the old Supremo Magistrato del Commercio. The new Council was not a tribunal, but was given powers over the several magistracies with economic responsibilities, and was expected to send visitors into the provinces to gather information on the state of agriculture and commerce.<sup>40</sup> Advice was sought from those with

<sup>38</sup> Elvira Chiosi, *Andrea Serrao* (Naples, 1981).

<sup>39</sup> Elvira Chiosi, 'La tradizione giannonica nella seconda metà del settecento', in Raffaele Ajello (ed.), *Pietro Giannone e il suo tempo*, 2 vols. (Naples, 1980), 763–823. The tract translated by Fonseca Pimentel was the *Nullum Ius* of Niccolò Caravita; the Italian title was *Niun diritto compete al Sommo Pontefice sul Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1790).

<sup>40</sup> Chiosi, 'Il Regno dal 1734 al 1799', *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, iv.ii, 437–8.

economic expertise. Ferdinando Galiani was appointed one of its secretaries, contributing memoranda on opportunities for external trade and in particular a commercial treaty with Russia.<sup>41</sup> Giuseppe Maria Galanti was encouraged to extend his initial investigation of economic conditions in the Molise into a comprehensive 'geographical and political description' of the entire kingdom.<sup>42</sup> Reform was still frustrated by privilege, especially in manufacturing. But internal trade was gradually liberalised: tolls were abolished in 1792, and the various *annona* which controlled the marketing of grain and other foods were dismantled. A particularly sharp critique of the operation of these in the fish trade was contributed by Pagano in 1789: the future republican unhesitatingly looked to the king, as 'the Titus of our times', to remove the abuse.<sup>43</sup> Least tractable was the issue of feudal property, and the practices of primogeniture and entails which supported it. Nevertheless, Filangieri's eloquent denunciation of 'la gran macchina de' feudi' as the greatest obstacle to the kingdom's development, reinforced by Galanti's detailed investigations of the conditions of life in the provinces, created a climate of opinion which encouraged the Supremo Consiglio delle Finanze to decide in 1791 to sell as allodial land fiefs which had 'devolved' to the crown. Although the attempt to implement the decision ran into fierce opposition, the monarchy was widely perceived to have begun, at long last, to dismantle a system which symbolised as well as entrenched the kingdom's backwardness.<sup>44</sup>

Even in this later period, however, the apparent vindication of Filangieri's belief that philosophy was coming to the aid of governments should not lead to a simple assimilation of the Enlightenment in Naples with the cause of reform. For the Enlightenment was at the same time also strengthening its independent social base and extending its intellectual range. The standard-bearer of Genovesi's legacy was Giuseppe Maria Galanti, who proclaimed his discipleship in a precocious *Elogio* of the master in 1772. A more substantial homage was the

<sup>41</sup> Furio Diaz, 'L'Abbate Galiani consigliere di commercio estero', *Rivista Storica Italiana*, LXXX (1968), 854–92.

<sup>42</sup> Giuseppe Maria Galanti, *Descrizione del Molise* (1781); *Nuova descrizione storica e geografica delle Sicilie* (1786–90, 2nd ed. 1793–4). Others involved with the work of the Council were Domenico Grimaldi and Giuseppe Palmieri; Gaetano Filangieri was belatedly and briefly a member from 1787 until his death in 1788.

<sup>43</sup> Francesco Mario Pagano, *Ragionamento sulla libertà del commercio del pesce in Napoli, diretto al Regio Tribunale dell'Ammiragliato e Consolato di Mare* (Naples, 1789), reprinted by Venturi in *Illuministi Italiani V: Riformatori Napoletani*, 842–53.

<sup>44</sup> Pasquale Villani, 'Il dibattito sulla feudalità nel Regno di Napoli dal Genovesi al Canosa', in *Saggi e ricerche sul settecento*, ed. Sestan, 252–331; Anna Maria Rao, *L'amaro della feudalità. La devoluzione di Arnone e la questione feudale a Napoli alla fine del '700* (Naples, 1984).



remarkable series of publishing initiatives by which Galanti attempted to extend the intellectual horizons of the Neapolitan public. In common with other branches of the capital's commercial life, Neapolitan publishing was a world of privileges and defensive monopolies, in which even those willing to take on new works struggled to secure a return.<sup>45</sup> Galanti tackled these difficulties head on. In 1777 he established the *Società letteraria di Napoli*, later the *Società letteraria e tipografica*, and entered into commercial correspondence with the celebrated *Société typographique de Neuchâtel* and other Swiss publishing houses. Among the publications of the Neapolitan Society was the 'Collection of philosophic and political histories of ancient and modern nations', in which series Galanti included his own works on the ancient inhabitants of Italy and on the Molise, a translation of the multi-volume 'general history' of the Abbé Millot, and an anthology of writings by contemporary French and Scottish historians, including Condillac, Chastellux, Hume, Adam Ferguson and William Robertson. When the *Società Letteraria* finally went into administration in 1782, Galanti established the *Gabinetto letterario*, through which he brought out his long-projected translation of the whole of Robertson's *History of Charles V* (1787–9). (His former partners, meanwhile, brought out a translation of the Scot's *History of America* in 1789.) Galanti's commercial acumen may not have matched his intellectual enthusiasm, for which he was mocked by Galiani; but his efforts were unrivalled as an individual contribution, of time as well as money, to the practical enlargement of the 'public sphere' in the kingdom of Naples.<sup>46</sup>

But perhaps the most striking social aspect of the late Enlightenment in Naples was its association with Freemasonry. With the eclipse of Tanucci, a constant enemy of the movement, the number of lodges grew rapidly, both in the capital and in the provinces. Every rite was represented, along with several individual hybrids. Nobles and men of letters both provided enthusiastic recruits, creating an unprecedented forum for social interaction. A group of men of letters in the capital, including Longano, Cirillo, Francescantonio Grimaldi, Pagano and Filangieri, were particularly associated with the 'Harmony' Lodge, following the English rite; and the same group and others also met at the villa of the brothers Di Gennaro, the dukes of Belforte and Cantalupo, between Mergellina and Posillipo. (Among the men of letters, Galanti was the one major figure to keep his distance from

<sup>45</sup>For an overview of Neapolitan publishing in the century, Anna Maria Rao, ed., 'Introduzione' to *Editoria e cultura a Napoli nel XVIII secolo*, 3–55.

<sup>46</sup>Maria Luisa Perna, 'Giuseppe Maria Galanti editore', in *Miscellanea Walter Matreri* (Turin, 1966), 221–58, an excellent account, which Rachele Via, *Il libro e la storia delle idee. Le Società Tipografiche di Napoli e Neuchâtel alla fine del '700* (Soveria Mannelli, 1995), supplements.

Freemasonry.) Lodges were also constituted in several provincial cities, on the mainland and in Sicily.<sup>47</sup>

The enthusiasm displayed by the men of letters for the secretive, 'private' world of masonry is not, on the face of it, easily reconciled with an Enlightenment emphasis on the public. As Ferrone has argued, however, the appeal of the lodges seems to have lain in the opportunity they offered for independent voluntary association, for which there were otherwise few legitimate openings in the kingdom, least of all in the provinces.<sup>48</sup> Given Maria Carolina's interest in Freemasonry, which had frustrated Tanucci's last attempts to suppress it, there was also a potential connection with the court. But if the connection existed, its only substantial result appears to have been the *Reale Accademia di Scienze e Belle Lettere*, founded in 1779 with (in part) a masonic inspiration. In the event the Academy was too closely regulated by the court to satisfy the men of letters, and soon became inactive.<sup>49</sup> Later, in the early 1790s, the lodges do seem to have provided a framework for clandestine 'Jacobin' activity;<sup>50</sup> but there is little to suggest that they had such a political character in the 1780s. The popularity of Freemasonry in Naples may well attest to the difficulty of establishing a genuinely 'public' sphere in the kingdom, but the lodges at least offered men of letters a form of institutional sociability which was largely independent of the court, the royal administration and the church.

For all their optimism over the prospects for reform, most of those active in this phase of the Enlightenment in Naples continued to keep their distance from government. Their approach remained that of Genovesi: the cultivation of an educated and informed public opinion, through which philosophers might indirectly guide the reforming activity of government.<sup>51</sup> By far the most eloquent and developed statement of this strategy was offered by Gaetano Filangieri, the acknowledged leader of the new generation of Enlightenment philosophers.

Filangieri's *La scienza della legislazione*, most of which he wrote before

<sup>47</sup> Ferrone, *I profeti dell'illuminismo*, 207–18, 246–50; Giuseppe Giarrizzo, *Massoneria e illuminismo nell'Europa del Settecento* (Venice, 1994), 176–9.

<sup>48</sup> Ferrone, *I profeti dell'illuminismo*, 247–8.

<sup>49</sup> On the Neapolitan Academy, Elvira Chiosi, 'Lumen accessit', ch. 4 of her *Lo spirito del secolo*, 107–42; by comparison, it has been argued that its Torinese counterpart did provide a public forum for the collaboration of court and lodge: Vincenzo Ferrone, 'The Accademia Reale delle Scienze: cultural sociability and men of letters in Turin of the Enlightenment under Vittorio Amadeo III', *Journal of Modern History*, 70 (1998), 519–60.

<sup>50</sup> Giarrizzo, *Massoneria e illuminismo*, 390–6.

<sup>51</sup> The most notable exception to this pattern was the economist Ferdinando Galiani. Mortified by his recall from Paris in 1769, after a diplomatic indiscretion made it impossible for Tanucci to continue his posting as Secretary to the Neapolitan embassy, Galiani apparently welcomed the opportunity to serve as Secretary to the *Supremo Consiglio delle Finanze* from 1782.

he was thirty, was published in successive pairs of volumes in 1780, 1783 and 1785. His ambition was no less than to be the new Montesquieu; but where Montesquieu had sought only to explain the variety of laws as they were, Filangieri would establish the 'rules' of legislation as it ought to be.<sup>52</sup> By adopting these rules, Filangieri argued, the rulers of Europe would be able to reform their archaic law codes, to the improvement of their economies, the better administration of justice and punishment and the provision of public education.<sup>53</sup> Education was especially important to Filangieri (as to Genovesi), because it was the key to the formation of *l'opinione pubblica*: where the people were properly educated, public opinion would be 'wise and virtuous'. To reinforce the effect of education, Filangieri also advocated liberty of the press, on condition that every publication should bear the name of its author, to ensure that the freedom should not be abused.<sup>54</sup>

But Filangieri did not merely restate Genovesi's plea for public education and free discussion. Underlying his argument was a new and radical conception of public opinion as the expression of the ultimate sovereignty of the people. A legitimate government, according to Filangieri, was one which was able to represent the wills of the individual members of the society.<sup>55</sup> Filangieri did not envisage that the people would normally exercise supreme power themselves: a perfect democracy was possible only in the smallest states. But laws should only be made or reformed after consulting *la volontà de' popoli*, the will of the people, and with the support of the majority of the votes of public opinion. The legitimacy of a monarchy was thus as dependent on public opinion as that of a republic.<sup>56</sup> In consequence, the role of philosophers too had been transformed. When Filangieri proclaimed that in the past fifty years 'philosophy has come to the aid of rulers', he was not thinking in terms of their traditional role as the counsellors of kings. Philosophy now had a far greater responsibility, as the guide and voice of a public opinion which had the authority of the people's

<sup>52</sup> Gaetano Filangieri, *La scienza della legislazione*, first published in Naples, vols. 1–II, 1780, III–IV, 1783, V–VI, 1785, with a further two volumes published posthumously in 1791 (Filangieri having died in 1788). I have used the edition entitled *La Scienza della legislazione, con giunta degli opuscoli scelti*, published in six volumes by the Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani (Milan, 1822). For Filangieri's statements of intent, see the 'Introduzione' and 'Piano ragionato dell'opera' in vol. I, 3–14, 17–19.

<sup>53</sup> Population, agriculture and commerce were treated in Book II of the *Scienza della legislazione*, the administration of justice and punishment in Book III, and education in Book IV.

<sup>54</sup> Filangieri, *Scienza della legislazione*, Book IV 'Delle legge che riguardano l'educazione, i costumi e l'istruzione pubblica', esp. parts I, ch 2 and III, ch 43.

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.*, Book I 'Delle regole generali della scienza legislativa', ch I, esp p. 54.

<sup>56</sup> *ibid.*, Bk I, chs 7, 10, pp. 86–7, 100–5.

will.<sup>57</sup> In this perspective, the willingness of Filangieri and his friends to encourage the reforming initiatives of the Bourbon monarchy represented far more than the simple identification of Enlightenment with reform; in principle, at least, the role of the philosophers was to facilitate the subordination of the monarchy to the will of the people. Well might Filangieri believe that a ‘pacifica rivoluzione’ was now in preparation, in the kingdom of Naples and throughout Europe.<sup>58</sup>

Filangieri’s radicalisation of Genovesi’s concept of public opinion was accompanied by a change in the intellectual interests of the new generation. Genovesi’s interest in political economy was not forgotten: one of the earliest products of the second phase of the Enlightenment in Naples was an Italian version of Melon’s *Essai politique sur le commerce*, published with notes and an introductory discourse by Longano in 1778.<sup>59</sup> As we have seen, Filangieri devoted the second book of the *Scienza della legislazione* to economic issues; and investigation of the specific economic and social conditions of the kingdom was a primary concern of Palmieri, Longano and, above all, Galanti. Even so, there are signs that the Neapolitans were disregarding more recent developments in economic thinking in favour of another interest of the late Enlightenment: the philosophy of history. This was the real subject of Longano’s introduction to Melon.<sup>60</sup> It also underpinned Filangieri’s treatment of legislation, informing in particular his conviction of the exceptional longevity of feudalism in the kingdom of Naples; and it inspired Galanti not only to translate and publish the best contemporary European historians, but to write the history of southern Italy before its conquest by the Romans.<sup>61</sup> There is one treatment of the subject, however, which deserves particular attention, both for its intellectual quality and because of its author’s involvement in the Revolution of 1799 – Francesco Mario Pagano’s *Saggi politici*.

Pagano published two versions of the *Saggi politici*, the first in two parts in 1783 and 1785, the second, corrected and enlarged (but also without sections present in the first), in 1791–2. The full title of the first edition gives the best indication of its contents: *Del civile corso delle nazioni*,

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*, Bk iv, part iii, ch 43, p. 39: ‘philosophers rule by directing opinion, and kings philosophise in order to obtain the votes of that opinion’.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*, Introduzione, 11.

<sup>59</sup> [J-F. Melon], *Saggio politico sul commercio, tradotto dal francese colle annotazioni dell’ Ab. Longano*, 2 vols. (Naples, 1778).

<sup>60</sup> [Melon], *Saggio politico*, ‘Discorso del notatore, su l’origine, progressi, vicende ed influenza del commercio degli Europei’, i-xxxii; on which Ferrone, *I profeti dell’illuminismo*, 273–4; more fully, ‘La fondazione panteistica dell’eguaglianza. Contributo al pensiero politico di Francesco Longano’, *Rassegna Iberistica*, 56 (1996), 193–202.

<sup>61</sup> Melissa Calaresu, ‘Images of ancient Rome in late eighteenth-century Neapolitan historiography’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 58, 4 (1997), 641–61; on Galanti in particular, 649–56.

*o sia de' principi, progressi, e decadenza delle società.* (The short title 'Political Essays', he explained, was an indication that his treatment of the subject did not claim to be comprehensive.) In scope and subject-matter the work might be compared with the Scottish philosopher Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, published some twenty years earlier in 1767 (and from which Galanti had published an extract in 1781).<sup>62</sup> Like Ferguson, Pagano traced the progress of society through the savage and barbarian states to the cultivated and polite, elaborating the attributes of each before finally explaining why polite societies were liable to grow corrupt and fall into decline. But beside these similarities, the differences between the two works are also marked, and reveal the extent to which Pagano was responding to specific preoccupations of the later Enlightenment.

There was certainly no equivalent in Ferguson for the first of Pagano's 'Essays', 'The period of human affairs, and the analysis of the human spirit as it was after the first physical catastrophes on earth.' Here Pagano outlined the natural history of man, depicting the earliest stage of human life as the struggle for survival in the face of the great natural catastrophes which had periodically struck the earth. These catastrophes included the great floods recorded in the traditions of the eastern nations and in the myth of Atlantis, as well as major earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. Their human and animal survivors, Pagano argued, would have had to take refuge on mountain tops and in caves, while the shock of such disasters would have reduced men's spirits to a state of extreme terror and self-pity. Out of their terror came the first gentile religions: unable to understand natural causes, men supposed that the gods were punishing them for a failure of worship. In due course these beliefs became the myths recorded by Hesiod, Homer and the ancient poets, which with the traditions of the eastern nations now offered the only access to the age of catastrophes.<sup>63</sup>

In developing this account of the beginnings of history Pagano frequently referred to his Neapolitan predecessor in the philosophy of history, Giambattista Vico. Homage to 'il nostro Vico' for his interpretation of ancient poetry and his theory of the cyclical *corso* of history was offset, however, by an insistence on their differences. Pagano emphasised that natural history and human history must be joined, not

<sup>62</sup>The comparison was drawn by an Italian reviewer of the first edition of the *Saggi politici*: see Franco Venturi, 'Scottish echoes in eighteenth-century Italy', in Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff (eds), *Wealth and Virtue. The shaping of political economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 361–2.

<sup>63</sup>Francesco Mario Pagano, *Saggi politici. De' principii, progressi e decadenza delle società*, Edizione seconda, corretta ed accresciuta, (1791–2), edited by Luigi Firpo and Laura Salvetti Firpo (Naples, 1993), Saggio 1, 'Del periodo di tutte l'umane cose e dell'analisi dello spirito umano qual fu dopo le fisiche catastrofi della Terra'.

separated; and he reversed Vico's dismissal of ancient eastern, and particularly Egyptian wisdom, asserting that this was indeed our oldest source of knowledge of the world.<sup>64</sup> The emphasis on the inter-relation of natural and human history was a feature of late Enlightenment thought generally, and reflected the impact of the works of Buffon and Boulanger. But the recreation of the earliest natural and human history on the basis of ancient Egyptian wisdom reflected something more: the strong interest in the hermetic tradition which several Neapolitans, Longano, Cirillo and Francescantonio Grimaldi, as well as Pagano, appear to have derived from Freemasonry. The inspiration has been suggestively discussed by Ferrone and Giarrizzo; but it was advertised by Pagano himself, in the remarkable encomium upon the society of the lodges which he included in the dedication to the first edition of the *Saggi*.<sup>65</sup>

Even when Pagano moves on to savage and barbarian societies, the originality of his treatment is striking. Where Ferguson emphasised the role of conflict in forming societies, Pagano focussed simply on physical force: of men over women, wives being taken by abduction and rape, and of men over men, the stronger taking the weaker as their 'clients'. The family remained the only unit in this state, justice being conducted by vendetta.<sup>66</sup> It was in barbarian societies that the first public assemblies occurred; but the heads of families had responded by coming together to form an 'aristocrazia feudale', keeping the plebs as their clients or vassals. Such had been the condition of Rome in the early republic, and again of Europe after the barbarian invasions. Only very gradually did such societies learn to regulate the vendetta with the duel, to respect property, and to engage in agriculture and trade.<sup>67</sup>

By contrast, polite and cultivated societies were distinguished by the rule of written law and moderate government. The equality of citizens before the laws secured 'civil liberty'; but since men were unequal in strength and skill, 'political liberty' for all was unattainable. Pagano

<sup>64</sup> Pagano, *Saggi politici*, 13: 'Introduzione', where Pagano described Vico as opening a new path in the study of the moral and political sciences, breaking free of the long Italian preoccupation with the 'morals of states'; also p. 50: Saggio 1, cap. i, where Vico is hailed as 'il primo a tentare ... tal nuovo e sconosciuto sentiero di ridurre a filosofia la storia', but where Pagano also makes it clear that human affairs are to be studied in conjunction with the phenomena of nature, and are subject to laws as constant as those governing nature; and pp. 64–70, 73: cap. viii–xi, for repeated criticism of Vico for his dismissal of the ancient wisdom of the Egyptians and Chaldeans. And pp. 117–18n, cap. xxx, on Vico's insight into mythology as the history of social progress.

<sup>65</sup> Francesco Mario Pagano, *De saggi politici. Volume I, Del civile corso delle Nazioni o sia de' principi, progressi, e decadenza delle società* (Naples, 1783), 'A coloro che legeranno', xix–xx. Ferrone, *I profeti dell'illuminismo*, chs. v–vi; Giarrizzo, *Massoneria e illuminismo*, 350–8.

<sup>66</sup> Pagano, *Saggi politici*, II, 'Del selvaggio stato degli uomini e dell'origine delle famiglie'.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, III, 'Dell'origine e stabilimento delle prime società'; IV, 'Del progresso delle barbare società. Del terzo ed ultimo loro periodo'.

expected rather that extremes of wealth would be mitigated by the emergence of a 'middle order', and he suggested that a division of powers could be maintained by a separate tribunal of independent magistrates. Such societies generally preferred commerce to war; and they honoured and educated women, recovering society's 'lost half'.<sup>68</sup> Their flaw was their vulnerability to corruption: luxury and a refined sensibility would encourage men to put their self-interest before that of the public, and eventually to surrender their liberty to despotism. Since men will not voluntarily return to a simpler state, the likeliest outcome of decline is conquest and a renewal of barbarism. Only if there were to be a fresh natural catastrophe would the cycle of human history begin all over again.<sup>69</sup>

Pagano had ended the first edition of the *Saggi* with two chapters in which he outlined the history of the kingdom of Naples in these terms, explaining its reduction to 'a feudal and dependent kingdom', but suggesting that the reforms begun by 'il gran Carlo' and continued by 'l'immortale Ferdinando', now offered a real prospect of restoring its ancient splendour.<sup>70</sup> Since the second edition dispensed with these chapters, it was suggested by Venturi that it be taken to mark the beginning of Pagano's disillusionment with the monarchy.<sup>71</sup> Less political in his judgements, Ferrone nevertheless believes that the *Saggi politici* reflect a deep disenchantment over the prospects of the kingdom.<sup>72</sup> But if we look at the Introduction which Pagano added to the second edition, a rather different interpretation of its significance is possible. Pagano used this introduction to outline the genesis of philosophical history – and to distinguish his version of it from the theories of his contemporaries. Among these were Rousseau, attacked by Pagano on several grounds, Ferguson, and the natural historians Buffon and Bailly.<sup>73</sup> The implication is that Pagano was now confident that his work belonged in a wider European setting, a confidence which would have been reinforced by its translation into French and (prospectively) German.<sup>74</sup> Such a contribution to the Enlightenment debate on the

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.*, v, 'Delle società colte e polite'.

<sup>69</sup> *ibid.*, vi, 'Della decadenza delle nazioni'.

<sup>70</sup> Pagano, *De saggi politici*, vol. II (1785), VII, chs viii 'Generale prospetto della storia del Regno', x [i.e. ix], 'Continuazione, e conclusione dell'opra'.

<sup>71</sup> Franco Venturi, *Illuministi Italiani V: riformatori napoletani* (Milan and Naples, 1962), 'Nota introduttiva' to the selection of Pagano's works, 823–5.

<sup>72</sup> Ferrone, *I profeti dell'illuminismo*, 298–300.

<sup>73</sup> Pagano, *Saggi politici*, 'Introduzione a' saggi politici', 9–44.

<sup>74</sup> A French translation of the first edition of the *Saggi politici* was begun by the Secretary to the French Legation in Naples, Aumary Duval, working under Pagano's eye; but it was still unfinished by 1799, when he gave it up. By contrast a German translation (likewise of the first edition) by Johann Gottfried Müller was published in 1796 in Leipzig, in two volumes, entitled *Versuche über den bürgerlichen Lauf der Nationen, oder über den Ursprung*,

progress and decline of societies in general had less need to display its specifically Neapolitan origins by praising the Bourbon kings and alluding to the lodges. By the beginning of the 1790s, therefore, Pagano's intellectual interests were taking him beyond his Neapolitan context, underlining the difference between the Enlightenment and the politics of reform within the monarchy. It would seem to be as mistaken to assume a necessary connection between them in the early 1790s as in the early 1750s.

If Enlightenment cannot simply be identified with reform, a direct connection between Enlightenment and revolution is even less likely. Nevertheless, adjustment to revolutionary circumstances was precisely what was required of Pagano and the surviving philosophers of his generation in the mid- and later 1790s. Although reform was still on the monarchy's agenda in the early 1790s, the execution of the French king and queen in 1793 provoked an abrupt reversal of the outlook in Naples: henceforth Maria Carolina and her husband would equate reform with revolution, and make it almost impossible to support one without engaging in the other. Pagano himself does not seem to have participated in the first Jacobin–masonic conspiracies in Naples in 1794; but he acted as counsel for the defence of those accused of doing so. Under suspicion, he was eventually denounced and imprisoned in 1796. Released in 1798, he went into exile in Rome, under its revolutionary republic. There he delivered and published a short address 'on the relation between agriculture, the arts and commerce' to the newly formed Society of that name, which provides some indication of the extent to which he was able to adapt his thinking to revolutionary circumstances.

The address was a rhetorical setpiece, in which a radicalisation of Pagano's language is clearly evident. He had no inhibitions about addressing the circumstances of a 'democratic' government, or in acknowledging that it required not only the 'formula' of democracy, but a 'revolutionising' of public spirit. But Pagano also continued to affirm that political change could not occur like a natural catastrophe, and that laws could never oblige men to return to an earlier state, any more than a butterfly could turn back into a caterpillar. He thus repudiated any recourse to an agrarian law as a solution to centuries of neglect of the land around Rome by great proprietors. Equally he rejected the view that democracy required the renunciation of commerce and the arts of luxury, because luxury was incompatible with

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*Fortgang und Verfall der bürgerlichen Gesellschaften*; the Prefaces were dated 1790 and 1791, but it does not seem to be known whether and when Pagano came to hear of the translation.



patriotism. Commerce, he pointed out, was essential for countries which were sterile, or which needed a navy to defend their liberty. There were reforms, however, which would not overturn property right or disable commerce. Such measures could include a prohibition on wills or testamentary devices which divided an inheritance unequally (which Pagano believed contrary to natural equity); the 'progressive' taxation of large holdings; the encouragement of emphyteusis leases (leases for a period of years); and a programme of practical education by Agricultural Societies. In other words, radical legislative measures were just and desirable, if they went with the grain of historical development and the operation of a commercial economy. The opportunity to curb excessive riches for the benefit of public utility should be taken; but an attempt simply to reverse the outcome of history would be both ineffective and ruinous.<sup>75</sup>

Within four months Pagano had returned to Naples to play a leading role in the newly declared Republic. Appointed to the Committee responsible for drafting legislation for the Provisional Government, he actively contributed to framing all its major reforming measures.<sup>76</sup> The abolition of primogeniture and entails, which Pagano had already supported in Rome, was only the first of these. He next took a leading part in discussions over the law to abolish feudal right: here he sought to avoid the total alienation of the nobility by offering them some economic incentive to participate in the subsequent improvement of agriculture. Equally significant was his contribution to the drafting of the republic's constitution; and when this was published, on 1 April 1799, it was with an accompanying address by Pagano explaining its principles.

The purpose of the address was to explain the respects in which the proposed constitution differed from that of the French republic.<sup>77</sup> The declaration of the rights of man, Pagano accepted, was the 'solid and immutable base' of a modern constitution. But it was a mistake of the original (French) declaration to represent equality as itself a 'right' of man; rather, all rights derived from the single right of men in nature

<sup>75</sup> Francesco Mario Pagano, *Sulla relazione dell'agricoltura, delle arti e del commercio*, delivered to the Società di agricoltura, arti e commercio in Rome on 20 September 1798, and published in Rome in that year, reprinted in Delio Cantimori and Renzo de Felice (eds), *Giacobini italiani*, vol. II, (Bari 1964), 365–76.

<sup>76</sup> Venturi, 'Nota introduttiva', *Illuministi Italiani V: Riformatori Napoletani*, 828–32; but the fullest account and assessment of Pagano's role during the republic is that by Melissa Calaresu, 'Political culture in late eighteenth-century Naples: the writings of Francesco Mario Pagano' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1994), ch. 7: 'Towards Revolution?: the late Neapolitan Enlightenment and the Parthenopean Republic of 1799'.

<sup>77</sup> Francesco Mario Pagano, address accompanying the *Progetto di costituzione della Repubblica Napolitana presentato al Governo Provvisorio dal Comitato di Legislazione*, reprinted by Venturi, *Illuministi Italiani V: Riformatori Napoletani*, 908–19.

to self-preservation and improvement.<sup>78</sup> From this came the right to liberty of thought, as well as the rights to property and to resistance in the face of despotism. In clarifying this last, political, right, however, Pagano sounded a note of caution: it was impossible to be precise about the identity of the ‘people’ who were to exercise it, since the people should not be understood to include either the ignorant and degraded plebs, or the ‘gangrenous’ aristocracy. The implications of this caution became evident when Pagano explained specific provisions of the new constitution. Instead of an assembly to propose legislation, this was entrusted to a restricted senate, charged with ensuring that the laws were properly framed. A college of censors, composed of men of wisdom who were more than fifty years old, was added in order to take responsibility for public education, moral as well as intellectual, and thus for preserving the republic from corruption. Finally, and directly in line with a suggestion in the *Saggi politici*, there was to be a tribunal of ephors (whose minimum age would be 45), with the responsibility of ensuring a balance between the legislative and executive powers, and hence of preventing the republic from becoming despotic.<sup>79</sup>

Pagano’s writings of 1798–9 are too few and too brief to be the basis of definitive general conclusions about the relation between Enlightenment and revolution in the Neapolitan case. Nevertheless, some points seem clear. Pagano evidently had few inhibitions about active participation in the very public forum of a revolutionary republic. Faithful to the radical intuitions of his friend Filangieri, Pagano lived the Enlightenment commitment to public discussion as the means to form opinion and influence legislation. His masonic allegiance proved to be no bar to such public, political sociability – though equally it does not seem to have led him to involvement in the conspiracies of 1794, perhaps the closest documentable connection between the lodges and revolutionary activity.

Nevertheless, Pagano also remained true to Filangieri’s conviction that it was for philosophers to direct public opinion: the provisions for a legislative senate, a college of censors and a tribunal of ephors were open expressions of his belief that the wise and experienced should exercise moral and political leadership over the people. Pagano may have had the example of the new American constitution in mind; but the proposals also suggest his general unease with the implications of democracy.<sup>80</sup> Even if he almost certainly experienced the events of the

<sup>78</sup> Pagano had mentioned the existence of this original right in the ‘Introduzione’ to the second edition of the *Saggi politici* (p. 17), but had not then presented it as the source of ‘the rights of man’.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Pagano, *Saggi politici*, Saggio v, ch xxii, pp. 356–7.

<sup>80</sup> On the character of Pagano’s republicanism: Anthony Pagden, ‘Francesco Mario Pagano’s “Republic of Virtue”: Naples 1799’, in Biancamaria Fontana (ed), *The invention*

mid-1790s as a sharp break in his life, cutting him off from the world he had known hitherto, and demanding that he make radical intellectual and political adjustments,<sup>81</sup> he was still attached to his Enlightenment past. As far as possible he sought to remain consistent to the principles of his earlier work, and to his conception of the philosopher's role in the public sphere; and he did not hide his disagreements with the younger Jacobins over their indiscriminate hostility to luxury and radical conception of democracy. Pagano was clearly aware that some distance separated his thinking from that of the new generation of revolutionaries.

At a deeper intellectual level, the distance was perhaps even greater. Pagano was an exceptionally compelling exponent of the late eighteenth-century sense of the potential of natural catastrophes to plunge society back to its primitive beginnings; but he did not believe that human will and law could achieve anything so radical. Change in human society was a slower, longer-term, process: while reform was possible, revolution, in the sense of the abrupt transformation of the social order, was not. Even if Pagano acted in 1799 as if he was convinced that the replacement of the monarchy by a republic represented an excellent opportunity for reform, the pace of events was too fast for the fulfillment of his hopes. It was not simply that the Neapolitan republic was so short-lived; but the working out of social change required, on Pagano's own historical philosophy, a time-scale far longer than that needed to enact measures of legislation.

In this respect, I suggest, Pagano's part in the events of 1799 makes a point for the Neapolitan Enlightenment as a whole. The outcome of the Enlightenment in Naples should not be identified simply with the defeat of the revolution of 1799. If the Enlightenment of Genovesi, of Filangieri and of Pagano is to be judged, it should be in the longer perspective advocated by its own historical and social philosophy. As it happened, Cuoco's fear that as a result of the failings of the republic of 1799 an opportunity had been lost for the foreseeable future was not borne out: 1799 was not the end of all reform. The advent of direct French rule in 1806, lasting until 1815, allowed many of the measures proposed by the republic to be carried through, and what was achieved was not afterwards reversed by the restored Bourbons. Most crucially, feudal rights and common lands were privatised, permitting the development of individual landownership. Whether the economic and social consequences of this long-sought change, in the form of a new regime

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*of the modern republic* (Cambridge, 1994), 139–53. But the evidence that his was a 'modern republicanism' seems to me to be exiguous.

<sup>81</sup>A point convincingly emphasised by Galasso, 'I giacobini meridionali', *La filosofia in soccorso de' governi*, 513–15.

of latifundist landownership, answered the expectations of the reformers is open to question.<sup>82</sup> But the eventual occurrence of the change tends to confirm that the success or failure of the Enlightenment is not to be assessed exclusively in relation to the revolution of 1799; the true test of the Enlightenment in Naples lies in the longer term, in the actual progress of the society of the Italian south over the next half century and beyond.

<sup>82</sup>On latifundism in the Italian south in the nineteenth century: Marta Petrusiewicz, *Latifundium. Moral economy and material life in a European periphery* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1996).