

<https://helda.helsinki.fi>

Providence and Uses of Grotian Strategies in Neapolitan
pö Political Thought, 1650 1750

Luna-Fabritius, Adriana

Brill

2022-01

Luna-Fabritius , A 2022 , Providence and Uses of Grotian Strategies in Neapolitan Political
pö Thought, 1650 1750 . in H W Blom (ed.) , Sacred Polities, Natural Law
Nations in the 16th-17th Centuries . vol. 7 , History of European Political and Constitutional
pö Thought, vol. 7 , Brill , Leiden , pp. 314 342 . <https://doi.org/10.1163/>

<http://hdl.handle.net/10138/344707>

https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004501782_015

acceptedVersion

Downloaded from Helda, University of Helsinki institutional repository.

This is an electronic reprint of the original article.

This reprint may differ from the original in pagination and typographic detail.

Please cite the original version.

Chapter 13

Providence and Uses of Grotian Strategies in Neapolitan Political Thought, 1650-1750

Adriana Luna-Fabritius

Abstract:

Natural law and the law of nations are prominently present in early-modern Neapolitan thought. For Giovan Battista Vico (1668-1744) in particular, natural law is importantly connected to the history of civilization and to his account of providence. Vico scholars have considered in this way God's providence played an important role in natural law, reflecting the fundamental religiosity of Neapolitan political thought in the early modern era.¹ This study, however, argues that the providence discussions were one of the key elements to accomplish the secularisation of Neapolitan political thought. Rather than concentrating exclusively on Vico, the contributions of particularly Giuseppe Valletta (1636-1714) and Gregorio Caloprese (1654-1715) are also reviewed in an attempt at a *longue durée* approach to Neapolitan political philosophy. In the context of the defence of their ancient privileges and local liberties against the establishment of the Roman Inquisition, late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century Neapolitan thinkers associated with the *giurisdizionalisti* (jurisdictional lawyers) in the *Accademia degli Investiganti* (1650-1680) adopted strategies developed by Grotius in a similar context.² The devaluation of the coin in 1675 and, a decade later, the defence of the members of the *Accademia degli Investiganti* who were put on trial by the Roman Inquisition between 1688 and 1697, triggered this particular use of natural law arguments and promoted an enduring

¹ G. B. Vico, *New Science*, tr. and ed. by Th. G. Bergin and M. H. Fisch (Ithaca-NY: Cornell University Press, 1948), par. 629: 'Providence therefore, ... led them to unite ..., and thus, beyond any design of theirs, they were brought together in a universal civil good called commonwealth'; *Ibid*, par. 631: 'providence had at the same time brought into being the natural law of the gentes maiores'

² H. Blom, 'The Great Privilege (1477) as 'Code of Dutch Freedom': the Political Role of Privileges in the Dutch Revolt and after', in *Das Privileg im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. B. Dölemeyer and H. Mohnhaupt (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1997), pp. 233-247

interest in the foundations of law in and between Christian polities that tried to balance historical and foundational perspectives on legal order.

Keywords: Providence; Christian polities; natural law; secularisation of Neapolitan political thought; defence of ancient privileges and local liberties

Neapolitan thinkers defended what they saw as their local liberties, privileges, property and honour by recourse to natural law. In arguing for the superiority of natural law over the laws propounded by the Pope on the one hand and by the Spanish monarch on the other, Neapolitans found in Grotius a source of reference. This chapter distinguishes two phases in the appropriation of Grotius's theoretical and argumentative strategies in late-seventeenth century in Naples. The first phase begins in the time of the Revolt of Masaniello, which led to the proclamation of the Republic in 1647 and ends with the devaluation of the coin in 1675. The second phase starts with the just mentioned trial of the *Investiganti* by the Roman Inquisition. The first phase is marked by the reading (in the original language) of Grotius's texts and is governed by the shared knowledge of juridical practices and strategies developed in the different kingdoms of the Spanish monarchy to deal with their monarch. The second phase expands on Grotius's ideas through classic and scientific texts, also propelled by the reading of Samuel Pufendorf's discussion of *appetitus societatis*.³

Neapolitan *giurisdizionalisti*, in dialogue with Grotius in his *Apologia* (1619) and *De imperio circa sacra* (1647), started a transformation of the language of privileges into the language of natural rights between 1650 and 1750. They did so through three distinct moves. Firstly, by arguing that *privileges are claim rights* towards their Spanish sovereign, for instance the privilege to be judged in one's own episcopal trials with ordinary procedures and local judges in cases concerning matters of faith. Secondly, by arguing that those *privileges turn into claim per se rights when defended by force*, as in the revolt of Masaniello,⁴ in the threats of tumults

³ Fiammetta Palladini, *Discussioni seicentesche su Samuel Pufendorf: scritti latini, 1663-1700* (s.l., 1978).

⁴ Although the historiography has not considered this event as a reaction to the increase in taxes and prices during in 1647, in the 1690s Neapolitan authors began to include them in their accounts to enhance their claims and threats of revolt. Cf. S. Mastellone, *Pensiero politico e vita culturale a Napoli nella seconda metà del Seicento* (Messina-Florence: D'Anna, 1965); Id., *Il pensiero politico-giuridico di Francesco D'Andrea e l'ascesa del ceto civile* (Florence: Olschki, 1968); G. Galasso, *Napoli spagnola dopo Masaniello. Politica, cultura, società* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1972); V. I. Comparato, 'La Repubblica Napoletana del 1647-48: Partiti, idee, modelli politici', *Il Pensiero Politico* 31/2 (1998), pp. 205-238; Id., 'From the Crisis of Civil Culture to the Neapolitan Republic of 1647: Republicanism in Italy between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Republicanism. A Shared European Heritage*, ed. by M. van Gelderen and Q. Skinner, 2 vols (Cambridge:

that took place on the squares of Naples in 1675 against the devaluation of the coin,⁵ and in the pamphlets that circulated during the trials of the atomists-atheists in the period 1688-1697. And thirdly, by acknowledging the fact that if ancient privileges and local liberties can be defended by force, they can be turned into *subjective rights*.⁶

We will see how a new account of providence was deeply informed by the developments and discussions of the scientific revolution, which had a significant impact around 1650 to 1680 in Naples, and which Vico concluded in the different versions of his *Scienza Nuova* from 1725 to 1744. The publication of the last works of Vico's generation around 1750 marks the chronological end of this study.

If during the monetary crisis of 1675 the *giurisdizionalisti* and members of the social group in the process of rapid transformation, the *ceto civile*, made use of known and shared practices within the Spanish monarchy to defend the privileges and local liberties,⁷ by the end of the century these Neapolitan thinkers improved those practices by assimilating new ones. For instance, there were innovations in the practices used in the negotiation of the devaluation of the coin in the kingdom of Naples (1675),⁸ and in the trial of the atomists-atheists (1688-1697). In the latter, besides the jurisdictional practices regarding the competence and authority of those who were to decide on matters of money or faith, Neapolitan jurists included discussions on the legitimacy of procedures in the administration of justice. In this particular case, they criticised the introduction of extraordinary trials and the procedures of the Roman Inquisition during the trial of the atomists-atheists. They critiqued the validity of anonymous witnesses and their

Cambridge University Press, 2002), I, pp. 169-194 and S. D'Alessio, *La rivolta Napoletana del 1647-48. Linguaggio politico* (Florence: Centro Editoriale Toscano, 2003).

⁵ V. I. Comparato, *Giuseppe Valletta. Un intellettuale europeo della fine del Seicento* (Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici 1970), pp. 44-46.

⁶ For an account of subjective right in the period 1650-1750 see A. Luna-Fabritius, 'The Secularization of Happiness in Early-Eighteenth Century Italian Political Thought: Revisiting the Foundations of Civil Society', in *Trust and Happiness in the History of European Political Thought*, ed. by L. Kontler and M. Somos (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 169-195.

⁷ On shared juridical practices in the Spanish monarchy cf., B. Clavero, 'Anatomía de España. Derechos hispanos y derecho español entre fueros y códigos', in *Hispania entre derechos propios y derechos nacionales*, 2 vols, ed. by B. Clavero, P. Grossi and F. Tomás y Valiente (Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 1990), I: pp. 47-86; J. H. Elliott, 'A Europe of composite monarchies', *Past and Present* 137 (1992), pp. 48-71; ed., *Monarquía, imperio y pueblos de la España Moderna*, ed. by P. Fernández Albaladejo (Alicante, 1997) and J. Arrieta Alberdi, 'Las formas de vinculación a la Monarquía y de relación entre sus reinos y coronas en la España de los Austrias. Perspectivas y análisis', in *La Monarquía de las naciones. Patria, nación y naturaleza en la Monarquía de España*, ed. by S. L. Villaverde (Madrid: Fundación Amberes, 2004), pp. 303-326,

⁸ R. Villari, *La rivolta antispagnola a Napoli. Le origini 1585-1647* (Roma-Bari, 1987), pp. 274-276.

testimonies, and the legitimacy of declarations under torture, among other things. Moreover, Neapolitan thinkers introduced historical accounts of the concession of their privileges and liberties, setting the date of the concession at the very moment of the union of Naples with the Crown of Aragon in the thirteenth century, stressing the nature of their association with the Spanish monarchy.⁹ In this manner, this historical account was transformed into a contractual theory. A pact of association with conditions that had to be fulfilled by both parties. But their arguments had other implications, grounded on jurisdictional and historical analyses, Neapolitan thinkers concluded that the Pope's law as well as the Vatican's extraordinary tribunals had no jurisdiction in the Neapolitan kingdom (*Nullum ius Romani Pontificis maximi in Regno Neapolitano*).¹⁰

The central claim of this study is that by threatening to end the peace within the Neapolitan kingdom, Neapolitans changed the language of privileges into rights. They did not so much cede their privileges but formed a historical argument where something resembling a pact with the Spanish monarch emerged and was renewed over time. Neapolitan authors steered these jurisdictional conclusions to a new theoretical level in order to demarcate matters of politics from matters of faith in their political philosophies, but also in everyday legal and political practices.

As a backdrop to this complex process there is also a process of secularisation of politics that underpinned by the jurisdictional distinction between matters of faith and politics and the idea of the *utility of religion* and providence; that is, religion should be maintained because it guarantees the peace in the kingdom as it would avoid questioning the bond to the laws. This conviction was added to the commonplace, which was beginning to gain wide currency, that natural law was an element of primitive societies, and that therefore needed to be replaced by an alternative new science on which the foundations of civil society could be built.¹¹ The latter argument was the main motivation in the search of a new historical understanding of the uses of laws. These Neapolitan thinkers were convinced that by looking at the uses of the laws in

⁹ For other kingdoms of the Spanish monarchy see Clavero, 'Anatomía'; Elliott, 'A Europe of composite monarchies'; Fernández Albaladejo *Monarquía, imperio*; Arrieta 'Las formas de vinculación' and Luna-Fabritius, 'The Secularisation of Happiness'.

¹⁰ N. Caravita, Ragioni a pro' della fedelissima città di Napoli contr'al procedimento straordinario nelle cause del Sant'Officio,... (Napoli, 1707 [1696]).

¹¹ Cf. H. Grotius, *De iure belli ac pacis*, 1625 II.2-6, added to the *Index* in 1627. We used this edition as it has been indicated by P. Delpiano as the first edition that circulated in Italy; B. De Giovanni, 'Cultura e vita civile in Giuseppe Valletta', in *Saggi e ricerche sul Settecento* (Naples, Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, 1968), pp. 1-47, at p. 16 and V. I. Comparato, *Giuseppe Valletta*, p. 70.

the past they would be able to grasp the laws' meaning and use them in the present to develop their new science. For Giuseppe Valletta, the historical understanding of the uses of the laws in the past and their application in the present would allow him and his intellectual colleagues to argue for the universal character of civil laws.¹²

This transformation of the language of privileges into the language of rights between 1650-1750 was, this study argues, similar to the one accomplished by Grotius in the Netherlands in an analogous context, namely the negotiations between political and juridical actors within the Spanish monarchy. The Grotian moment in Naples thus occurred in the context of the defence of the ancient privileges and local liberties of the Kingdom of Naples in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Locating the significance of providence in early-modern Neapolitan political thought

The increasing scholarly focus on Neapolitan political thought as well as on Vico's political philosophy has failed to encompass the Neapolitan intellectual context in its complexity. Vico's contemporaries, such as Paolo Mattia Doria, Celestino Galiani and Pietro Giannone have not been studied as part of the group they formed in the last decades of the seventeenth century, and the same applies to the preceding generation.

Ever since Jules Michelet discovered Vico's *Scienza Nuova* in the first decades of the nineteenth century the scholarship has mostly concentrated on it as the key text of Neapolitan thought. However, this situation has changed recently and Vico's earlier texts have acquired more significance, as complementary to Vico's masterpiece for the development of the rhetorical and linguistic foundations of his political philosophy.

In re-evaluating his early works, *Diritto Universale* was the last to come under scrutiny by the academic community. Published between 1712 and 1713, this text presents Vico's understanding of Roman Law as the union of rhetoric and jurisprudence. The originality of Vico's piece has been settled on his understanding of Roman law as a complex linguistic history.¹³ And yet, it has not been studied as the paramount cultivation of philology, history and

¹² G. Valletta, 'Difesa per Santolo Spina accusato di furto di carlini novantacinque nella Regia Zecca', in *Disceptationes forenses*, (Naples: 1677), p. 76 and *Risposta ad amico, sopra le ragioni della città di Napoli per l'assistenze domandate alla fabrica della nuova moneta* (Naples: 1675) in Comparato's analysis, *Giuseppe Valletta*, p. 70.

¹³ D. Marshall, 'The Current State of Vico Scholarship', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 72/1 (2011), pp. 141-160.

rhetoric, which was started by the previous generation of Neapolitan jurists. Vico owed a great deal to Valletta's generation, which political and legal thought he continued.¹⁴

There is in the scholarship no mention of the intellectual background of *Diritto Universale*. It has not been considered that Vico accepted Valletta's invitation to study the spirit of the laws over time, through which he minted his idea of the caducity of the laws. Nor that in dialogue with Valletta, Vico stated that the laws should be understood according to the circumstances in which they emerged. Hence, their accounts of the laws shared an understanding of laws as cultural products that can be constant and create communities of meaning in a certain time and space. But more importantly, Vico's later account of laws as sites where human needs and interests are expressed was most probably a further elaboration of a shared set of ideas widely discussed among these Neapolitan thinkers.

According to Vico, some Neapolitan jurists had achieved the synthesis of private human interests in legal practice, especially Francesco Ventura to whom the *Diritto* was dedicated, but also Gaetano Argento and the great Domenico Caravita, who had shown their skills in crucial European and local legal cases.¹⁵ In Vico's opinion, these outstanding Neapolitan jurists had found a way to reconcile private interests in their legal practice. Furthermore, they had succeeded in reconciling competing interests and statecraft.¹⁶ Vico considered Giuseppe Valletta his most important predecessor. The reason was twofold: because Valletta created and shared the best library of the kingdom where they formed their minds, and because of his writings on Neapolitan and European developments on jurisprudence over the last decades of the seventeenth century. At a crucial moment for the kingdom in the aftermath of the Revolt of Masaniello, Valletta gained rapidly a prominent place in the city in the 1670s until he became a representative of the people.¹⁷ This position allowed him to have a privileged understanding

¹⁴ Cf. I. Berlin, 'The philosophical ideas of Giambattista Vico', in *Art and Ideas in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1960); Id., *Vico and Herder. Two Studies in the History of Ideas* (New York: Viking, 1976) and Id., *Three Critics of the Enlightenment: Vico, Hamann and Herder*, ed. by H. Hardy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013); F. Venturi, *Settecento Riformatori. I. Da Muratori a Beccaria* (Turin: Einaudi, 1969); D. Carpaneto and G. Ricuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason 1685-1789* (London: Longman, 1987); J. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 664-670; E. Nuzzo, 'Between Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Italian Culture in the Early 1700s: Giambattista Vico and Paolo Mattia Doria', in *The Intellectual Consequences of Religious Heterodoxy: 1600-1750*, ed. by S. Mortimer and J. Robertson (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 206-234; and J. Robertson, 'Sacred History and Political Thought: Neapolitan Responses to the Problem of Sociability After Hobbes', *The Historical Journal* 56 (2013), pp. 1-29.

¹⁵ F. D'Andrea, Risposta al trattato delle ragioni della Regina Christianissima sopra il Ducato del Brabante (Naples, 1667).

¹⁶ G. B. Vico, 'Universal of Universal Law', tr. by D. P. Verene, *New Vico Studies* 21 (2003), pp. 1-22.

¹⁷ Comparato, *Giuseppe Valletta*, pp. 23-24.

of the developments of the government that he shared with Gregorio Caloprese and the members of different Neapolitan academies, especially the *Accademia Palatina* of the duke of Medinacoeli (1698-1701).¹⁸

Regarding the place of Grotius in that Neapolitan context, scholarship has concentrated on Vico's intellectual background. It has been pointed out that Vico read Grotius together with Herbert of Cherbury. Following Grotius's advice Vico read Herbert's *De veritate* published in Paris in 1624, and *De religione gentilium*, published posthumously. Vico read the first book in the French translation of Mersenne, and more specifically through a commentary on *De veritate* by Pierre Gassendi. The translation of *De veritate* was prohibited by the Roman Inquisition in 1635, as was *De religione* in 1707. Regarding Vico's theory of knowledge, better known as his *verum-factum* principle, Badaloni established that Vico used Herbert to reshape his former definition of *verum-factum*,¹⁹ which held that knowledge of nature was beyond human power, into the idea that humans have the capacity to understand natural phenomena.²⁰ More importantly, the fact that the appropriation of Grotius's theories was mediated by their earlier circulation, by the likes of Francesco D'Andrea and Giuseppe Valletta, Nicolò Caravita and Gregorio Caloprese has been overlooked.²¹

¹⁸ On the importance of Valletta's library for Neapolitan juridical culture see Comparato, *Giuseppe Valletta*; J. Robertson, *The Case for the Enlightenment. Scotland and Naples 1680-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); A. Luna González, *From Self-Preservation to Self-Liking in Paolo Mattia Doria: Civil Philosophy and Natural Jurisprudence in the Early Italian Enlightenment* (Florence: European University Institute, 2009).

¹⁹ N. Badaloni, *Introduzione a Giambattista Vico* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1961); Id., *Laici credenti all'Alba del Moderno: La Linea Herbert-Vico* (Florence: Le Monnier Università, 2005).

²⁰ This interpretation applies to Vico and Paolo Mattia Doria. The *verum-factum* principle was widely discussed in the Naples of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. The possibility of this privileged knowledge was an important matter also in Pufendorf's natural law theory. Cf., *Two Elements of Law* and the 'Introduction' to *De iure naturae et gentium*.

²¹ S. Mastellone, 'Note sulla cultura napoletana al tempo di Francesco D'Andrea e Giuseppe Valletta', *Critica Storica* 2 (1962), pp. 369-398; Id., 'Osservazioni sulle origini Seicentesche dell'anticurialismo meridionale', *Critica Storica* 4 (1965), pp. 1-13; Id., *Grozio ed il pensiero giuridico-politico a Napoli nella seconda metà del seicento* (Florence: Olschki, 1965) and Id., *Francesco D'Andrea politico e giurista (1648-1698). L'ascesa del ceto civile* (Florence: Olschki, 1969); V. I. Comparato, 'Fede e ragione nelle Discussioni storiche, teologiche e filosofiche di Costantino Grimaldi', in *Saggi e ricerche sul Settecento* (Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, 1968), pp. 48-93; R. Ajello, *Arcana Juris. Diritto e politica nel Settecento italiano* (Naples: Jovene, 1976), pp. 169-172, and E. Zucchi, 'Tirannide e stato di natura. Sul rifiuto dell'assolutismo giusnaturalista nelle Tragedie Cinque di Gian Vincenzo Gravina', in *Prima e dopo il Leviatano*, ed. by M. Scattola and P. Cotton (Padova: Università di Padova, 2014), pp. 193-226.

D'Andrea referred to Grotius in his *Risposta al trattato delle regioni della Regina Cristianissima sopra il Ducato del Brabante* (1667), where he wrote on the conflict between France and Spain.²² He turned to Grotius on matters of international law. In this work Grotius's name appeared next to those of Vitoria, Molina, Mariana, Suárez and Vázquez de Menchaca.²³

The case of Valletta is the best documented. Ivo Comparato provided the evidence and gave exhaustive analyses of Valletta's uses of Grotius's texts in Valletta's *Risposta ad amico, sopra le ragioni della città di Napoli per l'assistenze domandate alla fabrica della nuova moneta* (1675),²⁴ *Disceptationes forenses* (1677),²⁵ *Intorno al procedimento ordinario e canonico nelle cause che si trattano nel Tribunale del S. Officio nella Città di Napoli* (1691-94)²⁶ and *Discorso filosofico in materia l'Inquisizione, et intorno al correggimento della Filosofia di Aristotele* (ca.1696).²⁷

In the first text, *Risposta ad amico*, Valletta referred to Grotius to argue that the monarch should guarantee that the exterior value of the coin coincides with the internal one, for matters regarding the coin belong to the field of natural law and the Prince had no discretionary right over natural law.²⁸ Like Grotius, Valletta argued that in the exchange of goods and commerce the coin maintains the stable value formerly contracted by the monarch and the people. He recognised that despite the monarch's regalia to survey its production, the value had to be as agreed by the different parties. Along the lines of the Huguenot Charles Du Moulin, Valletta argued that the coin was regulated by a natural and primordial law articulated by the people that invented the coin, and from this foundational act derived the contracts, commerce and indeed all human society.²⁹ In *Risposta ad amico* Valletta was not only interested in and referring to

²² D'Andrea, *Risposta*.

²³ Mastellone, *Grozio ed il pensiero giuridico-politico*, and B. De Giovanni, *Filosofia e diritto in Francesco d'Andrea* (Milan: 1958), p. 136, and Id., 'Cultura e vita civile', p. 4.

²⁴ Valletta, *Risposta ad amico*, pp. 287-341.

²⁵ G. Valletta, *Disceptationes forenses* (s.l.: J. Parisi: 1683). This work from 1678-1680 consists of six pieces on different legal cases and dates.

²⁶ G. Valletta, *Al Nostro SS.Mo Padre Innocenzo XII intorno al procedimento ordinario e canonico nelle cause che si trattano nel Tribunale del S. Officio nella Città di Napoli* (1691-94) published as *Lettera del Signor Giuseppe Valletta in Difesa della moderna filosofia,...* (Rovereto: P. Berno Libr, 1732) from now on referred as *Discorso*.

²⁷ Valletta, *Discorso*

²⁸ Grotius's *De iure belli ac pacis*, lib 3, cap.2, pars 7 cited by Valletta, *Risposta ad amico*, ff. 239r, 239v., p. 305.

²⁹ 'perché le genti l'inventarono, e da ese nacquero li contratti, et i commercii alla società humana', C. Du Molinaeus, 'Tractatus contractuum et usurarum, redituumque pecunia constitutorum', in *Omnia quae extant opera*, (Parisiis: 1681), II, quaestio 100, pp. 306–330 in Valletta, *Risposta*, f. 230r p. 293.

Grotius, he was also interested in German jurisprudence, as it allowed him to compare similar economic and political situations with the Kingdom of Naples.³⁰

A few years later, Valletta published in the *Disceptationes* a compilation of his best juridical works. Written one decade after the *Risposta* of his 'praeceptor meus', D'Andrea, Valletta's *Disceptationes* was an attempt to continue the renewal of the Neapolitan legal practice that Vico would celebrate two decades later in his *Diritto Universale*. The *Disceptationes* included different legal cases that Valletta wanted to share with his Neapolitan colleagues to expand their knowledge of the intellectual sources and commentators of Roman Law.³¹ Valletta was convinced that samples of real cases deeply embedded in erudition could thrust further the developments of legal practice and juridical science. Regarding these legal cases, in private correspondence with Antonio Magliabechi in the 1670s, Valletta expressed his intention to publish his *Disceptationes* to make available the new elements of European political and juridical culture.³² According to Valletta and D'Andrea, their renewal included the diffusion and application of new models offered by European jurisprudence and the history to the southern kingdom. In Comparato's analysis, the accomplishments of their innovations in legal practice were primarily methodological and consisted of the application of new conceptual instruments.³³ However, even if they initially declared their intention to avoid the discussion of the principle of authority their approach led inevitably to its deconstruction.

For Comparato, there is enough evidence to establish the continuity between D'Andrea's *Risposta* and Valletta's *Disceptationes*. While the first piece, in 1667, showed already D'Andrea's mastery of European juridical literature, natural law and international law,³⁴ Valletta's work confirmed the selection and showed the interaction of European and Neapolitan counterparts thereof.³⁵

³⁰ P. Schiera, *Il cameralismo e l'assolutismo tedesco* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1968).

³¹ Valletta, as Leibniz in his time, wanted to improve Roman Law by finding a 'ratio' able to form a universal reason. Cf. R. Orestano, *Introduzione allo studio storico del diritto romano* (Turin: Giappichelli, 1963), p. 50, 88, 138; R. Ajello, *Preilluminismo giuridico e tentativi di codificazione nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples: Jovene, 1965), pp. 2, 125 and Comparato *Giuseppe Valletta*, p. 74.

³² From Valletta to A. Magliabechi, Naples November 1681 and 12 May 1682, B.N.F. in Comparato, *Giuseppe Valletta*, p. 58.

³³ Comparato, *Giuseppe Valletta*, p. 52

³⁴ Mastellone, *Francesco D'Andrea*, p. 37-50.

³⁵ Comparato, *Giuseppe Valletta*, pp. 52-53

The display of mastery of European sources in Valletta's legal practice was also a way to show his superiority as an interpreter and executioner of the law in Neapolitan law courts. For instance, in a legal case on the succession right in Naples, Valletta found the opportunity to refer to Alciato, Cujas, Bodin, Godefoy and Grotius.³⁶ Likewise, in other cases, Valletta referred to Grotius's erudition on Latin texts and his elegant and cultured jurisprudence.³⁷

Ultimately, the institution of his erudition in the *Disceptationes* established his authority as a legal commentator of his time, a time that he considered as primitive and dominated by natural law, which was still a valid reference in legal practice. Valletta quoted almost literally a passage from *De iure belli*.³⁸ In this excerpt, Valletta argued for the need of defeating the primitive elements of society: early forms of property (that according to Cicero were not natural but occupational), primitive laws and forms of commerce.³⁹

After redefining legal practice, a more significant challenge came in 1688 when the Roman Inquisition opened a case against the former members of the already closed *Accademia degli Investiganti*, known as the trial of the atomists-atheists (1688-1697). In those years Valletta and Serafino Biscardi, the later fiscal to the Royal Court of Auditors, pronounced against the procedures of the Roman Inquisition, in particular torture. There was an antecedent piece on this topic: in 1668 Domenico De Rubeis, who happened to be another reader of Grotius and had written against torture in his *Forensium certaminum specimen*.⁴⁰ In this manner, a certain idea of the caducity of primitive laws, and principally of torture as primitive element of legal practice, went *in crescendo* until the end of the century. These authors constituted a fresh wind that brought to Naples new historical and learned citations to renew an 'exquisitely local atmosphere'.⁴¹

By around 1696 Valletta wrote the manuscript 'Al Nostro SS.Mo Padre Innocenzo XII intorno al procedimento ordinario e canonico nelle cause che si trattano nel Tribunale del S. Officio

³⁶ Valletta, *Disceptationes*, pars II, pp. 111-128 in Comparato, *Giuseppe Valletta*, p. 59

³⁷ Idem.

³⁸ Grotius *De iure belli*, II.2.2; II.2.6 and *Disceptationes*, pars II, p. 77 rehearsed the seats-in-the-theatre simile that occurs in IBP II.2.2.1; Comparato, *Giuseppe Valletta* 70 and De Giovanni, *Cultura e vita civile*, p. 16.

³⁹ Valletta, *Disceptationes*, pp. 76 (on family, from *Florum sparsio*) ; pars II, p. 59 (punishment according to desert, from IBP II.20); pars II, pp. 77-8. Valletta quotes from Velthem's comments on IBP. (pars II, p. 80)

⁴⁰ D. De Rubeis, *Forensium certaminum specimen. Accesserunt in prima quatuor certamina paraphrases hexametris illigatae* (Naples, Bonis, 1668), i.a. Certamen VIII (p. 261), note 64, and (p.267) note 95, the latter quoting *De iure belli*, III.19 on fides; Certamen XII (p.357) note 11 , quoting Graevius.

⁴¹ Comparato, *Giuseppe Valletta*, p. 78.

nella Città di Napoli'.⁴² This manuscript became immediately well-known as a defence of the *libertas philosophandi* of the members of the *Accademia degli Investiganti*, still under process by the Roman Inquisition.

The *Discorso*, as this text was known, was an extremely sophisticated piece that aimed at settling the achievements of the *Investiganti* in the history of Western philosophy. It circulated in several versions before its publication in 1732. Curiously enough, the authors discussed therein are not introduced, giving the impression that it was written for an audience fully emerged in the contexts of the discussions of the *Investiganti*. However, the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* had forbidden most of them, and this made it a key piece for the intellectual history of the circulation of forbidden texts in Naples.

The *Discorso* included a history of ancient and contemporary commentaries on the Bible and the Church Fathers published all around Europe. Two of the most complicated matters of this account were the theological matters on the immortality of the soul and God's providence. For instance, for Valletta Democritus was a crucial source for the history of the notion of providence. He presented Democritus's idea of providence as an imaginary force of nature formed by human's needs that gradually discloses to the human mind over time. At the core of this account emerged an argument on the utility of maintaining providence and the Catholic Church as the foundations of politics to overcome and set aside the problem of scepticism. This concern is already present in Valletta's *Risposta ad amico* where he expressed his intention to reformulate the political foundations of the State and the civil laws, put at stake by what he called the inflation of opinions that circulated in his time. Valletta aimed to establish a universal principle to tackle scepticism and the multiplicity of the bilateral relations mediated exclusively by the sovereign – as was the common practice in the Spanish monarchy.⁴³ For Comparato, scepticism was another reason to look at Grotius's theory, for it allowed Valletta to start the reconstruction of the foundations of his theory of the State without making crucial decisions on topics related to confessional matters at the beginning of his enterprise.⁴⁴

Central in the *Discorso* and derived from the problem of scepticism was Valletta's discussion of *appetitus societatis*. The multiplication of opinions regarding human nature that resulted in man's unsociability was Valletta's main concern. He conceived humans as unsocial beings. In

⁴² The copy found in Croce's library is dated 1696 and the one in the National Library of Naples 1697.

⁴³ *Idem*.

⁴⁴ Valletta, *Risposta ad amico*, f. 244v and Comparato, *Giuseppe Valletta*, pp. 47-50.

his discussion of their moral capacity, humans in the state of nature had no capacity to sign a contract or to establish a civil state, nor to maintain their bonds to natural laws. They lacked the rationality needed to understand natural laws and the distinction between natural law and *ius civile*. Essentially, in the beginning of time, for Valletta, human beings had no moral faculties for individual freedom.⁴⁵ Thus despite the choice of Grotius's theory, Valletta did not share his account of sociability. This phenomenon can be explained by two factors: either Grotius was indeed D'Andrea's choice, as Comparato has suggested, or Grotius's theory was useful for Valletta to initially structure his political theory, while he began departing from Grotius in the following decades during which Valletta became more aware of the kind of theory he wanted to build.

Ultimately, the constant element in Valletta's enterprise was to find the presence of an immutable element in civil life, which he found in a constant external thread, superior to positive law. With this immutable element Valletta intended to build a new set of norms *to regulate the performance of the Prince and the public institutions of the State*.

The thread that Valletta needed was a universal idea of justice to measure the economic and political disorders of the kingdom with the Spanish monarch and the barbarity of the Roman Inquisition with the Pope.⁴⁶ These were the bilateral relations that he constantly fought. To build this political vision, Valletta's proposal consisted of creating a system based on a historical and universal analysis of the law to undergird norms sufficiently truthful to make them evident and intrinsically binding. That element capable to give stability to the new system and set of norms was his newly minted notion of providence understood as human needs over time. This was his solution to the problem of human sociability and the lack of *appetitus societatis* brought to Naples by the 'inflation of opinions'.

This explanation is supported by the rhetoric employed in Valletta's text, the aim of which was to persuade the reader of the utility of maintaining the authority of the Church, and to warn against the imprudence of the academics who entered into matters of faith. In open confrontation with the Inquisition, this was also a rhetorical invitation to the Church to avoid

⁴⁵ For a discussion on this matter see Comparato, *Giuseppe Valletta*, pp. 291, 306, 311, 335; Id., 'A Case of Modern Individualism: Politics and the Uneasiness of Intellectuals in the Baroque Age', in *The Individual in Political Theory and Practice*, ed. by J. Coleman (European Science Foundation, Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 148–170; Mastellone, *Pensiero politico*, p. 54; Id., *Francesco D'Andrea*, pp. 44-45; and Badaloni, *Introduzione*, pp. 207-208.

⁴⁶ Comparato, *Giuseppe Valletta*, pp. 47-50.

mixing ‘such delicate matters of theology’ with politics. Actually, in his account of natural philosophy, Valletta invalidated theological texts by arguing their lack of reliability.

In the *Discorso*, the idea of the impossibility of grasping an indisputable and universal idea of truth is found, forging Valletta’s preference for a discussion on providence. He wrote at great length on the poverty of the human intellect to understand such difficult matters of truth. This is undoubtedly the strongest argument of the text, for Valletta argued that the price that human beings had to pay for the liberty of their intellect, the *libertas philosophandi*, was the recognition of the abyss that separated them from the knowledge of God.⁴⁷ As is evident by the tone of this statement, this was a rhetorical invitation for the development of a philosophical position in order to obtain more liberties, such as the liberty to investigate and, more importantly, political liberty. It is in this sense that the *Discorso* can be considered as an argument for the separation of matters of faith from matters of politics in line with Grotius’s Erastianism, and in line with the texts of his contemporaries Di Fusco and Caravita.

By 1691-1695 Valletta was put forward as a representative of the square of the people, one of the most important functions in the City of Naples, and as the advocate of the poor. By this period Valletta was convinced of his incorporation to a Republic where honesty and prestige ruled, that is to the Republic of Letters.⁴⁸

In his seminal work Comparato affirmed that since his early work the *Risposta* Valletta turned to Grotian natural law, which had already circulated in Naples long before the revisions of Hobbes, Pufendorf and Spinoza, and the English political doctrines. By hindsight one can say that Grotian natural law anticipated a specific way of writing about politics that would have found its full expression in the mature Enlightenment, and on particular themes for the kingdom, mainly the law, justice, and the coin, on which the most vivid and thoughtful minds of the new century focused their efforts.

Providence in the context of the defence of the privileges and local liberties

The 1688 establishment in Naples of extraordinary tribunals against four members of the *Investiganti* by the Roman Inquisition provoked the reaction of the *giuridizionalisti* employing

⁴⁷ In this argument, Valletta goes along the lines of P. D. Huet in his *Traité philosophique de la foiblesse de l’esprit humain* (1690) (London: J. Nourse, 1723) and against Descartes’s position on this matter. Valletta, *Discorso*, [ms. B.N.N. I.E. 20] ff. 114v-115r and in the printed version from 1732, pp. 179-180.

⁴⁸ Idem, p. 85.

their old and new practices in the defence of the privileges and local liberties of the City of Naples. In the opinion of the Roman Inquisition, headed by the Jesuits, Catholic Orthodoxy was at stake due to the scientific discoveries and their application in all domains of life by the members of the *Accademia degli Investiganti*.

The academics were arrested in 1691 after the election of Pope Innocent XII. Filippo Belli and the mathematician Giacinto De Cristoforo were indicted for teaching atheist and heretical propositions through their atomic theories. In this way, the trial of the *Investiganti* turned into an attack on the atomists-atheists. Immediately upon the start of their persecution, the other academics intensified their response, and influential pamphlets were written and distributed in the defence of the indicted. Amongst the best known are those in defence of the atomists by Francesco D'Andrea (1694)⁴⁹ and the arguments in favour of the loyal city of Naples against the extraordinary procedure of the Holy Office by Nicolò Caravita (1696).⁵⁰ These texts together with other, smaller pamphlets reflected the mobilisation of Neapolitan society behind the case of the atomists-atheists. It was in this context that references to Grotius's theories reached their highest moment in Naples.

Valletta's manuscript *Discorso* written around 1693-1696 to contest the authority of the Pope in the Neapolitan kingdom, as mentioned above, circulated mostly in manuscript. However, the dissemination of Valletta's uses of Grotius was to a great extent mediated by the Jesuit Giovan Battista De Benedictis who considered Valletta one of the champions of the fight against the Inquisition and the propagation of Grotius in Naples. In 1694 De Benedictis published his defence of Scholastic philosophy as *Lettere Apologetiche in Difesa della Teologia Scolastica e della Filosofia Peripatetica*.⁵¹ De Benedictis's *Lettere* consists of five letters addressed to fictional characters that could easily be identified as members of the *Accademia degli*

⁴⁹ F. D'Andrea, apart from being a jurist was a natural philosopher, *Apologia in Difesa degli Atomisti* (1685) (Naples: Liguori, 1995), pp. 59-109; Mastellone, 'Note sulla cultura napoletana', pp. 369-398; and A. Borrelli, *D'Andrea Atomista: L' 'Apologia' e altri inediti nella polemica filosofica della Napoli di fine Seicento* (Naples: Liguori, 1995) and Stone, *Vico's Cultural History*.

⁵⁰ Caravita, *Ragioni*.

⁵¹ Benedetto Aletino [=Giovanni Battista De Benedictis], *Lettere apologetiche in difesa della teologia scolastica e della filosofia peripatetica* (Naples: G. Raillard, 1694).

Investiganti,⁵² namely Filippo D'Anastasio,⁵³ the translator of Descartes's *Principia*,⁵⁴ Leonardo Di Capua, Tommaso Cornelio, Francesco D'Andrea, Giuseppe Valletta⁵⁵ and Nicolò Caravita.⁵⁶ De Benedictis's accusations against the *Investiganti* were severe attacks and might well have provided the proofs that the Inquisition could have used at any moment to steer the trial against all the *Investiganti*.

De Benedictis published a second text in 1695 strongly condemning modern culture: *Turris Fortitudinis propugnata a filiis lucis adversus filiis tenebrarum*. Here he argued against the *libertas philosophandi* and defended theology and scholasticism. For De Benedictis the *libertas philosophandi* was propagated by atheists and libertines, heretics coming from the Netherlands and other reformed countries. All these authors working on the institution of a *new science* have only brought about the ruin of all human arts.⁵⁷ De Benedictis pointed at the partisans of the *Accademia degli Investiganti* as responsible for the propagation of profane concepts and false truths through their texts. The dissemination of the Cartesian method had led Neapolitans to scepticism and atheism. He scorned the *Investiganti* for publicizing their discoveries of natural phenomena, systems of the universe and methods of philosophising. In his conclusion, the *giurisdizionalisti* were portrayed as interpreters of the law and reformers of the constitution of the State, and like their European counterparts, for setting natural law above civil and ecclesiastical laws. In so doing, they presumably subverted not only the laws and foundations of the State, but also the laws of the Church on which rest the bonds of law and society.⁵⁸

⁵² De Benedictis, *Lettere*; and G. Spini, *Ricerca dei libertini, la teoria dell'impostura delle religioni nel Seicento italiano* (Rome: Universale di Roma, 1950); R. Ajello, *Gli "afrancesados" a Napoli nella prima metà del settecento. Idee e progetti di sviluppo* (Naples: Guida, 1985); Id., *Cartesianismo e cultura oltremontana al tempo dell'Istoria Civile. Pietro Giannone e il suo tempo* (Naples: Jovene, 1980) and Mastellone, *Pensiero politico*.

⁵³ The attack was against Arrigo Filostasia whose civil name was Filippo D'Anastasio (1656-1735).

⁵⁴ R. Descartes, *Principia philosophiae*, trad. Arrigo Filostasia; P. Sposato, *Le Lettere provinciali di Biagio Pascal e al loro diffusione a Napoli durante la rivoluzione intellettuale della seconda metà del secolo XVII. Contributo alla storia del giansenismo e del giurisdizionalismo nel Regno di Napoli* (Tivoli: Chicca, 1960), p. 55 and G. Belgioioso, 'Philosophie aristotélienne et mécanisme cartésien à Naples à la fin du XVIIIe siècle', *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 14/1 (1995), p. 19-47; Id., 'Images of Descartes in Italy', in *Reception of Descartes. Cartesianism and Anti-Cartesianism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by T. Schmaltz (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 171-196.

⁵⁵ Comparato, *Giuseppe Valletta*.

⁵⁶ 'Lettera di De Benedictis all'arcivescovo di Benevento', cited by S. Fodale, 'Nicolò Caravita', *Dizionario Biografico, ad vocem*.

⁵⁷ De Benedictis, *Lettere* (emphasis added) and G. Ruggiero, 'La Turris Fortitudinis tra politici, ecclesiastici e filosofi nella Napoli di fine seicento', *Frontiera d'Europa, Rivista Storica* 9/1 (2003), pp. 5-174.

⁵⁸ De Benedictis, *Turris Fortitudini*. BNN ms. XV. B. 6, 78r-79r.

However, Descartes was not the only one De Benedictis held responsible for the development of the heterodoxy in the Neapolitan kingdom. For the Jesuit professor of philosophy at the *Collegio Massimo di Napoli* all philosophy from Leucippus, Democritus, Epicure, Lucretius to Descartes, Gassendi, Hobbes and Magnen were part of the same problematic lineage.⁵⁹ Epicure's philosophy had been used to eliminate providence and demolish the teachings of the Church with his thesis on the composition of all things from atoms. According to De Benedictis, Valletta had introduced the idea of a new tradition of Neapolitan thought starting with Leonardo Di Capua, who should be considered as the Grotius of Naples.⁶⁰

Valletta responded to De Benedictis's attack with his history of Western philosophy that immediately was condemned by the Inquisition. The *Discorso* referred to the works of Montaigne, Pasquier, Descartes, La Mothe le Vayer, and Gassendi together with a significant number of Dutch and Italian forbidden authors, British empiricists, Hobbes,⁶¹ and Valletta took De Benedictis's statement and included Di Capua in that lineage. In his *Discorso*, Valletta succeeded at linking modern atomism with its Italian foundations and the whole tradition of natural philosophy.

In Valletta's reconstruction of the beginnings and connections of the *Accademia degli Investiganti*, he entered a discussion that included the text by Ioannes Schefferius (1621-1679), and in so doing he arrived at the topic of providence.⁶² Schefferius was one of the most important Swedish humanists from Strasburg who concluded his studies at the University of Leiden in 1639 and in Sweden in 1643. He is mostly remembered for his books *Pythagorean Philosophy* from 1664 and *Laponia* from 1673, which is a history of the Sami people. These texts served Valletta, as they did in other European contexts, to build the grounds to compare and combine literary with sacred, Greek and Roman classical material together with contemporary studies of northern Europe.⁶³ From this perspective, Valletta's objective seems to have been the decoding of these monuments of antique scholarship, and especially their

⁵⁹ Jean-Chrysostome Magnen author of *Democritus reviviscens sive de atomis; addita vita et philosophia Democriti* (London: Daniels, 1646).

⁶⁰ Although Di Capua's *Parere* from 1681 was forbidden by the Inquisition this work was published two more times in 1689 and 1695. Mastellone, *Pensiero Politico*, p. 90.

⁶¹ *Parere del Sig. Lionardo di Capua... narrandosi l'origine e il progresso della medicina...* (Naples: G. Raillard, 1681). Id., *Lezioni intorno alla natura delle mofete*, (Naples: S. Castaldo, 1683), also published as volume 3 of the *Parere* (Cologna [=Naples], 1714).

⁶² Valletta, *Discorso*. It is important to note that Schefferius concluded his studies also at the University of Leiden in 1639 and in Sweden in 1643.

⁶³ In Ireland John Toland (1670-172) was also interested in studies on ancient and contemporary pagan societies, in the accounts and evidence of various 'national origin narratives' in France, England, Ireland, and Denmark.

beliefs.⁶⁴ Hence, the approach that Vico used subsequently in his studies on the ancient origins of providence should come as no surprise, as Valletta clearly paved the road for it in the form he articulated his history of philosophy.

Valletta continued his studies on human nature following the path of the *Investiganti*, detaching himself from the Aristotelian method and philosophy and arguing for its incompatibility with experimental science. In the *Discorso* Valletta cited Di Capua's statements that the *Investiganti* considered themselves modern philosophers. He attributed to Di Capua the claim for intellectual freedom that opened new lines of research not only in the field of science, but also in that of civil life, where men's capacities to associate in civil communities and obey the norms of society were discussed in terms of *appetitus societatis* (sociability), and happiness.

Given the fact that the discussions on intellectual freedom had met the campaign for the respect of the privileges and local liberties of City of Naples, Di Capua's claim turned into a critique of the excess of political power and led to the politicisation of Neapolitan culture. Thus, modern philosophy turned into the primary weapon to limit the authority of the Pope and the Spanish monarch.⁶⁵ The structure of the debate between the *giurisdizionalisti* and De Benedictis on the conflict with the Inquisition in the 1690s shows how Grotius's natural law theory and modern philosophy intertwined and were used by the Neapolitans in that time and in the following decades.

After the suppression of the *Accademia degli Investiganti* in 1683, the *giurisdizionalisti* continued their activities either in formal academies or in debating societies held in private houses. Amongst the most famous *tertulias* were the one in the house of Nicola Caravita (1647-1717), and the one in the house of Valletta. Di Capua died in 1695 and in 1696 Caravita maintained the *Investiganti* reunited around the new Spanish viceroy Luis de la Cerda, Duke of Medinacoeli. In 1698 the Duke of Medinacoeli institutionalised Caravita's debating society as the *Accademia Palatina* (1698-1701).⁶⁶

The meetings organized by Caravita and the *Accademia Palatina* gathered the representatives of the Deputation of the City of Naples, the *Investiganti* – most of all the *giurisdizionalisti*-, but

⁶⁴ J. Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the crisis of Christian culture, 1696-1722* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

⁶⁵ Di Capua, *Parere* and Mastellone, *Pensiero Politico*, p. 99.

⁶⁶ S. Suppa, *L'Accademia di Medinacoeli. Fra tradizione Investigante e Nuova Scienza Civile* (Napoli: Istituto italiano per gli Studi Storici, 1971), p. 11; M. Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols (Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1926-1930).

also younger researchers, such as Gregorio Caloprese (1654-1715), Gian Vincenzo Gravina (1664-1718), Paolo Mattia Doria (1667-1746), Giovan Battista Vico (1668-1744), Pietro Giannone (1676-1748), Celestino Galiani (1681-1753) and Francesco Maria Spinelli (1688-1752).

The process against the atomists-atheists may have ended in 1697, but the pamphlets against the extraordinary procedures of the Inquisition continued circulating in different forms. One of the recurring points in these pamphlets was an argument for the delimitation of the Pope's authority by impugning the extraordinary trials. Amongst them, Caravita's pamphlet containing arguments in favour of the loyal city of Naples, written around 1695 but not published until 1707, better known as *Ragioni* stands out. Caravita argued for the indivisibility of the sovereignty of the State.⁶⁷ He was a coherent reader of Grotius, who was a constant reference in his *Nullum ius romani pontificis maximi in Regnum neapolitanum* (1707).⁶⁸ Other texts continued discussing non-extraordinary forms of punishment and the limits of authority of both the Pope and the political rulers. These include Giovanni Vincenzo Gravina's *Origines iuris civilis* (1708). Gravina was one of the most important readers of Grotius in this period.⁶⁹

The imminent crisis of the Spanish succession led Neapolitans to concentrate on the foundations of politics. Their tone matched the developments from the past decade. Accordingly, the members of the *Accademia Palatina* continued evaluating the relation of the Neapolitan kingdom with the Spanish monarch as a kingdom belonging to the crown of Aragon, and their detachment from Scholastic philosophy in their political treatises.

Gregorio Caloprese occupied a central role in the new academy. His inaugural lecture *Dell'origine degli imperi* was a methodological and political statement. He emphasised the importance of analysing empires by their composition, especially the smaller parts: cities and men. In *Dell'origine* Caloprese highlighted the importance of improving knowledge of human

⁶⁷ N. Caravita, *Ragioni a pro' della fedelissima città di Napoli contr'al procedimento straordinario nelle cause del Sant'Officio, ...* (Naples: 1707 [1695]), pp. 28–30 and 45–46.

⁶⁸ N. Caravita, *Nullum ius romani pontificis maximi in Regnum neapolitanum* (1707). There is an Italian translation: *Niun diritto compete al sommo pontefice sul regno di Napoli*, (Aletopoli [=Naples]: 1790) and see Fassò, *Vico e Grozio*, p. 30.

⁶⁹ G. V. Gravina, *Opera seu Originum iuris civilis...* (Lipsiae: Apud Joh. Frid. Gleditschii B. Filium, 1737). This text was published again in Venice in 1739, together with other works in Venice in 1750 and Naples in 1756. The second book of the last has been recently edited by F. Lomonaco: *Gianvincenzo Gravina e il De romano imperio liber secundus* (Naples: Liguri, 2004). F. Lomonaco, *Filosofia, diritto e storia in Gianvincenzo Gravina* (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 2006).

nature by focusing on the human body and the passions.⁷⁰ Along the lines of Descartes, he suggested the study of human passions as the engine that moved humans into action to satisfy their interests and needs. By analysing human actions from a historical perspective, he aimed at understanding human patterns and thus the hidden behaviour of providence in the long term.⁷¹ From 1700 to 1750 Neapolitan authors continued with the agenda established by the *Investiganti* and systematised by Valletta and Caloprese: the foundations of the State. During the first decades of the new century, Doria and Vico sketched their political philosophies, thus taking a further step: the conceptualisation of the problems of sociability and happiness. In 1709 Doria published, *La Vita Civile*, which subsequently saw different editions, while Vico explored the power of history and rhetoric⁷² and methods of pedagogy,⁷³ before drafting his *Diritto Universale*, published between 1720 and 1722, and his *Scienza Nuova*, published in 1725. At Doria's suggestion, Vico wrote on the most ancient wisdom of the Italians, which in this context might be seen as a continuation of Valletta's *Discorso* in search of a constant element in the process of civilisation.

Defining providence

In his *Discorso* Valletta defined *il fato* as the element that orders and complements the causes established by providence understood as human needs, interests and passions in a particular moment. For Valletta *il fato* was a law by means of which providence orders everything in human actions.⁷⁴ According to the lessons of their mentors Valletta and Caloprese, Doria and Vico concentrated primarily on individuals and their passions: the motor of human action. While Doria developed his sophisticated theory of human passions in his *Vita Civile*, Vico's major work *Diritto Universale* followed Valletta's demand to deal with the questions posed by

⁷⁰ A. Luna-Fabritius, 'Passions and the Early Italian Enlightenment: Human Nature and *Vivere Civile* in the Thought of Gregorio Caloprese', *European Review of History* 17/1 (2010), pp. 93-112 and Bruno Mandalari, Gregorio Caloprese. *Il filosofo delle incantatrici esperienze* (Milan: Doxa Editrice, 2020).

⁷¹ G. Caloprese, *Dell'origine degli imperi : un'etica per la politica*, ed. by Enrico Esposito and Alfonso Mirto (s.l.: Salviati, 2002), pp. 79-80 ; and D. L. Marshall, *Vico and the Transformation of Rhetoric in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2010).

⁷² P. M. Doria, *Vita Civile*, Seconda edizione, Daniello Hopper, 1710; and G. B. Vico, *Institutiones Oratiae, The Art of Rhetoric*, from the definitive Latin edition and notes, Italian commentary and intr. by G. Crifó, ed. by G. A. Pinton and A. W. Shippee (Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi, 1996)

⁷³ G. B. Vico, *De Nostri Temporis studiorum Ratione* (Naples: Felicis Mosca, 1709), edited as: *La difesa dell'Umanesimo. De Nostri Temporis studiorum Ratione*, ed., tr. and comm. by M. Goretti (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1967).

⁷⁴ Valletta, *Opere filosofiche*, p. 235.

the discussions of Roman Law. *Diritto Universale* together with *Scienza Nuova* were not only the principles of a new science to transcend the limits of the Cartesian method, but they were principally a history of humanity, whose main itinerary could be traced back because nations are fashioned by humans entrenched in history. As the *giurisdizionalisti* did, Vico distinguished profane from sacred history and declared his incompetence in matters of faith, such as original sin and revelation. The historical process that Vico was interested in was the history of humanity, of *civiltà*, understood as the process of civilisation of nations as the foundation of civil laws.

For Vico, as for Caloprese, the historical process was the history of human beings, and it was by no means stable or static. Vico argued that men in their effort to understand the world in which they live transform both their world and themselves on an on-going basis. Thus, if there is something that human beings can understand it is precisely their own history, because it constitutes the intelligible world for them, where they can observe, describe, classify and where they can note and historicise regularities in time and space.⁷⁵

Vico affirmed in his *Scienza Nuova* that human beings were able to know their history for they were its authors. This was the former definition of his principle of *verum-factum*. For Vico the historical process was the history of individual efforts, purposes, hopes, but also human fears and attitudes. The way to access this historical evolution of the humankind, was the merge of the variety of perspectives and experiences through imagination.⁷⁶

Expanding Valletta's aim of reconstructing the history of human needs, i.e., self-preservation, Vico's history was a model that aimed at incorporating all the activities of human production, represented in a succession of stages of a nation. For him, there was a relation between one stage and the other that was not casual, but that rather depended on the level of consciousness that human beings had of their own activities. The historical evolution of human consciousness is the element that connects the different stages.

In the first book of the *Scienza Nuova* Vico stated that providence is the element through which all the historical events come together to an order, where they come to make sense together

⁷⁵ A. Luna González, 'De Storia Civile. Algunas ideas de Historia en la Italia preilustrada: Giambattista Vico, Pietro Giannone y Antonio Muratori', *Tiempo y Región, Estudios Históricos y Sociales* 1 (2007), pp. 283-312.

⁷⁶ Idem.

with the elements that preserve human society.⁷⁷ In this manner, providence is thus one of the main elements of Vico's historical process and indeed his whole political philosophy.

Moreover, providence in the *Scienza Nuova* resembled a collection of laws that attempt to deal with the needs, interests and passions of human beings. Human needs, however, would always take precedence and tame the desire for luxury goods also crucial for the development of the civil economy. This is Vico's formula against the *eccesso di civiltà*. Providence was a collection of laws that aim at preserving humankind, that is, to overcome human unsociability. Providence was Vico's solution to the problem of *appetitus societatis*. In this Neapolitan context, the main aim of which was to overcome both Scholastic philosophy and (following Grotius framework of natural law) barbarian times, Vico's conception of providence allowed him to grasp the spirit of human consciousness over time to form the core of his universal laws.

In Vico's understanding, despite the fact that this set of laws come from different places of the world and the most diverse epochs, and are therefore unknown to each other, they follow a common motivation that he occasionally calls common sense. The common sense of humankind that Vico referred to was the principle taught to nations by providence: the consciousness of human needs warrants the laws of nations.⁷⁸ All the nations could understand these laws of nations, for everybody had contributed to the creation of this common sense one way or the other as authors. Vico's laws of nations manifest themselves as the common background to all humans every time they enter into a war, establish alliances or engage in commerce. Defined in this manner the laws of nations are universal and eternal.⁷⁹ The *Scienza Nuova* was thus the history of the spirit of those laws that structure Vico's civil theology of providence.

Finally, providence in Vico's philosophy of history was a force that eventually would transform human's natural vices to make them sociable in civil life. Providence was the force that would solve the problem of *appetitus societatis*, avoiding the destruction of humankind by transforming the remnants of a barbarian civilisation into a well-ordered civil society. Providence might act through the development of simple cultural customs or through the economy of civil life. Moreover, providence would be the driving force to sociability and human happiness. Vico's laws of nations were thus from the very beginning civil laws,

⁷⁷ G. B. Vico, *Scienza Nuova prima. Principii di una scienza nuova d'intorno alla natura delle nazioni, con la polemica contro gli 'Atti degli eruditi' di Lipsia*, ed. by F. Nicolini (Bari: Laterza, 1931), pp. 345-346.

⁷⁸ Vico, *Scienza Nuova*, p. 145.

⁷⁹ Idem.

grounded a secular understanding of providence, the historical development of humankind and the civil life.⁸⁰

Conclusion

Whilst the historiography has questioned the character of the discussions on providence and the forms of appropriation of Grotius's ideas at the turn of the eighteenth century in Naples, the foregoing study has provided enough evidence to establish the appropriate context for a contextual discussion that revolved around science, anthropology, history and rhetoric.

This study has shown that rather than passively repeating ideas in Grotius's texts, Neapolitan *giurisdizionalisti* came to terms with Grotius's ideas in different ways and that the discussions and practices produced in Leiden played a key role in this process. The study argued that Grotius's editions of classic texts were equally important as channels of dissemination of his ideas and Leiden's discussions. It suggested the possibility that the jurists of the Spanish monarchy, converged in Leiden or somewhere else, developed and shared practices to deal with the Spanish monarch; those practices transformed at a higher speed over the late seventeenth century political events. In the case of the Neapolitans, their practices transformed when they had to use their expertise to deal with the Pope and the Inquisition in a crucial moment of the Counter-reformation era.

The core thesis of this study is that a set of practices to defend local privileges and liberties were in constant transformation and they ended up transforming the language of privileges into the language of rights across Europe. Grotius taught that these privileges turn into rights when they can be historicised, defended by force, and theorised in a more subjective manner – arguments which lead to the emergence of modern political philosophies in both Protestant and Catholic political states. Grotius developed this theoretical model in *Apologia* (1619) and in *De Imperio circa sacra* (1647), that Neapolitans learned from it either in person, through the channels of communication of the *giurisdizionalisti* within the Spanish monarchy, the reading

⁸⁰ Note by F. Nicolini in Vico, *Scienza Nuova*, p. 342. See also Vico's own summary, id., p. 283: 'Una propria filosofia dell'umanita, che è una continova meditazione sopra quanto vi volle onde i violenti di Obbes, gli scempioni di Grozio, i destituti di Pufendorffio, fin dal tempo che Giove atterrò i giganti, tratto tratto si conducessero a' tempi che in Grecia sur ero i sette sappienti, il cui principe Solone insegnasse agli ateniesi il celebre motto K Nosce te ipsum» da' quali incominciarono i greci a compiersi nell' umanita per massime. Alla quale, per certi sen i umani, erano stati per tutto il tempo innanzi di mille e cinquecento anni dalla sola provvidenza condotti, incominciando essi a formare l'umana generazione prima con la religione d'una divinita provvedente, quindi con la certezza de' figliuoli, e finalmente con le sepolture degli antenati. Che sono i tre principi, che noi sul cominciare ponemmo, dell'universo civile'.

of his texts, or by the formulations of commonplaces transmitted through the main channels of the Republic of Letters. By reconstructing the appropriation of this Grotian theoretical and argumentative strategy, this study has thus attributed to Grotius and the Academy of Leiden a key role in the transformation of legal practices and the evolution of political philosophy in Naples between 1650 and 1750.

This study has also shown how the impact of European scientific knowledge, which the Neapolitans discussed informed and contributed to the developments of natural jurisprudence in Naples. In so doing, this study has expanded Vico's scientific context created by the paramount studies by Badaloni in 1995 and 2005 to the scientific authors included by Valletta in his *Discorso*, in which Grotius's editions and commentaries to important scientific discussions played a crucial role. Neapolitan thinkers, much like their European counterparts, discussed *appetitus societatis* in the terms settled by the new physiological discoveries, and the most refined texts on the customs of ancient and contemporary groups beyond the sphere of Christianity. This line of comparative enquiry is proof of Neapolitans' engagement in Pufendorf's developments thereof.

Finally, this text has shown how providence and *il fato*, were reformulated in Neapolitan texts simultaneously with the foundation of modern philosophy and that a strong scientific background characterised the research that informed their conceptualisations.

Bibliography

Ajello, R., *Cartesianismo e cultura oltremontana al tempo dell'Istoria Civile. Pietro Giannone e il suo tempo*. Naples: Jovene, 1980.

Ajello, R., *Gli "afrancesados" a Napoli nella prima metà del settecento. Idee e progetti di sviluppo*. Naples: Guida, 1985.

Ajello, R., *Preilluminismo giuridico e tentativi di codificazione nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples: Jovene, 1965),

Ajello, R., *Arcana Juris. Diritto e politica nel Settecento italiano*. Naples: Jovene, 1976.

Antico catalogo della biblioteca dei padri dell'Oratorio di Napoli disposto per materia. Anno 1726.

Arrieta Alberdi, J., 'Las formas de vinculación a la Monarquía y de relación entre sus reinos y coronas en la España de los Austrias. Perspectivas y análisis', in *La Monarquía de las naciones. Patria, nación y naturaleza en la Monarquía de España*, ed. by S.L. Villaverde. Madrid, Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2004, p. 303-326,

Nicola Badaloni, *Introduzione a Giambattista Vico*. Milan: Feltrinelli, 1961.

Badaloni, N., *Laici credenti all'Alba del Moderno: La Linea Herbert-Vico*. Florence: Le Monnier Università, 2005.

- Belgioioso, G., 'Philosophie aristotélienne et mécanisme cartésien à Naples à la fin du XVIIe siècle', *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 14/1 (1995), p. 19-47.
- Belgioioso, G., 'Images of Descartes in Italy', in *Receptions of Descartes. Cartesianism and Anti-Cartesianism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by T. Schmaltz. London: Routledge, 2005, p. 171-196.
- Benedetto Aletino [=Giovanni Battista De Benedictis], *Lettere apologetiche in difesa della teologia scolastica e della filosofia peripatetica*. Naples: G. Raillard, 1694.
- Berlin, I., 'The philosophical ideas of Giambattista Vico', in *Art and Ideas in Eighteenth-Century Italy*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1960.
- Berlin, I., *Vico and Herder. Two studies in the history of ideas*. New York: Viking, 1976.
- Berlin, I., *Three critics of the Enlightenment: Vico, Hamann and Herder*, ed. by H. Hardy. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Blom, H., 'The Great Privilege (1477) as 'Code of Dutch Freedom'; the Political Role of Privileges in the Dutch Revolt and after', in *Das Privileg im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. B. Dölemeyer and H. Mohnhaupt. Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1997, p. 233-247.
- Borrelli, A., *D'Andrea Atomista: L' 'Apologia' e altri inediti nella polemica filosofica della Napoli di fine Seicento*. Naples: Liguori, 1995.
- Boscherini, E., 'Nota sulla diffusione della filosofia di Spinoza in Italia', *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana* 42 (1963), p. 339-362.
- Burnet, G., *Some Letters containing an Account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, some parts of Germany, &c. in the years 1685 and 1686*. Amsterdam: Wed. Swart, 1686.
- Caloprese, G. *Dell'origine degli imperi: un'etica per la politica*, ed. by Enrico Esposito and Alfonso Mirto. s.l.: Salviati, 2002.
- Caravita, N., *Ragioni a pro' della fedelissima città di Napoli contr'al procedimento straordinario nelle cause del Sant'Officio, divise in tre capi. Nel I si ragiona del grave pregiudicio della real giurisdizione, Nel II si tratta dell'ordinaria maniera di giudicio, che tener si dee nel regno, en el III si dimostra il pregiudicio, che fa alla real giuridizione, ed al regno un editto in cui si stabilisce il tribunal dell'Inquisizione*. Naples: 1707; 1st ed. 1696.
- Caravita, N., *Nullum ius romani pontificis maximi in Regnum neapolitanum (1707). There is an Italian translation: Niun diritto compete al sommo pontefice sul regno di Napoli*, [Naples], Aletopoli: 1790.
- Carpaneto, D., and G. Ricuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason 1685-1789*. London: Longman, 1987.
- Champion, J., *Republican learning: John Toland and the crisis of Christian culture, 1696-1722*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.
- Clavero, B., 'Anatomía de España. Derechos hispanos y derecho español entre fueros y códigos', in *Hispania entre derechos propios y derechos nacionales*, 2 vols, ed. by B. Clavero, P. Grossi and F. Tomás y Valiente. Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 1990, I, p. 47-86.
- Comparato, V. I., 'Fede e ragione nelle Discussioni storiche, teologiche e filosofiche di Costantino Grimaldi', in *Saggi e ricerche sul Settecento*. Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, 1968, p. 48-93.
- Comparato, V. I., *Giuseppe Valletta. Un intellettuale europeo della fine del Seicento*. Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici 1970, p. 44-46.
- Comparato, V. I., 'A Case of Modern Individualism: Politics and the Uneasiness of Intellectuals in the Baroque Age', in *The individual in Political Theory and Practice*, ed. by J. Coleman. Oxford: European Science Foundation/Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Comparato, V. I., 'La Repubblica Napoletana del 1647-48: Partiti, idee, modelli politici', *Il Pensiero Politico* 31/2 (1998), p. 205-238.
- Comparato, V. I., 'From the Crisis of Civil Culture to the Neapolitan Republic of 1647: Republicanism in Italy between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Republicanism. A Shared European Heritage*, ed. by M. van Gelderen and Q. Skinner, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), I, p. 169-194.
- D'Alessio, S., *La rivolta Napoletana del 1647-48. Linguaggio politico*. Florence: Centro Editoriale Toscano, 2003.
- D'Andrea, F., *Risposta al trattato delle ragioni della Regina Christianissima sopra il Ducato del Brabante*. Naples, 1667.

- D'Andrea, F., *Apologia in Difesa degli Atomisti* [168]). Naples: Liguori, 1995, p. 59-109.
- De Giovanni, B., *Filosofia e diritto in Francesco d'Andrea*. Milan: 1958.
- De Giovanni, B., 'Cultura e vita civile in Giuseppe Valletta', in *Saggi e ricerche sul Settecento*. Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, 1968, p. 1-47.
- De Rubeis, D., *Forensium certaminum specimen. Accesserunt in prima quatuor certamina paraphrases hexametris illigatae*, Naples: Bonis, 1668
- Delpiano, P., *Il governo della lettura. Chiesa e libri nell'Italia del Settecento*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007.
- Di Capua, L. *Parere*. Divisato in otto ragionamenti, nei quali partitamente narrandosi l'origine e il progresso della medicina, chiaramente l'incertezza della medesima si manifesta. Naples: G. Raillard, 1681.
- Di Capua, L. *Lezioni intorno alla natura delle mofete*, Naples: S. Castaldo, 1683.
- Doni Garfagnini, M., 'Antonio Magliabechi fra erudizione e cultura. Primi risultati dal regesto del carteggio', *Critica storica* 24 (1977), p. 371-409:
- Doni Garfagnini, M., *Lettere e carte Magliabechi. Regesto*, 2 vols Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1981.
- Doni Garfagnini, M., *Lettere e carte Magliabechi. Inventario cronologico*. Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1988.
- Doria, P. M., *Vita Civile distinta in tre parti, aggiuntovi un trattato della Educazione del principe*, Seconda edizione, In Augusta, Daniello Hopper, 1710.
- Doria, P. M., *Massime del governo spagnolo a Napoli*, ed. by V. Conti, introd. by G. Galasso, Naples: Guida, 1973).
- Doria, P. M., *Relazione dello Stato politico, economico e civile del Regno di Napoli nel tempo ch'è stato governato da i Spagnuoli prima dell'entrata dell'armi tedesche in detto Regno, 1713*, published by M. Schipa in 'Il regno di Napoli descritto nel 1713 da P.M. Doria', *Archivio storico del province napoletane* 24 (1899).
- Elliott, J.H., 'A Europe of composite monarchies', *Past and Present* 137 (1992), p. 48-71.
- Fernández Albaladejo, P., ed., *Monarquía, imperio y pueblos de la España Moderna*, Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1997).
- Galasso, G., *Napoli spagnola dopo Masaniello. Politica, cultura, società*. Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1972.
- Gravina, G. V., *Opera seu Originum iuris civilis libri tres, quibus accedunt De Romano Imperio liber singularis, eiusque Orationes et Opuscula Latin, reecensuit et adnotacionibus auxit Tottfridus Mascovius, Reg. Magni Britan. Consil. Aul. Et in Academia Goettingensi Juris professor*. Lipsiae: Apud Joh. Frid. Gleditschii B. Filium, 1737.
- Grotius, H., *Il diritto della Guerra e della pace di Ugone Grozio colle note dello stesso autore, e di Giovanni Barbeyrac*, 4 vols, ed. and tr. by D. Antonio Porpora. Naples: G. De Dominicis, 1777.
- Grotius, Hugo, *De imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra cum scholiis criticis, et chronologicis, Hugonis Grotii. Ac David Blondellus De jure plebis in regimine ecclesiastico, In hac novissima editione adjicitur Jo. Francisci Confortii... Antigrotius qui complectitur Prolusionem, & Exercitationes criticas 12. Totidem Grotianis capitibus oppositas. Sequitur una in Blondellum Exercitatio*, 2 vols, Neapoli : typis, ac sumptibus Joseph-Maria Porcelli, 1730.
- Grotius, Hugo, *De veritate religionis christianae, Editio novissima omnibus ante actis emendatior*, Veronae : apud Jacobum Vallarsium, 1729.
- Grotius, Hugo, *De veritate religionis christianae, Editio novissima omnibus ante actis emendatior*, Veronae: apud Jacobum Vallarsium, 1737.
- Grotius, Hugo, *De veritate christianae religionis ab Hugone Grotio jam primum sex libris complexa uberius nunc evoluta a p.f. Stanislao a Placentia*, Placentiae: ex typographia Josephi Tedeschi, 1738.
- Grotius, Hugo, *De Veritate religionis christianae accedit in hac prima editione brixiana praeter alia nonnulla eiusdem auctoris De aequitate indulgentia et facilitate*. Liber singularis, Brixiae: ex typographia Petri Planta, 1741.
- Grotius, Hugo, *De veritate religionis christianae, Accedit in hac novissima editione Veneta praeter alia nonnulla eiusdem auctoris De aequitate, indulgentia, et facilitate liber singularis*, Venetiis: ex Typographia Novelliana, 1768.

- Grotius, Hugo, *De veritate religionis christianae. Accedit in hac novissima editione veneta praeter alia nonnulla eiusdem auctoris de Aequitate, indulgentia, et facilitate liber singularis*, Venetiis: sumptibus Jo. Antonii Pezzana, 1781.
- Grotius, Hugo, *I sei libri di Ugone Grozio sulla verita della cristiana religione/ tradotti dal latino in lingua italiana da Pietro Anto Magalotti patrizio di Terni; con annotazioni, e dissertazioni al primo, e secondo libro*, 2 vols. Foligno: per Gio. Tomassini stamp. vesc. e pubblico, 1806.
- Herbert, Edward, *De la vérité en tant qu'elle est distincte de la révélation, du vraysemblable, du possible et du faux*. s.l, 1639.
- Huet P. D., *Traité philosophique de la faiblesse de l'esprit humain* [1690]. London: J. Nourse, 1723.
- Infelise, M., *I libri proibiti: Da Gutenberg all'Encyclopedie*, 2nd ed. Rome: Laterza, 2001.
- Israel, J., *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Lomonaco, F., *Tolleranza e Libertà di Coscenza. Filosofia, diritto e storia tra Leida e Napoli nel secolo XVIII*. Milan: Liguori Editori, 1999.
- Luna González, A., 'De Storia Civile. Algunas ideas de Historia en la Italia preilustrada: Giambattista Vico, Pietro Giannone y Antonio Muratori', *Tiempo y Región, Estudios Históricos y Sociales* 1 (2007), p. 283-312.
- Luna González, A., *From self-preservation to self-liking in Paolo Mattia Doria: civil philosophy and natural jurisprudence in the early Italian Enlightenment*. Florence: European University Institute, 2009.
- Luna-Fabritius, A., 'Passions and the Early Italian Enlightenment: Human Nature and *Vivere Civile* in the Thought of Gregorio Caloprese', *European Review of History* 17/1 (2010), p. 93-112.
- Luna-Fabritius, A., 'The Secularization of Happiness in Early-eighteenth century Italian Political Thought: Revisiting the Foundations of Civil Society', in *Trust and Happiness in the History of European Political Thought*, ed. by L. Kontler and M. Somos. Leiden: Brill, 2017, p. 169-195.
- [Magnen, Jean-Chrysostome], *Democritus reviviscens sive de atomis; addita vita et philosophia Democriti*. London: Daniels, 1646.
- Marshall, D., *Vico and the Transformation of Rhetoric in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, 2010.
- Marshall, D., 'The Current State of Vico Scholarship', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 72/1 (2011), p. 141-160.
- Mastellone, S., 'Note sulla cultura napoletana al tempo di Francesco D'Andrea e Giuseppe Valletta', *Critica Storica* 2 (1962), p. 369-398.
- Mastellone, S., *Pensiero politico e vita culturale a Napoli nella seconda metà del Seicento*. Messina-Florence: D'Anna, 1965.
- Mastellone, S., *Grozio ed il pensiero giuridico-politico a Napoli nella seconda metà del Seicento*. Florence: Olschki, 1965.
- Mastellone, S., 'Osservazioni sulle origini Seicentesche dell'anticurialismo meridionale', *Critica Storica* 4 (1965), p. 1-13.
- Mastellone, S., *Il pensiero politico-giuridico di Francesco D'Andrea e l'ascesa del ceto civile*. Florence: Olschki, 1968.
- Mastellone, S., *Francesco D'Andrea politico e giurista (1648-1698). L'ascesa del ceto civile*. Florence: Olschki, 1969.
- Maylender, M., *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols. Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1926-1930.
- Mirto, A., *Il Carteggio degli Huguétan con Antonio Magliabechi e al corte medicea, Ascesa e decline di un'impresa editorial nell'Europa seicentesca*. Calabria: Rubbettino Editore, 2005.
- Muratori, A., *Rerum italicarum scriptores ab anno aerae christianae quingentesimo ad millesimum quingentesimum quorum potissima pars nunc primum in lucem prodit ex Ambrosianae, Estensis aliarumque insignium bibliothecarum codicibus Ludovicus Antonius Muratorius, collegit, ordinavit et praefationibus auxit*, 24 vols, Mediolani: ex typographia Societatis palatinae, 1723-1738.
- Nicolini, F., *La giovinezza di G.B. Vico*. Bari: Laterza, 1932.

- Nordström, J., 'Antonio Magliabechi och Nicolaus Steno. Ur Magliabechis brev till Iacob Gronovius', *Lychnos*, 20 (1961), p. 1-42,
- Nuzzo, E., 'Between Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Italian Culture in the Early 1700s: Giambattista Vico and Paolo Mattia Doria', in *The intellectual consequences of religious heterodoxy: 1600-1750*, ed. by S. Mortimer and J. Robertson. Leiden: Brill, 2012, p. 206-234.
- Orestano, R., *Introduzione allo studio storico del diritto romano*. Turin: Giappichelli, 1963,
- Palladini, F., *Discussioni seicentesche su Samuel Pufendorf: scritti latini, 1663-1700* (s.l., 1978).
- Pufendorf, S., *Elementa iursiprudentiae universalis* [1660], ed. by Th. Behme, Berlin: Alademie Verlag, 1999. Tr. *Two Books of the Elements of Universal Jurisprudence*. Tr. by William Abbott Oldfather, 1931. Rev. by Thomas Behme. Ed. and introd. by Thomas Behme. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2009.
- Robertson, J., 'Sacred History and Political Thought: Neapolitan Responses to the Problem of Sociability After Hobbes', *The Historical Journal* 56 (2013), p. 1-29.
- Robertson, J., *The Case for the Enlightenment. Scotland and Naples 1680-1760*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Rotondò, A., 'Europe et Pays-Bas: évolution, réélaboration et diffusion de la tolérance aux 17eme et 18eme siècles', *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* 12/1 (1993), p. 8-33;
- Rotondò, A., 'La censura ecclesiastica e la cultura', in *Storia d'Italia*, 6 vols, ed. by Ruggiero Romano e Corrado Vivanti. Turin: Einaudi, 1972-1976, vol. V-2, p. 1397-1492.
- Rotondò, A., 'Europe et Pays-Bas: évolution, réélaboration et diffusion de la tolérance aux 17eme et 18eme siècles', *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* 12/1 (1993), p. 8-33.
- Ruggiero, G., 'La Turris Fortitudinis tra politici, ecclesiastici e filosofi nella Napoli di fine seicento', *Frontiera d'Europa, Rivista Storica* 9/1 (2003), p. 5-174.
- Schiera, P., *Il Cameralismo e l'assolutismo tedesco*. Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1968.
- Spini, G., *Ricerca dei libertini, la teoria dell'impostura delle religioni nel Seicento italiano*. Rome: Universale di Roma, 1950.
- Sposato, P., *Le Lettere provinciali di Biagio Pascal e la loro diffusione a Napoli durante la rivoluzione intellettuale della seconda metà del secolo XVII. Contributo alla storia del giansenismo e del giurisdizionalismo nel Regno di Napoli*. Tivoli: Arti Grafiche Aldo Chicca, 1960.
- Suppa, S., *L'Accademia di Medinacoeli. Fra tradizione Investigante e Nuova Scienza Civile*. Napoli: Istituto italiano per gli Studi Storici, 1971.
- Targioni Tozzetti, G., *Notizie degli aggrandimenti delle scienze fisiche accaduti in Toscana nel corso di anni LX del secolo XVI*. [Florence, 1780]; repr. Bologna, Forni, [1967].
- Totaro, G., 'Antonio Magliabechi e i libri', in *Bibliothecae Selectae da Cusano a Leopardi*, ed. by Eugenio Canone. Florence: Olschki, 1993, p. 549-570.
- Trombetta, V., 'Erudizione e bibliografia a Napoli nella prima metà del XVIII secolo: la biblioteca di Domenico Greco', in *Rara volumina* 1 (1997), p. 59-91.
- Valletta, G., *Risposta ad amico, sopra le ragioni della città di Napoli per l'assistenze domandate alla fabrica della nuova moneta*. Naples: 1675.
- Valletta, G., *Disceptationes forenses*, s.l.: J. Parisi, s.a.
- Valletta, G., *Al Nostro SS.Mo Padre Innocenzo XII intorno al procedimento ordinario e canonico nelle cause che si trattano nel Tribunale del S. Officio nella Città di Napoli (1691-94)* published as *Lettera del Signor Giuseppe Valletta in Difesa della moderna filosofia, e dei coltivatori di essa, Indirizzata alla Santità di Clemente XI. Aggiuntovi in fine un'osservazione sopra la medesima*. Rovereto: Nella Stamperia di P. Berno Libr, 1732.
- Vico, G. B., 'Universal of Universal Law', tr. by D. P. Verene, *New Vico Studies*, 21 (2003), p. 1-22.
- Vico, G. B., *De Nostri Temporis studiorum Ratione* (Naples: Felicis Mosca, 1709), edited as: *La difesa dell'Umanesimo. De Nostri Temporis studiorum Ratione*, ed., tr. and comm. by M. Goretti. Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1967.

Vico, G. B., *Institutiones Oratiae, The Art of Rhetoric*, from the definitive Latin edition and notes, Italian commentary and intr. by G. Crifó, ed. by G. A. Pinton and A. W. Shippee. Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi, 1996.

Vico, G. B., *L'Autobiografia, il carteggio e le poesie varie*, ed. by B. Croce (Bari, Laterza, 1911).

Vico, G. B., *Scienza Nuova prima. Principii di una scienza nuova d'intorno alla natura delle nazioni*, con la polemica contro gli 'Atti degli eruditi' di Lipsia, ed. by F. Nicolini. Bari: Laterza, 1931, p. 345-346.

Villari, R., *La rivolta antispagnola a Napoli. Le origini 1585-1647*. Roma-Bari, 1987.

Waquet, F., 'Antonio Magliabechi: nouvelles interpretations, nouveaux problèmes', *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 2/1 (1982), p. 173-188.

Zucchi, E., 'Tirannide e stato di natura. Sul rifiuto dell'assolutismo giusnaturalista nelle Tragedie Cinque di Gian Vincenzo Gravina', in *Prima e dopo il Leviatano*, ed. by M. Scattola and P. Cotton. Padova: libreria Editrice Università di Padova, 2014, p. 193-226.